

Entities and the expression of grounding and referential coherence in
Northern Pwo Karen narrative discourse

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Northern Pwo Karen (N. Pwo), an under-described, isolating Tibeto-Burman language of northern Thailand, makes extensive use of clausal nominalizations in narrative discourse. Furthermore, the language has preserved a split-ergative system, based on person, in its personal pronouns. In this system, first- and second-person pronouns exhibit a nominative-accusative pattern, while third-person pronouns exhibit an ergative-absolutive pattern. Moreover, all of the third-person pronouns only occur intermittently, or optionally. Given these phenomena, this dissertation first answers the question of how clausal nominalizations are used in N. Pwo narrative discourse. It also answers the question of how nominals are used for reference tracking, especially in third-person contexts.

To investigate the function of clausal nominalization and the tracking of participants, a selection of N. Pwo traditional narratives were entered into a spreadsheet and tagged for characteristics related to their function. For clausal nominalization, this included the grounding value, such as foreground vs. background information. For participant tracking, this included the person of the argument, the identification of the most important participant in a stretch of discourse, and the rank of the participant or the participant's relative importance in the narrative. The resulting data frame was then used to quantify and correlate the occurrence of

clausal nominalization and participant reference forms with discourse constructs such as the textual grounding value, in the case of clausal nominalization, and the relative importance of the participant, in the case of participant reference.

Clausal nominalizations were found to occur in both narrative and conversation and are used to express background, supportive information that is off the time line, such as setting, possible states of affairs, or explanations. Non-embedded clausal nominalizations also occur in both narrative and conversation. In narrative, they are used to express the prevailing state of affairs and often occur at the end of episodes. In conversation, they are used to express a prevailing state of affairs or the speaker's desired state of affairs.

In third-person contexts, the ergative and third-person accusative pronouns are used to reference the most important participant in a stretch of discourse and typically occur at points of either temporal or participant discontinuity. Conversely, the third-person absolutive pronoun is used to reference either non-human or less important participants when a narrator chooses to emphasize that participant. Otherwise less-important participants are referenced by zero or a noun phrase.

Finally, in addition to the account of the function of clausal nominalization and reference-tracking patterns, the dissertation includes an extensive morpho-syntactic overview of N. Pwo basic and nominalization constructions.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Audra Ellen Phillips. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Northern Pwo Karen Language Documentation Project”, No. Pro00018664_AME2, April 13, 2016.

Dedication

To the speakers of Northern Pwo Karen

May you continue to speak your language with joy, pride, and skill in the years to come.

Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation is largely a solitary endeavour. Even so, it has not been possible to complete it without the assistance and companionship of a good number of people.

First of all, this dissertation would not have been possible without the input of Northern Pwo Karen (N. Pwo) speakers. My first N. Pwo teachers were Sanit Thutphithak and Maipao Khamchunghongkha. Sanit Thutphithak also narrated and translated texts into Thai. Rattana Manawong facilitated the collection of texts in Ban Pui village and then, with the help of Nipa Kamtom and Monthagan Chinta, transcribed and translated the texts into Thai and English. Sanit Thutphithak and Rattana Manawong have also served as insightful language consultants, with some help from Dikeng Puyoh and Pongphan Kanjunwana. My sincere thanks to each one of these people, along with the storytellers of Ban Pui village.

Second, I acknowledge my debt to the University of Alberta for their provision of both academic and financial support for my Ph.D. studies. I extend my deepest appreciation to my dissertation supervisor, Sally Rice, who generously expanded my knowledge of semantics. She also took the time to teach me how to write more clearly. Dr. Rob Desjardins, of the University of Alberta Student Success Centre, also provided invaluable writing instruction through his graduate writing courses. Ben Tucker and Antti Arppe, supervisory committee members, have contributed a greater knowledge of phonetics and statistical analysis, respectively. The other two members of my examining committee, Mathias Jenny and Jordan Lachler, have challenged me with questions that will keep me occupied for some time to come as I improve upon my analysis of N. Pwo Karen.

Other Linguistic Department faculty members who provided valuable input include John Newman, David Beck, Harald Baayen, and Terence Nearey. Finally, I would like to thank the

Linguistics Department staff members, Elizabeth French, Gail Mathew, and Diane McKen for their unfailing encouragement and help with all things administrative.

Another group to which I am indebted are my colleagues in Southeast Asia. My first understanding of a Pwo Karen language came through the tutelage of Austin Hale and Lon Diehl. Karen Block, Taeho Jang, and Tom Tehan provided input on discourse analysis techniques. Tom Tehan also graciously read through the entire draft of the dissertation. Nathan Straub and Larin Adams gave input on the morpho-syntactic overview and Hiram Ring gave input on the analysis of copula constructions. The Payap University Linguistics Institute provided computers and space to process texts and Damien Daspit facilitated the import of the processed texts into my database software. My sincere thanks to my department head, Chris Wilde, of the Payap University Linguistics Department, who gave me time, unfettered by teaching responsibilities, to write the dissertation.

I am also thankful for friends, both in Thailand and Canada, who encouraged and facilitated my studies: Karen Block, Sigrid Lew, Martin and Debbi Hosken, Nancy Bishop, Mary Peterson, Carmen Fleuren, Valerie Dirks, the monthly knitting group of fellow University of Alberta Linguistics students, and First Baptist Church, Edmonton.

Family have also provided steady support throughout my journey. My parents have always been confident that I could successfully complete a Ph.D. program. I am also thankful for the encouragement of my siblings and my aunt and uncle, Morley and Helen Phillips.

Finally, I thank my God who gave me the strength, wisdom, and perseverance to soldier on through frustration and endless analytical decisions. Too many times to count, He directed my attention to yet another avenue of inquiry which led to the insights needed to account for N. Pwo language behaviours.

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Abbreviations

1s = first-person possessor

ABS = absolutive

ACC = accusative

ADVERBIAL = adverbial phrase

BE = copula

be_{be.able} = *ke* 'be.able' functioning as a copula

be_{be.true} = *me* 'be.true' functioning as a copula

BEN = benefactive

CAUSE = causative

CC = complement clause

CC = copula complement

CL = numeral classifier

CLAUSE = predicate with subject, objects (indirect, direct, oblique), grounding predications

CORE = predicate with subject, indirect and direct objects

CS = copula subject

CL1 = first conjunct of a coordinate clause construction

CL2 = second conjunct of a coordinate clause construction

CLF = numeral classifier

CONJ_{with} = noun phrase coordinating conjunction

DAT = dative

DEG = degree adverbial

DEM.PRN_{this} = proximal demonstrative functioning as a pronoun

DEM.PRN_{that} = medial demonstrative functioning as a pronoun

DEM.PRN_{yonder} = distal demonstrative functioning as a pronoun

DO = direct object

DOWNSTAIRS = subordinate clause within a periphrastic causative construction

DQ = direct quote

EMPH = emphasis

ERG = ergative

EXCL = exclamation

EXPER = experiencer

FOC = focus marker

INCH = inchoative aspect

IO = indirect object

INTENS = intensifier

IRR = irrealis

LOC = locative

MC = main clause

NEG = negation

NMLZ_{EMPH} = emphasis marker functioning as a nominalizer

NMLZ_{that} = medial demonstrative functioning as a nominalizer

NMLZ_{thing} = 'thing' functioning as a nominalizer

NOM = nominative

NP = noun phrase

OBJ = object

OO = oblique object

PL = plural

POSS = possessor

POST-CORE = any material following the direct object, e.g. grounding predications, obliques, etc.

PRE-CLAUSE = position preceding the clause

POST-CLAUSE = position following the clause

PURPOSE = subordinate clause which expresses the purpose for an action

QUES = question marker

RC = relative clause

REL = relativizer

REASON = subordinate clause which expresses the reason for an action

RESULT = subordinate clause which expresses the result of an action

s = subject

SC = subordinate clause

SUBJ = subject

to_{reach} = the verb *t^hŋ* 'reach' functioning as a preposition

TOP = topic

TOP_{3,ABS} = third-person absolutive pronoun functioning as a topic marker

TOP_{CL,part} = classifier *k^hó* 'CL.part' functioning as a topic marker

UPSTAIRS = main clause of a periphrastic causative construction

VCC = verbless copula complement

VCS = verbless copula subject

Glossary of Terms

A argument – the subject of a transitive clause.

Anaphoric reference – reference whose interpretation is dependent on the preceding text.

Asyndetic coordination – coordination without an overt conjunction.

Backgrounded information – information that is coded like foreground information, but functions as background information.

Cataphoric reference – reference whose interpretation is dependent on the text which follows.

Collateral information – relates what might or did not happen as background to what actually happens.

Clause core – the predicate and the subject, indirect and direct object arguments.

Conjunct – a unit within a coordinate construction.

Copula – a linking element, often a verb, which links two nominals. N. Pwo has two copulas, along with a zero copula construction, which are used to express possession and identity relations.

Data frame – a table that is used for statistical analysis. In this table, the rows represent instances of the phenomenon that is under investigation, while the columns contain the measurements of the row instances. For example, each row in the N. Pwo data frame is a clause and SubjRank is a column that tracks the rank of the subject referent in each clause.

Deontic modality – the expression of a participant's obligation, permission, or wishes.

Differential object marking (DOM) – A phenomenon first recognized in Romance languages, in which two object reference forms are possible. The use of the object form is determined by semantic and/or pragmatic considerations. For example, in N. Pwo, the third-person accusative pronoun is used to refer to a thematic participant with a third-person subject, while the third-person absolutive pronoun is used to refer to non-thematic participants.

Dynamic verb – expresses a changing event.

Ergative-absolutive alignment – a case-marking system in which the A argument is marked differently from the S and O arguments, which are marked in the same way.

Evaluative information – the narrator's interaction with the events in the story.

Existence verb – used to assert the existence of an entity. The N. Pwo existence verb can also be used to express the location or possession of an entity.

Explanatory information – provides extended information about an event.

Foregrounded information – information that is coded as background information, but functions as foreground information.

Grounding – the relative importance of information in narrative. Foreground information is the temporally sequenced, backbone of the story, while background information is off the time line and provides setting, explanatory, collateral, evaluative, and performative information.

Grounding predication – a predicate that occurs in the post-core position of the clause that expresses adverbial information about the event denoted by the main predicate.

Identification information – background information that introduces and describes participants.

Levels – The values used within a tagging column within a data frame. For example, the levels of the SubjRank tag, which tracks the rank of the subject participant in each row (clause), are Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Situation, Story, and None.

Local theme – the thematic participant in a stretch of discourse. Generally, this is the most active participant, although a narrator can choose to centre the attention on a participant who is not the most active participant. Rather, they are the participant that the narrator wants to talk about.

Localizer noun – A bound noun which expresses a spatial relation instead of an adposition. In N. Pwo, a localizer noun serves as the head of a possessive noun phrase which occurs as the object of a minimally meaningful preposition. For example, *lù dâu' p^hâ* ‘at house’s inside’.

Nominative-accusative alignment – a case-marking pattern in which A and S arguments are marked the same, while O arguments are marked differently.

Non-participant – Events, situations, or the story referenced as arguments within a clause.

Non-thematic participant – a major or minor participant that is not the focus of the narrator’s attention in a span of discourse.

Non-embedded clause nominalization – a nominalized clause that stands on its own; it is not subordinate to another clause.

Major participant – generally the protagonist and antagonist in a narrative. Participants that are active throughout the entire narrative.

Minor participant – participants that are active intermittently in a narrative.

O argument – the object in a transitive clause.

Optional case marking (OCM) – case marking that occurs intermittently to indicate semantic or pragmatic distinctions, as opposed to syntactic distinctions.

Optional ergative marking (OEM) – a case-marking pattern in which ergative case marking occurs optionally on A arguments and some S arguments. Depending on the language, optional ergative marking can be correlated with the semantic characteristics of a participant, such as volitionality. In N. Pwo, optional ergative marking, as seen in the personal pronoun inventory, is associated with the signalling of the thematic participant in a stretch of discourse.

Participant – an entity that either acts or is acted upon in narrative.

Performative information – the narrator’s interaction with his listeners.

Pre-clause position – the position that immediately precedes the clausal core.

Pre-clause reference – reference to participants that occurs in the pre-clause position.

Post-core – the position in the clause immediately following the direct object argument in N. Pwo. Oblique arguments, grounding predications, and some particles occur in this position.

Post-clause reference – reference to participants or non-participants that occurs at the very end of the clause.

Prop – a human or non-human participant that is manipulated. A prop does not carry out any volitional action.

S argument – the subject of an intransitive clause.

Setting information – temporal and locational information about the situation.

Speech act participant (SAP) – first and second person participants in a conversation.

Split-ergativity – A case-marking system which encompasses both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive case marking. This split in case-marking patterns can be related whether a clause is perfective or imperfective. It can also be related to the person of a participant. In the N. Pwo personal pronoun inventory, first- and second-person reference for both S and A arguments in intransitive and transitive clauses, respectively, are coded the same, while the O arguments are coded differently. This pattern reflects a nominative-accusative alignment. For third-person reference, the A argument of a transitive clause is coded differently from the S and O arguments, a pattern that reflects ergative-absolutive alignment.

Stative verb – a verb which expresses a static state of affairs.

Tags – the measurement columns in a data frame. For example, the SubjRank tag is one of the measurement columns in the N. Pwo data frame which tracks the rank of the subject referent in each row (clause) of the data frame.

Thematic participant – the participant that a narrator considers the most important participant in a stretch of discourse. Generally, this is the most active major or minor participant, although a narrator can focus attention on a less active participant.

Theme argument – participant that moves or is acted upon without any effect.

Reference tracking – the patterns of reference utilized by a narrator to ensure that a listener or reader can keep track of who is doing what. It involves the use of noun phrases, pronouns, and zero within and without the clause to introduce and maintain reference to participants throughout a narrative.

Referential coherence – coherence that is maintained through patterns of reference, or the way in which noun phrases, pronouns, and zero are used to help listeners or readers follow the activities of participants in discourse.

Vocative – In conversation, reference to the addressee or the speaker by name or by pronoun. In N. Pwo, vocative reference occurs in the pre- and post-clause positions and can take the form of either a name or the first- or second-person possessive or accusative pronouns.

Zero reference – non-overt reference to an argument referent within a clause.

Chapter 1

Approaches to grounding and referential coherence in narrative

1.1 Introduction

A common pattern in languages is for speakers to use noun phrases and stressed pronouns to signal a discontinuity of reference to a participant, while unstressed pronouns, affixes, and zero are used to indicate continuing reference to a participant (Givón 1983; Givón 1992; Givón 2001a). However, for Northern Pwo Karen (N. Pwo), noun phrases and pronouns do not necessarily indicate a referential discontinuity. Instead, the amount of coding material is dependent on factors such as the relative importance of the participant in the narrative.

In N. Pwo, a narrator can use nouns and noun phrases, along with pronouns and zero to reference participants. N. Pwo has no verb agreement, so the N. Pwo pronouns, even though most of them are clitics, pattern like independent pronouns. Furthermore, nouns and noun phrases take no marking, including case-marking; however, the personal pronoun inventory features a person-based split-ergative system. First- and second-person reference follows a nominative-accusative alignment; it is straightforward, with clear distinctions between subjects and objects, person, and number. Furthermore, these pronouns are often used for ongoing reference. However, in situations where all referents are third-persons, the pronoun alignment is ergative-absolutive and is much more complicated. First, the third-person ergative pronoun is not used for ongoing subject reference, rather, it is used to signal a change of thematic participant or to indicate a continuing thematic participant after that participant has appeared as an object referent. In this case, the ergative pronoun is used to indicate both referential discontinuity and continuity, depending on the context. In the literature, this appearance of the ergative pronoun in specific contexts is akin to *optional ergative marking (OEM)*.

Furthermore, with third-person subjects, two third-person object pronouns are possible; the third-person accusative pronoun is used to refer to a thematic participant when there is a non-thematic participant referenced in the subject position. Thus, it works with the ergative pronoun to maintain reference to a thematic participant. Conversely, the absolutive pronoun is used to refer to non-thematic participants. With two pronouns to distinguish in the object position, this is a case of *differential object marking (DOM)*.

Another factor that affects the coding of third-person participants is their relative importance in the narrative. Major participants are active throughout the narrative, minor participants only appear intermittently, and props, both human and non-human, are only acted upon. Typically, a major participant serves as the thematic participant for a stretch of discourse that can encompass one-to-many clauses. A minor participant can also function as a thematic participant on occasion; however, props never function as thematic participants.

Since a narrator uses the ergative pronoun or zero to refer to a thematic participant, a non-thematic, but referentially continuous participant, is often referenced by a full noun phrase. Minor participants are often referenced by noun phrases, as well. Props are almost always referenced by noun phrases, regardless of their continuity status.

Another contributor to referential coherence, or the continuity of reference to participants in discourse, is pre-clause nominal reference, which can take several markers. Pre-clause reference that is co-referential with a subject referent, often indicates a change of thematic participant, although, in some cases, it can also be used for the first mention of a thematic participant.

Two of the markers of pre-clausal nominals, *no* 'NMLZ_{that}' and *də'/dâ* 'NMLZ_{EMPH}', are also used to mark adverbial subordinate clauses, relative clauses, and non-embedded nominalized clauses.

All of these clauses are nominalizations which typically code some of the background or non-event information in narrative. The relative importance of information is termed grounding (Hopper 1979a; Khalil 2000). The basic opposition in grounding is between foreground, the most important information, and background information, the supportive information in the story that is not on the time line. Moreover, background information can trigger a reset of participant reference, resulting in noun phrase reference to already accessible participants.

Given these two overlapping nominal areas of N. Pwo grammar (participant reference, including pre-clause nominal reference, and also lexical and clausal nominalization), the first question motivating this dissertation is: How are clausal nominalizations used in narrative discourse, especially non-embedded nominalizations? The second question is: How are participants introduced and tracked in N. Pwo narrative discourse? And the third question is: How do grounding values interact with referential coherence?

The remainder of this introductory chapter introduces the N. Pwo language and people (§1.2). This is followed by the N. Pwo phonological inventory and transcription system (§1.3) and an account of approaches to grounding and referential coherence in the literature (§1.4). The chapter ends with the contributions, limitations, and the overall organization of this dissertation (§1.5).

1.2 The Northern Pwo Karen

The N. Pwo are one of several Pwo Karen groups, in Thailand and Myanmar, that speak several mutually unintelligible Pwo Karen languages. This section focuses on the Pwo Karen of Thailand and begins with language affiliation (§1.2.1), followed by their location in Thailand (§1.2.2). The historical background of the Pwo Karen of northern Thailand is the next topic

(§1.2.3), followed by some information about the Pwo Karen people of Thailand, including language vitality (§1.2.4).

1.2.1 Language affiliation

N. Pwo is a member of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) language family, which, together with Chinese language varieties, constitutes the Sino-Tibetan language family (Figure 1.1).

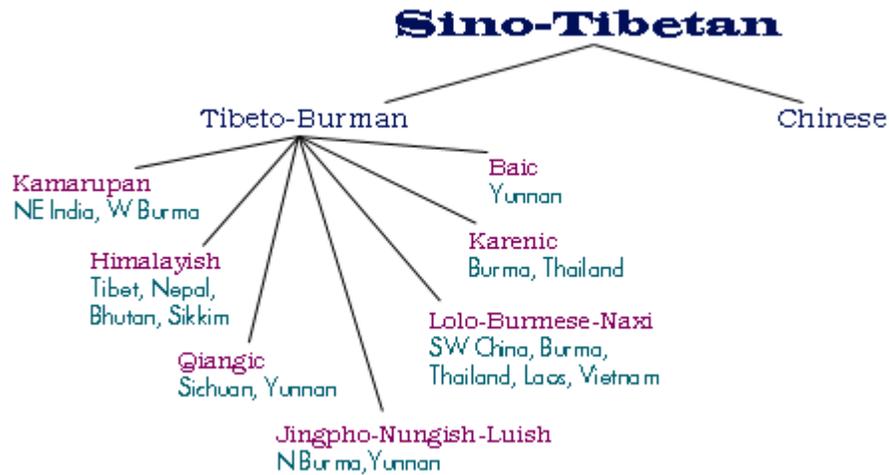


Figure 1.1: Sino-Tibetan language family (Matisoff 2013)

The 250-300 TB languages are spoken by approximately 57 million people, who can be found living in Pakistan and northern India across to Vietnam and up into China (Matisoff 2015).

The Karenic sub-group of Tibeto-Burman, which encompasses forty languages or so, is diagrammed in Figure 1.2.

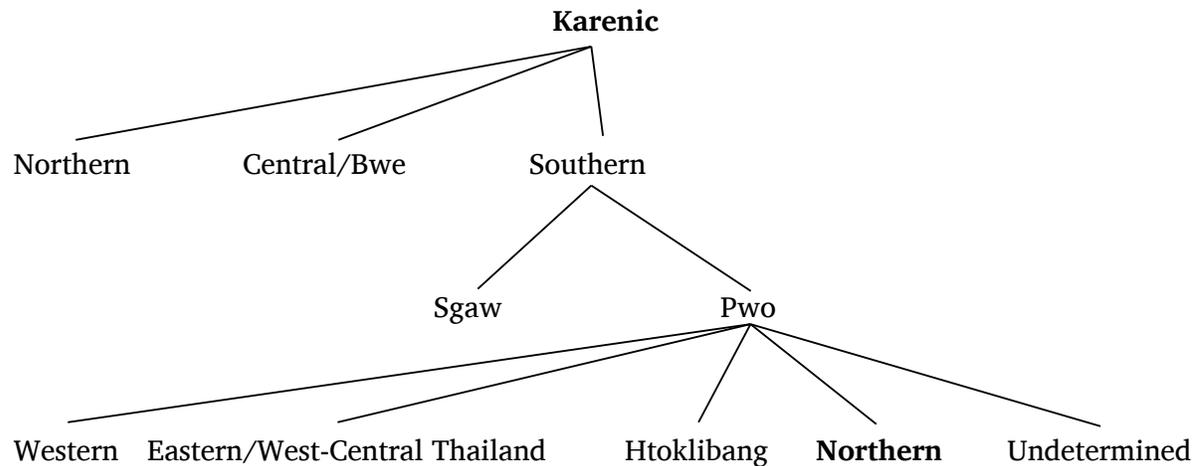


Figure 1.2: *The Karenic languages*

Concerning the relationship of the Pwo Karen language varieties to each other, I have observed mutual unintelligibility between Western and Eastern Pwo Karen speakers. Kato (2003) also reports on the unintelligibility of Western and Eastern Pwo Karen. The mutual unintelligibility of N. Pwo with West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen has been demonstrated through intelligibility testing (Dawkins & Phillips 2009a), while Kato (2009) reports that Htoklibang Pwo Karen is unintelligible with Western and Eastern Pwo Karen. The undetermined varieties include the Pwo Karen language varieties located in northern Thailand (Dawkins & Phillips 2009b).

Finally, both Bradley (1997; 2002) and Jones (1961:82) mention another Karenic language group called the Leke, Lekeh, or Lekhe. However, both Stern (1968) and Buadaeng (n.d.) identify a group by this name as a Karen millenarian religious movement, which involves both Sgaw and Pwo Karen. For this reason, Lekhe is not included as a language in Figure 1.2.

1.2.2 Geography

The provinces in Thailand where Pwo Karen speakers can be found are indicated on the map in Figure 1.3.

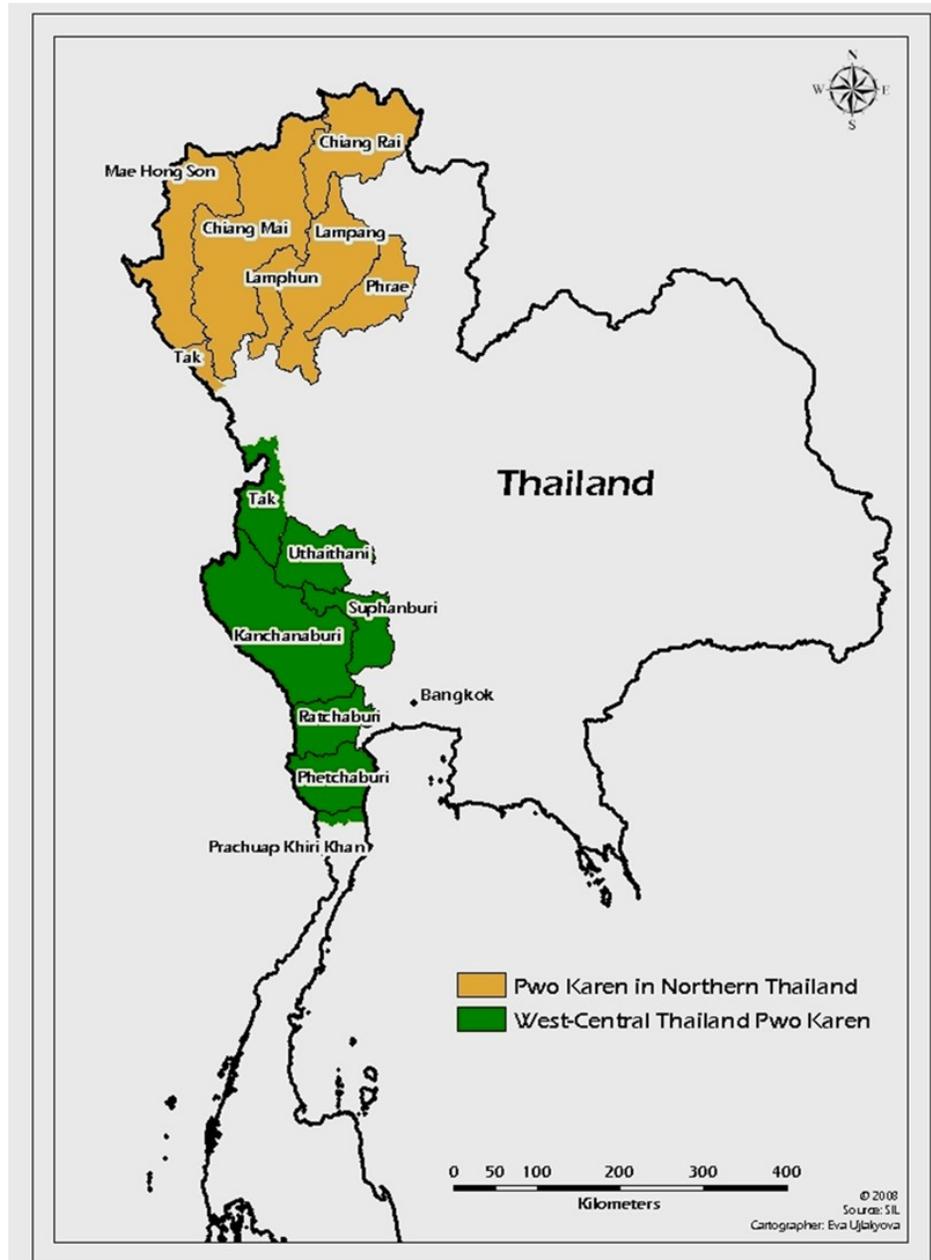


Figure 1.3: *Pwo Karen habitation, by province, in Thailand*

The green-shaded area represents the location of the West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen. The yellow-shaded area represents the location of the Pwo Karen of northern Thailand. The N. Pwo are located in the two western-most northern provinces, Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai.

Pockets of other possibly distinct Pwo Karen languages are located both to the east and the south (Dawkins & Phillips 2009a; Dawkins & Phillips 2009b).

1.2.3 Historical background

According to Renard (1980), the Karen resided in northern Thailand during the 12th and 13th centuries, but then left. By 1802, northern Thailand had been depopulated due to war between the Burmese and the Thai. In order to repopulate northern Thailand, Kawila, the eventual Prince of Chiang Mai, sent his troops to the Zwei Kabin hills of Karen State, Myanmar, to capture and forcibly relocate the Karen to northern Thailand. Kawila treated his new subjects better than the Burmese and voluntary migration continued. Eventually, the Pwo Karen migrated across northern Thailand and still live in pockets of several thousand people in the provinces of Lampang, Lamphun, Phrae, and Chiang Rai. The N. Pwo are the largest group of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand, with a population of 60,000.

1.2.4 People

The majority of the Pwo Karen of Thailand live in villages on both the plains and in the mountains. They raise livestock and plant their own rice, both hill and paddy rice. They also raise cash crops, including fruit, corn, and tomatoes.

In northern Thailand, Pwo Karen married women still wear traditional Pwo Karen attire on a daily basis, while the West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen women wear traditional Pwo Karen dress only on special occasions, such as weddings, funerals, and ordination ceremonies. All of this traditional dress is still woven on backstrap looms, although the Pwo Karen do not produce much of their own thread.

The use of the West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen language is on the wane as parents see the use of Thai exclusively as the way to prosperity. Language vitality is much higher

throughout northern Thailand, where multilingualism is the norm for many speakers, especially those still residing in the villages. Another social pattern that contributes to the continuing use of the language in the north is the tendency for Pwo Karen young people, who have left the village for work, to return to the village in order to marry and raise families. When last asked about the future of Pwo Karen language, speakers across northern Thailand expressed their confidence that Pwo Karen throughout the north would still be spoken in twenty years (Dawkins & Phillips 2009b).

1.3 Phonological inventory and transcription system

All N. Pwo syllables are CV syllables, except for a few enclitics which have no initial consonant. Syllables are of two types: 1) reduced, minor syllables with only /ə/ as the nucleus and no tone and 2) major syllables that make use of the full complement of vowels and consonants, including consonant clusters. Major syllables also carry one of six tones.

The phonemic transcription, which is used for the vernacular examples in this dissertation, is reflected in the consonant, vowel, and tone inventories below. The consonant inventory is displayed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: *N. Pwo consonant phonemes*

	Labial	Dental	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated plosives	p	t	tɕ	k	ʔ
Aspirated plosives	p ^h	t ^h	tɕ ^h	k ^h	
Preglottalized plosives	b	d			
Nasals	m	n	[ɲ]	ŋ	
Fricatives	[f]	s	ɕ	x	h
Trill		[r]			
Approximants	w	l	j	ɰ	

The vowel inventory, which includes both oral and nasal vowels, is listed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: *N. Pwo vowel phonemes*

	Front	Central	Back	Diphthongs
Close	i ĩ	ɨ ɨ̃	u ũ	
Close-mid	e ě	ə ẽ	o õ	
Open-mid	ɛ ẽ	a ã	ɔ õ	ai aĩ au

The tone inventory is listed in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: *N. Pwo tonemes*

Tone name	Transcription
High (45)	/á/
Mid (33)	/a/
Falling (41)	/â/
Low (21)	/à/
Mid checked (33')	/a'/
Falling checked (32')	/â'/

For more information on N. Pwo phonology, see Cooke et al. (1976), an account of the phonology of the Hod variety of N. Pwo, and Phillips (2009), an account of the phonology of the Omkoi variety of N. Pwo.

1.4 Approaches to grounding and referential coherence in the literature

Grounding is concerned with the relative importance of information in discourse, something that is both genre-specific and language-specific, although general patterns can be observed across languages. The treatment of grounding in the literature is covered in §1.4.1. Referential coherence is concerned with the introduction and tracking of participants in discourse and its treatment in the literature is covered in §1.4.2.

1.4.1 Grounding in the literature

In their early work on oral first-person experiential English narrative, Labov and Waletzky (1967), defined *narrative clauses* as those which convey events in temporal sequence as they occurred at the time of the narrative. Furthermore, they specified that it is only independent clauses that are used to carry this sequential information. In contrast, subordinate clauses can occur throughout the narrative without affecting temporal sequence. In other words, they are off the time line and are not used to convey temporally-sequenced narrative.

In the same vein, Grimes (1975) also distinguishes events and non-events. Events occur in temporal sequence, while non-events can be characterized as providing identification, setting, background, collateral, evaluative, and performative information. The introduction and description of participants is the province of identification information, while spatial and temporal circumstances of events are provided by setting information. Background information provides additional information about events, while collateral information communicates possible states of affairs as background to what actually happens. Grimes acquired his ideas for collateral information from Labov (1972), who called this type of information *comparators*. The remaining two types of non-event information concern the narrator's communication within and without the discourse. Evaluative information expresses the narrator's take on the events of the narrative, while performative information expresses the narrator's communication with the listener, such as a statement that the story is at an end.

This distinction between event and non-event information can be indicated in a variety of ways, depending on the particular language. For example, event and non-event information can be correlated with tense-aspect marking patterns, as well as particular markers that occur with the verb, word order differences, and the use of voice constructions (Jones & Jones 1979;

Hopper 1979a; Hopper 1979b). Hopper (1979a; 1979b) was the first to refer to sequential events on the time line as *foreground* and non-events off the time line as *background*. Since the term *background* now refers to all non-event information, Grime's background information has been termed *explanation* (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:81).

As the analysis of grounding progressed, the need for syntax-independent means for distinguishing foreground and background information was made explicit. Using insights from Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Hopper (1979a), Payne (1992) delineated syntax-independent criteria for identifying foreground information. She used Grimes' (1975) guidelines for identifying background information. These guidelines have also been used for identifying N. Pwo foreground and background information in this dissertation.

Concerning the syntactic realization of foreground and background, N. Pwo does not have any grammatical tense, nor is aspectual information required, although it can be signalled by lexical items and particles. Furthermore, neither word order variation nor voice are utilized in N. Pwo grammar. One coding device that N. Pwo does have is clausal nominalization, which figures prominently in the expression of setting information. It is also used to express explanation and collateral information to a lesser extent. As reified entities, clause nominalizations are off the time line, so it is not surprising that they would be used to express background information.

Matisoff (1972), in a seminal article, demonstrated the syncretism of nominalization, relativization, and genitivation, all of which are marked with the nominalizer, *ve*, in Lahu, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Lolo-Burmese subfamily. Moreover, whole clauses can be marked by *ve*, which then go on to function as dependent adverbial clauses or even stand on

their own as non-embedded clauses. Matisoff (1972:246) states that in these independent, *ve*-marked clauses,

“the verbal event is being objectified, reified, viewed as an independent fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects – in short, *nominalized*. It is standing on its own, and is not a constituent of any sentence higher than the one to which it belongs itself.”

Following on Matisoff's work, similar patterns of nominalization have been reported in a range of Asian languages, including those from the Sinitic, Tibeto-Burman, and Austronesian language families, as well as for Iranian, Korean, and Japanese (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011). Furthermore, the possible “nominalizers” have been expanded to include a host of noun phrase markers, namely classifiers, plural markers, demonstratives, and case markers. De Vries (1995) reports that a demonstrative serves as a topic marker of phrases and adverbial clauses in Wambon and some other Papuan languages. He suggests that these demonstratives have two functions: (1) referent identification, a deictic function, and (2) topical cohesion, in which a demonstrative-marked phrase or clause provides a frame for the interpretation of a subsequent clause. The N. Pwo nominalization patterns fit nicely within the Asian nominalization literature, showing that the N. Pwo nominalization strategies are not so unusual after all.

Nevertheless, the function of these nominalizations, including non-embedded clause nominalizations, is not consistent across languages. In fact, Watters (2008:1) comments that “We may have to resign ourselves to the fact that nominalizing structures have carved out different niches in different languages.” As an example, Watters (2002), in his description of narrative patterns in Kham (Tibeto-Burman) reports that 37% of the nominalized verb forms in the narrative are correlated with foreground information. This is not the case for N. Pwo. Kham setting information, however, is coded by nominalized verbs, similar to N. Pwo. Other than

setting information, Kham background material is expressed in the historical present tense. This is also not the case with N. Pwo. Finally, in Kham, non-embedded clause nominalizations are used to code surprising or unexpected (mirative) material, while in N. Pwo, non-embedded clause nominalizations are used to express a desired or prevailing state of affairs in conversation, as well as a prevailing state of affairs in narrative, often at the end of an episode. With these few comparisons, it is not hard to see the wide-ranging functions that clausal nominalizations fulfill across languages. The grounding value of a clause has some bearing on referential coherence patterns, the next topic of discussion.

1.4.2 Referential coherence in the literature

During the 1950s, the field of linguistics tended to ignore phenomena, either syntactic or semantic, beyond the level of the sentence (Harris 1952). However, there were translators who needed to understand how discourse was structured. Some of the first work on participant reference was contained in a paper by James Lorient. Although the paper began circulation in 1958, it was not published until 1970 (Lorient & Hollenbach 1970). Lorient's thesis was that "linguistics goes beyond the domain of individual sentences, and that explicit statements can be made about relations across sentence boundaries." He was influenced by Hockett (1955), Hjelmslev (1953), and, particularly, Jespersen (1924). He also applied the slot-class structure of tagmemics (Pike 1967) to paragraph and text levels.

In addition to the analysis of text into paragraphs and labelling the function of these paragraphs within a text, three subsystems are treated in Lorient and Hollenbach (1970): the ordering of clauses within paragraphs, event-referent ties which track verbs, and object-referent ties which track substantives, or what, today, we call reference tracking. The results are

presented in a series of rules, including the recognition of the relationship between nominal and pronominalized reference.

The idea of reference tracking was more fully developed in Graham and Graham (1966) and Wise (1968). In order to better understand the reference-tracking patterns in Sateré, a Tupian language of Brazil, which has noun, pronominal, and affixal participant reference forms, the Grahams used Lorient's referent tie-tracking approach, along with a charting procedure of character reference ties, which they credit to Mary Ruth Wise. They wanted to know when full nouns were used in discourse, as opposed to the third-person affixes. First, they made a genre distinction between narrative, conversation, and hortatory text. For narrative text, they found that the main character tended to be introduced as a nominal in the first sentence, while other major characters were first introduced as objects, relationals, or possessors. Then, following referent introduction, the subject referent was encoded by a subject affix on the verb, which continued until another character appeared in the subject position. They also found that paragraph breaks had an effect on the form of reference: subject reference could either be nominal or pronominal, but not affixal in the first sentence of a new paragraph. Finally, they found that temporal expressions occurred in the first sentence of the narrative or at the beginning of paragraphs.

Wise (1968), in her study of participant reference in Nomatsiguenga, an Arawakan language of Peru, found that the plot of the events, the observer's (speaker's) viewpoint, and the socio-cultural context controlled the forms used to refer to participants. She also found that paragraph and chapter units affected participant reference, which she tested with an illiterate speaker, who indicated where the story "changes a little" (a paragraph) or where it was "almost another story" (a chapter). The effect of the plot on participant reference was seen in

the order in which participants are conventionally introduced. For the Nomatsiguenga, it is the villain who is introduced first. Furthermore, it is the main participant of the plot that must be the first participant introduced by a noun in a Nomatsiguenga narrative. The effect of the observer's viewpoint or focus of attention was seen in the form of participant reference and even in clause type. For example, in Nomatsiguenga, the subject of a passive construction always refers to the main participant in the story and indicates the non-involvement of the speaker. Finally, Wise found that the socio-cultural setting, namely, the social roles of the participants, had a bearing on the forms of participant reference. For example, one narrator referred to his wife as 'the mother of my daughter', which Wise took to reflect the matrilineal residence social organization of the Nomatsiguenga.

The observations of Lorient (Lorient & Hollenbach 1970), the Grahams (1966), and Wise (1968) on the effects of meaning (plot, observer's viewpoint, socio-cultural setting) and structure (paragraph and chapter) on participant reference came about as the result of the careful study of each language on its own terms, without theoretical restrictions on the unit of study (i.e. the sentence). Since their investigations were about actual human language behaviour, it is not surprising that other researchers were seeing similar phenomena during this period. Bridgeman (1966) described the oral paragraph types in Kaiwa (Guarani), a language of Brazil, while Cromack (1968) looked at the discourse structure of Cashinawa, a Panoan language of Peru and Brazil, observing the effects of attention focus (Wise's observer's viewpoint) and its relationship to topicalization. Cantrall (1969) also observed the effects of attention focus in English, which he labelled *viewpoint*.

Grimes (1975) represents a further refinement and expansion of the previous findings, based on a series of field workshops that he conducted in Brazil, Papua New Guinea, the

Philippines, the United States, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, and Ghana, with funding from the United States National Science Foundation. At this early stage of discourse studies, over 40 years ago, the division between given vs. new information was posited, as well as distinctions between primary, secondary, and tertiary participants, in terms of their introduction and maintenance in text. Moreover, pronominal systems were deemed to be of two types: the *English type*, where a pronoun typically refers to the nearest prior referent, and *thematic systems*, such as Bacairí of Brazil (Wheatley 1973) and Longuda of Nigeria (Newman 1978), in which the paragraph topic (the most important participant in a stretch of discourse) is referenced by pronouns from a special set, regardless of previous mention. The former type is regarded as more syntactic while the latter is more semantic and under speaker control. The N. Pwo personal pronoun inventory is yet another example of a thematic pronominal system. The semantic motivations for this type of system reside in the notions of *attention flow* and *viewpoint*.

The N. Pwo pronominal system is characterized as an empathy-based split-ergative system. In an empathy-based system, nominative-accusative pronouns are used for first- and second-person referents, who, as speech-act participants (SAPs), are at the deictic centre. Otherwise, the third-person pronouns, including both the ergative and absolutive pronouns, are used to code third-person participants, who are outside of the deictic centre. To account for split-ergative systems, DeLancey (1981) uses two psychological notions: *attention flow* and *viewpoint*. Another term for attention flow is *starting point*, which is used by both MacWhinney (1977) and Langacker (1991). In general, the starting point of an event is the first NP in a sentence. If there is pre-clause nominal reference, it is the starting point, otherwise the subject is the starting point. A typical starting point tends to be a human actor acting agentively.

DeLancey (1981:1) defines viewpoint as “the perspective from which the speaker describes the event.” A speaker can be just the narrator of the event, with no direct involvement, or directly involved as a participant in the event. This speaker perspective is what Wise (1968) called *observer’s viewpoint*, while Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987) have called the same notion *empathy*. The unmarked pattern is for the starting point and the locus of speaker empathy to coincide. However, when this natural coincidence and order is upset, such as when a non-SAP participant is the actor or when a non-human participant is acting on a human patient, special coding patterns can come into play, whether through case-marking, direct-inverse marking, or the use of different pronouns, as in N. Pwo.

In their account of empathy, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987) posit several semi-independent empathy hierarchies, all of which are concerned with the entity that a speaker is most likely to identify with. Three of these hierarchies that are relevant to N. Pwo are listed in Figure 1.4.

Speaker > Hearer > Third-person
Human > Animate Non-human > Thing
Discourse-topic > Non-topic

Figure 1.4: *Empathy hierarchies (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987)*

The split in the N. Pwo pronoun system between nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive forms is based on the difference between speech-act participants (speaker and hearer) and third-person participants. Moreover, human participants are typically the highest ranked participants in a narrative, in terms of their importance. Those human participants are the most likely to serve as the discourse topic of a stretch of discourse. A discourse topic is the participant that the speaker wants to talk about, the one who has the speaker’s empathy.

Another term for discourse topic is *local theme*, which is what a paragraph or span of discourse is about, while a *global theme* is what the larger narrative is about, as expressed in a proposition (van Dijk 1977). A wide range of languages have been shown to be differentially sensitive to local and global themes. For example, the pronominal system of Bacairí, a language of Brazil, makes a distinction between thematic and non-thematic third-person participants (Wheatley 1973). This is also true for N. Pwo.

Even English is sensitive to the difference between local and global themes. Kim (1993) explored the effect of local theme, global theme, and previous mention on subject choice in English using an online data collection protocol involving narrative production. In this protocol, experimental subjects were asked to tell one of two stories based on twelve pictures about a blind date. Half of the subjects were asked to tell the story from John's perspective, with John as the global theme, as expressed in the title, "How John's blind date ended in a total disaster." The other half were asked to tell the story from Mary's perspective, with Mary as the global theme, as expressed in the title, "How Mary's blind date ended in a total disaster." In this study, the global theme was defined as either "the thematic proposition which the narrative is about based on the provided title, or the referent who is associated with the thematic proposition (Kim 1993:60)." A local theme was defined as "the most salient referent in each picture" – the one doing the most at each juncture in the story (Kim 1993:61). The results showed that the local theme participant had the greatest chance of being the subject in event clauses within a span of discourse, while the global theme referent was used to organize the whole narrative, especially in non-event clauses occurring in the introduction, climax, and conclusion of the narrative. Kim (2002) ran this experiment with Korean speakers with similar results.

The relative importance of a participant in a narrative directly impacts the likelihood of that participant serving as a local theme, as well as influencing the way in which that participant is coded. In other words, not all participants are created equal. Wise and Lowe (1972) first distinguished the discourse roles of initiator, helper, ground, and prop; roles that a participant held throughout the discourse. The initiator and helper were the actors in the story, while the ground included the location of the actions, and props were the entities that were manipulated. These discourse roles were distinguished from semantic or thematic roles within the clause. The characterization of participant rank has subsequently been simplified to major, minor, and prop participants (Longacre 1995; Hwang 2009). Major participants are active throughout the story and can be sub-divided into central and non-central participants. Minor participants play a limited role in the story, while props are entities that are acted upon, whether human or non-human. In N. Pwo, both major and minor participants are eligible for local theme or thematic status, although it is more typical for a major participant to be a local theme. Props can never be a local theme.

Returning to the N. Pwo personal pronoun inventory, it is not as straightforward as it might appear. This is especially true for third-person reference. First, the ergative pronoun is not used for ongoing third-person subject reference, which means that it does not occur with all transitive predicates. In fact, it even occurs with some intransitive predicates. In this sense, the ergative pronoun appears to be optional and under the control of the speaker. This pattern of behaviour is similar to the phenomenon of optional ergative marking that has been described for ergative systems throughout the Tibeto-Burman language family. DeLancey (2011:9) characterizes Tibeto-Burman ergativity as follows:

“the prevalent “alignment” is a “pragmatic ergative” pattern in which a case marker is optionally present on A and some S arguments of the clause. The “optional” presence of the ergative marking is determined by semantic factors, especially agentivity and perfectivity, and pragmatic factors, particularly contrast.”

N. Pwo ergativity, as expressed in its third-person pronouns, behaves in a similar fashion. Both the ergative pronoun and the third-person accusative pronoun are used to help the listener keep track of the thematic participant, while the third-person absolutive pronoun is used, optionally, to refer to non-thematic participants and props.

Optional case marking is not just a Tibeto-Burman phenomenon. It has also been reported for ergative languages of Australia and New Guinea (McGregor 2010). McGregor (2010:1610) defines optional case marking as a “situation in which, in specifiable lexical or grammatical environments, a case marking morpheme (inflectional affix, clitic, or adposition) may be either present or absent from an NP of a specifiable type without affecting the grammatical role borne by that NP.” McGregor (2010) advances two semantic notions to account for optional ergative marking. The first, *prominence*, could be realized as unexpectedness, indicating a participant other than the protagonist, contrastive focus, definiteness, or the agentivity or potency of a referent. The second notion, *backgrounded*, is concerned with the non-use of ergative marking. Entities that are not marked by the ergative would be expected to be topical, predictable, definite, and low in agentivity, depending on the language. Nevertheless, McGregor (2010:1624) acknowledges that “predictability of use vs. non-use of the ergative marker will always be at best partial and probabilistic.”

Based on the patterns of optional pronoun use observed in N. Pwo, it might be possible to improve upon the predictability of optional case marking by considering at least two additional

factors. The first is the grounding values of propositions. For example, the subjects of event clauses are, by far, the most likely to be coded by an ergative pronoun as opposed to the subjects of non-event clauses. Furthermore, the ranking of participants in a narrative also has an effect. In N. Pwo, major and minor participants can function as a local theme, which makes them eligible for coding by the ergative and/or the third-person accusative pronoun. However, props are never referenced by the ergative pronoun.

Finally, Givón makes a distinction between anaphoric and cataphoric reference. Anaphoric reference “instructs the hearer how to locate the referent within his/her mental representation” while cataphoric reference indicates “the referent’s *importance* in the subsequent discourse” (Givón 2001b:254). In N. Pwo, pre-clause reference and the ergative pronoun, in partnership with the third-person accusative pronoun, are used for cataphoric reference, while the SAP pronouns, zero, and the third-person absolutive pronoun are used for anaphoric reference.

To summarize, speaker viewpoint or empathy figures in the person-split between speech-act participants and third-persons in the N. Pwo empathy-based split-ergative system. Speaker viewpoint also interacts with thematicity. In third-person contexts, both the ergative pronoun, $\text{ʔə} = w\acute{e}$, and the third-person accusative pronoun, $= \acute{a}$, are used to refer to thematic referents. The ergative pronoun is used to signal a change in local theme, or a continuing local theme after a one-or-two proposition reference to a non-thematic participant or after the thematic participant has been acted upon. When a thematic participant is acted upon, they are referenced by the third-person accusative pronoun, which serves as a reminder of the identity of the thematic participant in the current span of discourse.

Other factors that contribute to referential coherence patterns in N. Pwo include the grounding values of propositions; local theme reference by the ergative pronoun typically

appears in foreground clauses and only rarely in background clauses. Furthermore, the relative rank of participants in narrative also determines their eligibility for local theme status; major participants are the most likely local themes, although a minor participant can serve as a local theme on occasion. Props can never serve as local themes.

1.5 Contributions, limitations, and composition of this study

To reiterate, the purpose of this dissertation is to account for grounding and referential coherence in N. Pwo narrative as reflected in nominal, pronominal, and nominalization patterns. Specifically, the goal is to determine how grounding values are expressed and how clausal nominalizations are used to indicate the grounding value of a proposition. Then, for referential coherence, the focus is on predicting the occurrence of noun phrase, pronoun, and zero reference to participants in narrative.

As for the significance of this dissertation, currently, both nominalization and optional case marking are important topics in the literature (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011; McGregor 2010). This dissertation contributes to the understanding of the function of nominalization in narrative, both lexical and clausal, and especially non-embedded clausal nominalization. As for optional case marking, N. Pwo, with its case-carrying personal pronouns and isolating typology, presents a unique opportunity to study case-marking in a focused manner, without the need to contend with inflectional marking on either nouns or verbs. Furthermore, the use of corpus techniques makes possible the testing of hypotheses with a relatively large amount of textual data. It is possible that the techniques used in this dissertation will prove useful for others studying similar phenomena in other largely undescribed languages. Finally, this dissertation represents the first extensive grammatical description of the N. Pwo Karen language.

The focus of this dissertation has been limited to narrative. There are several reasons for this restricted attention. First, patterns of grounding are genre-specific, as well as language-specific. Consequently, researchers have been careful to identify the genre that they are studying (Khalil 2000), in order to avoid overstating any conclusions. Another consideration is that the complexity of the N. Pwo personal pronoun system resides in its third-person pronouns. Since those pronouns are optional, narrative was deemed the best way to ensure that there were sufficient tokens of the third-person pronouns for a corpus study.

The remainder of this dissertation begins with a morpho-syntactic overview of N. Pwo in Chapter 2, which is followed by the methodology employed in the dissertation in Chapter 3. The analysis chapters of the dissertation begin with an analysis of grounding in N. Pwo narrative, including an account of the function of non-embedded clausal nominalizations in Chapter 4. The study of referential coherence encompasses two chapters: Chapter 5 lays the groundwork for the account of referential coherence in N. Pwo narrative given in Chapter 6. The dissertation ends with discussion and conclusion in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2

Morpho-syntactic sketch of Northern Pwo Karen

2.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of this dissertation is to account for the use of nominals to indicate grounding values and referential coherence in N. Pwo Karen narrative discourse. As background to this overall study, this chapter provides a morpho-syntactic overview of N. Pwo simple, complex, and nominalization constructions. However, before describing these constructions, N. Pwo typological characteristics, in reference to Tibeto-Burman (TB) and Mainland Southeast Asian (MSEA) languages are considered (§2.1.1), followed by a review of the relevant Tibeto-Burman literature (§2.1.2). This section ends, in §2.1.3, with some typological conventions, definitions, and an outline of the chapter.

2.1.1 N. Pwo, Tibeto-Burman, and Mainland Southeast Asian language typology

N. Pwo typology reflects both its Tibeto-Burman roots and its Mainland Southeast Asian context. MSEA languages come from five language families: Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai, Austronesian, Hmong-Mien, and Sino-Tibetan, which includes Tibeto-Burman languages. N. Pwo, in common with other MSEA languages, is an isolating language with no inflectional morphology. Verbs are not marked for tense or aspect and nouns are unmarked for case, number, or gender. Multi-verb predicates are typical, with verbs often recruited to supply grammatical information within the predicate and at the clause level. Grammaticalization and polysemy are widespread. For example, the verb *kemá* ‘give’ is used for causative constructions and the verb *uɰ̂* ‘finish’ is used for expressing completive aspect. Moreover, both subject and object elision, or zero anaphora, is common, along with a rich inventory of numeral classifiers.

Elaborate expressions (four-syllable reduplication/rhyming expressions) and ideophones (onomatopoeic expressions) are also common.

Phonologically, N. Pwo, like other MSEA languages, features an iambic stress pattern in disyllables, in which the initial syllable is reduced. N. Pwo has an extensive clitic inventory; most of the N. Pwo personal pronouns and all of the possessive determiners are proclitics, while the third-person accusative pronoun and several final particles are enclitics.

Reflecting its Tibeto-Burman heritage, the personal pronoun inventory is a split-ergative case system based on person, with both an optional ergative pronoun and differential object pronouns in third-person contexts. Finally, like other TB languages, N. Pwo makes extensive use of nominalizations, both lexical and clausal, including stand-alone or non-embedded clausal nominalizations.

Unlike most TB languages, which are verb-final with variable ordering, N. Pwo word order follows a rigid SVO pattern. Phrase structure for both predicates and noun phrases is head-medial, and indirect and oblique arguments are expressed as prepositional phrases. Apposition of nominals within noun phrases and clause nominalizations are also common. Moreover, a small inventory of constructions serve multiple functions, yielding related groups of constructions which differ by their context of use.

2.1.2 Tibeto-Burman literature

The *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 3 (Grierson 1903-1928)* was an early landmark in Tibeto-Burman language studies. This was followed several decades later by *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (Shafer 1966-67), a compilation of the research and writing of missionaries and colonial administrators throughout Asia. Shafer's assistant, Paul K. Benedict, used the same database to produce an unpublished manuscript, *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* (1941). When a

revised and annotated version was finally published (Benedict 1972), it included a fairly substantial section on Karenic languages.

Pertinent for this dissertation are TB nominalization patterns and their use in discourse, as well as split-ergativity patterns of participant reference. Matisoff (1972) was the first to demonstrate the relationship between nominalization, genitivization, and relativization, which, in Lahu (Tibeto-Burman, Lolo-Burmese), are all marked by the particle *ve*. Thirty years later, DeLancey (2002:55) credits nominalization and verb serialization, along with SOV word order and the agglutination pattern of TB languages, as the drivers of “the synchronic syntactic organization and diachronic tendencies” of Tibeto-Burman languages. Of course, N. Pwo does not have either SOV word order or agglutinating morphology; however, this in no way dampens the primacy of both verb serialization and nominalization in N. Pwo syntactic and discourse structure.

Works on Tibeto-Burman nominalization have been abundant in recent years (Bickel 1999; Watters 2008; Genetti et al. 2008; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011), including the use of nominalized clauses in discourse, one focus of this dissertation (Bickel 1999; Watters 2008). As for split-ergativity patterns and the signalling of participant rank within discourse, another focus of this dissertation, the work of DeLancey (1981; 2011) and its application by Ebert (1987) have been especially insightful.

Concerning Karenic languages, the amount of linguistic work is growing. Jones (1961) represents some of the first phonological descriptions of the Sgaw, Pwo, Pa-o, and Palaychi, Karen languages of Myanmar, including a grammatical description of Sgaw Karen. Solnit (1997) describes the grammar of Eastern Kayah Li, a Central Karenic language. Kato (2004) is a grammatical description of Eastern Pwo Karen, of Myanmar. While much of Kato’s work is in

Japanese, he has also produced a number of papers on Pwo Karen grammar in English which have informed this dissertation, such as a study of two types of causative constructions (Kato 1999) and a general description of Pwo Karen (Kato 2003). Finally, the most recent major grammatical description of a Karenic language is Manson (2010), a description of Kayan, a Central Karenic language.

2.1.3 Typographical conventions and definitions

Before launching into this constructional overview of N. Pwo morpho-syntax, several typographical conventions are in order. N. Pwo has an extensive inventory of clitics which include personal pronouns, possessive determiners, a numeral, nominalizer, and final particles. Owing to their phonological dependence but syntactic independence I have chosen to show some clitics attached to their hosts, while other clitics are treated as independent syntactic units. For both possessive determiners, as in $nə = k^hu$ ‘your head’, and the nominalizer, $t^hə = \text{‘NMLZ}_{\text{thing}}\text{’}$, as in $t^hə = p^h\hat{a}$ ‘brightness’, the result is a unit that can act as an argument, so possessive determiner and nominalizer clitics are shown attached to their hosts. Personal pronouns, both proclitics and enclitics, are treated as independent syntactic units since they refer to arguments of the predicate. Of the numerals, only the numeral $lə =$ ‘one’ is a clitic while the other numerals are phonologically independent, so all numerals are consequently treated as independent syntactic units. Finally, both the irrealis marker, $mə =$, and the negation marker, $lə =$, are shown independent of their hosts since they do not necessarily form a unit with the predicate.

Since N. Pwo is a strict SVO word order language, the argument that directly precedes the predicate is designated the *subject*, while the argument that directly follows the predicate, in a ditransitive clause, is designated the *indirect object*. The argument that follows the indirect

object is designated the *direct object*.¹ These designations are based solely on the position of these core arguments in relation to the predicate, as illustrated in (1).

(1) **Field notes 3.56.9²**

tɕə = kemá p^hlô lə = uɣê nɔ ʔə = tɕî
 I.NOM give person one CL.human that 3.POSS = money

Lit. ‘I give person, one human, that, their money.’

‘I gave that person their money.’

In (1), the subject of the clause is coded by the first-person nominative proclitic, *tɕə =*. Then, the indirect object, *p^hlô lə uɣê nɔ* ‘that person’, directly follows the predicate, *kemá* ‘give’.

Finally, the direct object, *ʔə = tɕî* ‘his money’, follows the indirect object.

The remainder of this morpho-syntactic overview considers, in more detail, simple argument constructions (§2.2), clause constructions which contain a single predicate (§2.3), existence, copula, and verbless constructions (§2.4), the elaborate expression construction (§2.5), and sentence constructions which encompass at least two clauses (§2.6). Then, lexical nominalization constructions are described in §2.8 and clausal nominalizations are described in §2.9. The chapter ends with a summary of all of these constructions in §2.10.

¹These core argument positions have been named with grammatical relation terms in order to facilitate the discussion of both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive pronouns. For subject referents, especially, there is no consistent semantic role that is represented. Therefore, no attempt is made to associate semantic roles with the subject position. The object arguments show a more consistent set of semantic roles, which are noted in the discussion that follows.

²The language examples throughout the dissertation come from several sources, which are identified differently. Examples from a set of published traditional narratives are referenced as *Folktale 6.12*. The first number refers to the number of the folktale, while the second number identifies the line within the folktale. As for some narratives collected in April 2014, they are referenced as *F4 Folktale 12*. F4 refers to the narrator, in this case the fourth female narrator, and 12 refers to the line in the folktale. Other stories are identified by narrator or topic and line, such as *Mai 24*, the 24th line of Mai’s story or *Courting 30*, the 30th line of the *Courting* story. Finally, elicited material is identified as *Field notes* with the date or notebook number, page, and line.

2.2 Simple argument constructions

In N. Pwo discourse, the three simple argument constructions are noun phrases, pronouns, and prepositional phrases. Noun phrases are covered in §2.2.1, followed by the pronoun inventory in §2.2.2, and then prepositional phrases in §2.2.3.

2.2.1 Noun phrase constructions

The N. Pwo simple noun phrase consists of an obligatory noun head, with optional elements preceding and following it, as diagrammed in (2).

(2) **N. Pwo simple noun phrase construction**

(Poss) + Head + (Modifier(s)) + (Quantifier) + (Classifier) + (Demonstrative)

As shown in (2), the noun head can be optionally preceded by a Possessor, which can be a noun phrase and/or a possessive determiner. The noun head can be optionally followed by a descriptive modifier (appositional noun or stative verb), quantifier (numeral or quantifying word), numeral classifier, and/or a demonstrative (proximal, medial, or distal), as illustrated in (3).

(3) **Folktale 7.27b**

[*t^hu'* pōlō lə = dī^h ŋi]_{NP} li p^hɿ [xâi']_{NP} wai'
pig be.round one CL.body this go cut.away field immediately

Lit. 'Pig round, one body this, go cut.away field immediately.'

'This round pig went and cleared the field immediately.'

In (3), the subject noun phrase consists of the head noun, *t^hu'* 'pig', followed by the stative verb modifier, *pōlō* 'be.round'; classifier phrase, *lə = dī^h* 'one CL.body'; and the proximal demonstrative, *ŋi* 'this'. In contrast, the direct object noun phrase, *xâi'* 'field', consists of just the noun head.

A noun head with a noun phrase modifier is illustrated in (4).

(4) **Folktale 1.54**

[*p^hlô* *dá

hup^hê* *k^hí* *uɣê* *ɔ̃*]_{NP} *tçè* *tçî* *lau*
person father.and.child two CL.human this use money exhaust

Lit. 'Person, father and child, two humans, this use money exhaust.'

'These two people, father and child, used up the money.'

In (4), the schematic noun head, *p^hlô* 'person', is modified by the compound noun, *dá

hup^hê* 'father.and.child', which is in apposition to the noun head and provides more detail about the person referenced by the noun head. Contrast this pattern with the possessive noun phrase in (5).

(5) **Folktale 52.49**

kəsámâ *p^huk^hwé* *mínâ* *mímε* *wé*
rich.man son lie.down sleep.soundly 3.ABS

Lit. 'Rich man's son lay down sleep soundly him.'

'As for the rich man's son, he lay down and slept soundly.'

In (5), the possessive construction, *kəsámâ p^huk^hwé* 'rich man's son', consists of the head, *p^huk^hwé* 'son', which is preceded by the possessor noun phrase *kəsámâ* 'rich.man'.

To summarize, the simple noun phrase consists of an obligatory phrase-medial head, which can be preceded by a possessor and followed by modifier(s), a quantifier, classifier, and/or a demonstrative. Pronominal possession, as indicated by a possessive determiner, is covered in the next section on pronouns and determiners.

2.2.2 Pronouns and determiners

The N. Pwo pronoun inventory includes personal (§2.2.2.1), possessive (§2.2.2.2), and demonstrative pronouns (§2.2.2.3), along with possessive determiners (§2.2.2.4). The discussion begins with the personal pronoun inventory.

2.2.2.1 Personal pronouns

The N. Pwo personal pronouns reflect a split-ergative system based on person, with a split between first and second person speech act participants (SAPs) and third-person participants, which is illustrated in Figure 2.1.³

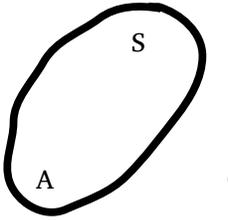
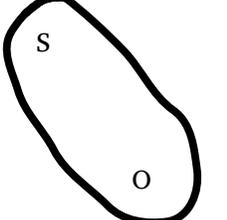
Speech act participants (SAPs) (1 st and 2 nd person)	Non-speech act participant (3 rd person)
	
Nominative-Accusative	Ergative-Absolutive

Figure 2.1: *N. Pwo split-ergative personal pronoun system*

In a person-based split-ergative system, the first and second-person subject referents of both intransitive (S) and transitive (A) clauses are coded in the same way, while the object referent (O) is coded differently; this is the nominative-accusative part of the mixed system. In contrast, third-person S and O arguments are coded the same, while the A argument is coded differently; this is the ergative-absolutive part of the mixed system.⁴

The N. Pwo personal pronouns are listed in Table 2.1.

³My thanks to Nathan Straub for the diagram suggestion.

⁴Dixon's (2010a) argument designations, S (Intransitive subject), A (Transitive subject), and O (Object), are used to facilitate the discussion; no meaning beyond the identification of arguments in relation to predicate transitivity should be assumed.

Table 2.1: *The N. Pwo split-ergative personal pronoun system*

	Nominative		Accusative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>tɕə=</i>	<i>kə=</i>	<i>jê</i>	<i>xə</i>
2nd person	<i>nə=</i>	<i>nə= sɨ́</i>	<i>nê</i>	<i>nə= sɨ́</i>
3rd person	—	—		<i>= â'</i>
	Ergative		Absolutive	
	Singular	Plural		
3rd person	<i>ʔə= wé</i>	<i>ʔə= sɨ́ (wé)</i>	<i>wé</i>	

All of the nominative pronouns are proclitics, except for the second-person nominative plural form, *nə= sɨ́*, which is composed of the second-person nominative proclitic, *nə=*, and its host, the plural marker *sɨ́*. This form is also used for the second-person plural accusative pronoun.

The ergative pronoun, *ʔə= wé*, is composed of the third-person possessive determiner, *ʔə=*, and the absolutive form, *wé*. For the plural ergative form, the third-person possessive determiner attaches to the plural marker, *sɨ́*, and is optionally followed by the absolutive form, *wé*.

Considering the nominative-accusative patterning with speech act participants, the same coding of S and A arguments as opposed to the O argument is illustrated in (6) and (7).

(6) **Folktale 14.112**

tɕôp^huxwi tɕâi' ʔe' wé [ʔâ tɕə= mə= lî lə= uɣê lɔ́]_{DQ}
 male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS Ah! 1.NOM IRR go one CL.human EMPH

Lit. 'Male orphan say to him, "Ah! I will go one human!"'

'Orphan said to him, "Ah! I will go alone!"'

In (6), the S argument of *lî* 'go', in the direct quote, is expressed by *tɕə=* '1.NOM'. Compare this to the expression of the A and O arguments in (7).

(7) **Folktale 15.161**

tɕôp^huxwi tɕâi' ʔe' wé lû uɣô k^ho' [tɕə = mə = mɛsɨ́ nɛ́]_{DQ}
male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS at CL.morning later 1.NOM IRR kill 2.ACC

Lit. 'Male orphan say to him, "At morning later, I will kill you."'

'Orphan said to him, "In the morning, I will kill you."'

As with the S reference in (6), the A argument of *mɛsɨ́* 'kill', is also encoded by *tɕə =* '1.NOM', while the O argument is encoded by *nɛ́* '2.ACC'.

In contrast, for the ergative-absolutive pattern, S and O arguments are coded the same in opposition to the A argument, as illustrated in (8) and (9).

(8) **F4 Folktale 56**

[ʔə = p^hɨ́ k^hɛnɛ k^hɛnɛ = á']_{CL1} [lɨ́ wé wai']_{CL2}
3.POSS = grandmother coerce coerce 3.ACC go 3.ABS immediately

Lit. 'His grandmother coerced and coerced him and went him immediately.'

'His grandmother coerced him and he went.'

In (8), in the second conjunct of the asyndetically coordinated clauses, which are juxtaposed with no overt conjunction, the S argument of *lɨ́* 'go' is coded by *wé* '3.ABS', which follows the predicate. Compare this with the A argument of a transitive predicate, in (9).

(9) **Folktale 15.129e**

ʔə = wé mə = mɛsɨ́ jɛ́
3.ERG IRR kill 1.ACC

Lit. 'He would kill me.'

'He will kill me.'

In (9), the A argument is coded by *ʔə = wé* '3.ERG', which precedes the predicate.

The preceding account of the split-ergative pronoun system is only an introduction to these pronouns. Their function in narrative will be examined in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Cross-linguistically, person-based split-ergative systems, with a distinction between first and second-person speech act participants and third-person referents are attested in other Tibeto-

Burman languages (Bauman 1975; DeLancey 1981; Ebert 1987), as well as in Australian and N. American languages (Silverstein 1976). This difference in the treatment of speech act participants and other participants is also reflected in the N. Pwo possessive pronouns.

2.2.2.2 Possessive pronouns

In addition to the personal pronouns, N. Pwo has a set of first- and second-person possessive pronouns, which are listed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: *The N. Pwo possessive pronouns*

Possessive Pronouns		
	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>jí</i>	<i>kə = wé</i>
2 nd person	<i>ní</i>	

Possessive pronouns are only available for first- and second-person referents. Furthermore, a number distinction is only possible in the first person. The second-person possessive pronoun, *ní*, is illustrated in (10).

(10) **Folktale 3.123c⁵**

[*tçə = xâtçə = xò dí k^hlí sá b^h sá ʔí*]_{CS} *mə = ke t^hâi*
 1.POSS = possessions and boat three CL.line this IRR be_{be.able} return
*[ní]*_{CC} *dε lau' pa' l^h*
 yours de exhaust complete EMPH

Lit. ‘Our possessions and boats, three line, this will be return yours exhaust complete!’

‘All of our wealth and these three boats will become yours completely.’

In (10), *ní* fills the copula complement position in a transfer construction following the predicate, *mə ke t^hâi* ‘would be return’.⁶ These pronouns also appear in the pre-clause position.

⁵The particle *dε* seems to serve some kind of intensifying function, although “intensifier” does not do it justice. It can occur with pronouns, prepositions, and some verbs. Since it occurs with both nominal and verbal elements, its analysis has not been pursued for this dissertation. Therefore, it is glossed as ‘dε’ throughout the dissertation.

⁶Copula constructions are described in §2.4.2.

This use will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6. The last pronoun type to be discussed is demonstrative pronouns.

2.2.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The N. Pwo demonstrative pronouns, which have the same form as demonstrative modifiers in noun phrases, are listed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: *The N. Pwo demonstrative pronouns*

Demonstrative Pronouns	
Proximal	<i>jô/ʔî</i>
Medial	<i>nɔ</i>
Distal	<i>ʔî</i>

Other Pwo Karen languages, namely Western and Eastern Pwo Karen, in Myanmar, and West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen, in Thailand, have only one proximal demonstrative form which is cognate with N. Pwo *jô*. The other N. Pwo proximal demonstrative form, *ʔî*, is borrowed from Sgaw Karen, a related Karenic language. No functional difference has, as yet, been discovered between them.

The behaviour of the demonstrative pronoun, *ʔî* ‘this’, is illustrated in (11).

(11) **Folktale 8.85**

[*kəmĩ ne ʔe' wé*]_{MC} [*ʔî mɔ̀ jí dɛ*]_{DQ}
 girl point DAT 3.ABS **this** EMPH mine dɛ

Lit. ‘The girl pointed to them (fish), “These (are) mine.”’

‘The girl pointed to them (fish), “These are mine.”’

In (11), the direct quote, *ʔî mɔ̀ jí dɛ* ‘these are mine’, is a verbless construction which consists of two juxtaposed nominals. The first nominal is coded by the demonstrative pronoun, *ʔî* ‘this’, which is followed by the emphasis particle, *mɔ̀*. The second nominal is coded by the possessive

pronoun *jí* ‘mine’ with the particle *dɛ*. This construction is used to assert ownership of some fish that are proximal to the speaker. Possession can also be expressed by possessive determiners.

2.2.2.4 Possessive determiners

The N. Pwo possessive determiners have the same form as the nominative personal pronouns, except for the third-person possessive determiner, *ʔə =*. Benedict (1972:130) firmly identifies Karenic *ʔə =* with the Proto Tibeto-Burman third-person pronoun, **a*. Across Tibeto-Burman languages, this form can function as an independent third-person pronoun, a possessive determiner, and a nominalizer (Benedict 1972:121–122). In N. Pwo, it functions as a possessive determiner and as a nominalizer with a possessive flavour. All of the possessive determiners are listed in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: *N. Pwo possessive determiners*

Possessive Determiners		
	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>tɕə =</i>	<i>kə =</i>
2 nd person	<i>nə =</i>	<i>nə = sɿ́</i>
3 rd person		<i>ʔə =</i>

Except for *nə = sɿ́* ‘2.PL.POSS’, all of the other possessive determiners are proclitics which attach to a nominal and refer to its possessor, as diagrammed in (12).

(12) Possessive determiner construction

Possessive.determiner = Possessee

The possessive determiner construction, diagrammed in (12), is illustrated in (13).

(13) Folktale 4.137

nə = mɿ́ɕɛ̀ *l̥* *∅* *lə =* *me'* *nə = wɛ̀* *bɛ*
 2.POSS = parent-in-law EMPH 3.SUBJ NEG be.true 2.POSS = husband NEG

Lit. “Your parent-in-law! (He) not be true your husband not.”

“Your in-law is not your husband!”

In (13), the two noun phrases, $nə = mîçê$ ‘your parent-in-law’ and $nə = wê$ ‘your husband’, consist of the possessee noun heads, $mîçê$ ‘parent-in-law’ and $wê$ ‘husband’, with the possessive determiner, $nə =$ ‘2.POSS’, attached.

While the possessive determiner construction can occur with first, second, and third-person possessive determiners, it is only $?ə =$ ‘3.POSS’ which can occur attached to its possessee host in a topic possessive construction, which is diagrammed in (14).

(14) Topic possessive construction

Possessor $?ə =$ Possessee

The appositive construction, in (14), consists of the possessee head, serving as host to $?ə =$ ‘3.POSS’. This is preceded by the co-referential possessor noun phrase. This pattern of appositive topic possession is also found in other TB languages. For example, Aimol (Kamarupan) $rəmai$ ‘tail’, $rul ərmai$ ‘snake its-tail’ and Bahing (Himilayish) $biŋ əta-mi$ ‘calf (‘cow its-child’)', both cited in Benedict (1972:121). A N. Pwo example is shown in (15).

(15) Folktale 12.298b

$p^h l̥o$ $tçâi'$ $?e'$ $= \hat{a}'$ $kəsámâ$ $?ə = ma'$ $?o$ $t^h \hat{a}'$ $k^h ó$
 person say DAT 3.ACC **rich.man** **3.POSS = son-in-law** exist upper CL.part
 $jô$ $l̥$
 this EMPH

Lit. ‘Person say to him, “The rich man, his son-in-law, exists upper part this!”’
 ‘People said to him, “The rich man’s son-in-law lives in this upper part!”’

In (15), the topic possessive construction, $kəsámâ ?ə = ma'$ ‘rich man’s son-in-law’, is headed by the possessee, ma' ‘son-in-law’, to which $?ə =$ ‘3.POSS’ is attached. The possessive determiner is co-referential with the preceding possessor NP, $kəsámâ$ ‘rich man’. This same appositive construction is illustrated with the third-person absolutive pronoun, $wé$, representing the possessor, in (16).

(16) **M5 Folktale 45**

kəsámâ ʔãtʰã =â' lú ke wé ʔə=ma'
rich.man ask 3.ACC at be 3.ABS 3.POSS = son-in-law

Lit. 'Rich man ask him to be him his son-in-law.'

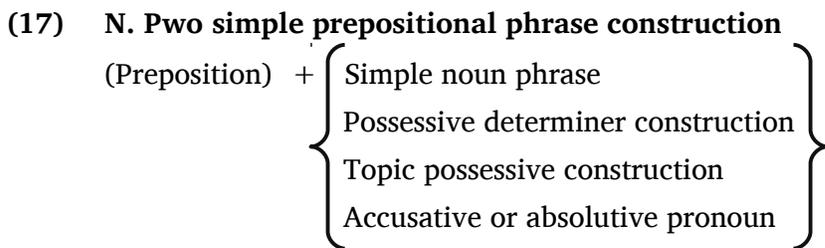
'The rich man asked him to become his son-in-law.'

In (16), the possessor is coded by *wé* '3.ABS', which is co-referential with *ʔə* = '3.POSS', which is attached to the possessee head, *ma* 'son-in-law'.

To summarize, the first, second, and third-person possessive determiners can denote the possessor in a possessive determiner construction. However, only the third-person possessive determiner can cliticize to a possessee noun phrase in the presence of a preceding possessor noun phrase or pronoun, in a topic possessive construction. The last of the simple argument constructions to be considered are prepositional phrases

2.2.3 Prepositional phrase constructions

Within a clause, both the indirect and oblique object arguments are coded as prepositional phrases, as diagrammed in (17).



For (17), the first component is the preposition, which can be omitted, although, in most cases, it is present. Its object can be either an object pronoun, as in (18), or any of the nominal constructions already discussed, as in (19).

(18) **Folktale 2.23**

tɕə = mə ʔãxí ʔe' nɛ p^həle ʔɛ ʔɛ
1.NOM IRR seek DAT 2.ACC betel.leaf be.much be.much

Lit. 'I will seek **for you** betel leaf be much be much.'

'I will look for lots of betel leaves **for you**.'

In (18), the indirect object, coded by the prepositional phrase, *ʔe' nɛ* 'for you', is composed of the dative preposition, *ʔe'*, and *nɛ* '2.ACC'. The dative preposition is used exclusively to express indirect object arguments: goals, recipients, beneficiaries, or addressees. All of the other prepositions are used to express oblique object arguments.

One frequent oblique object preposition is the comitative, *dí/ní* 'with, and', illustrated in (19).

(19) **Folktale 1.46**

ɥɔ̂ ʔə = wé dɛ ʔo dí ʔə = kətɕ^hɛ nɔ
finish 3.ERG dɛ exist **with** 3.POSS = **owner** NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'Finish, he exist **with his owner**.'

'Then, he stayed **with his owner**.'

In (19), the prepositional phrase, *dí ʔə = kətɕ^hɛ* 'with his owner', is comprised of the comitative preposition, *dí* 'with', which takes as its object the possessive determiner construction *ʔə = kətɕ^hɛ* 'owner'.

The comitative preposition is also used for expressing an instrument oblique object, which is illustrated in (20).

(20) **Field notes 2009.02.23.9**

∅ ʔwĩʔã t^hə dí nâi
3.SUBJ carry(basket) thing **with** **backbasket**

Lit. 'They carry thing with backbasket.'

'They carry things with a backbasket.'

In (20), the instrumental oblique object is expressed by the prepositional phrase, *dí nâi* ‘with backbasket’.

Another frequent preposition is *bì/bə* ‘like’. Its most common object is a demonstrative pronoun, as illustrated in (21).

(21) **Folktale 3.167**

Ø *k^hlâi* *tç^há* *wé* *ʔá* Ø *ʔãtçá* ***bì*** *nɔ* *lə =* *uŋ*
 3.SUBJ speak reply 3.ABS Ah! 2.SUBJ ask **like** DEM.PRN_{that} NEG don't

Lit. ‘(He) spoke replied him, “Ah! (You) ask **like that** don’t.”

‘(He) answered him, “Ah! Don’t ask **like that**.”

In (21), the prepositional phrase, *bì nɔ* ‘like that’, refers to the addressee’s question in the previous line of the text.

For the expression of location, the most frequent prepositions include *lũ* ‘at’, *p^hi* ‘at’, and *t^hɔ̂* ‘to_{reach}’ which is an extended function of the verb, *t^hɔ̂* ‘reach’. Typically, the object of a locational preposition is a possessive determiner construction or a topic possessive construction headed by a localizer or relator noun (DeLancey 1997; Solnit 1997; Chappell & Peyraube 2008), as illustrated in (22).

(22) **Folktale 3.153**

ʔə = wé *mí* *lũ* *k^hlí* ***p^há*** *nɔ*
 3.ERG sleep **at boat inside** NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘They slept **at boat’s inside**.’

‘They slept **inside the boat**.’

In (22), the bolded prepositional phrase is comprised of the preposition, *lũ* ‘at’, and a noun phrase consisting of the possessor, *k^hlí* ‘boat’ and the localizer possessee head, *p^há* ‘inside’. The interiority spatial relation is expressed by the localizer noun, while the preposition merely indicates the locational nature of the prepositional phrase.

A localizer noun can also be marked by the third-person possessive determiner, which shows that the relationship between the localizer noun and the preceding possessor noun phrase is one of possession, as illustrated in (23).

(23) Folktale 3.162

∅ *t^hulâjwê* *kətç^hô* *?ə = sâ'* *lù* *k^hlí*
 3.SUBJ allow.to.float.downstream stealthily 3.POSS = heart at boat
?ə = k^hái
 3.POSS = back

Lit. '(He) floated downstream stealthily his heart at boat its back.'

'(He) floated stealthily downstream behind the boat.'

In (23), the general locative preposition, *lù* 'at', takes as its object *k^hlí ?ə = k^hái* 'boat its back', in which the possessor of the localizer possessee, *k^hái* 'back', is indicated by both the noun, *k^hlí* 'boat', and the possessive determiner *?ə = '3.POSS'*.

To summarize, the simple prepositional phrase is comprised of an optional preposition which takes as its object either a pronoun or phrasal nominal construction. One important variant of the prepositional phrase construction is the locational prepositional phrase construction, in which the object of the preposition is a possessive noun phrase with a localizer noun head.

2.2.4 Summary

This section has introduced three nominal construction types: the simple noun phrase, the pronoun and determiner inventory, and simple prepositional phrases. The simple noun phrase is composed of an obligatory noun head, which can be preceded by an optional possessor. Optional noun complements include stative verb and noun modifiers, quantifier, classifier, and demonstrative. The pronoun inventory includes personal pronouns which reflect a split-ergative system, with a nominative-accusative pattern with first and second-person pronouns and an

ergative-absolutive pattern with third person pronouns. N. Pwo also has a set of possessive pronouns for first and second-person referents, a set of demonstrative pronouns (proximal, medial, and distal), and a set of possessive determiners. Finally, the simple prepositional phrase is composed of an optional preposition which takes as its object either a nominal construction or object pronoun. All of the nominal constructions considered in this section serve as arguments in simple clause constructions, which are discussed next.

2.3 Simple clause constructions

Semantically, N. Pwo Karen verbs can be roughly divided into dynamic and stative verbs, both of which can serve as the predicate of a clause on their own. Dynamic predicates describe actions that occur over a period of time, while stative predicates describe static situations that do not change (Binnick 1991:183). Each of these predicate types is discussed in turn, starting with dynamic verb clauses.

2.3.1 Dynamic verb clause constructions

Dynamic predicates can be either intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive and can be composed of single or multiple verbs. The discussion begins with an examination of the dynamic intransitive clause construction, which is diagrammed in (24).

(24) Dynamic intransitive clause construction

Subject + Dynamic predicate

Intransitive, dynamic predicates include *lî* ‘go’, *ɥé* ‘come’, *t^hâi* ‘return’, *t^hã* ‘ascend’, *lâ* ‘descend’, *sí* ‘die’, *t^hêp^hâ* ‘break.apart’, *kətç^hi* ‘sneeze’, *kâu* ‘cough’, *fú* ‘run’, and *tçũ* ‘sink’. A dynamic intransitive clause is illustrated in (25).

(25) **F6 Folktale 156**

â mâuyê tçə = mə lî pa' lš
Oh! aunt 1.NOM IRR go also EMPH

Lit. 'Oh! I would go also!'

'Oh! I will go also!'

In (25), *lî* 'go' is preceded by the irrealis marker, *mə =*, which indicates that the action has not yet happened. The adverbial particle, *pa'* 'also' indicates that the speaker intends to accompany someone else. Finally, the emphatic particle, *lš*, indicates the enthusiasm of the speaker.

The dynamic transitive clause requires two core arguments, the subject and the direct object, as diagrammed in (26).

(26) **Transitive clause construction**

Subject + Dynamic predicate + Direct object

Dynamic transitive verbs include perception verbs such as *dε* 'see' and *nεuyá* 'hear', thinking verbs such as *tç^hm̄* 'think' and *?e* 'love', communicative verbs such as *kû* 'call' and *?âtçâ* 'ask', and action verbs such as *?ā* 'eat', *nì* 'get', and *mεsí* 'kill'. A dynamic transitive clause is illustrated in (27).

(27) **Folktale 1.54**

p^hlô dáp^hup^hê k^hí uyê ŕî tçè tçî lau'
person father.and.child two CL.human this use money be.exhaust

Lit. 'Person, father and child, two humans this use money exhaust.'

'This father and child, the two of them, used up the money.'

In (27), the predicate, *tçè* 'use', is preceded by the subject argument, *p^hlô dáp^hup^hê k^hí uyê ŕî* 'this father and child, two humans', while the direct object, coded by *tçî* 'money', follows the predicate. The stative verb, *lau'* 'be.exhaust', which occurs following the clausal core, is used adverbially to indicate that all of the money was used up.

Finally, a ditransitive clause requires three core arguments, as diagrammed in (28).

(28) Ditransitive clause construction

Subject + Dynamic predicate + Indirect Object + Direct Object

Ditransitive verbs include *kemá* ‘give’, *ʔãxí* ‘seek’, and *ʔátç^hé* ‘sell’. A ditransitive clause is illustrated in (29).

(29) Fieldnotes 3.56.1

ʔə = m̀̀ *ʔãxí* *ʔe'* *ʔə = p^humĩ* *ʔə = wê*
3.POSS = mother seek DAT 3.POSS = daughter 3.POSS = husband

Lit. ‘Her mother sought for her daughter her husband.’

‘Her mother sought a husband for her daughter.’

In (29), the ditransitive predicate, *ʔãxí* ‘seek’, is followed by the indirect object beneficiary argument, expressed as the prepositional phrase *ʔe' ʔə = p^humĩ* ‘for her daughter’. The thing found, *ʔə = wê* ‘her husband’, fills the direct object position.

This section has demonstrated the dynamic verb intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses, with zero, one, and two core objects, respectively. In contrast, stative verbs only occur within intransitive clauses, as described in the next section.

2.3.2 Stative verb clause constructions

Stative verbs, glossed as ‘be.V’, describe static situations in which no change occurs. They encompass all seven types of adjectives found in other languages (Dixon 1982). Examples are listed in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: *N. Pwo stative verbs*

Semantic Type	N. Pwo stative verbs
Dimension	du ‘be.big’, p ^h u ‘be.small’, pí ‘be.little’, lè ‘be.wide’, ?ē ‘be.narrow’, tā ‘be.thick’, bō ‘be.fat’, blâi ‘be.thin’, t ^h ó ‘be.long, be.tall, be.high’, p ^h i ‘be.short, be.low’, etc.
Physical Property	xwĩ ‘hard’, p ^h au ‘be.soft’, xá ‘be.heavy’, xwí ‘be.light’, p ^h lí ‘be.smooth’, k ^h ù ‘be.hot’, k ^h lě ‘be.cold’, tç ^h á ‘be.sweet’, tç ^h ai ‘be.sour’, etc.
Colour	bâ ‘be.yellow’, uô ‘be.red’, hí ‘be.dark.blue’, lé ‘be.green’, lēhí ‘be.blue, lâi’ ‘be.purple’, pjâu ‘be.brown, ?wê ‘be.white’, sá ‘be.black’, etc.
Human Propensity	sâ ^t o ‘be.happy’, çé ‘be.smart’, xâ ‘be.diligent’, kō ‘be.lazy’, plô ‘be.generous’, mēdu ‘be.arrogant’, li ‘be.mischievous’, kəblâi ‘be.dishonest’, ke ‘be.able’, etc.
Age	sá ‘be.new’, çè ‘be.old(animate)’, lâlî ‘be.old(inanimate)’, etc.
Value	uî ‘be.good’, ?â ‘be.evil’, çã ‘be.poor’, k ^h ê ‘be.expensive’, bε ‘be.cheap’, ?wĩ ‘be.tasty’, me’ ‘be.true’, etc.
Speed	ple ‘be.fast’, kjô ‘be.slow’, etc.

All stative verbs can serve as the predicate of an intransitive clause, as diagrammed in (30).

(30) Stative intransitive clause construction

(Subject) + Stative predicate

The stative intransitive clause construction, diagrammed in (30), is illustrated in (31) and (32).

(31) Folktale 4.37a

?ə = wê sâ^thã
3.POSS = husband **be.angry**

Lit. ‘Her husband be.angry.’

‘Her husband was angry.’

(32) Miscellaneous 47

dâu’ ?i lâlî jâu’
house this **be.old** INCH

Lit. ‘House this be old already.’

‘This house is already old.’

In (31), the stative predicate, *sâ't^hã* ‘be.angry’, occurs with the subject argument, *ʔə = wê* ‘her husband’, while, in (32), the stative predicate, *lãlĩ* ‘be.old’, is preceded by the subject argument, *dâu’ ʔĩ* ‘this house’, and followed by the inchoative final particle *jâu’*.

The fact that both a stative intransitive clause and a noun phrase, with a stative verb modifier, have the same structure can result in ambiguity, as illustrated in (33).

(33) Folktale 12.246

tɕə = tɕ^háik^hê *lãlĩ* *mə = jâ’ k^ho’*
 l.POSS = buttoned.shirt be.old IRR tear momentarily

Lit. ‘My shirt be old will tear momentarily.’

‘My old shirt will tear in a moment. / My shirt is old and will tear in a moment.’

In the first reading of (33), *lãlĩ* ‘be.old’, serves as the modifier of the subject noun head, *tɕ^háik^hê* ‘buttoned.shirt’, which precedes the predicate, *mə = jâ’ k^ho’* ‘will tear’. In the second reading, *lãlĩ* ‘be.old’ serves as the predicate of the first of two asyndetically coordinated clauses; *tɕə = tɕ^háik^hê lãlĩ* ‘my buttoned shirt is old’ and *mə = jâ’ k^ho’* ‘(it) will tear momentarily’.

In summary, N. Pwo stative verbs code property concepts encoded by adjectives in other languages and fill the predicate slot of a stative verb intransitive clause. In contrast, N. Pwo dynamic verbs serve as predicates of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. In addition to these dynamic and stative verb constructions, N. Pwo has a set of existence, copula, and verbless constructions.

2.4 Simple existence, copula, and verbless constructions

N. Pwo has one existence construction with the predicate, *ʔo* ‘exist’, two copula constructions with copulas grammaticalized from the stative verbs, *ke* ‘be.able’ and *me’* ‘be.true’, and a verbless construction. Dixon (2002; 2010b) lists *identity*, *attribution*, *location*, *possession*, and *existence* as relations typically coded by these types of constructions. One exception, in N. Pwo,

is the attribution relation, which is coded by the stative verb construction, already discussed in §2.3.2. The distribution of these relations, by construction, is catalogued in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: *N. Pwo relations expressed by existence, copula, and verbless clause constructions*

Relation	<i>ʔo</i> ‘exist’	<i>ke</i> ‘be.able’	<i>me</i> ’ ‘be.true’	Verbless
Existence	X	--	--	--
Location	X	--	--	--
Possession	X	X	--	--
Identity	--	X	X	X

As shown in Table 2.6, each of the existence and copula constructions have their own distinct functions, even though there is some overlap. For example, the existence construction is used exclusively for the *existence* and *location* relations, while the *ke*, *me*’, and verbless constructions are all used for the identity relation. The discussion begins with the simple existence verb construction.

2.4.1 Simple existence verb constructions

The N. Pwo simple existence verb construction can be used to assert the existence, possession, and location of both human and non-human entities, as diagrammed in (34).

(34) N. Pwo simple existence constructions

(Subject) + Existence predicate + (*wé* (*dε*)) + (Additional information)

For (34), the thing that exists is typically expressed in the subject position, preceding the predicate, *ʔo* ‘exist’. The predicate can be optionally followed by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, which is co-referential with the subject referent and can be optionally accompanied by the particle, *dε*.

Finally, optional additional information about an entity can take the form of a classifier phrase, prepositional phrase, a grounding predication, such as *dâi*’ ‘still’, and/or other adverbial material, as illustrated in (35).⁷

⁷Clausal grounding is a concept in Cognitive Grammar which refers to the elements of a sentence which indicate the status of an event, whether it is actual or potential (Langacker 2008:296ff). In English, this is expressed by modals

- (35) **Sanit 1**
p^hlôk^hwé *ʔo* *lə = uɣê*
 man exist one CL.human
 Lit. ‘Man exist, one human.’
 ‘There was a man.’

In (35), the existence of a man is asserted, with the thing that exists, *p^hlôk^hwé* ‘man’ expressed in the subject position. The classifier phrase following the predicate indicates that it is one man that exists.

An existence construction with a grounding predication is illustrated in (36).

- (36) **Folktale 55.49b**
t^hə = bā *ʔo* *dâi*
 NMLZ_{thing} = be.yellow exist still
 Lit. ‘Thing be.yellow exist still.’
 ‘The yellow thing (monk’s robe) was still there.’

In (36), the grounding predicate, *dâi* ‘still’, takes as its complement the preceding clausal core, *t^hə = bā ʔo* ‘yellow thing exists’. It provides information on the status of the event, in this case the observer’s determination that the existence of the monk’s robe has not changed.

The location of an entity can be expressed through the inclusion of a prepositional phrase as additional information, illustrated in (37).

- (37) **Folktale 8.11**
ʔə = wé *ʔo* *lù* *uɣě*
 3.ERG exist at village
 Lit. ‘She exist at village.’
 ‘She stayed in the village.’

In (37), the prepositional phrase, *lù uɣě* ‘at village’, indicates the location of the entity expressed by *ʔə = wé* ‘3.ERG’ in the subject position.

and tense, whereas, in N. Pwo, one of the ways the status of an event is expressed is through verbs which occur following the clausal core, a *grounding predication*.

Finally, possession is expressed by a possessed entity, as illustrated in (38).

(38) Folktale 1.2

ʔə = tɕî ʔo wé dɛ sá p^hǎ l̂
 3.POSS = money exist 3.ABS dɛ three CL.hundred(money) EMPH

Lit. ‘Their money, existed it, three hundred baht.’

‘They had 300 baht.’

In (38), the possessed entity, *ʔə = tɕî* ‘their money’, precedes the predicate. After the predicate, the entity is referenced again by *wé* ‘3.ABS’. The amount of the money is indicated by a classifier phrase, *sá = p^hǎ* ‘three hundred (baht)’.

To summarize, the N. Pwo simple existence construction can be used to express existence, location, through the inclusion of a prepositional phrase, and possession, through a possessed entity. A copula can also be used to express a possession relation along with other relations.

2.4.2 Simple copula constructions

Two stative verbs, *ke* ‘be.able’ and *me* ‘be.true’, serve extended functions as copulas within the N. Pwo simple copula construction, as diagrammed in (39).

(39) N. Pwo simple copula construction

(Copula subject) + Copula predicate + Copula complement

The copula subject and complement are both nominal constructions. The copula predicate, like other N. Pwo predicates, can include optional elements, such as a negative particle and/or other verbs or particles imparting adverbial information.

Returning to the relations in Table 2.6, with the copula, *ke*, a possession relation can be expressed through the use of a possessive noun phrase within the copula construction, as illustrated in (40).

(40) **Field notes 3.138.18**

$p^{h\hat{l}\hat{o}}$ $l\hat{\theta} = u\hat{\epsilon}$ $\hat{\eta}$ ke $t\hat{\zeta}\hat{\theta} = p^{h\hat{\epsilon}}$
person one CL.human this be_{be.able} 1.POSS = father

Lit. ‘Person, one human, this be.able my father.’

‘This person is my father.’

In (40), possession of the copula subject, $p^{h\hat{l}\hat{o}} l\hat{\theta} = u\hat{\epsilon} \hat{\eta}$ ‘person, one human, this’, is expressed by the possessive noun phrase, $t\hat{\zeta}\hat{\theta} = p^{h\hat{\epsilon}}$ ‘my father’, in the copula complement.

An *identity* relation can be expressed by either a *ke* or *me*’ copula. A copula construction with *ke* is illustrated in (41).

(41) **Folktale 51.8**

$\hat{\eta}\hat{\theta} = m\hat{\epsilon}$ $\hat{\eta}\hat{\theta} = s\hat{a}$ $l\hat{\theta} = u\hat{\epsilon}$ $\hat{\eta}$ ke $m\hat{a}k^{h\hat{o}}l\hat{a}i$
3.POSS = wife 3.POSS = be.new one CL.human this be_{be.able} devil

Lit. ‘His wife, its be.new, one human, this be devil.’

‘His new wife was a devil.’

In (41), the copula subject is expressed by the full noun phrase, $\hat{\eta}\hat{\theta} = m\hat{\epsilon} \hat{\eta}\hat{\theta} = s\hat{a} l\hat{\theta} = u\hat{\epsilon} \hat{\eta}$ ‘this his new wife, one human’, while the copula complement, which expresses the identity of the copula subject, is the noun, $m\hat{a}k^{h\hat{o}}l\hat{a}i$ ‘devil’.

An identity relation can also be expressed by a *me*’ copula construction. However, the copula’s source, the stative verb, *me*’ ‘be.true’, contributes more of an epistemic-like ‘actually’ or ‘namely’ specificational flavour to the construction, as illustrated in (42).

(42) **Folktale 4.137**

$n\hat{\theta} = m\hat{i}\hat{\zeta}\hat{\epsilon}$ $l\hat{\theta}$ $l\hat{\theta} = me'$ $n\hat{\theta} = w\hat{\epsilon}$ $b\hat{\epsilon}$
2.POSS = parent-in-law EMPH NEG be_{be.true} 2.POSS = husband NEG

Lit. ‘Your parent-in-law! (He) not be your husband not.’

‘Your parent-in-law is actually not your husband!’

The negative copula construction, in (42), asserts that a woman’s parent-in-law is not her husband, contrary to her assumption. The copula subject, $n\hat{\theta} = m\hat{i}\hat{\zeta}\hat{\epsilon}$ ‘2.POSS = parent-in-law’ is

marked by the emphatic particle, *l̂*, while the predicate, *me'*, and the copula complement occur within the negative circumfix, *la...be*. More will be said about *me'* copula constructions in §2.9.2 below. For now, an identity relation, without a specificational sense, can also be expressed with a verbless construction.

2.4.3 Verbless clause construction

The N. Pwo verbless construction consists of two juxtaposed nominal constructions which express an identity or property relation, as diagrammed in (43).

(43) N. Pwo verbless construction

Nominal construction₁ + Nominal construction₂

For (43), the first nominal construction functions as the *verbless copula subject* (VCS), the entity which is identified, while the second nominal construction functions as the *verbless copula complement* (VCC), which expresses identificational information about the verbless copula subject, illustrated in (44).

(44) Courtship 52

[*ʔə = p^hɛ̂* *ʔə = m^hɛ̂*]_{VCS} [*p^hɛ̂t̃su*]_{VCC}
 3.POSS = father 3.POSS = name Paetongsu

Lit. 'His father his name Paetongsu.'

'His father's name is Paetongsoo.'

In (44), the verbless copula subject, *ʔə = p^hɛ̂ ʔə = m^hɛ̂* 'his father's name', is identified by the verbless copula complement, *p^hɛ̂t̃su* 'Paetongsu'; the proper name of the father.

The verbless clause can also be used to describe a property of the verbless copula subject, as illustrated in (45).

- (45) **Field notes 3.57-58.15**
 $\text{ʔə} = nɔ$ $\text{ʔə} = lɛ́$
 3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{that} 3.POSS = be.green
 Lit. ‘Its thatness its greenness.’
 ‘That one is a green one.’

In (45), the verbless construction actually consists of two juxtaposed lexical nominalization constructions, which will be described in §2.8.1.

2.4.4 Summary

This section has described the N. Pwo existence, copula, and verbless constructions. The existence construction is used to express existence, location, and possession relations. A *ke* copula construction is used to express possessive and identity relations, while *me*’ copula constructions are used to express a specificational identity relation. Finally, a verbless construction, a juxtaposition of two nominals, is used to express an identity or property relation. One additional construction, which is used to express nominal, verbal, and adverbial material, is the elaborate expression.

2.5 Elaborate expression construction

As alluded to in §2.1.1, *elaborate expressions*, a term coined by Mary Haas (1964:xvii), are an areal feature of languages of Southeast Asia and China (Solnit 1995; Peterson 2010; Hanna 2013). They consist of four syllables, which form a single rhythmic unit that has a single function. Each language configures these four syllables in different ways. The most prevalent elaborate expression construction in the N. Pwo corpus is diagrammed in (46).

(46) N. Pwo elaborate expression construction

[A₁ + B] + [A₂ + C]

In this construction, the first and third syllables are fully reduplicated, whereas the second and fourth syllables are two forms that often rhyme. In addition, the second of the two forms (C) is often a nonsense syllable. For example, the sentence, in (47), includes three elaborate expressions.

(47) Folktale 3.10

ʉ́ǎ̃ ʔə = wé **jǎlai'jǎlè** kemá p^hlô **kû'tɕõkû'tɕô** ʉ́é ʔã
 finish 3.ERG **send.letter** give person **every.CL.place** come eat
 t^hə = bõ't^hə = t^hã
 NMLZ_{thing} = **laud**

Lit. 'Finish, she send letter give person every place come eat laudable things.'
 'Then, she sent letters to have the people from every nook and cranny to come make merit.'

In (47), the first elaborate expression, *jǎlai'jǎlè* 'send a letter', combines a predicate and a direct object. The repeated A parts of this elaborate expression is the predicate, *jǎ* 'send'. The B part is the syllable, *lai* 'paper', while the C part is the nonsense syllable, *lè*, which reduplicates the initial consonant of the B syllable, although it has a different vowel and tone. The second elaborate expression, *kû' tɕõ kû' tɕâi* 'every nook and cranny', is a classifier phrase which indicates that people came from everywhere. The A parts are the quantifier *kû* 'every', while the B part is the classifier *tɕõ* 'place', which is partially reduplicated in the C part as *tɕâi*, which has no lexical meaning. The last elaborate expression is the nominal expression, *t^hə = bõ't^hə = t^hã* 'laudable things'. It consists of the nominalizer, *t^hə =*, as the A parts. The B part is *bõ* 'laud', while the C part, *t^hã*, has no lexical meaning, nor is it a reduplication of the B part.

The previous example demonstrated both nominal and verbal elaborate expressions. An adverbial elaborate expression is illustrated in (48).

(48) **Folktale 8.135**

me' *ʔə = m̀̀* *ʔə = p^hè* *nɔ* *∅* *uεsε* *xwai'* *jεp^hu*
be_{be.true} 3.POSS = mother 3.POSS = father NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ care.for away fish
nɔ *pətɕ^hɨpətɨ'*
that hurry

Lit. 'Be her mother her father, (they) care for away fish that, hurrying.'
'As for her mother and her father, they got rid of that fish in a hurry.'

In (48), the adverbial elaborate expression consists of the adverb, *pətɕ^hɨ* 'hurry', which represents the A and B parts of the expression. The A₂ and C parts are coded by *pətɨ*, a partially reduplicated nonsense expression.

As can be seen from the previous discussion, elaborate expressions cut across lexical categories, expressing nominal, verbal, and adverbial concepts, appearing in different parts of a sentence. Simple sentence constructions are described in the next section.

2.6 Simple sentence constructions

Thus far, only the N. Pwo clausal core has been considered, which consists of the predicate and the core arguments: subject, indirect object, and direct object. Beyond the clausal core, a simple sentence can include both pre-clause, post-core, and post-clause material, which is covered in §2.6.1. The serial verb causative is another type of simple sentence construction and is described in §2.6.2.

2.6.1 Simple sentence construction

The N. Pwo simple sentence has no embedded clauses and is comprised of optional pre-clause and post-clause elements, the core (predicate and any core arguments), and post-core elements, as diagrammed in (49).

(49) N. Pwo simple sentence construction

(Pre-clause) + Clause core + (Post-core) + (Post-clause)

Pre-clause elements include conjunctions, phrasal adverbials, vocatives, and topic-marked participant reference, while post-clause elements include vocatives and right-dislocated reference to a core participant. Post-core elements include oblique arguments, in the form of prepositional phrases, grounding predications, and aspectual, mood, and emphatic particles. A ditransitive sentence, containing pre-clause and post-core material, is illustrated in (50).

(50) Folktale 3.41

[*ɥɔ̃*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [[*∅* *mɛ tʰã* *ʔe' wé* *ʔə = dâu'*] _{CORE} [*lũ wè*
 finish 3.SUBJ do ascend DAT 3.ABS 3.POSS = house at city
xɔ̃] _{POST-CORE} _{CLAUSE}
 outskirts

Lit. 'Finish, (she) do ascend for them their house at the city's outskirts.'
'Then, (she) built their house for them at the outskirts of the city.'

In (50), the core of the sentence consists of an elided subject, a two-verb predicate, *mɛ tʰã* 'do ascend or built', an indirect object *ʔe' wé* 'for them', and a direct object *ʔə = dâu'* 'their house'. The only element in the pre-clause position is the verb, *ɥɔ̃* 'finish', which is acting as a conjunction. An oblique prepositional phrase, *lũ wè xɔ̃* 'at the city's outskirts', occurs in the post-core position.

A simple sentence with a pre-clause adverbial and post-core grounding predication is illustrated in (51).

(51) Folktale 3.154

[*lə = nɛ* *jé* *nɔ*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [[*tɛôpʰuxwi* *mí*] _{CORE} [*lə = nì*
 one CL.night completely NMLZ_{that} male.orphan sleep NEG get
bɛ] _{POST-CORE} _{CLAUSE}
 NEG

Lit. 'One night completely, Orphan sleep not get.'
'One night, the orphan could not sleep.'

In (51), the pre-clause time adverbial, $l\theta = n\hat{e} j\acute{e}$ ‘one night complete’, is marked by $n\omega$. Then, the grounding predication, $l\theta = n\hat{i} b\epsilon$ ‘not get’, indicates that the event of sleeping, expressed by the predicate in the core of the clause, did not take place.

Pre-clause reference to a participant can also be marked by $n\omega$, as illustrated in (52).

(52) **F3 Folktale 1**

$[n\theta = k^{h\acute{i}}b\hat{a} \quad n\acute{i} \quad d\epsilon \quad n\theta = d\acute{i}kw\hat{a}' \quad k^{h\acute{i}} \quad u\acute{e} \quad n\omega]_{\text{PRE-CLAUSE}}$
 Ms. Kingbang and de Ms. Dingkwa two CL.human NMLZ_{that}
 $[[\emptyset \quad l\acute{i} \quad p^{h\acute{e}} \quad n\hat{a}]_{\text{CORE}} \quad [k\hat{u}' \quad n\hat{e} \quad k\hat{u}' \quad n\hat{e}]_{\text{POST-CORE}}]_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
 3.SUBJ go weed grass every CL.day every CL.day

Lit. ‘Ms. Kingbang and Ms. Dingkwa, two humans, (they) go weed grass, every day, every day.’

‘As for Ms. Kingbang and Ms. Dingkwa, (they) went to weed the grass day after day.’

In (52), the coordinate noun phrases, marked by $n\omega$, in the pre-clause position, are co-referential with the elided subject in the core. Then, in the post-core position, the repeated classifier phrase functions adverbially to indicate that the action of the predicate was a habitual occurrence on a daily basis.

An example of post-clause reference is illustrated in (53).

(53) **F6 Folktale 29b**

$[\emptyset \quad u\acute{a} \quad ?\hat{a}]_{\text{CORE}} \quad [d\hat{s}']_{\text{POST-CORE}} \quad [?\theta = p^{h\acute{i}}\hat{p}\hat{a}i'] \quad l\theta =$
 3.SUBJ cry eat more 3.POSS = second.younger.sibling one
 $u\acute{e}]_{\text{POST-CLAUSE}} \quad n\omega]_{\text{SENTENCE}}$
 CL.human NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘He eat exhaust, (he) cry eat more, his second.younger.sibling, one human.’

‘When he had eaten (it) all, (he) cried for more, his younger sibling.’

In (53), zero reference to the younger brother in the subject position of the core of the clause is clarified by post-clause noun phrase reference, $?\theta = p^{h\acute{i}}\hat{p}\hat{a}i'$ $l\theta = u\acute{e}$ ‘his younger sibling’.

In sum, the N. Pwo simple sentence includes pre-clause material, such as vocatives, adverbial phrases, and participant noun phrases. Then, within the clause, the core of the clause comprises the predicate and core arguments, while oblique object prepositional phrases, grounding predicates, adverbial material, and various particles can occur in the post-core position of the clause. Finally, resumptive reference to clausal arguments and vocatives can occur in the post-clause position. The serial verb causative, which is described in the next section, is a particular type of simple sentence construction.

2.6.2 Serial verb causative construction

The N. Pwo serial verb causative construction, also attested in Eastern Pwo Karen (Kato 1999), is a simple sentence with a complex predicate. In this construction, the subject refers to the causer, the indirect object refers to the causee, and the predicate consists of *(ke)má* ‘give’, in combination with the verb(s) denoting the caused action, as diagrammed in (54).

(54) N. Pwo serial verb causative construction

(Causer) + *(ke)má* + Verb(s) + IO:Causee + (Direct Object)

In (54), the only argument which must be overt is the indirect object, which identifies the causee and also marks the boundary of the predicate. The causer is referenced in the subject position, while the direct object can be used to express the thing that is acted upon. An imperative in the form of a serial verb causative is illustrated in (55).

(55) F6 Folktale 482

[*p^hipái*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [[\emptyset *má* *t^hái* *t_ɕ^ho'* *xâ*] _{CORE} [*lə* = *p^há*
 younger.second.sibling 2.SUBJ give return take 1.PL.ACC one CL.time
 sà] _{POST-CORE} _{CLAUSE}
 have.likewise

Lit. ‘Younger second sibling, (you) give return take us, one time.’
 ‘Younger brother, allow us to take (it) one time.’

In (55), an older brother asks his younger brother to allow him to take a comb with magic properties. The causer/allower is referenced overtly by the pre-clause vocative, *p^hĩpâi* ‘younger.second.sibling’, which is co-referential with the elided subject. The complex predicate consists of *má* ‘give’, the directional verb, *t^hâi* ‘return home’, and the head verb, *tɕ^ho* ‘lift’. The causee is referenced by *xâ* ‘1.PL.ACC’. The classifier phrase which follows serves as a time adverbial.

In summary, the serial verb causative is a single clause with a complex predicate, which is surrounded by the preceding subject-causer argument and directly followed by the indirect object-causee argument. The next section considers complex sentence constructions.

2.7 Complex sentence constructions

Since most “subordinate” clauses are nominalizations, N. Pwo does not have many complex sentence constructions. Two complex sentence constructions which do not involve nominalization are: 1) the coordinate construction (§2.7.1) and 2) quotative constructions (§2.7.2).

2.7.1 Coordinate construction

Unlike coordinate noun phrases, which are often connected by the coordinating conjunction, *dí/ní*, as illustrated in (52) above, sentences that bear a conjunction (‘and’) relationship to each other are not marked as such; they are merely juxtaposed, as diagrammed in (56).

(56) Conjunction coordinate construction

Sentence₁ + Sentence₂

A conjunction coordinate construction, with no overt marking of coordination, is illustrated in (57).

(57) **M5 Folktale 7b**

[ʔə=wé dɛ sɛ̃p^{hɛ̃} lə=kai']_{CL1} [∅ t^hã t^hau' wé ʔə=k^hu]_{CL2}
3.ERG see log one CL.log 3.SUBJ ascend ride 3.ABS 3.POSS = head

Lit. 'He see log, one log, (he) ascend ride it, its head.'

'He saw a log and rode on it.'

In (57), the coordinate construction is used to encode two events, one of which follows the other in time. Also, the subject referent is the same for both sentences; however, it is elided in the second sentence.

2.7.2 Quotative constructions

Quotative constructions involve communication predicates of two kinds: 1) *Message predicates*, in which the direct object wé '3.ABS' refers, cataphorically, to the subsequent speech complement, whether direct or indirect, and 2) *Addressee predicates*, in which reference to the addressee precedes the speech complement.

Message predicates include tɕâi' 'say', kû' 'call', and k^hlâi 'speak' and occur in a message quotative construction, diagrammed in (58).

(58) **Message quotative construction**

(Subject) + Message Predicate + wé (dɛ) + Direct Quote

This construction is illustrated with the message predicate, tɕâi' 'say', in (59).

(59) **Folktale 7.60b**

[kəsámâ tɕâi' wé dɛ]_{MC} [kə= mə= lî tɕî k^hu t^hɕ k^hu
king say 3.ABS dɛ 1.PL.NOM IRR go silver head gold head
= â]_{DQ}
QUES

Lit. "The king said it, we would go silver's head, gold's head?"

"The king said thus, "Will we come atop silver and gold?"

In (59), wé (dɛ) refers to the speech complement which directly follows.

In contrast, with addressee predicates, which include *ʔãtçâ* ‘ask’, *lô* ‘tell’, and *lo’sâ* ‘scold’, the argument that follows the predicate refers to the addressee, which is then followed by the speech complement, as diagrammed in (60).

(60) Addressee quotative construction

(Subject) + Addressee Predicate + DO:Addressee + (Speech complement)

For (60), a speech complement is not obligatory, as illustrated in (61).

(61) Folktale 52.70

kasâmâ kʰó Ø ʔãtçâ wé dâi dâi
 rich.man CL.part 3.SUBJ ask 3.ABS on.and.on on.and.on

Lit. ‘Rich man part, (he) ask them on and on and on.’

‘On the rich man’s part, (he) asked and asked them.’

In (61), the act of asking and who is asked is pertinent, not what is said. An addressee predicate with an expressed speech complement is illustrated in (62).

(62) Folktale 54.128

ujç̂ [Ø ʔãtçâ wé]_{MC} [nə = pʰəɛ ʔo tçʰi = â]_{DQ}
 finish 3.SUBJ ask 3.ABS 2.POSS = betel.leaf exist some QUES

Lit. ‘Finish, (he) ask him, “Your betel leaves exist some?”’

Then (he) asked him, “Do you have some betel leaves?”

In (62), reference to the addressee, coded by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, is followed by what was asked, which takes the form of an existence verb construction.

With the addition of the verb *tçʰá* ‘reply’, a message predicate can also take an addressee argument, as illustrated in (63).

(63) **Folktale 5.39**

[kək^hwé tɕâi' tɕ^há wé]_{MC} [ʔâ [tɕə = tɕâi']_{MC} [tɕə = lə = si t^hə
man say reply 3.ABS Ah! 1.NOM say 1.NOM NEG be.able thing
bɛ]_{DQ}]_{DQ}
NEG

Lit. 'Man say reply him, "Ah! I said I not be able thing not."'

'The man answered him, "Ah! I said that I cannot not do anything.'"

In (63), the predicate, *tɕâi' tɕ^há* 'say reply', takes an addressee argument, coded by *wé* '3.ABS', which is followed by the speech complement.

2.7.3 Summary of complex sentence constructions

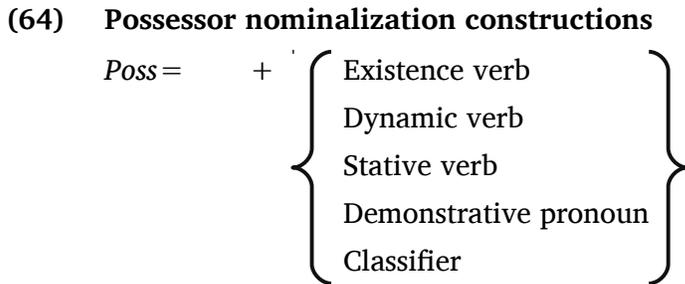
To summarize, two types of complex constructions have been considered. The first is the conjunction coordinate construction, in which two sentences relate two events, one of which follows the other in time, with no overt marking of coordination. The second type is quotative constructions, of which there are two types. In a message quotative construction the direct object referent refers to the speech complement that follows, while in an addressee quotative construction, reference to the addressee in the main clause precedes the speech complement. Now that the N. Pwo nominal, clausal, and sentential constructions have been introduced, the discussion can be expanded to include nominalization constructions, both lexical and clausal, in §2.8 and §2.9, respectively.

2.8 Lexical nominalization constructions

N. Pwo has two lexical nominalization types: 1) possessor nominalizations, which are covered in §2.8.1, and 2) *t^hə =* 'thing' nominalizations, which are covered in §2.8.2. The discussion begins with possessor nominalization constructions.

2.8.1 Possessor nominalization constructions

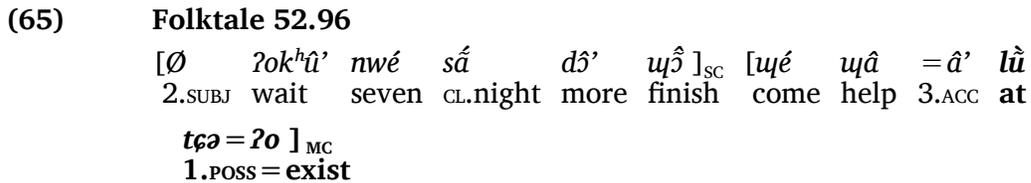
In possessor nominalizations, a possessive determiner can take as its host the existence verb, *ʔo* ‘exist’, a dynamic verb, stative verb, demonstrative pronoun, or a classifier, as diagrammed in (64).



In (64), *Poss =* designates any possessive determiner, which, in this construction indicates the possession of the relation expressed by its host. Possessor nominalizations filled by the existence verb are discussed first.

2.8.1.1 Existence verb possessor nominalizations

As already shown in §2.4.1, an existence construction can be used to assert the existence, location, or possession of an entity. A possessor nominalization expresses the place of existence of the possessor, as illustrated in (65).



Lit. ‘(You) wait seven nights more finish, come help her at my exist.’
 ‘After waiting for seven days more, bring her to me.’

In (65), *tɕə = ʔo* ‘1.POSS = existence’, is the nominal object of the preposition, *lù* ‘at’. Its literal translation is ‘at my existence’ or, more freely, ‘at the place of my presence’. There does not

appear to be any emphatic force conveyed by this construction. Rather, it is simply used to indicate physical proximity to the possessor, in this case the speaker.

A clearer example of a possessed existence verb construction is presented in (66).

- (66) **Folktale 39.66**
 \emptyset *lĩ* *lũ* *kətçũ'xwê* *ʔə = ʔo*
 3.SUBJ go at king 3.POSS = exist
 Lit. '(He) go at king, his exist.'
 '(He) went into the king's presence.'

In (66), the object of *lũ* 'at' is a topic possessive construction in which the possessor, *kətçũ'xwê* 'king', is also referenced within the possessor nominalization, *ʔə = ʔo* 'his existence'. This construction conveys the sense that the subject referent went to see the king face-to-face. The discussion continues with verb possessor nominalizations.

2.8.1.2 Dynamic verb possessor nominalizations

Dynamic verb possessor nominalizations can be used to express possession of the event encoded by the verb, as illustrated in (67).

- (67) **Folktale 1.77**
 $[\emptyset$ *tç^hĩmĩ* *wé* *dɛ*]_{MC} [[*ʔá* *p^hlô* *lə =* *uɛ* *ʔĩ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*tçə =*
 3.SUBJ think 3.ABS de Ah! person one CL.human this 1.NOM
mə *kõ* = *â'* *t^hĩ* *ʔə = sĩ* *ê*]_{CLAUSE}]_{CC}
 IRR lure 3.ACC to 3.POSS = die for.sure
 Lit. 'He think it, "Ah! Person, one human this, I will lure him to his dying for sure."
 'He thought it, "Ah! This person, I will lure him to his death for sure.'"

In (67), *ʔə = sĩ* 'his dying' is the object of the preposition, *t^hĩ* 'to'. It is used to refer to the event of the possessor's death.

In the corpus, one dynamic verb possessor nominalization has lexicalized to refer to a more concrete entity, as illustrated in (68).

(68) M2 Wedding Day 2c

t^hə *t^hu'* *ʔə = xwi* *bε* *nε*
thing pig 3.POSS = buy be.cheap OK?

Lit. 'Thing pig its buying be cheap, OK?'

'The price of pigs was cheap.'

In (68), *ʔə = xwi* '3.POSS = buying', is the head of the possessive noun phrase, *t^hu' ʔə = xwi* 'pig's price'. It has lexicalized beyond the *act* of buying to the *price* of buying in a kind of metonymic shift from whole to sub-part. The whole noun phrase consists of the noun head, *t^hə* 'thing' and its further specification in the form of the possessive noun phrase, *t^hu' ʔə = xwi* 'pig's price'.

Example (69) illustrates a further lexicalization of *ʔə = xwi*.

(69) M1 Folktale 63

nɪ *nə = t^hə* *təblɪ'* *xo'* *t^hə* *nə = lə = nɪ*
yours 2.POSS = thing many CL.large.basket thing 2.NOM NEG get
ʔə = xwi *bε*
3.POSS = buy NEG

Lit. 'Yours, your thing, many large baskets, thing, you not get its buying.'

'As for you, you have many baskets, but you did not get money.'

In (69), *ʔə = xwi* '3.POSS = buying' is the direct object of *nɪ* 'get'. It refers to money, the instrument used for buying.

2.8.1.3 Stative verb possessor nominalization constructions

In similar fashion, a stative verb possessor nominalization encodes possession of a property expressed by the verb, as illustrated in (70).

(70) Mai 37

∅ *sɔ̃* *xə* *me'* *də'* *nɔ* *pɛ́* *lũ* *tɕə = nəkai*
3.SUBJ teach 1.PL.ACC be.true more NMLZ_{that} reason at 1.POSS = be.stubborn

Lit. '(She) teach us be.true more reason at my be.stubborn.'

'(She) taught me because of my stubbornness.'

In (70), $t\zeta\partial = n\hat{e}kai$ ‘my stubbornness’ refers to a behavioural property of the speaker, referenced by $t\zeta\partial =$ ‘1.POSS’.

Stative verb possessor nominalizations can also be predicated of an inanimate object, as illustrated in (71).

(71) **Folktale 41.111**

$n\partial =$ $b\epsilon s\hat{a}'$ $p\tilde{o}$ $ʔ\partial = s\acute{a}$ $= \hat{a}$ $p\tilde{o}$ $ʔ\partial = l\hat{a}l\hat{i}$
 2.NOM want hand.basket 3.POSS = be.new QUES hand.basket 3.POSS = be.old
 $= \hat{a}$
 QUES

Lit. ‘You want hand basket its newness? hand basket its oldness?’
 ‘Do you want a new hand basket or an old hand basket?’

In (71), the noun head, $p\tilde{o}$ ‘hand.basket’, appears twice in a coordinate noun phrase. The first time it is modified by $ʔ\partial = s\acute{a}$ ‘its newness’ and the second time by $ʔ\partial = l\hat{a}l\hat{i}$ ‘its oldness’.

Michailovsky (2011) reports that in Limbu (Tibeto-Burman, Kiranti), the pronominal clitic $ku =$ ‘3.POSS’ marks colour terms and a small inventory of adjectives, such as $ku = s\omega\eta$ ‘its newness’, when they function as noun modifiers. However, this structure is no longer productive. He also comments that “[t]he structure of the modifier, ‘its-[quality]’, reflects the grammaticalization of the notion that the quality is ‘possessed’ by the noun (Michailovsky 2011:198).”

To continue, a possessor nominalization can, itself, serve as an argument, as illustrated in (72).

(72) **Folktale 3.32**

$t\zeta\partial =$ $m\partial$ $kel\acute{a}$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $n\hat{e}$ $ʔ\partial = s\acute{a}$ $d\hat{o}'$
 1.NOM IRR give return 2.ACC 3.POSS = be.new more

Lit. ‘I will give return you its be.new more.’
 ‘I will give you a new one.’

In (72), $\text{ʔə} = \text{sá}$ ‘its newness’, fills the direct object position of a ditransitive clause and refers to the replacement of a Thai baht coin that was lost.

Stative verb possessor nominalizations express the possession of a property. These nominalizations can serve as appositional nominal modifiers of nouns and also serve as noun heads themselves. Demonstrative pronoun possessor nominalizations also show the same structure as stative verb possessor nominalizations.

2.8.1.4 Demonstrative pronoun possessor nominalization constructions

Demonstrative pronouns can also be possessed within a possessor nominalization, as illustrated in (73).

(73) **Folktale 24.51**
 $t^hə$ $\text{ʔə} = \hat{\text{ʔi}}$ $nə$ \emptyset ke $t^hə$ $\text{ʔə} = \text{u}i$
thing **3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{this}** **NMLZ_{that}** **3.SUBJ** **be_{be.able}** **thing** **3.POSS = be.good**
 $\hat{\text{e}}$
 for.sure

Lit. ‘Thing its thisness, (it) be thing its be.good for sure.’
 ‘This issue is a very good issue.’

In (73), $t^hə$ ‘thing’ serves as the noun head in both the copula subject and the copula complement. In the copula complement, it is modified by $\text{ʔə} = \text{u}i$ ‘3.POSS = goodness’ and, in the same way, it is modified by $\text{ʔə} = \hat{\text{ʔi}}$ ‘3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{this}’.

A demonstrative pronoun possessor nominalization, acting as an argument, is illustrated in (74).

(74) **2009 February 9.12**
 $\text{ʔə} = \hat{\text{ʔi}}$ ke $t^hə = m\hat{\text{e}}$ $l\hat{\text{e}}$
3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{this} **be_{be.able}** **NMLZ_{thing} = CL.kind** **QUES**

Lit. ‘Its thisness be thing kind?’
 ‘This one is what kind of thing?’

In (74), the combination $\text{ʔə} = \text{ʔi}$ ‘3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{this}’ conveys the sense of ‘this one’, which functions as the subject of the copula clause. In Standard Thai, the construction that refers to an entity by its location is the combination of a general classifier followed by a proximal demonstrative, as in ʔən nɨ ‘this one’. However, the analogue N. Pwo construction consists of $\text{ʔə} =$ ‘3.POSS’ attached to a demonstrative pronoun, with no intervening classifier.

The anaphoric nature of a possessor nominalization with a medial demonstrative pronoun is illustrated in (75).

(75) a. **Folktale 48.18b**

mək^ho’ tɕə = nɛɰá ʔə = wé dwâ’ t^hə sé təblɨ’ tɕ^hau’
 just.now 1.NOM hear 3.ERG count thing sound many CL.bunch

Lit. ‘Just now, I hear she count thing, sound many bunches.’

‘Just now, I heard her counting things that had the sound of many bunches.’

b. **Folktale 48.19**

tau’ k^hó Ø tɕâi’ wé ʔə = nɔ lɔ̃
 monk CL.part 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS 3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{that} EMPH

Lit. ‘The monk’s part, (he) said it, “Its that!”’

‘On the monk’s part, (he) said it, “That one!”’

In (75b), the demonstrative identifier $\text{ʔə} = \text{nɔ}$ ‘that one’ points to the person, a widow, who was heard counting things, as conveyed in (75a). Classifiers also occur in possessor nominalizations.

2.8.1.5 **Classifier possessor nominalization construction**

Classifiers in possessor nominalizations are limited to specific word combinations. When counting, the normal pattern is for the numeral to precede the classifier, as illustrated in (76).

(76) **Miscellaneous 20**

ji dɛ Ø sətɕ^hi lə = nɛ̃
 mine dɛ 1.SUBJ thirty one CL.year

Lit. ‘Mine, (I) three ten one years.’

‘As for me, (I) am thirty-one years (old).’

In (76), two numerals (*sátç^{hí}* ‘thirty [three tens]’ and *lə* = ‘one’) precede the classifier, *ně* ‘CL.year’, which together express the age (31 years) of the speaker. In contrast, for the expression of tens, the classifier precedes the numeral as a possessor nominalization, which is illustrated in (77).

(77) **Folktale 14.16**

[*p^{hí}ɬsɛk^hwé* *ʔə = uɣé* *sátç^{hí}* *ʔí*] *nɔ* \emptyset *k^hâ*’ *wé*
 teenage.male 3.POSS = CL.human thirty this NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ shoot 3.ABS
dí *k^hĩ* *ʔai*’ *ʔai*’
 with arrow many many

Lit. ‘Teenage male its human thirty this, (they) shoot it with arrows many many.
 ‘As for these thirty teenage males, (they) shot it with loads of arrows.’

In (77), the classifier phrase expressing ‘thirty humans’ is composed of the classifier possessor nominalization, *ʔə = uɣé* ‘its CL.human’, which precedes the numeral, *sátç^{hí}* ‘thirty’.

Another expression, in which a classifier serves as the host within a possessor nominalization, is illustrated in (78).

(78) **Folktale 43.3**

ʔə = wé *lí* *ʔãk^hwí’ʔã* *kû*’ *ʔə = ní*
 3.ERG go fish every 3.POSS = CL.day

Lit. ‘They go fish every its day.’
 ‘They went fishing every day.’

In (78), *ʔə = ní* ‘its CL.day’ is a nominal that is preceded by the quantifier *kû* ‘every’. The pattern of quantifier with a classifier possessor nominalization is unusual. One explanation for this pattern is that the use of *kû* ‘every’ with a nominalized classifier construction is due to an emerging syntactic change from *kû* as a quantifier of nouns to *kû* as a quantifier of a classifier. Consider (79):

(79) **Folktale 41.2**

∅ lî xâi' dí ?ə=p^hi' kû' mî nî
3.SUBJ go field with 3.POSS = grandmother every day CL.day

Lit. '(She) go field with her grandmother every day, (one) day.

'She went to the field every day with her grandmother.'

In (79), *kû'* 'every' is directly modifying the noun head, *mî* 'day', which is followed by the classifier, *nî* 'CL.day'. Thus, the source pattern is [*kû'* + N] > [*kû'* + [?ə=CLF]_N]. Note that the ?ə= does not replace the noun, *mî* 'day'. Rather, it enables the classifier to function as a noun head.

Further support for this explanation is that *kû'* 'every' almost always occurs with a classifier possessor nominalization in the folktales (Pwo Karen Centre, Sop Moei 2003) of almost thirty years ago, as illustrated in (78). In contrast, in narratives collected in April 2014, every instance of *kû'* 'every' occurs with a bare classifier, just like other quantifiers and classifiers, as illustrated in (80).

(80) **F6 Folktale 7**

∅ lî kû' nê
3.SUBJ go every CL.day

Lit. 'They go every day.'

'They went every day.'

To finish the story, *kû'* started out as a quantifying modifier of a noun. Classifiers could also be quantified by *kû'*, but they could only do so within a possessor nominalization, since classifiers are bound forms and cannot function on their own as a noun head. Over time, *kû'* became a quantifier of classifiers, making a classifier possessor nominalization unnecessary with *kû'*. The proposed pattern of changes is as follows: [*kû'* + N] > [*kû'* + [?ə=CLF]_N] > [*kû'* + CLF]. Note that this change in the function *kû'* resulted in the obsolescence of classifier possessor

nominalizations with *kû*. These days, the only classifier possessor nominalizations are those that occur when counting tens.

2.8.1.6 Summary

This section has described possessor nominalizations, which are summarized in Figure 2.2.

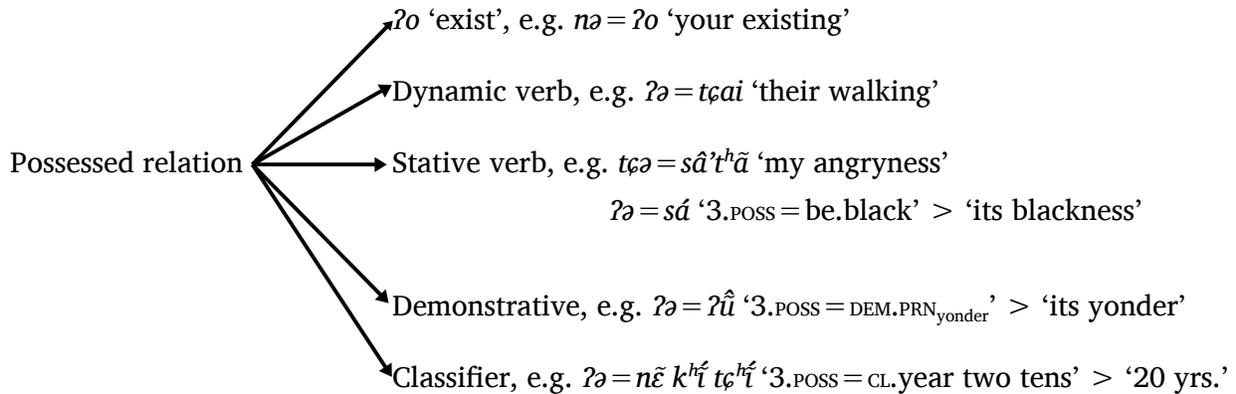


Figure 2.2: *N. Pwo possessor nominalization constructions*

In general, possessor nominalizations express types, which specify “the properties an entity must have to qualify as an **instance**” of a type (Langacker 2008:134). In contrast, *tʰə* = nominalization constructions are used to express a particular instance of a type.

2.8.2 *tʰə* = nominalization constructions

In *N. Pwo*, the form *tʰə* ‘thing’ can function as either a head noun or a nominalizing proclitic. As a head noun, it is used to refer to a schematic or non-specific entity like English *stuff*, as illustrated in (81).

- (81) **Folktale 3.13**
 Ø ué ʔã tʰə ʔɛ ma' l̩
 3.SUBJ come eat **thing** many EMPH EMPH
 Lit. ‘(They) came to eat thing very many.’
 ‘(They) came to eat stuff, very many (people).’

In (81), *tʰə* ‘thing’ is used to refer, generically, to the food that was eaten. The use of *tʰə* in this context, rather than a more specific “food” nominal, indicates that the act of eating was more important than what was eaten. Here, *tʰə* fills the direct object position and functions as an independent phonological unit, with full stress and low tone.

Like other noun heads, *tʰə* can take modifiers, as illustrated in (82).

- (82) **Folktale 23.115**
tʰə *lə* = *dī* *ʔi* *ke* *tʰənɛ*
thing one CL.body this be_{be.able} ghost
 Lit. ‘Thing, one body this, be ghost.’
 ‘This thing is a ghost.’

In (82), the copula subject, *tʰə lə dī ʔi* ‘thing, one body, this’ is composed of the schematic noun head, *tʰə* ‘thing’, which is modified by a numeral and classifier, *lə = dī* ‘one body’, and the proximal demonstrative *ʔi*. It is used to refer to the entity which is identified by the copula complement, *tʰənɛ* ‘ghost’.

However, as a nominalizer rather than a head noun, *tʰə =* is reduced to proclitic status with no stress or tone. It attaches to various kinds of verbs, nouns, or classifiers, forming the nominalization constructions summarized in (83).

- (83) *tʰə =* **nominalization constructions**
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <i>tʰə =</i> ‘NMLZ _{thing} ’ | + | } | Dynamic verb
Stative verb
Existence verb
Noun
Localizer noun
Classifier |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|

Each of these constructions will be discussed below, starting with dynamic verbs (§2.8.2.1), followed by stative and existence verbs (§2.8.2.2), nouns (§2.8.2.3), localizer nouns (§2.8.2.4), and finally classifiers (§2.8.2.5).

2.8.2.1 Dynamic verb $t^h\partial$ = nominalization constructions

Some $t^h\partial$ = nominalizations with dynamic verbs can refer to the undergoer of a process, as illustrated in (84).

- (84) **Folktale 12.99b**
 $t^h\partial = \text{?}\tilde{a}$?o $k\hat{u}'$ $m\hat{e}$ $l\hat{s}$
 NMLZ_{thing} = eat exist every CL.kind EMPH
 Lit. ‘**Thing** = eat exist every kind!’
 There is **food** of every kind!’

In (84), $t^h\partial = \text{?}\tilde{a}$ ‘food (lit. things eaten)’ is an entity which undergoes the act of eating.

Other $t^h\partial$ = nominalizations with dynamic verbs encode an action nominalization, which can include the direct object of the dynamic verb, as in (85).

- (85) **Sanit 23**
 $b\epsilon d\delta'$ $[t^h\tilde{s}$ $p^h\hat{i}$ $\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ $d\epsilon$ $b\epsilon$ $t^h\partial = t\hat{a}'s\acute{e}$ $= \hat{a}'$ $n\omega$]_{sc}
 however until at 3.ERG de strike NMLZ_{thing} = judge 3.ACC NMLZ_{that}
 $\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ $l\hat{i}$ $t\epsilon^h\hat{t}\hat{n}\hat{a}$ $p^h\hat{i}$ $n\omega$ $p\hat{a}'$
 3.POSS = wife go sit at DEMPRN_{that} also
 Lit. ‘However, to he strike judging him, his wife go sit at that also.’
 ‘However, when he encountered his judgment, his wife went and sat there also.’

In (85), $t^h\partial = t\hat{a}'s\acute{e} = \hat{a}'$ ‘judgment of him’ occurs as the direct object of the adversative verb, $b\epsilon$ ‘strike’, within a pre-clause adverbial clause. It is composed of the nominalizer, $t^h\partial =$, which is cliticized to the dynamic verb, $t\hat{a}'s\acute{e}$ ‘judge’, and has scope over the following third-person accusative pronoun, $= \hat{a}'$, which refers to the recipient of the judgment. This whole construction refers to an instance of judgment.

2.8.2.2 Stative and existence verb $t^h\partial$ = nominalization constructions

Stative verb $t^h\partial$ = nominalizations can be used to refer to a particular object that embodies the property expressed by the stative verb, as illustrated in (86).

(86) F2 Folktale 31

\emptyset *deuutçû* *lâ* $t^h\partial = l\acute{e}k^h\acute{e}$ *bâibâ* $t^h\tilde{a}$ *sê*
 3.SUBJ see.from.a.distance descend NMLZ_{thing} = **be.green** coil ascend tree
nɔ *ni*
 NMLZ_{that} OK?

Lit. ‘(He) see from a distance descend green thing coiled ascending tree.’
 ‘From a distance, (he) saw below a green thing coiled around and ascending the tree.’

In (86), the elided subject referent looks down from above and sees from a distance a $t^h\partial = l\acute{e}k^h\acute{e}$ ‘green thing’, which fills the subject position of the complement clause. This green thing later turns out to be a snake, but at this point the viewer does not yet know what it is.

Several stative verb $t^h\partial$ = nominalizations have developed into names for a particular instance of something that embodies the property encoded by the stative verb, as illustrated in (87) and (88).

(87) F1 King’s Story 8b

kə = xwî ?ã $t^h\partial = u\acute{e}$
 1.PL.NOM buy eat NMLZ_{thing} = **be.spicy**

Lit. ‘We buy eat **thing be.spicy**.’
 ‘We bought **chili peppers**.’

(88) Folktale 55.33

$t^h\partial = k^h\grave{u}$ *lâ* *bâná*
 NMLZ_{thing} = **be.hot** descend very.yellow

Lit. ‘**Thing be.hot** descend very yellow.’
 ‘**The sunshine** was intensely hot.’

In (87), $t^h\partial = ue$ ‘ $NMLZ_{thing} = be.spicy$ ’ is used to refer exclusively to chili peppers, an important component of the N. Pwo Karen diet. The word, $t^h\partial = k^h\hat{u}$ ‘ $NMLZ_{thing} = be.hot$ ’, in (88), can refer to either ‘heat’ or ‘sunshine’, depending on the context.

In addition, some stative verb $t^h\partial =$ nominalizations can refer to specific instantiations of abstract referents, as illustrated in (89).

- (89) **Folktale 31.112**
 $t^h\partial\tilde{a}\tilde{a}$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $t^h\partial = k^h\hat{a}i'$ $l\hat{a}$
 cloud ascend $NMLZ_{thing} = be.dark$ descend
 Lit. ‘Cloud ascend and **darkness** descend.’
 ‘It became cloudy and dark.’

In (89), $t^h\partial = k^h\hat{a}i'$ ‘darkness’, fills the subject position in the second clause of a coordinated clause construction. For the N. Pwo, darkness is an entity that descends.

Finally, the existence predicate, $ʔo$ ‘exist’, can also occur in a $t^h\partial =$ nominalization, as illustrated in (90).

- (90) **Courtship 108**
 $[me'$ $k^hw\hat{e}$ $l\hat{u}$ $t^h\partial = ʔo$ $n\partial$]_{SC} $[ʔo$ $n\hat{a}$ $p^h\acute{a}$ $b\epsilon$]_{MC}
 $be_{be.true}$ observe at $NMLZ_{thing} = exist$ $NMLZ_{that}$ exist even.one CL.time NEG
 Lit. ‘(You) be observe at thing exist, exist even one time not.’
 ‘If you wait until you have **everything**, there won’t be even one time (to marry).’

The sentence, in (90), is part of a discussion about when a couple can get married, which is dependent on the ability of the father of the bride to fund the wedding ceremony. However, the economic concerns and the needs of the couple need to be balanced, which is the gist of the expression in (90). The first clause of this idiomatic expression is a conditional clause that suggests that if the couple and their parents look to everything, expressed as

$t^h\partial = \text{?o}$ ‘NMLZ_{thing} = exist’, there won’t be even one time (for the marriage). In addition to $t^h\partial =$ nominalizations with verbs, $t^h\partial =$ also attaches to nominals.

2.8.2.3 $t^h\partial =$ constructions with nouns

In general, $t^h\partial =$ constructions with nouns refer to a particular instance of the type expressed by the noun. For example, the combination, $t^h\partial = m\hat{u}'k^hu$ ‘heaven’, is composed of $t^h\partial =$ ‘NMLZ_{thing}’ and the noun compound, $m\hat{u}'k^hu$ ‘sky’. Together, they refer to particular place in the sky: ‘heaven’. Other $t^h\partial =$ constructions with nouns occur with kinship terms or parts of humans, plants, and animals, as illustrated in (91).

- (91) a. $t^h\partial = + w\grave{i}\zeta\grave{e} = \text{NMLZ}_{\text{thing}} + \text{older.sibling} =$ ‘the oldest (older sibling thing)’⁸
 b. $t^h\partial = + j\epsilon = \text{NMLZ}_{\text{thing}} + \text{flesh} =$ ‘meat (flesh thing)’
 c. $t^h\partial = + p^h\hat{a}i' = \text{NMLZ}_{\text{thing}} + \text{skin} =$ ‘leather (skin thing)’
 d. $t^h\partial = + t\zeta^h\tilde{u} = \text{NMLZ}_{\text{thing}} + \text{thorn} =$ ‘thicket of thorns (thorn thing)’

One possible explanation for $t^h\partial =$ constructions with N. Pwo kinship terms and the parts of humans, plants, and animals is that they are often possessed, as illustrated in (92).

(92) **Folktale 15.9**

\emptyset $m\hat{\epsilon}$ $n\grave{i}$ $p\grave{a}n\grave{e}$ $p^h\hat{a}i'$ $t\zeta\hat{a}$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $w\acute{e}$ $d\epsilon$
 3.SUBJ do get **water.buffalo** **skin** bind ascend return 3.ABS $d\epsilon$

Lit. ‘(They) got **water buffalo skin** (and) bind ascend return it.’

‘(They) got the **water buffalo’s skin** and bound it up.’

In (92), the initial noun of the possessive construction, $p\grave{a}n\grave{e}$ ‘water.buffalo’, refers to the possessor, which is followed by the possessed head, $p^h\hat{a}i'$ ‘skin’. The possessor-possessed relationship implied by the juxtaposition of two nouns potentially creates a problem if a speaker wants to describe the nature of an object. However, by using a $t^h\partial =$ construction as a

⁸In the N. Pwo kinship system, each child is called by a kinship term based on birth order. Given names are rarely used and not readily shared with outsiders.

modifier in a N + N appositional construction, it is possible to communicate the nature of an object without a possessed reading, as illustrated in (93).

(93) **Folktale 28.23**

p^hĩd̃k^hɛ nexâ ʔe' wé ʔə = t^hõ t^hə = p^hâi' lə = p^hlõ
giant offer DAT 3.ABS 3.POSS = bag NMLZ_{thing} = skin one CL.round.object

Lit. 'Giant give to him his bag leather, one round.object.'

'The giant offered him his leather bag.'

In (93), the *t^hə =* construction, *t^hə = p^hâi'* 'thing = skin' has the meaning 'leather', a particular type of skin. Compare this to *t^hõ p^hâi'* 'bag's skin', which refers to a part of the bag. This function of particularizing nominal concepts can also be seen with localizer nouns.

2.8.2.4 **Localizer noun *t^hə =* constructions**

In N. Pwo, localizer nouns are used to express spatial relations within a locational phrase, as already discussed in §2.2.3. To review, consider (94).

(94) **Folktale 10.91**

bāsəʔu k^hó Ø p^hĩ lâ [t^hĩ klɛ] [lũ ñ p^hâ]
tiger TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ jump descend water middle at swamp inside
nɔ
NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'Tiger part, (he) jump descend (at) water's middle, at swamp's inside.'

'On the tiger's part, (he) jumped down into the middle of the water in the swamp.'

Two locational constructions occur in (94). Both of them express interiority spatial relations.

The first construction, *t^hĩ klɛ* 'water's middle' expresses an interiority relation with an unbounded reference object, the water. The second construction, *lũ ñ p^hâ* 'at swamp's inside', expresses an interiority relation with a bounded reference object, the swamp. Thus, the tiger has jumped into the middle area of the bounded swamp. These two interiority localizer nouns can occur together in a single locational construction, which is illustrated in (95).

(95) F2 Folktale 12

∅ lî lî lî lî [lú tç^hai' klê p^hâ]
3.SUBJ go go go go at rice.paddy middle inside

Lit. '(He) go go go go at rice paddy's middle's inside.'

'(He) went and went into the middle of the rice paddy.'

A traditional wet rice paddy (*tç^hai'*), such as the one mentioned in (95), is bounded by embankments, in order to contain the water within the paddy. Thus, the entire paddy is considered a bounded space because of the embankments, whereas the middle of the paddy is considered unbounded space (see Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: *lú tç^hai' klê p^hâ* 'at paddy's middle's inside'

In Figure 2.3, the thick black line represents the boundaries of the rice paddy. The bounded space of the paddy is expressed by the localizer noun, *p^hâ* 'inside'. The X represents the located object, a person, who is in the middle of the paddy, expressed by the localizer noun, *klê* 'middle'. If the person were located closer to the edges of the paddy, they would no longer be in the middle of the paddy. Now, compare this to the *t^hə =* construction with *klê* 'middle', in (96).

(96) F6 Folktale 327

∅ ?ãki lâ t^hut^hê [t^hə = klê p^hâ] nɔ mɔ'
3.SUBJ keep descend goose NMLZ_{thing} = middle inside NMLZ_{that} be.sufficient

Lit. '(He) keep descend goose (at) thing middle's inside be sufficient.'

'Then (he) put the goose down in the centre (of the flat place), just so.'

In (96), $t^h\partial = kl\hat{\epsilon}$ ‘middle thing’ is functioning as a syntactically independent possessor in a possessive construction; localizer nouns typically do not stand on their own. The $t^h\partial =$ construction refers to a particular unbounded middle space, while the possessee head, $p^h\hat{a}$ ‘inside’, indicates the bounding of this middle space, diagrammed in Figure 2.4.

Flat place



Figure 2.4: $t^h\partial = kl\hat{\epsilon} p^h\hat{a}$ ‘middle’s inside’

In Figure 2.4, $t^h\partial = kl\hat{\epsilon}$ ‘NMLZ_{thing} = middle’ refers to the middle area of the unbounded flat place, while $t^h\partial = kl\hat{\epsilon} p^h\hat{a}$ refers to a bounded space within the thick black line, the centre. Finally, compare this with $t^h\partial = p^h\hat{a}$, in (97).

(97) **Folktale 42.146**

$u\check{\jmath}\hat{\sigma}$ \emptyset \hat{l} $t\check{\zeta}\hat{a}i'$ $\hat{l}\hat{a}$ $w\acute{e}$ $d\epsilon$ $\hat{l}\hat{u}$ $t^h\partial = p^h\hat{a}$ $[p^h\hat{i}$
 finish 3.SUBJ go discard descend 3.ABS de at NMLZ_{thing} = inside at
 $\partial = k^h\check{\sigma}$ $w\acute{e}$ $w\acute{e}$ $n\omega$]_{RC}
 3.POSS = dig first 3.ABS NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Finish, (he) go discard descend him at thing inside at his digging first it.’

He threw his uncle into the inside thing (hole) that he had dug first.’

In (97), $t^h\partial = p^h\hat{a}$ ‘NMLZ_{thing} = inside’, the object of the preposition, $\hat{l}\hat{u}$ ‘at’, is modified by a relative clause. It refers to a particular type of inside, a hole, that had been dug earlier.

To summarize, bare localizer nouns express spatial relations, while localizer noun $t^h\partial =$ constructions refer to a particular location, an entity. Table 2.7 compares the constructions considered in this section.

Table 2.7: Localizer noun and localizer noun $t^h\partial =$ constructions compared

<i>klê</i> ‘middle’	<i>p^hâ</i> ‘inside’
<i>lû t^hí klê</i> ‘at water’s middle’	<i>lû nō p^hâ</i> ‘at swamp’s inside’
<i>lû tç^hai’ klê p^hâ</i> ‘at the middle of the rice paddy’s inside’	—
<i>t^h∂ = klê p^hâ</i> ‘middle thing’s inside (centre)’	<i>lû t^h∂ = p^hâ</i> ‘inside thing (hole)’

Classifiers also occur in $t^h\partial =$ nominalizations, as described in the next section.

2.8.2.5 Classifier $t^h\partial =$ nominalization constructions

Two classifiers occur in $t^h\partial =$ nominalizations within the corpus. The first is $t^h\partial = lû$ ‘mountain’, illustrated in (98).

(98) Folktale 23.34

ʔ∂ = nâ *nɔ* *lî* *lî* *wé* *dɛ* *p^ha’k^hwai’* *t^h∂ = lû* *lə =*
 3.POSS = oldest.sister NMLZ_{that} go go 3.ABS dɛ CROSS.OVER NMLZ_{thing} = CL.hill one
lû
 CL.hill

Lit. ‘Her oldest sister, (she) went and went her cross over thing = hill, one hill.’
 ‘As for her oldest sister, (she) walked and walked, crossing over a mountain.’

In (98), $t^h\partial = lû$ ‘NMLZ_{thing} = CL.hill’ is used to refer to a particular type of hill; a mountain. Note that this nominalization construction is modified by the classifier phrase, $lə = lû$ ‘one hill’.

In N. Pwo, interrogative words in content questions take the form [nominal + QUES]. In this construction, the most common question marker is *lê* or its phonetic variant, *lš*. The nominal can be a noun, as in *p^hlô lê* ‘who’ ([person] + QUES), a classifier phrase, as in *lə = tç^h lê* ‘where’ ([one CL.place] + QUES), a prepositional phrase, as in *bì tç^h a’ lê* ‘how’ ([like + manner + QUES]), and even a full noun phrase, as illustrated in (99).

(99) **Folktale 19.170**

$\text{ʔə} = m\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{ʔ}\acute{\alpha}t\check{\varsigma}\hat{\alpha}'$ = $\hat{\alpha}'$ $t\check{\varsigma}\hat{o}$ $n\partial = b\epsilon$ $[\text{t}^h\partial$ $l\partial = m\hat{\epsilon}$
 3.POSS = wife ask 3.ACC oldest.brother 2.NOM strike **thing one CL.kind**
 $l\hat{\epsilon}$]
 QUES

Lit. ‘His wife asked him, “Oldest Brother, you strike thing, one kind?”’
 ‘His wife asked him, “Oldest Brother, what happened to you (what did you encounter)?”’

In (99), the interrogative word construction, $t^h\partial l\partial = m\hat{\epsilon} l\hat{\epsilon}$ ‘thing, one CL.kind + QUES’, in combination with the adversative verb, $b\epsilon$ ‘strike, is used to ask *what happened?*. Another way to ask a *what happened?* question is to use a $t^h\partial =$ construction with a classifier, which is illustrated in (100).

(100) **Folktale 53.59**

$u\check{\jmath}\hat{o}$ $t^h\partial = m\hat{u}'k^hup^hu$ $\text{ʔ}\acute{\alpha}t\check{\varsigma}\hat{\alpha}'$ $w\acute{\epsilon}$ $n\partial = b\epsilon$ $[\text{t}^h\partial = m\hat{\epsilon}$ $l\hat{\epsilon}]$
 finish angel ask 3.ABS 2.NOM strike **NMLZ_{thing} = CL.kind** QUES
 $b\partial$
right?

Lit. ‘Finish, angel ask him, “You strike thing kind?”’
 ‘Then the angel asked him, “What happened to you?”’

In (100), $t^h\partial = m\hat{\epsilon}$ ‘NMLZ_{thing} = CL.kind’, represents a reduction of a full noun phrase with the schematic noun, $t^h\partial$ ‘thing’, as in (99).

2.8.3 Lexical nominalizations compared

The two lexical nominalization types covered in §2.8 serve different functions. Possessor nominalizations describe an event or property which has, at some point, been possessed by something or someone, whereas $t^h\partial =$ nominalizations are things which embody a particular instance of the concept encoded by the verbal or nominal material within the construction.

These differences are compared in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: *Possessor and t^hə = nominalization constructions compared*

<i>ʔə</i> = nominalization (type)	<i>t^hə</i> = nominalization (instance)
<i>ʔə</i> = <i>ʔo</i> ‘the place of his presence’	<i>t^hə</i> = <i>ʔo</i> ‘everything’
<i>ʔə</i> = <i>ʔā</i> ‘his eating’	<i>t^hə</i> = <i>ʔā</i> ‘food (things eaten)’
<i>ʔə</i> = <i>lé</i> ‘its greenness; green one’	<i>t^hə</i> = <i>lé</i> ‘green thing’
<i>ʔə</i> = <i>kā</i> ‘his laziness; lazy one’	<i>t^hə</i> = <i>kā</i> ‘lazy thing’
	<i>t^hə</i> = <i>kādu</i> ‘Sloth’ ⁹

These two lexical nominalization types also differ in their distribution within clausal nominalizations. *t^hə* = nominalizations function as noun phrase heads, while possessor nominalizations, especially when filled by verbs, are a component of clausal nominalizations, the next topic of discussion.

2.9 Clausal nominalization constructions

Matisoff (1972:238) observes that “where there is an overt connection between *nominalization* and relative-genitive constructions, there is a strong tendency to treat whole sentences as nounlike objects.” N. Pwo makes extensive use of clausal nominalizations for the further specification of participants and events, as well as the expression of speaker attitude. In this section, two clausal construction types are covered: 1) action nominal clause constructions (§2.9.1), and 2) *me’* constructions (§2.9.2). The section concludes with a comparative typology of N. Pwo nominalization constructions within Tibeto-Burman (§2.9.3).

2.9.1 Action nominal clause constructions

Comrie and Thompson (2007:343) define an action nominal as “a noun phrase that contains, in addition to a noun derived from a verb, one or more reflexes of a proposition or predicate.” N. Pwo has several action nominal constructions which are discussed in turn. First, the relative clause construction is described in §2.9.1.1 and the adverbial clause construction is described in §2.9.1.2. This is followed by non-embedded clauses (§2.9.1.3), periphrastic causative clauses

⁹The meaning of *du* is possibly ‘big’.

(§2.9.1.4), and complement clauses (§2.9.1.5). The section ends with a summary of the signals of the nominalized status of these constructions (§2.9.1.6).

2.9.1.1 Relative clause construction

All relative clauses in N. Pwo are post-nominal and typically occur with an overt external head. The most common relative clause construction is a prepositional phrase with a clausal object, which is marked by the medial demonstrative, *nɔ*, and contains a genitive subject, as diagrammed in (101).

(101) Relative clause construction

(Head) + [(*lũ*/*p^hĩ*) + Genitive subject + Predicate + (*nɔ*)]_{RC}

The only required element is the clausal object of the prepositions *lũ* ‘at’ or *p^hĩ* ‘at’. A full relative clause is illustrated in (102).

(102) Field notes 3.138.2

kək^hwé [*p^hĩ* *ʔə = ʔo* *p^hə* *ʔũ* *nɔ*]_{RC} *ke* *jÊ* *tɕə = p^hè*
man at 3.POSS = exist at DEM.PRN_{yonder} NMLZ_{that} be_{be.able} me 1.POSS = father

Lit. ‘Man at his existing at yonder is me, my father.’

‘The man, who is over there, is my father.’

In (102), the external head is *kək^hwé* ‘man’, which is followed by the relative clause in square brackets. As the clausal object of the preposition, *p^hĩ*, this relative clause is a nominalization. The nominalized status of the clause is also indicated by the clause-final medial demonstrative, *nɔ*, as well as the genitive subject, encoded by the third-person possessive determiner, *ʔə =*, which resumptively refers to the external head of the relative clause. The external head and the relative clause together function as the copula subject of a *ke* copula construction.

A relative clause with a second-person genitive subject is illustrated in (103).

(103) **Folktale 3.26b**

tɕə = tɕi *lə = ɕú* [*pʰi nə = kelá jê nɔ*]_{RC} *lâmè*
 1.POSS = money one CL.10.satang at 2.POSS = give 1.ACC NMLZ_{that} disappear

Lit. ‘My money, one 10 satang coin, at your giving me, disappeared.’

‘The 10 satang coin, that you gave me, disappeared.’

Example (103) is part of a conversation about some money that has been lost. The relative clause head, *tɕə = tɕi* ‘my money’, along with the classifier phrase, *lə = ɕú* ‘one 10 satang (coin)’, and the relative clause, fill the subject position. The ordering of the relative clause, in relation to classifier phrases and other modifiers, is flexible. Reference to the money within the relative clause is non-overt.

In N. Pwo, external relative clause heads can only be third persons, which is also reported for Kham, another Tibeto-Burman language (Watters 2002:201). These third-person referents are primarily encoded by nouns and noun phrases; however, on occasion they can be coded by *tʰə =* constructions, a classifier phrase, or a pronoun. Moreover, the head may function as a core argument, an oblique argument, a copula subject, a copula complement, possessor, or possessee. A classifier phrase external head is illustrated in (104).

(104) a. **F2 Folktale 6**

ʔə = pənɛ *ʔo jè dī ni*
 3.POSS = water.buffalo exist five CL.body OK?

Lit. ‘His water.buffalo exist five bodies.’

‘He had five water buffaloes.’

b. **F2 Folktale 7**

*ʔo lə = dī tɕʰi [pʰi dɛ Ø ʔe wé du tʰai nɔ]*_{RC}
 exist one CL.body some at dɛ 3.SUBJ love 3.ABS be.big be.final NMLZ_{that}

ni
 OK?

Lit. ‘Exist one body some at (his) loving it be.big be.final.’

‘There was one buffalo that (he) loved the most.’

In (104a), the narrator asserts the existence of five water buffaloes. Then, in (104b), she goes on to single out one of these water buffaloes as the favourite. This favourite buffalo is referenced by the classifier phrase, *l̥ = d̥i* ‘one CL.body’, which serves as the external head of the post-nominal relative clause. Within the relative clause, the buffalo is referenced by *wé* ‘3.ABS’ in the direct object position.

Reference to the head within the relative clause can occur via a possessive determiner for subjects and possessors (102), a resumptive pronoun for non-subjects (104), or a gap (103). For relative clauses, both the preposition and *nɔ*-marking are optional, as illustrated in (105).

(105) Folktale 4.76

uʃ̂ \emptyset *dɛ* *m̂i* *p^hâ* [*p^hl̂o* *ʔãp^hʃ̂* *wé* *dɛ*
 finish 3.SUBJ see **cooked.rice** **cooking.pot** person prepare 3.ABS dɛ
 uʃ̂ *jâu*']
 finish INCH

Lit. ‘Finish, (they) see cooked.rice cooking.pot (at) person’s preparing it finish already.’

‘Then, (they) saw the pot of cooked rice that people had already prepared.’

In (105), the relative clause head, *m̂i p^hâ* ‘pot of cooked rice’, fills the direct object position of the main clause. It is referenced within the relative clause by the resumptive pronoun *wé* ‘3.ABS’. The relative clause includes *uʃ̂* ‘finish’ and the inchoative particle, *jâu*’, which together indicate that the event has already taken place. The relative clause is not preceded by a preposition or marked with *nɔ*.

This section has demonstrated the nominal nature of N. Pwo relative clauses, which, in their full form, are prepositional phrases with clausal objects, marked by the medial demonstrative, *nɔ*. Aspectual information is possible in a relative clause, but not required. In addition, neither an initial preposition nor *nɔ*-marking is obligatory.

Another indicator of the nominal nature of the relative clause is a genitive subject. The clearest indicator of a genitive subject is the third-person possessive determiner, the only possessive determiner which functions only as the possessor of a noun in a noun phrase or a possessor in a possessor nominalization. In contrast, the first- and second-person possessive determiners have the same form as the first- and second-person nominative pronouns, therefore, the only way to distinguish them is by construction. Since relative clauses are prepositional phrases, the subject referent in a relative clause can be interpreted as a genitive subject. The discussion continues with adverbial clauses, which differ from relative clauses only by their position within a sentence.

2.9.1.2 Adverbial clause construction

Adverbial clauses can occur either pre-clause or post-clause. In their full form, they are prepositional phrases with clausal objects, as diagrammed in (106).

(106) Adverbial clause construction

(Preposition) + Genitive subject clause + (*nɔ*)

The clause in this construction can be optionally introduced by a preposition, such as *tʰɔ̃* ‘to’, *sə̀lì* ‘before’, and *pʰì* ‘at’, and optionally marked by *nɔ*. A fully expressed adverbial clause is illustrated in (107).

(107) Rebecca and Isaac 69

bedôʹ [*pʰì tɕə = ué* *lú klê nɔ*] *tɕə = ʔãtʰã ní kətɕʰɛ̀jwɛ̀*
 however at 1.POSS = come at way NMLZ_{that} 1.NOM ask with God
bì ʔí
 like DEM.PRN_{this}

Lit. ‘However, at my coming at way, I asked with God like this.’

‘However, when I was coming on the way, I asked God, like this.’

In (107), the time adverbial clause precedes the main clause; in all other respects, however, the construction is the same as a relative clause, with a preposition, *no*-marking, and a genitive subject.

In addition to time expressions, the adverbial clause constructions are used to express reasons, purposes, and results. A reason adverbial is illustrated in (108).

(108) Folktale 51.31

∅ ʔã wé kʰó ʔã wé kʰó ʔə = me'tʰĩ lã kʰó
 3.SUBJ eat 3.ABS CL.part eat 3.ABS CL.part 3.POSS = tears descend CL.part
 ʔə = me'tʰĩ lã kʰó [ʔə = jãsã' bɛ ʔə = pʰu]
 3.POSS = tears descend CL.part 3.POSS = pity strike 3.POSS = child

Lit. '(He) ate it part and his tears descended part his pitying strike his child.'
 'He ate it and cried because he pitied his child.'

In (108), the reason clause follows the main clause. Again, the only indication of its nominalized status is the possessor nominalization *ʔə = jãsã'* 'his pitying'.

A purpose adverbial clause is illustrated in (109).

(109) Folktale 55.82

[pʰlô ʔo wé ʔə = kʰu]_{CL1} [tɕè wé [mɛ tʰə kũ']
 person exist 3.ABS 3.POSS = head use 3.ABS do thing every
 ʔə = mɛ]_{PURPOSE}]_{CL2}
 3.POSS = CL.kind

Lit. 'Person exist (on) it, its head use it do thing every kind.'
 'People are on their heads and use them to do things of every kind.'

The proposition, in (109), is concerned with the plight of elephants who are subject to humans and are forced to do all kinds of the things. The purpose clause occurs following the direct object argument in the second clause.

A result adverbial clause is illustrated in (110).

(110) **Folktale 1.48a**

uj^ɕ [∅ lut^{hã} t^{hâi} ʔə = sâ']_{MC} [∅ ke t^{hã} t^{hâi}
finish 3.SUBJ change return 3.POSS = heart 3.SUBJ be.able ascend return
p^hlô^ɕ]_{RESULT}
person

Lit. 'Finish, (he) change return his heart (he) be ascend return person.'
'Then, (he) changed himself back into a person.'

Prior to (110), a man has changed himself into a horse. In (110), he changes himself back into a person. The result of his changing back, *lut^{hã} t^{hâi}* 'change return', is expressed in the result clause which follows the main clause.

This section on adverbial clauses has demonstrated that the adverbial clause construction is essentially the same as a relative clause, which takes the form of a prepositional phrase, with a clausal object and its genitive subject. In this construction, both the preposition and *nɔ*-marking are optional. However, unlike the relative clause, which occurs as part of an argument noun phrase, an adverbial clause occurs either before or after the clause. Conditional adverbial clauses are another type of nominalization that can be marked by *nɔ*; however, since they are a type of *me'* construction, they are covered in §2.9.2. First, non-embedded clause nominalizations are considered.

2.9.1.3 Non-embedded clause nominalizations

Non-embedded clause nominalizations stand on their own, without any apparent subordinate relationship with another clause. N. Pwo non-embedded nominalized clauses are marked by *nɔ*, and/or *də'/dâ*. A *nɔ*-marked non-embedded clause nominalization is illustrated in (111b).

(111) a. **Folktale 3.41**

uj^ɕ ∅ mē t^{hã} ʔe' wé ʔə = dâu' lǐ wè x^ɕ
finish 3.SUBJ do ascend DAT 3.ABS 3.POSS = house at city outskirts

Lit. 'Finish, (she) do ascend for them their house at city's outskirts.'
'Then, she built their house for them at the city's outskirts.'

b. Folktale 3.42

ʔo wé de dáméwê kʰí ɥê nɔ
 exist 3.ABS de husband.and.wife two CL.human NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Exist them, husband and wife, two humans.’

‘They were living as husband and wife, the two of them.’

c. Folktale 3.43

ʔo lə = nî tçôp^huxwi lô ʔe’ ʔə = mé tçâi’ wé
 exist one CL.day male.orphan tell DAT 3.POSS = wife say 3.ABS ...

Lit. ‘Exist one day, Orphan tell to his wife, say it...’

‘One day, Orphan said to his wife...’

The stretch of discourse in (111) illustrates an episode boundary that is indicated by the non-embedded nominalization in (111b). Prior to the state of affairs asserted in (111b), an orphan has married and set up housekeeping with the help of his mother-in-law. The beginning of the new episode, in (111c), is indicated by the time adverbial, *ʔo lə nî* ‘one day’.

A *də*’-marked non-embedded nominalization is illustrated in (112).

(112) a. F6 Folktale 78

də Ø klâ sí wé xɔ’ ní xe’t^hau’lâi’
 EMPH 3.SUBJ slash die 3.ABS EMPH with blunt.hacking.knife

Lit. ‘(He) slash die it with blunt.hacking.knife.’

‘He slashed it to death with a blunt hacking knife.’

b. F6 Folktale 79

ʔə = mù lə = bî sí t^hə’ də’
 3.POSS = mother one CL.line die ! NMLZ_{EMPH}

Lit. ‘Its mother, one line, die!’

‘The female snake died.’

In (112), a snake has crawled into view and a young man slashes it to death, as conveyed in (112a). Then, the non-embedded clause, in (112b), expresses the prevailing state of affairs, the dead snake, which serves as background to what happens next.

In (114), the Causer argument is non-overt, while the Causee, $t\zeta\partial = \text{?}\hat{a}u$ ‘my camels’, appears in the indirect object position of the upstairs clause. This is followed by the downstairs clause, which fills the direct object position and is marked by $n\text{ɔ}$.

A periphrastic causative with an overt genitive subject in the downstairs clause is illustrated in (115).

(115) F6 Folktale 541

$d\partial'$ \emptyset $m\partial =$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $d\partial'$ $[\emptyset$ $m\acute{a}$ $w\acute{e}]_{\text{UPSTAIRS}}$ $[\text{?}\partial = t^h\hat{a}i$
 EMPH 3.SUBJ IRR return NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ give 3.ABS 3.POSS = return
 $t\zeta^h\text{ɔ}'$ $\emptyset]_{\text{DOWNSTAIRS}}$
 lift 3.OBJ

Lit. ‘(He) would return, (he) give him his returning lift (it).’

‘When (he) was about to go back, (he) let him take it.’

In (115), the Causee is referenced by $w\acute{e}$ in the indirect object position of the upstairs clause.

The causee is then referenced by $\text{?}\partial =$ ‘3.POSS’ in the downstairs action nominal..

An oblique object complement of $kem\acute{a}$ ‘give/CAUSE’ is illustrated in (116).

(116) M5 School Story 13b

$s\partial r\acute{a}'$ $l\hat{o}$ $\text{?}e'$ $t\zeta\partial = m\grave{u}t\zeta\partial = p^h\grave{\epsilon}$ $l\grave{u}$ $n\partial = p^h u$ $n\text{ɔ}$ $[\emptyset$
 religious.teacher tell DAT 1.POSS = parents at 2.POSS = child NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ
 me' si $[\emptyset$ $kem\acute{a}$ $\emptyset]_{\text{UPSTAIRS}}$ $[l\grave{u}$ $\text{?}\partial = u\grave{y}\grave{a}i$ $lai']_{\text{DOWNSTAIRS}}$
 be_{be.true} be.skilled 2.SUBJ give 3.IO at 3.POSS = study paper

Lit. ‘Teacher tell to my parents at your child (he) be skilled give (him) at his studying paper.’

‘The teacher told my parents, concerning your child, if (he) is skilled, allow (him) to go to school.’

In (116), the downstairs causative complement of $kem\acute{a}$ ‘give’ takes the form of a prepositional phrase, $l\grave{u} \text{?}\partial = u\grave{y}\grave{a}i lai'$ ‘at his studying paper’, along with a possessor causee. The pattern of a possessor causee can also be seen in (117).

(117) **Folktale 32.14**

uɣ̌ \emptyset *ʔãt^hã* *ʔã* *wé* *ʔə = p^hu* *tɕâi'* *wé* *t^hulĩ* [\emptyset
finish 3.SUBJ ask eat 3.ABS 3.POSS = offspring say 3.ABS dove 2.SUBJ
kemá *jê*]_{UPSTAIRS} [*tɕə = ʔã* *nə = p^hu* *lə = bẽ*
give 1.ACC 1.POSS = eat 2.POSS = offspring one CL.flat.thing
dɔ']_{DOWNSTAIRS}
more

Lit. ‘Finish, (he) ask eat it, her offspring and said it, “Dove, (you) give to me my eating your offspring one flat thing more.”’

Then (he) asked to eat her offspring and said, “Dove, let me eat another one of your offspring.”’

The upstairs clause, in (117), has an overt causee, referenced by *jê* ‘1.ACC’, followed by the thing allowed, which is expressed by the downstairs action nominal, *tɕə = ʔã nə = p^hu lə bẽ dɔ'* ‘my eating your offspring, one flat thing more’.

This section has demonstrated that the N. Pwo periphrastic causative construction includes an action nominal complement, in the direct or oblique object position, which can be optionally marked by *nə*. Complement constructions are also action nominals that fill the direct object position in the main clause.

2.9.1.5 Complement clause constructions

N. Pwo has a limited number of complement-taking verbs. These include the attention (perception) verbs, *dɛ* ‘see’, *k^hwè* ‘observe’, and *nɛuá* ‘hear’; the thinking verbs, *tɕ^hɔ̃mɔ̃* ‘think’, *sũyé* ‘know’, and *mĩmã* ‘dream’; and the liking verb, *bɛsã* ‘want’. These verbs can occur in at least one of two construction types: 1) a complement construction and 2) an appositional complement construction (Dixon 2006). The complement construction is covered in §2.9.1.5.1 and the appositional complement construction is covered in §2.9.1.5.2. The section ends with a summary and comparison of complement constructions in §2.9.1.5.3.

2.9.1.5.1 Complement construction

In a complement construction, an action nominal fills the direct object position, as diagrammed in (118).

(118) N. Pwo non-speech complement clause construction

(Subject) + Predicate + DO:Action nominal complement

In (118), possible predicates include the attention verbs, *dɛ* ‘see’ *k^hwɛ̀* ‘observe’, and *nɛɥá* ‘hear’, the thinking verb, *mímã* ‘dream’, and the liking verb, *bɛsâ* ‘want’. A complement clause, with *k^hwɛ̀* ‘observe’, is illustrated in (119).

(119) Folktale 31.100

∅ *k^hwɛ̀* [*ʔə = tɕai* *lâɥò* *tɕə = p^hĩ*]_{CC}
 3.SUBJ observe 3.POSS = walk resemble 1.POSS = younger.sibling

Lit. ‘(I) observe their walking resembles my younger sibling.’

‘(I) see that their walking resembles my younger sibling.’

In (119), the possessed predicate, *ʔə = tɕai* ‘her walking’, signals the nominal status of the complement clause. However, more common in the corpus is clausal complements with no overt genitive subject, as illustrated in (120).

(120) Folktale 7.59a

t^hú *põlõ* *dɛ* [*ʔə = p^hĩ* *ɥét^hâi* *ɥã*]_{CC}
 pig be.round see 3.POSS = grandmother return cry

Lit. ‘Pig be.round see his grandmother returning crying.’

‘The round pig saw his grandmother return crying.’

In (120), the clausal complement of *dɛ* ‘see’ consists of the subject noun phrase, *ʔə = p^hĩ* ‘his grandmother’, and the complex predicate, *ɥét^hâi ɥã* ‘return crying’. The appositional complement construction demonstrates the nominal nature of the clausal complement more overtly.

2.9.1.5.2 Appositional complement construction

In N. Pwo, the combination, *wé* + NP, is common. In this construction, the referent is the same for *wé* and its NP modifier. Consider (121).

(121) **M1 Folktale 8**

∅ *lí* *tɕ^hâu'* *wé* *ʔə = t^hə* *ɕɔ'*
 3.SUBJ go burn.up 3.ABS 3.POSS = thing EMPH

Lit. '(He) went and burn.up it, his stuff!'

'He went and burned his stuff up!'

In (121), a rich man has burned up an orphan's house. This house is referenced by the noun phrase *wé ʔə = t^hə* 'it, his stuff' in the direct object position. It consists of two nominals that stand in an appositional relationship with each other. Moreover, the second nominal modifies the first nominal, *wé*, providing further specification of it.

A complement-taking verb can also appear in a construction in which *wé* and the succeeding noun phrase reference the same entity, as illustrated in (122).

(122) **Joseph 14**

∅ *ʔāmímǎ* *dɛ* *wé* *ʔə = mù*
 3.SUBJ eat.dream see 3.ABS 3.POSS = mother

Lit. '(He) eat dream see her, his mother.'

'He dreamt about his mother.'

In (122), the complement of the complex predicate, *ʔāmímǎ dɛ* 'dream see', is the appositional construction, *wé + ʔə = mù*, which both refer to the dreamer's mother.

In an appositional complement construction, *wé*, in the direct object position of the main clause, refers to the following complement clause, as diagrammed in (123).

(123) N. Pwo appositional complement construction

(Subject) + Predicate + DO:[wé + (dɛ)] + Appositional action nominal

For (123), the predicates, tɕʰʂm̃ ‘think’ and s̃uɣé ‘know’, are the most typical, although dɛ ‘see’ can also occur. In this construction, the only direct object form possible is the pronoun wé, with or without the particle dɛ. The reiterated referent of the pronoun is the following complement clause, as illustrated in (124).

(124) Folktale 22.32

<i>pʰlâ</i>	<i>kʰó</i>	<i>ʔokʰû'</i>	<i>ʔokʰû'</i>	<i>wé</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>lə =</i>	<i>dɛ</i>	<i>wé</i>
be.perceptive	TOP _{cl.part}	wait	wait	3.ABS	3.SUBJ	NEG	see	3.ABS
[<i>ʔə = uɣétʰâi</i> <i>lâ</i> <i>nâ</i> <i>tɕʰû'</i> <i>bɛ</i>] _{CC}								
3.POSS = return descend even.one CL.time NEG								

Lit. ‘Be.perceptive part wait wait him, (he) not see it, his returning descend even one time not.’

‘On Mr. Perceptive’s part, (he) waited and waited for him, but (he) did not see him come back at all.’

In (124), the possessed predicate, ʔə = uɣétʰâi ‘his returning’, indicates the action nominal nature of the appositional complement of dɛ ‘see’. The preceding wé (bolded) refers to what, in this case, was not seen. While it is clear from this example that the complement clause is a nominalization, appositional complement clauses more typically occur without any overt marking of their nominal status, as illustrated in (125).

(125) M5 Folktale 26

<i>kəsámâ</i>	<i>tɕʰʂm̃</i>	<i>wé</i>	[<i>ʔà</i>	<i>tɕôpʰuxwi</i>	<i>lə =</i>	<i>uɣé</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>tɕʰʂm̃</i>	<i>tʰə</i>
rich.man	think	3.ABS	EXCL	male.orphan	one	CL.human	this	think	thing
<i>uɣi</i> <i>mə</i>] _{CC}									
be.good INTENS									

Lit. ‘Rich man think it, “Ah! Male orphan, one human, this thinks thing good!’

‘The rich man thought, “Ah! This orphan thinks good things!’

In (125), the complement-taking verb, *tɕ^hʂm̃* ‘think’, is followed, in the main clause, by *wé*, which refers to the thinking of the *kasámâ* ‘rich man’, the subject referent. That thinking is expressed in the otherwise unmarked complement clause which follows.

2.9.1.5.3 Complement constructions summarized

To summarize, N. Pwo has two complement clause constructions. The first is the complement clause construction, in which the complement clause fills the direct object position of a main clause. Within this construction, possible complement-taking verbs include attention (perception), thinking (ideational), and liking verbs. The second complement construction is the appositional complement construction, in which the third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*, appears in the direct object position and refers to the complement clause which follows. Thus far, only the attention (perception) and thinking (ideational) complement-taking verbs occur in this construction. Signals of the nominal nature of the complement clause are primarily the action nominal structure of the clause with a genitive subject.

2.9.1.6 Action nominals summarized

The nominalized status of N. Pwo action nominal constructions can be indicated by genitive subjects. They can also be objects of prepositions and marked by either the medial demonstrative *nɔ* and/or the emphasis marker *də’/dâ*. They can also be in apposition to *wé* ‘3.ABS’. The distribution of these indicators of nominalization, by function, are presented in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9: *N. Pwo* action nominals by function and marking

	Genitive subject	Object of preposition	<i>nɔ/də'/dê</i> -marking	<i>wé</i> apposition
Relative clause	X	X	X	—
Adverbial clause	X	X	X	—
Periphrastic causative	X	X/—	X	—
Non-embedded clause	X	—	X	—
Complement clause	X	—	—	X

As shown in Table 2.9, all of the *N. Pwo* clausal nominalizations can utilize genitive subjects.

Moreover, of all the clause nominalizations, the nominalized status of the *N. Pwo* relative clause construction is the clearest and most consistent, which bears out the connection between clausal nominalization and relative-genitive constructions observed by Matisoff (1972:238).

The next topic of discussion is extended *me'* constructions in which *me'* links nominal units larger than noun phrases.

2.9.2 Extended *me'* constructions

The *me'* 'be_{be.true}' copula construction, which connects two noun phrases, was first introduced in §2.4.2. In this construction, the first noun phrase encodes the copula subject, while the second noun phrase encodes the copula complement, which provides further specification of the copula subject. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the extended linking function of *me'* to express adverbial, possibility, and contrastive information of a broad epistemic nature.

The discussion begins, in §2.9.2.1 with a short review of the *me'* copula construction and its nominal nature. This is followed by a discussion of *me'* constructions which are used, adverbially, to further specify the nature of a state of affairs (§2.9.2.2). Then, several *me'* constructions which are used for expressing a possible state of affairs are considered in (§2.9.2.3), followed by *me'* constructions which indicate a contrastive state of affairs (§2.9.2.4).

Finally, the section ends with a summary of N. Pwo *me'* constructions and similar constructions with *me'* cognates in other Karenic languages and beyond (§2.9.2.5).

2.9.2.1 The *me'* copula construction and its nominal nature

In a *me'* copula construction, the speaker or narrator expresses their epistemic or subjective construal of the identity of the entity expressed in the copula subject position. Consider (126):

(126) **Folktale 55.53**

t^hə = bā̂ *nɔ* \emptyset *me'* [*wé* *sā'kwî* *ʔə = lɛ*] *k^hólò*
 NMLZ_{thing} = be.yellow NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ **be**_{be.true} 3.ABS banana 3.POSS = leaf only
l̂
 EMPH

Lit. 'Monk's robe, (it) be it banana its leaf only!'

'As for the monk's robe, (it) was actually only (yellow) banana leaves.

In (126), the copula subject, *t^hə = bā̂* 'yellow thing', appears in the pre-clause position, marked by *nɔ* 'NMLZ_{that}'. Further specification of the yellow thing is expressed in the copula complement, which consists of *wé* '3.ABS' and *sā'kwî ʔə = lɛ* 'banana leaf'; two nominals in apposition.

In addition, an entity and its specification, expressed as a *me'* copula construction, can function as an argument, as illustrated in (127).

(127) **Folktale 4.179**

[*t^həxât^həxò* *me'* *lũ* *me'* *t^hɛ*] \emptyset *ʔākisũ* *wé*
 possessions **be**_{be.true} thread **be**_{be.true} warped.thread 3.SUBJ conceal 3.ABS
lau' *pa'*
 exhaust EMPH

Lit. 'Possessions, be thread, be warped thread, (she) concealed it exhaust.'

'As for the stuff, which was thread and warped thread, (she) concealed it all.'

In (127), the entire *me'* copula construction appears in the pre-clause position, referring to the direct object referent in the clause proper, which is expressed by *wé*. Examining the copula complement further, *me' lũ me' t^hɛ* is an elaborate expression that refers to the weaving thread,

because the narrator is adding important subjective commentary about the nature of the copula subject, *t^haxâ^haxò* ‘possessions’.

Nominalization by association has already been demonstrated with prepositional phrase constructions, in which any object of a preposition, whether a phrase or clause, is, by virtue of its position, a nominal (§2.9.1). The same is true of extended *me*’ constructions, in which *me*’ links two constructions which are interpreted as nominals, by virtue of their position. The discussion of these constructions begins with adverbial *me*’ constructions.

2.9.2.2 Adverbial *me*’ constructions

The structure of an adverbial *me*’ construction is diagrammed in (128).

(128) Adverbial *me*’ construction

Clause core + *me*’ + Verb/Classifier phrase

In an adverbial *me*’ construction, *me*’ links the clause core (predicate with core arguments) with post-core material within a single clause. A manner adverbial is illustrated in (129).

(129) Folktale 54.16

t_ɕ^hê *lâ* *ʔe*’ *jê* *xá* *me*’ *p^hle*
 extend descend DAT 1.ACC stairs **be**_{be.true} be.fast

Lit. ‘Let down for me the stairs be fast.’

‘Let the stairs down for me quickly.’

In (129), *me*’ links the clausal core, which expresses the state of affairs, with *p^hle* ‘be.fast’, which expresses the manner of the event in the clause core. In this case, the speaker wishes the stairs to be let down quickly.

A time adverbial can also be expressed by an adverbial *me*’ construction, as illustrated in (130).

(130) **Folktale 43.29**

ʔo wé me' xwì nî xwì sá
exist 3.ABS **be**_{be.true} many CL.day many CL.night

Lit. 'Exist them be many days and many nights.'

'They stayed many days and nights.'

In (130), the state of affairs of existing or staying precedes *me'*. The paired classifier phrases which follow *me'* specify that the people stayed for a long time. Note that *wé* '3.ABS' refers to the people who stayed.

Further event information, as seen in (129) and (130), is not limited to classifier phrases or stative verbs. A dynamic verb can also occur as the complement of *me'*, as illustrated in (131).

(131) **Folktale 19.100**

[\emptyset ʔãxí \emptyset *me'* lə = dɛ bɛ]_{SC} [ʔə = wé mə klâ sí xâ]_{MC}
3.SUBJ seek 3.OBJ **be**_{be.true} NEG see NEG 3.ERG IRR slash die 1.PL.ACC

Lit. '(I) seek it be not see not, he will slash die us.'

'If (I) don't find (it), he will slash us to death.'

In (131), *lə = dɛ bɛ* 'not see', the complement of *me'* in the subordinate clause, expresses the possibility that the action of the main verb, *ʔãxí* 'seek', may not be successful.

2.9.2.3 *me'* possibility constructions

In the extended *me'* constructions discussed so far, *me'* has connected the core of the clause with a post-core specification of the event expressed in the predicate. In the *me'* possibility constructions, *me'* either connects elements within the clause core, as is the case with the conditional construction (§2.9.2.3.1), or it connects two clauses as seen in the possibility complement construction (§2.9.2.3.2) and the two-clause possibility construction (§2.9.2.3.3).

2.9.2.3.1 Conditional construction

The conditional construction is almost always marked by *nɔ/də'/dâ* and occurs within a single clause, as diagrammed in (132).

(132) Conditional *me'* construction

(Subject) + *me'* + Predicate + (IO) + (DO) + (*nɔ/də'/dâ*)

In (132), *me'* links the subject referent with their possible action, illustrated in (133).

(133) Folktale 8.196

[*p^hlô me' dɛ t^hã wé nɔ*]_{SC} [*p^hlô mə sí lɔ*]_{MC}
person **be**_{be.true} see ascend 3.ABS NMLZ_{that} person IRR die EMPH

Lit. 'Person be see ascend him, person would die!'

'If a person saw him (child angel), the person would die.'

In (133), the conditional clause precedes the main clause. The possible actor in this clause is encoded by *p^hlô* 'person', in the subject position. The possible action, which occurs after *me'*, is expressed by the predicate and object arguments. The whole construction is marked by *nɔ*, which is a signal of its nominal status.

2.9.2.3.2 Possibility complement construction

As already seen in §2.9.1.5, the complement within an appositional complement clause construction is a nominalization which is referenced by *wé* in the main clause. In a similar structure, *me'* links a main clause and an appositional complement clause, as diagrammed in (134).

(134) Possibility complement construction

(Subject) + Predicate + DO:[*wé* + (*dɛ*)] + *me'* + Complement clause

In (134), *wé* (*dɛ*), in the main clause, functions as the copula subject, while the complement clause functions as the copula complement, illustrated in (135).

(135) Joseph 27

*lî k^hwè wé me' [ʔə = t^hə = ʔãt^hə = ô ʔo dâi' tç^hi = â]*_{CC}
go observe 3.ABS **be**_{be.true} 3.POSS = food.and.drink exist still some QUES

Lit. 'Go observe it be their food exist still?'

'Go and see whether they still have food.'

In (135), *wé*, the copula subject, is further specified by the copula complement, which expresses a not-yet-confirmed state of affairs.

2.9.2.3.3 Possibility constructions across clauses

Clauses which are linked by *me'* are also used to express a possible state of affairs, as diagrammed in (136).

(136) Two-clause possibility construction

Clause₁ + *me'* + Clause₂

In this construction, the first clause sets out a state of affairs, while the second clause expresses a possible state of affairs in light of the situation expressed in the first clause, as illustrated in (137).

(137) a. Folktale 50.36¹⁰

[\emptyset *k^hwai'* *lâ* *lũ* *sá* *də'* *lũ* *uŋô* *?ô*]_{CL1}
 1.SUBJ throw descend thread be.black EMPH thread be.red that?

Lit. '(I) throw down thread be.black, thread be.red.'

'(I) threw down black thread and red thread.'

b. Folktale 50.37

me' [\emptyset *bɛ* *kətç^há* *me'* \emptyset *t^hã* *p^hó*]_{CL2}
be_{be.true} 3.SUBJ strike elephant *be_{be.true}* 3.SUBJ ascend appear

Lit. 'Be (it) strike elephant, be (it) ascend appear.'

'May (it) hit the elephant and may (the elephant) appear.'

In this story, an elephant has been swallowed by a fish, so his wife has thrown down black and red thread, expressed in (137a), with the hope of snagging him and causing him to come up, expressed in (137b).

¹⁰In the corpus, *?ô* occurs only rarely as a medial demonstrative pronoun, as in *bə ?ô* 'like that'. Given this pattern, it is also possible that *?ô* can function as a nominalizing medial demonstrative, although further investigation will be required.

The expression of a possible outcome is even more clearly expressed in (138).

(138) Folktale 5.17c-d

[*tçô* *nə = mə* *lî* *p^ho'* *tçə = k^hái* *nɔ*]_{CS} *me'*
 oldest.brother 2.NOM IRR go follow 1.POSS = back NMLZ_{that} be_{be.true}
 [*nə = si* *t^hə* *mê* *mê* *tç^hì* = *â*]_{CC}
 2.POSS = be.able thing CL.kind CL.kind some QUES

Lit. 'Oldest brother, you would follow my back, be your ability things kind?'
 'Boy, were you to go with me, what kind of things can you do?'

In (138), the initial clause, marked by *nɔ*, conveys a possible state of affairs, signalled by *mə = 'IRR'*; the possibility of the boy going with the speaker. The clausal complement of *me'* is a question of the possible skills of the boy. It takes the form of an action nominal signalled by the possessed predicate, *nə = si* 'your ability'. *nə =* is interpreted as a possessive determiner because it is in a copula complement, which, by definition, is a nominal.

2.9.2.4 *me'* nominalizations and the expression of contrast

One last function of *me'* is to indicate a contrast between two participants and their behaviour, as diagrammed in (139).

(139) Contrastive focus construction

Clause(s) + [*me'* + Nominal + (*nɔ/də'/dâ*)]_{PRE-CLAUSE} + Clause

In the clause(s) that precede *me'* the behaviour of the first referent is expressed, then the pre-clause reference to the next participant, indicates a contrast between the present and previous participant, as illustrated in (140).

(140) a. Folktale 43.54

ʔə = wé *bɛsâ'* *ke* *lê* *kətç^hê*
 3.ERG want be_{be.able} moon owner

Lit. 'She want be moon's owner.'
 'She wanted to be the moon's owner.'

b. Folktale 43.55

me' *jí* *dɛ* *tɕə* = *mə* *ke* *mĩ̀* *kətɕʰè*
be_{be.true} **mine** **dɛ** I.NOM IRR be_{be.able} sun owner

Lit. 'Be mine, I would be sun owner.'

'As for me, I would be the sun's owner.'

In (140a), someone wants to be the owner of the moon. However, the speaker, in contrast, would be the owner of the sun, which is signalled by initial *me'* with *jí dɛ* in the pre-clause position.

2.9.2.5 Summary of *me'* extended constructions and cross-linguistic similarities

To summarize, extended *me'* constructions consist of the expression of a state of affairs linked by *me'* to a comment on that state of affairs. *me'* can link a clausal core to post-core information, expressing manner or time information about an event. It is also used for the expression of possibility in conditional clauses, appositional complements, and between two clauses. Finally, *me'* is used to signal participant contrastive focus in the pre-clause position.

Likely cognates of N. Pwo *me'* 'be_{be.true}' include the Sgaw Karen copula *mewæ:* or its shortened form *me* 'yes' (Pustet 2002). Kayan, a Central Karenic language, also has a likely cognate, *mwē* 'be, true', which functions as a specificational copula similar to its function in N. Pwo. It also functions as a relativizer, linking an entity with its specification in the form of a relative clause. Both of these functions are illustrated in (141).

(141) Example 410b (Manson 2010:407)

[*písāpʰò* *mwē* *prəmû* *wân-bâ* *sʰí* *prà*] (*mè*) (*mwē*) *kʰí* *pʰò*
 child REL woman wash-BEN water CLF TOP BE 1S child

'The baby that the woman is washing is my son.'

In (141), the first occurrence of *mwē* is as a relativizer, which follows the relative clause head (bolded). The second occurrence of *mwē* is as a copula, linking the copula subject expressed by

the relative clause modified referent, *písāp^hò* ‘child’, and the copula complement *k^hí p^hò* ‘my child’.

Kayan also uses *mwē* to single out a participant in the pre-clause position, as illustrated in (142).

(142) Example 192b (Manson 2010:269)

[*mwē dáiθâp^hò dǎ*] *ùlǎ ka-θè-bà θá θoú*
 BE rabbit CLF see IRR-know-EXPER thus thus

‘[Lion asked one after another until] he got to rabbit who had seen this.’

Manson (2010) describes this use of *mwē* as a cleft construction, which is used to signal a change of main participant.

Outside of Karenic languages, Hopper and Traugott (2003:186) report that one source of conditional connectives is copula constructions, citing Swahili *i-ki-wa* ‘it being that’, Japanese *nara* ‘be’, and Chickasaw *h)oo* ‘be’. The use of N. Pwo *me*’ in a conditional construction is yet another example of the derivation of a conditional connective from a copula.

A copula has also been reported as the source of a focus marker in a variety of languages, including creoles. The suggested path of grammaticalization is from a cleft construction in which the copula is the predicate. Eventually, the copula is interpreted as a focus marker (Heine & Kuteva 2002:96). Haitian Creole exhibits an utterance-initial focus marker, as illustrated in (143).

(143) Example 23 (Hall 1953:193; cited in Muysken & Veenstra 1995:161)

[*Se sou chen mǎg*] *yo wè pis*
 FOC LOC dog thin 3PL see flea

‘It’s on a thin dog that the fleas can be seen.’

In (143), the source of Haitian *se* ‘FOC’ is French *c’est* ‘it is’. This is similar to the use of the N. Pwo *me’* as a marker of contrastive focus. To round out this section on nominalization, N. Pwo nominalization constructions are compared with those of other Tibeto-Burman languages.

2.9.3 N. Pwo and Tibeto-Burman typology of nominalization constructions

Post (2011) suggests a pan-Tibeto-Burman typology of nominalization constructions, of which there are eight types listed in Table 2.10, along with their N. Pwo realizations or reflexes.

Table 2.10: *N. Pwo nominalizations and their place in Tibeto-Burman*

Nominalization Type (Post 2011)	N. Pwo reflex nominalization constructions
A: no marker of nominalization	Adnominal stative verb, complement clause, some relative clauses
B ₁ : schematic noun abuts a clause and this construction functions as an NP	<i>tʰə</i> = nominalizations
B ₂ : referential marking of a nominalization (demonstrative)	Relative and adverbial clauses, also causative (rarely), non-embedded clausal nominalizations, and conditional <i>me’</i> constructions
B ₃ : a copula takes a clause otherwise unmarked for nominalization under its scope	<i>me’</i> nominalizations
C: suffixal predicate nominalizer	Not attested
D: internal genitive marker, typically on the S/A arguments	Relative and adverbial clauses, also causative, non-embedded clauses, complement clauses
E: genitive S/A marking with nominalizer suffix on the predicate	Not attested
F: prefixal predicate nominalizer	Not attested

Of these eight types, N. Pwo exhibits five, although Type B₂ (demonstrative marking) and Type D (genitive subject marking) are seen together in the same N. Pwo nominalizations. For example, the nominalized status of relative and adverbial clauses is signalled by a genitive subject and demonstrative marking, along with their syntactic function as objects of prepositions. Finally, conditional *me’* constructions are also marked by the medial demonstrative.

2.10 N. Pwo morpho-syntax summarized

The preceding discussion has introduced the N. Pwo simple argument, elaborate expression, clause, and sentence constructions, along with lexical and clausal nominalization constructions.

These are all summarized in the following two tables. Simple constructions are listed in Table 2.11, while nominalization constructions are listed Table 2.12.

Table 2.11: *N. Pwo non-nominalized constructions*

Construction Name	Structure
Simple nominal constructions:	
Simple noun phrase	(Poss) + Head + (Modifier(s)) + (Quantifier) + (Classifier) + (Demonstrative)
Possessive determiner construction	Possessive.determiner = Possessee
Topic possessive construction	Possessor ?ə = Possessee
Simple prepositional phrase	(Preposition) + Simple noun phrase Possessive determiner construction Topic possessive construction Accusative or absolutive pronoun
Simple clause constructions:	
Dynamic intransitive clause	Subject + Dynamic predicate
Dynamic transitive clause	Subject + Dynamic predicate + Direct object
Dynamic ditransitive clause	Subject + Dynamic predicate + Indirect Object + Direct Object
Stative intransitive clause	Subject + Stative predicate
Simple existence clause	(Subject) + ?o + (wé (dɛ)) + (Additional information)
Simple copula clause	(Copula subject) + Copula predicate + Copula complement
Verbless clause	Nominal construction ₁ + Nominal construction ₂
Elaborate expression construction	[A ₁ + B] + [A ₂ + C]
Simple sentence constructions:	
Simple sentence	(Pre-clause) + Clause core + (Post-core) + (Post-clause)
Serial verb causative	(Causer) + (ke)má + Verb(s) + IO:Causee + (DO)
Complex sentence constructions	
Conjunction coordinate construction	Sentence ₁ + Sentence ₂
Message quotative construction	(Subject) + Predicate + wé (dɛ) + Direct quote
Addressee quotative construction	(Subject) + Predicate + DO:Addressee + Direct quote

Table 2.12: *N. Pwo nominalization constructions*

Construction Name	Structure
Lexical nominalizations	
Possessor nominalizations	<i>Poss</i> = + Existence verb Dynamic verb Stative verb Demonstrative pronoun Classifier
$t^h\partial =$ ‘NMLZ _{thing} ’ constructions	$t^h\partial =$ + Dynamic verb + (DO) Stative verb Existence verb Noun Localizer noun Classifier
Clausal nominalizations	
Relative clause	(Head) + [($l\ddot{u}/p^hi$) + Action nominal + (<i>nɔ</i>)]
Adverbial clause	(Preposition) + Action nominal + (<i>nɔ</i>)
Non-embedded clause	Clause + <i>nɔ/də'/də̂</i>
Periphrastic causative	(Causer) + (<i>ke</i>) <i>má</i> + (IO:Causee) + DO:Action nominal (<i>nɔ</i>)
Complement clause	(Subject) + Predicate + DO:Complement clause
Appositional complement	(Subject) + Predicate + DO:[<i>wé</i> + (<i>dɛ</i>) + Complement clause]
<i>me'</i> constructions	
Adverbial	Clause core + <i>me'</i> + Post-core Verb/Classifier phrase
<i>me'</i> possibility constructions	
Conditional	(Subject) + <i>me'</i> + Predicate + (IO) + (DO) + (<i>nɔ</i>)
Possibility complement	(Subject) + Predicate + DO:[<i>wé</i> + (<i>dɛ</i>)] + <i>me'</i> + Complement clause
Two-clause possibility	Clause ₁ + <i>me'</i> + Clause ₂
Contrastive focus	Clause(s) + [<i>me'</i> + Nominal + (<i>nɔ/də'/də̂</i>)] _{PRE-CLAUSE} + Clause

With this background in N. Pwo morpho-syntax in hand, the next chapter describes the data and methods used to investigate the packaging of both relations and participants in N. Pwo narrative discourse.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides details about the data and methodology employed for the analysis of thematic groupings, grounding, and referential coherence in N. Pwo narrative. The contents of the corpus are described in §3.2, followed by synopses of the 14 traditional narratives used for the statistical analysis (§3.3). The procedure used for the analysis of thematic groupings, grounding, and referential coherence is described in §3.4. Then, the last three sections detail the tags and levels used for the thematic grouping (§3.5), grounding (§3.6) and referential coherence analyses (§3.7).

3.2 The corpus

The N. Pwo corpus encompasses 96,697 words. It consists of fifty-five traditional narratives from a published volume (Pwo Karen Centre, Sop Moei 2003), which were recorded over thirty years ago. In addition, a further nine traditional narratives were collected in April 2014. The corpus is rounded out with a couple more traditional narratives, several retellings of Bible stories from Genesis, a couple of cultural stories about courtship, ten stories based on pictures, eleven personal experience stories, language learning materials, songs, translated materials, and elicited sentences from my field notes.

Throughout the world, traditional narratives exhibit similar characteristics, such as flat, stereotypical characters and plot (Oring 1986). One common character in N. Pwo traditional narratives is the orphan. In orphan stories, a poor orphan wins out over rich men, monks, or kings who have mistreated him. Or, the initially poor orphan ends up impressing his betters and reaps rewards such as marrying a rich man's or king's daughter. Orphan-like stories have

been found all across Asia and the N. Pwo readily identify their orphan stories with the similar Thai Sri Thanonchai character (Vathanaprida 1994). For the West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen, a similar character is called Taokhe.

The examples throughout the dissertation are taken from the entire corpus, excluding translated materials. In addition, a subset of the corpus was used for statistical analysis.

3.3 Data for the statistical analysis

Fourteen traditional narratives were chosen for statistical analysis. Half of them are from the 1980s and the other half from 2014. Moreover, six of the narratives represent the Hod dialect of N. Pwo, while eight represent the Sop Moei dialect. These narratives range in length from 44 to 618 sentences. In ten of them, the orphan, a young man, a young girl, and a human born as a turtle or pig wins against the odds. The remaining four either have the protagonist losing out, no conflict, or the story concerns the fate of personified animals. In the next sections, a summary of each story is provided, which includes a listing of each story's participants by rank.¹

3.3.1 Folktale 1

Folktale 1 (Sop Moei) is a story about a young man who outsmarts a monk, resulting in the monk's death. The story begins with the introduction of a father and his son, along with the 300 baht that they have. The narrative proper begins when the son takes the 300 baht and goes to study magic with the monk. When the son has mastered turning himself into various animals, he returns home, but not before the monk threatens him with death if he uses his skills improperly.

¹Major participants are typically human and active throughout the narrative. Both a protagonist and antagonist would be considered major participants. Minor participants can be human or non-human and are active intermittently in the story. Props can also be human or non-human; however, they are not active in the story. Rather, they are manipulated and/or acted upon.

When the son arrives home, his father tells him that they have nothing to eat because the son used up the 300 baht on his magic lessons. After some thought, the son changes himself into a beautiful stallion and has his father sell him to a rich man for 300 baht. The rich man takes the stallion home and it eventually runs away. Once the stallion reaches the father, he changes himself back into a man and the father and son carry on until the 300 baht runs out and they have nothing to eat. They carry out this ruse two more times with different rich men.

After the third time, the monk hears about what his student has been doing, so the next time the father tries to sell the stallion, the monk has people tell the father to sell the stallion to him. Once the monk has procured the stallion, he fashions an iron whip and beats it. The man then changes himself into a boar and runs into a thicket of thorns with the monk in hot pursuit in the form of a tiger. Then the man changes himself into a parrot and is chased by the monk in the form of a hawk. The parrot flies in underneath a widow's weaving and the widow runs the hawk off. Then the parrot flies home and the man changes himself back into a human.

The monk comes up with a plan to get at the man again by calling everyone to a merit-making ceremony. The man wants to go, so he changes himself into a necklace and has the widow wear it, instructing her to tear it apart and scatter the beads if anyone asks to see it. When the widow arrives at the ceremony, the monk knows that the man has come as a necklace and tries to grab it. As instructed, the widow pulls the necklace apart and scatters the beads, whereupon the monk changes himself into a chicken and starts eating the beads. With only two or three beads remaining, the man changes himself into a civet and eats the chicken, winning out against the monk. The participants in Folktale 1 are listed by their rank in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: *Folktale 1 participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Man (son)	Major Participant – Protagonist
Monk	Major Participant – Antagonist
Father	Minor participant
Rich man (3)	Minor participant
People	Minor participant
Widow	Minor participant
Money (300 baht)	Prop
Magic	Prop
Horse	Prop
Food/Drink	Prop
Whip	Prop
Necklace	Prop
Mat	Prop

3.3.2 Folktale 3

Folktale 3 (Sop Moei) is an orphan story. It begins with the orphan's future in-laws looking for a son-in-law. They marry the orphan to their daughter after he shows some entrepreneurial ingenuity. Once married, the orphan has his wife borrow tools and servants from her father. Then, the orphan seeks to make his fortune by scamming some foolish boat owners who fall for his tricks, having pledged him their goods and servants if they lose. In the first trick, the orphan and his staff collect some crickets and put them in the crook of a tree, convincing the boat owners that the crickets got there on their own. In the next trick, the orphan and his staff collect a turtle with her eggs and put them in the crook of the tree. They fool some more boat owners and get richer. Finally, someone tries to fool the orphan. The orphan discovers the answer to the riddle this person poses and ends up with that person's possessions as well. The participants in Folktale 3 are listed by their rank in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: *Folktale 3 participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Orphan	Major Participant
Orphan's mother-in-law	Minor Participant
Orphan's father-in-law (rich man)	Minor Participant
Orphan's wife	Minor Participant
Dog	Minor Participant
Servants	Minor Participant
Crickets	Minor Participant
Boat owners	Minor Participant
People	Minor Participant
Rich man's son-in-laws	Prop
Sweets	Prop
Rice porridge	Prop
Letter	Prop
Money (10 satang)	Prop
Liquor	Prop
Rice	Prop
Spade	Prop
Boats	Prop
Nest	Prop
Turtle and eggs	Prop
Watermelon and seeds	Prop
Cloth	Prop
Cooking pot	Prop
Gun	Prop
Shirt/Trousers	Prop
Face/Nose	Prop
Goods	Prop

3.3.3 Folktale 4

Folktale 4 (Sop Moei) is a story about a woman who marries a man who keeps killing her in his anger over small issues. Each time, her sister brings her back to life. Eventually, the woman and her sister leave to go back to their village, but the woman's father-in-law convinces her to come back, promising to teach his son how to behave properly. Once the woman and her father-in-law have arrived back at the village, the father-in-law sets his youngest daughter over the woman to insure that she does not do any work. Two times the woman tries to work, collecting firewood the first time and weaving a bag the second time. However, the youngest

daughter eventually manages to hide everything, so the woman is unable to work. The participants in Folktale 4 and their rank are listed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: *Folktale 4 participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Woman (older sister)	Major participant
Woman's younger sister	Minor participant
Woman's husband	Minor participant
Woman's sister-in-laws	Minor participant
Woman's father-in-law	Minor participant
Woman's youngest sister-in-law	Minor participant
People	Minor participant
Chili peppers	Prop
Mountain	Prop
Water	Prop
Betel-chewing basket lid	Prop
Knife	Prop
Rice	Prop
Rice pot	Prop
Fire	Prop
Field	Prop
Rice seedlings	Prop
Sword	Prop
Small knife	Prop
Firewood	Prop
Bag and materials to make it	Prop
Stuff	Prop

3.3.4 Folktale 6 and F4 Folktale

Both Folktale 6 (Sop Moei) and F4 Folktale (Hod) can be found in their entirety in Appendix B and Appendix C, respectively. This narrative is about a downtrodden orphan who wins over a rich man. In the story, the rich man persuades the orphan, who does not have enough to eat, to go hunting with him. To entice the orphan to go, the rich man promises to have rice wrapped up for him. However, when the orphan goes with the rich man, the rich man does not give him anything to eat. And while the rich man takes home plenty to eat, the orphan goes home with almost nothing. This scene plays out twice. The third time, the rich man encounters a snake

that coils around him. The rich man, in a panic, calls the orphan to come kill the snake.

However, the orphan refuses to do so. Eventually the snake squeezes the rich man to death.

F4 Folktale is twice the length of Folktale 6 and includes scenes with additional participants, such as a hunting dog, the orphan’s grandmother, and even the rich man’s wife. The participants in the two stories are listed in Table 3.4, with the participants shared between the two stories underlined.

Table 3.4: *Folktale 6 and F4 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
<u>Orphan</u>	<u>Major Participant – Protagonist</u>
<u>Rich man (orphan’s uncle)</u>	<u>Major Participant – Antagonist</u>
Orphan’s dog	Minor Participant
Rich man’s wife (orphan’s aunt)	Minor Participant
Orphan’s grandmother	Minor Participant
<u>Snake</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
Grasshopper	Prop
<u>Animals</u>	<u>Prop</u>
<u>Food/Rice</u>	<u>Prop</u>
Stuff	Prop
Shoulder bag	Prop
Blaiqkhu knife	Prop

3.3.5 Folktale 7 and M2 Folktale

Folktale 7 (Sop Moei) and M2 Folktale (Hod) is a story about a human who is born as a pig in one story and a turtle in the other. Once the “child” is born, the mother throws it away.

However, Grandma Thaunong comes along to look after it. Once the child is grown, he asks Grandma Thaunong to buy land for him so he can work it. He calls upon his heavenly brethren to help him. Then he asks Grandma Thaunong to get a wife for him. Eventually, the youngest daughter of a local rich man agrees to marry him and a date is set. However, the “child” is not happy with the date and asks to have it changed. The rich man changes it, but demands silver and gold from the pig/turtle. With the help of his heavenly brethren, the pig/turtle provides

the silver and gold required, to the shock of the king’s slave in Folktale 7 and the king’s wife in M2 Folktale. After three days of marriage, the pig/turtle sloughs off his skin/shell, revealing a man, and goes home to sleep with his wife. Eventually, the pig skin is burned up by Grandma Thaunong. As for the turtle, his shell floats down the river. After this, the former pig/turtle and his wife live happily ever after. The participants in the two stories are listed in Table 3.5, with the participants shared between the two stories underlined.

Table 3.5: *Folktale 7 and M2 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
<u>Pig/Turtle</u>	<u>Major Participant</u>
<u>Grandma Thaunong</u>	<u>Major Participant</u>
<u>Pig/Turtle’s mother</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
Heavenly beings	Minor Participant
<u>Rich man</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
<u>First daughter</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
<u>Second daughter</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
<u>Third daughter</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
<u>Pig/Turtle’s wife (youngest sibling)</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
Rich man’s mother	Minor Participant
Slave	Minor Participant
<u>People</u>	<u>Minor Participant</u>
Field	Prop
Liquor	Prop
Rice	Prop
<u>Gold and silver</u>	<u>Prop</u>
Stairs	Prop
Hair	Prop
<u>Skin/Shell</u>	<u>Prop</u>
Fire	Prop

3.3.6 Folktale 8

Folktale 8 (Sop Moei) is about a girl who is given the job to look after her younger sibling while her parents are working in the fields. Unfortunately, she forgets her mother’s instructions to boil some taro for the sibling, if the sibling cries. When she asks her good grandmother about the mother’s instructions, the good grandmother does not know. However, when she asks

her evil grandmother, the evil grandmother advises her to boil water and drop the sibling in it to stop the crying. This is what the girl does and the sibling dies. Then the evil grandmother makes curry out of the dead sibling. When the parents arrive home, they discover that the child has died, upon seeing a hand in the curry. In great anger, the parents gather thorny switches and beat the girl in an effort to kill her. By the time the switches are used up, the girl is completely covered in thorns.

The next day, the girl drags herself to where people are fishing by damming up the river. She manages to gather up the fish and asks the people to pick out her thorns in return for the fish. The people remove her thorns and the girl keeps two fish which she puts in a body of water close to her home. After feeding them glutinous rice pulverized into a powder and mixed with water, her two fish are fully grown after seven days. One day, her mother follows her when she goes to feed her fish and tells her husband. They then plan to kill their daughter's fish. The father orders the girl to go and help her grandmother. While she is away, her parents manage to catch and eat one of her fish. They are just finishing the meal when the girl returns and asks them to let down the ladder so that she can enter the house. They keep putting her off as they hurriedly get rid of the evidence.

When the girl goes to feed her fish, she discovers that one of them is gone. Eventually she finds evidence of her fish's demise when she sees its fat in the frying pan her parents used. She cuts down bamboo tubes and store the fish fat and a rock the size of a sesame seed in one of them. After smashing the bamboo tube against the ground and calling in Sgaw Karen (a related Karenic language), her sesame-seed-size rock grows into a huge pile of rocks. Seeing her in the distance, her father has her mother call to her. After responding to her mother's call, she goes up to heaven.

In heaven, the girl marries an angel and has a child. Unfortunately, their child is often in pain. An astrologer tells them they must return to earth for ancestor worship. When they go to earth with the child, they must keep the child hidden, because if people see the child, they will die. A devil asks and asks to see the child and eventually opens the child's sling. The brightness of the child kills all the people. The devil then invites the angel husband for a meal. When the angel husband sees a dog's head in the curry, he hurries back to heaven, because angels are afraid of dogs. Before his wife goes back to heaven, she raises the people back to life and causes the pile of rocks to disintegrate, which takes seven days and nights.

Before dealing with the pile of rocks, the wife warns the king to tie up his animals. Grandma Widow asks the king to look after her animals as well. The king refuses, so she ties up her animals with her hair. After seven days and nights, Grandma Widow's animals are all accounted for, but all the king's animals are gone. When the king asks Grandma Widow why this is the case, she sings a song to him. The participants and their rank are listed in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: *Folktale 8 participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Girl	Major Participant – Protagonist
Mother	Major Participant – Antagonist
Father	Major Participant – Antagonist
Good grandmother	Minor Participant
Evil grandmother	Minor Participant
People	Minor Participant
Jethangplang, Tongpalau (fish)	Minor Participant
Bamboo (various types)	Minor Participant
Devil	Minor Participant
Girl's angel husband	Minor Participant
Astrologer	Minor Participant
King	Minor Participant
Grandma Widow	Minor Participant
Animals	Minor Participant
Servants	Minor Participant
Younger sibling	Minor Participant
Taro	Prop
Hot water	Prop

Participant	Participant Rank
Rice	Prop
Meat	Prop
Curry	Prop
Curry broth	Prop
Curry meat	Prop
Human arm	Prop
Switches	Prop
Thorns	Prop
Fish trap, casting net, fishnet	Prop
Fish	Prop
Dam	Prop
Knife	Prop
Backbasket	Prop
Glutinous rice flour	Prop
Water	Prop
Leaf (clean)	Prop
Ladder	Prop
Bamboo ties	Prop
Baby squirrel	Prop
Fish fat in a pan	Prop
Spoon	Prop
Rocks	Prop
Bamboo tube	Prop
Shirt	Prop
Girl's child	Prop
Dog skull	Prop
Grandma Widow's hair	Prop

3.3.7 Folktale 55

Folktale 55 (Sop Moei) has two protagonists: an elephant and a water buffalo who can talk.

The story relates how the elephant ends up under the thumb of humans (black heads). It also relates how the water buffalo was left behind by God to help the humans work the rice paddies. The participants and their rank are listed in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: *Folktale 55 participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Elephant	Major Participant – Protagonist
Water Buffalo	Major Participant – Protagonist
God	Minor Participant – Antagonist
Humans	Minor Participant – Antagonist
Animals	Minor Participant
Rice paddy and fields	Prop
Rice/Water	Prop
Yellow robe	Prop
Banana leaf	Prop
Banana tree	Prop
Termite hill	Prop
Lime (betel chewing)	Prop
Water container	Prop
Pointed knife	Prop
Elephant's flesh	Prop

3.3.8 F2 Folktale

F2 Folktale (Hod) is an original story about an orphan by a N. Pwo pre-school teacher. This orphan loves animals, especially his water buffalo, Paegai. One day, the orphan takes Paegai out to a field to graze. While Paegai grazes, the orphan climbs a tree to harvest some mangos; however, he discovers that there is a beehive above him and a green snake below him, making it impossible for him to get down from the tree. Just in time, Paegai appears at the bottom of the tree and the orphan is saved. The orphan jumps down and they go home. The orphan never takes his water buffalo to that field again. The participants and their rank are listed in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: *F2 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Orphan	Major Participant
Water Buffalo	Minor Participant
Bees	Minor Participant
Snake	Minor Participant
Buffalo feed	Prop
Mangos	Prop
Tree branch	Prop

3.3.9 F3 Folktale

In F3 Folktale (Hod), there is no participant that can be singled out as a major participant.

Therefore, all participants are either minor or prop participants. Two women, Ms. Kingbang and Ms. Dingkwa go to work in the fields every day. When Ms. Kingbang calls Ms. Dingkwa to

go home, Ms. Dingkwa responds that it is not time to go yet. This pattern is repeated. Then,

one day a frog cries at the back of the field that he is going to eat Ms. Kingbang's liver and

heart. Both women rush home. In their rush, they step on a squash. The squash rolls and hits a

white sesame tree. Sesame seeds drop into a yellow chicken's eyes and the yellow chicken flies

up to the top of a young bamboo tree. The young bamboo tree falls and hits a wild pig's nest.

Then the wild pig hits and kills the rich man's child. The rich man then asks the wild pig why it

killed his child. The wild pig responds that the young bamboo fell and struck its nest. The wild

pig then asks the young bamboo why it fell and struck its nest. The young bamboo responds

that the yellow chicken flew to its top. Then, the yellow chicken is asked why it flew to the top

of the bamboo tree and it responds that white sesame seeds dropped into its eyes. The white

sesame tree is asked why it dropped seeds into the yellow chicken's eyes and responds that the

squash rolled into it. The white sesame tree asks the squash why it rolled into it. The squash

responds that Ms. Kingbang and Ms. Dingkwa stepped on it. And there the story ends. The participants and their rank are listed in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: *F3 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Ms. Kingbang	Minor Participant
Ms. Dingkwa	Minor Participant
Frog	Minor Participant
Squash	Minor Participant
Sesame tree	Minor Participant
Yellow chicken	Minor Participant
Young bamboo	Minor Participant
Wild pig	Minor Participant
Rich man	Minor Participant
Grass	Prop
Sesame seeds	Prop
Rich man's child	Prop

3.3.10 F6 Folktale

F6 Folktale (Hod) is the longest narrative in the data frame, with 618 sentences. The story is about two brothers. The brothers stay at home while their parents work in the fields day-after-day. One day, the boys find a crab when they go to draw water. They cook it and set it aside to share with their parents. However, the younger brother begs to have some of it to eat until he has eaten the whole crab, ignoring the warning that their parents will be angry. When the parents discover that the crab was eaten completely, they try to kill the boys, who flee with a knife in hand. This is the first episode.

In the second episode, the boys arrive at a cave and the older brother kills a female snake whereupon the male snake slithers out of sight. The older brother leaves to chase after the male snake, telling the younger brother to stay where he is. While the older brother is gone, the younger brother watches the male snake bring the female snake back to life with some chewed wood. They then slither away and the younger brother gathers some of this magic wood.

When the older brother returns, he won't believe the younger brother's story about the female snake coming back to life. Instead, the older brother accuses the younger brother of taking the snake and lying about it. The two boys go their separate ways.

The story moves on with the younger brother, who meets several dead animals that he brings back to life, although he has to run from them. Eventually, he ends up at an old woman's house. She insists that the younger sibling stay at her house while she goes out to defecate. But she really goes to tell a rich man, whose daughter is dying, about the presence of the younger brother. Eventually, the rich man and his staff talk the younger brother into raising the girl back to life. Then, the rich man calls the younger brother to come again so that he can repay him for bringing his daughter back to life. However, before the younger brother responds to the rich man's summons, the old woman tells him to accept as payment an old goose that cannot stay on its feet and has stuff coming out of its eyes.

Once the younger sibling returns from the rich man's house with the old goose, the old woman tells him what to do with it. He is to lay it in a suitable flat place and then say nothing when bells ring loudly. The younger sibling follows the old woman's instructions and his reward is riches and a beautiful wife.

Meanwhile, the older sibling has also married, but has not done well economically. He comes looking for rice and ends up at the younger sibling's house. He does not recognize the younger sibling and tells his story about his younger sibling, the crab, fleeing his parents, and the snake. Eventually, the younger sibling gives him rice. When the older sibling has used up the rice, he comes back for more. At this time, the younger sibling identifies himself and gives the older sibling more rice.

When the older sibling comes back again, he wants to know how the younger sibling makes a living. The younger sibling tells him about the goose. The older sibling begs and begs to take it home with him. When the younger sibling finally relents, he asks the older sibling not to destroy the goose. However, the older sibling kills the goose because of the loud sounds. The younger sibling comes and gets his dead goose and makes a comb out of it. Every time he and his wife comb their hair, a baht appears, making them even richer. The older sibling and his wife try the same thing, but lose all their hair, so they destroy the comb. The younger sibling eventually makes a toothpick from the remains of the comb; however, as before, the younger sibling becomes richer and the older sibling ends up with a big mess to clean up. In the end, the younger sibling's situation becomes better and better, while the older sibling's situation worsens. The participants in the story are listed with their rank in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: *F6 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Younger sibling	Major Participant – Protagonist
Older sibling	Major Participant – Antagonist
Parents	Minor Participant
Snakes (male and female)	Minor Participant
Animals	Minor Participant
Angel	Minor Participant
Giant	Minor Participant
Old woman	Minor Participant
Rich man	Minor Participant
People	Minor Participant
Rich man's daughter	Minor Participant
Rich man's servants	Minor Participant
Goose	Minor Participant
Younger sibling's wife	Minor Participant
Older sibling's wife	Minor Participant
Grass	Prop
Water	Prop
Clam	Prop
Clam shell	Prop
Meat/poultry	Prop
Chili peppers	Prop
Knife	Prop

Participant	Participant Rank
Branch	Prop
Dog tail	Prop
Shirt	Prop
Trousers	Prop
Gong	Prop
Rich man's wife	Prop
Liquor	Prop
Food/drink	Prop
Basket	Prop
Comb	Prop
Money	Prop
Tube skirt	Prop
Feces	Prop
Ashes	Prop
Teeth	Prop
Younger sibling's servants	Prop

3.3.11 M1 Folktale

M1 Folktale (Hod) is another story about an adversarial rich man and the orphan. In this story, the rich man takes a dislike to the orphan's house and burns it down. The orphan gathers up the ashes into a basket and goes to live in a tree. While there, some thieves, who have just stolen some money, stop under the tree. When the orphan throws down his basket at them, they run away in fear leaving their money. The orphan comes down from the tree, fills his basket with the money, and takes it back to the village. When the rich man appears, the orphan acts as if he has gotten the basket of money for his basket of ashes. The orphan eventually convinces the rich man to burn his house with the argument that his house is much bigger, which will produce many baskets of ashes which he can sell. The rich man has the orphan burn his house and then the rich man tries to sell his baskets of ashes without success. The rich man returns home determined to kill the orphan. They have a discussion, deciding that they cannot live together anymore. The participants in this story are listed by rank in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: *M1 Folktale participants by rank*

Participant	Participant Rank
Orphan	Major Participant – Protagonist
Rich man	Major Participant – Antagonist
Thieves	Minor Participant
Potential ashes buyers	Minor Participant
Houses	Prop
Ashes	Prop
Baskets	Prop
Money	Prop

3.3.12 M5 Folktale

M5 Folktale (Sop Moei) can be found in its entirety in Appendix A. It is about an orphan who becomes a rich man’s son-in-law, due to his entrepreneurial prowess. The orphan is the only actor for most of the story. The participants in the story are listed in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: *Participants and their rank in M5 Folktale*

Participant	Participant Rank
Orphan	Major Participant
Rich man	Minor Participant
Money	Prop
Two water containers	Prop
Log	Prop
Various domesticated animals	Prop

Note that the rich man in this story is not an adversary of the orphan; rather, as a minor participant, he participates intermittently in the events of the story. Now that the narratives that are included in the statistical analysis have been described, the next section describes the analytical procedure that involves these narratives.

3.4 The analytical procedure

For the analysis, each clause in the fourteen narratives was partitioned into left periphery, subject, predicate, objects, and right periphery constituents (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:44). The

resulting partitioned texts were then entered into an Excel spreadsheet in their entirety, with each row of the spreadsheet containing one clause of text, for a total of 3,341 clauses. Once the traditional narratives were entered into Excel, tagging columns were added to the spreadsheet to create a data frame (Atkins 1987; Gries 2010). A screenshot of part of this data frame can be found in Appendix D.

A data frame is a table in which the rows contain the item that is measured and the columns contain the measurements of that item. In the N. Pwo data frame, the item measured in each row is a clause, while each column represents a measurement of some type. For example, the SubjPerson column tracks the person of the subject for each clause row. Each column, other than the data columns, is called a *tag*, while the measurement values within a tagging column are called *levels*. For example, the levels of the SubjPerson column are First (first-person), Second (second-person), and Third (third-person).

Once the data frame was complete, it was imported into the R statistical computer program (R Core Team 2016). Then, the analytical procedure proceeded to subset the data set for the particular phenomenon under consideration, such as the beginning of an episode. In order to determine how many instances of an episode beginning correlated with, for example, a large gap in time, a contingency table was constructed which showed the number of times a large gap correlated with the beginning of an episode. Then, these instances were removed from the data set and the cycle began again with the search for another context which was associated with only the beginning of an episode, until all the instances of episode beginnings were accounted for. This analytical procedure was also used for the analysis of grounding and referential coherence. The rest of this chapter outlines the relevant columns or tags within the

data frame and the levels or values of measurement which were used for the statistical analysis, starting with the analysis of thematic groupings.

3.5 Tags and levels for the analysis of thematic groupings

Only four variables are required for the statistical analysis of thematic groupings. The dependent variable tag, **ParaPos** (paragraph position) has three levels: Beginning, Middle, End. The Beginning level indicates the beginning clause of an episode. The Middle level indicates clauses in the middle of an episode and the End level indicates the last clause in an episode.

The first predictor tag, **Time**, has four levels: NewTime, SmallGap, LargeGap, and OrderOut. These levels are used to indicate the time of the present clause in relation to the time of the previous clause. The NewTime level is used for the first clause of a narrative whether it is on or off the time line. The SmallGap level indicates a small or no increment in time between the previous and present clauses, whether foreground or background clauses. The LargeGap level indicates a large forward increment of time from the previous clause, and the OrderOut level indicates that an event in the present clause is occurring chronologically out of order in relation to the previous clause.

The second predictor tag, **Place**, has three levels: NewPlace, SamePlace, ChangePlace. These levels indicate the place of the present clause in relation to the previous clause. The NewPlace level is used for the first clause of a narrative. The SamePlace level is used to indicate that the place of the present clause is the same as the place of the previous clause or for clauses conveying a motion event, which denotes a continuous change. Finally, the ChangePlace levels indicates a discrete difference between the place of the present clause as opposed to the place of the previous clause.

The last predictor tag, **Participants**, has three levels: NewCast, SameCast, ChangeCast. These levels indicate the discrete participant orientation of the present clause in relation to the previous clause. The NewCast level is used for the introductory clauses of a narrative that are off the time line, before the action of the narrative. The SameCast level is used for the same participant orientation or relationship between the previous and present clauses. The ChangeCast level is used when there is a discrete change in participants between the previous and present clause. A different set of tags and levels were used for the analysis of the correlations between the grounding value of a clause and its syntactic realization.

3.6 The analysis of grounding in narrative

The procedure for the analysis of the syntactic realization of the grounding value of a clause involves criteria for the identification of clausal nominalizations (§3.6.1) and the syntax-independent criteria for distinguishing foreground information and the six types of background information (§3.6.2). The section ends with lists of the relevant tags and levels for the statistical analysis of grounding by grounding type (§3.6.3).

3.6.1 Identifying clausal nominalizations in text

As indicated in discussion on clausal nominalization in Chapter 2, subordinate clause nominalizations are not always overtly marked as such. For example, many adverbial clauses show no overt signs of nominalization, such as a preposition, genitive subject, or *no/də'/dâ* marking. Rather, in this highly context-dependent language, speakers expect hearers to be able to determine the relationship of clauses based on their semantics and the relative ordering of clauses within the sentence, as illustrated in (144).

(144) **Folktale 55.47**

[\emptyset *k^hwɛ̃* *t^hã* *t^hə̃*]_{SC} [\emptyset *dɛ* *t^hə̃ = b^hâ* *ʔo* *dâi'*]_{MC}
3.SUBJ observe ascend thing 3.SUBJ see NMLZ_{thing} = be.yellow exist still

Lit. (He) observe ascend thing, (he) see yellow thing exist still.'

'When (he) observed things, (he) saw that the monk's robe was still there.'

The initial subordinate clause (sc), in (144), bears no marking that would indicate its subordinate status, except for its initial position in the sentence, the typical position of 'when' clauses. The same sentence with overt nominalization marking is illustrated in (145).

(145) **Field notes 3.69-70.2**

[\emptyset *k^hwɛ̃* *t^hã* *t^hə̃* *nɔ*]_{SC} [\emptyset *dɛ* *t^hə̃ = b^hâ* *ʔo*
3.SUBJ observe ascend thing NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ see NMLZ_{thing} = be.yellow exist
dâi']_{MC}
still

Lit. (He) observe ascend thing, (he) see yellow thing exist still.'

'When (he) observed things, (he) saw that the monk's robe was still there.'

In (145), the addition of overt *nɔ*-marking to the subordinate clause was judged as more clear by a N. Pwo speaker.

Due to the fact that overt marking of clausal nominalization is often absent, adverbial, downstairs causative, and complement clauses are deemed clausal nominalizations, whether or not they are marked as such. This is based on the overt nominalization-marking patterns of these types of clauses in the corpus, which were demonstrated in Chapter 2. The one exception to this is non-embedded nominalized clauses, which will only be considered nominalizations when they are overtly marked with either *nɔ*, *də'*, or *dâ*. Now that the criteria for identifying clausal nominalizations have been delineated, the criteria for identifying grounding values is outlined.

3.6.2 Identifying foreground and background in narrative discourse

In a study of this type, it is important to identify the grounding value of a proposition, phrase, or item apart from its syntactic realization. For foreground or main event line, I have used the identification criteria in Payne (1992:379–380), which is based on Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Hopper (1979). The criteria are as follows:

1. A foreground event proposition occurs in real time; hypothetical, future, or past events are excluded. States are also excluded, as is internal experience, such as ‘thinking’ and ‘wanting’.
2. A foreground event follows the chronological time line, advancing the action.

Furthermore, these criteria exclude the second of two simultaneous events, the second of two overlapping events, a repeated event, or an event that occurs outside the chronological time sequence, such as a flashback. Reported speech is also excluded.

For identifying background, I have used the criteria for non-events in Grimes (1975:51ff), which have been further delineated by Levinsohn (2015:71).

1. Identification or participant orientation: the introduction and description of participants.
2. Setting: the circumstances of an event, such as time and location.
3. Explanation: information that “clarifies and explains the events of a narrative”.
4. Collateral: information about what might or did not happen as background to what actually happened. It would include irrealis and most negative propositions, as well as imperatives and interrogatives.
5. Evaluation: information that communicates the author’s thinking toward the participants and events in the narrative.
6. Performative: information directed to the audience by the narrator, such as a moral or an indication that the story has ended. It can be presented as first person (narrator) to second person (audience).

With the syntax-independent criteria in place for identifying grounding values in N. Pwo narrative, the tags and levels used for the analysis of grounding are listed by grounding type.

3.6.3 Tags and levels for the analysis of grounding in narrative

For the analysis of grounding, the dependent variable tag, **GroundType** (grounding type), has seven levels: Event, Identification, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, and Performative. These levels identify the type of grounding information for each clause in the data frame. The Event level identifies a foreground clause, while the other six levels identify the different types of background information. In the discussion to follow, the relevant tags and levels for the analysis of foreground and each type of background information are considered in turn.

For the analysis of the syntactic realization of foreground information, five predictor tags were utilized: **PredType**, **Aspect**, **ClauseNom**, **Embedding**, and **NonEmbedPurpose**. The **PredType** tag is used to track predicate types and has eight levels: Dynamic, Existence, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Communicative, Stative, Verbless, and None. The None level is used to indicate that no predicate is present in the clause. The **Aspect** tag is used to track any overt aspectual indicators and has three levels: Perfective, Imperfective, and None. The None level is used when a clause has no overt aspectual marking. The **ClauseNom** tag tracks whether a clause is nominalized or not. It has three levels: 1) **NomMark** indicates that a clause is overtly marked as a nominalization, 2) **NoMark** tracks clauses that are not overtly marked as nominalizations yet function as other nominalized clauses, and 3) **None** tracks clauses that are not nominalized. The **Embedding** tag tracks the embedding status of nominalized clauses and has three levels: **Embed**, **NonEmbed**, and **None**. The **Embed** level indicates that a clausal nominalization is embedded, a subordinate clause, while the **NonEmbed** level indicates that a clausal nominalization is not embedded. The **None** level is used to identify clauses that are not nominalizations. The last predictor tag, **NonEmbedPurpose** is used to track the semantic

function of non-embedded nominalizations and has three levels: 1) Prevailing, which indicates that the non-embedded nominalization is used to express the prevailing state of affairs, 2) Deontic, which indicates that the non-embedded nominalization is used to express a speaker's desired state of affairs, and 3) None, which tracks embedded nominalized clauses and non-nominalized clauses. The tags that were used for the analysis of foreground information are summarized in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13: *Tags and levels for the analysis of foreground information*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent	GroundType	Event, Identification, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, Performative
Syntactic	ClauseNom	NomMark, NoMark, None
	Embedding	Embed, NonEmbed, None
Semantic	PredType	Dynamic, Existence, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Communicative, Stative, Verbless, None
	Aspect	Perfective, Imperfective, None
	NonEmbedPurpose	Prevailing, Deontic, None

For the analysis of the syntactic characteristics of identification information, the PredType and SectionType predictor tags were utilized. As already described, the PredType tag tracks the predicate type of the clause with nine levels: Dynamic, Existence, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Communicative, Stative, Verbless, None. The SectionType tag distinguishes the narrative proper from introductory material with two levels: Introduction and Narrative. The tags and levels that were used for the analysis of identification information are summarized in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: *Tags and levels for the analysis of identification information*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent	GroundType	Event, Identification, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, Performative
Semantic	PredType	Dynamic, Existence, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Communicative, Stative, Verbless, None
Discourse	SectionType	Introduction, Narrative

For the analysis of the syntactic realization of setting information, six predictor tags were utilized: **TimeCoding**, **ClauseNom**, **ClauseType**, **PredRepeat**, **PredType**, and **Aspect**. The **TimeCoding** tag is used to track time phrases and clauses. It has five levels: **TimePhrase**, **TimeClause**, **Existence**, **Conjunction**, and **None**. The **TimePhrase** and **TimeClause** levels identify clauses with temporal phrases and temporal clauses, respectively. The **Existence** level identifies existence verb constructions functioning as temporal clauses, while the **Conjunction** level identifies clauses opening with a conjunction. The **None** level is used for clauses without a temporal component.

The **ClauseNom** tag is used to track overtly-marked nominalized clauses. The relevant levels related to setting information are: **doeqClause**, **noaClause**, **PostPPClause**, and **PPClause**. Both the **doeqClause** and **noaClause** levels track final markers of nominalized clauses, while the **PostPPClause** and **PPClause** track prepositional phrase clausal nominalizations. The **None** level is used to identify non-nominalized clauses. The **ClauseType** tag tracks the type of clause. The relevant level for setting information is **Adverbial**.

The **PredRepeat** tag is used to track a predicate that is a repeat or paraphrase of the predicate in the previous clause. This tag also tracks clauses that express an event that occurs at the same time as the event expressed in the previous clause. It has three levels: **Repeat**, **Simultaneous**, and **None**. Both the **PredType** and **Aspect** tags and their levels have already

been described for the analysis of foreground clauses. The predictor tags for the analysis of setting information are summarized in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: *Tags and levels for the analysis of setting information*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent	GroundType	Event, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, Performative
Syntactic	TimeCoding	TimePhrase, Existence, TimeClause, Conjunction, None
	ClauseNom	doeqClause, noaClause, PostPPClause, PPClause, None
	ClauseType	Adverbial
Semantic	PredRepeat	Repeat, Simultaneous, None
	PredType	Dynamic, Existence, ExistLoc, ExistPoss, ExistPres, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Speaking, Stative, Zero
	Aspect	Perfective, Imperfective, None

For the analysis of the syntactic realization of explanatory information, five predictor tags were utilized: **ClauseType**, **PredRepeat**, **PredType**, **ActionType**, and **DiffTime**. The **ClauseType** tag is used to track clause types. The relevant levels are Complement, Reason, Purpose, and Result. The **PredRepeat** and **PredType** tags have already been described. The **ActionType** tag has three levels: Conversation, Action, and Non-event. The Action level tracks foreground information clauses, the Conversation level tracks quoted background information, and Non-event level tracks non-quoted background information. Finally, the **DiffTime** tag tracks clauses that express information that is outside the temporal sequence of events with three levels: Flashback, Foreshadow, and None. The predictor tags for the analysis of explanatory information are summarized in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16: *Tags and levels for the analysis of explanatory information*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent	GroundType	Event, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, Performative
Syntactic	ClauseType	Complement, Reason, Result
	PredRepeat	Repeat, None
Semantic	PredType (predicate type)	Dynamic, Existence, ExistLoc, ExistPoss, ExistPres, Ideational, Copula, Perception, Speaking, Stative, Zero
	DiffTime	Flashback, Foreshadow, None
Discourse	ActionType	Action, Conversation, Non-event

For the analysis of the syntactic realization of collateral information, four predictor tags were utilized: **Modality**, **SpeechAct**, **ClauseType**, and **DiffTime**. The **Modality** tag was used to track possible and negated propositions with five levels: Irrealis, Negation, Desiderative, Obligation, and None. The **SpeechAct** tag tracks the illocutionary force settings of clauses with three levels: Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative. The relevant levels for the **ClauseType** tag are Conditional and Downstairs clauses. Conditional tracks conditional adverbial clauses and Downstairs tracks the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative. Finally, the **DiffTime** Foreshadow level tracks irrealis statements that foreshadow states of affairs to come. The predictor tags for the analysis of explanatory information are summarized in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17: *Tags and levels for the analysis of collateral information*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent	GroundType	Event, Setting, Explanation, Collateral, Evaluation, Performative
Syntactic	ClauseType	Conditional, Downstairs
Semantic	Modality	Irrealis, Negation, Desiderative, Obligation, None
	SpeechAct	Declarative, Imperative, Interrogative
	DiffTime	Flashback, Foreshadow, None

Both evaluations and performatives occurred only rarely in the data frame, so statistical analysis was not necessary. The analysis of referential coherence is the next topic of discussion.

3.7 The analysis of referential coherence

Similar to the analysis of grounding, the analysis of referential coherence involves a series of analyses of various aspects of the N. Pwo referential coherence system, each with its own set of tags and levels, starting with the analysis of the distribution of the two third-person object pronouns.

3.7.1 Tags and levels for the analysis of the two object pronouns

For the analysis of the distribution of the two third-person object pronouns, the two dependent variable tags were **IOForm** (*wé, = â'*) and **DOForm** (*wé, = â'*), which listed the indirect and direct object forms occurring in each clause. Then, as determined from an analysis of the data, each row (clause) in the spreadsheet was coded with additional tags covering syntactic, semantic, and discourse factors, which are described below.

The single syntactic tag is **SubjPerson** (First, Second, Third), which tracks the person of the subject, whether overt or elided. The semantic tags are **IOAnimacy** and **DOAnimacy**. **IOAnimacy** tracks the animacy of indirect object referents, with three levels: Human, Animate, or None. N. Pwo indirect objects referents are never inanimate, so an Inanimate level was not included, while the None level is used for instances where there is no indirect object referent, as in the case of intransitive and transitive clauses. In parallel fashion, the direct object semantic tag **DOAnimacy** tracks the animacy of direct object participants, with four levels: Human, Animate, Inanimate, and None. The None level is used when there is no direct object referent, as with intransitive clauses.

Finally, the discourse tags are **IOTheme** and **DOTheme** with five levels: Local, NonLocal, and None. The Local level tracks the thematic participant in a span of discourse, which is

typically the most active participant. The Non-Local level tracks non-thematic participants. The None level is used for participants that are neither thematic nor non-thematic, such as props.

The seven tags for the study of the distribution of the two object pronouns are summarized, with their levels, in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18: *Tags and levels for the analysis of the two object pronouns*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent Variables	IOForm	<i>wé</i> , = <i>â'</i> , <i>jê</i> , <i>nê</i> , <i>xâ</i> , NP, zero, None
	DOForm	<i>wé</i> , = <i>â'</i> , <i>jê</i> , <i>nê</i> , <i>xâ</i> , NP, zero, None
Syntactic	SubjPerson	First, Second, Third
Semantic	IOAnimacy	Human, Animate, None
	DOAnimacy	Human, Animate, Inanimate, None
Discourse	IOTheme/DOTheme	Local, Non-Local, None

3.7.2 Tags and levels for the analysis of extra-clausal reference

For the analysis of extra-clausal noun phrase and vocative reference, the dependent variable tags are **TopicForm**, **VocForm**, and **PostForm**. Each of these tags track the syntactic form of pre-clause noun phrase reference, pre-clause vocative reference, and post-clause noun phrase and vocative reference, respectively. **TopicForm** has four levels: NP (noun phrase), Ergative, which tracks all forms of the ergative pronoun, PP (prepositional phrase), and None, which identifies clauses with no pre-clause nominal form. **VocForm** has four levels: NP, Possessive, which tracks possessive pronouns, Accusative, which tracks accusative pronouns, and None, which identifies clauses with no pre-clause vocative. **PostForm** also has four levels: NP, which tracks post-clause nominal reference, NPVoc, which tracks post-clause vocative reference, Possessive, which tracks possessive pronouns, Accusative, which tracks accusative pronouns, and None for clauses with no post-clause nominal or vocative reference.

Tags that were used to subset the data set include **TopicRank**, **VocRank**, and **PostRank**. The **TopicRank**, **VocRank**, and **PostRank** tags are all used to track the participant rank of the

extra-clausal reference. The relevant levels of **TopicRank** include Major, Minor, Prop, and None. **VocRank** has four levels: Major, Minor, Prop, and None. **PostRank** also has four levels: Major, Minor, Prop, and None. The **TopicArg**, **VocArg**, and **PostArg** tags were used to track the argument position within the clause that is co-referential with extra-clausal reference. The **TopicArg** tag has five levels: Subj, CS, DO, Obl, and None. The Subj, DO, and Obl levels track the subject, direct and oblique objects in the clause, while the CS level tracks copula subjects within copula clauses. None is used for clauses with no pre-clause nominal references. The **VocArg** tag has four levels: Subj, IO, DO, and None, while the **PostArg** tag has five levels: Subj, CS, DO, Addressee, and None.

The predictor tag, **TopicChange**, is used to track the function of pre-clausal reference in relation to thematicity and has five levels: **NewLocal**, **ChangeLocal**, **Insert**, **ContLocal**, **Response**, **Contrast**, and **None**. The first level, **ChangeLocal**, is used to track a change in thematic participant. **ContLocal** tracks a continuing thematic participant, generally after an **Insert** of one or two propositions about a non-thematic or prop participant. **NewLocal** tracks the first mention of a thematic participant. The **Response** level tracks ergative pronoun reference to a thematic participant who is responding to a state of affairs, while the **Contrast** level tracks ergative pronoun reference that indicates a contrast between two participants. The **None** level is used for clauses in which a thematic participant is not referenced in the pre-clause position.

The tags utilized for the analysis of the function of extra-clausal reference are listed with their levels, in Table 3.19.

Table 3.19: *Tags and levels for the analysis of extra-clausal reference to participants*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent Variables	TopicForm	NP, Ergative, PP, None
	VocForm	NP, Possessive, Accusative, None
	PostForm	NP, NPVoc, Possessive, Accusative, None
Participant Rank	TopicRank	Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Location, None
	VocRank	Major, Minor, Prop, None
	PostRank	Major, Minor, Prop, Story, None
Participant Argument	TopicArg	Subj, CS, DO, Obl, None
	VocArg	Subj, IO, DO, None
	PostArg	Subj, CS, DO, Addressee, None
Thematicity	TopicChange	NewLocal, ChangeLocal, Insert, ContLocal, Response, Contrast, None

3.7.3 The analysis of the coding of participant first mention

The first mention of a participant in a narrative can occur in any position within the clause, as well as in the pre-clause position. The dependent variable tags are **TopicForm**, **SubjForm**, **IOForm**, **DOForm**, and **OblForm**, which track the syntactic form of reference, whether a noun phrase, pronoun, or zero. One set of subsetting tags was used: **TopicTheme**, **SubjTheme**, **IOTheme**, **DOTheme**, and **OblTheme**, all of which track the thematicity of the participant, with three levels: Local (thematic), Non-Local (non-thematic), and None. Participant thematicity was correlated with first mention using the tags **TopicFirst**, **SubjFirst**, **IOFirst**, **DOFirst**, **CCFirst**, and **OblFirst**. These tags track whether a reference to a participant is the first mention or not. The positions tracked are the pre-clause, subject, indirect object, direct object, copula complement, and oblique object positions, respectively, with two levels: **FirstMention** and **None**. **None** is used for clauses without a first mention of a participant.

The tags and levels utilized for the analysis of first mention are listed in Table 3.20.

Table 3.20: *Tags and levels for the analysis of first mention*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent Variables	TopicForm	NP, Ergative, PP, None
	SubjForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
	IOForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
	DOForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
	OblForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
Subsetting	TopicTheme,	Local, NonLocal, None
	SubjTheme,	
	IOTheme, DOTheme,	
	CCTheme, OblTheme	
First Mention	TopicFirst, SubjFirst,	FirstMention, None
	IOFirst, DOFirst,	
	CCFirst, OblFirst	

3.7.4 The analysis of the coding of participants in conversation

For the analysis of participant reference in conversation, speech and thinking complements were extracted from the data set using the **ActionType** tag which has four levels: Action, Conversation, Thinking, and Non-event. The Action level tracks foreground information, while the Conversation, Thinking, and Non-event levels track background information.

Three groups of tags are used to subset the extracted conversation and thinking data set for the analysis of participant reference. The first group are participant rank tags: **SubjRank**, **IORank**, **DORank**, and **OblRank**. The relevant levels for each of these tags are Major, Minor, and None. The the second group of subsetting tags are the person tags **SubjPerson**, **IOPerson**, **DOPerson**, and **OblPerson**, which track the person of the subject, indirect object, direct object, and oblique object, respectively, whether overt or elided.

The **SubjForm**, **IOForm**, **DOForm**, and **OblForm**, which track participant reference forms in the subject and indirect, direct, and oblique object positions, were used to tabulate the forms of reference to both speech act participants and third-person participants in conversation. Finally, the third-person reference in conversation was examined in more detail using the

SubjTheme, **IOTheme**, **DOTheme**, and **OblTheme** tags to correlate third-person reference and participant thematicity. The theme levels track the thematicity of the participant on a clause-by-clause basis, with three levels: Local, NonLocal, and None. The Local level tracks a thematic participant, while the NonLocal level identifies non-thematic participants. The None level is for props that are never thematic.

The tags and levels used for the analysis of the coding of conversation participants are summarized in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21: *Tags and levels for the analysis of conversation participants*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variables	SubjForm, IOForm, DOForm, OblForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
Subsetting variables	ActionType SubjRank, IORank, DORank, OblRank SubjPerson, IOPerson, DOPerson, OblPerson	Action, Conversation, Thinking, Non-event Major, Minor, None First, Second, Third, None
Thematicity	SubjTheme, IOTheme, DOTheme, OblTheme	Local, NonLocal, None

3.7.5 The analysis of overt reference to thematic and non-thematic participants

The coding possibilities for thematic and non-thematic participants outside of conversation are complex. As with conversation participants, the dependent variables are **SubjForm**, **IOForm**, **DOForm**, and **OblForm**. The **ActionType** tag was used to extract the non-conversation clauses for the analysis of third-person reference. The subsetting variables **SubjTheme**, **IOTheme**, **DOTheme**, and **OblTheme** were used to subset the data set by thematicity, while the **SubjRank**, **IORank**, **DORank**, **OblRank** and **SubjPerson**, **IOPerson**, **DOPerson**, **OblPerson**

tags were used to track the rank and person of the participant reference under consideration. The theme, rank, and person tags have already been described in §3.7.4.

For the analysis of subject noun phrase reference to thematic and non-thematic participants, the two predictor tags were **SubjChange** and **SubjFirst**. The **SubjChange** tag, like the **TopicChange** tag, tracks the function of subject reference in relation to thematicity. Its relevant levels are: NewSpeaker, ContSpeaker, SpeakerSameLocal, NewLocal, ChangeLocal, ContLocal, Insert, and None. The NewSpeaker and ContSpeaker levels track reference to new and continuing speakers in the main clause of quotative constructions, while the SpeakerSameLocal level tracks reference to a speaker who is also the thematic participant in the narrative preceding the quotative construction. The NewLocal level indicates the first mention of a thematic participant, ChangeLocal tracks a change of a thematic participant, and ContLocal indicates a continuing thematic participant. The Insert level tracks inserted information about a non-thematic participant or a prop. The **SubjFirst** tag tracks the first mention of a subject participant with two levels: FirstMention and None.

The **SubjChange** predictor tag was also used for the analysis of ergative pronoun subject reference, while the **Transitivity** predictor tag was used for the analysis of subject absolutive pronoun reference, with six levels: Intransitive, Transitive, Ditransitive, Copula, Existence, and None. These levels track the transitivity of the predicate, along with copula and existence predicates. The None level is used to identify spreadsheet rows with no predicate, such as conversation fragments.

For the analysis of noun phrase object reference to thematic and non-thematic participants, the predictor tags were **SubjTheme**, **IOFirst**, **DOFirst**, **OblFirst**, and **IORole**, **DORole**, and **OblRole**. The **SubjTheme** tag tracks the thematicity of the subject participant, which has a

bearing on the coding patterns of object participants. The **IOFirst**, **DOFirst**, **OblFirst** tags track the first mention of object referents, which are, by default, coded as noun phrases. The **IORole**, **DORole**, and **OblRole** tags track the semantic roles of object participants.

For the analysis of object pronoun reference to thematic and non-thematic participants, the predictor tags **SubjTheme**, **IORole**, and **DORole** were utilized. As with noun phrase reference in the object positions, the thematicity of the subject referent affects the pronoun reference utilized in the object positions. Finally, the **IORole**, and **DORole** tags track the semantic roles of participants which are associated with the thematicity of the subject referent as well.

The tags and levels utilized for the analysis of thematic and non-thematic participants are summarized in Table 3.22.

Table 3.22: *Tags and levels for the analysis of thematic and non-thematic participants*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variables	SubjForm, IOForm, DOForm, OblForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
Subsetting variables	ActionType	Action, Conversation, Thinking, Non-event
	SubjRank, IORank, DORank, OblRank	Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Situation, Story, None
	SubjPerson, IOPerson, DOPerson, OblPerson	First, Second, Third, None
	SubjTheme, IOTheme, DOTheme, OblTheme	Local, NonLocal, None
Predictor variables	SubjChange	NewLocal, ChangeLocal, ContLocal, Insert, NewSpeaker, ContSpeaker, None
	Transitivity	Intransitive, Transitive, Ditransitive, Copula, Existence, None
	SubjTheme	Local, NonLocal, None
	IOFirst, DOFirst, OblFirst	FirstMention, None
	IORole	Recipient, Benefactive, Causee, Addressee, None
	DORole	Addressee, Experiencer, Patient, Stimulus, Theme, None
	OblRole	Accompaniment, Theme, None

3.7.6 The analysis of overt reference to props

Props in both conversation and non-conversation were considered together in the analysis. The dependent variables were **SubjForm**, **IOForm**, **DOForm**, and **OblForm**, while the subsetting variables were **SubjRank**, **IORank**, **DORank**, and **OblRank**. **SubjPerson** was also a predictor variable because the person of the subject has an effect on which of the two object pronouns are used.

Table 3.23: *Tags and levels for the analysis of overt reference to prop participants*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variables	SubjForm, IOForm, DOForm, OblForm	NP, Pronoun, Zero, None
Subsetting variables	SubjRank, IORank, DORank, OblRank	Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Situation, Story, None
Predictor variable	SubjPerson	First, Second, Third, None

3.7.7 The analysis of zero reference to participants

Within the data frame, zero reference occurs in the subject and indirect and direct object positions of the clause. Subject zero reference is analyzed separately from object reference. Therefore the tags and levels for each position within the clauses differ. Tags and levels for the analysis of zero subject reference are covered first (§3.7.7.1), followed by the tags and levels for the analysis of zero object reference (§3.7.7.2).

3.7.7.1 Tags and levels for the analysis of zero subject reference

For the zero subject reference analysis, the dependent variable tag is **SubjForm**, which includes Zero as one of its levels. Since the Zero level was the sole focus of this analysis, the data set was subsetted to only include instances of zero subject reference throughout the data frame. Another tag, **SubjPerson**, was used to track the person of the subject, whether First, Second, or Third person.

Zero subject reference often occurs when the subject participant is referenced in an extra-clausal position by either a vocative or nominal (noun phrase or pronoun). Three predictor tags were used to track the overlap between extra-clausal reference and zero subject reference: **PreandSubj**, **VocandSubj**, and **PostandSubj**. The **PreandSubj** and **VocandSubj** levels track whether a pre-clausal nominal or pre-clausal vocative, respectively, is co-referential with the subject or not, while the **PostandSubj** level tracks whether post-clausal reference, either a vocative or a nominal, is co-referential with the subject.

The next context in which zero subject reference is likely to occur is within the main clause of a quotative construction or an imperative construction. The **SpeechAct** predictor tag has four levels: Statement, Question, Imperative, and Quotative. The Quotative level tracks instances of main clauses of quotative constructions, while the other three levels track the speech act type of the clause.

Within complex constructions, such as coordinate clauses, subordinate + main clauses, and main + complement clauses, the subject of the second clause is often coded as zero if the second-clause subject is co-referential with the subject of the first clause. The predictor tag, **ComplexSubj**, tracks whether the subject of the second clause of a complex construction is the same (**SameSubj**) or different (**DiffSubj**) from the subject of the first clause.

Another context for zero subject reference between two clauses occurs within periphrastic causative clauses and some main + complement clauses. In these two types of clauses, the object referent (indirect, direct, or oblique) in the first clause is often the same as the subject referent in the second clause, which is often coded as zero. This pattern is tracked by the **SubjPrevObj** predictor tag, which has three levels: **SamePrevDO**, **SamePrevIO**, and

SamePrevObl, which indicate that the zero subject referent in the second clause is the same as the direct, indirect, or oblique object referent in the first clause.

If the subject referent is the same between consecutive simple clauses, the subject tends to be coded as zero in the clauses that follow the first clause. This is tracked by the predictor tag, **SimpleSubj**, which, like the ComplexSubj tag, has two levels: SameSubj or DiffSubj. The last predictor tag, **SubjMultiClause**. It tracks instances where a subject is the same between two clauses that are separated by a single intervening clause (2Clause) or two intervening clauses (3Clause).

The tags and levels that were used for the analysis of zero subject reference are summarized in Table 3.26.

Table 3.24: *Tags and levels for the analysis of zero subject reference*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variable	SubjForm	Zero and other subject coding forms
Organizing variables	SubjPerson	First, Second, Third, None
	SubjRank	Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Story, None
Extra-clausal reference	PreandSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
	VocandSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
	PostandSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
Speech act constructions Subject	SpeechAct	Statement, Question, Imperative, Quotative, None
	ComplexSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
	SubjPrevObj	SamePrevIO, SamePrevDO, SamePrevObl, None
	SimpleSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
Non-consecutive clauses	SubjMultiClause	2Clause, 3Clause, None

3.7.7.2 Tags and levels for the analysis of zero object reference

Within the data frame, zero object reference occurs in both the indirect and direct object positions, although zero indirect objects are rare. The dependent variable tags are **IOForm** and **DOForm**, each of which track the syntactic form of indirect and direct object reference. To examine zero coding, the data frame was subsetted to include all instances of zero reference in

the indirect and direct object positions. The tags, **IORank** and **DORank**, were used to exclude non-participant zero reference. These two tags have seven levels: Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Story, Situation, and None. The non-participant reference includes, the Event, Story, and Situation levels. The None level is used where a line in the data frame includes a spoken fragment that is not a clause. In addition, the tags **IOPerson** and **DOPerson** were used to track the person of the object referent, with four levels: First, Second, Third, and None. The None level tracks clauses with no indirect and/or direct object referents.

Since there are only seven instances of indirect object reference in the data frame, no further statistical analysis was carried out. Therefore, the first predictor tags for zero direct object reference cover co-referentiality between the direct object and extra-clausal reference. The three tags are **VocandObj**, **PreandDO**, and **PostandDO**. Just as with the subject and extra-clausal reference, these tags track initial vocative, initial nominal, and post-clause vocative and nominal reference, respectively. The levels are SameDO, DiffDO, and None. None indicates no extra-clausal reference for a clause.

To track whether the direct object referent is the same between two consecutive clauses, the **SimpleDO** tag was used, with four levels: SameDO, DiffDO, SameNextSubj, None. The SameDO level indicates that the direct object referent in the present clause is the same as the direct object referent in the previous clause. DiffDO indicates that the direct object referent is not the same as that of the previous clause. SameNextSubj indicates that the direct object referent of the present clause is the same as the subject referent of the next clause. Finally, None indicates that the previous clause does not have a direct object referent.

The last tag, **DOPurp**, tracks whether direct object reference is elided because the event takes precedence over the expression of the direct object referent or whether an indirect object

referent takes precedence. The three levels are IndirectObj, Event, or None. None tracks whether the clauses without direct object referents.

The tags and levels for the analysis of zero object reference are detailed in Table 3.25.

Table 3.25: *Tags and levels for the analysis of zero object reference*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variables	IOForm, DOForm	Zero and other subject coding forms
Organizing variables	IOPerson, DOPerson	First, Second, Third, None
Extra-clausal reference	IORank, DORank	Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Story, Situation, None
	PreandDO	SameDO, DiffDO, None
	VocandObj	SameDO, DiffDO, None
Speech act constructions	PostandDO	SameDO, DiffDO, None
	SpeechAct	Statement, Question, Imperative, Quotative, None
Shared object between clauses	SimpleDO	SameDO, DiffDO, SameNextSubj, None
Zero object purpose	DOPurp	IndirectObj, Event, None

3.7.8 The analysis of non-participants

Within the data frame, narrators also refer to the story, locations, the audience, the narrator, events, and situations, all of which are considered to be non-participants. Reference to non-participants was found in the subject and indirect and direct object positions only.

To subset the data frame, the **TopicRank**, **SubjRank**, **IORank**, **DORank**, and **PostRank** tags were used. As with all these referential coherence sub-studies, the dependent variable tags were **TopicForm**, **SubjForm**, **IOForm**, **DOForm**, and **PostForm**.

The predictor tags for the analysis of subject zero reference were **PreandSubj**, **PostandSubj** and **SimpleSubj** which tracked subject co-referentiality between pre-clause reference and subject, post-clause reference and subject, and the subject of the previous clause, respectively.

The predictor tags for the analysis of direct object non-participants were **SubjPerson**, **PreandDO**, **PostandDO**, and **SimpleDO**. The **SubjPerson** tag tracked the person of the subject,

which had an effect on which direct object pronoun was used to refer to a non-participant referent. Then, for the analysis of zero direct object reference to non-participants, the **PreandDO**, **PostandDO**, and **SimpleDO** tags tracked co-referentiality between pre-clause reference and the direct object, co-referentiality between post-clause reference and the direct object, and co-referentiality between the direct object of the present and previous clauses.

The tags and levels that were used to analyze non-participant reference are summarized in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26: *Tags and levels for the analysis of non-participant reference*

Category	Tag	Levels
Dependent variables	TopicForm, SubjForm, IOForm, DOForm, PostForm	Zero and other subject coding forms
Organizing tags	TopicArg TopicRank, SubjRank, IORank, DORank, PostRank	Subj, DO, IO, Obl, None Major, Minor, Prop, Event, Story, Situation, Audience, Narrator, Location, None
Subject	SimpleSubj PreandSubj PostandSubj	SameSubj, DiffSubj, None SameSubj, DiffSubj, None SameSubj, DiffSubj, None
Direct Object	SubjPerson PreandDO PostandDO SimpleDO	First, Second, Third, None SameDO, DiffDO, None SameDO, DiffDO, None SameDO, DiffDO, SameNextSubj, None

With the methodology in place, the next chapter presents the analysis of grounding in N. Pwo discourse.

Chapter 4

Grounding in N. Pwo Karen narrative discourse

4.1 Introduction

In the literature, the coding of background information in narrative has been correlated, for some languages, with certain aspectual distinctions and subordinate clauses (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Jones & Jones 1979; Hopper 1979). In N. Pwo, subordinate clauses, including adverbial, non-speech complements, and downstairs clauses in periphrastic causative constructions, are all nominalizations and typically code background information. Clausal nominalizations, as reified entities, are by their very nature, off the time-line, so their correlation with the expression of background information is not unexpected.

Clausal nominalizations figure prominently in the expression of temporal setting information, while non-speech complements are used to encode explanatory information. Collateral information is encoded by both conditional clause nominalizations and the downstairs clauses of periphrastic causative constructions. Non-embedded clause nominalizations are used to convey a prevailing state of affairs in both narrative and conversation, including the narrator's assertion that the story is at an end. They are also used to express a desired state of affairs in conversation.

The expression of background information; however, is not limited to clausal nominalizations. In N. Pwo, identification information is primarily coded by existence verb constructions. Setting information can also be coded by existence verb constructions and tail-head linkage, in which the event in a previous clause is repeated or paraphrased in a subsequent setting clause. A repeated or paraphrased predicate also figures in the expression of explanatory information, although, in this case, the repeated predicate is used to provide

further information about the event in the preceding foreground clause. Collateral information is also associated with negated or irrealis events.

However, before investigating the syntactic realization of grounding values in N. Pwo narrative, the determination of thematic groupings or episode breaks is examined, since episode boundaries figure in the analysis of both grounding and referential coherence. The analysis of thematic groupings are covered in §4.2, followed by the analysis of grounding, starting with foreground information, in §4.3, then background information in §4.4. The function of non-embedded clause nominalizations are covered in §4.5 and the chapter ends with a summary of the findings in §4.6.

4.2 The analysis of thematic groupings in narrative

A thematic grouping or episode is a span of discourse within a larger discourse that is characterized by continuity in time, place, action, and participant orientation (Grimes 1975; Givón 1984; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001). Givón (1984:245) observes that these parameters “are more likely to be maintained *within* any particular discourse unit than *across* its boundary with another unit.” Therefore, a discontinuity in time, place, action, or participant orientation should correlate with a thematic grouping.

The action parameter is concerned with differences between conversation, events, and non-events. In N. Pwo narrative, action changes do not necessarily entail a discontinuity that marks an episode boundary. Thus, only the time, place, and participant orientation discontinuities are necessary to indicate the beginning of a thematic grouping. Once the beginning has been determined, the end of the previous episode is the last clause before the beginning of the next episode. Then, anything that is not the beginning or the end of an episode is in the middle of

the episode. The instances of the beginning, end, and middle parts of episodes in the data frame are detailed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: *Clauses by episode position*

Episode position	Number of instances
Beginning	217 (6.5%)
Middle	2907 (87%)
End	217 (6.5%)
Total	3341 (100%)

In N. Pwo, the beginning of an episode correlates most frequently with a large gap in time, illustrated in (146).

(146) Folktale 6.22

[ʔo kâ' lə = nî dɔ']_{SC} [kəsámâ ʔãtçâ' tçôp^huxwi lî
 exist consequently one CL.day further rich.man ask male.orphan go
 ʔãxí k^hâ' ʔã t^hə kədɔ']_{MC}
 seek shoot eat thing further

Lit. 'Exist consequently one day further, rich.man ask orphan go seek, shoot, eat thing further.'

'On another day, the rich man asked the orphan to go hunting again.'

In (146), the episode opens with a temporal subordinate clause that refers to another day, which indicates a large gap in time.

Another signal of a new episode is when events are temporally out of order, such as at the beginning of a flashback, as illustrated in (147).

(147) a. Folktale 1.8

Ø uàì wé si lau' ujét^hâì wé dɛ wai'
 3.SUBJ study 3.ABS be.skilled exhaust return 3.ABS dɛ immediately

Lit. '(He) study it be.skilled exhaust, return him immediately.'

'When he had studied it (magic) exhaustively, he returned home.'

b. Folktale 1.9

[sə̀lì ʔə = mə = tʰâi nɔ]_{SC} tau' ʔãmêlau' wé dɛ tɕâi' wé
 before 3.POSS = IRR = return NMLZ_{that} monk tell 3.ABS dɛ say 3.ABS
 nə = ɯ̀àì tʰə̌ lə = pʰɛ ʔì Ø tʰâi tɕè = â' me'
 2.NOM study thing one CL.group this 2.SUBJ return use 3.ACC be_{be.true}
 si = ɕ̌
 be.skilled dear

Lit. 'Before his returning, monk tell him, saying it, "You study thing, one group this, (you) return use it, be be.skilled dear.'"

'Before his return home, the monk told him, saying thus, "These things that you have studied, (you) return and use them properly.'"

c. Folktale 1.12

tʰə̌ ʔə = tɕʰá kəkʰwé lə = ɯ̀é ɯ̀étʰâi tʰə̌ dâu'
 to 3.POSS = time man one CL.human return reach house
 'To its time, man, one person, return reach house.'
 'In time, the man returned home to his house.'

In (147a), a man has successfully studied magic and returned home, the last sentence in the episode. Then, in (147b), the temporal subordinate clause signals the beginning of a three-line flashback episode that relates the instructions that the man received from the monk before he left for home. Finally, in (147c), the new episode begins with the man's arrival at his house.

Another temporal indicator of a new episode is a new time which occurs at the very beginning of a story, as illustrated in (148).

(148) M5 Folktale 1

kəpʰlô ʔə = ɕè ʔo wé lə = jə̌ lô bɛxâ' dí tɕôpʰuxwi
 people 3.POSS = story exist 3.ABS one CL.story tell about with male.orphan
 ʔə = ɯ̀àì
 3.POSS = story

Lit. 'Karen, their story exist it, one story, tell about with male.orphan his story.'
 'There is a Karen story that tells about the orphan's experience.'

Introductory material at the beginning of a narrative is typically not on the time line. Rather, it provides background information about the story, participants, or situation. The introduction to M5 Folktale, in (148), consists of a single clause and provides information about the type of story to be told; in this case a story about an orphan.

A change of place can also indicate the beginning of a new episode, as illustrated in (149).

(149) a. M5 Folktale 10

ʔə = wé uʔét^hâi uʔã
 3.ERG return cry

Lit. 'He return cry.'

'He went home and cried.'

b. M5 Folktale 11

uʔã uʔã p^hə nɔ
 cry cry at DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. '(He) cry and cry, at that.'

'(He) was crying there.'

The previous episode ends in (149a) with the orphan returning home and crying. Then, a new episode opens in (149b) with the orphan crying at home, a change of place. The repeated predicate, *uʔã* 'cry', between the two propositions provides further evidence of the episode break.

A participant orientation discontinuity is the last indicator of a new episode, which is illustrated in (150).

(150) a. M5 Folktale 29

Ø mê = â' bî nə = tɕ^hʒmɔ̃ = â' nɔ
 2.SUBJ do 3.ACC like 2.POSS = think OK? NMLZ_{that}

Lit. "(You) do it like your thinking, OK?"

"Do it according to your thinking."

b. M5 Folktale 30

ʔâ ʔə=wé sãt^ho'sã't^ho' wé dɛ
 Ah! 3.ERG be.very.happy 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Ah! He be.very.happy him.'

'Ah! He was very happy!'

An episode ends in (150a) with the rich man enjoining the orphan to carry on with his plans. Then, at the beginning of the next episode, in (150b), the orphan is acting alone and the rich man is no longer onstage.

All of these factors associated with the beginning of an episode are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: *The beginnings of episodes and time, place, and participant discontinuities*

Discontinuity	Number of instances
Large time gap	140 (65%)
Out of order	21 (10%)
New time	14 (6%)
Place change	28 (13%)
Cast change	14 (6%)
Total	217 (100%)

Briefly, the beginning of a new episode or thematic grouping is most often signalled by a discontinuity in time, although, it can also be signalled by a change of place or participant orientation.

From the analysis thus far, it would appear that time, place, and participant orientation discontinuities do not occur together. While it is true that the typical pattern is for a temporal discontinuity alone to correlate with the beginning of a new episode, time and participant discontinuities can occur together, as illustrated in (151).

(151) **Folktale 1.49**

ʔo lə = nî tau' lə = uɛ̃ nɔ sɛ̃ bɛ ʔə = nɛ̃
exist one CL.day monk one CL.human NMLZ_{that} news strike 3.POSS = ear

Lit. 'Exist one day, monk, one human, news strike his ear.'

'One day, the monk heard the news (about his student's misuse of magic).'

Prior to the event expressed in (151), the monk's student has misused his magic training at another time. In (151), the initial clause, *ʔo lə = nî* 'one day' indicates a time discontinuity and the monk represents a participant discontinuity.

Background information, especially setting information, is typically associated with the beginning of an episode, while explanatory information is often associated with the end of an episode. However, before examining background information further, foreground information is considered.

4.3 Foreground information

Foreground information expresses the temporally sequenced events in a narrative; the backbone of the story. Syntactically, most foreground propositions have dynamic predicates, as in (152).

(152) **M5 Folktale 2**

tɕôp^huxwi lə = uɛ̃ ʔî lî tɕai lú kəsámâ ʔə = dâu'
male.orphan one CL.human this go walk at rich.man 3.POSS = house

Lit. 'Orphan, one human this go walk at rich.man, his house.'

'This orphan walked to a rich man's house.'

Within the data frame, foreground information clauses number 1,253 out of a total of 3,341 clauses. The predicate types correlated with event clauses are tabulated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: *Event clauses by predicate type*

Predicate Type	Number of instances
Dynamic	766 (61%)
Communicative	430 (34%)
Perception	57 (5%)
Total	1253 (100%)

All of the event predicates in Table 4.3 are dynamic predicates, although communicative and perception predicates were tagged separately in the data frame. An example of a dynamic predicate was already illustrated in (152). Communicative and perception predicates are illustrated in (153).

(153) M5 Folktale 12

[[*kəsámâ* *lî* *dɛ* = *â'*]_{CL1} [\emptyset *?âtçâ'* = *â'*]_{CL2}]_{MC} [*tçôp^huxwi* *bɛ*
 rich.man go see 3.ACC 3.SUBJ ask 3.ACC male.orphan strike
lê *nə=* *uã* *jâ* *ʔû* *jé*]_{DQ}
 QUES 2.NOM cry like yonder completely

Lit. ‘Rich.man go see him, (he) ask him, “(You) cry like yonder completely.”’
 ‘The rich man went and saw him and asked him, “Why are you crying so much?”’

The main clause, in (153), consists of two clauses. The predicate of the first clause, *lî dɛ* ‘go see’, is a perception predicate, which includes the directional, *lî* ‘go’. Then, the second predicate, *?âtçâ'* ‘ask’, is a communicative predicate. In this case, both clauses are temporally sequenced events in the narrative, so they are foreground information.

An examination of aspectual marking in foreground clauses shows that the vast majority of them do not have any aspectual marking, as detailed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: *Event clauses by aspect marking*

Aspect Marking	Number of instances
None	1219 (97%)
Imperfective	32 (3%)
Perfective	2
Total	1253 (100%)

One means of indicating imperfective aspect in N. Pwo is the reduplication of either a predicate or post-core manner adverbial, both of which indicate ongoing action. Of the 135 instances of this type of reduplication in the data frame, 103 occur in background material, as expected. However, 32 instances occur in foreground clauses, as illustrated in (154).

(154) M5 Folktale 8

∅ sŏsŭ ʔə=sâ' k^hĩ p^hê k^hĩ p^hê k^hĩ p^hê
 3.SUBJ jump.up.and.down 3.POSS=heart two CL.side two CL.side two CL.side

Lit. '(He) jump up and down his heart, two sides, two sides, two sides.'

'(He) jumped up and down from side to side (repeatedly).

In (154), the reduplicated numeral + classifier, *k^hĩ p^hê* 'side to side', indicates that the action denoted by the predicate was repeated several times. This is an imperfective situation in which the phases of an event are on display. However, in this story, the repeated jumping up and down from side to side is a crucial event that temporally precedes the falling and breaking of some water containers, which makes it foreground information. When a clause that is coded as background information serves as foreground information, this is called *foregrounding*. In other words, an otherwise background proposition has been "promoted" to serve as foreground information.

A foregrounded proposition with a reduplicated predicate is illustrated in (155).

(155) **Folktale 3.25**

kəsámâ ʔə = mɛ ʔātɕâ' ʔātɕâ' wé de
rich.man 3.POSS = wife ask ask 3.ABS de

Lit. 'Rich man, his wife ask ask him.'

'The rich man's wife asked and asked him.'

Prior to (155), the rich man's wife has asked the orphan to tell her why he is crying. However, he is reluctant to respond to her, so she then asks and asks him to tell her, as conveyed in (155). This asking is part of the temporal sequence of events, so it is considered foreground information, even though the predicate is reduplicated and has an atelic, imperfective quality, as one would expect with background information.

Only two instances of foregrounded event clauses, which are overtly marked as perfective, occur in the entire data frame. Both of these clauses are illustrated in (156) and (157), respectively.

(156) **F6 Folktale 152**

uʔ̂ də' ʔə = tʰə lî tʰ̂ ʔo dâu' pʰâ ní = â'
finish NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.POSS = thing go reach exist house inside with 3.ACC

Lit. 'Finish, he (his thing) go reach exist house's inside with her.'

'Then, he arrived at her house and stayed with her.'

In N. Pwo, the verb, *tʰ̂* 'reach', can be used to indicate an arrival or the completion of an event of "going". It figures prominently in background setting clauses. However, in (156), it forms part of the complex predicate, *lî tʰ̂ ʔo* 'go, arrive, and stay', which is part of the temporal sequence of events in the story.

The only other instance of perfective aspect in a foreground clause is illustrated in (157).

(157) a. F6 Folktale 603

p^hk^hlɛm̃ Ø *dī* *lâ* Ø *t^hk^hl̃* *p^hâ* *nɔ* *wai'*
fire.dust 3.SUBJ pitch descend 3.OBJ river inside NMLZ_{that} immediately

Lit. 'Fire.dust, (he) pitch descend river's inside immediately.'

'As for the ashes, (he) threw them down into the river immediately.'

b. F6 Folktale 604

t^hi *kwâ'* *lâ* Ø *lau'* *p^ha'*
water sweep descend 3.OBJ exhaust completely

Lit. 'Water sweep descend (it) exhaust completely.'

'The water swept (it) away completely.'

When the verb, *lau'* 'exhaust', occurs as a grounding predication, it indicates a perfective event, which is more typical of background information in N. Pwo. In the foreground clause, in (157a), the older brother has pitched some ashes into the water. Then, in (157b), *lau'* is used to indicate that the water swept all the ashes away, a perfective event. Since the action of the water is part of the temporal sequence of events, the clause is considered foregrounded information.

The last instances of foregrounding occur with nominalized clauses. Out of a total of 344 overtly nominalized clauses in the data frame, 22 are used to express foreground information. All 22 instances are non-embedded nominalized clauses which are used to express a prevailing state of affairs, as illustrated in (158).

(158) a. Folktale 3.153

ʔə = wé *mí* *lù* *k^hlí* *p^hâ* *nɔ*
3.ERG sleep at boat inside NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'They sleep at boat's inside.'

'They slept inside the boat.'

b. Folktale 3.154

lə = nɛ jɛ nɔ tɕôp^huxwi mɨ́ lə = nì bɛ
 one CL.night completely NMLZ_{that} male.orphan sleep NEG get NEG

Lit. ‘One night completely, Orphan sleep not get not.’

‘That night, the orphan could not sleep.’

In this story, some people in a boat have been travelling to a village. They don’t quite make it before darkness falls, so they sleep in the boat. This is expressed, in (158a), with a *nɔ*-marked non-embedded clause nominalization, which expresses the prevailing state of affairs at the end of the episode. The next episode begins, in (158b), with the orphan’s situation, which is not related to the situation of the boat travellers.

Another foregrounded non-embedded clause nominalization, with a more dynamic predicate, is illustrated in (159).

(159) a. Folktale 1.23

ʔə = kətɕ^hi nɔ tɕai dâu’ t^hâi’ bâu’ bâu’ nɔ l̥
 3.POSS = horse NMLZ_{that} walk house area be.near be.near NMLZ_{that} EMPH

‘His horse, (it) walked and walked in the house area near.’

‘As for his horse, (it) walked in the vicinity of the house close by.’

b. Folktale 1.24

ʔo jai’ t^hã jai’ t^hã ʔə = wé tɕai jâi t^hã jâi
 exist be.long ascend be.long ascend 3.ERG walk be.far ascend be.far
t^hã
 ascend

‘Exist be.long ascend, be.long ascend, he walked be.far ascend be.far ascend.’

‘The longer the time, the further he walked.’

In (159a), the episode ends with the horse walking around very near the house, which is expressed in a non-embedded clause nominalization that is marked by *nɔ*. This is considered foregrounded information, because the dynamic predicate expresses a temporally sequenced

action. Then, in (159b), the next episode begins with the horse walking further and further away after the passage of time.

Not all instances of foregrounded non-embedded clause nominalizations occur at the end of an episode. A mid-episode prevailing state of affairs is illustrated in (160).

(160) F6 Folktale 133

∅ t̂n̄ t^hwĩ sá lə = d̂ nɔ
 3.SUBJ meet dog be.black one CL.body NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘(He) meet dog be.black, one body.’

‘He met a black dog.’

The dog is mentioned for the first time in (160). Then, the narrative continues with further information about the dog, departing from the activity of the protagonist in the story. The clause, in (160), is considered foregrounded information because the event denoted by the predicate is a temporally sequenced event in the narrative.

To summarize, foreground information is typically correlated with dynamic predicates with no aspect marking, which occur in main clauses. However, reduplicated predicates or manner adverbials, which are typically associated with background information, can be used to encode foregrounded information as part of the temporal sequence of events. Non-embedded clause nominalizations can also be used to express foregrounded information if the event denoted by the predicate is on the time line.

Foreground event clauses only supply the “backbone” of the story with no explanations, introduction and description of participants, setting information, other possible events, or narrator interaction with the story or the audience. It is the background propositions that supply this information.

4.4 Background information

Six types of background information have been identified in the data frame. The first type, identification or participant orientation is used to introduce and describe participants, usually at the beginning of the story before the narrative proper begins. The second type, setting, provides information about the time, place, or circumstances of events. The third type, explanations, provides more information about events. The fourth type, collateral information, provides information about possible events as background to what actually happens. The fifth type, evaluations, express the narrator's attitude toward the events in the story and the sixth type, performatives, represent the narrator's interaction with his audience. The distribution of background information in the data frame is detailed by type in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: *Background information by type*

Background type	Number of instances
Identification	46 (2%)
Setting	429 (21%)
Explanation	687 (33%)
Collateral	898 (43%)
Evaluation	6
Performative	22 (1%)
Total	2,088 (100%)

Of all the background information types in the data frame, collateral information is the most prevalent with 898 clauses (43%), followed by explanatory information with 687 clauses (33%), and then setting information with 429 clauses (21%). Identification information, with 46 clauses (2%), is less prevalent because there are a limited number of participants in the stories, while evaluations and performatives are the most limited.

Each of type of background information is considered in turn, starting with identification (§4.4.1), followed by setting information (§4.4.2), explanations (§4.4.3), collateral information (§4.4.4), evaluations (§4.4.5), and performatives (§4.4.6). The section ends with a summary of the syntactic realization of background information (§4.4.7).

4.4.1 Identification information

Within the data frame, identification clauses occur 46 times, of which 42 occur in the introduction sections of the narratives, before the beginning of the temporally sequenced events of the narrative. Presentational existence verb constructions account for 21 instances of identification information in the data frame, as illustrated in (161).

(161) Folktale 1.1

p^hlô dáp^hup^hê ʔo k^hĩ uɣê
 person father.and.child exist two CL.human

Lit. ‘Person, father.and.child, exist, two humans.’

‘There were two people, a father and son.’

The proposition, in (161), asserts the existence of a father and his son. The father is a minor participant, while his son is the protagonist in the story.

Presentational clauses are also used to introduce participants in the course of a narrative, as illustrated in (162).

(162) Folktale 7.67

ʔo xǝ̃ bâi^ht^ha’ lə = uɣê [tɕai t^hã dɛ t^hə̃
 exist **slave** be.stutter one CL.human walk ascend see thing
uɣòm^hlai^huɣòm^hla’]_{RC}
 glitter

Lit. ‘Exist slave be.stutter, one human, walk ascend see thing glitter.’

‘There was a stuttering slave who came up and saw the glittering stuff.’

(165) F4 Folktale 1

tɕôp^huxwi *ʔə = t^hwĩ* *si*
male.orphan 3.POSS = dog be.skilled

Lit. ‘Orphan his dog be.skilled.’

‘The orphan’s dog was skillful.’

As with copula clauses, stative verb clauses are used to supply information about a participant’s attributes. In (165), the skillfulness of the orphan’s dog is declared.

An existence verb clause can also be used provide information about the location of a participant, as illustrated in (166).

(166) a. F6 Folktale 1

t^həuɛ *ni* *p^hlô* *náp^hĩwì* *k^hĩ* *uɛ* *ʔo* *ʔo* *də’* *ni*
um OK? person siblings two CL.human exist exist NMLZ_{emph} OK?

Lit. ‘Um. OK? Person siblings, two human, exist exist, OK?’

‘There were two siblings.’

b. F6 Folktale 2

∅ *ʔo* *ní* *ʔə = mù* *ʔè* *k^hĩ* *uɛ*
3.SUBJ exist with 3.POSS = mother um two CL.human

Lit. (They) exist with their mother, two humans.’

‘(They) lived with their mother, the two of them.’

The existence of two siblings, the protagonist and antagonist in the story, is asserted in (166a).

This is followed, in (166b), by the assertion of their existence at a location, which is expressed

through inclusion of the oblique object argument, *ní ʔə = mù* ‘with their mother’.

Finally, a thinking predicate occurs in the last instance of identification material in the data frame, as illustrated in (167).

(167) F2 Folktale 5

me' *t^hwĩ* *me'* *t^hũ'* *me'* *tɛ^hǎ* \emptyset *ʔe* *ʔe* *wé* *tê*
 be_{be.true} dog be_{be.true} pig be_{be.true} chicken 3.SUBJ love love 3.ABS certainty
 tê *ni*
 certainty OK?

Lit. 'Be dog, be pig, be chicken, (he) love love them certainty certainty, OK?'
 'Whether dogs, pigs, or chickens, (he) really loved them.'

The thinking predicate, *ʔe* 'love', is used to state a participant's general attitude toward domestic animals, as background to the events on the time line.

The distribution of identification clauses, by predicate type, is detailed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: *Identification clauses by predicate type*

Predicate type	Number of instances
Presentational existence	21 (47%)
Dynamic	11 (24%)
Copula	8 (17%)
Stative	3 (6%)
Locational existence	2 (4%)
Thinking	1 (2%)
Total	46 (100%)

Presentational clauses, which assert the existence of a participant, account for 21 instances (47%) of the identification clauses in the data frame. Copula, stative, and thinking predicates are primarily used to provide information about a participant's physical attributes, name, gender, or attitudes, while dynamic predicates are used to express events that have some bearing on the temporally sequenced events in the narrative. In addition to expressing identification information, existence verb constructions are one means of expressing temporal setting information.

4.4.2 Setting information

In N. Pwo narrative, setting information serves as background to foreground propositions, as well as other background information, such as collateral and explanatory information. Within the data frame, setting information is expressed in 429 of 3,341 clauses. Setting information can be expressed in a number of ways, each of which are considered in turn. Temporal existence verb clauses are considered first (§4.4.2.1), then overtly marked clause nominalizations (§4.4.2.2), temporal completed events (§4.4.2.3), tail-head linkage (§4.4.2.4), reduplicated predicates or manner adverbials (§4.4.2.5), setting coordinate clauses (§4.4.2.6), and unmarked setting clauses (§4.4.2.7). The section ends with some final details and a summary of the syntactic coding of setting information (§4.4.2.8).

4.4.2.1 Temporal existence verb setting clauses

In addition to expressing identification information, existence verb clauses are used to indicate the passing of time, as illustrated in (168).

(168) Folktale 3.47

ʔo ʔo ʔo p^hɕxwai' k^hi sá sá sá
exist exist exist pass two CL.night three CL.night

Lit. 'Exist, exist, exist pass two nights, three nights.'

'Two or three nights passed.'

Existence verb temporal clauses often start a new episode in the narrative and can include the reduplication of the existence verb, which also indicates the passage of time, as in (168). They occur within the data frame 56 times. Overtly marked clause nominalizations can also serve as temporal setting clauses.

4.4.2.2 Overtly marked clause nominalizations

Overtly marked clause nominalizations occur 126 times in the data frame and display some type of marking of their nominalized status, including occurrence as the object of a preposition and/or marking by *nɔ* and/or *dâ/dəʼ*. A *nɔ*-marked setting clause is illustrated in (169).

(169) M5 Folktale 39

[*lú kʰái* [\emptyset *xwî mɛʼtəleʼ*] _{CL1} [*ʔə = tɕî* *ʔɛ*] _{CL2} *nɔ*] _{SC} [\emptyset
 at back 3.SUBJ buy goat 3.POSS = money be.much NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ
xwî ŋú] _{MC}
 buy cow

Lit. ‘At back (his) buying goat (and) his money be.much, (he) buy cow.’
 ‘After (he) bought a goat and had lots of money, (he) bought a cow.’

The temporal subordinate clause, in (169), is a prepositional phrase with a coordinate clause object. The compound preposition, *lú kʰái* ‘at back’ conveys the sense ‘after’ and the entire construction is marked by *nɔ*.

Another marker of a temporal clausal nominalization is the emphasis marker, *dəʼ*, functioning as a nominalizer, which is illustrated in (170).

(170) M5 Folktale 23

[*tɕə = ṣṣũ* *sâʼ* *kʰí* *pʰɛ* *kʰí* *pʰɛ* *dəʼ*] _{SC}
 1.POSS jump.up.and.down heart two CL.side two CL.side NMLZ_{EMPH}
 [*tʰíʰɔ̃* *lâtʰeʼ*] _{MC}
 water.container fall

Lit. ‘My jumping up and down heart two side, two side, water container fall.’
 ‘When I jumped up and down from side to side, the water containers fell.’

In (170), *dəʼ* is one of several indicators of the nominalized status of this subordinate clause. Other indicators include the reduplicated classifier phrase, *kʰí pʰɛ* ‘one side’ and the genitive subject. Events that are marked as complete in various ways can also serve as temporal setting clauses.

4.4.2.3 Event setting clauses with endpoints

Temporal setting clauses with overtly indicated endpoints occur 177 times in the data frame and are marked as such in several ways. One way an endpoint can be indicated is with the $u\hat{c}$ ‘finish’ grounding predication, illustrated in (171).

(171) M5 Folktale 40

[\emptyset $xw\hat{i}$ $\eta\hat{u}$ $u\hat{c}$]_{SC} [\emptyset $xw\hat{i}$ $p\hat{a}n\hat{e}$]_{MC}
 3.SUBJ buy cow finish 3.SUBJ buy water.buffalo

Lit. ‘(He) buy cow finish, (he) buy water buffalo.’

‘After (he) bought a cow, (he) bought a water buffalo.’

In (171), the subordinate clause expresses the completed event of purchasing a cow, with the combination of the predicate, $xw\hat{i}$ ‘buy’ and the grounding predication $u\hat{c}$ ‘finish’ which conveys an ‘after’ temporal sense.

The verb $t^{h\hat{c}}$ ‘reach’ also appears often in temporal setting clauses, illustrated in (172).

(172) M5 Folktale 32

[[\emptyset \hat{l} $\hat{a}d\hat{u}$ ’ $t^{h\hat{c}}$ $u\hat{c}$]_{CL1} [\emptyset $u\hat{e}t^{h\hat{a}i}$ $t^{h\hat{c}}$]_{CL2}]_{SC} [$k\hat{a}s\hat{a}m\hat{a}$ $k\hat{e}l\hat{a}$
 3.SUBJ go scoop water finish 3.SUBJ return reach rich.man give
 $\hat{a} = t\hat{c}\hat{i}$ $\hat{l} = b\hat{a}$ ’]_{MC}
 3.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. ‘(He) go scoop water finish (and) return reach, rich man give his money, one baht.’

‘After he went and scooped water and came back, the rich man gave him one baht.’

In (172), $t^{h\hat{c}}$ ‘reach’ is modifying $u\hat{e}t^{h\hat{a}i}$ ‘return’, the predicate of the second clause in a coordinate clause subordinate construction. It indicates that the process denoted by the predicate head, $u\hat{e}t^{h\hat{a}i}$ ‘return’, was completed.

Other verbs that can be used to express a completed event, either as a direct modifier of the predicate or a grounding predication, include *lau* ‘exhaust’, *t^hã* ‘ascend’, *lâ* ‘descend’, *t^hai* ‘stop’, and *p^hôk^hái* ‘pass back’.

Temporal classifier phrases and destination locative phrases can also be used to indicate a completed event, as illustrated in (173).

(173) Folktale 8.240

[*p^hô* *xwai*’ *nwé* *nî*]_{SC} *kətçú’xwê* *ʔú’p^há*’ *t^hã* *klê* *lə =* *dε*
 pass away seven CL.day king open ascend way NEG see
ʔə = t^hə *p^huxè* *nâ* *đi* *lâ* *bε*
 3.POSS = thing animal even.one CL.body at.all NEG

Lit. ‘Pass away seven day, king open ascend way not see his thing animal even.one body at.all not.’

‘After seven days, the king opened the way and did not see any of his animals.’

In (173), the classifier phrase, *nwé nî* ‘seven days’, places a limit on the action of the predicate, *p^hô xwai* ‘pass away’.

Yet another way to indicate an endpoint is through the use of the inchoative particle *jâu*’, illustrated in (174).

(174) a. M5 Folktale 42

[*t^hô* *kəsámâ* *lî* *dε* *wé* *lə =* *p^há* *dô*’]_{CL1} *ʔó* [*ʔə = wé* *xwî*
 to_{reach} rich.man go see 3.ABS one CL.time more EXCL 3.ERG buy
kətç^há *nì* *lə =* *đi* *jâu*’]_{CL2}
 elephant get one CL.body INCH

Lit. ‘Reach rich man’s going and seeing him, one time more, Oh! he buy elephant get one body already.’

‘By the time the rich man went and saw him, he had already bought an elephant!’

b. M5 Folktale 43

[\emptyset *t^hau'* *wé* *?ə = k^hu*
 3.SUBJ ride 3.ABS 3.POSS = head

Lit. '(He) ride it, its head.'

'He rode on its (elephant's) back.'

All of (174a) is the setting for the foreground proposition in (174b). It consists of two clauses. The first is a time adverbial nominalization, in the form of a prepositional phrase, with *t^hə̂* 'to_{reach}' as the preposition to the clausal object. The second clause is a repeat of the information expressed in a preceding foreground proposition (#42) of the story. The inchoative, *jâu'*, indicates that the action of buying an elephant had already taken place before the time setting expressed in the first clause of (174a).

While, in most cases in the data frame, no overt marking of clausal nominalization is present with event clauses with some indication of an endpoint, all of these clauses can be marked as nominalizations, as illustrated in (175).

(175) Mai 43

[*kə = t^hâi* *t^hə̂* *nɔ* *də'*]_{SC} [*kə =* *mê* *t^hâ* *kâ'*
 1.PL.POSS = return reach NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH} 1.PL.NOM do help consequently
kə = mû *?ə = t^hə̂*]_{MC}
 1.PL.POSS = mother 3.POSS = thing

Lit. 'Our returning reach, we do help consequently our mother's, her thing.'

'When I reached (home), I helped my mother with her work.'

In (175), the completed event *t^hâi t^hə̂* 'return reach', within the subordinate clause, is marked as a nominalization by both *nɔ* and *də'*.

Furthermore, speakers readily accept *nɔ*-marking of completed event clauses, as illustrated in (176).

(176) **Field notes 2016.09.18.2**

[\emptyset xwî ηû uɔ̂ nɔ]_{SC} [\emptyset xwî pənè dɔ̂']_{MC}
3.SUBJ buy cow finish NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ buy water.buffalo more

Lit. '(He) buy cow finish, (he) buy water.buffalo.'

'After he bought a cow, he bought a buffalo.'

In (176), the pre-clause temporal subordinate clause, with the grounding predication uɔ̂ 'finish', is marked by nɔ, which overtly indicates the nominalized status of the clause. Yet another way of expressing temporal setting information is through tail-head linkage.

4.4.2.4 **Tail-head linkage**

Tail-head linkage occurs when the predicate within a setting clause is a paraphrase or a full or partial repeat of the predicate in a preceding foreground clause, as illustrated in (177).

(177) a. **M5 Folktale 37**

[$\text{?ə} = t^h\text{ə}$?ε t^hã ?ε t^hã]_{SC} [\emptyset ?ãtɕ^hé wé]_{MC}
3.POSS = thing be.much ascend be.much ascend 3.SUBJ sell 3.ABS

Lit. 'His stuff be.much ascend, be.much ascend, (he) sell it.'

'When his stuff (pig) grew larger and larger, (he) sold it.'

b. **M5 Folktale 38**

[[\emptyset ?ãtɕ^hé wé]_{CL1} [nì ?ε t^hã ?ε t^hã]_{CL2}]_{SC} [\emptyset
3.SUBJ sell 3.ABS get be.much ascend be.much ascend 3.SUBJ
xwî dɔ̂ mɛ'təɛ' lə = d̂i]_{MC}
buy more goat one CL.body

Lit. '(He) sell it (and) get be.much ascend, be.much ascend, (he) buy more goat, one body.'

'After he sold it and got more and more (money), (he) bought a goat.'

The subordinate clause, in (177b), is a coordinate clause. The predicate in the first conjunct, ?ãtɕ^hé 'sell', is an exact repeat of the predicate of the foreground clause in (177a). Within the data frame, tail-head linkage temporal clauses occur in 21 of 429 setting clauses. The next

section considers the correlation between setting clauses and reduplicated predicates or manner adverbials.

4.4.2.5 Reduplicated predicates or manner adverbials

Reduplication in foregrounded clauses has already been demonstrated in §4.3. However, reduplication of either a predicate or a manner adverbial indicates ongoing action which is typically correlated with background information. A reduplicated predicate setting clause is illustrated in (178).

(178) M5 Folktale 37

[$ʔə = t^{hə}$ $ʔε$ $t^{hə}$ $ʔε$ $t^{hə}$]_{SC} [\emptyset $ʔātc^{hə}$ $wé$]_{MC}
 3.POSS = thing be.much ascend be.much ascend 3.SUBJ sell 3.ABS

Lit. ‘His thing be.much ascend, be.much ascend, (he) sell it.’

‘When the pig became very large, (he) sold it.’

In (178), the reduplicated predicate, $ʔε t^{hə}$ ‘be.much ascend’, is one way of indicating that the pig ($ʔə = t^{hə}$ ‘his thing’) grew larger and larger over a period of time. It denotes the circumstances behind the sale of the pig, expressed in the main, foreground clause. Within the data frame, reduplicated predicates or manner adverbials serve as the only indicator of a setting clause in 18 instances.

4.4.2.6 Setting coordinate clauses

Setting clauses also combine into adverbial coordinate clauses. Often only the second conjunct of the coordinate clause is marked as a setting clause, as illustrated in (179).

(179) **Folktale 3.40**

[[ʔə=wé ʔãp^hʂ t^hã sâi']_{CL1} [∅ ʔãp^hʂ t^hã mî
 3.ERG prepare ascend liquor 3.SUBJ prepare ascend cooked.rice
 uʔ^h']_{CL2}]_{SC} [∅ tâixai' ʔə=p^hu sədê dí tɕôp^huxwi xɔ']_{MC}
 finish 3.SUBJ marry 3.POSS = child youngest with male.orphan EMPH

Lit. 'She prepare ascend liquor (she) prepare ascend cooked rice finish, (she) marry her child youngest with orphan!'

'After she prepared liquor and rice, she married her youngest child to the orphan!'

In (179), two setting clauses combine in an initial subordinate coordinate clause construction.

The grounding predication, uʔ^h 'finish', which appears at the end of the second conjunct, has scope over the entire coordinate construction and indicates that the events in both clauses were completed. Coordinate setting clauses occur six times in the data frame. The next section considers the last of the setting clauses; those that evidence no marking at all.

4.4.2.7 Adverbial setting clauses with no overt marking

As we have already seen, many setting clauses are overtly marked in some way to indicate their function as background information. However, the last 25 setting clauses have no overt marking of their background status. Rather, the listener is expected to interpret their function based on their position and the semantics within the sentence and the larger discourse. An example of an unmarked adverbial setting clause is illustrated in (180).

(180) **Folktale 4.141**

[tɕə= uʔét^hâi p^ho' ʔə=k^hái]_{SC} [ʔə=wé klâ sí jê k^hí t^hô
 1.POSS return follow 3.POSS = back 3.ERG slash die 1.ACC two CL.period
 jé]_{MC}
 completely

Lit. "My returning following his back, he slash die me, two period completely."
 "When I went with him, he slashed me to death two times."

In (180), a woman is relating her previous experience with her husband in a combination of an initial setting subordinate clause and a main clause. The listener has already heard about these events, which makes it possible to determine that the event in the subordinate clause preceded the events in the main clause.

The next example, in (181), exemplifies the importance of the larger discourse for the interpretation of an unmarked setting clause.

(181) a. Folktale 4.152

[\emptyset *mə mɛ tʰə*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *lə = ʔe wé bɛ*]_{CLAUSE}
 3.SUBJ IRR do thing 3.SUBJ NEG approve 3.ABS NEG

Lit. ‘(Her) would do thing, (they) not approve it not.’

‘Her doing things, they (parents) did not approve of it.’

b. Folktale 4.153

[*ʔə = mĩçè lĩ tʰə*]_{SC} [\emptyset *ʔãmɛlauʹ ʔə = pʰumĩ*
 3.POSS = parent-in-law go thing 3.SUBJ tell 3.POSS = daughter
sədɛ]_{CL2} [\emptyset *tçáiʹ wé*]_{CL2}]_{MC} [*sədɛ = ʔ* [\emptyset *kʰwè*
 youngest 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS youngest dear 3.SUBJ observe
nə = wì meʹ uʔĩ ʔʂ]_{CC}
 2.POSS = older.sibling be_{be.true} good OK?

Lit. ‘Her parent-in-law go thing, (they) tell their daughter youngest, (they) say it,

“Youngest, (you) observe your older.sibling be good, OK?”

‘When her in-laws went to do errands, (they) told their youngest daughter,

“Youngest, (you) look after your older sibling well, OK?”

c. Folktale 4.154

\emptyset *kemá ʔə = mɛ tʰə lə = uʔĩ*
 2.SUBJ give 3.POSS = do thing NEG don’t

Lit. “You give her doing thing not don’t.”

“Don’t let her do anything.”

The situation, expressed in (181a), is the parent’s disapproval of the woman working. Then, in (181b), the initial setting subordinate clause precedes a quotative construction. Other than its initial position in the sentence, the setting clause is unmarked as such. However, it is clear

from the previous and subsequent discourse that the reason for the order to the youngest daughter to prevent the daughter-in-law from working is because the parents will be away doing errands, which is expressed in the initial setting clause in (181b).

4.4.2.8 Final details and summary of the syntactic realization of setting information

Up to now, each realization of setting information has been treated as if only one syntactic device occurs at a time in setting clauses. This is not always the case, as illustrated in (182).

(182) a. M5 Folktale 10

ʔə = wé uʔét^hâi uʔã
 3.ERG return cry

Lit. ‘He return (home) and cried.’

‘He went back home and cried.’

b. M5 Folktale 11

∅ uʔã uʔã p^hə nɔ
 3.SUBJ cry cry at DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. ‘(He) cried and cried at that.’

‘(He) cried and cried there.’

Example (182a) is foreground information and the last sentence of the episode, while (182b) is setting information and the first sentence of the next episode. The verb, *uʔã* ‘cry’, appears in both clauses, a tail-head linkage. The predicate, in (182b), is also reduplicated, another signal of background information.

Another manifestation of setting information is in sub-clause phrasal nominals, illustrated in (183).

(183) M5 Folktale 25

k^hé ʔĩ nɔ [tʔə = sâ’ uʔéuʔɔ̃]_{MC}
 season this NMLZ_{that} 1.POSS = heart be.broken

Lit. ‘Season this, my heart be.broken.’

‘Right now, my heart is broken.’

As with temporal setting clausal nominalizations, the phrasal nominal, $k^h\acute{\epsilon}\ \hat{\eta}$ ‘this season’, is also marked by $n\omega$. These temporal phrasal nominals are important as triggers for the resetting of participant reference, which is covered in Chapter 6.

Setting propositions and their syntactic or discourse functional correlations throughout the data frame are summarized in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: *The syntactic realization of setting clauses*

Syntactic realization	Number of instances
Temporal existence verb clauses (optionally take $n\omega/d\acute{\alpha}'/d\hat{\alpha}$ marking)	56 (11%)
Clause nominalizations (prepositional clauses, $n\omega/d\acute{\alpha}'/d\hat{\alpha}$ marking)	126 (26%)
Events with endpoints (optionally take $n\omega/d\acute{\alpha}'/d\hat{\alpha}$ marking)	177 (37%)
Tail-head linkage	21 (4%)
Predicate/manner reduplication	18 (4%)
Coordinate setting clauses	6 (1%)
Unmarked setting clauses	25 (5%)
Total	429 (100%)

This analysis of the coding of setting information in the 14 narrative data frame demonstrates the primacy of clausal nominalizations for coding setting information. If one counts overtly marked clausal nominalizations, along with temporal existence verb clauses and completed event clauses, both of which optionally take $n\omega/d\acute{\alpha}'/d\hat{\alpha}$ marking, clause nominalizations are used to express 74% of the setting clauses in the data frame.

In addition to clausal nominalization, setting clauses are indicated through tail-head linkage and predicate or manner adverbial reduplication. Coordinate setting clauses also occur, as well as setting clauses with no indication of their subordinate status. Finally, both reduplication and tail-head linkage can be used together and with other syntactic devices for

Speech complement explanatory information occurs in 296 out of 687 explanation clauses in the data frame. Explanatory information is also expressed in non-speech complement clauses, which are another type of nominalized clause in N. Pwo.

4.4.3.2 Explanatory information in complement clauses

Complement clauses, including purpose, result, and reason clauses, also express explanatory information. They account for a further 73 instances of explanatory information in the data frame.

A thinking complement clause is illustrated in (185).

(185) M5 Folktale 26

[*kəsámâ* *tɕʰm̃* *wé*]_{MC} [*ʔà* *tɕôpʰuxwi* *lə =* *uɛ* *ʔi* *tɕʰm̃*
 rich.man think 3.ABS EXCL male.orphan one CL.human this think
tʰə *uɪ* *mə*]_{CC}
 thing be.good INTENS

Lit. ‘Rich man think it, Ah! Orphan, one human, this thinking thing be.good!’
 ‘The rich man thought, Wow! This orphan’s thinking is good!’

In (185), the complement clause provides an explanation of the rich man’s thinking.

A purpose clause is illustrated in (186).

(186) F6 Folktale 583

[\emptyset *uɛ*]_{MC} [\emptyset *ʔãx̃* *ʔã* *bĩ* *bə* *nɔ* *ná* *tɕʰú*]_{PURPOSE}
 3.SUBJ come 3.SUBJ seek eat rice like DEM.PRN_{that} equal first

Lit. ‘(He) come (he) seek eat rice like that equal first.’
 ‘(He) came to get rice like that, as before.’

In (186), the complement clause provides the information that the man has come for the purpose of getting rice.

A result clause is illustrated in (187).

(187) **Folktale 1.55**

$u\hat{\sigma}$ $\text{?}\partial = p^huk^hw\acute{\epsilon}$ $n\text{ɔ}$ $[\emptyset$ $lut^h\tilde{a}$ $\text{?}\partial = s\hat{a}'$]_{MC} $[ke$ $k\acute{\epsilon}si$
 finish 3.POSS = son NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ change 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} horse

 $p^h\acute{\epsilon}$ $pj\hat{a}u'$ $p^h\hat{a}'du$ $l\partial = d\hat{t}$]_{RESULT} $d\hat{\sigma}'$
 be.male(animals) be.brown be.very.big one CL.body more

Lit. 'Finish, his son, (he) change his heart be horse be.male, be.brown, be.very.big, one body more.'

'Then, his son, (he) changed himself into a very big, brown stallion.'

In (187), the result clause is expressed as a *ke* copula clause, which indicates the result of the son's magical shape-change.

Finally, a reason adverbial clause is illustrated in (188).

(188) **F6 Folktale 557**

$[\emptyset$ $k^hw\acute{\epsilon}$ lo' $\text{?}\partial = me'$ $b\tilde{a}$ $m\hat{e}$ $l\hat{a}$]_{MC} $[\text{?}\partial = k^h\epsilon$
 3.SUBJ observe together 3.POSS = face dare CL.kind at.all 3.POSS = chin

 bai $n\hat{a}'$ $n\text{ɔ}$]_{REASON}
 be.flat excessive NMLZ_{that}

Lit. '(They) observe together their face dare kind at.all, their chin be.flat excessive.'

'They did not dare look at each other, because their chins were very flat (they did not have any teeth at all.)'

As with the other non-speech complement clauses, the reason clause, in (188), follows the main clause and expresses the rationale for the behaviour of the participants as related in the main clause. Explanatory information is also expressed in clauses which repeat the predicate of a previous clause.

4.4.3.3 Repeated or paraphrased predicate instances of explanatory information

Explanatory information, that repeats or paraphrases the predicate of a previous clause, occurs 158 times in the data frame. It elaborates on the event expressed in the preceding clause, as illustrated in (189).

4.4.3.4 Stative-like predicate types correlated with explanatory information

Stative, thinking, existence, and verbless predicates are all correlated with explanatory information, since they do not express temporally sequenced events. Clauses with these predicates account for a further 138 instances of explanatory information in the data frame. A stative predicate is illustrated in (191).

(191) Folktale 8.105

ʔə = jɛp^hu k^hí b^h jô p^hâ'du jó xɔ'
3.POSS = fish two CL.line this be.very.big completely EMPH

Lit. 'Her fish, two line this, be.very.big completely!'

'Her two fish were fully grown!'

The proposition in (191), relates the information that the girl's fish were fully grown, which serves as background information to the behaviour of the fish in the next foreground clause.

Propositions which express emotional states are also considered explanations, as illustrated in (192).

(192) M5 Folktale 44

kəsámâ sâ' mai' du ma'
rich.man heart be.well be.big to.the.fullest

Lit. 'Rich man's heart be.well be.big to.the.fullest.'

'The rich man was very well-satisfied.'

The explanation for the rich man's next action, asking the orphan to be his son-in-law, is explained by his feelings, expressed in (192).

The existence verb can be used to express several types of explanatory information. Existence of an entity is illustrated in (193).

(193) **Folktale 55.34**

n̄ *p^hâ'du* *ʔo* *l̄ = p^hl̄*
swamp very.big exist one CL.round.object

Lit. 'Swamp very.big exist one round.object.'

'There was a very large swamp.'

The proposition, in (193), provides further information about a valley in which the participants find themselves.

The location of an entity is illustrated in (194).

(194) **Folktale 8.11**

ʔə = wé *ʔo* *l̄* *uḡ*
3.ERG exist at village

Lit. 'She exist at village.'

'She stayed in the village.'

The explanatory information that the girl stayed in the village serves as the starting point for a sequence of events that take place in the village.

The use of an existence verb construction to express possession of an entity is another instance of explanatory information, illustrated in (195).

(195) **Folktale 3.129**

ʔə = dī *ʔo* *ʔε* *uḡ*
3.POSS = egg exist be.much much

Lit. 'Its egg exist be.much much.'

'It had a lot of eggs.'

The assertion, in (195), that there were a lot of eggs serves as further evidence for a turtle nest in a tree, which is part of a ruse set up to cheat some boat owners out of their possessions.

Copulas are the last type of predicate that is used to express explanatory information, illustrated in (196).

(196) **Folktale 55.53**

tʰə = bā *nɔ* *me'* *wé* *sâ'kwî* *ʔə = lɛ* *kʰólò* *l̩*
 monk's.robe NMLZ_{that} be_{be.true} 3.ABS banana 3.POSS = leaf only EMPH

Lit. 'Monk's robe, (it) be it banana its leaf only!

'As for the monk's robe, it was really a banana leaf!'

The real identity of the monk's yellow robe, expressed in (196), provides the explanation for the water buffalo's rage and destructive behaviour in subsequent event propositions. The last instances of explanatory information are interpreted based on the larger context of the discourse.

4.4.3.5 Final details on explanatory information

The remaining 30 instances of explanatory information in the data frame depend on the larger syntactic context for their interpretation. The discourse contexts in the data are further elaboration of an event or more information about a participant, simultaneous actions, of which the second is considered explanatory information, flashback sequences, and explanatory clauses at the end of an episode.

Further elaboration of an event is illustrated in (197).

(197) **a. Folktale 1.5**

∅ *ɯàì* *ɯàì* *ɯàì* *wé* *dɛ* *si* *lau'* *kû'* *ʔə = mē*
 3.SUBJ study study study 3.ABS de be.skilled exhaust every 3.POSS = CL.kind

'(He) study, study, study it be.skilled exhaust every its kind.'

'(He) studied and studied it until (he) was skilled with everything of every kind.'

b. Folktale 1.6

∅ *lutʰā* *ʔə = sâ'* *ke* *tʰu* *si* *ke* *tɕʰá*
 3.SUBJ change 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} bird be.skilled be_{be.able} chicken

si
 be.skilled ...

'(He) change his heart be bird able, be chicken able...'

'(He) could turn himself into a bird, a chicken...'

Both (197a) and (197b) express explanatory information. Proposition (197a) is an elaboration of the foreground proposition in the previous clause. Proposition (197b) provides even further detail about the exact nature of the man’s acquired skills after his study of magic.

Further explanatory information about a participant is illustrated in (198).

(198) a. Folktale 4.3

me’ ʔə = p^huk^hwé nɔ ʔo lə = uʔé l̂
 be_{be.true} 3.POSS = son NMLZ_{that} exist one CL.human EMPH

Lit. ‘Be his son, exist one human.’

‘As for his son, he had one.’

b. Folktale 4.4

∅ dāu’ wé də l̂ hai’ p^hā
 3.SUBJ confine 3.ABS də at trunk inside

Lit. ‘(He) confine him at trunk inside.’

‘He (father) confined him in a trunk.’

In (198a), the *me* of the rich man is introduced with a presentational clause; a type of identification clause. This is followed, in (198b), by the explanatory information that the father had confined his son in a trunk. This provides some explanation for the son’s abusive behaviour toward his wife, which occurs later in the story.

The simultaneous actions of two fish are illustrated in (199).

(199) a. Folktale 8.102

[∅ ʔā ʔə = tɕ^hé uʔ̂]_{SC} [[t̂pəlau’ nɔ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ t^hā
 3.SUBJ eat 3.POSS = feed finish Tongpalau NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ ascend
t^hí k^hí]_{CLAUSE}]_{MC}
 water top

Lit. ‘(They) eat their feed finish, Tongpalau, (he) ascend water top.’

‘After they ate their feed, Tongpalau, (he) went up to the top of the water.’

b. Folktale 8.103

jet^həp^hlâ *nɔ* \emptyset *lâ* *t^hi* *t^hɛ*
 Jethangphlang NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ descend water bottom

Lit. Jethangphlang, (he) descend water bottom.'

As for Jethangphlang, (he) went down to the bottom of the water.'

In (199), after eating, one fish goes to the surface of the water, expressed in (199a), while at the same time the other fish goes down to the bottom, expressed in (199b). In this case, the second of two simultaneous events is coded as explanatory information so that the temporal sequentiality of events is maintained.

Flashback sequences are also considered background information, which is illustrated in (200).

(200) a. Folktale 1.8

\emptyset *uəi* *wé* *si* *lau'* *uét^hai* *wé* *dɛ* *wai'*
 3.SUBJ study 3.ABS be.skilled exhaust return 3.ABS dɛ immediately

Lit. '(He) study it be.skilled exhaust, return him immediately.'

'When (he) had studied it (magic) exhaustively, he returned home.'

b. Folktale 1.9

səli *ʔə = mə = t^hai* *nɔ* *tau'* *ʔəmɛlau'* *wé* *dɛ* *tɕai'* *wé*
 before 3.POSS = IRR = return NMLZ_{that} monk tell 3.ABS de say 3.ABS
nə = uəi *t^hə* *lə = p^hɛ* *ʔi* \emptyset *t^hai* *tɕè* = *â'* *me'*
 2.NOM study thing one CL.group this 2.SUBJ return use 3.ACC be_{be.true}
si = *ə*
 be.skilled dear

Lit. 'Before his returning, monk tell him, saying it, "You study thing, one group, this, (you) return use it be.skilled, dear."'

'Before his return home, the monk told him, saying thus, "These things that you have studied, (you) return and use them properly."'

c. Folktale 1.11

ʔə = wé kʰó Ø tɕâi' wé ʔə̂
 3.ERG TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS Yes

'He part, (he) said it, "OK."'

'On his part, (he) said thus, "Yes."'

d. Folktale 1.12

tʰɕ̃ ʔə = tɕʰá kəkʰwé lə = uɛ̂ uɛ̂tʰâi tʰɕ̃ dâu'
 until 3.POSS = time man one CL.human return reach house

'To its time, man, one human return reach house.'

'In time, the man arrived at his house.'

The flashback sequence in (200b and c) is bracketed by foreground information in (200a) and (200d). The beginning of the flashback, in (200b), is signalled by the setting clause, *səli ʔə = mə = tʰâi nɔ* 'before his return'. The rest of the flashback is composed of explanatory and collateral information. The explanatory information, which consists of actual events, is bolded. Note that even actual events are considered background information in a flashback because they are outside of the temporally sequenced events of the narrative.

The last context of explanatory information is end-of-episode information about a situation or participant, which is illustrated in (201).

(201) a. Folktale 3.100

me' pʰuxwi nɔ ʔo wé dɛ dí ʔə = pʰu ʔə = mé
 be_{be.true} orphan NMLZ_{that} exist 3.ABS dɛ with 3.POSS = child 3.POSS = wife

Lit. 'Be orphan, exist him with his child, his wife.'

'As for the orphan, he lived with with wife and children.'

b. Folktale 3.101

ʔə = tʰà ʔotʰãjâtʰã
 3.POSS = thing exist.ascend

Lit. 'His things exist.ascend.'

'His wealth increased.'

In (201), both propositions are explanatory information that occur at the end of an episode. In (201a) we are told that the orphan lived with his wife and children, while (201b) indicates that his property holdings increased. In other words, the orphan and his family were doing very well.

The final breakdown of the syntactic realization of explanatory information is given in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: *The syntactic realization of explanatory information*

Syntactic realization	Number of instances
Speech complements	296 (43%)
Complement clauses	73 (11%)
Repeated or paraphrased predicates	158 (23%)
Stative, ideational, existence, and copula predicates	138 (20%)
Explanation of other explanatory information, simultaneous events, flashback	22 (3%)
Total	687 (100%)

The only clausal nominalizations that are used to express explanatory information are complement clauses. Otherwise, explanatory information is coded by speech complements, repeated or paraphrased predicates, and stative, thinking, existence, or copula predicates. Explanatory information is also used to further elaborate on other explanatory information. The second clause of simultaneous events is also considered explanatory information, as well as flashback sequences of actual events. Collateral information is a related type of explanatory information; however, it denotes possible events.

4.4.4 Collateral information

Collateral information is the expression of what might happen as background to what actually happens (Labov 1972; Grimes 1975). It is expressed in 898 clauses in the data frame. Collateral information is correlated with negation (§4.4.4.1), irrealis marking (§4.4.4.2), deontic modality (§4.4.4.3), imperative clauses (§4.4.4.4), interrogative clauses (§4.4.4.5), conditional clause nominalizations (§4.4.4.6), and the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative construction (§4.4.4.7). An explanation of the remaining collateral clauses, along with a summary of the syntactic realization of collateral information, ends the section (§4.4.4.8).

4.4.4.1 Negation

The most prevalent collateral information in the data frame (285 of 898 clauses) is encoded in negative statements, which, by definition, encode events that did not happen, so they are off the time line. An example of a negative statement is illustrated in (202).

(202) a. **Folktale 3.21**

[\emptyset ʔãx̣í t^hâi wé]_{CL1} [\emptyset lə = dɛ wé lâ bɛ]_{CL2}
3.SUBJ seek return 3.ABS 3.SUBJ NEG see 3.ABS at.all NEG

Lit. ‘(He) seek return it, (he) not see it at.all not.’

‘(He) looked for it, but did not see it at all.’

b. **Folktale 3.22**

tɕ^hínâ uyā wé
sit cry 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Sit, cry him.’

‘He sat and cried.’

The collateral information is expressed in the second conjunct of the asyndetic coordinate construction in (202a). The fact that the orphan does not find his money is the reason for his crying, expressed the foreground proposition in (202b).

While the majority of the negative statements in the data frame express collateral information, a negative statement can also be used to express setting information, as illustrated in (203).

(203) M5 Folktale 7

[*bɛdʂ' lɪ wé lə = tʰɔ̂ lú tʰíklɔ̂ pʰâ dâi' bɛ nɔ*] _{SC} [*ʔə = wé*
 however go 3.ABS NEG reach at river inside still NEG NMLZ_{that} 3.ERG
dɛ sɛ̃pʰɿ lə = kai' tʰã tʰau' wé ʔə = kʰu] _{MC}
 see log one CL.log ascend ride 3.ABS 3.POSS = head

Lit. ‘However, go him not reach to water river’s inside still not, he see log, one log (and) ascend ride it, its head.’

‘However, he had still not reached the river when he saw a log and got up on it.’

The subordinate clause, in (203), though negative, is a setting proposition, because it tells the listener that the orphan had not yet reached the river, which conveys both when and where the orphan was when he saw a log and got up on it. Irrealis modality is also correlated with the expression of collateral information.

4.4.4.2 Irrealis modality

The second most prevalent expression of collateral information involves irrealis statements (180 of 898 clauses), which are marked by the irrealis marker, *mə =*, which cliticizes to the following verb, as illustrated in (204).

(204) M5 Folktale 5

tɕə = mə = kemá nê nə = tɕî lə = bâ'
 I.NOM IRR give 2.ACC 2.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. “I will give you your money, one baht.”

“I will give you a baht.”

The irrealis statement, in (204), is a promise of some money should the addressee fulfill the request of the speaker, which was expressed in the previous line of the story.

As with negative collateral information, all instances of irrealis modality are collateral information, except for three instances of irrealis modality which appear within a setting background clause, as illustrated in (205).

(205) Folktale 1.9

səlì *ʔə = mə = tʰâi* *nɔ* *tau'* *ʔãmêlau'* *wé* *dɛ* *tɕâi'* *wé*
 before 3.POSS = IRR = return NMLZ_{that} monk tell 3.ABS dɛ say 3.ABS ...

Lit. 'Before his would return, monk tell him, say it...'

'Before his return, the monk told him...'

In all three cases of setting clauses that contain the irrealis marker, the clause is the object of the preposition *səlì* 'before'. Deontic modality is also correlated with collateral information.

4.4.4.3 Deontic modality

The desiderative verb, *bɛsâ'* 'want', and the pre-verb particle, *bɛ* 'must', both express deontic modality, a desired or required state of affairs, in 18 instances of collateral information. The pig's desire is expressed with *bɛsâ'* 'want' in (206).

(206) Folktale 7.34b

pʰi *tɕə = bɛsâ'* *tɕə = mé*
 grandmother 1.NOM want 3.POSS = wife

Lit. "Grandmother, I want my wife."

"Grandma, I want a wife."

Deontic modality, by definition, has a future sense, in this case, the speaker's expression of his desired world.

The obligation particle, *bɛ* 'must', is illustrated in (207).

(207) Folktale 55.12

nə = bɛ *ʔo* *dí* *pʰlô* *sákʰu*
 2.NOM must exist with person black.head

"You must exist with person black.head."

"You must stay with the humans."

In (207), the speaker is imposing his expectation of the future on the hearer. Imperative clauses also express the imposition of the speaker’s desired world.

4.4.4.4 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses account for a further 119 instances of collateral information in the data frame, one of which is illustrated in (208).

(208) M5 Folktale 4

[\emptyset tçâi’ ?e’ wé]_{MC} [tçôp^huxwi ê lî ?ãdû’ ?e’ tçə = t^hí]_{CC}
 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ABS male.orphan Oh! go scoop DAT 1.POSS = water

Lit. ‘(He) say to him, “Orphan, dear, (you) go scoop for my water.”’

‘(He) said to him, “Orphan, dear! (You) go scoop water for me.”’

The imperative clause, in the speech complement of (208), expresses an action that has not happened yet, thus it is a type of collateral information.

A negative imperative is also a type of collateral information, as illustrated in (209).

(209) M5 Folktale 27

[kəsámâ tçâi’ ?e’ = â’]_{MC} [bək^hùbɛuô lə = ufi]_{DQ}
 rich.man say DAT 3.ACC be.worry NEG don’t

Lit. ‘Rich man say to him, “Be.worry not don’t.”’

‘The rich man said to him, “Don’t worry.”’

Prior to the proposition, in (209), the orphan has been anxious about breaking two of the rich man’s water containers. The rich man’s injunction, expressed in the speech complement, provides a possible alternative to the orphan’s anxiety.

Not all instances of imperative clauses are considered collateral information. In some cases imperative clauses occur as setting information, illustrated in (210).

(210) **Folktale 1.83b**

ní *dε* [*nə* = *pâi'* *tʰe'* = *â'* *uʔ̂*]_{SC} [*∅* *xwĩ* *kʰwai'* = *â'*]_{MC}
yours *dε* 2.NOM pull tear 3.ACC finish 2.SUBJ scatter throw 3.ACC

Lit. “Yours, you pull tear it finish, scatter throw it.”

“As for you, after you pull and break it, (you) throw and scatter it.”

In (210), the speaker is instructing a widow to scatter some beads, expressed in the main clause imperative, *after* she has pulled them apart, which is expressed in the temporal setting subordinate clause, which is also an imperative clause. Interrogative clauses are also correlated with collateral information.

4.4.4.5 **Interrogative clauses**

Interrogative clauses account for 136 instances of collateral information in the data frame. An interrogative speech act is considered collateral information because it invites the possibility of an answer, as illustrated in (211).

(211) **M5 Folktale 14**

[*kəsámâ* *tçâi'* = *â'*]_{MC} [*nə* = *mê* *bə* *l̂*]_{DQ}
rich.man say 3.ACC 2.POSS = do strike QUES

Lit. ‘Rich man say to him, “Your doing strike?”’

‘The rich man said to him, “What did you do?”’

In (211), the interrogative in the speech complement invites the orphan to recount his experience, a possible future event. Conditional clauses also express a possible state of affairs.

4.4.4.6 **Conditional clause nominalizations**

Conditional clauses account for another 91 instances of collateral information in the data frame. They are the first of the clausal nominalization constructions that are used to express collateral information, as in (212).

(212) M5 Folktale 19

[[*tɕə = xwî ηû uɟ̂*]_{CL1} [*tɕə = ηû me' ?ε t^hã*]_{CL2}]_{SC} [*tɕə =*
 1.POSS = buy cow finish 1.POSS = cow be_{be.true} be.much ascend 1.NOM
mə = xwî pənè]_{MC}
 IRR buy water.buffalo

Lit. 'My buying cow finish, my cow be be.much ascend, I would buy water buffalo.'

'After I buy a cow and if my cow grows, I will buy a water buffalo.'

In (212), the conditional clause is the second conjunct of the subordinate coordinate clause which precedes the main clause. Since it expresses a possible state of affairs, it is providing background collateral information.

While most of the conditional clauses in the data frame are initial subordinate clauses, as illustrated in (212), three conditional clauses occur after the main clause, as illustrated in (213).

(213) Folktale 4.140

[*∅ tɕâi' wé*]_{MC} [[*tɕə = lî lə = mai' lâ bε*]_{MC} [*tɕə = uɟét^hâi*
 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS 1.NOM go NEG be.well at.all NEG 1.NOM return
p^ho' ?ə = k^hái]_{POST-CONDITIONAL}]_{DQ}
 follow 3.POSS = back

Lit. '(She) say it, "I go not be.well at.all not, I return follow his back."'

'She said, "I will not be at all happy, if I go back to him."'

In the direct quote, of (213), the speaker expresses her deep dissatisfaction, in the main clause, if the condition, expressed after the main clause, were to take place. Note that this conditional clause is not marked by either *me'* 'be_{be.true}' or *nɔ* 'NMLZ_{that}'. Another clause nominalization that is used to express collateral information is the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative construction.

4.4.4.7 The downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative construction

The 38 instances of the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative are also considered collateral information, because the caused event has not happened yet. This is illustrated in (214).

(214) a. Folktale 1.18

uj̥ḥ̃ [*∅* *kemá* *ʔə=p^hɛ̃*]_{UPSTAIRS} [*∅* *l̥i* *ʔãt̥ç^hɛ̃* *ʔe'* *kasámâ*]_{DOWNSTAIRS}
 finish 3.SUBJ give 3.POSS = father 3.SUBJ go sell DAT rich.man

‘Finish, (he) give his father (he) go sell to a rich man (it).’

‘Then (he) had his father go sell (it) to a rich man.’

b. Folktale 1.19

ʔə=p^hɛ̃ *nɔ* *l̥i* *ʔãt̥ç^hɛ̃* *wé* *dɛ* *wai'*
 3.POSS = father NMLZ_{that} go sell 3.ABS dɛ immediately

‘His father, (he) went and sold it immediately.’

‘As for his father, (he) went and sold it (the horse) immediately.’

In (214a), a man has his father sell a horse to the rich man, which is expressed as a periphrastic causative construction. Then, in (214b), the father actually goes out and sells the horse, a foreground event. This shows that the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative is collateral information, because the event of selling is encoded separately from the downstairs clause.

4.4.4.8 Remaining instances of collateral information

The remaining 31 instances of collateral information in the data frame include a variety of possible situations. The first 8 instances occur in direct quotes which express the plans of the interlocutors, as illustrated in (215).

(215) a. Folktale 8.52

[\emptyset tɕâi' lo' ʔə = sâ']_{MC} [[\emptyset lî klâ nî
 3.SUBJ say together 3.POSS = heart 3.SUBJ go slash get
 tɕ^hũtɕ^hɛb^ɕ]_{CL1} [\emptyset mə = uɛt^hâi p^hli ʔə = p^humĩ t^hɕ
 thick.barbed.switch 3.SUBJ IRR return beat 3.POSS = daughter until
 ʔə = s^ɿ]_{CL2}]_{DQ}
 3.POSS = die

Lit. '(They) say together their heart, "(We) go slash get thick.barbed.switch would return beat our daughter until her dying."

'They said to each other, "Let's go get switches and come back and beat our daughter until she dies."

b. Folktale 8.53

\emptyset lî klâ nî wé uɛt^hâi jû' wé uɛ̂ jû'
 3.SUBJ go slash get 3.ABS return shoulder 3.ABS CL.human shoulder
 uɛ̂ jû'
 CL.human shoulder

Lit. '(They) go slash get it return shoulder it human shoulder human shoulder.'

'They went, to it (switches) and returned, each one carrying switches on their shoulder.'

In the direct quote of (215a), the interlocutors talk about what they are planning to do, although irrealis marking only occurs in the second conjunct of the coordinate clause direct quote. After these spoken plans, the actual event of getting the switches is conveyed in (215b), the next line of the story.

In a similar pattern, the irrealis nature of an initial conditional clause is also reflected in the subsequent main clause in 7 instances, as illustrated in (216).

(216) **Folktale 6.19**

t̥ɔ̃p^huxwi *k^hlâi* *t̥ɔ̃^há* *wé* [[*ʔá* *mâ* *nə=* *me'* *kemá* *ʔã*
 male.orphan speak reply 3.ABS Ah! uncle 2.NOM be_{be.true} give eat
x̂]_{CONDITIONAL} [*kə=* *ʔã* *ʔwĩ* *səbò*]_{MC}]_{DQ}
 1.PL.ACC 1.PL.NOM eat be.tasty for.sure

Lit. ‘Male.orphan speak reply him, “Ah! Uncle! You be give eat us, we eat be.tasty for.sure.”’

‘The orphan answered him, “Ah, Uncle! If you gave me something to eat, it would be delicious!”’

Within the direct quote, the occurrence of the event expressed in the main clause is dependent on the occurrence of the event expressed in the initial conditional clause. Therefore, both clauses are only possible events.

In one case, negation of a subordinate clause is also reflected in the main clause, as illustrated in (217).

(217) **Folktale 7.89**

t^hɔ̃ *ʔə=* *t̥ɔ̃^há* [*ʔə=* *wé* *lut^hã* *ʔə=* *sâ'*]_{MC} [*ke* *t^hû'* *pōlō*
 until 3.POSS = time 3.ERG change 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} pig be.round
lə= *si* *nã* *mê* *lâ* *ʔe'*]_{RESULT}
 NEG be.skilled even.one CL.kind at.all NEG

Lit. ‘Until its time, he change his heart be pig be.round not be.skilled even.one kind at.all not.’

‘From that time, he could no longer change his body into a round pig at all.’

In (217), the event of the man changing his body, expressed in the main clause, can no longer take place, as expressed in the result clause. Even though overt indicators of negation only occur in the result clause, the negation of the result also negates the event in the main clause.

Collateral information that foreshadows important events accounts for a further four instances in the data frame. These instances are also examples of *backgrounded* information. Backgrounded information is foreground-coded information that functions as background information, as illustrated in (218).

(218) M5 Folktale 3

kəsámâ kelá wé ʔə = tçî lə = bâ'
 rich.man give 3.ABS 3.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. 'Rich man give him his money, one baht.'

'The rich man gave him a baht.'

The proposition, in (218), is coded as foreground information, with the dynamic verb, *kelá* 'give', and no aspectual marking. However, at this point in the story, the orphan has not gotten his money yet. He does not actually get the money until Sentence #32. Instead, this collateral information foreshadows a pertinent possible event. Much of the story revolves around what the orphan wants to do and eventually does with the money that the rich man gives him. Coding this statement as foreground likely gives it more attention than it would otherwise receive.

The last 15 instances of collateral information are used to express an interlocutor's assumptions, a type of epistemic modality, as illustrated in (219).

(219) F6 Folktale 559

[ʔé]_{DQ} [∅ tçâi']_{MC} [p^hlômîçè ʔə tçə = wîtçô me'
 Hey! 3.SUBJ say wife um 1.POSS = oldest.brother be_{be.true}
mêʔâmêšá tçə = swék^hʔ tç^hʔ ʔâ]_{DQ} [∅ tçâi']_{MC}
 do.evil 1.POSS = toothpick Ah! 3.SUBJ say

Lit. "Hey!" (He) say, "Wife! My oldest.brother be do.evil my toothpick. Ah!"
 (he) say.'

"Hey! he said, "Wife! My oldest brother has likely harmed my toothpick. Ugh!"
 (he) said.'

In the second direct quote of (219), the speaker expresses his suspicion, based on his dream and previous experience, that his older brother has destroyed his toothpick.

The final state of the analysis of the syntactic realization of collateral information is detailed in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: *The syntactic realization of collateral information*

Syntactic realization	Number of instances
Negation	285 (32%)
Irrealis modality	180 (20%)
Deontic modality	18 (2%)
Imperative clauses	119 (13%)
Interrogative clauses	136 (15%)
Conditional clause nominalizations	91 (10%)
Downstairs causative nominalizations	38 (4%)
Spoken plans, compound modality, foreshadowing, assumptions	31 (3%)
Total	898 (99%)

Clausal nominalizations, namely conditional clauses and the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative construction, are only used to express collateral information 14% of the time. The more prevalent indicators of collateral information include negation, irrealis, and imperative and interrogative clauses. Verbs or particles that express deontic modality are also considered markers of collateral information, as well as clauses that express an interlocutor's assumptions, a type of epistemic modality. Backgrounded collateral information is used to highlight an important event in the story before it has happened. Finally, the scope of negation and irrealis modality can cover both clauses in a complex construction, even though overt negation or irrealis marking only occurs in one of the two clauses. The next type of background information, evaluations, encodes the narrator's attitude toward the story.

4.4.5 Evaluations

Evaluation clauses, the expression of the narrator's attitude toward the story, only occur six times in the 14 narratives included in the data frame. One of these clausal evaluations is illustrated in (220).

(220) M2 Folktale 74

ʔé uŋ lə = uŋ nɔ ʔà pʰá'dupʰá'tʰó ʔwésé
 Hey! be.good one CL.human NMLZ_{that} EXCL be.very.big.and.tall be.very.white
 pʰá nɔ mē
 CL.time NMLZ_{that} CL.kind

Lit. "Hey! (He) be.good, one human that. Ah! (He) be.very.big.and.tall be.very.white time that kind."

"Well! (He) was good. Yes! He was very big, tall, and white that time."

Toward the end of the story, the narrator enthuses about change for the better of the turtle that became a man, which is expressed with propositions and exclamations.

Exclamations, alone, are also used to express narrator evaluations, as illustrated in (221).

(221) M5 Folktale 30

ʔá ʔə = wé sātʰo'sātʰo' wé dɛ
 Ah! 3.ERG be.very.happy 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Ah! He be.very.happy him!'

'Ah! He was very happy!'

The narrator's empathy for the orphan is expressed by the exclamation ʔá 'Ah!', an expression of pleasure with the orphan's happiness. Another evaluation exclamation is shown in (222).

(222) M5 Folktale 42

tʰō kəsámâ lî dɛ wé lə = pʰá dɔ' ʔó ʔə = wé xwí
 to_{reach} rich.man go see 3.ABS one CL.time more EXCL 3.ERG buy
 kətçʰá nì lə = dī jâu'
 elephant get one CL.body INCH

Lit. 'Reach rich man's going and seeing him, one time more, Oh! he buy elephant get one body already.'

'By the time the rich man went and saw him, Oh boy!, he had already bought an elephant!'

The evaluative ʔó 'Oh!', that occurs in between two setting information clauses, in (222), expresses the narrator's satisfaction with the orphan's success. Performatives, the last type of

background information, encode the narrator’s communication with the audience about the narrative.

4.4.6 Performatives

Throughout the 14 narrative data frame, performative clauses occur 22 times. Thirteen of these occur in the stories collected in April 2014, while 9 occur in one of the stories from over 30 years ago. Typically, the only performative information in a story is expressed in the last lines, illustrated in (223).

(223) M5 Folktale 47

[\emptyset *t^hai’* *p^hi* *jô* *lô*] _{CLAUSE} [*çè* *lə=* *jô* *ʔi*] _{POST-CLAUSE}
 3.SUBJ stop at this EMPH story one CL.STORY this

Lit. ‘(It) stop at this, story, one story, this!’

‘This story stops here!’

The clause, in (223), is the last clause of the story and is the narrator’s indication that the story is at an end. The story, itself, is overtly referenced in the post-clause position, which is co-referential with the elided subject argument.

Performatives can encompass several clauses, as illustrated in (224).

(224) a. Folktale 55.81

t^hõ *k^hõnē* *jô* *kə=* *me’* *k^hwè* \emptyset *k^hõnē* *jô*
 until period.of.year this 1.PL.POSS be_{be.true} observe 3.OBJ period.of.year this
kətç^hã *nɔ* \emptyset *mê* *p^hlô* *lə=* *nâ* *bɛ*
 elephant NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ do person NEG win NEG

Lit. ‘Until period.of.year this, our be observe (him) period.of.year this, elephant, (they) do person not win not.’

‘Until now, if we observe them now, in the case of elephants, they cannot win against people.’

b. Folktale 55.82

p^hlô *ʔo* *wé* *ʔə=k^hu* *tçè* *wé* *mê* *t^hà* *kû'* *ʔə=mê*
person exist 3.ABS 3.POSS= head use 3.ABS do thing every 3.POSS= CL.kind

Lit. 'Person exist him, his head, use him do thing, every kind.'

'People are their overlords and use them to do every kind of thing.'

In the last two lines of Folktale 55, in (224), the narrator departs from the story and talks about the state of elephants in the present time. That the narrator is speaking directly to his audience is evidenced by the use of the first-person plural pronoun, in (224a), which refers to both the narrator and the audience. Earlier in the story, the narrator departs from the story in similar fashion to relate the fate of water buffaloes in the present time. This discussion of performatives brings to an end the analysis of the syntactic realization of background information in narrative, which is summarized in the next section.

4.4.7 Summary of the coding of background information

Background information, in narrative, consists of identification, setting, explanation, collateral, evaluation, and performative information. Identification information is most frequently expressed through existence verb clauses, while setting information is most frequently realized through clause and phrase nominalizations, although other coding devices include existence verb constructions, reduplication, and tail-head linkage.

Explanation information is most often encoded by speech complements, complement clause nominalizations, repeated or paraphrased predicates, and stative, thinking, existence, and copula predicates. The second of two simultaneous events is also considered explanatory information, as well as the information contained in flashbacks.

Collateral information is primarily signalled by negation and irrealis marking, as well as imperative and interrogative clauses. Verbs and particles expressing deontic modality are another means of coding collateral information. The two clausal nominalizations that code

collateral information are the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative and conditional clauses. Other types of collateral information include foregrounded statements that foreshadow an important event to come and expressions of assumptions, a type of epistemic modality. Finally, in complex clauses, both negation and irrealis modality have scope over both clauses, even if negation or irrealis are overtly indicated in only one of the two clauses.

The last two types of background information, evaluations and performatives, occur much less frequently in the data frame. Evaluations are realized as clauses and single syllable exclamations, while performatives generally occur at the end of a story, when the narrator tells his listener that the story is at an end. One last type of clausal nominalization to be considered is non-embedded clause nominalizations in conversation and narrative.

4.5 The function of non-embedded clause nominalizations in N. Pwo narrative

Non-embedded clause nominalizations occur in both the conversation and non-conversation sections of the 14 narratives in the data frame. The distribution of non-embedded nominalizations, by action type, is detailed in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: *The distribution of non-embedded clause nominalizations by action type*

Action Type	Number of instances
Conversation	42 (47%)
Narrative	47 (53%)
Total	89 (100%)

In conversation, non-embedded nominalizations can be imperative or declarative speech acts, which are used to either express a speaker’s desired outcome or the prevailing state of affairs. A speaker’s desired outcome is most typically expressed by an imperative, as illustrated in (225).

(225) M5 Folktale 29

mê = â' bî nə = tç^{hç}m̃ = â' nɔ
do 3.ACC like 2.POSS = think OK? NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'Do it like your thinking, OK?'

'Do it like you are thinking, OK?'

The non-embedded nominalization, in (225), sets the stage for the succeeding actions of the orphan and occurs as the last line of the episode. It also expresses the speaker's desired outcome, a possible state of affairs.

Conversational non-embedded clause nominalizations can also be used to express a prevailing state of affairs, which are based on what has occurred previously, not what will be. In all cases, they are expressed by a declarative speech act, as illustrated in (226).

(226) Folktale 6.49

[tçôp^huxwi k^hó tçâi' wé]_{MC} [ʔâ xâ kə = lə = klâ t^hə
male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.ACC 1.PL.NOM NEG slash thing
bɛ nɔ də']_{DQ}
NEG NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH}

Lit. 'The orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! Us, we won't slash things.'"

'On the orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.'"

In the face of the rich man's pleas for the orphan to kill a snake, the orphan declares his decision to not slash the snake in the direct quote of (226).

All 47 non-conversational non-embedded clause nominalizations express the prevailing state of affairs via declarative speech acts, as illustrated in (227).

(227) a. Folktale 1.27

ʔo wé dí ʔə = p^hè nɔ l̃
exist 3.ABS with 3.POSS = father NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. 'Exist him with his father.'

'He stayed with his father.'

b. Folktale 1.28

[ʔo ʔo]_{SC} [[ʔə = tɕî sá p^hã nɔ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅]_{2.SUBJ}
 exist exist 3.POSS = money three CL.hundred(money) NMLZ_{that}
 ʔã wé lau']_{CLAUSE}]_{MC}
 eat 3.ABS exhaust

‘Existing, their money, three hundred baht, (they) eat it exhaust.’

‘After a while, as for their 300 baht, (they) completely exhausted it.’

The non-embedded clause nominalization, in (227a), states the way things have ended up and gives no hint of what is to come. It also occurs at the end of an episode.

To summarize, non-embedded clause nominalizations that occur in the conversation sequences included within a narrative, are used to express the speaker’s desired outcome or the prevailing state of affairs, which is based on previous conversation and/or events. Non-conversational non-embedded nominalizations are only used to express the prevailing state of affairs and often occur at the end of an episode.

4.6 Summary of grounding in N. Pwo narrative

In this study of grounding, foreground information has been shown to correlate with bare verb predicates, with no aspectual marking. Of all the types of background information, setting information is the most likely to be coded by clause and phrase nominalizations, although other coding devices include the existence verb, reduplication, and tail-head linkage.

In contrast, identification, explanatory, and collateral information are primarily signalled by devices other than clausal nominalization. Identification information is primarily coded by existence verb clauses and other stative predicates, along with some dynamic predicates, while non-nominalized expressions of explanatory information include speech complements, repeated or paraphrased predicates, and stative, thinking, existence, and copula predicates. Nominalized expressions of explanatory information include non-embedded nominalizations and complement clauses.

In similar fashion, the only clause nominalizations used to encode collateral information are the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative, conditional clauses, and non-embedded clause nominalizations. Otherwise, collateral information is primarily encoded by negation and irrealis-marked predicates, which are both used in equal measure. Imperative and interrogative clauses, as well as verbs and particles that signal deontic modality, are also utilized.

Finally, evaluations are most often expressed by exclamations in the data frame, although a few are coded by clauses. Performatives are generally used by the narrator to indicate that the story is at an end, which can take the form of a non-embedded nominalization.

Clausal nominalizations are one type of entity in N. Pwo grammar. In Chapters 5 and 6, the focus is on argument entities and how they are used to track participants and non-participants in narrative. Some of this tracking of participants is sensitive to the grounding values of propositions, the point at which clausal and argument entities intersect.

Chapter 5

Referential coherence in N. Pwo Karen narrative discourse: Preliminaries

5.1 Introduction

Referential coherence is concerned with how participants are introduced and maintained in narrative so that a listener can successfully keep track of them. N. Pwo features a variety of coding possibilities for the tracking of participants, some of which are pragmatically motivated. However, before examining these coding possibilities, some background is needed. First, the introduction of participants is considered in §5.2. Then, pre-clause reference and its topic markers are introduced in §5.3. This is followed by an account of interlocutor referencing in the main clause of quotative constructions (§5.4) and a preliminary demonstration of the criteria for distinguishing the two N. Pwo object pronouns (§5.5). The chapter concludes with a summary of these referencing devices as deployed in the N. Pwo narrative corpus (§5.6).

5.2 The introduction of participants

While the first mention of all participants takes the form of a noun phrase, the syntactic position of this first mention varies. The discussion begins with first mention in the pre-clause position (§5.2.1). Then, first mention in the subject position of copula and verbal clause constructions is examined in §5.2.2. This is followed by first mention in object positions (§5.2.3).

5.2.1 First mention in the pre-clause position

Both topic-marked noun phrase reference and vocatives, in the pre-clause position, can be used to introduce a new participant. Topic-marked noun phrase reference is illustrated in (228).

(228) F4 Folktale 2

[*kəsámâ wé*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[\emptyset *sũuɛ wé*]_{MC} [*tɕôp^huxwi ʔə = t^hwĩ*
rich.man TOP_{3.ABS} 3.SUBJ know 3.ABS male.orphan 3.POSS = dog
si]_{CC}]_{CLAUSE}
 be.skilled

Lit. ‘Rich man, him, (he) know it, orphan, his dog, be.skilled.’

‘As for the rich man, (he) knew that the orphan’s dog was skillful.’

In (228), the first mention of the antagonist appears in the pre-clause position, marked by *wé* ‘3.ABS’. The use of *wé* as a topic marker is characteristic of the Hod dialect of N. Pwo.

Pre-clause vocatives can also be used to introduce participants, as in (229).

(229) Folktale 55.2b

[*t^hə = p^hut^hə = xɛ = ɔ̂*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*nə = sɛ̂ mə t^hái p^ho’ tɕək^hái*
animal dear 2.NOM.PL IRR return follow 1.POSS = back
tɕ^hĩ = ɔ̂]_{CLAUSE}
 some QUES

Lit. ‘Animals dear, Will you return following my back?’

‘Dear Animals! Will you return with me?’

In (229), the vocative *t^hə = p^hut^hə = xɛ* ‘animal’ is used to both introduce the animals as a new participant and to indicate the addressee in a conversation.

5.2.2 The introduction of participants in the subject position

Participants can be introduced in the subject position of both copula and verbal clauses. The discussion begins with existence verb clauses (§5.2.2.1), followed by verbal clauses (§5.2.2.2).

5.2.2.1 The introduction of participants in existence verb clauses

Typically, only one major participant is introduced with an existence verb clause. This participant is often the protagonist. In addition, the introduction of a participant with an existence verb clause often includes further information about the participant’s situation, which is also expressed in existence verb clauses, as illustrated in (230).

(230) a. Folktale 6.1

ʔo lə = p^há tɕôp^huxwi ʔo lə = uɟê
exist one CL.time male.orphan exist one CL.human

Lit. ‘Exist one time, male.orphan exist, one person.’

‘Once upon a time there was an orphan boy.’

b. Folktale 6.2

ʔə = t^hə lə = ʔolə = tɕ^hɕ nã mê ʔe’
3.POSS = thing not.exist even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. ‘His thing not exist, even.one kind not.’

‘He did not have anything.’

c. Folktale 6.3

t^hə = ʔãt^hə = ô lə = ʔo bɛ
food.and.drink NEG exist NEG

Lit. ‘Food and drink not exist not.’

‘There was nothing to eat.’

The introduction to Folktale 6, in (230), consists of three existence verb clauses. In (230a), the orphan boy is introduced with a noun, which precedes the existence verb, and a classifier phrase which follows it. The next two sentences provide information about the orphan’s lack of material possessions or sustenance. In (230b), the orphan’s things are referenced by a possessed noun phrase and, in (230c), food and drink are expressed by a nominal elaborate expression.

In some stories, the introduction of the protagonist is preceded by an elaborate introduction to the circumstances of the story, which itself includes the introduction of other participants via existence verb clauses, as in (231).

(231) a. Folktale 2.1

ʔo lə = p^há kətɕú’xwê ʔo lə = uɟê
exist one CL.time king exist one CL.human

Lit. ‘Exist one time, king exist, one human.’

‘Once upon a time, there was a king.’

The existence verb clause, in (231), introduces the instigator of the circumstances that involve the protagonist, who is not introduced until the ninth sentence of the story, which is presented in (232).

(232) Folktale 2.9

ʔo ʔo tɕôp^huxwi lə = uɣê
 exist exist **male.orphan** one CL.human

Lit. ‘Exist, exist male orphan, one human.’

‘There was an orphan boy.’

In (232), the single argument of the existence verb follows the predicate, rather than preceding it, which can happen with story-medial existence verb clauses that introduce participants.

Finally, both the protagonist and antagonist can be introduced together with an existence verb clause at the outset of the story, as in (233).

(233) F6 Folktale 1

t^həuɣê ni p^hlô nâp^hɪwì k^hí uɣê ʔo ʔo də’ ni
 um OK? **person siblings two** CL.human exist exist NMLZ_{EMPH} OK?

Lit. ‘Person, siblings, two humans exist exist, OK?’

‘There were two siblings, OK?’

In (233), two siblings are introduced; however, they are not clearly identified as protagonist and antagonist until much later in the story. Existence verb constructions provide only one means for introducing a participant. It is also possible to introduce participants in the subject position of verbal clauses.

5.2.2.2 The introduction of participants in the subject position verbal clauses

Participant first mention can also occur in the subject position of a verbal clause, whether stative or dynamic. A dynamic clause is illustrated in (234).

(234) **Folktale 6.4**

[*kəsámâ* *uɛ́* *ʔãtɕâ'* = *â'*]_{MC} [\emptyset *lî* *ʔãxí* *kʰâ'* *ʔã* *tʰə̌*]_{CC}
rich.man come ask 3.ACC 3.SUBJ go seek shoot acquire thing

Lit. 'Rich.man came ask him (he) go seek, shoot, acquire thing.'

'The rich man came and asked him to go hunting.'

In (234), the *kəsámâ* 'rich man' enters the story for the first time coded as a bare noun, which is the subject of the first foreground clause in the story. He is a well-known personality in N. Pwo traditional narratives, so needs no further introduction. His name is also self-explanatory.

First mention of a participant in the subject position of a stative verb clause provides property information about that participant, as illustrated in (235).

(235) **F4 Folktale 1**

tɕôpʰuxwi *ʔə = tʰwĩ* *si*
male.orphan 3.POSS = dog be.skilled

Lit. 'Orphan, his dog be.skilled.'

'The orphan's dog was skillful.'

In (235), a skillful dog is introduced, who is owned by the orphan. This skillful dog is the reason a rich man asks the orphan to go hunting with him.

Another way a participant can be introduced at the beginning of a story is through a statement of their circumstances, as in (236).

(236) **Folktale 7.1**

ʔo *lə = pʰá* *kəmĩmé* *lə = uɛ́* *dâ* *jai'* *jai'*
exist one CL.time widow one CL.human be.pregnant be.long be.long
tê *tê*
certainty certainty

Lit. 'Exist one time, widow, one human, pregnant be.long be.long certainty certainty.'

'Once there was a widow who had been pregnant for a very long time.'

The pregnancy of the widow participant, in (236), who only appears in the introduction to the story, provides some background information on her child, the protagonist, who is born as a pig. In addition to first mention in the subject position, participants can also be introduced in the object positions of a verbal clause.

5.2.3 The introduction of participants in object positions

The first mention of a participant can occur in the indirect, direct, or oblique object positions of a verbal clause. First mention in the indirect object position is illustrated in (237).

(237) **Folktale 1.53a**

uʃ̂ tau' nɔ [∅ lô ʔe' p^hlô tɕâi' wé
 finish monk NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ tell DAT **person** say 3.ABS ...

Lit. 'Finish, monk, (he) tell to person, say it...'

'Then, as for the monk, (he) told the people, saying thus...'

In (237), *p^hlô* 'person' is mentioned for the first time as the addressee in the indirect object position of the main clause of a quotative construction.

A direct object first mention is illustrated in (238).

(238) a. **Folktale 6.40**

me' kasámâ nɔ [∅ tɕai tɕai t̃ñ uʃ̂ p^hâ'du lə =
 be_{be.true} rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ walk walk meet **snake** **be.very.big** **one**
b̂
 CL.line

Lit. 'Be rich.man, (he) walk walk meet snake be.very.big, one line.'

'As for the rich man, (he) was walking and met a very large snake.'

b. **Folktale 6.41**

uʃ̂ p^hâ'du lə = b̂ ʔi b̂i = â' t^hʃ̂ ʔə = jādê
 snake be.very.big one CL.line this coil.around 3.ACC to_{reach} 3.POSS = waist

Lit. 'Snake be.very.big, one line this coil.around him to his waist.'

'This large snake coiled around him up to his waist.'

reference in §5.3.1, followed by pronoun reference in §5.3.2 and the *me'* contrastive focus construction in §5.3.3. Pre-clause reference is then summarized in §5.3.4.

5.3.1 Pre-clause noun phrase reference

The pre-clause noun phrase construction takes the widest variety of topic markers, as diagrammed in (240).

(240) Pre-clause noun phrase construction

$$\text{Noun phrase} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n\sigma \\ d\sigma'/d\hat{\sigma} \\ k^h\sigma \\ w\acute{\epsilon} (d\epsilon) \end{array} \right\} + (d\sigma' / d\hat{\sigma})$$

For (240), the first element is a noun phrase, which is typically marked by at least one topic marker. The first topic marker, *nσ* ‘NMLZ_{that}’, also functions as a medial demonstrative. The second topic marker, *dσ'/dσ̂* ‘NMLZ_{emph}’, is more commonly regarded as an emphasis marker.¹ The third topic marker, *k^hσ* ‘TOP_{cl,part}’, is also a classifier with the meaning ‘part’. Finally, the last topic marker, *wé (dε)* ‘TOP_{3,abs}’ primarily serves as the third-person absolutive pronoun.

The most frequent and general topic marker is the medial demonstrative, *nσ*, illustrated in (241).

(241) Folktale 6.23

[*tçôp^huxwi* *nσ*] PRE-CLAUSE [*lî wé lə= maï' lâ bε*] CLAUSE
male.orphan NMLZ_{that} go 3.ABS NEG be.well at.all NEG

Lit. ‘Male orphan that one, went him not be well at all not.’

‘As for the orphan, he did not want to go at all.’

In (241), the pre-clause construction consists of the noun, *tçôp^huxwi* ‘male.orphan’, which is marked by the medial demonstrative functioning as a topic marker. Within the clause that follows, the single argument of the intransitive verb is expressed by the third-person absolutive

¹The usage of one or the other of the two phonological forms of this marker are dependent on the individual speaker.

pronoun, *wé*, which follows the predicate and is co-referential with the pre-clause reference to the orphan.

Another topic marker that can occur, with or without a preceding *nɔ*, is the emphasis particle, *də'* or *dê*, as illustrated in (242).

(242) F6 Folktale 3

[*ʔə = m̀* *ní* *ʔə = p^hɛ̀* *də'*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *l̃* *p^he'* *nã*
3.POSS = mother **and** **3.POSS = father** NMLZ_{EMPH} **3.SUBJ** go weed grass
kũ' *nê* *kũ'* *nê*]_{CLAUSE}
 every CL.day every CL.day

Lit. 'Their mother and their father, (they) go weed grass every day, every day.'
 'As for their mother and father, (they) went to weed grass day after day.'

The use of *də'* or *dê* as a topic marker is more typical of speakers of the Hod dialect of N. Pwo.

In (242), the pre-clause nominal is co-referential with the elided subject of the main clause.

An example of the medial demonstrative and emphasis marker used together as topic markers is illustrated in (243).

(243) M1 Folktale 19

[*tɕôp^huxwi* *nɔ* *dê*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *lã* *wè* *nì* *kâ'*
male.orphan NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH} **3.SUBJ** descend seize get consequently
ʔə = tɕî]_{CLAUSE}
 3.POSS = money

Lit. 'Orphan, (he) descend seize get consequently his money.'
 'As for the orphan, (he) went down and got his money.'

In (243), both *nɔ* and *dê* mark the pre-clause noun phrase, which is co-referential with the elided subject of the main clause.

The next pre-clause marker is *k^hó* 'TOP_{cl.part}', which is illustrated in (244).

(244) a. Folktale 1.67

[*tau'* *kʰó*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [[\emptyset *lutʰã* *ʔə = sâ'* *ke* *bãsaʔu*] _{CL1}
monk _{TOP} _{CL.part} **3.SUBJ** change 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} tiger
 [\emptyset *trû* *xâ* *wé* *dɛ*] _{CL2} _{CLAUSE}
 3.SUBJ quickly cross 3.ABS de

Lit. 'Monk part, (he) change his heart be tiger quickly cross him.'

On the monk's part, (he) changed himself into a tiger and quickly crossed.'

b. Folktale 1.68

[*ʔə = wé* *kʰó*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *lutʰã* *tʰâi* *ʔə = sâ'* *ke* *tʰukĩ*
3.ERG _{TOP} _{CL.part} **3.SUBJ** change return 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} parrot
lə = bẽ *jũ* *wé* *wai'*] _{CLAUSE}
 one _{CL.flat.thing} fly 3.ABS immediately

Lit. 'He part, (he) change return his heart be parrot, one flat thing, fly him immediately.'

'On his part, (he) changed himself into a parrot and flew away.'

The stretch of discourse, in (244), is part of a chase scene between the protagonist (the man) and the antagonist (the monk). The pre-clause reference, marked by *kʰó*, in this span of discourse is used to indicate back and forth action between the participants. This marker can also be used to indicate deliberate action on the part of a participant, as illustrated in (245).

(245) Folktale 6.10

[*tçôpʰuxwi* *kʰó*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *lĩ* *pʰo'* *kəsámâ* *ʔə = kʰái*
male.orphan _{TOP} _{CL.part} **3.SUBJ** go follow rich.man 3.POSS = back
wai'] _{CLAUSE}
 immediately

Lit. 'Boy orphan part, (he) go follow rich.man, his back immediately.'

'On the boy orphan's part, (he) went with the rich man.'

After a long discussion in which the rich man tries to persuade the orphan to go hunting with him, the orphan finally decides to go with the rich man, as expressed by (245).

The last of the pre-clause reference markers is *wé* '3.ABS', which is illustrated in (246).

(246) F6 Folktale 605

$[?ə = p^{ḥ}ip̄ai'$
3.POSS = second.younger.sibling $wé]_{PRE-CLAUSE}$ $[∅$ $?ã$ $mémã$ $bε$ $t^ḥai$
TOP_{3.ABS} 3.SUBJ eat dream to return
 $?ə = p^{ḥ}ik^ḥlɛm̄õ$ $d̄s'$]_{CLAUSE}
3.POSS = fire.dust more

Lit. 'His second younger sibling him, (he) eat dream to return his fire dust more.'
 'As for his younger brother, (he) dreamed of his ashes again.'

Prior to the proposition in (246), the younger sibling's older brother has dumped the younger sibling's magic ashes into the river. In (246), the pre-clause reference to the younger sibling, turns the listener's attention to the younger sibling's situation. Pronouns can also be used to refer to participants in the pre-clause position, as detailed in the next section.

5.3.2 Pronominal pre-clause reference

Pronominal pre-clause reference is of two kinds: 1) ergative pronoun reference and 2) vocative pronoun reference. On one hand, the ergative pronoun is uttered by the narrator of the story. On the other hand, vocative pre-clause reference is uttered by the speaker in the course of a conversation. The discussion begins with ergative pronoun pre-clause reference (§5.3.2.1), followed by vocative pronoun pre-clause reference (§5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1 Ergative pronoun pre-clause reference

The pre-clause ergative pronoun, $?ə = wé$, may be optionally marked in the data by three of the four topic markers just discussed, as diagrammed in (247).

(247) Pre-clause ergative pronoun construction

$?ə = wé (dε)$ + $\left(\begin{array}{c} nɔ \\ d̄ə' \\ k^ḥó \end{array} \right)$

Ergative pronoun pre-clause reference, without a topic marker, is illustrated in (248).

(248) F4 Folktale 42

[ʔə = wé]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [t^hə xwî t^hʃ p^hl̩]_{CLAUSE}
 3.ERG thing be.full shoulder.bag CL.body

Lit. ‘He, thing fill shoulder bag body.’

‘As for him, (his) stuff filled a shoulder bag.’

In (248), t^hə ‘thing’, in the subject position, refers to the animals that the rich man has captured, while the pre-clause ʔə = wé ‘3.ERG’ refers to the rich man. Otherwise, the rich man is not referenced in the clause proper.

A pre-clause ergative pronoun marked by də’ is illustrated in (249).

(249) F6 Folktale 4

[ʔə = wé də’]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[nāp^hɪwì k^hɪ̃ uɟ̃]_{VCS} [ʔə = k^hwé k^hɪ̃
 3.ERG NMLZ_{EMPH} siblings two CL.human 3.POSS = male two
 uɟ̃]_{VCC} lau’]_{CLAUSE} ni
 CL.human exhaust OK?

Lit. ‘They, siblings, two human, maleness, two human, exhaust, OK?’

‘As for them, the two siblings were two boys.’

In (249), ʔə = wé ‘3.ERG’ is co-referential with both the verbless clause subject (vcs) and the verbless clause complement (vcc). Other pre-clause pronouns found in the data set are a type of vocative, some of which also take topic markers, as discussed in the next section.

5.3.2.2 Pre-clause vocative pronoun reference

Both the accusative and possessive first- and second-person pronouns can occur in the pre-clause position during the course of a conversation and can optionally take topic marker(s), as diagrammed in (250).

(250) **Vocative pronominal pre-clause reference**

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Accusative Pronoun} \\ \text{Possessive Pronoun} \end{array} \right\} + \left(\begin{array}{c} n\textcircled{\text{c}} \\ d\textcircled{\text{a}}'/d\textcircled{\text{a}} \\ k^h\textcircled{\text{o}} \end{array} \right) + (d\textcircled{\text{a}}' / d\textcircled{\text{a}})$$

A pre-clause accusative pronoun is illustrated in (251).

(251) **Folktale 6.49b**

[[*tçôp^huxwi* *k^hó*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *tçâi'* *wé*]_{CLAUSE}]_{MC} [[*?â* *xâ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE}
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.ACC
 [*kə* = *lə* = *klâ* *t^hə* *bɛ* *nɔ* *də'*]_{CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
 1.PL.NOM NEG slash thing NEG NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH}

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) said it, “Ah! Us, we don’t slash things.”’

‘On the orphan’s part, (he) said it, “Ah! As for us, we won’t slash anything.”’

In (251), *xâ* ‘1.PL.ACC’, in the pre-clause position of the direct quote, is co-referential with the following subject, coded by *kə* = ‘1.PL.NOM’. In this sentence, pre-clause reference is used by the speaker to emphasize his thinking, which is expressed in the clause which follows.

Topic-marked accusative pronoun pre-clause reference is illustrated in (252).

(252) **M1 Folktale 66**

[\emptyset *tçâi'*]_{MC} [[*nê* *ní* *jê* *nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *?o*
 3.SUBJ say 2.ACC CONJ_{with} 1.ACC NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ exist
xâi' *lo'* *sâ'* *si* *lâ* *bɛ*]_{CLAUSE}]_{CC}
 in.combination together heart be.skilled at.all NEG

Lit. ‘(He) say, “You and me, (we) exist in.combination together heart be.skilled at.all not.”’

‘(He said, as for you and me, (we) cannot live together.’

In (252), the vocative pre-clause reference in the direct quote, *nê ní jê nɔ* ‘you and me’, is co-referential with the elided subject referent and refers to the speaker and the addressee.

Based on (251) and (252), it would appear that pre-clause pronominal reference is always co-referential with the subject; however, this is not always the case, as illustrated in (253).

(253) **M3 Wedding 1**

[xə́ nɔ́ kʰãtʰãi' nɔ́]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [pʰlô ʔãtɕã' xə́]_{CLAUSE}
1.PL.ACC NMLZ_{that} base NMLZ_{that} person ask 1.PL.ACC

Lit. 'Us, base, person ask us.'

'As for me, first someone asked me.'

The sentence, in (253), is the first in the speaker's account of his own wedding day. The pre-clause reference, *xə́ nɔ́* 'us', is co-referential with the direct object addressee argument of *ʔãtɕã'* 'ask'. Note, also, that a *nɔ́*-marked time adverbial intervenes between the pre-clause reference and the clause proper.

Possessive pronouns behave similarly to accusative pronouns in the pre-clause position, as illustrated in (254).

(254) **Courtship 104**

[ní]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [nə = mə tɕãi' bì tɕã' l̩]_{CLAUSE}
yours 2.NOM IRR say like manner QUES

Lit. 'Yours, you would say as manner?'

'As for you, what would you say?'

In (254), *ní* 'yours' is co-referential with the subject referent, expressed by *nə =* '2.NOM', both of which refer to the addressee in the conversation. As with pre-clause accusative pronouns, the referent of a pre-clause possessive pronoun and the subject are typically the same, although this is not always the case, as can be seen in (255).

(255) **Folktale 7.61**

[jí]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [tɕə = tʰə lə = ʔo nə̃ m̩̃ bɛ]_{CLAUSE}
mine 1.POSS = stuff NEG exist even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. 'Mine, my stuff does not exist even one kind.'

'As for me, I don't have anything at all.'

In (255), *jí* 'mine', in the pre-clause position, refers to the speaker and is co-referential with the possessor in the subject noun phrase *tɕə = tʰə* 'my stuff'.

(258) a. Folktale 3.97

uʃ̌ ʔə = šwé ʔə = me' lāmwe jó lau' pa'
finish 3.PL.ERG 3.POSS = eye listless completely exhaust complete

Lit. 'Finish, they, their eyes listless completely exhaust complete
'Then, their eyes were completely listless.'

b. Folktale 3.98

∅ lə = sé nã uʃ̌ lā bε xɔ'
3.SUBJ NEG sound even.one CL.human at.all NEG EMPH

Lit. '(They) not sound, even.one human, at all not!
'Not one of them made a sound.'

c. Folktale 3.99

ʔə = xāʔə = xò ke kâ' tɕôp^huxwi wé lau'
3.POSS = possessions be_{be.able} consequently male.orphan 3.ABS exhaust
pa'
complete

Lit. 'Their possessions be consequently orphan it exhaust complete.'
'All of their possessions became the orphan's possessions.'

d. Folktale 3.100

me' p^huxwi nɔ ʔo wé dε dí ʔə = p^hu ʔə = mé
be_{be.true} orphan NMLZ_{that} exist 3.ABS dε with 3.POSS = child 3.POSS = wife

Lit. 'Be orphan, exist him with his child, his wife.'
'As for the orphan, he lived with his wife and children.'

e. Folktale 3.101

ʔə = t^hə ʔot^hājāt^hã
3.POSS = thing increase

Lit. 'His thing increase.'
'He became wealthy.'

The first three lines (258a–c) describe the situation of a boat owner and his servants, who have been tricked out of all of their possessions by the orphan. The orphan, in contrast, which is indicated by *me' p^huxwi nɔ* 'be orphan', lives with his wife and children and becomes wealthy, which is expressed in (258d and e).

The connection between a preceding state of affairs and the contrasting state of affairs of the participant named in the *me'* contrastive focus construction is further illustrated in (259).

(259) a. M1 Folktale 54

[[\emptyset *me'* *bə* *nɔ* *nɔ*] PRE-CLAUSE [\emptyset *ʔoxai'tɕ^hɕai'* *lə=*
 3.SUBJ *be_{be.true}* *like* DEM.PRN_{that} NMLZ_{that} 1.PL.SUBJ *live.together* NEG
si *bɛ*] CLAUSE] DQ [\emptyset *tɕai'*] MC
be.skilled NEG 3.SUBJ *say*

Lit. “(It) be like that, (we) live.together not able not,” say.’

“Since (it) is like that, (we) can’t live together,” (he) said.’

b. M1 Folktale 55

[[*me'* *kə=wé* *dɛ* *nɔ*] PRE-CLAUSE [[*t^hə* *kə=* *ʔo* *li* *bə*
be_{be.true} *ours* *de* NMLZ_{that} thing 1.PL.POSS exist be.same like
ɕi *nɔ*] SC [*kə=* *mə=* *ʔo* *bə* *ɕi*] MC] CLAUSE
 DEM.PRN_{this} NMLZ_{that} 1.PL.NOM IRR exist like DEM.PRN_{this}

Lit. “Be ours, thing we exist be.same like this, we will exist like this.”

“As for us, we live like this and we will live like this.”

c. M1 Folktale 56

[*me'* *ni* *nɔ* *də'*] PRE-CLAUSE [[*tá* *nə=* *ʔo* *lə=*
be_{be.true} *yours* NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH} depends.on 2.POSS exist NEG
si *lâ* *bɛ* *dɕ*] SC [\emptyset *tɕai* *kâ'* *bə* *nɔ*] MC] CLAUSE
be.skilled at.all NEG NMLZ_{that} 2.SUBJ *walk* consequently like DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. “Be yours, depends.on your existing not be.skilled at all not, (you) walk consequently like that.”

“As for you, if you can not live here, you can leave.”

In (259), three *me'* constructions occur. The first, in the pre-clause position of (259a), is a *me'* copula construction. The elided copula subject refers to the state of affairs in which the rich man is very angry at the orphan and wants to kill him. The orphan’s response to this state of affairs is to say that they (the orphan and the rich man) can no longer live together. Then, in (259b and c) the orphan contrasts his attitude and response to the living arrangements with that of the rich man’s attitude and response. Starting with his own situation, the orphan singles

himself out with the *me'* contrastive focus construction in (259b). His use of the emphatic plural possessive pronoun, *kə = wé dɛ* 'ours', places even more emphasis on his thinking as opposed to the rich man's thinking, which the orphan voices in (259c). In the *me'* contrastive focus construction in (259c), the orphan refers to the rich man with the possessive pronoun, *ní* 'yours', with no emphatic *dɛ*, which is followed by the two topic markers, *nɔ* and *də*'.

In sum, the *me'* contrastive focus construction is used to contrast the situation of two participants. It can be filled by both noun phrases and the accusative and possessive pronouns. It can also take a topic marker like other pre-clause reference constructions.

5.3.4 Summary of pre-clause reference

Both noun phrases and pronouns can be utilized for pre-clause reference to participants. Noun phrase pre-clause reference and the *me'* contrastive focus construction require at least one topic marker, while topic marking of pre-clause pronouns is optional. All four topic markers in the data serve other more basic functions as a demonstrative, emphasis particle, classifier, and third-person absolutive pronoun, respectively. Accusative and possessive pronoun pre-clause reference occurs within conversation and is used by the speaker to emphasize his situation or intentions, or to elicit a response or emphasize the situation of the addressee. In contrast, pre-clause noun phrase and ergative pronoun reference, along with the *me'* contrastive focus construction reach beyond the sentence. This behaviour is examined further in Chapter 6. The next section discusses the ways in which speakers and addressees are tracked in quotative constructions.

5.4 The tracking of speaker and addressee in quotative constructions

Most of the data in this dissertation comes from two dialects: the Sop Moei, Mae Hong Son dialect and the Hod, Chiang Mai dialect. In these dialects, the treatment of quotative constructions is different. The purpose of this section is to examine these differences.

For the Sop Moei dialect, represented by Appendixes A and B, reference to the speaker within the quotative main clause is most often overt. In contrast, for some speakers of the Hod dialect, represented by Appendix C, reference to the speaker within the quotative main clause is often non-overt.

Furthermore, as discussed in §2.7.2, N. Pwo has two types of communicative predicates: 1) message predicates which take a direct object argument that refers to the subsequent direct quote and 2) addressee predicates which take a direct object argument that refers to the addressee which is then followed by the direct quote. In the Sop Moei dialect, direct object reference to either the message or addressee is often overt, whereas in the Hod dialect, reference to either the message or addressee is most often non-overt.

A typical Sop Moei sequence of reported conversation is illustrated in (260). Throughout this example, the quotative main clauses (_{MC}) precede the direct quote clauses (_{DQ}). Also, both the addressee predicate *ʔātçâ* ‘ask’, and the message predicate, *tçâi* ‘say’, occur.

(260) a. Folktale 6.4

[*kəsámâ* *uɛ* *ʔātçâ* = *â*] _{MC} [\emptyset *lî* *ʔāxí* *kʰâ* *ʔã* *tʰə*] _{DQ}
 rich.man come ask 3.ACC 3.SUBJ go seek shoot eat thing

Lit. ‘Rich.man come ask him (he) go seek, shoot, eat thing.’

‘The rich man came and asked him to go hunting.’

b. Folktale 6.5

[ʔə=wé tçâi' wé]_{MC} [tçə= lî lə= mai' bε]_{DQ}
 3.ERG say 3.ABS 1.NOM go NEG be.well NEG

'Lit. He said it, "I go not well not."'

'He said, "I don't feel like going."'

c. Folktale 6.6

[tçə=t^hə lə= ʔo nə̃ mē̃ bε]_{DQ}
 1.POSS=thing NEG exist even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. "My thing not exist, even.one kind not."

"I don't have anything at all."

d. Folktale 6.7

[kasámâ tçâi' wé]_{MC} [tçə= mə= ʔāxí ʔe' nə=ɥǎ̃ Ø]_{DQ}
 rich.man say 3.ABS 1.NOM IRR seek DAT 2.POSS=body 3.OBJ

Lit. 'Rich.man say it, "I would seek for your body (stuff)."'

'The rich man said, "I will look for (something) for you."'

e. Folktale 6.8

[tçôp^huxwi tçâi' wé]_{MC} [tçə=mîbĩ̃ lə= ʔo bε pa']_{DQ}
 male.orphan say 3.ABS 1.POSS=rice.packet NEG exist NEG also

Lit. 'Orphan say it, "My rice.packet not exist not also."'

'The Orphan said, "I don't have a rice packet either."'

f. Folktale 6.9

[kasámâ tçâi' wé]_{MC} [ʔâ tçə= mə= bĩ̃ mî dí
 rich.man say 3.ABS Ah! 1.NOM IRR wrap.up cooked.rice with
 nə=ɥǎ̃ pa' l̃]_{DQ}
 2.POSS=body also EMPH

Lit. 'Rich.man say it, "Ah! I would wrap.up cooked.rice with your body also!'"

The rich man said, "I will wrap up rice for you, also."

In (260), quotative main clauses (_{MC}) occur in all but (260c), which is a continuation of the orphan's speech. In all the quotative main clauses, reference to the speaker, in the subject position, is overt. Moreover, this speaker reference is a noun phrase; either *kasámâ* 'rich man' or *tçôp^huxwi* 'orphan', except for (260b), in which the orphan as the speaker is referenced by

$\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ ‘3.ERG’. Overt direct object reference occurs in all the quotative main clauses in (260). In (260a), the addressee predicate, $\text{ʔā}t\hat{c}\hat{a}$ ‘ask’, takes $= \hat{a}$ ‘3.ACC’ as its direct object addressee argument. In the remaining quotative main clauses, with the message predicate $t\hat{c}\hat{a}i$ ‘say’, the direct object, coded by $wé$ ‘3.ABS’, refers to the following direct quote.

Speakers of the Hod dialect of N. Pwo can also overtly express both the speaker and the addressee in a quotative main clause, as illustrated in (261).

(261) F4 Folktale 46

$[\text{ʔ}\hat{e}t^h\hat{a}i \text{ wé } d\epsilon]_{SC} [\text{ʔə} = p^h\hat{t} \quad t\hat{c}\hat{a}i' \quad = \hat{a}']_{MC} [n\theta = \text{ʔ}\hat{a}b\epsilon$
 return 3.ABS dε 3.POSS = grandmother say 3.ACC 2.NOM get
 $m\hat{i} \quad = \hat{a}]_{DQ}$
 cooked.rice QUES

Lit. ‘Return him, his grandmother say him, “You get cooked.rice?”’
 ‘When he came back, his grandmother said to him, “Did you eat?”’

With third-person subjects, $= \hat{a}$ ‘3.ABS’ always refers to a human referent understood as the addressee. In contrast, the use of $wé$ ‘3.ABS’ would refer to the following direct quote when it occurs with a message predicate.

Yet, in many quotative constructions in the Hod dialect stories, neither the speaker nor the addressee are overtly expressed in the subject and direct object positions. Rather, the narrator utilizes pre-clause exclamations and/or vocatives, along with post-clause vocatives, to identify the addressee, with the bare predicate, $t\hat{c}\hat{a}i$ ‘say’, either preceding or following direct speech, as illustrated in (262).

(262) a. F4 Folktale 31

$[\text{t}\hat{c}\hat{o}p^huxwi]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [n\theta = m\hat{a} \quad \text{ʔ}\hat{e}t^h\hat{a}i \text{ jai}' \quad \text{j}\hat{a}u' \text{ ni}]_{CLAUSE}$
 male.orphan 2.POSS = uncle return be.long INCH OK?

Lit. “Orphan, your uncle return be.long already, OK?”
 “Orphan, your uncle came back a long time ago.”

b. F4 Folktale 32

[[p^hī] PRE-CLAUSE [kə = lə = ʔābε mî bε] CL1 [kə = tɕai lə =
 grandmother 1.PL.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG 1.PL.NOM walk NEG
 ke bε] CL2] DQ [∅ tɕâi'] MC
 be.able NEG 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “Grandmother, we not get cooked.rice not, we walk not able not,” (he) say.’
 “Grandma, I did not eat rice, so I could not walk,” (he) said.’

c. F4 Folktale 33

[ʔû] PRE-CLAUSE [∅ tɕâi'] MC [nə = mǎ má ʔã nê p^há ʔe'] DQ
 yonder 3.SUBJ say 2.POSS = uncle give eat 2.ACC CL.time NEG

Lit. “Yonder,” (she) say, “Your uncle give eat you time not.”
 “So,” (she) said, “your uncle did not give you anything to eat.”

d. F4 Folktale 34

[∅ lə = má ʔã xâ bε] DQ [∅ tɕâi'] MC
 3.SUBJ NEG give eat 1.PL.ACC NEG 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “(He) not give eat use not,” (he) say.’
 “(He) did not give me anything to eat,” (he) said.’

Prior to the conversation in (262), the narrator tells us that the orphan’s grandmother is waiting for his return. Then the conversation opens, in (262a), with the pre-clause vocative, tɕôp^huxwi ‘orphan’, which identifies the addressee, without any quotative main clause. This same device is used in (262b), to open the orphan’s response to his grandmother, which is closed by the quotative main clause, ∅ tɕâi’ ‘(3.SUBJ) say’. The conversation continues, in (262c), with the grandmother as the speaker, opening with the pre-clause exclamation ʔû ‘yonder’ followed by a main clause tɕâi’ with no overt reference to either the speaker or the addressee. Finally, the orphan replies, in (262d), repeating his grandmother’s statement in (262c) with a change of the direct object pronoun to xâ ‘1.PL.ACC’ to refer to himself. The conversation ends with the quotative main clause tɕâi’ ‘say’.

In summary, in quotative main clauses, overt reference to both the speaker and addressee is typical in the Sop Moei dialect, while in the Hod dialect narrators often rely on three devices to assist the listener to track the speaker and addressee: 1) pre-clause or post-core vocatives which identify the addressee, 2) a pre-clause exclamation, which indicates a change of speaker, 3) *t̄âi'* preceding direct speech, which also indicates a change of speaker, and 4) *t̄âi'* following direct speech which can indicate the end of a conversational turn, although this is not always the case.

Thus far, the behaviour of the two object pronouns, *= a'* '3.ACC' and *wé* '3.ABS', within quotative main clauses has been considered. In this context, *= a'* always refers to an addressee, while *wé* either refers to a subsequent direct quote with message predicates and an addressee with addressee predicates. In non-quotative transitive and ditransitive clauses, both of these object pronouns can occur. Therefore, one last area to be examined, in preparation for the analysis of the referential coherence system of N. Pwo, is the characteristics that distinguish these two object pronouns in third-person contexts.

5.5 Distinguishing two N. Pwo object pronouns

N. Pwo features two third-person object pronouns that can occur in similar environments, neither of which is marked for number or gender, although they do differ in case. To illustrate the issue, consider the contrasting pair in (263) and (264). The third-person accusative pronoun, *= â'*, is shown in (263), and the third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*, is shown in (264).

(263) Folktale 4.122

[*?ə = mé* *k^hó*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *t^há* *= â'* *p^hrê*]_{CLAUSE}
 3.POSS = wife TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ kick 3.ACC completely

Lit. 'His wife part, (she) kick **him** completely.'

'On his wife's part, (she) kicked **him**, making full contact.'

(264) Folktale 4.130

$\text{ʔə} = m\acute{e}$ $t^h\acute{a}$ $w\acute{e}$ $d\epsilon$
3.POSS = wife kick 3.ABS dE

Lit. 'His wife kick **him**.'

'His wife kicked **him**.'

In (263) and (264), a husband has gone after his wife and she has kicked him, making full contact, as conveyed in (263). He has then gone after her a second time and she has kicked him again, as conveyed in (264). Syntactically, the structures of (263) and (264) are the same, except for the pre-clause phrase $\text{ʔə} = m\acute{e} \text{ } k^h\acute{o}$ '(on) his wife's part', in (263), which is co-referential with the elided subject. For both (263) and (264), the actor argument is encoded by $\text{ʔə} = m\acute{e}$ 'his wife', which precedes the predicate $t^h\acute{a}$ 'kick'. The patient, coded by $= \hat{a}$ ' in (263) and $w\acute{e}$ in (264), refers to the same human entity – the husband. Given these examples, it would appear that the third-person accusative and absolutive pronouns are in free variation. However, it is possible to distinguish them through an appeal to syntactic, semantic, and discourse-level factors.

For this study of the deployment of the N. Pwo third-person accusative and absolutive object pronouns, the data set consists of seven traditional narratives. Within this data set, absolutive $w\acute{e}$ reference to a third-person participant occurs 255 times and accusative $= \hat{a}$ ' reference to a third-person participant occurs 66 times. In the course of a factor analysis, three contexts were identified in which occurrences of these pronouns do not overlap. The first context is co-occurrence with first- and second-person subjects (§5.5.1), the next context involves animacy, specifically a human vs. a non-human (§5.5.2), and the final context is the thematic status of the object referent (§5.5.3). Each of these contexts are demonstrated and discussed in turn.

5.5.1 Co-occurrence with person of the subject

The third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*, can only occur with third-person subjects, while the third-person accusative pronoun, = *â'*, occurs with first, second, and third-person subjects, as illustrated in (265) – (267).

(265) a. Field notes 3.38.2

tçə = dai' = â'
1.NOM kick 3.ACC

'I kicked **him/her/them.**'

b. Field notes 3.37.1

* *tçə = dai' wé də*
1.NOM kick 3.ABS də

'I kicked **him/her/them.**'

(266) a. Field notes 3.38.5

nə = dai' = â'
2.NOM kick 3.ACC

'You kicked **him/her/them.**'

b. Field notes 3.37.2

* *nə = dai' wé də*
2.NOM kick 3.ABS də

'You kicked **him/her/them.**'

(267) a. Field notes 3.38.10

ʔə = wé dai' = â'
3.ERG kick 3.ACC

'He/she kicked **him/her/them.**'

b. Field notes 3.38.11

ʔə = wé dai' wé də
3.ERG kick 3.ABS də

'He/she kicked **him/her/them.**'

Example (265a) illustrates the co-occurrence of the third-person accusative pronoun, = *â'*, with a first-person referent, expressed by the first-person nominative pronoun *tɕə =*, while (265b) shows that the occurrence of the third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*, with the first-person nominative pronoun is ungrammatical. The same pattern for both *wé* and = *â'* with the second-person nominative pronoun is illustrated by (266a-b). Finally, (267a-b) demonstrate the acceptable co-occurrence of both = *â'* and *wé* with a third-person subject referent, which in this case is coded by the ergative pronoun, *ʔə = wé*. This pattern of occurrence is reflected in the counts in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Raw score frequency of *wé* and = *â'* by person of the subject

	Direct Object		Indirect Object	
	<i>wé</i>	= <i>â'</i>	<i>wé</i>	= <i>â'</i>
1st Person	0	14	0	2
2nd Person	0	22	0	2
3rd Person	242	20	13	6
Totals	242	56	13	10

Since the absolutive pronoun, *wé*, never co-occurs with first and second-person subjects, we can predict that any occurrences of an object pronoun with a first or second-person subject will always be = *â'*. In sum, there are 66 instances of = *â'* in the data set, of which 40 occur with first- and second-person subjects. By eliminating these predictable uses of = *â'* from consideration, we are left with 26 instances of = *â'* that potentially overlap with *wé*.

5.5.2 Animacy

The animacy (human vs. non-human) of an object referent is another factor which affects the distribution of the object pronouns. The data set now only contains clauses with third-person subjects. With first- and second-person subjects, the third-person accusative pronoun, = *â'*, can

refer to both human and non-human entities. However, with third-person subjects, = *â'* only refers to human referents, whether they are dead or alive, animals behaving as humans, or a human changing himself into a non-human. The difference in the use of *wé* and = *â'* with third-person subjects, relative to the human vs. non-human distinction, is illustrated in (268) and (269).

(268) **Fieldnotes 3.40.6**

<i>pənè</i>	<i>blã</i>	= <i>â'</i>	*/ <i>wé</i>
water.buffalo	kick(animal)	3.ACC	3.ABS

Lit. ‘The water buffalo kicked **him** (person)’
 ‘The water buffalo kicked **him** (person).’

(269) **Fieldnotes 3.126.6**

<i>pənè</i>	<i>blã</i>	<i>wé</i>	*/= <i>â'</i>
water.buffalo	kick(animal)	3.ABS	3.ACC

Lit. ‘The water buffalo kicked **it** (wound).’
 ‘The water buffalo kicked **it** (wound).’

The predicate in both (268) and (269) is *blã* ‘kick’, which can take either a human or non-human object referent. As shown in (268), if a speaker is referring to a human object referent, only = *â'* can be used, as shown by the ungrammaticality of *wé*. However, in (269), if a speaker is referring to a non-human referent, only *wé* can be used, as shown by the ungrammaticality of = *â'*.

The frequency of human and non-human referents coded by *wé* or = *â'*, occurring with third-person subjects, is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Raw score frequency of *wé* and *=â'* by animacy

	Direct Object		Indirect Object	
	<i>wé</i>	<i>=â'</i>	<i>wé</i>	<i>=â'</i>
Non-Human	178	0	2	0
Human	64	20	11	6
Totals	242	20	13	6

Table 5.2 shows that all of the *=â'* referents, whether direct or indirect objects, are only human, while *wé* can be used to code both human and non-human referents. Thus, there remain instances of potential overlap between *wé* and *=â'* in reference to human participants. However, since only *wé* can be used to refer to non-human referents, we can predict that pronoun reference to non-human referents, occurring with third-person subjects, will always be coded by *wé*.

In sum, there are 255 instances of *wé* in the data set, of which 180 refer to non-human participants. By eliminating these predictable uses of *wé*, we are left with 75 instances of *wé* that refer to human referents which potentially overlap with *=â'*.

5.5.3 Thematicity

The unanalyzed data set now consists of clauses with third-person subjects in which both *wé* (75 instances) and *=â'* (26 instances) only refer to human referents. The thematic status of a referent within a span of discourse is the last factor that affects the distribution of the two object pronouns under discussion. A local theme is typically the most active participant in a span of discourse; the one that the storyteller is speaking about (Grimes 1975; Kim 1993). The difference between a thematic and non-thematic referent can be illustrated with two sequences of events in (270) and (271). The references to the husband, the local theme, are bolded throughout both sequences.

Sequence 1

(270) a. Folktale 4.120

$t^h\tilde{\sigma}$ $\text{?}\partial = t\phi^h\acute{a}$ $\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ $l\acute{i}$ $t\phi^h\tilde{\sigma}$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ wai'
 to_{reach} 3.POSS = time 3.ERG go follow back 3.POSS = wife immediately

Lit. 'To its time, **he** go follow back his wife immediately.'

'In time, **he** went after his wife.'

b. Folktale 4.121

$l\acute{i}$ $l\acute{i}$ $w\acute{e}$ $k^h\hat{l}a'i'$ $\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ $\text{?}\partial = k^h\hat{a}i$
 go go 3.ABS attain 3.POSS = wife 3.POSS = back

Lit. 'Go go **him** attain his wife her back.'

'**He** went and caught up with his wife.'

c. Folktale 4.122

$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ $k^h\acute{o}$ \emptyset $t^h\acute{a}$ = \hat{a}' $p^hr\acute{e}$
 3.POSS = wife TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ kick 3.ACC completely

Lit. 'His wife part, (she) kicked **him** completely.'

'On his wife's part, (she) kicked **him**.'

d. Folktale 4.123

$\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ $p^hl\acute{u}'$ $l\acute{u}$ $p^hl\hat{o}$ $\text{?}\partial = p\hat{o}$ $p^h\hat{a}$
 3.ERG move.rapidly at person 3.POSS = CL.heap inside

Lit. '**He** move rapidly to people, their heap inside.'

'**He** moved rapidly into the midst of some people.'

e. Folktale 4.124

$p^hl\hat{o}$ $\text{?}\tilde{u}ble$ $\text{?}\tilde{u}ble$ = \hat{a}'
 person blow.to.heal blow.to.heal 3.ACC

Lit. 'People blow.to.heal blow.to.heal **him**.'

'People blew and blew to heal **him**.'

f. Folktale 4.125

$\text{?}\partial = t^h\hat{\sigma}$ ble $j\acute{o}$
 3.POSS = **thing** recover completely

'**His thing** recover completely.'

'**He** (the husband) recovered completely.'

Sequence 2

(271) a. Folktale 4.128

$\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ lí $\text{tç}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ̃}$ $\text{ʔə} = \text{mɛ́}$ kəðɔ́
 3.ERG go follow 3.POSS = wife further

Lit. 'He go follow **his** wife further'

'He went after **his** wife again.'

b. Folktale 4.129

lí lí wé dɛ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{lâi}$ ' $\text{ʔə} = \text{mɛ́}$ $\text{ʔə} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ái}$
 go go 3.ABS de attain 3.POSS = wife 3.POSS = back

Lit. 'Go go him attain his wife her back.'

'He went and caught up to **his** wife.'

c. Folktale 4.130

$\text{ʔə} = \text{mɛ́}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{á}$ wé dɛ
 3.POSS = wife kick 3.ABS de

Lit. '**His** wife kick **him**.'

'**His** wife kicked **him**.'

d. Folktale 4.131

\emptyset $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{lú}'$ jâi nì $\text{ʔə} = \text{lâ}$
 3.SUBJ move.rapidly far get 3.POSS = place

Lit. '(He) move rapidly far get **his** place.'

'(He) moved rapidly to **his** original place.'

e. Folktale 4.132

$\text{ʔə} = \text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ɛ́}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{wè}$ wé dɛ ʔâ \emptyset $\text{lə} =$ $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{jé}$ lâ bɛ
 3.POSS = father observe 3.ABS de Ah! 3.SUBJ NEG appropriate at.all NEG

Lit. '**His** father observe it, "Ah! (It) not appropriate at all not."

'**His** father saw it, "Ah! (It) is not appropriate at all."

The participant charts, in Tables 5.3 and 5.4, facilitate the comparison of participant reference in these two spans of discourse.² Table 5.3 is a participant chart, by example number, of (270), while Table 5.4 is a participant chart, by example number, of (271).

²This participant charting method is based on a suggestion of Mary Ruth Wise (Graham and Graham 1966).

Table 5.3: Participant reference in the discourse sequence in (270)

Participants	Example Numbers					
	270a	270b	270c	270d	270e	270f
Husband	$\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ 3.ERG (S)	$w\acute{e}$ 3.ABS (S)	$= \hat{a}'$ 3.ACC (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ 3.ERG (S)	$= \hat{a}'$ 3.ACC (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = t^h\hat{\partial}$ 3.POSS = stuff (S)
His wife	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (S)	—	—	—
People	—	—	—	$p^hl\hat{o}$ person (OBL)	$p^hl\hat{o}$ person (S)	—

Table 5.4: Participant reference in the discourse sequence in (271)

Participants	Example Numbers				
	271a	271b	271c	271d	271e
Husband	$\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$ 3.ERG (S)	$w\acute{e}$ 3.ABS (S)	$w\acute{e}$ 3.ABS (DO)	\emptyset 3.SUBJ (S)	—
His wife	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (DO)	$\text{?}\partial = m\acute{e}$ 3.POSS = wife (S)	—	—
His father	—	—	—	—	$\text{?}\partial = p^h\hat{e}$ 3.POSS = father (S)

The sentences in (270a-b) and (271a-b) relate the same events (the husband going after and catching up with his wife). In these events, the husband is the subject referent and the wife is the object referent. In (270c) and (271c), the husband is the direct object referent and the recipient of his wife's kick. However, in (270c), reference to the husband is coded by $= \hat{a}'$, as a continuing local theme, while, in (271c), the husband is coded by $w\acute{e}$, as a non-thematic participant.

In between the events in (270) and (271), the husband is ordered by his father to go after his wife again. The husband does not succeed this second time, so, by (271c), the husband is on his way off-stage. The last reference to the husband, via an elided subject, is in (271d), which relates his quick movement to his original place. After that, the husband is never heard from again for the rest of the story.

The status of local theme is not clause-based; instead, the form of reference, whether *wé* or *=â'*, cataphorically indicates whether a participant will continue as a thematic participant in the subsequent discourse. If the participant is coded by *=â'*, this indicates that the participant is a continuing local theme. If a participant is referenced by *wé*, this indicates that the participant is no longer a thematic participant.

As a contrast, consider the extended example of a non-thematic human referent, illustrated in (272).

(272) a. Folktale 8.195

ʔə = p^hu lə = uɣɛ nɔ Ø p^hâ kətr̩kətrau'
3.POSS = child one CL.human NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ bright sparkle
uɣõmlai' uɣõmla'
 glitter

Lit. 'Their child, one human, (he) bright, sparkle and glitter.'
 'As for their child, (he) was bright, sparkling and glittering.'

b. Folktale 8.196

p^hlô me' dɛ t^hã wé nɔ p^hlô mə = sɨ́ lɔ
 person be_{be.true} see ascend **3.ABS NMLZ_{that} person IRR die EMPH**

Lit. 'People be see him, people would die!'
 'If people saw him, people would die.'

c. **Folktale 8.197**

ʔə = wé lî lâ t^hʔ̂ ɥãk^hu k^hu ʔãxê ɥʔ̂ p^hlô ʔãt^hã
 3.ERG go descend to_{reach} dirt on spirit.worship finish person ask
 k^hwè du' wé ʔə = p^hu
 observe pleasure 3.ABS 3.POSS = child

Lit. 'They go descend reach dirt on spirit worship finish, people ask observe **him**, their child.'

'After they went down to earth and had completed the spirit worship, people asked to look at **their child**.'

The span of discourse in (272) is part of an account of a trip to earth by an angel and his wife for spirit worship because their child is ill. This sequence provides background information about the child, who is a non-thematic human participant. A participant chart of (272) is presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: *Participant reference in the discourse sequence in (272)*

Participants	Example Numbers				
	272a	272b (Cl.1)	272b (Cl.2)	272c (Cl.1)	272c (Cl.2)
Child	ʔə = p ^h u 3.POSS = child (S)	wé 3.ABS (O)	—	—	wé 3.ABS (O)
People	—	p ^h lô people (S)	p ^h lô people (S)	—	p ^h lô people (S)
Parents	—	—	—	ʔə = wé 3.ERG (S)	—

In (272a), the child is introduced in the pre-clause topic-setting phrase, ʔə = p^hu nɔ 'their child', which is co-referential with the following zero subject of the stative clause. In the first clause of (272b), the conditional construction describes the possible situation of the p^hlô 'people' seeing the child. This is followed by the statement that the people would die (if they saw the child).

Then, in (272c), we learn that after the parents of the child, coded by the third-person ergative, $\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$, went down and worshipped, the people asked to observe the child, who is a continuing non-thematic participant. As a non-thematic participant, the child is not a local theme, so it is referenced by wé .

The frequency of human referents coded by wé or $= \hat{a}'$, occurring with third-person subjects, by thematic status, is presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Raw score frequency of wé and $= \hat{a}'$ by thematicity

	Direct Object		Indirect Object	
	wé	$= \hat{a}'$	wé	$= \hat{a}'$
Theme	0	18	0	6
Non-Theme	65	2	10	0
Totals	65	20	10	6

Table 5.6 shows that all occurrences of wé refer to human non-thematic participants. In contrast, only $= \hat{a}'$ is used to refer to human thematic participants, except for two $= \hat{a}'$ references to non-thematic participants, which can both be accounted for. The first exception is due to the need to distinguish a human from a non-human entity, as presented in (273).

(273) a. Folktale 8.178

\emptyset du $\text{t}^{\text{h}\tilde{a}}$ du $\text{t}^{\text{h}\tilde{a}}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}\hat{a}'\text{t}^{\text{h}\acute{o}}$ ke wé $\text{l}\grave{\text{o}}\text{m}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}} =$
 3.SUBJ big ascend big ascend be.very.tall be 3.ABS rock.pile one
 $\text{p}^{\text{h}\tilde{\text{l}}\tilde{\text{o}}}$
 CL.round.object

Lit. '(It) big ascend big ascend be.very.tall be it rockpile, one pile.'
 '(It) grew bigger and bigger, until (it) was a very tall pile of rocks.'

b. Folktale 8.179

ʔə = p^hɛ̃ *dɛ* *tɕû* = *â'* *uɟ̃* *∅* *kû'* *ʔə = mɛ̃*
 3.POSS = father see from.a.distance 3.ACC finish 3.SUBJ call 3.POSS = wife ...

Lit. 'Her father see from.a.distance her finish, (he) call his wife ...'

'After her father saw her (his daughter) from a distance, (he) called his wife ...'

In (273a), a great pile of rocks has risen up at the daughter's bidding. Therefore, there are actually two entities that can be seen: the pile of rocks and the daughter. In (273b), the use of =*â'* to refer to the direct object argument of *dɛ tɕû* 'see from a distance' indicates that the father saw his daughter from a distance. In this immediate context, if *wɛ̃* had been used, it would have referred to the pile of rocks.

The one remaining non-thematic instance coded by =*â'* involves reference to a shape-changer, a man who can change himself into animals and objects, such as a necklace, illustrated in (274).

(274) Folktale 1.86

kəm̃m̃ɛ̃ *lə =* *kemá* *∅* *k^hwɛ̃* = *â'* *bɛ̃*
 widow NEG give 3.SUBJ observe 3.ACC NEG

Lit. 'Widow not give (he) observe him not.'

'The widow would not let him look at him.'

With shape-changers, speakers have the choice of referring to the human essence of the shape-changer, which would be coded by =*â'*, or the non-human essence of the shape-changer, which would be coded by *wɛ̃*. Prior to the event related in (274), the shape-changer has changed himself into a necklace so that he can attend a party without his nemesis, the monk, knowing. In (274), the widow, who is the local theme, is not allowing that same monk, who knows that the shape-changer has changed himself into a necklace, to have a look at him.

This section on thematicity has demonstrated that the third-person accusative pronoun, =*â'*, is used to code thematic referents, all of which are human and continue to be the most

active participant in the subsequent discourse. In addition, =*â'* can be used to code non-thematic human participants when it is necessary to distinguish human and non-human participants, such as in the case of a shape-changer, or in a crowded discourse space. In contrast, *wé* can only be used to code non-thematic human participants.

This use of =*â'* to code local themes, persisting in the discourse, that are temporarily in the object position, is not surprising. DeLancey (1981) observed that special participant coding comes into play when attention flow (starting point) and viewpoint (empathy) do not coincide. In addition, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987) observed that the discourse topic (local theme) is more likely to attract speaker empathy over non-topics (non-thematic participants).

The completed factor analysis of the functions of *wé* and =*â'* in third-person narrative texts is presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: *Factor analysis results for wé and =â' by function*

	# (%) by function				
	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	F ₄	Totals
<i>wé</i>	—	180 (70%)	—	75 (30%)	255 (100%)
= <i>â'</i>	40 (61%)	—	24 (36%)	2 (3%)	66 (100%)

F₁ = with 1/2 subjects
 F₂ = non-human
 F₃ = human theme
 F₄ = human non-theme

The results in Table 5.7 show that the third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*, is used to code non-human and human, non-thematic object referents, which co-occur with third-person subjects. In contrast, the third-person accusative pronoun, =*â'*, is used to code third-person object referents which co-occur with first and second-person subjects, while with third-person subjects

= *â'* exclusively refers to human referents who are also the continuing local theme in a span of discourse.

In addition, in some cases, = *â'* can be used to refer to a non-thematic human referent, such as when a narrator wishes to disambiguate a human and non-human referent in the same discourse space. In another case, which involves a shape-changer, a narrator can choose to underscore the shape-changer's human essence, coded by = *â'*, as opposed to his non-human form, coded by *wé*.

5.6 Summary of the chapter

In this preliminary chapter on referential coherence in N. Pwo narrative, syntactic devices for introducing participants, pre-clause reference, the coding of speakers and addressees in quotative constructions, and the criteria for distinguishing two object pronouns are examined. All participants are introduced by noun phrases, which can occur in various positions within the clause. In the pre-clause position, both noun phrase reference and vocatives can be used to introduce participants. Then, first mention can occur in the subject position of the existence verb clause, as well as in verbal clauses. Finally, first mention noun phrases can occur in indirect, direct, and oblique object positions.

Pre-clause reference can be a noun phrase, an accusative or possessive pronoun, or the third-person ergative pronoun. Markers of these constructions include the two clausal nominalization markers, *no* and *də'/dâ*, the classifier *k^hó* 'CL.part', and the third-person absolutive pronoun, *wé*. In addition, the *me'* contrastive focus construction, which also occurs in the pre-clause position and takes a topic marker, is used to indicate a contrast in the situation of one participant and the participant named in the *me'* contrastive focus construction.

Reference to the speakers and addressees in quotative constructions differs by dialect. Speakers of the Sop Moei dialect of N. Pwo tend to overtly refer to both the speaker and the addressee in the subject and direct object positions, respectively, of the main clause of a quotative construction. However, in a more elliptical and stream-lined fashion, speakers of the Hod dialect of N. Pwo tend to utilize exclamations and the bare verb *tçâi* ‘say’ to indicate a change of speaker, while the addressee is identified by pre- and post-clause vocatives.

The chapter ends with a demonstration of the criteria that distinguish the otherwise baffling use of two object pronouns, =*â* ‘3.ACC’ and *wé* ‘3.ABS’. With third-person subjects, =*â* is used to code the human, thematic participant of a stretch of discourse, while *wé* is used to refer to other third-person object participants. With this preliminary information about the N. Pwo referential coherence system in hand, it is now time to see how the entire participant referencing system works together in narrative, the substance of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

The tracking of participants and non-participants in Northern Pwo Karen narrative

6.1 Introduction

As demonstrated by the object pronoun study in Chapter 5, the N. Pwo personal pronoun system is a thematic system, in which third-person pronouns are used to distinguish thematic and non-thematic participants. Moreover, not all participants are equally eligible for thematic status in a narrative. Other discourse researchers (Wise & Lowe 1972; Grimes 1975; Longacre 1995; Hwang 2009) propose at least three participant ranks: 1) Major participants, 2) Minor participants, and 3) Props. Major participants are human and are active throughout the narrative. Minor participants are human or non-human and are active only intermittently. Props can be either human or non-human and take no active role in the story. They are merely acted upon.

In terms of thematicity, major participants are the most likely to serve as thematic participants. Often, a narrative will include two major participants, only one of which can be the thematic participant in a stretch of discourse. Therefore, the other major participant is a non-thematic participant in that same stretch of discourse. Minor participants only rarely function as thematic participants, while props never function as thematic participants.

Concerning coding possibilities, thematic participants evidence the greatest range, including zero, pronouns, and noun phrases, with or without other modification, such as possessors, modifiers, classifier phrases, and demonstratives. Both non-thematic participants and props are often coded by noun phrases, although they can be coded by pronouns and zero, as well.

In this account of referential coherence in N. Pwo narrative, the discussion begins with an examination of the function of extra-clausal reference to participants in §6.2. This is followed by an examination of the overt coding of major and minor participants in conversation in §6.3 and the overt coding of major and minor third-person participants in narrative in §6.4. The overt coding of props in conversation and narrative is covered in §6.5, followed by the zero-coding of participants in §6.6. The coding of non-participants is considered in §6.7. The chapter ends with a summary of the criteria for the coding of participants and non-participants in §6.8.

6.2 The function of extra-clausal reference to participants

Extra-clausal reference to participants includes pre- and post-clausal noun phrases and pronouns, as well as pre- and post-clausal vocatives. The discussion begins with nominal reference (§6.2.1), followed by vocative reference (§6.2.2).

6.2.1 Extra-clausal nominal reference

Any participant rank can be referenced by an extra-clausal nominal, although major participants occur more frequently than minor or prop participants. The distribution of extra-clausal nominal reference is detailed in Table 6.1, by position, form, and rank.

Table 6.1: *The distribution of extra-clausal participant reference by position, form, and rank*

Reference form	Major	Minor	Prop	Totals
Pre-clause nominal				
Noun phrase	105	98	38	241 (87%)
Ergative pronoun	14	3	—	17 (6%)
Post-clause nominal				
	7	1	12	20 (7%)
Totals	126 (45%)	102 (37%)	50 (18%)	278 (100%)

Extra-clausal reference to participants occurs in 278 of 3,341 clauses in the 14 narrative data frame. Major participants are referenced 126 times or 45%, minor participants are referenced

102 times or 37%, and props are referenced 50 times or 18%. Extra-clausal reference is expressed by noun phrases 261 times or 94% and the ergative pronoun 17 times or 6%. In the next sections, extra-clausal reference to major and minor participants is considered first (§6.2.1.1), followed by props (§6.2.1.2).

6.2.1.1 Extra-clausal nominal reference to major and minor participants

Within the data frame, pre-clausal nominal reference to major and minor participants can take the form of a noun phrase or the ergative pronoun, while post-clause reference is only coded by noun phrases. Noun phrase pre-clause reference is treated first (§6.2.1.1.1), followed by ergative pronoun pre-clause reference (§6.2.1.1.2) and post-clause reference (§6.2.1.1.3). The section ends with a summary of extra-clausal reference to major and minor participants (§6.2.1.1.4).

6.2.1.1.1 Noun phrase pre-clause reference to major and minor participants

Pre-clause noun phrase reference is used to indicate a participant discontinuity or to emphasize an object referent. Within the data frame, pre-clause noun phrases signal four types of participant discontinuity: 1) a change of speaker or thinker, 2) a new or change in thematic participant, 3) an insertion of information about a non-thematic participant, and 4) a continuing thematic participant after inserted information.

First, a narrator can choose to indicate a change of speaker via pre-clause reference in the main clause of a quotative construction, as illustrated in (275).

(275) a. Folktale 6.44

kasámâ tçâi' wé nə = me' klâ t^he' sàbò
 rich.man say 3.ABS 2.NOM be_{be.true} slash separate for.sure

Lit. 'The rich.man said it, "You be slash (it), (you) separate (me) for sure."
 'The rich man said it, "If you slash (it), (you) will separate (me) for sure."

b. Folktale 6.45

[*tɕôp^huxwi* *k^hó*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *tɕâi'* *ʔe'* *wé*] _{CLAUSE} _{MC} [*ʔâ* *kə=wé*
male.orphan _{TOP} _{cl.part} _{3.SUBJ} say _{DAT} _{3.ABS} Ah! _{ours}
kə= *lə=* *klâ* *t^hə* *bɛ* *nɔ* *də'*] _{DQ}
_{1.PL.NOM} _{NEG} slash _{thing} _{NEG} _{NMLZ_{that}} _{EMPH}

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we won’t slash things!”
 ‘On the orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.”’

In the conversation between the rich man and the orphan, pre-clause reference, in (275b), is used to identify the orphan as the new speaker. Compare this to the change of speaker in (275a), in which the rich man, as the new speaker, is referenced in the subject position of the main clause of the quotative construction.

Second, a new thematic participant can be introduced in the pre-clause position, as illustrated in (276).

(276) a. F4 Folktale 1

tɕôp^huxwi *ʔə=t^hwĩ* *si*
 male.orphan _{3.POSS = dog} be.skilled

Lit. ‘Orphan, his dog be.skilled.’
 ‘The orphan’s dog was skillful.’

b. F4 Folktale 2

[*kəsámâ* *wé*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [[\emptyset *sũyɛ* *wé*] _{MC} [*tɕôp^huxwi* *ʔə=t^hwĩ*
rich.man _{TOP} _{3.ABS} _{3.SUBJ} know _{3.ABS} **male.orphan** _{3.POSS = dog}
si] _{SC} _{CLAUSE}
 be.skilled

Lit. ‘Rich man, him, (he) know it, Orphan’s dog be.skilled.’
 ‘The rich man, himself, knew that the orphan’s dog was skillful.’

In (276a), the story begins with the introduction of the orphan’s dog, a skillful hunter. Then, in (276b), the rich man is introduced for the first time in the pre-clause position, marked by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, which is functioning as a topic marker.

Pre-clausal noun phrase reference that indicates a change of thematic participant occurs 107 times in the data frame. Of these, 99 refer to the subject referent in the subsequent clause, while the remaining eight instances are not referenced in the clause. Pre-clause reference that is co-referential with the subject is illustrated in (277).

(277) a. Folktale 6.28

lî lî wé
go go 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Go, go them.’

‘They went and went.’

b. Folktale 6.29

[*kəsámâ nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *ʔābɛ kʰlâiʹ*]_{CLAUSE}
rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ get turtle ...

Lit. ‘The rich.man, (he) got turtle...’

‘As for the rich man, (he) got turtle...’

In (277), both the orphan and the rich man go hunting, expressed in (277a). Then, in (277b), the rich man is singled out as the thematic participant by pre-clause reference, which is marked by *nɔ*.

A marked contrast between participants can be indicated by more phonological material in the pre-clause position, as illustrated in (278).

(278) F4 Folktale 28

[*tɕôpʰuxwi wé dɛ dəʹ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *uétʰâi tɕʰauʹtɕʰwí tɕʰauʹtɕʰwí*]
male.orphan TOP_{3.ABS} **dɛ** NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ return slowly slowly
tɕʰauʹtɕʰwí]_{CLAUSE}
slowly

Lit. ‘Orphan, him, return slowly, slowly, slowly.’

‘The orphan, himself, went back very slowly.’

Prior to the event expressed in (278), the rich man, as the thematic participant, has taken his hunting trophies and gone home. In contrast, the orphan is left behind dragging himself back to

the village. Pre-clause reference, in this case, not only indicates a contrast, but also a change of thematic participant, since the rich man has left the scene.

An even more contrastive pre-clause change in thematic participant is illustrated in (279).

(279) a. Folktale 6.39

lî lî wé dɛ kʰĩ uɛ̃ nɔ
 go go 3.ABS dɛ two CL.human NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Go, go them, two people.’

‘They were going, the two of them.’

b. Folktale 6.40

[*me’ kəsámâ nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅ tɕai tɕai tʰñ uɿ̃ pʰâ’du*
be_{be.true} rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ walk walk meet snake be.very.big
lə = b̃]_{CLAUSE}
 one CL.line

Lit. ‘Be rich.man, (he) walked and walked and met a very big snake.’

‘As for the rich.man, (he) was walking and met a very large snake.’

In (279a), the narrator explicitly indicates that both the orphan and the rich man went hunting. However, in (279b), pre-clause reference, in the form of a *me’* contrastive focus construction, designates the rich man as the thematic participant whose situation is quite different from that of the orphan.

A change of thematic participant can also be indicated in the pre-clause position without reference to that participant within the clause, as illustrated in (280).

(280) Folktale 4.83

[*me’ kəmĩ lə = uɛ̃ nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*ʔə = wɛ̃ tʰĩ xâi’*]_{CLAUSE}
be_{be.true} girl one CL.human NMLZ_{that} 3.POSS = husband hoe field

Lit. ‘Be girl, one human, her husband hoe field.’

‘As for the girl, her husband was hoeing the field.’

In (280), the pre-clause reference to the girl signals the beginning of her activities in relation to her husband. Even though she is not an argument within the clause, she is present as the possessor of the husband, coded by the third-person possessive determiner, $\text{ʔə} =$.

A pre-clause referent that is referenced as a possessor in the object position is illustrated in (281).

(281) Folktale 1.49

$[\text{ʔo} \quad \text{lə} = \text{nî}]_{\text{SC}}$ $[[\text{tau}' \quad \text{lə} = \text{uɛ} \quad \text{nɔ}]_{\text{PRE-CLAUSE}}$ $[\text{sê} \quad \text{bɛ}]$
 exist one CL.day monk one CL.human NMLZ_{that} news strike
 $\text{ʔə} = \text{nê}]_{\text{CLAUSE}}]_{\text{MC}}$
 3.POSS = ear

Lit. 'Exist one day, monk, one human, news strike his ear.'

'One day, as for the monk, he heard the news.'

In the main clause of (281), the dynamic verb, bɛ 'strike', occurs with the stimulus argument, sê 'news', in the subject position, while the body part that is affected, $\text{ʔə} = \text{nê}$ 'his ear', is referenced in the direct object position. Pre-clause reference to the monk indicates a change of thematic participant, even though the only reference to the monk in the clause is as the possessor of the ear.

Both pre-clause reference that indicates an insertion of information about a non-thematic participant and a continuing thematic participant are illustrated in (282).

(282) a. Folktale 6.22

$\text{ʔo} \quad \text{kâ}' \quad \text{lə} = \text{nî} \quad \text{dô}' \quad \text{kəsámâ} \quad \text{ʔātçâ}' \quad \text{tçôp}^{\text{h}}\text{uxwi} \quad \text{lî}$
 exist consequently one CL.day further rich.man ask male.orphan go
 $\text{ʔāxí} \quad \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{â}' \quad \text{ʔā} \quad \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ə} \quad \text{kədô}'$
 seek shoot eat thing again

Lit. 'Exist consequently one day further, rich.man ask orphan go seek, shoot, eat thing further.'

'On another day, the rich man asked the orphan to go hunting again.'

b. Folktale 6.23

tɕôp^huxwi *nɔ* *lî* *wé* *lə =* *mai'* *lâ* *bɛ*
male.orphan NMLZ_{that} go 3.ABS S be.well at.all NEG

Lit. 'As for the orphan, (he) went without any comfort at all.'

'As for the orphan, he did not want to go at all.'

c. Folktale 6.24

kəsámâ *nɔ* *ʔãtɕâ'* *wé* *dâi'* *dâi'* *tɕâi'* *wé* *lə =* *nî*
rich.man NMLZ_{that} ask 3.ABS on.and.on on.and.on say 3.ABS one CL.day
jé *jô* *tɕə = mîbõ* *p^hâ'du*
 completely this 1.POSS = rice.packet be.very.big

Lit. 'The rich.man, (he) asked him on and on, saying it, "Today, my rice parcel is big."'

'As for the rich.man, (he) asked him on and on and said, "Today, my rice parcel is really big."'

In (282a), a new episode begins with the rich man asking the orphan to go hunting again. As the speaker, the rich man is the thematic participant. Then, in (282b), an insertion about the orphan's less than enthusiastic response is related, with the orphan referenced in the pre-clause position, marked by *nɔ*. This is followed, in (282c), by pre-clausal reference to the rich man, the continuing thematic participant.

Reference to a continuing thematic participant in the pre-clause position can also occur in the presence of a time adverbial, as illustrated in (283).

(283) a. Folktale 6.14

[\emptyset *ʔãxí* *ʔãxí* *ʔã* *wé* *t^hõ* *lù* *mî^hõ*
 3.SUBJ seek seek eat 3.ABS reach at noon

Lit. '(He) seek seek eat them reach at noon.'

'He (rich man) hunted them (animals) until noon.'

b. Folktale 6.15

kəsámâ kʰó Ø ʔāxuʔā ʔākeʔā wé
rich.man TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ barbecue roast 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Rich man part, (he) barbecue roast them.’

‘On the rich.man’s part, (he) roasted them (animals).’

In both (283a) and (283b), the only participants are the rich man and hunted animals, of which the rich man is the only possible thematic participant. Nevertheless, the rich man is referenced in the pre-clause position of (283b) after the time adverbial, *tʰɔ̃ lù mütʰɔ̃* ‘until noon’, which occurs at the end of (283a).

Pre-clause nominal reference to an object referent within the clause occurs six times in the data frame. It is used to emphasize the object referent, as illustrated in (284).

(284) Folktale 1.77

[Ø *tɕʰɔ̃mɔ̃ wé dɛ*]_{MC} [[ʔá *pʰlô lə = uɛ ʔi*]_{PRE-CLAUSE}
 3.SUBJ think 3.ABS dɛ Ah! **person one CL.human this**
 [*tɕə = mə = kō = áʰ tʰɔ̃ ʔə = sɪ ɛ*]_{CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
 1.NOM IRR lure 3.ACC reach 3.POSS = die for.sure

‘He thought it, “Ah! Person, one person this, I will lure him reach his dying for sure.”’

‘He thought it, “Ah! This person, I will lure him to his death for sure.”’

In (284), an angry monk is thinking about what he plans to do with his problem student. The student is referenced three times. The first reference is a full noun phrase that occurs in the pre-clause position of the thinking quote. Then, in the direct object position of the quote clause, the student is referenced by the third-person accusative pronoun, *= áʰ*. Finally, within the post-core prepositional phrase, the student is referenced by the third-person possessive determiner, *ʔə =*.

In brief, pre-clause noun phrase reference is used to indicate a participant discontinuity when there is a new or change in thematic participant, a change in speaker, a continuing

Prior to (285), a husband has queried an astrologer about the source of his son’s illness. In (285a), the astrologer tells him that the child’s grandmother on his mother’s side is the source of the problem, whereupon, the husband, coded by the ergative pronoun, in (285b), goes and tells his wife in response to the astrologer’s information.

Ergative pronoun coding of a responder can also occur based on what the responder himself has seen, as illustrated in (286).

(286) a. Folktale 3.157

[∅ dɛ mɪk^hũ t^hã
 3.SUBJ see smoke ascend

Lit. ‘(He) saw smoke ascend.’

‘He saw the smoke ascending.’

b. Folktale 3.158

?ə = wé k^hó lî k^hwɛ k^hũ’sũ wé dɛ
 3.ERG TOP_{CL.part} go observe hide 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. ‘He part, go observe hide him.’

‘On his part, he went to look stealthily.’

In (286a), the orphan sees some smoke. Then, when he goes to check out the smoke, in (286b), he is referenced by the ergative pronoun, even though he is the only possible thematic participant in this span discourse and is the subject referent in both (286a) and (286b).

The ergative pronoun is also used to indicate a contrast between two participants, as illustrated in (287).

(287) a. F4 Folktale 41

tɕôp^huxwi wé ?ābɛ dũ’ lĩ dî̂
 male.orphan TOP_{3.ABS} get only squirrel CL.body

Lit. ‘Orphan, him, get only squirrel body.’

‘As for the orphan, (he) only got one squirrel.’

b. F4 Folktale 42

[ʔə = wé]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [t^hə xwî t^hɔ̃ p^hlɔ̃]_{CLAUSE}
 3.ERG thing fill shoulder.bag CL.body

Lit. ‘He thing fill shoulder bag body.’

‘As for him, (his) stuff filled a shoulder bag.’

In (287a), the orphan has only gotten one squirrel, while the rich man, coded by a pre-clausal ergative pronoun, in (287b), fills a shoulder bag with his hunting take.

Finally, a pre-clause ergative pronoun can be used to indicate a continuing thematic participant after inserted background information, as illustrated in (288).

(288) a. F6 Folktale 3

[ʔə = mù ní ʔə = p^hɛ̃ də']_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ lî p^he' nã
 3.POSS = mother and 3.POSS = father NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ go weed grass
 kû' nê kû' nê]_{MC}
 every CL.day every CL.day

Lit. ‘Their mother and their father, (they) go weed grass every day, every day.’

‘As for their mother and father, (they) went to weed the grass every day.’

b. F6 Folktale 4

[ʔə = wé də']_{PRE-CLAUSE} náp^hɪwî k^hɪ ɯɛ̃ ʔə = k^hwé k^hɪ ɯɛ̃
 3.ERG NMLZ_{EMPH} siblings two CL.human 3.POSS = male two CL.human
 lau' ni
 exhaust OK?

Lit. ‘They, siblings, two human its male, two human exhaust, OK?’

‘As for them, the two siblings were two males all together.’

F6 Folktale opens with the introduction of two siblings, followed by the statement that the two siblings live with their mother. Then, in (288a), the narrator relates that the mother and father go to weed the grass every day, a one proposition insertion of background information. Then, in (288b), the narrator resumes her description of the two siblings, indicating their continuing thematic status with pre-clause ergative pronoun reference.

In sum, ergative pronoun pre-clause reference is used to refer to a thematic participant that is responding to a state of affairs. Other contexts of pre-clause ergative use include the indication of contrast between two participants, and to indicate a continuing thematic participant after inserted information about a non-thematic participant. Major and minor participants are also referenced in the post-clause position of the clause.

6.2.1.1.3 Post-clause noun phrase reference to major and minor participants

Post-clausal noun phrase reference to a major or minor participant is used to clarify the identity of a clause argument. In the data frame, all eight post-clause references to major and minor participants are co-referential with the subject argument of the preceding clause. Furthermore, all eight instances come from the unedited narratives collected in April 2014.

Post-clause reference to a subject referent is illustrated in (289).

(289) F6 Folktale 572

[\emptyset *tçai* *xí* *t^hã* *xí* *t^hã* \emptyset]_{CLAUSE} [*náméwê*
3.SUBJ walk gather ascend gather ascend 3.OBJ **husband.and.wife**
k^hi *uê*]_{POST-CLAUSE} *nɔ*
two CL.**human** NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘They walk gather ascend gather ascend (it), husband.and.wife, two humans.’

‘(They) were walking and gathering (it), the two of them.’

In (289), the narrator references the subject within the clause by zero, but makes the identity of the subject referents explicit by referring to them in the post-clause position.

6.2.1.1.4 Summary of extra-clausal reference to major and minor participants

The distribution of extra-clausal nominal reference to major and minor participants, by condition, is summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: *The functions of extra-clausal nominal reference to major and minor participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Speaker or thinker change	20 (16%)	16 (16%)
New or change of thematic participant	57 (45%)	54 (53%)
Inserted information about a non-thematic participant	16 (13%)	23 (23%)
Continuing thematic participant after inserted information	9 (7%)	3 (3%)
Response to a state of affairs (ergative pronoun)	11 (9%)	3 (3%)
Contrast with another participant (ergative pronoun)	2 (2%)	0
Emphasis of an object referent	4 (3%)	2 (2%)
Post-clausal clarification of the subject	7 (5%)	1
Totals	126 (100%)	102 (100%)

In sum, noun phrase pre-clausal reference to a major or minor participant can be co-referential with the subject or object within the clause. A pre-clause nominal is used to indicate a change of speaker or thinker, a new or change of thematic participant, to insert information about a non-thematic participant, or to indicate a continuing thematic participant. Ergative pronoun pre-clause reference is primarily used to indicate a responder to a state of affairs, to emphasize a contrast between two participants, or to indicate a continuing thematic participant. Pre-clausal reference that is co-referential with an object referent is used to emphasize that participant, while post-clausal reference is used to clarify the identity of a clausal argument. Props can also be referenced by both pre- and post-clause noun phrases.

6.2.1.2 Extra-clausal noun phrase reference to props

Extra-clausal reference to a prop occurs in both the pre- and post-clausal positions. Pre-clause reference is used to emphasize a prop participant, while post-clause reference is used to clarify the identity of a prop.

Pre-clause prop reference that emphasizes a subject referent is illustrated in (290).

(290) M5 Folktale 9

[ʔə = t ^h it ^h ɔ̃	nɔ] _{PRE-CLAUSE}	[∅	lât ^{he} '	sãp ^h â'	k ^h ĩ
3.POSS = water.container	NMLZ _{that}	3.SUBJ	fall	crack	two
t ^h ɔ̃	lau'] _{CLAUSE}				
tube-shaped.container	exhaust				

Lit. 'His water.container, (they) fall crack, two tube-shaped exhaust.'

'As for his water containers, (they) fell and cracked completely.'

Prior to the events expressed in (290), the orphan has interrupted his trip to get water by mounting a log and jumping from side-to-side on it. Pre-clause reference to the water containers emphasizes their fate due to the orphan's extra-curricular activity with the log.

A pre-clause reference to a prop that is also referenced in the direct object position of the clause is illustrated in (291).

(291) a. Folktale 6.12

kəsámâ	ʔābɛ	t ^h ə	təblĩ'	mê
rich.man	get	thing	many	CL.kind

Lit. 'The rich.man got thing, many kind.'

'The rich.man got animals of many kinds.'

b. Folktale 6.13

[*me'* *k^hlâi'* = *â* *k^hâu'* = *â* *t^hup^hu* = *â* *lĩp^hu*
be_{be,true} *turtle* *or* *monitor.lizard* *or* *chick* *or* *baby.squirrel*
 = *â*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *ʔābε* *wé* *kû'* *mê* *l̂*]_{CLAUSE}
or 3.SUBJ get 3.ABS every CL.kind EMPH

Lit. 'Be turtle, or monitor lizard, or chick, or baby squirrels, (he) got them, every kind.'

'Whether a turtle, a monitor lizard, a chick, or a baby squirrel, (he) got them, every kind.'

A general statement about the rich man's hunting take of many kinds of animals is expressed in (291a). In (291b), details of those many kinds are expressed with multiple pre-clause coordinated nouns, which are connected by the post-noun coordinate conjunction, = *â* 'or'. The animals are also referenced in the direct object position of the clause by *wé* '3.ABS', which is modified by the classifier phrase, *kû' mê* 'every CL.kind'.

In four cases in the data frame, a prop that is referenced in the pre-clause position is not also referenced in the clause that immediately follows, as illustrated in (292).

(292) Folktale 1.13

[*ʔə = p^hè* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé*]_{MC} [[*p^huk^hwé* *p^hè* *ʔə = tçî* *ʔo*
 3.POSS = father say DAT 3.ABS SON father 3.POSS = money exist
sá *p^hà* *nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[*nə =* *lĩ* *uɣàì* *t^hə*]_{CL1} [*nə =*
 three CL.hundred(money) NMLZ_{that} 2.NOM go study thing 2.NOM
tç^ho' = *â'* *lau'* *pa'*]_{CL2}]_{CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
 lift 3.ACC exhaust complete

'His father say to him, "Son, father's money exist three hundred baht, you go study thing. You lift it exhaust complete."'

'His father said to him, "Son, as for father's 300 baht, you went to study things and you took it all."'

In (292), in the direct quote, the father's 300 baht is referenced in the pre-clause position. The money is then referenced in the direct object position of the second conjunct of the subsequent coordinate clause. The money is emphasized in this context because it is needed to buy food.

Post-clausal reference to a prop can be co-referential with either the subject or direct object. Post-clause reference to a subject referent is illustrated in (293).

(293) M1 Folktale 25

[ʔé tɕô]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ lə = klû' bε]_{CLAUSE} [kə = wé]_{POST-CLAUSE}
 Hey! oldest.brother 3.SUBJ NEG be.usable NEG ours

Lit. “Hey! Oldest.brother, (it) not be.usable not, ours.”

“Oh, Oldest Brother, (it) was not usable, our (ashes).”

In (293), post-clause reference clarifies the identity of the elided subject within the clause. The possessive pronoun *kə = wé* ‘ours’ is used to reference the ashes from the orphan’s house, without any overt reference to the ashes.

Post-clause reference to a prop that is also referenced in the direct object position is illustrated in (294).

(294) M1 Folktale 43

[ʔa]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ mɛ t^hə lê]_{CLAUSE} [k^hlé]_{POST-CLAUSE}
 Ah 3.SUBJ want thing QUES ashes

Lit. “Ah! (I) want thing? Cinders.”

“Ah! Why should I want cinders?”

In (294), post-clausal reference to *k^hlé* ‘ashes’ clarifies the identity of the thing wanted, which is coded by the schematic noun, *t^hə* ‘thing’, within the clause proper.

The function of extra-clausal reference to props is reiterated in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: *The functions of extra-clausal nominal reference to prop participants*

Condition	# (%) by condition
Emphasis of a subject referent	18 (36%)
Emphasis of an object referent	16 (32%)
No reference within clause	4 (8%)
Post-clausal clarification	12 (24%)
Total	50 (100%)

In sum, pre-clausal nominal reference to a prop is used to emphasize the prop participant. The emphasized prop participant can also be referenced in the subject or direct object positions, or not referenced within the clause at all. In contrast, post-clause reference is used to clarify the identity of a prop referent within a clause. Extra-clausal vocative reference serves to identify conversational participants.

6.2.2 Extra-clausal vocative reference

Extra-clausal vocative reference can take the form of noun phrases and the accusative and possessive pronouns. Furthermore, extra-clausal vocatives only reference major and minor participants. This is not surprising, since vocatives are uttered by interlocutors in a conversation. Props, by definition, are not interlocutors. The distribution of vocative reference in the data frame is summarized in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: *The distribution of vocative reference to major and minor participants*

	Major	Minor
Pre-clause vocative		
Noun phrase	143 (75%)	70 (76%)
Accusative pronoun	5 (3%)	1 (1%)
Possessive pronoun	30 (15%)	12 (13%)
Post-clause vocative		
Noun phrase	13 (7%)	7 (7%)
Totals	191 (100%)	90 (100%)

Out of 281 instances of vocative reference in the data frame, fully 233 or 83% are coded by noun phrases. The remaining 48 instances, or 17%, are coded by either the accusative or possessive pronouns in the pre-clausal position only.

A pre-clause noun phrase vocative is illustrated in (295).

(295) F4 Folktale 99¹

[*t̥ôp^huxwi*] PRE-CLAUSE [\emptyset *lî t^hə ní nə = m̂ = â*] CLAUSE
 male.orphan 2.SUBJ go thing with 2.POSS = uncle QUES

Lit. “Orphan, (you) go thing with your uncle?”
 “Orphan, did you go hunting with your uncle.”

In (295), the pre-clause vocative identifies the orphan as the addressee. He is also referenced as a second-person elided subject within the clause.

A post-clausal noun phrase vocative also refers to the addressee, as illustrated in (296).

(296) F4 Folktale 44

[*jai' jai' də'*] SC [[*ʔé*] PRE-CLAUSE [\emptyset *t̥âi' wé dɛ*] CLAUSE] MC
 be.long be.long NMLZ_{EMPH} Hey! 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS dɛ
 [[*kə = lî lə = ke lâ bɛ*] CLAUSE [*m̂*] POST-CLAUSE] DQ
 1.PL.NOM go NEG be.able at.all NEG uncle

Lit. ‘Long, long, “Hey!” (he) say it, “We go not be.able at.all not, Uncle.”’
 ‘After a while, “Hey! I can’t go anymore, Uncle.”’

In (296), the post-clause *m̂* ‘uncle’ serves to clarify the identity of the addressee, since no overt reference is made to either the speaker or the addressee in the main clause of the quotative construction.

Both accusative and possessive pronouns can also occur in the pre-clause position of the clause. A pre-clausal accusative pronoun vocative is illustrated in (297).

(297) Folktale 6.49

[[*t̥ôp^huxwi k^hó*] PRE-CLAUSE [\emptyset *t̥âi' wé*] CLAUSE] MC [[*ʔâ x̂*] PRE-CLAUSE
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.ACC
 [*kə = lə = klâ t^hə bɛ nɔ də'*] CLAUSE] DQ
 1.PL.NOM NEG slash thing NEG NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) said it, “Ah! Us, we won’t slash things.”’
 ‘On the orphan’s part, (he) said it, “Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.”’

¹The predicate, *lî t^hə* ‘go thing’ is used to express any event which involves doing something. This could be running errands, going hunting, etc. The more specific lexicalization of ‘to hunt’ is *lî k^ha' ʔā t^hə* ‘go shoot eat thing’.

The response by the orphan, in (297), follows a command by the rich man for the orphan to slash the snake. Within the direct quote, the orphan emphasizes his thinking with a pre-clause $x\hat{\partial}$ ‘1.ACC’, which is co-referential with the subject pronoun $k\partial =$ ‘1.PL.NOM’.

A pre-clausal accusative pronoun can also be used to refer to the addressee, as illustrated in (298).

(298) Folktale 3.86

[\emptyset me' $l\partial =$ me' $b\varepsilon$ $k^h\acute{o}$ $n\omega$]_{SC} [$n\partial = s\acute{i}$ $l\grave{i}$ $u\acute{y}\acute{\varepsilon}$]_{PRE-CLAUSE}
 3.SUBJ be_{be.true} NEG be_{be.true} NEG CL.part NMLZ_{that} 2.NOM.PL four CL.human
 [$n\partial =$ $b\varepsilon$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ ke $k\hat{a}'$ $t\zeta\partial = p^hl\grave{e}$ $t^h\grave{y}$]
 2.NOM must return be_{be.able} consequently 1.POSS = servant until
 $?\partial = lau'$]_{MC}
 3.POSS = exhaust

Lit. “(It) be not be not part, you all, four human, you must return be consequently my servant until its exhaust.

“If (it) is not true, as for the four of you, you all must become my servants.”

The pre-clausal accusative pronoun phrase occurs in the main clause of (298). It consists of the second plural accusative pronoun, $n\partial = s\acute{i}$, which is modified by the classifier phrase, $l\grave{i} u\acute{y}\acute{\varepsilon}$ ‘four human’. These same participants are referenced by $n\partial =$ ‘2.NOM’ in the clause proper.

Possessive pronouns in the pre-clause position are used to emphasize a speaker’s or addressee’s thinking or situation. Emphasis of the speaker’s situation is illustrated in (299).

(299) Folktale 7.61

[$j\acute{i}$]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[$t\zeta\partial = t^h\grave{\partial}$ $l\partial =$ $?\partial$ $n\grave{a}$ $m\acute{e}$ $b\varepsilon$]_{MC} [$t\zeta\partial =$ $u\acute{y}\acute{\varepsilon}$]
 mine 1.POSS = thing NEG exist even.one CL.kind NEG 1.NOM cry
 $j\acute{o}$]_{REASON}]_{CLAUSE}
 completely

Lit. “Me, my thing not exist even.one kind not, I cry completely.”

“As for me, I don’t have anything, so I cry.”

In (299), the possessive pronoun, *jí* ‘mine’, refers to the speaker’s situation in the pre-clause position. Note that reference to the speaker within the clause is limited to the possessor of things in the subject position.

A possessive pronoun can also be used to emphasize the addressee’s thinking or situation, as illustrated in (300).

(300) F4 Folktale 11

[\emptyset *tçâi'* *dε*] _{MC} [[*ní*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*nə = lə = ʔãbε mî bε*
 3.SUBJ say *dε* **yours** 2.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG
nɔ] _{CLAUSE}] _{DQ}
 NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Say, “Yours, you not get cooked.rice.”’

‘(He) said, “As for you, you have not eaten yet.”’

In (300), the speaker uses *ní* ‘yours’, in the pre-clausal position, to emphasize his statement about the addressee’s state of affairs.

Briefly, pre- and post-clause noun phrase vocative reference refers to the addressee in conversation. First-person accusative and possessive pronoun vocatives serve to emphasize the speaker’s thinking or position, while the second-person accusative and possessive pronouns serve to emphasize the addressee’s position. Moving into reference within the clause, the next topic of discussion is the coding of participants in conversation.

6.3 The overt coding of major and minor participants in conversation

Reference to participants within direct quotes can involve major, minor, and prop participants, as well as non-participants. This section focuses on the overt coding of major and minor participants in conversation. The distribution of these participants is summarized by syntactic position, person, and rank in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: *The distribution of participants in conversation by position, person, and rank*

Participant Rank	Major	Minor
Subject		
First person	289	60
Second person	279	76
Third person	92	136
Indirect object		
First person	15	3
Second person	16	5
Third person	18	8
Direct object		
First person	21	6
Second person	15	6
Third person	39	100
Oblique object		
First person	3	0
Second person	1	1
Third person	14	7
Totals	802	408

As demonstrated in Table 6.5, major participants represent 802 or 66% of the 1,210 instances of major and minor participant reference in conversation within the data frame, while minor participants are referenced 408 times or 34% of the time. In the discussion to follow, the overt coding of speech act participants (SAPs) is considered in §6.3.1, followed by the overt coding of third-person reference to major and minor participants in conversation in §6.3.2.

6.3.1 The coding of SAP participants in conversation

Within the data frame, SAP participants are referenced by the nominative and accusative pronouns or zero. This is true for both the Sop Moei and Hod dialects of N. Pwo Karen. The passage, in (301), illustrates SAP reference for the Sop Moei dialect.

(301) a. Folktale 6.32

[\emptyset tɕâi' ʔe' tɕôp^huxwi]_{MC} [[ʔâ p^huxwi]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[tɕə = me' kemá
 3.SUBJ say DAT male.orphan Ah! orphan 1.NOM be_{be.true} give
 ʔã nê]_{SC} [nə = ʔã mə = ʔwĩ nê]_{MC}]_{DQ}
 eat 2.ACC 2.NOM eat IRR be.tasty OK

Lit. ‘(He) said to the orphan, “Ah, Orphan, I be give eat you, you eat would tasty, OK.”’

‘(He) said to the orphan, “Ah, Orphan, if I gave (it) to you to eat, it would be tasty, OK.”’

b. Folktale 6.33

[tɕôp^huxwi k^hlâi tɕ^há = â']_{MC} [[ʔâ mâ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [[nə = me'
 male.orphan speak reply 3.ACC Ah! uncle 2.NOM be_{be.true}
 kemá ʔã xê]_{SC} [kə = ʔã mə = ʔwĩ sê]_{MC}]_{DQ}
 give eat 1.PL.ACC 1.PL.NOM eat IRR be.tasty EMPH

Lit. ‘The orphan spoke replied him, “Ah! Uncle! You be give eat us (it), we eat (it) would be tasty!”’

‘The orphan answered him, “Ah! Uncle! If you gave to us to eat, we would eat tasty for sure.”’

c. Folktale 6.34

[kəsámâ tɕâi' wé]_{MC} [[ʔâ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [kə = lə = kemá ʔã nê
 rich.man say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC
 bε]_{CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
 NEG

Lit. ‘Rich man say it, “Ah! We not give eat you it.”’

‘The rich man said it, “Ah! We will not give (it) to you to eat.”’

In (301), all first and second person references to the rich man and the orphan, within the direct quotes, are realized by the first- and second-person nominative and accusative pronouns.

This pattern can also be seen in the Hod dialect of N. Pwo, as illustrated by a similar conversation between the rich man and the orphan in (302).

(302) a. F4 Folktale 22

[*tɕôp^huxwi*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*nə = sú ʔã sâ' mî tɕ^hi*] _{CLAUSE}
male.orphan 2.NOM desire eat heart cooked.rice some

Lit. "Orphan, you desire eat heart cooked.rice some?"

"Orphan, are you hungry for rice?"

b. F4 Folktale 23

[*ʔé mǎ*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*kə = sú ʔã sâ' sənè*] _{CLAUSE}
Hey! uncle 1.PL.NOM desire eat heart sure

Lit. "Hey, Uncle! We desire eat heart sure."

"Oh yes, Uncle, I am really hungry."

c. F4 Folktale 24

[*kə = me' sú ʔã sâ' bɛ*] _{SC} [*kə = uyé t^hú p^há*] _{MC}
1.PL.NOM be_{be.true} desire eat heart NEG 1.PL.NOM come not.even CL.time

Lit. "We be desire eat heart not, we come not.even time."

"If I were not hungry, I would have not come, even one time."

d. F4 Folktale 25

[*ə tɕôp^huxwi ʔə*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*tɕə = lə = má ʔã nê bɛ*] _{CLAUSE}
Oh! male.orphan um 1.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC NEG

Lit. "Oh, Orphan, I not give eat you not."

"Oh, Orphan, I'm not giving you anything to eat."

In (302a), even though the pre-clause vocative reference is co-referential with the subject, second-person reference to the orphan is overt. In (302c), the orphan refers to himself with *kə* = '1.PL.NOM', in both the subordinate and main clauses of the sentence.

The examples in (301) and (302) have illustrated reference to major SAP participants. The coding of a minor participant speaker is illustrated in (303).

(303) M5 Folktale 5

tɕə = mə = kemá nê nə = tɕi lə = bá'
1.NOM IRR give 2.ACC 2.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. "I would give you your money, one baht."

'I will give you one baht.'

Unlike other orphan and rich man stories, the rich man in M5 Folktale is a minor participant because he only shows up intermittently in the story. In (303), both the rich man, as the speaker, and the orphan, as the addressee, are referenced by SAP pronouns in the subject and indirect object positions, respectively.

A minor participant addressee is illustrated in (304).

(304) F4 Folktale 103

tçâi' *tçə = mə = lô nê tô tô lô mâuyè*
 say 1.NOM IRR tell 2.ACC be.honest be.honest EMPH aunt

Lit. 'Say, "I will tell you be.honest, be.honest, aunt."'

'(He) said, "I will tell the whole truth, Aunt."'

In (304), the orphan promises to tell his aunt, a minor participant, the truth. She is referenced by *nê* '2.NOM' directly following the predicate.

The distribution of pronoun and zero reference to SAP participants within the data frame is summarized in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: *The distribution of SAP participants by rank, position, and form*

	Pronoun	Zero
Major		
Subject	351	217
Indirect object	29	2
Direct object	31	5
Oblique object	4	—
Minor		
Subject	83	53
Indirect object	7	1
Direct object	8	4
Oblique object	1	—
Totals	514	282

Table 6.6 demonstrates the preference for pronoun reference to SAPs. Out of a total of 796 references to SAP participants, 514 (65%) are expressed by an SAP pronoun, while 282 (35%) are expressed by zero. The coding possibilities for third-person reference to major and minor participants in conversation are more varied.

6.3.2 The overt coding of major and minor third-person participants in conversation

Third-person major and minor participants, that are referenced in conversation, can be coded by noun phrases, the third-person accusative pronoun, zero, and in some limited cases, the absolutive pronoun. The distribution of reference to non-SAP major and minor participants in conversation is detailed in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: *The distribution of major and minor third-person reference in conversation*

	Noun phrase	Ergative pronoun	Accusative pronoun	Absolutive pronoun	Zero	Totals
Subject						
Major	39	6	—	2	45	92 (22%)
Minor	84	1	—	0	51	136 (33%)
Indirect object						
Major	2	—	15	0	1	18 (4%)
Minor	5	—	3	0	0	8 (2%)
Direct object						
Major	11	—	12	2	14	39 (9%)
Minor	47	—	16	2	35	100 (24%)
Oblique object						
Major	14	—	0	—	—	14 (3%)
Minor	7	—	0	—	—	7 (2%)
Total	209 (50%)	7 (2%)	46 (11%)	6 (1%)	146 (35%)	414 (99%)

As the non-SAP participants in conversation, it is not surprising that noun phrase reference to these participants occurs in 209 instances or 50% of the time in all positions of the clause. Zero

reference to a non-SAP participant occurs 35% of the time, while the third-person accusative pronoun occurs 11% of the time in the indirect and direct object positions. The ergative and absolutive pronouns occur 3% of the time.

Noun phrase reference to a non-SAP participant in the subject position is illustrated in (305).

(305) Folktale 4.111

ʔə=wé kʰlâi tɕʰá ʔə=pʰɛ̃ pʰɛ̃ =ə wì tʰâi lù
 3.ERG speak reply 3.POSS=father father dear **older.sibling** return at
uẽ jâu'
 village INCH

Lit. ‘She speak reply her father, “Father, dear, older.sibling return at village already.”’

‘She answered her father, “Father, Older sibling has returned to the village.”’

In (305), the speaker is the daughter and her father is the addressee. The non-SAP participant that they are talking about is the older sibling, referenced by the kin term, *wì* ‘older.sibling’ in the subject position of the direct quote.

Oblique object noun phrase reference to a non-SAP participant is illustrated in (306).

(306) F4 Folktale 95

ʔə̂ kə= lî tʰə ní kə=mâ sə̂
 Yes 1.PL.NOM go thing **with** 1.PL.POSS=**uncle** have.likewise

Lit. “Yes, we go thing with our uncle.”

“Yes, I went hunting with my uncle.”

In (306), the orphan is speaking with his aunt about going hunting with his uncle, an off-stage participant.

Third-person accusative pronoun reference to a non-SAP participant is illustrated in (307).

(307) **Folktale 3.136**

[ʔə = wé tçâi' wé]_{MC} [[tçə = mə = lî kō = â' lə = t^hĩ ê]_{POST-CLAUSE}
3.ERG say 3.ABS 1.NOM IRR go lure 3.ACC one CL.time for.sure
[p^hlô lə = uɣê ɾĩ]_{POST-CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
person one CL.human this

Lit. 'He say it, "I would go lure him one time for.sure, person, one human, this."'"
'He said, "I will go and trick him, one time for sure, this person."'

Within the direct quote, in (307), the speaker is coded by *tçə* = '1.NOM' in the subject position, while the non-SAP participant is coded by *= â'* '3.ACC' in the direct object position.

Both noun phrase and third-person accusative pronoun reference to non-SAP participants is expected behaviour in conversation. However, both third-person absolutive and ergative pronoun reference are employed in conversation, although this occurs in relatively few cases.

Subject absolutive pronoun reference to a non-SAP subject participant occurs 2 times in the data frame, as illustrated in (308).

(308) **F4 Folktale 107**

uɣĩ bâi = â' də' sĩ wé
snake coil.around 3.ACC NMLZ_{EMPH} die 3.ABS

Lit. "Snake coil around him, die him."

'When the snake coiled around him, he died.'

Both instances of subject absolutive pronoun reference occur in a story about the demise of the rich man as part of a conversation between the orphan and his aunt. Furthermore, the subject absolutive pronoun is the only possible third-person pronoun that can occur with particular intransitive predicates, including motion and emotion predicates, as well as the existence predicate and *sĩ* 'die', as in (308).

The ergative pronoun, representing a non-SAP participant, behaves in a similar fashion, as illustrated in (309).

(309) a. Folktale 4.140

tɕâi' wé tɕə = lî lə = mai' lâ be tɕə = uɣét^hâi p^ho'
 say 3.ABS 1.NOM go NEG be.well at.all NEG 1.NOM return follow
ʔə = k^hái
 3.POSS = back

Lit. '(She) say it, "I go not be.well at.all not, I return follow his back."
 '(She) said, "I won't feel good about going at all, if I go back to him."

b. Folktale 4.141

ʔə = wé klâ sí jê k^hí t^hô jé
 3.ERG slash die 1.ACC two CL.period completely

Lit. "He slash die me, two period completely."
 "He slashed and killed me two times."

c. Folktale 4.142

tɕə = lî xwĩ ʔe' ʔə = bĩ dɔ'
 1.NOM go scatter DAT 3.POSS = rice.plant more

Lit. "I go scatter for his rice.plant more."
 "Furthermore, I went and scattered rice plants for him."

In (309a), a wife confides that she would not be happy to return to her abusive husband. Then, in (309b), she relates that her husband has killed her twice and uses the ergative pronoun to refer to the husband, who is not present. In (309c), the wife continues relating her own activities.

Finally, object absolutive pronoun reference to a non-SAP participant occurs 4 times in the data frame. In two cases, the absolutive pronoun occurs with a third-person subject, as illustrated in (310).

(310) **Folktale 7.51**

[p^hɛ̃ p^hâ' wé dɛ sá sá̃]_{CL1} [∅ mə = tâixai' wé dí
father appoint 3.ABS dɛ three CL.night 3.SUBJ IRR marry 3.ABS with
nɛ̃]_{CL2}
2.ACC

Lit. "Father appoint it (wedding) three nights (he) would marry her (daughter) with you."

"The father made arrangements to marry her with you in three nights."

In (310), the speaker is talking about the actions of a father who plans to marry his daughter to the addressee. Since the father is a third-person referent, coded by zero in the second clause, and the daughter is the non-thematic participant in this account of the father's actions, she is coded by the absolutive pronoun in the direct object position of the second clause.

The remaining two instances of absolutive pronoun reference involve a despised non-SAP participant, as illustrated in (311).

(311) **M2 Folktale 4**

â [∅ tɕâi' wé [∅ k^hwɛ̃ wé lə = mai' bɛ
Oh! 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS 1.SUBJ observe 3.ABS NEG be.well NEG

Lit. "Oh!" (she) say thus, "I observe it not be.well not."

"Oh! she said, "I hate it!"

After a seven year pregnancy, a woman finally gives birth to a turtle. Her negative response to her "child" is expressed in (311), in which the turtle is referenced by the absolutive pronoun instead of the expected third-person accusative pronoun. Examples (273) and (274) have already demonstrated subtle manipulations of human vs. non-human reference with the two third-person object pronouns. In (311), it is possible that the absolutive pronoun is used to communicate distance from the despised entity.

In sum, overt reference to non-SAP major and minor participants typically takes the form of noun phrases and the third-person accusative pronoun in the object positions. Instances of

the ergative and absolutive pronouns in the subject position refer to participants whose actions are recounted as part of the conversation in an embedded narrative. Object absolutive pronoun reference is used to refer to a non-thematic participant in an embedded narrative. The object absolutive pronoun is also used to refer to a despised participant, instead of the expected third-person accusative pronoun, as a means of indicating distance. The coding possibilities are much more involved for third-person participants in narrative, which is examined at length in the next section.

6.4 Overt reference to major and minor third-person participants in narrative

In third-person narrative contexts it is the thematicity of a participant that determines coding patterns. Major and minor participants can be either thematic or non-thematic, while props are never thematic. The distribution of third-person reference to thematic and non-thematic participants within the data frame is summarized in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: *The distribution of third-person reference by thematicity*

Syntactic Position	Thematic	Non-thematic
Subject	1,631	261
Indirect object	8	118
Direct object	33	293
Oblique object	1	30
Totals	1,673 (70%)	702 (30%)

As demonstrated in Table 6.8, thematic participants are the most frequent third-person referents. This distribution is not surprising, since thematic participants are typically the most active participants in the discourse, while non-thematic participants are present but not the empathetic focus of the narrator. In the discussion to follow, the coding of thematic participants is examined in §6.4.1, followed by non-thematic participants in §6.4.2.

6.4.1 Overt reference to thematic participants

Thematic participants exhibit the most coding possibilities, including noun phrases, the third-person ergative, absolutive, and accusative pronouns, and zero. The distribution of thematic reference, by position, rank, and coding form, is summarized in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: *The distribution of thematic reference by position, rank, and coding form*

	Noun phrase	Ergative pronoun	Accusative pronoun	Absolutive pronoun	Zero	Totals
Subject						
Major	176	159	—	81	834	1,250 (75%)
Minor	111	22	—	17	231	381 (23%)
Indirect object						
Major	0	—	5	0	0	5
Minor	0	—	3	0	0	3
Direct object						
Major	1	—	23	2	3	29
Minor	0	—	4	0	0	4
Oblique object						
Major	0	—	0	0	—	0
Minor	1	—	0	0	—	1
Totals	289 (17%)	181 (11%)	35 (2%)	100 (6%)	1,068 (64%)	1,673 (100%)

Within the data frame, thematic participants are expressed, predominantly, in the subject position, with a total of 1,631 (98%) subject references compared to 42 (2%) references in the object positions. Major participants serve as thematic participants in 1,284 (77%) instances compared to 389 (23%) instances of minor participants. For this section, the overt coding of thematic participants in the subject position is considered in (§6.4.1.1), followed by overt reference to thematic participants in the object positions in (§6.4.1.2).

6.4.1.1 Overt subject reference to thematic participants

Thematic participants referenced in the subject position can be overtly coded by noun phrases, the ergative, or the absolutive pronoun. In this section, noun phrase reference to a thematic participant is examined first (§6.4.1.1.1), followed by ergative pronoun reference (§6.4.1.1.2) and then absolutive pronoun reference (§6.4.1.1.3).

6.4.1.1.1 Subject noun phrase reference to thematic participants

In the subject position, noun phrase reference is used to indicate the speaker in the main clause of a quotative construction, a new or change in thematic participant, to reestablish a thematic participant after inserted information, and to maintain reference to a minor thematic participant in the presence of the protagonist. Each of these contexts is discussed in turn.

First, subject noun phrase reference to a thematic participant is used to identify the speaker within the main clause of a quotative construction. A change of speaker in the course of a conversation is illustrated in (312).

(312) a. Folktale 6.19

[*tçôp^huxwi* *k^hlâi* *tç^há* *wé*]_{MC} [*ʔá* *mâ* *nə=* *me'* *kemá* *ʔã*
male.orphan speak reply 3.ABS Ah! uncle 2.POSS be_{be.true} give eat
xê *kə=* *ʔã* *ʔwĩ* *səbò*]_{DQ}
 1.PL.ACC 1.PL.NOM eat be.tasty for.sure

Lit. ‘Orphan speak reply him, “Ah! Uncle! Your be giving (it) to us to eat, we eat (it) be.tasty for sure!”’

‘Orphan answered him, “Ah! Uncle! If you gave (it) to us to eat, it would be tasty for sure!”’

b. Folktale 6.20

[*kəsámâ* *k^hlâi* *tç^há* *wé*]_{MC} [*ʔâ* *kə=* *lə=* *kemá* *ʔã* *nê* *bɛ*]_{DQ}
rich.man speak reply 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC NEG

Lit. ‘The rich.man spoke replied him, “Ah! We won’t give you it to eat.”’

‘The rich.man answered him, “Ah, we will not give (it) to you to eat.”’

In the ongoing conversation, in (312), the orphan is referenced as the speaker in the subject position of the quotative main clause of (312a) and then the rich man is referenced as the speaker in (312b). Subject noun phrases that indicate a change of speaker occur 71 times for major thematic participants and 45 times for minor thematic participants. Moreover, the use of noun phrases to indicate a change of speaker is more typical of the Sop Moei dialect of N. Pwo.

Subject noun phrases are also used to indicate a continuing speaker after inserted information about another participant, as illustrated in (313).

(313) a. Folktale 6.45

tʃôp^huxwi k^hó tʃâi' ʔe' wé ʔâ kə=wé kə= lə= klâ
male.orphan CL.part say DAT 3.ABS Ah! OURS 1.PL.NOM NEG slash
t^hə bɛ nɔ də'
thing NEG NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we won’t slash things!”’
 ‘On the orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.”’

b. Folktale 6.46

t^hʃ ʔə=tʃ^há ʔi^h bâi = á' t^hʃ lù ʔə=kila' p^hâ
until 3.POSS=time snake coil.around 3.ACC reach at 3.POSS=armpit inside

Lit. ‘To its time, the snake coiled around him, reaching to his armpit’s inside.’
 ‘In time, the snake coiled around him up to his armpit.’

c. Folktale 6.47

tʃôp^huxwi tʃâi' ʔe' wé ʔâ mâ tʃə= me' klâ p^hi ʔi
male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS Ah! uncle I.NOM be_{be.true} slash at this
mə= t^he' nɛ
IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. ‘The orphan say to him, “Ah! Uncle! I be slash (it) to this, (I) would separate you.”’
 ‘The orphan said to him, “Ah! Uncle! If I were to slash to here, (I) would sever you.”’

In (313a), the orphan is the speaker, as indicated by the noun phrase reference to the orphan in the subject position of the main clause. Then, in (313b), the action of the snake is inserted, which is not part of the conversation. Finally, in (313c), the orphan, as the continuing speaker is encoded by a noun phrase in the subject position of the main clause of the quotative construction. This pattern of reference occurs three times with major participants and two times with minor participants in the data frame.

Finally, in situations in which a thematic participant continues as a speaker, the speaker is referenced by a noun phrase, as illustrated in (314).

(314) a. M5 Folktale 26

kəsámâ tç^hšmō wé ?à tçôp^huxwi lə = uɟé ?ĩ tç^hšmō t^hð
rich.man think 3.ABS EXCL male.orphan one CL.human this think thing
uɟi mð
 be.good INTENS

Lit. ‘Rich.man think it, “Ah! Orphan, one human, this think thing be.good!”
 ‘The rich man thought, “My! This orphan thinks very good things!”’

b. M5 Folktale 27

kəsámâ tçâi’ ?e’ = â’ bεk^hùβεuɟô lə = uɟi
rich.man say DAT 3.ACC be.worried NEG don't

Lit. ‘Rich.man say to him, “(You) be.worried not don’t.”
 ‘The rich man said to him, “Don’t worry.”’

In (314a), noun phrase reference to the rich man indicates a change of thematic participant. Then, as the speaker, in (314b), the rich man is identified again using a noun phrase. Within the data frame, speaker reference to a thematic participant occurs two times for major participants and two times for minor participants.

The second-most prevalent occurrence of subject noun phrase reference to a thematic participant is used to indicate a new or change in thematic participant. A new thematic participant is illustrated in (315).

(315) M5 Folktale 2

tɕôp^huxwi lə = uɣê ʔi̯ lî tɕai lú kəsámâ ʔə = dâu'
male.orphan one cl.human this go walk at rich.man 3.POSS = house

Lit. 'Orphan, one human this go walk at rich.man, his house.'

'This orphan walked to a rich man's house.'

Example (315) is the first foreground proposition in the story after a one-sentence introduction.

In it, the orphan, who is the first thematic participant in the story, is coded by a modified noun phrase, which includes a classifier phrase and the proximal demonstrative.

A change in thematic participant can also be indicated by a noun phrase, as illustrated in (316).

(316) a. Folktale 6.11

lî lî wé dɛ
go go 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Went and went them.'

'They went and went.'

b. Folktale 6.12

kəsámâ ʔābɛ t^hə təblî' mē
rich.man get thing many cl.kind

Lit. 'The rich.man got things of many kinds.'

'The rich.man got animals of many kinds.'

In (316a), it is the rich man and the orphan that go hunting together; however, the subject noun phrase, in (316b), indicates that the rich man is now the thematic participant, as the subsequent propositions detail his hunting success.

Subject noun phrase reference to a thematic participant also serves to reiterate the identity of the thematic participant after inserted information. Inserted information includes time phrases or clauses, information about a prop or another participant, additional information

about a thematic participant, and a reiteration of a thematic participant after a conversation, even if the thematic participant was the most recent speaker.

A time adverbial insertion is illustrated in (317).

(317) a. **Folktale 6.36**

kəsámâ lə = *kemá* ʔā wé ʔə = *mî* nã p^há bε
rich.man NEG give eat 3.ABS 3.POSS = cooked.rice even.one CL.time NEG

Lit. ‘The did not give eat him, his cooked rice, even one time.’

‘The rich man did not give him his rice even one time.’

b. **Folktale 6.37**

mî ʔo lə = *nî* dš’ *kəsámâ* uyé ʔākôlai’ tçôp^huxwi lî
 day exist one CL.day further **rich.man** come call male.orphan go
 ʔãxí k^há’ ʔã t^hə kədš’
 seek shoot acquire thing again

Lit. ‘Day exist one day further, the rich.man came and called the orphan (he) go, seek, shoot and acquire things further.’

‘Another day, the rich man came and called the male orphan to go hunting again.’

The *kəsámâ* ‘rich.man’ is the subject referent in both (317a) and (317b). In (317a), the last line of the episode, the rich man is coded as a noun because of a change in thematic participant. Then, in (317b), the rich man, as the thematic participant, is coded again as a noun phrase because the sentence opens with a background setting phrase, which represents a temporal discontinuity at the beginning of a new episode. Time adverbial phrases or clauses trigger eight instances of major thematic participant noun phrase reference and one instance of minor thematic participant reference.

Inserted information about a prop participant can also trigger subject noun phrase reference to a thematic participant, as illustrated in (318).

(318) a. Folktale 8.66

[Ø ʔo tʰi tʰə = tɕʰi dá uɣé jé
3.SUBJ exist only NMLZ_{thing} = thorn whole CL.human completely

Lit. ‘(Her body) exist only thing thorn whole human completely.

‘Her whole body was only thorns.

b. Folktale 8.67

ʔə = kətɕʰè uɣĩʔũuáʰo’ wé dɛ
3.POSS = owner moan.and.groan 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. ‘It’s owner moan.and.groan her.’

‘She moaned and groaned.’

The existence clause, in (318a), is a recapitulation of several clauses about the state of the thematic participant’s body, a prop participant. Then, in (318b), when the narrative returns to the owner of the body covered in thorns, who is the thematic participant, she is referenced by the noun phrase, ʔə = kətɕʰè ‘its owner’.

Inserted information about a non-thematic participant is illustrated in (319).

(319) a. Folktale 4.123

ʔə = wé pʰlú’ lĩ pʰlô ʔə = pô pʰá
3.ERG move.rapidly at person 3.POSS = CL.heap inside

Lit. ‘He move rapidly to people, their heap inside.’

‘He moved rapidly into the midst of some people.’

b. Folktale 4.124

pʰlô ʔĩble = á’
person treat.by.blowing 3.ACC

Lit. ‘People blow.to.heal blow.to.heal him.’

‘People blew and blew to heal him.’

c. Folktale 4.125

ʔə = tʰə ble jó
3.POSS = thing recover completely

‘His thing recover completely.’

‘He (the husband) recovered completely.’

In (319a), a husband, as the thematic participant, is referenced by $\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{w}\acute{\epsilon}$ ‘3.ERG’. This is followed, in (319b), by inserted information about $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{l}\hat{\text{o}}$ ‘people’, non-thematic participants acting on the thematic participant. Then, in (319c), the thematic participant returns as the actor, referenced by the noun phrase, $\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{t}^{\text{h}}\partial$ ‘his stuff’.

Noun phrase reference is also used to refer to thematic participants in inserted background information, as illustrated in (320).

(320) a. Folktale 8.60

$\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{p}^{\text{h}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{li}$ $\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{u}\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{o}}$ $\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{m}\grave{\text{u}}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{li}$ $\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{d}\epsilon$ $\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{d}\hat{\text{o}}$
 3.POSS = father beat 3.ABS finish 3.POSS = mother beat 3.ABS $\text{d}\epsilon$ further

Lit. ‘Her father beat her finish, her mother beat her further.’

‘After her father beat her, her mother beat her more.’

b. Folktale 8.61

$[\emptyset]$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{li}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{li}$ $\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{d}\epsilon$ $\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{ũt}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\acute{\epsilon}\text{b}\hat{\text{o}}$ lau' pa'
 3.SUBJ beat beat 3.ABS $\text{d}\epsilon$ thick.barbed.switch exhaust complete

Lit. ‘(They) beat beat her thick.barbed.switch exhaust complete.’

‘They beat and beat her until the barbed switches were all used up.’

Prior to the account in (320), a mother and father, as a thematic entity in this stretch of discourse, have been beating their daughter with switches. Further inserted background information about their behaviour as individuals is provided in (320a), where they are each referenced by the noun phrases, $\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{p}^{\text{h}}\acute{\epsilon}$ ‘her father’ and $\text{ʔ}\partial = \text{m}\grave{\text{u}}$ ‘her mother’, respectively. Then, in (320b), reference to the mother and father as a unit continues with zero reference to them in the subject position.

Reiteration of the thematic participant also occurs after conversation, as illustrated in (321).

(321) a. Folktale 3.187

[∅ p^hâ' bε uɿ̂ lə = bε bε uɿ̂ tçə = mə =
 3.SUBJ guess be.correct be.good NEG be.correct NEG be.good 1.NOM IRR
 p^hâ' dâ' k^hwè sâ
 guess sample observe EMPH

Lit. "(I) guess be.correct be.good, not be.correct not be.good, I would guess sample observe!."

"Whether (I) guess correctly or incorrectly, it will be good, so I will try to guess!"

b. Folktale 3.188

uɿ̂ tçôp^huxwi p^hâ' wé dε tâ' tâ'
 finish male.orphan GUESS 3.ABS dε right.then right.then

Lit. 'Finish, male.orphan guess it right.then, right.then.'

'Then, the orphan guessed it right then.'

The orphan is the speaker of the direct quote, in (321a), as well as the thematic participant in (321b). Even though the speaker and thematic participant are the same, when the narrative returns to the time line, in (321b), the thematic status of the orphan is reiterated with a subject noun phrase.

Noun phrase reference to a thematic participant also occurs with some minor thematic participants, as illustrated in (322).

(322) a. Folktale 7.30

[∅ t^hɔ̃ xâi' uɿ̂ ʔə = p^hɿ̂ ʔə = wì lə =
 3.SUBJ hoe field finish 3.POSS = younger.sibling 3.POSS = older.sibling NEG
 t^hâi t^hã dâi' bε
 return ascend still NEG

Lit. '(They) hoe field finish, his younger.sibling his older.sibling not return ascend still not.'

'After they (orphan and siblings) finished hoeing the field, his older and younger siblings had still not gone back.'

remaining 37 (13%) instances are used to reiterate a continuing thematic participant and to reference a minor thematic participant in the presence of the protagonist. The ergative pronoun behaves in a similar fashion.

6.4.1.1.2 Ergative pronoun reference to thematic participants

All 181 instances of the ergative pronoun in the subject position refer to thematic participants. Furthermore, the ergative pronoun only occurs in particular contexts, akin to *optional ergative marking*. Similar to noun phrase reference to a thematic participant, the ergative pronoun can be used to signal a speaker change, a change in thematic participant, or to reference a continuing thematic participant after an insertion.

A change in speaker can trigger the ergative pronoun within a conversation, as illustrated in (323).

(323) a. M5 Folktale 14

kasámâ tçâi' =â' nə= mê bə l̥
 rich.man say 3.ACC 2.NOM do like QUES

Lit. 'Rich.man say him, "You do like?"'

'The rich man said to him, "What did you do?"'

b. M5 Folktale 15

ʔə= wé tçâi' wé
 3.ERG say 3.ABS ...

Lit. 'He) said it...'

'(He) said it...'

In (323b), the ergative pronoun reference to the orphan indicates that he is now the thematic participant as the new speaker.

Another context in which the ergative pronoun indicates a speaker is at the beginning of a conversation, even if the speaker was the thematic participant in the immediately preceding narrative, as illustrated in (324).

(324) a. Folktale 7.85

$t^h\tilde{ɔ}$ $ʔə = t\check{c}^h\tilde{a}$ $ʔə = wé$ $dε$ $u\acute{e}t^h\hat{a}i$ $lə =$ $dε$ $ʔə = p^h\hat{a}i'$ $l\hat{a}$ $bε$
until 3.POSS = time 3.ERG de return NEG see 3.POSS = skin at.all NEG

Lit. 'Until its time, he return not see his skin at.all not.

'In time, he returned and did not see his skin at all.'

b. Folktale 7.86

$ʔə = wé$ $ʔ\tilde{a}t\check{c}\hat{a}'$ $ʔə = p^h\tilde{t}$
3.ERG ask 3.POSS = grandmother

Lit. 'He ask his grandmother.'

'He asked his grandmother.'

In (324), even though the orphan is the thematic participant and reference by the ergative pronoun, in (324a), he is referenced again by the ergative pronoun as the speaker in (324b).

The ergative is also instrumental in indicating a change of thematic participant, illustrated in (325).

(325) a. F4 Folktale 86

$[u\check{u}\tilde{t}$ $t\check{c}\tilde{ɔ}t\check{a}le'$ $ʔə = s\hat{a}']_{SC}$ $[ʔə = wé$ $s\acute{t}$ $t^h\hat{a}']_{MC}$
snake stretch 3.POSS = heart 3.ERG die !

Lit. 'Snake stretch his heart, he die!'

'When the snake stretched its body, he (rich man) died!'

b. F4 Folktale 87

$[ʔə = wé$ $ʔw\tilde{i}$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $k\acute{a}s\acute{a}m\hat{a}$ $ʔə = t^h\tilde{ɔ}$ $n\check{ɔ}]_{SC}$
3.ERG carry(basket) ascend return rich.man 3.POSS = shoulder.bag NMLZ_{that}

$[∅$ $u\acute{e}t^h\hat{a}i$ $wai']_{MC}$
3.SUBJ return immediately

Lit. 'He carry ascend return rich man, his shoulder bag, return immediately.'

'After he (orphan) picked up the rich man's shoulder bag, (he) returned home.'

In (325a), the rich man is the thematic participant and coded with the ergative pronoun.

However, since the rich man dies, leaving the stage, the orphan takes over as the thematic participant and is identified as such by the ergative pronoun, in (325b).

For participants who are already present in the discourse space, the ergative is most often used to indicate a continuing thematic participant after inserted background information, as illustrated in (326).

(326) a. F4 Folktale 17

[∅ *uét^hâi t^hô* [∅ *mêk^hêlâmimêk^hêlâp^hε*
 3.SUBJ return reach 3.SUBJ make.fire

Lit. 'Return reach, (he [rich.man]) make.fire'

'When (they) arrived, (he [rich.man]) made a fire.'

b. F4 Folktale 18

tɛôp^huxwi t^hð sú ?ã sâ' mî pa'
 male.orphan thing desire eat heart cooked.rice complete

Lit. 'Orphan, thing desire eat heart cooked.rice also.'

'As for the orphan, (he) was hungry for rice.'

c. F4 Folktale 19

?ə=wé de ?ãxu ?ã lĩ ?ã mî
 3.ERG de char eat squirrel eat cooked.rice

Lit. 'He char eat squirrel, eat cooked.rice.'

'He (rich man) roasted a squirrel and ate.'

In (326a), the rich man is the thematic participant. Then, in (326b), a single background proposition is inserted about the orphan, who is the non-thematic participant in this span of discourse. After this background proposition, the event line continues, in (326c), with the rich man referenced by the ergative pronoun as the continuing thematic participant.

Inserted information about a prop participant also triggers the ergative pronoun, as illustrated in (327).

(327) a. Folktale 55.55

[\emptyset *k^hwâi'* *k^hwâi'* *k^hwâi'* *wé*] _{CL1} [*ʔə = t^hə* *lâ* *blî'*
 3.SUBJ butt butt butt 3.ABS 3.POSS = thing descend be.full
jó *lau'* *pa'*] _{CL2}
 completely exhaust completely

Lit. '(He) butt butt butt them they descend be.full completely exhaust completely.'

'He butted and butted them and they collapsed completely.'

b. Folktale 55.56

ʔə = wé *dε* *t^hâi* *kâ'* *wé* *dε* *ʔə = lâk^hái*
 3.ERG dε return remain 3.ABS dε 3.POSS = place.back

'Lit. 'He return remain him his place.back.'

'He went back to his previous place.'

In the first clause of (327a), a water buffalo is butting some banana trees and a termite hill.

The resulting condition of the banana trees and termite hill is related by the second clause of the coordinate clause construction in (327a). In this clause, the banana trees and termite hill are referenced by the noun phrase, *ʔə = t^hə* 'their thing', which occurs in the subject position of this clause. Then, when the buffalo's activities continue in (327b), the buffalo is referenced by the ergative pronoun.

In one case in the data frame, it is background information about the thematic participant that triggers the ergative pronoun, as illustrated in (328).

(328) a. Folktale 8.79

[*ʔə = wé* *mê* *nì* *xe'*] _{CL1} [\emptyset *du* *wé* *ʔə = k^hu*
 3.ERG do get hacking.knife 3.SUBJ hit 3.ABS 3.POSS = head
klô'] _{CL2} [\emptyset *p^hñì* *tç^hwílâ* *wé* *dε* *ʔə = nâi* *p^hâ*] _{CL3}
 sound.of.hitting 3.SUBJ grab put.in 3.ABS dε 3.POSS = backbasket inside

Lit. 'She do get hacking.knife (she) hit them their.head she grab put.in them her backbasket's inside.'

'She got a hacking knife, whacked their heads, and put them inside her backbasket.'

b. Folktale 8.80

[\emptyset *nì jɛp^hu xwî nâi p^hâ uɣ^ô*]_{SC} [\emptyset *lú lâ*
 3.SUBJ get fish be.full backbasket inside finish 3.SUBJ pour descend
jɛp^hu lù mî' k^hu]_{MC}
 fish at sand head

Lit. '(She) get fish be.full backbasket inside finish she pour descend fish at sand's head.'

'After (she) got a backbasket full of fish, (she) poured the fish out on the sand.'

c. Folktale 8.81

?ə = wé *nì ?ā jɛp^hu ?εuɿ̀?εuɿ̀*
 3.ERG get eat fish much

Lit. 'She get eat fish much.'

'She got lots of fish.'

In (328), a girl is the only human participant in the discourse space, along with some fish. Both (328a) and (328b) relate the girl's activity with the fish. Then, in (328c), ergative pronoun reference to the girl occurs in a background explanation clause that comments about the number of fish the girl got.

A return to a foreground information clause after an intervening conversation can also trigger the ergative pronoun, as illustrated in (329).

(329) a. Folktale 8.169

[*nə = me'*]_{SC} [\emptyset *klâ klâ sâ*]_{MC}
 2.NOM be_{be.true} 2.SUBJ slash slash !

Lit. "You be, (you) slash, slash!"

"If you would, slash and slash!"

b. Folktale 8.170

?ə = wé *mê nì xe' klâ wé dε*
 3.ERG do get hacking.knife slash 3.ABS dε

Lit. 'She do get hacking.knife slash it.'

'She took a hacking knife and slashed it.'

In (329a), a bamboo tree tells a girl, the thematic participant, to go ahead and slash it. Then, in (329b), the ergative pronoun is used to refer to the girl, even though she is also the subject referent in (329a). The difference between these two propositions is that the proposition in (329a) is a direct quote, a type of background information and is thus, off the time line. Proposition (329b) is foreground information, which occurs immediately after the background proposition, so the ergative is used to reassert the thematic participant's activity in the story.

Intervening temporal phrases or clauses also occasion the use of the ergative pronoun, as illustrated in (330).

(330) a. Folktale 7.27

ʔo ʔo bε m̃ p^hʔ xâi' t^hû' pōlō lə = d̃ ʔi'
 exist exist strike day cut.away field pig be.round one CL.body this
 lî p^hʔ xâi' wai'
 go cut.away field immediately

Lit. 'Exist exist strike day cut.away field, pig be.round one body this go cut.away field immediately.'

'After a while, when the day came to clear the field, this round pig went and cleared the field.'

b. Folktale 7.28

[∅ p^hʔ xâi' uʔ̃] _{SC} ʔə = wé tç^hâu' xâi'
 3.SUBJ cut.away field finish 3.ERG burn.up field

Lit. '(He) cut.away field finish, he burn.up field.'

'After (he) finished clearing the field, he burned the field.'

In (330), the orphan is the only human participant in the discourse space, along with xâi' 'field', a prop participant. Even so, after the temporal adverbial clause, in (330b), which repeats the event of clearing the field in (330a), the orphan is referenced by the ergative pronoun in the main clause of (330b).

The ergative pronoun is also used in contexts in which the thematic participant carries out an action in response to the state of affairs expressed in the preceding clause, as illustrated in (331).

(331) a. **Folktale 1.80**

kək^hwé lə = uɛ̃ ʔĩ bɛsâ' uɛ́ wé tɕ^hĩ
 man one CL.human this want come 3.ABS some

Lit. 'Man, one human this, want come him some.'

'This man wanted to come.'

b. **Folktale 1.81**

ʔə = wé lut^hã ʔə = sâ' ke p^hé kemá kəmĩmé lĩ lai'
 3.ERG change 3.POSS = heart be_{be.able} necklace give widow go suspend
 = â'
 3.ACC

Lit. 'He change his heart be necklace give widow go suspend him.'

'He changed himself into a necklace and had the widow wear him.'

In response to his desire to go to a party, expressed in (331a), the orphan changes himself into a necklace and has a widow wear it, as related in (331b). Even though the orphan is the only active participant in the discourse space, he is referenced by the ergative pronoun in the event that follows from his desire to attend a party.

The overall distribution of ergative pronoun reference to thematic participants is reflected in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: *Ergative pronoun reference to thematic subject participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Speaker reference in the main clause of a quotative construction	23 (14%)	7 (32%)
Change in thematic participant	48 (30%)	3 (14%)
Continuing thematic participant after an insertion	71 (45%)	9 (41%)
Response to a state of affairs	17 (11%)	3 (14%)
Totals	159 (100%)	22 (99%)

Like noun phrase reference to a thematic participant, the ergative pronoun is used to indicate a change of speaker, a change of thematic participant, or to refer to a continuing participant after inserted information. One notable difference is that the ergative pronoun is used to refer to a thematic participant in a foreground clause that relates action in response to a background statement of a state of affairs or possible state of affairs. The distribution of noun phrase and ergative pronoun reference to a thematic participant is compared in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: *Noun phrase and ergative pronoun reference to thematic participants*

Factor	Noun phrase	Ergative pronoun
Speaker reference in the main clause of a quotative construction	125 (44%)	30 (17%)
New thematic participant	10 (3%)	0 (0%)
Change of thematic participant	116 (40%)	51 (28%)
Continuing thematic participant after an insertion	29 (10%)	80 (44%)
Continuing minor thematic participant in the presence of the protagonist	7 (2%)	0 (0%)
Response to a state of affairs	0 (0%)	20 (11%)
Totals	287 (99%)	181 (100%)

Out of a total of 468 subject noun phrase and ergative pronoun references to thematic participants in the data frame, 287 (61%) are coded by noun phrases, while the remaining 181 (39%) are coded by the ergative pronoun. Furthermore, out of 155 instances of speaker reference, noun phrase reference occurs 125 times (81%), while ergative pronoun reference occurs 30 times (19%). Noun phrases are the preferred coding to indicate a change in thematic participant 116 times (69%) compared to ergative pronoun coding, which occurs 51 times (31%). However, the ergative pronoun is the preferred coding to indicate a continuing thematic participant in 80 instances (73%), compared to noun phrase coding, which occurs 29 times (27%). Other than noun phrases and the ergative pronoun, overt reference to a thematic subject participant can also take the form of the absolutive pronoun.

6.4.1.1.3 Subject absolutive pronoun reference to thematic participants

The thematicity of a subject participant is neutralized when referenced by the post-predicate third-person absolutive pronoun. This pronoun occurs with a limited number of intransitive predicates, including motion predicates, such as *uýt^hâi* ‘return’ and *lî* ‘go’, *sí* ‘die’, emotion predicates, such as *sãt^ho’sâ^ho* ‘be.happy’, and the existence predicate, *ʔo*.

A motion predicate with third-person absolutive pronoun reference to a thematic participant is illustrated in (332).

- (332) **F4 Folktale 45**
uýt^hâi wé dɛ
 return 3.ABS dɛ
 Lit. ‘Return him.’
 ‘He went home.’

In (332), the absolutive pronoun is the only overt reference to the S argument of an intransitive predicate.

Absolutive pronoun reference to a thematic participant in an existence verb construction is illustrated in (333).

(333) **Folktale 3.175**

lî ʔo ɸ̃ wé dǎ́ uẽ jé
 go exist meet 3.ABS whole village completely

Lit. 'Go exist meet them, whole village, completely.'

'The entire village went and met.'

In (333), the S argument of the complex predicate, *lî ʔo ɸ̃* 'go exist meet', is referenced by a post-predicate absolutive pronoun which is further clarified by the quantitative expression *dǎ́ uẽ* 'whole village'.

Although absolutive pronoun reference to the S argument of intransitive and existence predicates does not indicate the thematicity of the participant, it is possible to overtly indicate that thematicity through additional reference to the S argument, as illustrated in (334).

(334) **Folktale 1.95**

[*tau'* *kʰó*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*sí* *wé* *dɛ*] _{MC}
 monk _{TOP_{cl.part}} die 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Monk part die him.'

'On the monk's part, he died.'

In (334), the monk, as the S argument of *sí* 'die', is first referenced in the pre-clause position and then by the post-predicate absolutive pronoun. Pre-clause reference indicates the monk's thematic status.

The ergative pronoun can also occur with the post-predicate absolutive pronoun, as illustrated in (335).

(335) M5 Folktale 30

ʔâ ʔə = wé sãtʰo'sãtʰo' wé dɛ
Ah! 3.ERG be.very.happy 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Ah! He be.very.happy him.'

'Ah! He was very happy!'

In (335), the single argument of *sãtʰo'sãtʰo'* 'be.happy' is expressed by the post-predicate absolutive pronoun, *wé* '3.ABS', as well as the pre-predicate ergative pronoun. The orphan's great happiness is conveyed by both the stative verb elaborate expression and the emphasis particle, *dɛ*.

Admittedly, the occurrence of both the ergative and absolutive pronouns in the same construction is a problem for a split-ergative analysis of the personal pronoun inventory of N. Pwo. It is possible that N. Pwo Karen is following in the steps of both Eastern Pwo Karen and West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen, neither of which have a split-ergative pattern in their pronoun. In fact, in these Pwo Karen language varieties, *wé* (*dɛ*) is now used to emphasize the predicate and is no longer used as a pronoun (Atsuhiko Kato p.c.). Or it may be that pre-predicate subject reference when the absolutive pronoun is present is simply used to overtly indicate the thematicity of the S referent.

The distribution of subject absolutive reference to thematic participants by predicate type is detailed in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: *Subject absolutive pronoun reference to thematic participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Intransitive predicate	75 (93%)	16 (94%)
Existence predicate	6 (7%)	1 (6%)
Totals	81 (100%)	17 (100%)

Briefly, the third-person absolutive pronoun is used to code the single argument of some intransitive predicates, including motion predicates, *sí* ‘die’, and the emotion predicate *sãt^ho’sãt^ho* ‘be.happy’. This reference is neutral for thematicity; however, pre-predicate reference to a thematic participant also occurs, which can result in both ergative and absolutive pronoun reference to the same participant in the same construction. In this case, the thematicity of the participant is made clear. Thematic participants can also be referenced in the object positions of the clause.

6.4.1.2 Overt object reference to thematic participants

Overt object reference to a thematic participant, in the indirect, direct, and oblique object positions of the clause, only occurs 42 times in the data frame. Object reference can take the form of either a noun phrase (§6.4.1.2.1), third-person accusative pronoun (§6.4.1.2.2), or the absolutive pronoun (§6.4.1.2.3).

6.4.1.2.1 Object noun phrase reference to thematic participants

Object noun phrase reference to a thematic participant only occurs two times in the entire data frame. One of these instances occurs in the direct object position, while the second instance occurs in the oblique object position. The single direct object noun phrase reference to a thematic participant is illustrated in (336).

- (336) **F6 Folktale 337**
 [ʔo ʔo ʔo də’]_{SC} [sê bε ʔə = tɕô]_{MC}
 exist exist exist NMLZ_{EMPH} news strike 3.POSS = oldest.brother
 Lit. ‘Exist, exist, exist, news strike his oldest.brother.’
 ‘After a while, his oldest brother heard the news.’

In the main clause of (336), the stimulus thematic role is expressed in the subject position, while the experiencer thematic role is expressed in the direct object position. This pattern is

only associated with the *bɛ* ‘strike’ predicate. The oldest brother, as the thematic participant at the beginning of an episode, is referenced by the noun phrase, *ʔə = tɕô*, after a long period of time off-stage.

The single noun phrase reference to a thematic participant in the oblique object position is illustrated in (337).

(337) F3 Folktale 10

dĩkwâ' *ɕú* *ní* *k^hibâ* *k^hí* *uɛ̂* *nɔ*
 Dingkwa run with Kingbang two CL.human NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Dingkwa run with Kingbang, two human.’

‘Dingkwa ran with Kingbang, the two of them.’

In (337), both Dingkwa and Kingbang are thematic participants, acting together. This is expressed with subject reference to Dingkwa and oblique object accompaniment reference to Kingbang.

Object noun phrase reference to a thematic participant is limited to two instances in the data frame. The first occurs with a predicate which requires the expression of a stimulus thematic role in the subject position and an experiencer thematic role in the direct object position. In the second instance, the second of two thematic participants acting together is expressed as an accompaniment participant in the oblique object position of the clause. Third-person accusative pronoun reference to a thematic participant occurs more frequently.

6.4.1.2.2 Third-person accusative pronoun reference to thematic participants

In the data frame, all 35 instances of third-person accusative pronoun reference to a thematic participant occur when the subject referent is a non-thematic participant. Thus, the third-person accusative pronoun is used to signal a continuing thematic participant, akin to *optional case marking*.

In an optional case marking system, case marking is under the control of the speaker and is used to convey particular semantic and/or pragmatic information about participants. In N. Pwo, when the subject referent is a non-thematic participant or a prop, the third-person accusative pronoun is employed to refer to a continuing thematic participant.

Indirect object reference to a thematic participant is illustrated in (338).

(338) a. Folktale 3.45

$\text{ʔə} = p^{h\acute{\epsilon}}$ $\text{kelá} = \hat{a}'$ $p^{h\acute{\alpha}t\check{\zeta}^hwĩ}$ $k^{h\tilde{\alpha}}$ $lə =$ $b\tilde{e}$
 3.POSS = father give 3.ACC spade dig one CL.flat.thing

Lit. 'Her father give her spade dig, one flat.thing.'

'Her father gave her the spade.'

b. Folktale 3.46

$\text{ʔə} = wé$ $u\acute{e}t^{h\acute{\alpha}i}$ $t\check{\zeta}^{h'o}$ $wé$ $d\epsilon$ wai'
 3.ERG return lift 3.ABS de immediately

'Lit. 'She return lift it immediately.'

'She took it back home immediately.'

Prior to (338), a woman has gone to ask her father for a spade. When her father gives her the spade, in (338a), she is referenced by the third-person accusative pronoun, as a continuing thematic participant. This is borne out by the fact that the woman is referenced by the ergative pronoun in (338b).

Direct object reference to a thematic participant is illustrated in (339).

(339) F4 Folktale 56

$\text{ʔə} = p^{h\acute{\zeta}}$ $k^{h\epsilon n\epsilon}$ $k^{h\epsilon n\epsilon}$ $= \hat{a}'$ $lĩ$ $wé$ wai'
 3.POSS = grandmother coerce coerce 3.ACC go 3.ABS immediately

Lit. 'His grandmother coerce, coerce him, went him immediately.'

'His grandmother nagged him and he went.'

In (339), the orphan’s grandmother, a non-thematic participant, is referenced in the subject position and the orphan, a thematic participant, is referenced as = *â*’, which indicates his continuing thematic status.

The indication of the participant with which the narrator empathizes is even clearer in situations in which a thematic participant is acted upon by a non-human subject referent, as illustrated in (340).

(340) F4 Folktale 72

ujũ *bâi* = *â*’ *tʰó* *tʰã* *tʰó* *tʰã*
 snake coil.around 3.ACC be.tall ascend be.tall ascend

Lit. ‘Snake coil.around him be.tall ascend be.tall ascend.’

‘The snake coiled around him higher and higher.’

As the only human participant, the rich man has the empathy of the narrator, so he is coded by = *â*’ in all of the statements expressing the event of the snake coiling around him.

An inanimate subject referent also triggers the use of third-person accusative reference to a thematic participant, as illustrated in (341).

(341) Folktale 8.131

tʰə = *ná* *bɛ* = *â*’ *∅* *tɕʰõmõ* *wé* *dɛ*
 NMLZ_{thing} = sniff strike 3.ACC 3.SUBJ think 3.ABS de ...

Lit. ‘Thing = sniff strike her (she) think it ...’

‘When the smell hit her, (she) thought ...’

In (341), as the only active participant in the discourse space, the girl is still a thematic participant who is affected by a smell.

In sum, all 35 instances of third-person accusative pronoun reference to a thematic participant occur in the presence of a non-thematic subject participant. Unlike the third-person accusative pronoun reference to thematic participants, object absolute pronoun reference to thematic participants is limited.

6.4.1.2.3 Object absolutive pronoun reference to thematic participants

Object absolutive pronoun reference to a thematic participant only occurs two times in the data frame, both in the direct object position. These two instances are presented in (342) and (343), respectively.

(342) Folktale 4.40

kəmĩ lə = ɥɛ̃ nɔ ʔə = p^hĩ ʔũble
girl one CL.human NMLZ_{that} 3.POSS = younger.sibling treat.by.blowing
t^hâi wé
return 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Girl, one human, her younger.sibling treat.by.blowing return her.’
 ‘As for the girl, her sister treated her.’

In (342), a girl is referenced in the pre-clause position, indicating a change of thematic participant. Within the main clause, this girl is acted upon by her younger sibling, who is referenced in the subject position, while the girl is referenced by *wé* in the direct object position.

Absolutive pronoun reference to a continuing thematic participant also occurs in (343).

(343) M5 Folktale 42

[t^hĩ kəsámâ lĩ de wé lə = p^há dš’]_{SC} [ʔó ʔə = wé xwĩ
to_{reach} rich.man go see 3.ABS one CL.time more EXCL 3.ERG buy
kətç^há nì lə = dĩ jâu’]_{MC}
elephant get one CL.body INCH

Lit. ‘To rich.man go see him, one time more, Oh! he buy elephant get one body already.’
 ‘When the rich man went to see him, he had already bought an elephant.’

In (343), the orphan is a continuing thematic participant who is seen by the *kəsámâ* ‘rich.man’ in a temporal subordinate clause. Evidence of the orphan’s thematic status is provided by ergative pronoun reference to the orphan in the main clause that follows.

In both (342) and (343), a continuing thematic participant is referenced by *wé*, when the third-person accusative pronoun, = *â'*, would be expected. One possibility is that the narrator is referring to something other than the person. In (342), this could be the girl's body and in (343), this could be the situation in which the rich man finds the orphan. Another possibility is that neither the girl nor the orphan are thematic participants, so reference to them with *wé* would be expected. In any case, the limited data precludes a more confident conclusion as to the use of *wé* in (342) and (343).

6.4.1.3 Summary of overt thematic participant reference

To summarize, in the subject position, thematic participants can be overtly coded by noun phrases, the ergative pronoun, or the absolutive pronoun. Both noun phrase and ergative pronoun reference can indicate a change in thematic participant or a change in speaker, although only noun phrases are used to indicate a new thematic participant. A continuing thematic participant, after inserted information, is also indicated by a noun phrase or ergative pronoun, although the ergative pronoun is the preferred coding pattern. Noun phrases are also used to code a minor thematic participant in the presence of the protagonist, while the ergative pronoun is used to code the subject thematic participant in the expression of a response to a state of affairs or possible state of affairs. Finally, the third-person absolutive pronoun references a thematic participant with *sí* 'die', as well as the existence, motion, and emotion predicates. Although the absolutive pronoun in the post-predicate position is thematicity-neutral, co-referential pre-predicate noun phrase or ergative pronoun reference can supply this information, which can result in both ergative and absolutive pronoun reference to the same participant.

In the object position, thematic participants are primarily coded by the third-person accusative pronoun in the presence of non-thematic participant reference in the subject position. Object noun phrase reference to a thematic participant occurs with *be* 'strike', which, unlike other predicates, requires a stimulus argument in the subject position and an experiencer argument in the direct object position. Oblique object noun phrase reference is used to encode an accompaniment argument which refers to the second of two thematic participants acting together. Object absolutive pronoun reference to a thematic participant only occurs two times in the data frame. It is possible that the narrator is referring to something other than the person, such as the thematic participant's body or the situation. Non-thematic participants are referenced less frequently with more limited coding possibilities.

6.4.2 Overt reference to non-thematic participants

Non-thematic participants can be coded overtly by noun phrases, the absolutive pronoun, referring to both subject and direct object referents, and the third-person accusative pronoun. However, non-thematic participants cannot be coded by the ergative pronoun.

The distribution of non-thematic participant reference is detailed in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14: *The distribution of non-thematic reference by position, rank, and form*

	Noun phrase	Absolutive pronoun	Accusative pronoun	Zero	Totals
Subject					
Major	41	9	—	53	103 (15%)
Minor	96	6	—	56	158 (22%)
Indirect object					
Major	22	26	23	3	74 (11%)
Minor	27	6	11	0	44 (6%)
Direct object					
Major	35	74	24	12	145 (21%)
Minor	68	55	4	21	148 (21%)
Oblique object					
Major	8	—	2	—	10 (1%)
Minor	19	—	1	—	20 (3%)
Totals	316 (45%)	176 (25%)	65 (9%)	145 (21%)	702 (100%)

Within the data frame, noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants occurs in 316 of 702 instances, or 45% of the time. The next most frequent coding form is absolutive pronoun reference, which occurs 25% of the time. Reference to non-thematic participants occurs 63% of the time in the object positions of the clause. This pattern is expected, since non-thematic participants are not the most active participants in a span of discourse. Noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants is considered in §6.4.2.1, followed by absolutive pronoun reference in §6.4.2.2 and third-person accusative pronoun reference in §6.4.2.3.

6.4.2.1 Noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants

Noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants occurs in the subject, indirect, direct, and oblique object positions. Subject reference is examined in §6.4.2.1.1 and object reference is examined in §6.4.2.1.2.

6.4.2.1.1 Subject noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants

Subject noun phrase reference to a non-thematic participant can be used for the first mention of a participant and to reference a non-thematic participant in inserted background information.

All 138 instances of noun phrase reference to a non-thematic participant occur in inserted information, as illustrated in (344).

(344) a. M1 Folktale 35

[[ʔâ ní ʔû tʰə] PRE-CLAUSE [tʂə = lî tʂʰâu' ʔe' nɛ ∅
 Ah! yours yonder thing I.POSS go burn.up DAT 2.ACC 3.OBJ
 də'] CLAUSE] DQ [∅ tʂâi'] MC
 NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ say

Lit. ‘‘Ah! Yours yonder, thing, my going burn.up for you (it),’’ (he) say.’
 ‘‘Ah! Your stuff yonder, I went and burned it up for you,’’ he said.’

b. M1 Folktale 36

tʂôp^huxwi lî tʂʰâu' wai'
 male.orphan go burn.up immediately

Lit. ‘Orphan go burn.up immediately.’

‘The orphan went and burned it up immediately.’

c. M1 Folktale 37

[[∅ uɛt^hâi wɛ̀ nì ʔə = k^hɛ́] CL1 [∅ tʰái tʰã təxo'
 3.SUBJ return seize get 3.POSS = cinders 3.SUBJ plait ascend basket
 nɔ] CL2] SC [∅ xwî təxo' təblɛ' dɛ̃̀ sà] MC
 NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ fill basket many CL.body in.particular

Lit. ‘(He) return seize get his cinders (he) plait ascend basket, (he) fill basket, many body, in particular.’

‘After he went back, got his cinders, and plaited baskets, (he) filled many baskets!’

The speaker, in (344a), is the rich man, the thematic participant. Then, in (344b), the orphan, as the non-thematic participant, carries out a single action, whereupon the rich man carries on with his activity in (344c).

Another example of inserted information with a non-thematic noun phrase subject is illustrated in (345).

(345) F4 Folktale 21

[ʔə=wé ʔã ní mî]_{CL1} [tɕôp^huxwi k^hwè t^hã =â']_{CL2}
 3.ERG eat with cooked.rice male.orphan observe ascend 3.ACC

Lit. 'He eat with cooked.rice and orphan observe ascend him.'

'He ate rice and the orphan watched him.'

In (345), the rich man is the thematic participant. In the first conjunct of the coordinated clause, the rich man is referenced by the ergative pronoun. Then, in the second conjunct, which is inserted background information, the orphan, as the non-thematic participant, is referenced by a noun phrase in the subject position, while the rich man, as the thematic participant, is referenced by =â' '3.ACC' in the direct object position.

Briefly, all instances of noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants occur in inserted information. Non-thematic participants are also referenced by noun phrases in the object positions of the clause.

6.4.2.1.2 Object noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants

Object noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants occurs in the indirect, direct, and oblique object positions. Typically, noun phrase reference to a non-thematic object participant occurs in the presence of a thematic subject participant, although noun phrase reference to a non-thematic object referent occurs in the presence of a non-thematic subject participant as well.

In the indirect object position, all 46 instances of noun phrase reference to a non-thematic participant occur in the presence of a thematic subject participant. Of these, 31 refer to the addressee in the main clause of a quotative, as illustrated in (346).

(346) **Folktale 3.171**

[ʔə = wé kʰó]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ lô ʔe' tɕôpʰuxwi kû' ʔə = mê]_{CLAUSE}
3.ERG TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ tell DAT **male.orphan** every 3.POSS = CL.kind

Lit. 'He part, (he) tell to male.orphan every its kind.'

'On his part, (he) told the orphan everything.'

In (346), the orphan, as the addressee, is the non-thematic participant and is coded as a noun phrase in the indirect object position, while the speaker, referenced in the pre-clause position, is coded by the ergative pronoun.

The remaining 15 instances of indirect object noun phrases refer to a non-thematic participant recipient or benefactive argument. A recipient argument is illustrated in (347).

(347) **Folktale 3.145a**

uʔ̂ ʔə = wé kwî' ʔe' tɕôpʰuxwi ʔə = lai'
finish 3.ERG write DAT **male.orphan** 3.POSS = paper

Lit. 'Finish, he write to male.orphan his paper.'

'Then, he write the orphan a letter.'

In (347), the orphan, referenced in the indirect object position, is the recipient of a letter, while the writer of the letter, the thematic participant, is referenced by the ergative pronoun in the subject position.

A non-thematic, benefactive argument is illustrated in (348).

(348) **Folktale 7.14**

kəmîmé kʰó lî mē nì ʔe' pʰí tʰau'nó ∅
widow TOP_{cl.part} go do get DAT **grandmother** **Thaunong** 3.OBJ

Lit. 'Widow part, (she) go do get for Grandmother Thaunong (it).'

'On the widow's part, she went and got (it) for Grandmother Thaunong.'

Prior to (348), a widow has discarded her newborn child. When Grandmother Thaunong offers to look after the child, the widow goes and gets the child for her. The grandmother, as the benefactive, non-thematic participant, is referenced in the indirect object position of the clause.

In the direct object position, 97 of 103 instances of noun phrase reference to a non-thematic participant occur in the presence of a thematic subject participant, as illustrated in (349).

(349) Folktale 7.22

ʔə = wé kʰɛnɛ kʰɛnɛ ʔə = pʰĩ
 3.ERG coerce coerce 3.POSS = grandmother

Lit. ‘He coerce coerce his grandmother.’

‘He nagged and nagged his grandmother.’

In (349), the pig is the thematic participant, as expressed by the ergative pronoun in the subject position. His grandmother, as the non-thematic participant, is expressed by the possessed noun phrase, *ʔə = pʰĩ* ‘his grandmother’.

The remaining six instances of non-thematic direct object noun phrase reference occur in the presence of a non-thematic subject referent. In all six cases, the direct object participant is referenced for the first time, as illustrated in (350).

(350) Folktale 3.48

[ʔə = wé kemá ʔə = mé]_{MC} [∅ lĩ ʔãtʰã nì tʰwĩ lə = d̥ĩ
 3.ERG give 3.POSS = wife 3.SUBJ go borrow get **dog one** CL.body
dí ʔə = pʰɛ̃ kəd̥ʔ]_{DOWNSTAIRS}
 with 3.POSS = father further

Lit. ‘He give his wife (she) go borrow get dog, one body, with her father further.’

‘He had his wife go and borrow a dog from her father further.’

In (350), first mention of a non-thematic participant occurs in the direct object position of the downstairs clause of a periphrastic causative construction. In this construction, the orphan is the causer and thematic participant, referenced by the ergative pronoun in the subject position of the main clause, while his wife is the non-thematic causee, referenced in the direct object position of the main clause. Within the downstairs clause, the wife is the non-thematic subject

referent, while the theme argument is the dog, another non-thematic participant that is referenced for the first time.

Oblique object reference to a major non-thematic participant behaves in the same way as direct object reference. Of the 27 instances of oblique object reference to a non-thematic participant, 24 occur in the presence of a thematic subject participant, as illustrated in (351).

(351) **Folktale 3.40**

[ʔə = wé ʔāp^hʂ t^hā sâi' ʔāp^hʂ t^hā mî ʏŋ^h]_{SC} [∅
 3.ERG prepare ascend liquor prepare ascend cooked.rice finish 3.SUBJ
 tâixai' ʔə = p^hu sədê dí tçôp^huxwi xɔ']_{MC}
 marry 3.POSS = offspring youngest with male.orphan EMPH

Lit. 'She prepare ascend liquor prepare ascend cooked.rice finish, (she) marry her offspring youngest with male orphan!'

'After she prepared liquor and cooked rice, she married her youngest daughter to the orphan!'

In the main clause, of (351), the thematic participant is the mother of the bride, a minor participant in the narrative, who is referenced by the ergative pronoun in the initial subordinate clause. The orphan, referenced in the oblique object position, is the major non-thematic participant.

A further two instances of oblique object reference to a non-thematic participant are first mentions of the participant, as illustrated in (352).

(352) **F2 Folktale 27**

də' ʔə = k^hu bε t^hâi' dí dε ní
 EMPH 3.POSS = head strike crack with dε bee

Lit. 'His head strike crack with bee.'

'Then, his head hit a bee's nest.'

In (352), the thematic participant's head is referenced in the subject position, which is a prop. Then, in the oblique object position, bees, minor participants, are referenced for the first time.

Finally, an off-stage participant is referenced by a noun phrase in the oblique object position, as illustrated in (353).

(353) **Folktale 3.48**

[ʔə=wé kemá ʔə=mé]_{MC} [∅ lí ʔãt^hã nì t^hwĩ lə= dî dí
 3.ERG give 3.POSS = wife 3.SUBJ go borrow get dog one CL.body with
 ʔə=p^hɛ kədʒ']_{DOWNSTAIRS}
 3.POSS = father further

Lit. ‘He give his wife (she) go borrow get dog, one body, with her father further.’
 ‘He had his wife go and borrow a dog from her father further.’

As already discussed in conjunction with (350), oblique object reference occurs in the downstairs clause of the periphrastic causative construction in (353). All of the participants in the downstairs clause are non-thematic participants. However, of the three participants, only the wife, the subject referent of the downstairs clause is actually present. So, as an off-stage entity, the father is referenced by a noun phrase rather than a pronoun.

The distribution of noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants in object positions is detailed in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: *The distribution of noun phrase reference to non-thematic object participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Thematic subject		
Indirect object	22 (34%)	24 (22%)
Direct object	34 (52%)	63 (57%)
Oblique object	8 (12%)	16 (14%)
First mention		
Indirect object	0 (%)	0 (%)
Direct object	1 (2%)	5 (5%)
Oblique object	0 (0%)	2 (1.5%)
Off-stage participant		
Indirect object	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Direct object	0 (0%)	0 (%)
Oblique object	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Totals	65 (100%)	111 (100%)

In sum, object noun phrase reference to non-thematic participants occurs in the presence of a thematic participant in the subject position of the clause in 167 instances (95%). The remaining 9 instances (5%) either represent the first mention of a non-thematic participant or reference to an off-stage participant. Another way in which non-thematic participants can be coded is by the third-person absolutive pronoun.

6.4.2.2 Absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants

Absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants refers to either the subject referent of particular intransitive or existence clauses, while absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant in the indirect and direct object positions of the clause is the expected pronoun reference form. Subject absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant is covered in §6.4.2.2.1, followed by object absolutive pronoun reference in §6.4.2.2.2.

6.4.2.2.1 Subject absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants

When referring to a subject referent, the absolutive pronoun does not indicate the thematicity of the referent. It also only occurs with certain intransitive predicates, which include motion and emotion predicates, along with the existence predicate.

In the data frame, 13 of 15 instances of absolutive pronoun subject reference to a non-thematic participant occur with an intransitive predicate, as illustrated in (354).

(354) a. Folktale 6.10

t̥ɔp^huxwi k^hó lî p^ho' kəsámâ ʔə=k^hái wai'
 male.orphan TOP_{CL.part} go follow rich.man 3.POSS = back immediately

Lit. 'Boy orphan part, (he) go follow rich.man, his back immediately.

'On the boy orphan's part, (he) went with the rich man.'

b. Folktale 6.11

lî lî wé dɛ
 go go 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Go, go them.'

'They went and went.'

c. Folktale 6.12

kəsámâ ʔābɛ t^hà t̥əblî' mē
 rich.man get thing many CL.kind

Lit. 'The rich.man got thing, many kind.'

'The rich.man got animals of many kinds.'

In (354a), the orphan, as the thematic participant, decides to go with the rich man. Then, in (354b), the new episode begins with the orphan and rich man travelling together, referenced by the post-predicate absolutive pronoun. As the only two humans in the discourse space, neither one of them is more thematic than the other. Then, in (354c), the rich man becomes the thematic participant, the only actor.

Unlike the absolutive pronoun with thematic subjects, additional pre-predicate subject reference does not indicate a thematic referent, as illustrated in (355).

(355) a. **Folktale 8.58**

∅ *mê* *nì* *ʔə = sá* *lə = bô* *dô* ∅ *p^hli* *p^hli* *wé* *dɛ*
 3.SUBJ do get 3.POSS = new one CL.line more 3.SUBJ beat beat 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. '(They) do get its.newness, one line more (they) beat beat her.'

'(They) got another one (switch) and beat and beat her.'

b. **Folktale 8.59**

ʔə = p^humĩ *uã* *wé* *dɛ* *lə = si* *lâ* *lə = bɛ* *lâ*
 3.POSS = daughter cry 3.ABS dɛ NEG be.skilled at.all NEG NEG at.all

Lit. 'Their daughter cry her not be.skilled at.all not at.all.'

'Their daughter cried until she could not cry anymore.'

c. **Folktale 8.60**

ʔə = p^hɛ *p^hli* *wé* *uô* *ʔə = mù* *p^hli* *wé* *dɛ* *kədô*
 3.POSS = father beat 3.ABS finish 3.POSS = mother beat 3.ABS dɛ further

Lit. 'Her father beat her finish, her mother beat her further.'

'After her father beat her, her mother beat her more.'

Within the proposition, in (355b), both the pre-predicate noun phrase, *ʔə = p^humĩ* 'their daughter' and post-predicate *wé* '3.ABS', refer to the single argument in the proposition. Within the story, the proposition communicates inserted information about the daughter, a non-thematic participant. The thematic participants are her parents, the subject referents in (355a) and (355c). Overt subject reference to the daughter, in (355b), serves to distinguish the daughter's situation from that of her parents.

The remaining two instances of absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic subject occur with the existence predicate, as illustrated in (356).

(356) a. Folktale 8.221

p^hĩ *mĩmė* *lə = uĩ* *ʔə = t^hũ'* *ʔə = tɕ^hǎ* *ŋũ*
 grandmother widow one CL.human 3.POSS = pig 3.POSS = chicken cow
pənė *kəsi* *kətɕ^hǎ* *ʔo* *pa'*
 water.buffalo horse elephant exist also

Lit. 'Grandmother Widow, one human, her pig, her chicken, cow, water.buffalo, horse, elephant exist also.'

'As for Grandmother Widow, she had pigs, chickens, cows, horses, and elephants.'

b. Folktale 8.222

ʔo *wė* *dɛ* *lə = mĩ* *lə = dĩ* *lə = mĩ* *lə = dĩ* *tɕ^hĩ*
 exist 3.ABS dɛ one CL.kind one CL.body one CL.kind one CL.body some

Lit. 'Exist them one kind one body, one kind one body some.'

'There was one of each kind.'

c. Folktale 8.223

[ʔə = wė *lĩ* *ʔo* *kətɕũ'xwė*]_{CLI} *[[∅* *kemá* *kətɕũ'xwė*]_{MC} *∅* *uĩɛɛ*
 3.ERG go exist king 3.SUBJ give king 3.SUBJ care.for
ʔe' *= á'*]_{DOWNSTAIRS]}_{CL2} *∅*
 DAT 3.ACC 3.OBJ

Lit. 'She go exist king, (she) give king (he) care.for for her (her animals).'

'She went to the king and had him look after her animals for her.'

In the discourse stretch, in (356), the thematic participant is Grandmother Widow. She is introduced for the first time in the pre-clause position of (356a). Then, in (356c), she is referenced by the ergative pronoun. It is the non-thematic animals that are referenced by the post-existence verb absolutive pronoun, in (356b). This proposition provides the additional information that Grandmother Widow has one of each kind of the animals mentioned in (354a).

As with intransitive verbs and pre-predicate reference to a non-thematic participant, this reference with an existence predicate does not indicate that the participant is thematic, as illustrated in (357).

(357) a. **Folktale 4.1**

ʔo lə= p^há kasámâ ʔo lə= uɛ̂
exist one CL.time rich.man exist one CL.human

Lit. ‘Exist one time, rich.man exist one human.’

‘Once upon a time, there was a rich man.’

b. **Folktale 4.2**

ʔə=p^humĩ ʔo wé nwé uɛ̂
3.POSS=daughter exist 3.ABS seven CL.human

Lit. ‘His daughter exist them seven human.’

‘He had seven daughters.’

In the introductory material, in (357), the rich man is the thematic participant, because the introduction is focused on his situation and activity. In (357b), the rich man’s daughters are referenced by both a pre-predicate noun phrase and a post-predicate absolutive pronoun. As with pre-predicate noun phrase reference to the non-thematic daughter, in (355), the pre-predicate noun phrase reference to the daughters, in (357b), provides clarifying information about who exists.

The distribution of absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants by predicate type and participant rank is detailed in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: *The distribution of subject absolutive reference to non-thematic participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Intransitive predicate	9 (100%)	4 (67%)
Existence predicate	0 (0%)	2 (33%)
Totals	9 (100%)	6 (100%)

Briefly, subject absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant occurs with certain intransitive predicates, as well as the existence predicate. When subject absolutive reference occurs alone, it references a participant that is already in the discourse space. When

the absolutive pronoun occurs with pre-predicate noun phrase reference, the noun phrase reference either distinguishes the situation of the non-thematic participant from the activity of the thematic participant, or serves to introduce a non-thematic participant for the first time. This is in contrast to pre-predicate ergative pronoun or noun phrase reference to a thematic participant, which serves to indicate the thematicity of the participant, since the subject absolutive pronoun does not carry thematicity information. Absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant also occurs in the indirect and direct object positions of the clause.

6.4.2.2.2 Object absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants

Unlike subject absolutive pronoun reference, which is thematicity-neutral, object absolutive pronoun reference is correlated with the non-thematic status of its referent. Absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant occurs 33 times in the indirect object position and 130 times in the direct object position, while the absolutive pronoun does not occur in the oblique object position within the data frame. The absolutive pronoun is used primarily to code non-thematic object participants in the presence of a thematic subject.

All 33 instances of absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant in the indirect object position occur in the presence of a thematic subject. Of these, 19 instances refer to the addressee in the main clause of a quotative construction, as illustrated in (358).

(358) Folktale 6.47

[*tçôp^huxwi* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé*]_{MC} [*ʔâ* *mâ* *tçə =* *me'* *klâ* *p^hi*
 male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS Ah! uncle I.NOM be_{be.true} slash at
ʔi *mə =* *t^he'* *nê*]_{DQ}
 DEM.PRN_{this} IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. ‘The orphan say to him, “Ah! Uncle! I be slash (it) to this, (I) would separate you.”’

‘The orphan said to him, “Ah! Uncle! If I were to slash to here, (I) would sever you.”’

In (358), the rich man, as the addressee is referenced by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, which occurs with the dative preposition, *ʔe*’.

The remaining 14 instances of absolutive reference to non-thematic participants refer to recipient or benefactive arguments. A recipient non-thematic participant is illustrated in (359).

(359) M5 Folktale 3

kəsámâ kelǎ́ wé ʔə = tɕî lə = bâ’
 rich.man give 3.ABS 3.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. ‘Rich.man give him his money, one baht.’

‘The rich man gave him one (Thai) baht.’

In (359), the orphan, as the non-thematic recipient argument, is referenced by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, while the thematic participant is the rich man, referenced in the subject position. The theme or thing given, *ʔə = tɕî lə = bâ’* ‘his money, one baht’, is referenced after the recipient argument in the direct object position of the clause.

A benefactive non-thematic participant is illustrated in (360).

(360) Folktale 7.37

ʔə = p^hí k^hó Ø lí ʔă̄tɕá’ ʔe’ wé wai’
 3.POSS = grandmother CL.part 3.SUBJ go ask DAT 3.ABS immediately

Lit. ‘His grandmother part, she go ask for him immediately.’

‘Then, his grandmother went and asked for him immediately.’

In (360), a pig’s grandmother is the thematic participant. She has gone on behalf of the pig, the non-thematic participant, to ask if the rich man’s daughters would be interested in marrying him.

In the direct object position, 125 of 129 instances of absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant occur in the presence of a thematic subject. A patient non-thematic argument is illustrated in (361).

(361) **Folktale 8.60**

[ʔə=p^hɛ̃ p^hli wé uʔ^{ɔ̃}]_{SC} [ʔə=mù p^hli wé dɛ kədɔ̃']_{MC}
3.POSS = father beat 3.ABS finish 3.POSS = mother beat 3.ABS dɛ further

Lit. ‘Her father beat her finish, her mother beat her further.’

‘After her father beat her, her mother beat her more.’

In (361), a girl’s father and mother are the subject thematic participants who are acting upon the girl, who is referenced by *wé* in the subordinate and main clauses. Patient non-thematic arguments occur 11 times in the data frame.

An addressee in the main clause of a quotative construction occurs in 44 of 125 instances of reference to a non-thematic participant in the presence of a thematic subject, as illustrated in (362).

(362) **Folktale 7.9**

[ʔə=wé k^hlâi tɕ^há wé dɛ]_{MC} [tɕə= lî nɔ̃ xwai' =â' jâu']_{DQ}
3.ERG speak reply 3.ABS dɛ 1.NOM go reject away 3.ACC INCH

Lit. ‘She speak reply her, “I go reject away it already.”’

‘She answered her, “I went and pitched it already.”’

The addressee, in (362), is the non-thematic participant, while the speaker, referenced by the ergative pronoun, is the thematic participant.

The remaining 80 instances of absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic direct object participant in the presence of a thematic subject refer to causee, patient, stimulus, and theme arguments. A causee non-thematic argument is illustrated in (363).

(363) **F6 Folktale 541**

də' [∅ mə = t^hâi də']_{SC} [∅ má wé]_{MC} [ʔə=t^hâi tɕ^ho'
EMPH 3.SUBJ IRR return NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ give 3.ABS 3.POSS = return lift
∅]_{DOWNSTAIRS}
3.OBJ

Lit. ‘(He₁) would return, (he₂) give him₁ his₁ returning lift (it).’

‘When (he₁) was to return, (he₂) let (him₁) take (it).’

In (363), the older brother, as the non-thematic causee is referenced by the absolutive pronoun in the direct object position of the main clause of a periphrastic causative construction. Causee arguments occur three times in the data frame.

Patient non-thematic arguments with a thematic subject are referenced by the absolutive pronoun 42 times in the data frame, as illustrated in (364).

(364) Folktale 4.96

$\text{ʔə} = \text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}'$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ó}$ \emptyset lî lâ $\text{t}_{\text{ç}}^{\text{h}}\text{ḡ}$ wé dɛ
 3.POSS = second.younger.sibling CL.part 3.SUBJ go descend follow 3.ABS dɛ
wai'
 immediately

Lit. 'Her second.younger.sibling part, (she) go descend follow her immediately.'
 'On her second younger sibling's part, (she) went down after her immediately.'

Prior to (364), the oldest sister, the non-thematic participant, has been kicked down the field by her husband. In (364), the younger sister, the thematic participant, follows her. Since the older sister is unaffected when followed by her younger sister, she is considered a theme argument.

Stimulus non-thematic arguments occur with a thematic subject 13 times in the data frame, one of which is illustrated in (365).

(365) F2 Folktale 33

$[\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{wè}$ wé dɛ]_{MC} ʔé uḡ nè
 3.ERG observe 3.ABS dɛ Hey! snake EXCL

Lit. 'He observe it. "Hey! snake!"'
 'He saw it, (yelling), "Hey! It's a snake!"'

As the experiencer, in (365), the orphan is the thematic participant, encoded by $\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ '3.ERG'. The snake, the non-thematic stimulus argument, is coded by wé '3.ABS' in the main clause.

Non-thematic theme arguments referenced in the direct object position occur 27 times in the data frame, as illustrated in (366).

(366) **Folktale 4.11**

ʔə = wé ʔokʰú' wé dɛ dâu' pʰâ nɔ l̩
3.ERG wait 3.ABS de house inside NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. 'He wait them house's inside.

'He awaited them inside the house.'

In (366), the thematic participant, coded by the ergative pronoun, is a man who is waiting for a pair of sisters. The sisters are the unaffected and non-thematic theme argument, coded by the absolutive pronoun.

The last four instances of direct object non-thematic absolutive pronoun reference occur in the presence of a non-thematic subject and refer to off-stage participants, as illustrated in (367).

(367) a. **Folktale 7.38**

tʰɔ̃ ʔə = tɕʰá ʔə = pʰɪ̃ l̩ tʰɔ̃ ʔātɕâ' ʔe' wé dí
to 3.POSS = time 3.POSS = grandmother go reach ask DAT 3.ABS with
kasámâ ʔə = pʰu wìçè lə = uɛ nɔ
rich.man 3.POSS = offspring oldest.sibling one CL.human NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'To its time, his grandmother go reach ask for him with rich.man's offspring oldest.sibling, one human.'

'In time, his grandmother went and asked the rich man's daughters for him.'

b. **Folktale 7.39**

ʔə = wìçè lə = ʔe wé bɛ
3.POSS = oldest.sibling NEG love 3.ABS NEG

Lit. 'His oldest not love him not.'

'The oldest (daughter) did not love him.'

In (367), the grandmother, as the thematic participant, has gone to ask the rich man's daughters if they would be interested in marrying her ward, a pig. She does this at the behest of the pig, who is referenced by *wé* in (367a), an example of non-thematic reference in the indirect object position. Then, in (367b), the oldest daughter, a subject non-thematic

participant, indicates that she does not love the pig, who is again referenced by *wé* as an off-stage, non-thematic participant.

The distribution of absolutive pronoun reference to non-thematic participants in object positions is detailed in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17: *The distribution of absolutive reference to non-thematic object participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Thematic subject		
Indirect object	27 (27%)	6 (10%)
Direct object	71 (70%)	54 (87%)
Off-stage participant		
Direct object	3 (3%)	1 (3%)
Totals	101 (100%)	61 (100%)

To summarize, absolutive pronoun reference to an object participant, in the indirect and direct object positions, indicates the non-thematic status of the participant. Non-thematic object referents occur most often with a thematic subject participant. The absolutive pronoun is also used to reference a non-thematic, off-stage participant. The third-person accusative pronoun is also used to reference non-thematic participants in limited cases.

6.4.2.3 Third-person accusative pronoun reference to non-thematic participants

In the discussion of the differences between the third-person absolutive and accusative pronouns with third-person subjects, in Chapter 5, the absolutive pronoun was shown to refer to non-thematic participants, while the third-person accusative pronoun was shown to refer to human, thematic participants. There are three exceptions to this correlation in the data frame: 1) non-thematic addressee reference in the main clause of a quotative construction, 2) reference to a human non-thematic referent in a crowded discourse space, and 3) constructions

that require the use of the third-person accusative pronoun, regardless of the thematicity of the referent.

Beginning with the main clause of quotative constructions, addressee reference can occur in either the indirect (32 of 33 instances) or direct object (21 of 28 instances) positions depending on whether the communicative predicate is a message or addressee predicate. A quotative construction with the addressee referenced in the direct object position is illustrated in (368).

(368) Folktale 8.9

[*?ə = mù* *?āmēlau'* = *â'*]_{MC} [[*[p^humĩ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE}
 3.POSS = mother tell 3.ACC daughter
 [[*[nə = p^hĩ* *me'* *uqã* *nɔ*]_{SC} [*∅* *?ãxwĩ* *?e'* = *â'*
 2.POSS = younger.sibling be_{be.true} cry NMLZ_{that} 2.SUBJ boil DAT 3.ACC
xĩsádĩ *nɔ*]_{MC}]_{DQ}
 black.taro NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Her mother tell her, “Daughter, your younger.sibling be cry, (you) boil for her black.taro.”’

‘Her mother told her, “Daughter, if your younger sibling cries, boil some black taro for her.”’

In (368), the mother is the speaker, so she is the thematic participant. The communicative verb, *?āmēlau'* ‘tell’ is a message predicate, so in order to indicate an addressee, the third-person accusative pronoun must be used. In this case, = *â'* ‘3.ACC’, refers to the daughter, a non-thematic participant at this point in the story. If the absolutive pronoun had occurred in the direct object position, it would have referred to the subsequent direct quote.

However, with addressee predicates, the absolutive pronoun or the third-person accusative pronoun can be used to refer to the addressee. Furthermore, the choice of one pronoun over the other is not an indicator of the thematicity of the addressee, since the addressee is always a non-thematic participant. Nor is the animacy of the addressee at issue. While both pronouns

are typically used to refer to addressee in conversations, a narrator may choose to use only one of the pronouns to refer to both interlocutors in a conversation, as illustrated in (369).

(369) a. **Folktale 3.35**

$\text{ʔə} = w\hat{e}$ $\text{ʔ}\hat{a}t\hat{c}\hat{a}' = \hat{a}'$ ʔo $p^h\grave{i}$ $t\hat{c}\tilde{s}$ $l\hat{s}$
 3.POSS = husband ask 3.ACC exist at place QUES

Lit. 'Her husband ask her, "Exist at place?"'

'Her husband asked her, "Where is (he)?"'

b. **Folktale 3.36**

$\text{ʔə} = m\acute{e}$ $l\hat{o}$ = \hat{a}' $n\text{ɔ}$ $b\hat{o}$ $n\text{ɔ}$
 3.POSS = wife tell 3.ACC DEM.PRN_{that} EMPH DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. 'His wife tell him, "There! There."'

'His wife told him, "There, the one there."'

c. **Folktale 3.37**

$\text{ʔə} = w\hat{e}$ $t\hat{c}\hat{a}i'$ $\text{ʔe}' = \hat{a}'$
 3.POSS = husband say DAT 3.ACC ...

Lit. 'Her husband say to her...'

'Her husband said to her...'

d. **Folktale 3.39**

$\text{ʔə} = m\acute{e}$ $n\text{ɔ}$ \emptyset $l\text{ə} =$ $s\acute{e}$ $t\hat{c}^h\hat{a}$ = \hat{a}' $b\epsilon$
 3.POSS = wife NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ NEG sound reply 3.ACC NEG

Lit. 'His wife, (she) not sound reply him not.'

'His wife did not answer him.'

Throughout the conversation between a husband and wife, in (369), the addressee is referenced by the third-person accusative pronoun exclusively. Furthermore, an addressee is expressed with all the communicative predicates. This includes the message predicate, $t\hat{c}\hat{a}i'$ 'say', in (369c), which takes the indirect object prepositional phrase, $\text{ʔe}' = \hat{a}'$ 'to her'.

A narrator more typically uses a mixture of the two third-person object pronouns to refer to the addressees in the conversation, as illustrated in (370).

f. **Folktale 8.31**

ʔə = p^humĩ *tçâi'* *wé* *lə =* *sĩuyé* *bɛ*
 3.POSS = daughter say 3.ABS NEG know NEG

Lit. 'Her daughter say it, "(I) not know not."'

'Her daughter said thus, "(I) don't know."'

The conversation, in (370), between a mother and her daughter, includes both message and addressee predicates. In (370a-c), all of which contain addressee predicates (bolded), the daughter is referenced by = *â'* '3.ACC' when she is the addressee, while the mother is referenced by *wé* '3.ABS' when she is the addressee. Then, in (370d), the message predicate, *tçâi'* 'say', is used with *wé*, which refers to the subsequent direct quote, not the addressee. This is followed, in (370e) with the mother as the speaker; however, the daughter is now referenced by *wé* instead of = *â'* even though = *â'* was used to refer to the daughter as the addressee with the same verb in (370a).

In the direct object position, the third-person accusative pronoun is also used to distinguish a human from a non-human non-thematic referent, as illustrated in (371).

(371) **F6 Folktale 348**

me' *dɔ'* *ʔə = p^hĩ* *k^hó* *sĩuyé* = *â'*
 be_{be.true} more 3.POSS = younger.sibling TOP_{cl.part} know 3.ACC

Lit. 'Be more, his younger.sibling part, (he) know him.'

'Furthermore, on his younger sibling's part, (he) knew him.'

The thinking verb, *sĩuyé* 'know', in (371), typically takes as its direct object either the schematic verb *t^hə* 'thing' or the absolutive pronoun *wé*, both of which refer to the subsequent complement clause that expresses what is known. Therefore, if a narrator wants to refer to a human participant with this verb, the third-person accusative pronoun must be used, regardless of the thematicity of the referent.

The last instance of third-person accusative pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant in the indirect object position occurs in a serial causative construction, as illustrated in (372).

(372) F6 Folktale 485

$\text{ʔə} = t^h\grave{\text{ə}}$ $má$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ $t\phi^ho'$ $= \hat{a}'$ \emptyset $d\acute{s}'$
 3.POSS = thing give return lift 3.ACC 3.OBJ more

Lit. 'His thing give return lift him (it) more.'

'Then, he allowed him to take (it).'

In a serial causative construction, a causee argument is expressed by a noun phrase, the accusative pronoun, or zero. Thus, third-person accusative pronoun reference to a non-thematic argument, in (372), is a requirement of the construction.

Finally, in the oblique object position, the third-person accusative pronoun is also required, as in (373).

(373) Folktale 7.31

$\text{ʔə} = p^h\grave{\text{e}}$ $\text{ʔə} = w\grave{\text{i}}$ ʔo $d\acute{\text{i}}$ $= \hat{a}'$ $nw\acute{\text{e}}$ $n\acute{\text{i}}$
 3.POSS = younger.sibling 3.POSS = older.sibling exist with 3.ACC seven CL.day
 $nw\acute{\text{e}}$ $s\acute{\text{a}}$
 seven CL.night

Lit. 'His younger.sibling, his older.sibling exist with him seven day, seven night.'

'His older and younger siblings stayed with him for seven days and nights.'

The thematic participants, in (373), are the siblings. However, even though the pig, their brother, is not the thematic participant, he is referenced by $= \hat{a}'$ '3.ACC' in the oblique object position, as the object of the preposition, $d\acute{\text{i}}$ 'with'. As it turns out, the absolutive pronoun is never used with the $d\acute{\text{i}}$ preposition in the entire corpus, which suggests a restriction on its use with this preposition.

The contexts in which the third-person accusative pronoun is used to reference a major non-thematic participant are stated in Table 6.18.

Table 6.18: *The distribution of third-person accusative reference to non-thematic participants*

Factor	Major	Minor
Quotative addressee		
Indirect object	22 (45%)	11 (10%)
Direct object	18 (70%)	3 (87%)
Distinguish human participant		
Direct object	6 (3%)	1 (3%)
= <i>â'</i> required by construction		
Indirect object	1 (%)	0 (0%)
Oblique object	2 (%)	1 (%)
Totals	49 (100%)	19 (100%)

Briefly, most of the third-person accusative pronoun references to a non-thematic participant occur when an addressee is referenced in the main clause of a quotative construction. The remaining instances of third-person accusative pronoun non-thematic reference are used to distinguish human and non-human participants, to reference the causee in a serial causative construction, or to code the human object of the comitative preposition in the oblique object position.

6.4.2.4 Summary of overt non-thematic participant reference

To summarize, subject non-thematic participants can be overtly coded by noun phrases or the absolutive pronoun. Subject noun phrase reference occurs in inserted information, while absolutive pronoun reference is the expected coding pattern with some intransitive verbs, as well as the existence predicate. When pre-predicate reference occurs in conjunction with the absolutive pronoun, the pre-predicate reference distinguishes the activity of the non-thematic participant from the thematic participant or it is used for the first mention of the non-thematic participant.

In the object positions, overt reference to a non-thematic participant can take the form of a noun phrase, the absolutive pronoun, or the third-person accusative pronoun. Noun phrase reference occurs primarily in the presence of a thematic subject participant. It is also used for the first mention of a non-thematic participant or to refer to an off-stage participant. Absolutive pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant is the expected pronoun coding strategy, while third-person accusative pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant only occurs in specific contexts. Most common is the coding of addressees in the main clause of a quotative construction. In this context, either the absolutive or the third-person accusative pronouns can be used and appear to be consciously controlled by the narrator to, in some cases, distinguish the two interlocutors. Otherwise, third-person accusative pronoun reference to a non-thematic participant is used to distinguish human participants from non-human participants or to meet the requirements of particular constructions, such as the coding of the causee argument of a serial causative construction or to code the object of the comitative preposition, *ní/dí*. Prop participant coding exhibits different coding patterns.

6.5 Overt reference to prop participants in conversation and narrative

Props can figure in both conversation and narrative; however, they are never thematic. Props can be overtly referenced by noun phrases, the third-person accusative pronoun, or the absolutive pronoun. Typically, props are coded by noun phrases, although the amount of material in the noun phrase varies based on the speaker's assessment of the listener's ability to track the prop. It also depends on the narrator's desire to refer to generic or specific entities. Furthermore, props that are utilized throughout a narrative are more prominent than props that are only referenced a few times, which is reflected in their coding possibilities. Only props that play a prominent part in an event can be referenced by a pronoun, which is limited to

= *â* ‘3.ACC’ in conversation and *wé* ‘3.ABS’ in non-conversation contexts. The distribution of props by coding form and syntactic position is detailed in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19: *The distribution of prop participant coding by form and position*

Coding Form	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object	Total
Noun phrase	199	0	592	31	822 (61%)
3rd accusative	—	0	30	—	30 (2%)
Absolutive	1	2	160	—	163 (12%)
Zero	109	0	227	—	336 (%)
Totals	309 (23%)	2	1,009 (75%)	31 (2%)	1,351 (100%)

Table 6.19 shows that out of a total of 1,351 references to props in the data frame, 822 (61%) are coded by noun phrases. Another 30 (2%) are coded by the third-person accusative pronoun in the direct object position only. A further 163 (12%) are coded by the absolutive pronoun in the subject, indirect, and direct object positions, while the remaining 336 (25%) are coded by zero. The discussion begins with noun phrase reference (§6.5.1), followed by pronoun reference (§6.5.2). Then, the criteria for the overt coding of props is summarized in §6.5.3.

6.5.1 Noun phrase reference to props

As mentioned in the introduction, a prop that occurs often throughout a narrative exhibits a range of material within the noun phrase, while props that occur only occasionally exhibit less noun phrase coding variation. In F4 Folktale and Folktale 6, hunted animals appear throughout the narrative. Their noun phrase coding ranges from the schematic noun, *t^h* ‘thing’, to the specific names of animals. Generic reference to hunted animals is illustrated in (374).

(374) **Folktale 6.37**

mî ʔo lə= nî dŝ' kəsámâ ʉé ʔākôlai' tçôp^huxwi lî
 day exist one CL.day further rich.man come call male.orphan go
ʔāxí k^hâ' ʔā t^hə kədŝ'
 seek shoot acquire **thing** further

Lit. 'Day exist one day further, the rich.man came and called the orphan (he) go, seek, shoot and acquire things further.'

'Another day, the rich man came and called the male orphan to go hunting again.'

In (374), *t^hə* 'thing' is used to refer to hunted animals when the act of hunting is in focus, rather than the specific animals hunted. However, when important, specific animals can be referenced, as in (375).

(375) **F4 Folktale 19**

[ʔə=wé dɛ ʔāxu ʔā lī]_{CL1} [∅ ʔā mî]_{CL2}
 3.ERG dɛ char eat **squirrel** 3.SUBJ eat cooked.rice

Lit. '(He) char eat squirrel, eat cooked.rice.'

'He roasted a squirrel and ate.'

In (375), a successfully hunted squirrel is referenced in the first conjunct of the coordinated clause construction.

Another way in which noun phrase reference to a prop can change is through including more or less material about the noun head. In F4 Folktale, the rich man has a bag to carry his hunting trophies in, which, after first mention, is referenced as illustrated in (376).

(376) **F4 Folktale 42**

ʔə=wé t^hə xwî t^hɔ̃ p^hlɔ̃
 3.ERG thing fill **shoulder.bag** CL.body

Lit. 'He thing fill shoulder.bag body.'

'As for him, (his) things filled a shoulder bag.'

In (376), the bag is referenced by a noun head with a bare classifier. First mention of the bag included the numeral *lə* = ‘one’. However, since the listener already knows there is just one bag, there is no need to reiterate the number of bags, even though twenty-seven sentences intervene between the first mention and reference to the bag in (376).

The third mention of the bag occurs as the orphan carries it home after the rich man’s death, illustrated in (377).

(377) F4 Folktale 87

[*ʔə = wé ʔwĩ tʰã tʰâi kəsámâ ʔə = tʰõ nɔ*]_{SC}
 3.ERG carry ascend return **rich.man** 3.POSS = **shoulder.bag** NMLZ_{that}
 [*∅ uɛtʰâi wai'*]_{MC}
 3.SUBJ return immediately

Lit. ‘He carry ascend return rich.man, his shoulder.bag, (he) return immediately.’
 ‘After he picked up the rich man’s bag, (he) went back immediately.’

Since the shoulder bag, in (377), is now in the hands of the orphan, the narrator identifies the bag with the rich man as the possessor, so that the listener knows that the narrator is talking about the same bag. The last reference to the bag in the story is illustrated in (378).

(378) F4 Folktale 88

ʔə = mĩbõ lə = bõ ní dɛ ʔə = kʰlâi'
 3.POSS = rice.parcel one CL.packet and dɛ 3.POSS = turtle
ʔə = kʰâu' xwĩ tʰõ pʰlõ
 3.POSS = monitor.lizard fill **shoulder.bag** CL.body

Lit. ‘His rice parcel, one packet, and his turtle, his monitor.lizard fill
 shoulder.bag body.’
 ‘His rice parcel, along with his turtle and monitor lizard, filled the shoulder bag.’

Now that the bag, which is now in the orphan’s hands, has been identified, it is again referenced by the noun head with a bare classifier, as in (378).

Props that do not appear frequently in a narrative tend to be coded in the same way each time. For example, a knife is an infrequent prop in F4 Folktale, which occurs three times in the story. The first mention is illustrated in (379).

(379) F4 Folktale 76

ʔə = wé jâ tʰã xe' blâi'kʰu
 3.ERG draw ascend hacking.knife Blaiqkhu

Lit. 'He draw ascend hacking.knife, Blaiqkhu.'

'He drew the hacking knife, Blaiqkhu.'

In (379), the knife is encoded with its proper name. It is referenced in the same way the second time. Only in conversation is it referenced differently, as illustrated in (380).

(380) F4 Folktale 81

lâ tê mâ tɕə = xe' tʰɿ ʔǐ uɿ̌
 EXCL certainty uncle 1.POSS = hacking.knife be.equal DEM.PRN_{this} snake

tʰɿ ʔǐ
 be.equal this

Lit. "La te, uncle! My knife be.equal this, snake be.equal this."

'Wow, uncle! My knife is equal to this and the snake is equal to this.'

In (380), the reference to the knife, *tɕə = xe'* 'my knife' is part of a comparison of size between the hacking knife and the snake. The use of the first-person possessor serves a deictic function, identifying the knife as a possession of the orphan.

To summarize, noun phrase reference to props can vary, depending on listener needs for a clearly identifiable entity, as was the case with reference to the bag. Noun phrase reference to a prop can also range between generic and specific reference, as was the case with the hunted animals. Finally, modifiers, such as possessors, classifiers, and demonstratives help listeners to identify props. Props can also be referenced by pronouns.

6.5.2 Pronoun reference to props

Typically, props are not referenced by third-person pronouns unless the narrator chooses to emphasize the prop. In the subject position, props are overtly referenced by noun phrases, except in one case, which is illustrated in (381).

(381) a. Folktale 7.24

$t^h\tilde{y}$	$\text{?}\partial = t\phi^h\acute{a}$	$\text{?}\partial = p^h\acute{i}$	$u\acute{e}t^h\acute{a}i$	$\text{?}\partial = w\acute{e}$	$\text{?}\tilde{a}t\phi\acute{a}$	$w\acute{e}$
to	3.POSS = time	3.POSS = grandmother	return	3.ERG	ask	3.ABS
$p^h\acute{i}$	$[x\acute{a}i]$	$p^h\acute{a}'l\grave{e}$	$t\phi^h\grave{i}$	$= \acute{a}$	$]_{DQ}$	
grandmother	field	be.very.wide	some	QUES		

Lit. ‘To its time, his grandmother return, he ask her, “Grandmother, field be.very.wide some?”’

‘In time, his grandmother returned. He asked her, “Grandmother, is the field very wide?”’

b. Folktale 7.25

$\text{?}\partial = p^h\acute{i}$	$k^hl\acute{a}i$	$t\phi^h\acute{a}$	$w\acute{e}$	$[\emptyset]$	$p^h\acute{a}'l\grave{e}$	$j\acute{e}$
3.POSS = grandmother	speak	reply	3.ABS	3.SUBJ	be.very.wide	completely

Lit. ‘His grandmother speak reply him, “(It) be.very.wide completely.”’

‘His grandmother answered him, “It is very wide.”’

c. Folktale 7.26

$\text{?}\partial$	$w\acute{e}$	$d\epsilon$	$nw\acute{e}$	$l\grave{u}$	$nw\acute{e}$	$\text{?}\delta$
exist	3.ABS	dε	seven	CL.hill	seven	CL.mountain

Lit. “Exist it seven hills, seven mountain.”

“It has seven hills.”

The prop participant, *xâi* ‘field, is referenced by a noun phrase in the subject position of the direct quote in (381a). It is then overtly referenced again by the absolutive pronoun in the existence verb construction in (381c). It is possible that subject absolutive pronoun reference is used to reiterate reference to the field since it is referenced by zero in (381b).

All 30 instances of third-person accusative pronoun reference to a prop occur in conversation in the direct object position of the clause, as illustrated in (382).

(382) **Folktale 6.25**

tɕə = ʔã = â' lə = lau' bɛ
1.NOM eat 3.ACC NEG exhaust NEG

Lit. "I eat it not exhausted."

"I won't eat all of it."

In (382), since the state of the rich man's rice packet is important to the ongoing story, it is referenced by = â' '3.ACC'. With first- and second-person subjects, the third-person accusative pronoun is the only pronoun that is used to refer to third-person object referents.

In the indirect and direct object positions, all 160 instances of absolutive pronoun reference to props occur with third-person subjects, as illustrated in (383).

(383) a. **Folktale 6.12**

kəsámâ ʔābɛ tʰə təblɪ' mē
rich.man get thing many CL.kind

Lit. 'The rich.man got thing, many kind.'

'The rich.man got animals of many kinds.'

b. **Folktale 6.13**

[*me' kʰlâi' = â kʰâu' = â tʰupʰu = â lɪpʰu*
be_{be.true} turtle or monitor.lizard or chick or baby.squirrel
= â]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ ʔābɛ wé kû' mē l̩]_{CLAUSE}
or 3.SUBJ get 3.ABS every CL.kind EMPH

Lit. 'Be turtle, or monitor lizard, or chick, or baby squirrels, (he) got them, every kind.'

'Regardless of whether it was a turtle, a monitor lizard, a chick, or a baby squirrel, (he) got them, every kind.'

c. **Folktale 6.14**

∅ ʔāxɿ ʔāxɿ ʔã wé tʰɔ̃ lù m̩tʰɔ̃
3.SUBJ seek seek acquire 3.ABS to_{reach} at noon

Lit. '(He) sought and acquired them continuously until noon.'

'He hunted them until noon.'

d. Folktale 6.15

<i>kəsámâ</i>	<i>kʰó</i>	∅	<i>ʔãxuʔã</i>	<i>ʔãkεʔã</i>	<i>wé</i>
rich.man	TOP _{cl,part}	3.SUBJ	barbecue	roast	3.ABS

Lit. ‘On the rich.man’s part, (he) barbecued and roasted them.’

‘On the rich.man’s part, (he) roasted them (animals).’

e. Folktale 6.16

∅	<i>ʔã</i>	<i>wé</i>	<i>dε</i>	<i>lə=</i>	<i>uʔé</i>	<i>l̥</i>
3.SUBJ	eat	3.ABS	de	one	CL.human	EMPH

Lit. ‘(He) ate them, one person.’

‘(He) ate them all by himself!’

In (383b–e), the narrator has chosen to reference the hunted animals by *wé* after noun phrase reference in (383a). This is because the narrator is emphasizing the things that were hunted, as well as the process of hunting, roasting, and eating.

6.5.3 Summary of overt reference to props

To summarize, noun phrase reference to props is governed by the narrator’s judgment of the listener’s ability to identify the prop. This affects the amount of material within the noun phrase. In fact, already accessible material can be coded with more noun phrase material than at first mention. Generic or specific reference to the same prop is dependent on the predicate and whether the event or the thing acted upon is more important.

Pronominal reference to a prop is used when a narrator desires to emphasize the prop.

With first- and second-person subjects, the prop is referenced by *=á* ‘3.ACC’. With third-person subjects, the prop is referenced by *wé* ‘3.ABS’. If not referenced by noun phrases, props are more likely to be referenced by zero, which is examined in the next section.

6.6 Zero reference to participants

The patterns of zero reference to participants are the same, regardless of the rank or thematicity of the participant, although some contexts of zero reference are dependent on the

person of the referent, such as second-person zero subject reference in an imperative construction. Instances of zero reference by position and person are detailed in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20: *The distribution of zero reference to participants by person and position*

Person	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Totals
First	91	1	7	99 (5%)
Second	189	2	2	193 (10%)
Third	1,414	4	318	1,736 (85%)
Totals	1,694 (84%)	7	327 (16%)	2,028 (100%)

As shown in Table 6.20, zero reference, for the most part, only occurs in the subject and direct object positions of the clause, although there are 7 instances of indirect object reference. It is in the subject position that the vast majority of zero references to participants occur. Third-person zero reference is also much more prevalent than first- or second person zero reference.

Furthermore, factors that trigger zero reference differ between subjects and objects. Because of this, zero subject reference is covered in §6.6.1 and zero object reference is covered in §6.6.2.

6.6.1 Zero subject reference

Much of the zero subject reference in N. Pwo can be predicted based on syntactic and discourse factors. These factors include extra-clausal vocative reference (§6.6.1.1), pre-clausal nominal reference (§6.6.1.2), reference to the speaker in a quotative clause (§6.6.1.3), shared subject reference in complex sentence constructions (§6.6.1.4), the same-subject as the previous clause (§6.6.1.5), the same object as the previous clause (§6.6.1.6), second-person reference in imperative clauses (§6.6.1.7), and the larger discourse situation (§6.6.1.9). The discussion begins with extra-clausal vocative reference.

6.6.1.1 Extra-clausal vocative reference to a co-referential elided subject

Both pre- and post-clause vocatives can refer to an elided subject referent. A vocative pre-clause reference is illustrated in (384).

(384) M1 Folktale 66

[tɕâi']_{MC} [[nê ní jê nɔ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ ʔo xâi'
 say 2.ACC and 1.ACC NMLZ_{that} 1.PL.NOM exist in.combination
 lo' sâ' si lâ bɛ]_{CLAUSE}]_{DQ}
 together heart be.skilled at.all NEG

Lit. 'Say, "You and me, (we) exist in.combination together heart be.skilled at.all not."'

'(He) said, "As for you and me, (we) cannot live together at all."'

In (384), the speaker refers to himself and his addressee in the pre-clause vocative. Both speaker and addressee are the elided subject referents within the clause proper.

A post-clausal vocative reference to an elided subject is illustrated in (385).

(385) M1 Folktale 25

[ʔé tɕô]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ lə = klû' bɛ]_{CLAUSE} [kə = wé]_{POST-CLAUSE}
 Hey! oldest.brother 3.SUBJ NEG be.usable NEG ours

Lit. "Hey! Oldest.brother, (it) not usable not ours."

'Oh, brother! Our stuff is not of much use.'

In (385), post-clausal *kə = wé* 'ours' refers to the orphan's stuff, referenced by zero in the subject position of the preceding clause.

Within the data frame, extra-clausal vocative reference, with a co-referential zero subject, occurs three times with a first-person referent, 58 times with a second-person referent, and two times with a third-person referent. In sum, 63 instances of zero subjects can be accounted for by extra-clausal vocatives which are co-referential with the elided subject.

6.6.1.2 Noun phrase extra-clausal reference to an elided subject

Any subject referent which is co-referential with pre-clausal nominal reference is always coded as zero, which occurs 182 times in the data frame. This is illustrated in (386).

(386) Folktale 6.27

[*tɕôp^huxwi* *nɔ*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *lî* *p^ho'* *wé* *ʔə = k^hái*
male.orphan NMLZ_{that} **3.SUBJ** go follow **3.ABS** **3.POSS = back**
wai']_{CLAUSE}
 immediately

Lit. 'The orphan, (he) went following him, his back immediately.'
 'As for the orphan, (he) went with him immediately.'

In (386), the actor has already been identified in the pre-clause reference, so subject reference to the same participant has been elided.

Post-clausal reference to a subject referent also correlates with zero subject reference 13 times in the data frame, as illustrated in (387).

(387) F6 Folktale 29b

[*də'* *ʔə = wé* *ʔā* *lau'* *də'*]_{SC} [\emptyset *ɥā* *ʔā* *dô'*
EMPH **3.ERG** eat exhaust NMLZ_{EMPH} **3.SUBJ** cry eat more
ʔə = p^hípaí' *lə = ɥé* *nɔ*]_{MC}
3.POSS = second.younger.sibling **one** **CL.human** NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'He eat exhaust, (he) cry eat more, his second.younger.sibling, one human.'
 'When he had eaten, (he) cried for more to eat, his younger sibling.'

In the main clause of (387), the younger sibling is crying for more to eat. Post-clause reference to the sibling provides unambiguous clarification of the crier's identity, since he is not overtly referenced in the subject position.

To summarize, extra-clausal noun phrase reference, which is co-referential with a third-person zero subject referent, occurs 182 times in the pre-clause position and 13 times in the post clause position.

6.6.1.3 Zero subject reference in the main clause of quotative constructions

In the main clause of a quotative construction, the speaker is often referenced by zero, especially in the Hod dialect of N. Pwo, which was demonstrated in §5.4. This is yet another context in which zero subject reference is likely, as illustrated in (388).

(388) a. F4 Folktale 4

[*tçôp^huxwi*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*nə = lî k^hó lê*] _{CLAUSE}
 male.orphan 2.NOM go CL.part QUES

Lit. “Orphan, you go part?”

“Orphan, where are you going?”

b. F4 Folktale 5

[\emptyset *tçâi'*] _{MC} [\emptyset *lî ?ãxí k^hâ' ?ã t^hwìp^hḡ*] _{DQ}
 3.SUBJ say 1.SUBJ go seek shoot eat grasshopper

Lit. ‘(He) say, “(I) go, seek, shoot, eat grasshopper.”’

‘He said, “I am going hunting grasshoppers.”’

In (388a), the rich man asks the orphan a question to which the orphan replies, in (388b). All that indicates a new speaker is the bare *tçâi'* ‘say’ in the main clause. Also, with only two interlocutors in the discourse space, the audience can deduce that the orphan is the speaker.

Zero subject reference in a quotative construction main clause can also occur with a pre-clausal exclamation by the speaker, illustrated in (389).

(389) F4 Folktale 44

[*jai'* [*jai'* *də'*] _{SC} [[*?é*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *tçâi'* *wé dɛ*] _{MC} [*kə =*
 be.long be.long NMLZ_{EMPH} Hey! 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS dɛ 1.PL.NOM
lî lə = ke lâ bɛ] _{DQ}] _{CLAUSE} [*mâ*] _{POST-CLAUSE}
 go NEG be.able at.all NEG uncle

Lit. ‘Long, long, “Hey!” say it, “We go not be.able at.all not, Uncle.”’

‘After a while, he said, “Hey! I can’t go anymore, Uncle.”’

In (389), the rich man and the orphan have gone hunting again. However, since the orphan has not been given anything to eat, the orphan eventually speaks up, beginning with the

exclamation, *ʔé* ‘hey!’. Both the exclamation and the communicative verb, *tɕâi* ‘say’ signal a new speaker, which together with post-clausal reference to the addressee, *mâ* ‘uncle’, makes it clear that the orphan is the speaker and the elided subject referent of the main clause of the quotative construction. In sum, 233 instances of zero subjects can be predicted based on their occurrence in the main clause of a quotative construction.

6.6.1.4 Same subject zero reference in complex constructions

The indexed co-reference to the same subject across complex constructions, in which the subject of the second clause of a complex construction is elided, is another context of zero subject reference. Within the data frame, complex constructions include coordinate clauses, main + complement clauses, and adverbial + main clauses. A construction with an initial conditional adverbial clause is illustrated in (390).

(390) Folktale 6.47

[*tɕôp^huxwi* *tɕâi*ʔ *ʔe*ʔ *wé*] _{MC} [[*ʔâ* *mâ* *tɕə =* *me*ʔ *klâ* *p^hi*
 male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS Ah! uncle 1.POSS be_{be.true} slash at
ʔi] _{SC} [*∅* *mə =* *t^he*ʔ *nê*] _{MC} _{DQ}
 DEM.PRN_{this} 1.SUBJ IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. ‘The orphan said to him, “Ah! Uncle! I be slash (it) to this, (I) would separate you.”’

‘The orphan said to him, “Ah! Uncle! If I were to slash to here, (I) would sever you.”’

In the direct quote of (390), the subject of the conditional clause is coded by *tɕə =* ‘1.POSS’, while the co-referential subject of the subsequent main clause is coded by zero.

Same subjects in a coordinate clause construction are illustrated in (391).

(391) F4 Folktale 19

[ʔə = wé dɛ ʔãxu ʔã lĩ]_{CL1} [∅ ʔã mĩ]_{CL2}
3.ERG dɛ char eat squirrel 3.SUBJ eat cooked.rice

Lit. ‘(He) char eat squirrel, eat cooked.rice.’

‘He roasted a squirrel and ate rice.’

In (391), the rich man, in the subject position, is coded by the ergative pronoun in the first conjunct and zero in the second conjunct of the coordinate clause.

A complement clause construction with the same subjects is illustrated in (392).

(392) Folktale 55.35b

[pənè]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [tɕə = bɛsâ’]_{MC} [∅ ʔopwâi’ʔosɛ lə = tʰĩ]_{CC}
water.buffalo 1.NOM want 1.SUBJ rest one CL.time

Lit. “Water.buffalo, I want (I) rest, one time.”

“Water Buffalo, I want to rest for a while.”

In (392), the speaker’s self-reference in the subject position of the main clause is coded by the first-person nominative pronoun, tɕə = . Then, the subject in the complement clause, which is co-referential with the main clause subject, is coded by zero.

In sum, 195 instances of zero subject can be predicted based on the occurrence of the same subjects in complex constructions. Same-subject reference in consecutive clauses is another predictable context of zero subject reference.

6.6.1.5 Same-subject reference in consecutive clauses

Consecutive main clauses that share the same subject are another context in which subject reference can be coded by zero, as illustrated in (393).

(393) a. F4 Folktale 54

[ʔə = ʔĩ nɔ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [tɕə = bĩ nɛ du dâi’]_{CLAUSE}
this.one NMLZ_{that} 1.NOM wrap.up 2.ACC be.big still

Lit. “This one, I wrap.up you be.big still.”

“This time, I will wrap a lot for you.”

b. F4 Folktale 55

∅ b̃ ní nə = uɣ̃
 1.SUBJ wrap.up with 2.POSS = body

Lit. “(I) wrap.up (it) with your body.”
 “(I’ll) wrap up (rice) for you.”

In (393a), the subject referent is coded by *tɕə* = ‘1.NOM’, while in (393b), reference to the same subject referent is non-overt. Note, also, that both clauses refer to the same prospective event, another factor in the zero reference to the first-person subject in (393b).

Same subject over several clauses is not limited to clauses with same predicate, as illustrated in (394).

(394) a. Folkrale 6.12

kəsámâ ʔābɛ tʰə təblɛʔ mē̃
 rich.man get thing many CL.kind

Lit. ‘The rich.man got thing, many kind.’
 ‘The rich.man got animals of many kinds.’

b. Folktale 6.13

meʔ *kʰlâiʔ* = â *kʰâuʔ* = â *tʰupʰu* = â *lɪpʰu* = â ∅
 be_{be.true} turtle or monitor.lizard or chick or baby.squirrel or 3.SUBJ
 ʔābɛ *wé* *kûʔ* *mē̃* *l̃*
 get 3.ABS every CL.kind EMPH

Lit. ‘Be turtle, or monitor lizard, or chick, or baby squirrels, (he) got them, every kind.’

‘Regardless of whether it was a turtle, a monitor lizard, a chick, or a baby squirrel, (he) got them, every kind.’

c. Folktale 6.14

∅ ʔāxí ʔāxí ʔā wé tʰɔ̃ lù mɪtʰə̃
 3.SUBJ seek seek acquire 3.ABS reach at noon

Lit. ‘(He) seek seek acquire them reach at noon.’
 ‘He hunted them until noon.’

(396) **Folktale 6.37**

[*mì* ʔo lə = *nî* dʂ']_{SC} [*kəsámâ* *ɥé* ʔākôlai' tɕôp^huxwi]_{MC}
day exist one CL.day further rich.man come call male.orphan
[∅ *lî* ʔãxí k^há' ʔã t^hə kədʂ']_{CC}
3.SUBJ go seek shoot acquire thing further

Lit. 'Day exist one day further, the rich.man came and called the orphan (he) go, seek, shoot and acquire things further.'

'Another day, the rich man came and called the male orphan to go hunting again.'

In (396), the orphan is referenced by a noun phrase in the object position of the main clause. Then, in the complement clause, the orphan is referenced by zero in the subject position.

Within the data frame, an object that is co-referential with the subject of the next clause occurs 66 times, in all three persons. The second-person subject referent in an imperative construction is also typically coded as zero.

6.6.1.7 Second-person zero reference in imperative constructions

In English, the second-person subject referent in an imperative construction is often elided.

This pattern is also evident in N. Pwo, as illustrated in (397).

(397) **M5 Folktale 27**

[*kəsámâ* tɕâi' ʔe' = á']_{MC} [∅ *bək^hùbɛɥô* lə = *ɥî*]_{DQ}
rich.man say DAT 3.ACC 2.SUBJ be.worried NEG don't

Lit. 'Rich.man say to him, "(You) be.worried not don't.'"

'The rich man said to him, "Don't worry.'"

In (397), within the direct quote, reference to the second-person subject of the negative imperative construction is non-overt, even though the subject referent is different from the subject referent of the main clause.

Within the data frame, zero second-person subject reference in imperative constructions accounts for 45 instances of zero second-person subjects. The interpretation of zero reference can also range across one or two clauses.

6.6.1.8 Zero reference across one and two clauses

In some cases, zero references carries over one or two clauses of intervening information. Zero reference over one intervening clause is illustrated in (398).

(398) a. Folktale 55.75

[$\varnothing = wé$ $t\phi^h\tilde{m}\tilde{c}$ $wé$ $d\epsilon$]_{MC} [$\varnothing = k^h unau'$ $l\hat{a}$ $jw\acute{\epsilon}$]_{CC}
 3.ERG think 3.ABS de 3.POSS = brain descend flow

Lit. 'He think it, my brain descend flow.'

'He thought that his brain was flowing down.'

b. Folktale 55.76

[\emptyset $s\hat{a}'me'$ $wé$ $d\epsilon$]_{CL1} [\emptyset $w\hat{a}'t^ho'w\hat{a}'t\acute{i}$ $j\acute{o}$ $x\acute{o}'$]_{CL2}
 3.SUBJ fear 3.ABS de 3.SUBJ shake completely EMPH

Lit. '(He) fear it, (he) shake completely!'

'He was afraid of it and shook completely!'

In (398a), an elephant is referenced with the ergative pronoun. The intervening clause is the subsequent complement clause with the subject referent, $\varnothing = k^h unau'$ 'his brain'. Then, in (398b), the elephant is referenced by zero in both conjuncts of the coordinate clause. Note, also, that the elephant is the only active participant in this span of discourse.

An example of two intervening clauses is illustrated in (399).

(399) a. F6 Folktale 613

$\varnothing = wé$ $p^h\acute{a}$ $n\acute{o}$ $t^h\hat{a}i$ wai'
 3.ERG CL.time that return immediately

Lit. 'He, that that return immediately.'

'At that time, he went back immediately.'

b. F6 Folktale 614

me' lã çèplɔ'
face descend be.ashamed

Lit. 'Face descend be.ashamed.'
'Their faces showed shame.'

c. F6 Folktale 615

ʔə = me' lã çèprɔ'
3.POSS = face descend be.ashamed

Lit. 'Their face descend be.ashamed.'
'Their faces showed their shame.'

d. F6 Folktale 616

[∅ t^hâi wai'
3.SUBJ return immediately

Lit. '(He) return immediately.'
'(He) went back home immediately.'

In (399a), the younger brother, coded by the ergative, has returned home. This event is reiterated, in (399d), with a zero subject. The two intervening clauses, in (399b) and (399c) refer to the state of the older brother and his wife's faces. Interpretation of the zero reference in (399d) is also helped by the repeat reference to the same event expressed in (399a).

Zero subject reference over one or two intervening clauses accounts for an additional 112 instances of zero coding in the data frame. The interpretation of a zero subject referent can also be dependent on the larger context.

6.6.1.9 Larger context instances of zero reference to participants

The last 185 instances of zero subject reference are interpreted on the basis of the larger context, such as the conversation situation and/or knowledge of previous events in the story, as illustrated in (400).

(400) a. F4 Folktale 49

[*dəʔ* *ʔə=wé* *dɛ* *dəʔ* *kʰái* *lə=* *ɯô* *dəʔ* *â* *lí* *kʰái*
 EMPH 3.ERG dɛ NMLZ_{EMPH} back one CL.morning more Oh! at back
kəjò *dâiʔ* *ʔo*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *ʔãtɕâʔ* *tʰâi* *∅* *dəʔ*]_{CLAUSE}
 be.long still exist 3.SUBJ ask return 3.OBJ more

Lit. ‘He, back one morning more, Oh!, at back be.long still exist ask return more.’

‘As for him, a long time after that, (he) asked (him) to go hunting again.’

b. F4 Folktale 50

∅ *lí* *ke* *lá* *bɛ* *mâ* *ʔə* *tɕâiʔ*
 1.SUBJ go be.able at.all NEG uncle um say

Lit. ‘“(I) go be.able at.all not, uncle,” say.’

“(I) can’t go, uncle.”

In (400a), the rich man has asked the orphan to go hunting with him for the third time. In the orphan’s reply, in (400b), he does not refer to himself in the subject position, as he did in lines 8 and 36 of the same story.² However, it is clear that the orphan is speaking for two reasons: 1) the pattern of previous episodes in the story, in which the rich man asks the orphan to go hunting, and 2) the post-clause vocative, *mâ* ‘uncle’ that identifies the uncle as the addressee.

Another instance of the interpretation of zero subject reference based on the larger context is illustrated in (401).

(401) M1 Folktale 54

meʔ *bə* *nɔ* *nɔ* *∅* *ʔoxaiʔtɕʰɕxaiʔ* *lə=* *si* *bɛ* *tɕâiʔ*
 be_{be.true} like DEM.PRN_{that} NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ live.together NEG be.skilled NEG say

Lit. ‘“(It) be like that, (we) live.together not be.skilled not say.”

“If it is like that, (we) can’t live together,” (he) said.’

In (401), there are only two participants onstage: the orphan-speaker and the very angry rich man-addressee. Therefore, it is not difficult to figure out that a predicate, such as *ʔoxaiʔtɕʰɕxaiʔ* ‘live.together’ involves both the speaker and addressee.

²See F4 Folktale in Appendix C.

In sum, the remaining 185 instances of zero subjects occur in larger discourse contexts, in which interpretation of zero subjects depends on knowledge of the previous events and participants.

Table 6.21 summarizes the contexts in which zero subject reference occurs.

Table 6.21: *Contexts of zero subject reference to participants*

Factor	Number of instances
Co-referential extra-clausal vocative reference	63 (3%)
Co-referential extra-clausal noun phrase reference	195 (11%)
Speaker reference in a quotative main clause	235 (14%)
Same subjects in complex constructions	195 (12%)
Same subject as in the previous clause	598 (36%)
Same object as in the previous clause	66 (4%)
Second-person subject in imperative constructions	45 (4%)
Zero subject 2 and 3 clauses previous	112 (6%)
Larger context	185 (10%)
Total	1,694 (100%)

Briefly, in the data frame, zero subject reference is the most prevalent when a subject referent is the same as either the subject or object referent in the previous clause. The next most frequent instances of zero subject reference refer to the speaker in the main clause of a quotative construction or the zero subject is co-referential with extra-clausal reference. The second-person subject referent in an imperative construction is also a common site of zero subject reference. Finally, zero subject reference is interpreted based on the larger context, whether one, two, or more clauses removed. Zero object reference also occurs, albeit with different contexts of occurrence.

6.6.2 Zero object reference

Zero object reference typically occurs in the direct object position, although seven instances of zero reference to an indirect object referent occur in the data frame. In six cases, the indirect object referent is a causee in a serial causative construction, which is illustrated in (402).

(402) F6 Folktale 431

də' Ø má t^hâi tç^ho' Ø Ø pa' t^hut^hê nɔ
 EMPH 3.SUBJ give return lift 3.IO 3.DO also goose NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'He give return lift (him) it also, goose.'

'Then, (he) allowed (him) to take (it) also, the goose.'

Prior to the proposition in (402), the older brother has already asked to take the goose, so when it is time for him to go, there is no need to overtly reference the older brother causee because he was identified as the causee earlier in the story.

The one exception to this pattern is illustrated in (403).

(403) F6 Folktale 592

ʔo də' Ø mə = t^hâi Ø má Ø wé xɔ'
 exist NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ IRR return 3.SUBJ give 3.IO 3.ABS EMPH

Lit. 'Exist, (he₁) would return, (he₂) give (him₁) it!'

'After a while, when (he₁) was returning, (he₂) gave it to (him₁)!'

The proposition in (403), relates almost the same event as in (402). As in (402), the younger brother gives the older brother what he has asked for, which is referenced by *wé* '3.ABS'. Again, since the context has already supplied the information that the older brother is the recipient, there is no need to overtly reference him in the indirect object position.

Extra-clausal reference to a direct object participant correlates with zero coding in the direct object position of the clause, which is illustrated in (404).

(404) F6 Folktale 474

[ʔə = sī lə = bē̃]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ ʔāki kʰlâ' ∅]_{MC}
3.POSS = comb one CL.flat.thing 3.SUBJ keep tightly 3.DO

Lit. 'His comb, one flat.thing, (he) keep tightly (it).'

'As for his comb, (he) put (it) away safely.'

In (404), the comb is referenced in the pre-clause position by a noun phrase and zero in the direct object position. This pattern of reference occurs in nine clauses in the data frame.

Post-clause reference to a zero direct object referent occurs two times in the data frame, as illustrated in (405).

(405) F6 Folktale 581

[uʃ̂]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [∅ ʔāki tʰâi ∅ xɔ']_{MC} [pʰkʰlɛm̃]_{POST-CLAUSE}
finish 3.SUBJ keep return 3.DO EMPH fire.dust

Lit. 'Finish, (he) keep return it, fire.dust!

'Then, (he) kept back (it), the ashes.'

In (405), the emphasis is on the action of putting away some ashes, which are not overtly referenced within the clause proper. Rather, overt clarification of the identity of the direct object referent occurs in the post-clause position.

Another factor associated with zero direct object reference is when the direct object referent is the same as the direct object referent in the previous clause, which is illustrated in (406).

(406) a. F4 Folktale 22

tə̀pʰuxwi nə = sú ʔā sâ' mî tə̀hî
male.orphan 2.NOM desire eat heart cooked.rice some

Lit. "Orphan, you desire eat heart cooked.rice some?"

"Orphan, are you hungry for rice?"

b. F4 Folktale 23

ʔé mǎ kə= sí ʔǎ sǎ' Ø sǎnè
 Hey! uncle 1.PL.NOM desire eat heart 3.OBJ sure

Lit. “Hey, uncle! We desire eat heart sure.”

“Oh yes, uncle, I am really hungry.”

In the question construction, in (406a), reference to *mǎ* ‘rice’ is overt, in the direct object position. However, in the answer, in (406b), reference to the rice is non-overt. Example (406) illustrates the N. Pwo polar question-answer pattern, which is seen in other Southeast Asian languages, such as Thai, in which the addressee can answer with just the verb, without the direct object, since both interlocutors know the identity of the direct object referent.

In a periphrastic causative construction, zero direct object coding in the upstairs clause is common, as illustrated in (407).

(407) Folktale 1.51

[tçə= kemá Ø]_{UPSTAIRS} [ʔə=t^hâi tçè t^hə=ʔũ lǔ ʔə=uf̂]
 1.NOM give 3.OBJ 3.POSS=return use NMLZ_{thing}=blow at 3.POSS=good

Lit. “I give his returning use thing = blow at its goodness.”

“I had (him) return home and use magic in a good way.”

In the upstairs clause of the periphrastic causative construction, in (407), the causee is coded by zero in the direct object position. The causee is then coded by the third-person possessive determiner, *ʔə=*, in the subject position of the nominalized downstairs clause of the periphrastic causative. This pattern of reference accounts for a further 27 instances of zero direct object reference in the data frame.

In 33 cases of zero direct object reference, indirect object reference is overt which indicates the greater importance of the indirect object referent, as illustrated in (408).

(408) a. Folktale 1.32

[\emptyset kemá \emptyset]_{UPSTAIRS} [$\text{ʔ}\partial = p^h\dot{\epsilon}$ lî $\text{ʔ}\tilde{a}t\zeta^h\dot{\epsilon}$ $\text{ʔe}'$ kasámâ \emptyset lû
 3.SUBJ give 3.OBJ 3.poss = father go sell DAT rich.man 3.OBJ at
 nɔ lə = uɛ̃ kədɔ'
 DEM.PRN_{that} one CL.village another

Lit. ‘(He) give (him) his father go sell to a rich man (him) at that, another village.’

‘(He) had his father go and sell (it) to a rich man of another village.’

b. Folktale 1.33

[$\text{ʔ}\partial = p^h\dot{\epsilon}$ k^hɔ]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset lî $\text{ʔ}\tilde{a}t\zeta^h\dot{\epsilon}$ wé de wai']_{MC}
 3.POSS = father TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ go sell 3.ABS de immediately

Lit. ‘His father part, (he) went and sold it immediately.’

‘On his father’s part, (he) went and sold it immediately.’

In (408a), the indirect object referent, *kasámâ* ‘rich.man’, is overt while the direct object referent, a horse, is non-overt. This is because information about the recipient of the sale, a rich man of another village, is more important than the thing sold. Then, when the father actually goes to sell the horse, in (408b), the thing sold is referenced by *wé* ‘3.ABS’, while the recipient of the sale is non-overt.

Zero direct object reference is also typical with several constructions, in which the action of the predicate is of more interest than a theme or patient argument. This is typically the case in a serial causative construction, as illustrated in (409).

(409) F4 Folktale 25

â tɕôp^huxwi ʔà tɕə = lə = má ʔã nê \emptyset bɛ
 Oh! male.orphan um 1.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC 3.DO NEG

Lit. “Oh, orphan, I not give eat you not.”

“Oh, orphan, I’m not giving you anything to eat.”

In (409), the emphasis is on the causer, in the subject position, and the causee, in the indirect object position. While the direct object theme argument can be expressed after the causee argument, most of the time it is elided.

It is not just with serial causatives that emphasis on the event crowds out reference to a direct object participant. Consider (410).

(410) F4 Folktale 27

ʔə = wé ʔã ʔã Ø lau' Ø ʔwĩ tʰã ʔə = kʰlâi'
 3.ERG eat eat 3.OBJ exhaust 3.SUBJ carry(basket) ascend 3.POSS = turtle
ʔə = kʰâu' ujetʰâi wai'
 3.POSS = monitor.lizard return immediately

Lit. 'He eat, eat exhaust, (he) carry ascend his turtle, his monitor lizard, return immediately.'

'After he had eaten (everything), (he) picked up the basket with the turtle and monitor lizard, and went home immediately.'

In (410), the act of eating and its conclusion is in focus, not what was eaten, hence zero reference to the thing eaten.

The importance of the event over the direct object argument is also seen in imperative constructions, as illustrated in (411).

(411) F4 Folktale 91

pʰĩ Ø ʔãuyê ʔã Ø xɔ' xɔ'
 grandmother 2.SUBJ prepare.dishes.accompanying.rice eat 3.OBJ EMPH EMPH
tɕâi'
 say

Lit. "Grandmother, prepare dishes accompanying rice eat!" say.'

"Grandma, please prepare something to eat!"

In (411), the preparation of food is more important than what was prepared, hence zero direct object reference to the actual food. In all, event emphasis over direct object emphasis occurs 145 times in the data frame.

The contexts in which zero object reference occurs are listed in Table 6.22.

Table 6.22: *Contexts of zero object reference to participants*

Factor	Number of instances
Indirect object causee in serial causatives previously known	6 (3%)
Indirect object recipient in transfer event previously known	1 (%)
Extra-clausal noun phrase reference	11 (11%)
Same previous direct object referent	111 (14%)
Same next subject	27 (12%)
Indirect object emphasis	33 (36%)
Event emphasis	145 (4%)
Total	334 (100%)

To summarize, zero indirect object reference occurs when a causee or recipient argument has already been mentioned in the discourse as part of a previous request. Zero direct object reference occurs in the context of extra-clausal reference to a direct object referent, when the direct object referent is the same in consecutive clauses, when the subject of the subsequent clause is the same as the zero direct object of the previous clause, such as the causee argument in a periphrastic causative construction. Direct objects are also coded by zero when the narrator chooses to focus on an indirect object referent or the event rather than a theme or patient argument. This is especially true for serial causative constructions and imperative constructions.

6.6.3 Summary of zero reference to participants

Zero reference to participants occurs primarily in the subject and direct object positions, in all three persons, and with all participant ranks. Zero subject reference occurs in the presence of extra-clausal vocative and nominal reference. Subject reference to the speaker in a quotative

main clause also tends to be non-overt, especially in the Hod dialect of N. Pwo. Other contexts of zero subject coding include same subjects in complex sentence constructions and second-person subjects in imperative clauses. In addition, when the subject is the same as the subject or object of the previous clause, it tends to be coded by zero. Zero subject reference can also occur after one or two intervening clauses. Finally, the larger context of the story can provide the necessary information to interpret zero subject reference, especially with repeated events separated by intervening material.

Zero object reference primarily occurs in the direct object position, although zero indirect objects can occur when the emphasis is on the theme argument rather than the causee or recipient arguments. In a related pattern, reference to a direct object participant can be elided when the narrator chooses to emphasize the event or the indirect object participant over a theme or patient argument. Other contexts of zero direct object reference include the same object referent in consecutive clauses, an object referent that is co-referential with the subject referent of the subsequent clause, and in cases of extra-clausal reference that is co-referential with a direct object participant. The last type of participants to be considered are non-participants.

6.7 The coding of non-participants

The non-participants in the data frame include locations, events, situations, the story, the narrator, and the audience. Their distribution, by coding form and position, are detailed in Table 6.23.

Table 6.23: *The distribution of non-participant coding by form and position*

Coding Form	Pre-Clause	Subject	Direct Object	Post-Clause	Totals
Nominal phrase	4	22	56	1	83 (25%)
Nominative	—	2	—	—	2
3 rd Accusative	—	—	7	0	7 (2%)
Absolutive	—		191	—	191 (57%)
Zero	—	43	10	—	53 (16%)
Totals	4 (1%)	67 (20%)	264 (79%)	1	336 (100%)

Within the data frame, non-participant reference only occurs in the pre-clause, subject, direct object, and post-clause positions. Extra-clausal reference is examined in §6.7.1, followed by subject non-participant reference in §6.7.2 and direct object reference in §6.7.3.

6.7.1 Extra-clausal reference to non-participants

Reference to non-participants occurs in both the pre- and post-clausal positions of the clause in five cases within the data frame. In the pre-clause position, three instances refer to a location and one instance refers to an event. A location argument is illustrated in (412).

(412) **Folktale 3.150**

[*me'* *k^hli' xú b^h* *no*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*t^hə* *lə = ʔo wé*
be_{be.true} boat six CL.line NMLZ_{that} thing NEG exist 3.ABS
ʔə = p^há nã mê bε] _{MC}
3.POSS = inside even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. 'Be boat, six line, thing not exist it its inside even.one kind not.'

'As for the six boats, there wasn't a thing in them.'

In (412), six boats are referenced in the pre-clause position. These six boats are also referenced by the third-person possessive determiner in the oblique object locational expression, *ʔə = p^há* 'its inside'. This expression is referring to the inside of the six boats.

Pre-clause reference to a location does not necessarily refer to an oblique object argument in the immediately following clause, as illustrated in (413).

(413) **Folktale 4.8**

[*lũ* *ʔə = t^hai'* *lə = uɛ̃* *nɔ*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *sũyɛ́* *wé*] _{MC}
at 3.POSS = be.final one CL.village _{NMLZ_{that}} **3.SUBJ know 3.ABS**
 [*p^hlô* *mĩnã* *dãp^hiwi* *ʔo* *k^hi* *uɛ̃* *∅*] _{CC}
 person unmarried.girl siblings exist two CL.human **3.oo**

Lit. 'At its = be.final, one village, (he) knew it, person, unmarried.girl, siblings exist, two human.'

'At the last village, he knew that there were two unmarried sisters.'

In (413), pre-clause reference to the last village is co-referential with a zero-coded oblique object referent in the complement clause that follows the intervening main clause.

Pre-clause reference to an event is illustrated in (414).

(414) **Folktale 8.12**

[*ʔə = mù* *ʔãmɛ̃lau'* *ʔə = t^hə* *nɔ*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [*∅* *lə =*
3.POSS = mother tell 3.POSS = thing _{NMLZ_{that}} **3.SUBJ NEG**
nãbe *wé* *lã* *bɛ*] _{MC}
 remember **3.ABS at.all** **NEG**

Lit. 'Her mother tell her thing, (she) not remember it at.all not.'

'As for her mother's instructions, (she) did not remember them at all.'

The event of a mother telling her daughter things is expressed in the pre-clause position of (414). This event is then referenced in the direct object position of the clause by *wé* '3.ABS.'

Only one instance of post-clausal reference to a non-participant occurs in the data frame, which is presented in (415).

(415) **M5 Folktale 47**

[*∅* *t^hai'* *p^hi* *jô* *lɔ*] _{CLAUSE} [*ɕɛ̃* *lə = jô* *ʔi'*] _{POST-CLAUSE}
3.SUBJ stop at DEM.PRN_{this} EMPH story one CL.story this

Lit. 'It stop at this, story, one story, this!'

'This story stops here!'

In (415), the story is referenced by zero in the subject position and then referenced overtly in a post-clause noun phrase.

To summarize, within the data frame, extra-clausal reference is used to refer to locations and an event in the pre-clause position, as well as the story in the post-clause position. All extra-clausal reference in the data frame is co-referential with the oblique object referent for the locations, the direct object referent for the event, and the subject referent for the story. Non-participants can also be referenced in the subject position of the clause.

6.7.2 Subject reference to non-participants

Within the data frame, situations, the story, events, locations, the narrator, and the audience and narrator are the non-participants that are referenced in the subject position of the clause. Reference takes the form of noun phrases, pronouns, or zero. The distribution of non-participant reference by type and form is detailed in Table 6.24.

Table 6.24: *The distribution of subject non-participant reference by type and form*

Type	Noun phrase	Absolutive pronoun	Nominative pronoun	Zero	Totals
Situation	19			27	46 (68%)
Story	2	1		8	11 (16%)
Event				5	5 (7%)
Location	1			3	4 (6%)
Narrator			1		1 (1.5%)
Audience/Narrator			1		1 (1.5%)
Totals	22 (32%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	43 (63%)	68 (100%)

As shown in Table 6.24, the most prevalent non-participants are situations, which occur 68% of the time, followed by story references which occur 16% of the time. Zero coding of non-participants occurs 63% of the time, while noun phrase reference occurs 32% of the time. Noun

phrase reference to subject non-participants is considered first (§6.7.2.1), followed by pronoun reference (§6.7.2.2) and zero reference (§6.7.2.3). The section ends with a summary of subject non-participant coding (§6.7.2.4).

6.7.2.1 Subject noun phrase reference to non-participants

Within the data frame, situations, the story, and locations are referenced by noun phrases in the subject position. Noun phrase reference to a situation is illustrated in (416).

(416) **Folktale 3.152**

uyé wé lə = kʰlâiʹ tʰɔ̂ dâiʹ bɛ tʰə = kʰâiʹ nì = âʹ lû
 come 3.ABS NEG attain reach still NEG NMLZ_{thing} = **be.dark** get 3.ACC at
klê
 way

Lit. ‘Come them not attain reach still not thing = be.dark get them at way.’
 ‘They still had not reached (the village) when darkness overtook them on the way.’

In (416), the nominalized form, *tʰə = kʰâiʹ* ‘darkness’, is a non-participant which expresses the situation that some men find themselves in.

Noun phrase reference to the story is illustrated in (417).

(417) **M5 Folktale 1**

kəpʰlôʹ ?ə = ɕè ?o wé lə = jɔ̂ [lô bɛxâʹ dɪ
people 3.POSS = **story** EXIST 3.ABS **one** CL.**story** tell about with
tɕôpʰuxwi ?ə = uɔ̂i]_{RC}
 male.orphan 3.POSS = story

Lit. ‘Karen, their story exist it, one story, tell about with male.orphan his story.’
 ‘There is a Karen story that tells about the orphan’s experience.’

In (417), the narrator opens with an elaborate introduction to a story about an orphan’s experience. Reference to the story occurs both preceding and following the existence verb. In addition, all of the bolded material functions as the external head of the clause-final relative clause.

Another place where the narrator references the story is at its end, as illustrated in (418).

(418) **M1 Folktale 67**

ʔə = nɔ *xwí nɔ* *l̥* *pâi'* *â*
that.one just DEM.PRN_{that} EMPH second.sibling dear

Lit. 'That one just that! Second.sibling dear'

'That's it, Second Sibling.'

In the performative proposition in (418), the narrator tells his listener, Second Sibling, that his story, referenced by *ʔə = nɔ* 'that.one' is *xwí nɔ* 'just that'.

Subject noun phrase reference to a location is illustrated in (419).

(419) **F6 Folktale 325**

tʰə = dɛ *lə = dɛ* *jé* *jô* *bɛmɔ'betʰé*
 NMLZ_{thing} = lay.out.flat one cl.flat.place completely this be.sufficient
lè *bɛmɔ'* *tʰó* *bɛmɔ'*
 be.wide be.sufficient be.tall be.sufficient

Lit. 'Thing = lay.out.flat, one flat.place completely this be.sufficient, be.wide be.sufficient be.tall be.sufficient.'

'This flat place was quite sufficient; sufficiently wide and long.'

In (419), the sufficiency of a flat place is asserted, which is where the protagonist will eventually carry out a ceremony.

In sum, situations, the story, and locations are coded by a subject noun phrase. Pronouns are also used to reference a non-participant in the subject position.

6.7.2.2 Subject pronoun coding of a non-participants

Non-participants are coded by the first-person plural nominative pronoun two times and the absolute pronoun one time in the data frame. In the first case, the pronoun references the audience and the narrator, as illustrated in (420).

(420) **Folktale 55.81**

tʰɔ̃ kʰɔ̃nẽ jô kə= me' kʰwè kʰɔ̃nẽ jô
to period.of.year this 1.PL.NOM be_{be.true} observe period.of.year this
kətçʰá nɔ Ø mɛ pʰlô lə= nâ bɛ
elephant NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ do person NEG win NEG

Lit. 'To period.of.year this, we be observe period.of.year this, elephant, (he) do person not win not.'

Up to now, if we look at the present, as for elephants, (they) cannot win against humans.'

In (420), the narrator's reference to himself and his audience is coded by *kə=* '1.PL.NOM' as the narrator invites his audience to observe with him that elephants cannot win over humans.

The other nominative pronoun reference to a non-participant in the data frame is illustrated in (421).

(421) **F2 Folktale 1**

?ə ni kə= mə= ?əlótʰái çè kìow lo' sâ' dí de
um OK? 1.PL.NOM IRR tell story about together heart with de
tçôpʰu ni
boy OK?

Lit. 'Um, OK? We would tell story about together heart with boy, OK?
'I'm going to tell a story about a boy.'

In (421), the narrator informs her audience that she is going to tell a story about a boy, referring to herself with the first-person plural nominative pronoun.

The subject absolutive pronoun is used to reference the story in (422).

(422) **F4 Folktale 110**

tʰái' wé pʰə nɔ
stop 3.ABS to DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. 'Stop it at that.'
'The end.'

In (422), the narrator indicates the end of the story with the formulaic clause, *t^hai' wé* ‘stop 3.ABS’, in which the story is referenced by the subject absolute pronoun.

To summarize, references to the audience and narrator as a group and to the narrator alone are coded by the first-person plural nominative pronoun. Then, the story is referenced by a subject absolute pronoun. Zero reference to a subject referent is the most prevalent coding strategy for non-participants in the data frame.

6.7.2.3 Zero subject reference to non-participants

The interpretation of zero subject reference to non-participants is due to co-referential post-clause reference, the same subject in consecutive clauses, and the larger discourse context.

Post-clause reference is only used to refer to the story, while the story and situations are referenced by zero when the subject referent is the same as the subject referent in the previous clause. Zero subject reference that is interpreted from the larger context involves situation, event, story, and location non-participants.

The single instance of post-clause reference to a zero subject is illustrated in (423), which was already discussed in (415), in connection with post-clause reference to a non-participant.

(423) M5 Folktale 47

[\emptyset *t^hai'* *p^hi* *jô* *lô*] _{CLAUSE} [*çè* *lə = jò* *ʔi*] _{POST-CLAUSE}
3.SUBJ stop at DEM.PRN_{this} EMPH **story one CL.story this**

Lit. ‘It stop at this, story, one story, this!’

‘This story stops here!’

In (423), the clarification of the identity of the zero subject referent is provided by the post-clause noun phrase.

Same subject reference in consecutive clauses is illustrated in (424).

(424) a. M1 Folktale 67

ʔə = nɔ *xwí nɔ* *l̩* *pâi'* *â*
3.POSS = DEM.PRN_{that} just DEM.PRN_{that} EMPH second.sibling dear

Lit. 'Its = thatness just that! Second.sibling, dear.'

'That one is just that, Second Sibling!'

b. M1 Folktale 68

\emptyset *t^hai'* *jâu'*
3.SUBJ stop INCH

Lit. '(It) stop already.'

'The end.'

In (424), the narrator indicates that the story is at an end. In (424a), the story is referenced by *ʔə = nɔ* 'its = thatness'. Then, in (424b), the story is referenced by a zero subject.

The interpretation of most zero subject references to non-participants is dependent on the larger context. For example, zero subject reference can refer to an event that takes place in another clause. A potential event that is proposed prior to the clause is illustrated in (425).

(425) a. F4 Folktale 5

[\emptyset *tɕâi'*]_{MC} [\emptyset *l̩* *ʔãx̩* *k^hâ'* *ʔã* *t^hwip^hɔ̃*]_{DQ}
3.SUBJ say 3.SUBJ go seek shoot eat grasshopper

Lit. '(He) say, "(I) go, seek, shoot, eat grasshopper."'

'He said, "I am going to hunt grasshoppers."'

b. F4 Folktale 6

[*tɕôp^huxwi*]_{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *l̩ =* *pâ* *bɛ*]_{CLAUSE}
male.orphan 3.SUBJ NEG be.beneficial NEG

Lit. "Orphan, (hunting grasshoppers) not be.beneficial not."

"Orphan, hunting grasshoppers is not useful."

In (425a), the orphan states, in the direct quote, that he is going to hunt grasshoppers, then, in (425b), the rich man expresses his judgment that the orphan's plan to hunt grasshoppers, referenced by an elided subject, is not beneficial.

The expression of an event can also follow the elided subject reference to it, as illustrated in (426).

(426) F4 Folktale 94

[*tçôp^huxwi*] _{PRE-CLAUSE} [\emptyset *me'* *nə =* *lî* *t^hə* *ní* *nə = m^h*
 male.orphan **3.SUBJ** be_{be.true} 2.POSS go thing with 2.POSS = uncle
bò *j^h*] _{CLAUSE}
 right? Right?

Lit. “Orphan, (it) be.true your going thing with your uncle right, right?”

“Orphan, is it true that you went hunting with your uncle?”

The question of whether an event has taken place, as expressed in (426), is a common construction in which the elided copula subject refers to the event that is expressed in the subsequent copula complement.

Reference to a situation that is interpreted based on the larger context is illustrated in (427).

(427) a. Folktale 3.127

uŷ \emptyset *t^hã* *k^hwè* *wé* *dɛ*
 finish 3.SUBJ ascend observe 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. ‘Finish, (he) ascend observe it.’

b. Folktale 3.128

ʔá \emptyset *me'* *tê* *tê* *nê*
 Ah! 3.SUBJ be.true certainty certainty OK

Lit. “Ah! (It) be.true certainty certainty OK.”

“Ah! It’s really true!

Prior to (427), the possibility that a turtle, its eggs, and its nest are located in the top of a tree has been discussed. Then, in (427a), someone goes up to take a look at the situation, which is referenced by *wé*. Once he has taken a look, as conveyed in (427b), the observer declares that the situation, referenced by an elided subject, is true.

Zero subject reference to a location non-participant is illustrated in (428).

(428) F6 Folktale 323a

ʔâ [∅ k^hwɛ̃]_{MC} [∅ lə = bɛmɔ' dâi' bɛ]_{DO:CC}
 Ah! 3.SUBJ observe 3.SUBJ NEG be.sufficient still NEG

Lit. 'Ah! (He) observe (it) not be.sufficient still not.'

'Ah! (He) saw that (it) was not adequate yet.'

In the story, a young man is looking for a place to perform a ceremony. In (428), this location is referenced by zero in the subject position of the complement clause.

The distribution of zero subject reference to non-participants by context and type is detailed in Table 6.25.

Table 6.25: *Contexts of zero subject reference to non-participants*

Factor	Situation	Event	Story	Location	Totals
Post-clause reference			1		1 (2%)
Same subject in consecutive clauses	1		4		5 (12%)
Larger context	26	5	3	3	37 (86%)
Totals	27 (63%)	5 (11%)	8 (19%)	3 (7%)	43 (100%)

Briefly, while both post-clause reference and the same subject referent in the previous clause can be utilized to interpret zero subject reference to a non-participant, this only accounts for 14% of the zero subject references in the data frame. Instead, 86% of the instances of zero subject reference to situations, events, the story, and locations are interpreted based on information in the surrounding discourse. This information can either precede or follow the clause in which zero subject reference to a non-participant occurs.

6.7.2.4 Summary of subject reference to non-participants.

To summarize, non-participants can be referenced by noun phrases, pronouns, and zero in the subject position. In the data frame, noun phrases are used to reference situations, the story, and locations, while the plural nominative pronoun is used to reference the narrator and the narrator and audience as a group. The subject absolute pronoun is used with an intransitive predicate to refer to the story. Zero subject reference to a non-participant can be interpreted from co-referential post-clause reference to the story, the same subject as the previous clause, in the case of reference to the story and situations, and the larger context in the cases of reference to situations, events, the story and locations. This context can either precede or follow zero subject reference to a non-participant. Non-participants are also referenced in the direct object position.

6.7.3 Direct object reference to non-participants

In the data frame, direct object reference to non-participants occurs 264 times. Events, situations, and the story can be coded by noun phrases, pronouns, and zero. The distribution of direct object non-participant reference is detailed in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26: *The distribution of direct object non-participant reference by type and form*

Type	Noun phrase	Accusative pronoun	Absolute pronoun	Zero	Totals
Story	1				1
Situation	5		9	1	15 (6%)
Event	50	7	182	9	248 (94%)
Totals	56 (21%)	7 (3%)	191 (72%)	10 (4%)	264 (100%)

Unlike subject reference to non-participants, only the story, situations, and events are referenced in the direct object position. Furthermore, reference to non-participants via the

object absolutive pronoun is the most prevalent means of coding non-participants. The accusative pronoun is also used to refer to non-participants. In the discussion to follow, noun phrase reference to non-participants is considered in §6.7.3.1, followed by pronoun reference in §6.7.3.2, and zero reference in §6.7.3.3. Direct object reference to non-participants is summarized in §6.7.3.4

6.7.3.1 Direct object noun phrase reference to non-participants

Direct object noun phrases can be used to refer to the story, situations, or events. The single instance of noun phrase reference to the story is illustrated in (429).

(429) F2 Folktale 1

ʔə ni kə= mə= ʔālot^hai ɕɛ kiow lo' sá' dí de
 um OK? 1.PL.NOM IRR tell **story** about together heart with de
 tɕôp^hu ni
 boy OK?

Lit. 'Um, OK? We would tell story about together heart with boy, OK?
 'I'm going to tell a story about a boy.'

In (429), the narrator opens her account by telling her audience that she is going to tell a ɕɛ 'story', which is referenced in the direct object position of the clause.

Noun phrase reference to a situation is illustrated in (430).

(430) Folktale 3.118

ní nə= k^hwɛ̃ Ø lâuyò t^hə l̩
 yours 2.NOM observe 3.SUBJ resemble **thing** QUES

Lit. "Yours, you observe (it) resemble thing?"
 'As for you, what does (it) look like?'

Prior to the question, in (430), the orphan's compatriots have suggested that there is a turtle nest at the top of a tree. They then ask some boat owners what this state of affairs resembles, referring to the nest situation with zero in the subject position.

An example of noun phrase reference to an event non-participant is illustrated in (431).

(431) F4 Folktale 30

[ʔə=p^hị]_s ʔo k^hwèlè ʔo k^hwèlè [ʔə=uyét^hâi t^hɔ̄]_{DO}
3.POSS = grandmother exist wait exist wait 3.POSS = return reach

Lit. ‘His grandmother exist wait, exist wait his returning reach.’

‘His grandma waited and waited for his arrival.’

In (431), the grandmother is awaiting the anticipated event of her grandson’s return, which is coded as a direct object possessor nominalization. Pronouns are also used to refer to non-participants in the direct object position.

6.7.3.2 Direct object pronoun reference to non-participants

Within the data frame, non-participants can be referenced by both the third-person accusative and absolutive pronouns. The choice of pronoun is dependent on the person of the subject.

All seven instances of third-person accusative pronoun reference to an event occur with first- or second-person subjects, as illustrated in (432).

(432) M5 Folktale 29

[∅ mɛ̄ =â’ bî nə=tɕ^hɔ̄mɔ̄ =â’ nɔ̄
2.SUBJ do 3.ACC like 2.POSS = think OK? NMLZ_{that}

Lit. “(You) do it like your thinking, OK?”

“Do it according to your thinking.”

In (432), direct object reference, coded by =â’ ‘3.ACC’, refers to the orphan’s plans, which he has just voiced to the rich man.

As for absolutive pronoun direct object reference, nine instances refer to a situation, as illustrated in (433).

(433) **Folktale 8.241**

[[ʔə=wé lî tçai ʔo p^hĩ mĩmé]_{CL1} [∅ k^hwè wé]_{CL2}]_{MC}
 3.ERG go walk exist grandmother widow 3.SUBJ observe 3.ABS
 [p^hĩ mĩmé ʔə=t^hə p^huxè ʔo kû' ʔə=mê
 grandmother widow 3.POSS = thing animal exist every 3.POSS = CL.kind
 dâi']_{CC}
 still

Lit. 'He go walk exist Grandmother Widow, (he) observe it, Grandmother Widow, her thing animal exist, every kind still.'

'He walked to where Grandmother Widow was and saw that all of her animals were still there.'

In (433), the absolutive pronoun, in the direct object position of the second conjunct of the main clause coordinate clause, refers to state of of the continuing existence of Grandmother Widow's animals, which is expressed in the complement clause.

In terms of events, 167 cases of absolutive pronoun reference refer to acts of thinking or speaking. A thinking event is illustrated in (434).

(434) **M5 Folktale 26**

[kəsámâ tç^hõmõ wé]_{MC} [ʔà tçôp^huxwi lə = uɛ ʔĩ tç^hõmõ
 rich.man think 3.ABS EXCL male.orphan one CL.human this think
 t^hə uɪ mð]_{CC}
 thing be.good INTENS

Lit. 'Rich.man think it, "Ah! Orphan, one human, this think thing be.good!"
 'The rich man thought, "My! This orphan thinks very good things!"

In (434), an event of thinking is referenced by wé '3.ABS' in the main clause, while what is thought is expressed in the complement clause that follows.

Not only is wé used to refer to thinking, it is also used to refer to events of speaking, as illustrated in (435).

(435) **Folktale 6.7**

[*kəsámâ tçâi' wé*] _{MC} [*tçə = mə = ʔãxí ʔe' nə = ɥǎ*] _{DO}
rich.man say 3.ABS 1.NOM IRR seek DAT 2.POSS = body

Lit. 'Rich.man say it, "I would seek for your body (stuff)."'

'The rich man said thus, "I will look for (something) for you."'

In (435), *wé*, in the main clause, is used to reference the direct quote in a message quotative construction.

The remaining 15 instances of object absolutive pronoun reference refer to events other than thinking and speaking, as illustrated in (436).

(436) a. **F6 Folktale 441**

kəsi kû' kətç^hǎ kû' ŋû kû' pənè kû' p^há nɔ
horse call elephant call cow call water.buffalo call CL.time that

Lit. 'Horse call, elephant call, cow call, water.buffalo call time that.'

'The horses, elephants, cows, and water buffalo called that time.'

b. **F6 Folktale 442**

ʔim ʔə = wé sâ'me' wé [∅ wâ't^ho'
Wow! 3.ERG fear 3.ABS 3.SUBJ shake

Lit. 'Wow! He fear it (he) shake.'

'Wow! He was afraid of it and shook.'

In (436), the event of various animals calling, as expressed in (436a), is referenced by the absolutive pronoun, in (436b); something that the subject referent fears. Zero object reference to non-participants is much less prevalent in the direct object position.

6.7.3.3 Zero direct object reference to non-participants

Within the data frame, situation non-participants are referenced by zero one time in the direct object position, while event non-participants are referenced by zero nine times in the direct object position. All instances of zero direct object reference to non-participants are interpreted based on the larger context.

The single instance of zero reference to a situation is illustrated in (437).

(437) a. F2 Folktale 30

[\emptyset $l\grave{\text{e}}$ $l\grave{\text{e}}$ $l\grave{\text{e}}$ $l\hat{\text{a}}$ $t^h\hat{\text{a}}i$ $ʔ\partial = s\hat{\text{a}}'$ $d\partial'$]_{SC} [\emptyset
 3.SUBJ release release release descend return 3.POSS = heart NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ
 $d\epsilon$ $k^hw\grave{\text{e}}$ $l\hat{\text{a}}$ \emptyset $ʔ\partial = k^h\tilde{\text{a}}t^h\hat{\text{a}}i'$]_{MC}
 see observe descend 3.DO 3.POSS = base

Lit. ‘(He) release, release, release descend return his heart, (he) see observe descend (it) (at) its base.’

‘When he was going back down, (he) looked down and saw something at the base of the tree.’

b. F2 Folktale 31

[\emptyset $d\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon t\zeta\hat{\text{u}}$ $l\hat{\text{a}}$ $t^h\partial = l\acute{\text{e}}k^h\acute{\text{e}}$ $b\hat{\text{a}}i b\hat{\text{a}}$ $t^h\tilde{\text{a}}$
 3.SUBJ see.from.a.distance descend NMLZ_{thing} = be.dark.green tie ascend
 $s\tilde{\text{e}}$ $n\text{ɔ}$ ni
 tree NMLZ_{that} OK?

Lit. ‘(He) see.from.a.distance descend thing be.dark.green tie ascend tree, OK?’

‘(He) looked down a long ways and saw a dark green thing coiled around the tree.’

In (437a), while the orphan is descending a tree, he looks down and sees something which is coded by zero in the direct object position. It is not until (437b) that we learn that what is seen is a green thing coiled around the tree, as expressed in the direct object position of the clause.

The larger context is also a factor in the interpretation of an event non-participant, as illustrated in (438).

(438) Folktale 3.67

[$k\partial =$ me' $m\acute{\text{e}}$ \emptyset $b\grave{\text{i}}$ $\tilde{\text{ɰ}}$ $n\text{ɔ}$]_{SC} [$k\partial =$ $m\partial =$ $ʔ\tilde{\text{a}}b\epsilon$ \emptyset
 1.PL.NOM be_{be.true} do 3.DO like DEM.PRN_{this} NMLZ_{that} 1.PL.NOM IRR get 3.DO
 $l\grave{\text{ɔ}}$]_{MC}
 EMPH

Lit. “We be do (it) like this, we would get (it)!”

“If we do (things) like this, we’ll get (riches)!”

Prior to (438), the orphan has outlined his plans to fool some boat owners by putting a cricket nest at the top of a tree and then getting them to wager their possessions against the idea that a cricket nest could be in a tree. It is these proposed events that are referenced by zero in the direct object position of the conditional subordinate clause in (438).

Briefly, zero direct object reference to situations and events is interpreted based on the larger context. In some cases, this larger context precedes zero reference, while in other cases, the larger context follows zero reference.

6.7.3.4 Summary of direct object reference to non-participants

In the direct object position, non-participants can be referenced by noun phrases, the third-person accusative and absolutive pronouns, and zero. In the data frame, noun phrases are used to reference the story, situations, and events. The third-person accusative pronoun is used to reference events in the presence of first- or second-person subjects. Instances of absolutive pronoun reference to non-participants are the most prevalent and are used to refer to situations, events of thinking prior to a thinking complement clause, and events of speaking prior to a direct quote. Events other than speaking or thinking are also referenced by the object absolutive pronoun. Zero object reference to situations and events occurs much less frequently and is interpreted based on the larger context.

This ends the treatment of the tracking of participants and non-participants. The criteria for the coding of participants in N. Pwo narrative is summarized next.

6.8 Criteria for the coding of participants and non-participants in narrative

N. Pwo has three means of coding participants in narrative. These are noun phrases, pronouns, and zero. When and how noun phrases and pronouns are used is affected by syntactic position, whether the participant has been introduced into the story or not, and whether the participant

is thematic, non-thematic, or a prop. Both major and minor participants can serve as thematic or non-thematic participants, while props exhibit their own patterns of behaviour. In contrast, zero coding of participants is only affected by syntactic position.

The non-participants in the data frame include events, situations, locations, the story, the narrator, and the audience. Non-participants can be coded by noun phrases in the pre-clause, subject, direct object, and post-clause positions of the clause. Nominative pronoun reference to non-participants occurs in the subject position of the clause, while third-person accusative and absolutive pronoun reference to non-participants occurs in the direct object position of the clause. Non-participant direct object reference is coded by the third-person accusative pronoun with first- and second-person subjects, while the absolutive pronoun is used to code direct object non-participants occurring with third-person subjects. Zero reference to non-participants occurs in the subject and direct object positions only.

The criteria for the coding of participants and non-participants is summarized in a series of tables, starting with the first mention of participants, which are always coded as a noun phrase of some type. Table 6.27 shows the distribution of first mention by position and thematicity.

Table 6.27: *The distribution of first mention by position and thematicity*

Position	Thematic	Non-Thematic	Props	Totals
Pre-clause	9	8	0	17 (6%)
Subject	21	25	28	74 (27%)
Indirect Object	0	4	0	4 (1.5%)
Direct Object	0	22	143	165 (60.5%)
Oblique Object	0	6	7	13 (5%)
Totals	30 (11%)	65 (24%)	178 (65%)	273 (100%)

In general, both thematic and non-thematic participants are introduced in both the subject and pre-clause positions, while props are never introduced in the pre-clause position. Moreover, thematic participants are never introduced in the object positions, while most prop participants are introduced in the direct object position.

In conversation, speech act participants, all of them major and minor participants, are coded by the first- and second-person pronouns or zero. Their distribution is detailed in Table 6.28.

Table 6.28: *The distribution of SAP participants by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object
SAP pronoun	48	434	36	39	5
SAP zero	—	270	3	9	—
Totals	48	704	39	48	5

Out of a total of 844 references to SAP participants in the data frame, 562 or 67% are expressed by SAP pronouns, while 282 or 33% are expressed by zero. Third-person major and minor participants also occur in conversation, as summarized in Table 6.29.

Table 6.29: *The distribution of third-person participants in conversation by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object	Post-clause
Noun phrase	31	123	7	58	21	11
Ergative	—	7	—	—	—	—
Absolutive	—	2	—	4	—	—
3 rd accusative	—	—	18	28	—	—
Zero	—	96	1	49	—	—
Totals	31	228	26	139	21	11

Generally, in conversation, SAP participants are coded by the first- and second-person pronouns, while third-person participants are coded by noun phrases 55% of the time. Of this total, pre-clause, oblique object, and post-clause reference are only coded by noun phrases. Zero reference to third-person participants occurs 32% of the time. The few instances of ergative or absolutive pronoun reference in the subject position occur within embedded narratives which relate the actions of a third-person who is not involved in the conversation. Finally, in the indirect and direct object positions, the third-person accusative pronoun is the default pronoun with first- and second-person subject referents, while the absolutive pronoun is used to code non-thematic participants with third-person subjects.

Moving on to non-conversation contexts, thematic participants exhibit the highest frequency of third-person referents in the data frame, as shown in Table 6.30.

Table 6.30: *The distribution of thematic participants in narrative by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object	Post-clause
Noun phrase	159	287	—	1	1	4
Ergative	17	181	—	—	—	—
Absolutive	—	98	—	2	—	—
3rd accusative	—	—	8	27	—	—
Zero	—	1,065	—	3	—	—
Totals	176	1,631	8	33	1	4

Thematic participants are referenced in the data frame 1,853 times. Of these, 1,807 or 98% occur in the pre-clause and subject positions. The remaining 46 instances or 2% occur in the object and post-clause positions. For the subject, the absolutive pronoun occurs with intransitive predicates, while in the object position, reference to a thematic participant is encoded by the third-person accusative pronoun.

The coding of non-thematic participants is detailed in Table 6.31.

Table 6.31: *The distribution of non-thematic participants in narrative by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object	Post-clause
Noun phrase	30	137	46	103	27	2
Ergative	—	—	—	—	—	—
Absolutive	—	15	33	129	—	—
3rd accusative	—	—	34	28	3	—
Zero	—	109	3	33	—	—
Totals	30	261	118	293	30	2

Within the data frame, reference to non-thematic participants occurs 734 times. Of these, noun phrase reference occurs 47% of the time, in all positions. Zero coding occurs 20% of the time. In the subject position, the absolutive pronoun is used with particular intransitive predicates and the existence predicate. The ergative pronoun is never used to encode a non-thematic participant.

In the object positions, the absolutive pronoun is the expected means of referencing a non-thematic participant, occurring 22% of the time. The third-person accusative, which is generally associated with reference to a thematic participant in third-person contexts, is used to encode an addressee in the main clause of a quotative construction.

Prop participants are coded primarily by noun phrases in the object positions, which is shown in Table 6.32.

Table 6.32: *The distribution of prop participants by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Oblique Object	Post-clause
Noun phrase	67	199	0	592	31	12
Absolutive	—	1	2	160	—	—
3rd accusative	—	—	—	30	—	—
Zero	—	109	—	227	—	—
Totals	67	309	2	1,009	31	12

Out of a total of 1,430 references to props in the data frame, 63% are coded by noun phrases. In the subject position, the one instance of the absolutive pronoun occurs with an intransitive predicate, while the coding of prop participants with the absolutive pronoun in the indirect and direct object positions with third-person subjects is as expected, since prop participants are not thematic. Third-person accusative pronoun coding of props only occurs with first- and second-person subjects. Finally, 23% of prop references are coded by zero. In terms of syntactic position, 1,009 or 71% of the references to props occur in the direct object position.

Zero reference to participants occurs primarily in the subject and direct object positions, as shown in Table 6.33.

Table 6.33: *The distribution of zero reference to participants by condition and position*

Condition	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object
Extra-clausal reference	258	—	11
Construction-based	475	—	27
Context-based	961	7	111
Overt indirect object	—	—	33
Event emphasis	—	—	145
Totals	1,694	7 (100%)	327

Extra-clausal reference that is co-referential with a clausal argument is one of two conditions for zero reference that is shared by subjects and direct objects. It accounts for 269 (13%) of 2,028 instances of zero reference to participants in the data frame. The second condition is context-based zero reference, which accounts for 1,079 (53%) of the instances of zero reference in the subject, indirect object, and direct object positions. For example, a shared subject or object between two contiguous clauses or zero reference that is interpreted based on the surrounding discourse. The third condition is construction-based zero reference, which accounts for a further 502 (25%) of the instances in the subject and direct object positions of the clause. Constructions that are associated with zero subject reference include reference to the speaker in the subject position of the main clause of a quotative construction, co-referential subjects in complex constructions, or zero subjects in imperative constructions. In periphrastic causative constructions, the direct object causee referent of the upstairs clause is often zero, since it is co-referential with the subject causee referent of the downstairs clause of the periphrastic causative construction. From this point, subject and direct object zero reference diverge. The remaining 178 (9%) instances of zero direct object reference in the data frame are due to a narrator's choice to emphasize either an indirect object participant or the event by eliding the direct object argument.

Events, situations, locations, the narrator and/or the audience, or the story itself are considered a type of non-participant. In the data frame, non-participants can be referenced by noun phrases, pronouns, or zero in the pre-clause, subject, direct object, and post-clause positions.

The distribution of non-participant reference is detailed in Table 6.34.

Table 6.34: *The distribution of non-participant reference by form and position*

Position	Pre-clause	Subject	Direct Object	Post-clause
Noun phrase	4	22	56	1
Nominative	—	2	—	
Absolutive	—	1	191	—
3rd Accusative	—	—	7	—
Zero	—	43	10	—
Totals	4	68	264	1

Of 337 instances of non-participant reference in the data frame, 264 (78%) are referenced in the direct object position, with the absolutive pronoun the most prevalent coding form. This is because both events of both speaking and thinking are referenced by the absolutive pronoun. The third-person accusative pronoun is used exclusively to reference direct object non-participants with first- and second-person subjects. Finally, both pre- and post-clause reference to non-participants can only be coded by noun phrases.

This brings to an end the analysis of the function of entities in N. Pwo narrative. The next, and final, chapter provides an overview of the findings, along with some concluding remarks.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This dissertation has provided the first morpho-syntactic overview of N. Pwo Karen, along with an examination of the syntactic realization of grounding values and referential coherence strategies in narrative. Morpho-syntactically, N. Pwo has preserved a split-ergative system in its personal pronoun inventory, unlike better known Pwo Karen languages of Myanmar and West-Central Thailand. Another noticeable morpho-syntactic feature is phrasal and clausal nominalizations, both embedded and non-embedded.

Clausal nominalizations play a significant role in the expression of background information, especially setting information. Clause nominalizations also figure in the expression of both explanatory and collateral information. Foreground information tends to be coded by bare predicates, with no aspect or modality marking. Conversely, both perfective and imperfective aspect and modality values are more typically indicated in background information.

The referential coherence system shows a split between the tracking of SAP participants and third-person participants. With SAP participants, first- and second-person pronouns are the primary means of ongoing reference to interlocutors in conversation, although zero reference is also utilized. In contrast, third-person pronouns are used to optionally indicate the thematic status of a participant in a span of discourse. They only appear at points of participant discontinuity or to distinguish a thematic from a non-thematic participant. Thus, the N. Pwo third-person pronoun system is a pragmatic system that is under speaker control and context-

dependent. Because of this, discourse-level analysis is necessary to gain some idea of how to use these third-person personal pronouns.

Another important factor in the N. Pwo referential coherence system is participant rank; whether a participant is a major, minor, or prop participant. The rank of a participant determines the coding possibilities available for participant reference at a particular point in a narrative. In general, the most involved coding of participants is reserved for thematic participants. The ergative pronoun is used exclusively to track thematic participants. In general, the ergative pronoun is utilized at a point of participant discontinuity, while one of the functions of the third-person accusative pronoun is to reference a thematic participant when a subject referent is non-thematic, another type of discontinuity. In contrast, both non-thematic and prop participants are coded by noun phrases, in most cases, unless the predicate requires overt reference to an object participant or the narrator wishes to emphasize the participant.

Finally, zero reference to participants differs by syntactic position, but not by participant rank. Nor is it as unconstrained as it might appear. Rather, zero subject reference is governed primarily by constructional patterns, such as the presence of co-referential subjects within a complex construction, zero reference in imperative constructions, the same subject as in the previous clause, and the like. Similarly, zero object reference can occur when the object in the previous clause is the same. However, a more typical pattern is for the object to be coded as zero when the event is more important than a theme or patient argument. Thus, unlike zero subject reference, which in a topic chain is used to track the thematic participant, a zero-coded object is the least important entity in the discourse space.

Non-participants, such as an event or the story, can be coded by noun phrases, pronouns, or zero. In the case of zero reference, overt reference to the event or story can either precede or follow the zero reference to a non-participant.

In the remainder of this chapter, cross-linguistic comparison of grounding and referential coherence patterns are examined in §7.2. This is followed by a discussion concerning the treatment of pre-clause nominals and initial subordinate clauses, as well as the treatment of pre-clause nominal reference and subjects (§7.3). The benefits of corpus linguistic tools for the analysis of an undescribed language are considered in §7.4. The chapter ends with directions for future research and final observations (§7.5).

7.2 Cross-linguistic comparison of grounding and referential coherence in narrative

In the grounding literature, the coding of foreground and background information has been correlated with particular aspects, word order, or particles (Jones & Jones 1979; Hopper 1979). However, in N. Pwo, foreground information is typically coded by bare predicates with no aspect or modality coding. Conversely, both imperfective and perfective aspect, as well as modality values are encoded in background clauses. Clausal nominalizations, which by their nature as reified entities are off the time line, are also used to code background information. That background information is marked as such is not surprising; background is typically more heavily marked than foreground information (Levinsohn 2015). What is surprising is that all of the aspectual marking in N. Pwo resides with background information. This would suggest that the coding of grounding does not reside in particular aspects *per se*, rather the whole system of coding possibilities are apportioned language-specifically. Since N. Pwo speakers rely heavily on context for the interpretation of clauses and their relationship, aspectual marking is not needed for the relating of temporally sequenced events or the foreground information of the

story. Conversely, points of departure from the backbone of the story require extra marking, including aspectual and modality marking.

Clausal nominalizations are also heavily marked constructions in N. Pwo and typically code background information. Cross-linguistically, these nominalized structures serve a variety of functions, although these functions are not necessarily the same across languages. For example, in Kham, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, non-embedded clause nominalizations are used to encode surprising information in narrative (Watters 2002). In contrast, N. Pwo non-embedded clause nominalizations are used to encode a prevailing state of affairs in narrative, while, in conversation, non-embedded clause nominalizations are used by speakers to express either a prevailing state of affairs or their desired state of affairs.

Concerning referential coherence, the N. Pwo split-ergative pronoun system is in good company. Optional case marking, especially optional ergative marking, is found throughout Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 2011). Optional ergative marking is also observed in Australian and Papuan languages (McGregor 2010). The way in which N. Pwo differs from these other languages is that ergativity is only expressed in the personal pronouns and not as marking on noun phrases. Clauses and nominals can be marked in the same way in the pre-clause position of the clause.

7.3 Topic-marked pre-clause material and subjects

In a seminal article, Haiman (1978) observed that the same marker is often used to mark both pre-clause noun phrases and clause-initial adverbial clauses, a phenomenon that has been observed in many other languages (Levinsohn 2015). This also true for the N. Pwo medial demonstrative marker *nɔ* and the emphasis marker, *də'/dâ*, both of which mark initial subordinate clause nominalizations, as well as pre-clause nominals. Unfortunately, because of

this similar marking, linguists have often treated them as the same thing, accounting for the similar marking by suggesting that they both set up the context for what follows (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007). This also seems to be the point of Diessel (2006:464), who argues that demonstratives “function to coordinate the interlocutors’ joint focus of attention”.

Identifying initial clauses and noun phrases that take the same marker as a “point of departure” for what follows makes sense at the level of the sentence. However, neither initial subordinate clauses nor pre-clause nominal reference are really sentence-level phenomena, rather they are discourse-level phenomena. Furthermore, they are not even part of the same discourse system; initial subordinate clauses, in N. Pwo, are part of the arsenal for the expression of grounding, while pre-clause nominals are one means of expressing referential coherence. Another issue is that the medial demonstrative is also used to mark relative clauses and the downstairs clauses in a periphrastic causative construction. Neither of these clause nominalizations are initial in the clause. Givón (2001:344) has articulated the reasons for *not* treating initial subordinate clauses and pre-clause nominals in the same way:

“The problem of calling pre-posed ADV-clauses ‘topics’ (rather than [sic] ‘backgrounded’) is two-fold. First, using the functional label ‘topic’ does not absolve one from having to specify the exact discourse-pragmatic function of the construction. Clearly, the function of backgrounded *clauses* is not the same as that of topical *referents*, even if the two constructions share some functional and grammatical features.”

The idea of a “starting point” has also resulted in the collapsing of pre-clause nominal reference and subjects (Kim 2002; Jenny & Hnin Tun 2013). At the sentence-level, a “starting point” also makes sense, especially when, in most cases the subject is elided when co-referential with pre-clause material. However, these two positions serve different purposes in discourse. Pre-clause reference is optional and can only be coded by a noun phrase or ergative

pronoun in N. Pwo. In contrast, subject reference is obligatory and can be coded as a noun phrase, pronoun, or zero. Like pre-clause reference, it can be used to indicate a participant discontinuity; however, the subject position is the location for nominative pronoun reference in conversation. The nominative pronouns only occur in the subject position, while accusative pronouns occur as both object reference and pre-clause vocative reference. In short, the pre-clause and subject positions serve different purposes at the discourse level. Therefore, they should be accounted for separately.

7.4 Corpus linguistic tools and undescribed languages

Prior to this dissertation, any grammatical description of N. Pwo was confined to a book of language lessons (Cooke & Morris 1976) and a small amount of grammatical description in an unpublished paper (Cooke 1963). For this largely undescribed language, the use of a corpus of textual material greatly enhanced the study of N. Pwo grammar and narrative.

For the morpho-syntactic overview, in Chapter 2, concordance lines were used extensively to ensure as comprehensive a constructional description of N. Pwo morpho-syntax as possible. These concordance lines were generated from within Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX) (SIL International 2016). The FLEX concordancing capabilities facilitated searches by phonological form, analyzed word, or tagged construction. The resulting concordance lines were then organized further in Excel spreadsheets, one for each concordance search. Within each spreadsheet, I was able to keep track of my analyses, sort the concordance lines, and determine the best examples of phenomena by examining all of the concordance lines in one place.

For the analysis of thematic groupings or episodes, grounding, and referential coherence, the ability to closely examine 14 narratives in a data frame, instead of three or four narratives by hand, was essential for a comprehensive analysis of thematic groupings, grounding, and

participant reference. In fact, a preliminary study with four narratives was not sufficient to develop an adequate understanding of the referential patterns.

Furthermore, the creation of a data frame enforced extensive interaction with the data, which led to greater understanding of the phenomena under study, which then led to further tagging columns. Then, as I ran the statistical analysis and examined the data over and over again, further patterns were observed which resulted in more consistent analyses as corrections were made to the data frame.

One caveat is that a corpus linguistic approach is a tool and not a replacement for detailed and repeated analysis of the data. The detailed analysis of a smaller sample of text is necessary in order to figure out the tags and levels in a data frame. Then, as the data frame is developed and corrected further patterns emerge.

7.5 Directions for future research and final observations

Even after over 300 pages, the discoveries in this dissertation only represent a start to an understanding of the interaction of N. Pwo grammar and discourse phenomena. Much remains to be investigated. First, even though the function of a good number of constructions was examined, the constructions themselves could benefit from a more detailed syntactic analysis. Second, since nominals were the focus of the dissertation, much remains to be done on the analysis of the verbal aspects of the grammar, including the structure of predicates and the function of all the particles and content words acting in a grammatical capacity. Third, the subject absolute pronoun and the predicates with which it can occur needs further investigation. Finally, the narrative genre has been the sole focus of this dissertation. The study of grounding and referential coherence in other genres would be another fruitful area of study.

This dissertation has demonstrated the necessity of looking beyond the confines of the sentence for an explanation of N. Pwo personal pronoun inventory. Because of this, N. Pwo grammar forces the analyst to make an early foray into discourse-level analysis, owing to the fact that one cannot use the personal pronouns correctly without a knowledge of discourse patterns. A syntax-only analysis of any language can lead to incorrect and misleading analyses that can persist for decades, as seen with the conflation of initial subordinate clauses and pre-clause reference. Furthermore, without a discourse view, some phenomena will remain only partially understood, or the explanation will describe a secondary rather than primary phenomenon.

The grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of human language is rarely as simple as we would like to make them. Nor can the patterns in human language be accounted for adequately by artificially limiting the domain of investigation to the most easily controlled aspects of communication, while claiming that the less-controlled aspects are outside the realm of linguistic investigation. Instead, it is important to consider as wide a picture as possible, which takes into consideration syntax, semantics, and discourse from the outset of the analysis. That way, the investigator can have it all; an accurate syntactic analysis which is informed by real-language context and verifiable data.

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Appendix A

M5 Folktale grounding values

Grounding values

Foreground (green)

Setting (red)

Explanation (blue)

Collateral (pink)

Evaluation (purple)

Performative (yellow)

Introduction

- 1 *kəp^hlô* *ʔə = çè* *ʔo* *wé* *lə = jḥ* [*lô* *bexâ'* *dí* *tçôp^huxwi*
 people 3.POSS = story exist 3.ABS one CL.story tell about with male.orphan
ʔə = uəi]_{RC}
 3.POSS = story

Lit. 'Karen, their story exist it, one story, tell about with male.orphan his story.'
 'There is a Karen story that tells about the orphan's experience.'

Episode 1

- 2 *tçôp^huxwi* *lə = uə* *ʔi* *li* *tçai* *lí* *kəsámâ* *ʔə = dâu'*
 male.orphan one CL.human this go walk at rich.man 3.POSS = house

Lit. 'Orphan, one human this go walk at rich.man, his house.'
 'This orphan walked to a rich man's house.'

- 3 *kəsámâ* *kelá* *wé* *ʔə = tçî* *lə = bâ'*
 rich.man give 3.ABS 3.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. 'Rich.man give him his money, one baht.'
 'The rich man gave him one (Thai) baht.'

- 4 \emptyset *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé* *tçôp^huxwi* = *â* \emptyset *li* *ʔādú'* *ʔe'* *tçə = t^hi*
 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ABS male.orphan dear 2.SUBJ go SCOOP DAT 1.POSS = water

Lit. '(He) say to him, "Orphan, dear, (you) go scoop for my water."
 '(He) said to him, "Orphan, dear! (You) go scoop water for me."'

5 *tɕə = mə = kemá nê nə = tɕi̯ lə = bā'*
 1.NOM IRR give 2.ACC 2.POSS = money one CL.baht

Lit. 'I would give you your money, one baht.'

'I will give you one baht.'

6 *ʔə = wé p^hɔ̯ t^hã kəsámâ ʔə = t^hit^hɔ̯ p^hâ'du k^hĩ*
 3.ERG seize ascend rich.man 3.POSS = water.container be.very.big two
t^hɔ̯ lĩ wé dɛ
 CL.tube-shaped go 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'He seize ascend rich.man, his water container be.very.big, two tube-shaped go him.'

'He picked up the rich man's two very large water containers and went.'

7 [*bɛdɔ̯ lĩ wé lə = t^hɔ̯ lú t^hĩ klɔ̯ p^hâ dâi' bɛ nɔ]_{SC} ʔə = wé*
 however go 3.ABS NEG reach at water CL.river inside still NEG NMLZ_{that} 3.ERG
dɛ sɛp^hĩ lə = kai' Ø t^hã t^hau' wé ʔə = k^hu
 see log one CL.log 3.SUBJ ascend ride 3.ABS 3.POSS = head

Lit. 'However, go him not reach at water river inside still not, he see log, one log, (he) ascend ride it, its head.'

'However, before he reached the river, he saw a log and rode on it.'

8 *Ø sɔ̯sũ ʔə = sâ' k^hĩ p^hɛ k^hĩ p^hɛ k^hĩ p^hɛ*
 3.SUBJ jump.up.and.down 3.POSS = heart two CL.side two CL.side two CL.side

Lit. '(He) jump.up.and.down his heart, two side, two side, two side.'

'He jumped up and down from side to side.'

9 *ʔə = t^hit^hɔ̯ nɔ Ø lâ^he' sãp^hâ' k^hĩ t^hɔ̯ lau'*
 3.POSS = water.container NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ fall crack two CL.tube-shaped exhaust

Lit. 'His water.container, (they) fall crack, two tube-shaped exhaust.'

'As for his water containers, (they) fell and cracked completely.'

10 *ʔə = wé ujet^hâi uã*
 3.ERG return cry

Lit. 'He return cry.'

'He went home and cried.'

Episode 2

- 11 \emptyset $u\tilde{a}$ $u\tilde{a}$ $p^h\tilde{a}$ $n\tilde{a}$
 3.SUBJ cry cry at DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. ‘(He) cry and cry, at that.’

‘(He) was crying there.’

- 12 $k\tilde{a}s\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}$ $l\tilde{i}$ $d\tilde{e}$ = \hat{a} ’ \emptyset $\tilde{a}t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ ’ = \hat{a} ’ \emptyset $u\tilde{a}$ $j\tilde{a}$ \tilde{u} $j\tilde{e}$
 rich.man go see 3.ACC 3.SUBJ ask 3.ACC 2.SUBJ cry like yonder completely

Lit. ‘Rich.man go see him, (he) ask him, “(You) cry like yonder completely.”’

‘The rich man went and saw him and asked him, “Why are you crying so much?”’

- 13 \emptyset $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}i$ ’ $w\tilde{e}$ $k\tilde{a}s\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}$ \hat{a} $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ = $m\tilde{e}$ $s\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}$ ’ $n\tilde{a}$ = $t^h\tilde{u}^h\tilde{c}$ $k^h\tilde{i}$
 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS rich.man Oh! 1.NOM do crack 2.POSS = water.container two
 $t^h\tilde{c}$ lau ’
 CL.tube-shaped exhaust

Lit. ‘(He) say it, “Rich.man Oh! I do crack your water.container, two tube-shaped, exhaust.”’

‘(He) said it, “Oh! Rich man! I broke your two water containers completely!”’

- 14 $k\tilde{a}s\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}i$ ’ = \hat{a} ’ $n\tilde{a}$ = $m\tilde{e}$ $b\tilde{a}$ $l\tilde{s}$
 rich.man say 3.ACC 2.NOM do like QUES

Lit. ‘Rich.man say him, “You do like?”’

‘The rich man said to him, “What did you do?”’

[Embedded narrative]

- 15 \tilde{a} = $w\tilde{e}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}i$ ’ $w\tilde{e}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ = $t\tilde{c}^h\tilde{c}m\tilde{c}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ = $m\tilde{e}$ ’ $n\tilde{i}$ $b\tilde{e}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ ’ $l\tilde{a}$ = $b\tilde{a}$ ’
 3.ERG say 3.ABS 1.NOM think 1.NOM be_{be.true} get strike money one CL.baht
 $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ = $m\tilde{a}$ = $t^h\tilde{a}i$ $xw\tilde{i}$ $t\tilde{c}^h\tilde{a}$
 1.NOM IRR return buy chicken

Lit. ‘(He) said it, “I think I would get strike money, one baht, I would return buy chicken.”’

‘(He) said it, “I thought that if I get one baht, I would buy a chicken.”’

- 16 \emptyset $b\tilde{i}l\tilde{a}$ $t\tilde{c}^h\tilde{a}$ ’ \emptyset $m\tilde{e}$ ’ du $t^h\tilde{a}$ $n\tilde{c}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ = $m\tilde{a}$ = $xw\tilde{i}$ $t^h\tilde{u}$ ’
 1.SUBJ raise chicken 3.SUBJ be_{be.true} be.big ascend NMLZ_{that} 1.NOM IRR buy pig

Lit. “(I) raise chicken (it) be be.big ascend, I would buy pig.”

“I would raise the chicken and if it grows, I would buy a pig.”

- 17 *tʰu' me' du tʰã nɔ tɕə = ʔãtɕʰé = á' uɟ̌ tɕə = mə = xwí*
 pig be_{be.true} be.big ascend NMLZ_{that} 1.POSS = sell 3.ACC finish 1.NOM IRR buy
me'tələ'
 goat

Lit. "Pig be be.big ascend, my selling it finish, I would buy goat."

"If a pig gets big, I would sell it and buy a goat."

- 18 *mɛ'tələ' me' ʔɛ tʰã tɕə = mə = ʔãtɕʰé = á' uɟ̌ tɕə = mə = xwí*
 goat be_{be.true} be.much ascend 1.POSS IRR sell 3.ACC finish 1.NOM IRR buy
ŋú
 cow

Lit. "Goat be be.much ascend, I would sell it finish, I would buy cow."

"If the goat gets big, after I sell it, I would buy a cow."

- 19 *tɕə = xwí ŋú uɟ̌ tɕə = ŋú me' ʔɛ tʰã tɕə = mə = xwí*
 1.POSS = buy cow finish 1.POSS = cow be_{be.true} be.much ascend 1.NOM IRR buy
pənè
 water.buffalo

Lit. "My buying cow finish, my cow be be.much ascend, I would buy water.buffalo."

"After my buying the cow, if the cow gets big, I would buy a water buffalo."

- 20 *tɕə = xwí pənè pənè me' ʔɛ tʰã tɕə = xwí*
 1.POSS = buy water.buffalo water.buffalo be_{be.true} be.much ascend 1.POSS = buy
pənè me' uɟ̌ tɕə = ʔãtɕʰé pənè uɟ̌ tɕə = mə = xwí
 water.buffalo be_{be.true} finish 1.POSS = sell water.buffalo finish 1.NOM IRR buy
kətɕʰá
 elephant

Lit. "My buying water.buffalo, water.buffalo be be.much ascend, my buying water.buffalo be finish, my selling water.buffalo finish, I would buy elephant."

"When I buy a water buffalo and if it grows large, after I buy and sell the water buffalo, I will buy an elephant."

- 21 *tɕə = mə = tʰau' kətɕʰá*
 1.NOM IRR ride elephant

Lit. "I would ride elephant."

"I will ride the elephant."

- 22 *kətɕ^há me' swe Ø nɔ tɕə = mə = t^hau' = á' bì ɹí bì*
 elephant be_{be.true} swing 3.OBJ NMLZ_{that} 1.NOM IRR ride 3.ACC like DEM.PRN_{this} like
ɹí
 DEM.PRN_{this}

Lit. “Elephant be swing (its head), I would ride it like this, like this.”

“If the elephant swings (its head in disobedience) I will ride it like this (to make the elephant obey).”

- 23 *tɕə = sósū sá' k^hí p^hɛ k^hí p^hɛ də' t^hít^hɔ̃*
 1.POSS = jump.up.and.down heart two CL.side two CL.side NMLZ_{EMPH} water.container
lát^he'
 fall

Lit. My jumping up and down heart (body) two side, two side, water.container fall.”

“When I jumped up and down, from side to side, the water containers fell.”

- 24 *Ø lát^he' sǎp^há' k^hí t^hɔ̃ lau'*
 3.SUBJ fall crack two CL.tube-shaped exhaust

Lit. “(They) fall crack, two tube-shaped exhaust.”

“They both dropped and shattered.”

[End of embedded narrative]

- 25 *k^hɛ ɹí nɔ tɕə = sá' ɥéɥɔ̃*
 season this NMLZ_{that} 1.POSS = heart be.broken

Lit. “Season this, my heart be.broken.”

“Right now, I am very sad.”

- 26 *kəsámâ tɕ^hɔ̃mɔ̃ wé ʔà tɕôp^huxwi lə = ɥé ɹí tɕ^hɔ̃mɔ̃ t^hə*
 rich.man think 3.ABS EXCL male.orphan one CL.human this think thing
ɥí mə
 be.good INTENS

Lit. ‘Rich.man think it, “Ah! Orphan, one human, this think thing be.good!”’

‘The rich man thought, “My! This orphan thinks very good things!”’

- 27 *kəsámâ tɕâi' ʔe' = á' Ø bɛk^hùbɛɥô lə = ɥí*
 rich.man say DAT 3.ACC 2.SUBJ be.worried NEG don't

Lit. ‘Rich.man say to him, “(You) be.worried not don't.”’

‘The rich man said to him, “Don't worry.”’

28 *tɕə = mə = kemá nê ʔə = sǎ̌ lə = bǎ' dɔ̌'*
 1.NOM IRR give 2.ACC 3.POSS = be.new one CL.baht more

Lit. "I will give you its be.new, one baht, more."

"I will give you another baht."

29 *∅ mē = á' bì nə = tɕʰɔ̌mɔ̌ = á' nɔ*
 2.SUBJ do 3.ACC like 2.POSS = think OK? NMLZ_{that}

Lit. "(You) do it like your thinking, OK?"

"Do it according to your thinking."

Episode 4

30 *ʔǎ ʔə = wé sǎ̌tʰo'sǎ'tʰo' wé dɛ*
 Ah! 3.ERG be.very.happy 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Ah! He be.very.happy him.'

'Ah! He was very happy!'

31 *∅ pʰɔ̌ tʰǎ tʰítʰɔ̌ kʰí tʰɔ̌ lí tʰái wé lə =*
 3.SUBJ seize ascend water.container two CL.tube-shaped go return 3.ABS one
pʰá dɔ̌'
 CL.time more

Lit. '(He) seize ascend water.container, two tube-shaped go return him, one time more.'

'(He) picked up two water containers and went back another time.'

32 *∅ lí ʔǎdú' tʰí ɣɔ̌ ∅ ɣétʰái tʰɔ̌ kəsámǎ kelǎ ʔə = tɕí*
 3.SUBJ go scoop water finish 3.SUBJ return reach rich.man give 3.POSS = money
lə = bǎ'
 one CL.baht

Lit. '(He) go scoop water finish, (he) return reach, rich.man give his money, one baht.'

'After he finished scooping water and came back, the rich man gave him one baht.'

33 *ʔə = wé lí xwí tɕʰǎ̌ lə = bē*
 3.ERG go buy chicken one CL.flat.thing

Lit. 'He go buy chicken, one flat.thing.'

'He went and bought a chicken.'

34 *∅ ɣétʰái bǐ wé dɛ ∅ kʰwè tʰwé wé ɣí ma'*
 3.SUBJ return care.for 3.ABS dɛ 3.SUBJ observe follow 3.ABS be.good to.the.fullest

Lit. '(He) return care.for it; (he) observe follow it be.good to.the.fullest.'

'He came back and cared for it; (he) looked after it very well.'

35 ʔə=wé lú kʰái ʔə=tɕʰá ʔɛ tʰǎ ʔɛ tʰǎ ʔǎtɕʰé wé
 3.ERG at back 3.POSS=time be.much ascend be.much ascend sell 3.ABS

Lit. 'He, at back its time be.much ascend, be.much ascend, sell it.'
 'When the chicken grew very large, he sold it.'

36 Ø nì Ø ɯʝ̂ Ø xwí kâ' tʰú' lə= d̥i Ø bĩ
 3.SUBJ get 3.OBJ finish 3.SUBJ buy consequently pig one CL.body 3.SUBJ care.for
 wé
 3.ABS

Lit. '(He) get finish, (he) buy consequently pig, one body, (he) care.for it.'
 'After (he) got (the money), he then bought a pig and cared for it.'

37 ʔə=tʰə ʔɛ tʰǎ ʔɛ tʰǎ Ø ʔǎtɕʰé wé
 3.POSS=thing be.much ascend be.much ascend 3.SUBJ sell 3.ABS

Lit. 'His thing be.much ascend, be.much ascend, (he) sell it.'
 'When the pig became very large, (he) sold it.'

38 Ø ʔǎtɕʰé wé Ø nì ʔɛ tʰǎ ʔɛ tʰǎ Ø xwí d̥ɔ'
 3.SUBJ sell 3.ABS 3.SUBJ get be.much ascend be.much ascend 3.SUBJ buy more
 mɛ'tələ' lə= d̥i
 goat one CL.body

Lit. '(He) sell it, (he) get be.much ascend, be.much ascend, (he) buy more goat, one body.'
 'When (he) sold it and got a lot, (he) then bought a goat.'

39 lú kʰái Ø xwí mɛ'tələ' ʔə=tɕi ʔɛ nɔ Ø xwí ŋú
 at back 3.SUBJ buy goat 3.POSS=money be.much NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ buy cow

Lit. 'At back, he buy goat his money be.much, (he) buy cow.'
 'After (he) bought a goat and he had a lot of money, he bought a cow.'

40 Ø xwí ŋú ɯʝ̂ Ø xwí pənè
 3.SUBJ buy cow finish 3.SUBJ buy water.buffalo

Lit. '(He) buy cow finish, (he) buy water.buffalo.'
 'After he bought a cow, he bought a buffalo.'

41 Ø xwí pənè ɯʝ̂ Ø xwí kətɕʰá nì
 3.SUBJ buy water.buffalo finish 3.SUBJ buy elephant OK?

Lit. (He) buy water.buffalo finish, (he) buy elephant.'
 'After he bought the buffalo, he bought an elephant.'

Episode 5

- 42 *tʰɿ̌ kasámâ lî dɛ wé lə = pʰá dɔ̌ʔ ʔó ʔə = wé xwî kətɕʰá nì*
 to_{reach} rich.man go see 3.ABS one CL.time more EXCL 3.ERG buy elephant get
lə = ďǐ jâuʔ
 one CL.body INCH

Lit. 'To rich.man go see him, one time more, Oh! he buy elephant get one body already.'
 'When the rich man went to see him, he had already bought an elephant.'

- 43 *∅ tʰauʔ wé ʔə = kʰu*
 3.SUBJ ride 3.ABS 3.POSS = head

Lit. '(He) ride it, its head.'
 'He rode on its back.'

- 44 *kasámâ sâʔ maíʔ du maʔ*
 rich.man heart be.well be.big to.the.fullest

Lit. 'Rich.man's heart be.well be.big to.the.fullest.'
 'The rich man was very happy.'

- 45 *kasámâ ʔãtʰã = áʔ lú ∅ ke wé ʔə = maʔ*
 rich.man ask 3.ACC at 3.SUBJ be_{be.able} 3.ABS 3.POSS = son-in-law

Lit. 'Rich.man ask him at (he) be him, his son-in-law.'
 'The rich man asked him to become his son-in-law.'

- 46 *ʔə = wé ke kâʔ kasámâ ʔə = maʔ*
 3.ERG be_{be.able} consequently rich.man 3.POSS = son-in-law

Lit. 'He be consequently rich.man his son-in-law.'
 'Consequently, he became the rich man's son-in-law.'

Closure

- 47 *∅ tʰaiʔ pʰǐ jô ľ ɕê lə = ǰɔ̌ ʔǐ*
 3.SUBJ stop at DEM.PRN_{this} EMPH story one CL.story this

Lit. 'It stop at this, story, one story, this!'
 'This story stops here!'

Appendix B

Folktale 6

Participant Colour-coding Legend

Orphan
 Rich.man
 Orphan and rich.man
 Hunted things
 Rice
 Snake
wé (reference to the following message)

Grounding Legend

Foreground: pale green
 Background: light grey

Introduction

1 ʔo lə = p^há tɕôp^huxwi ʔo lə = ɯé
 exist one CL.time male.orphan exist one CL.person

Lit. ‘Exist one time, male.orphan exist, one person.’

‘Once upon a time there was an orphan boy.’

2 ʔə = t^hə lə = ʔolə = tɕ^hɔ̄ nà mê ʔe’
 3.POSS = stuff not.exist even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. ‘His thing not exist, even.one kind not.’

‘He did not have anything.’

3 t^hə = ʔãt^hə = ʔô lə = ʔo bɛ
 food.and.drink NEG exist NEG

Lit. ‘Food and drink not exist not.’

‘There was nothing to eat.’

Episode 1

4 kasámã ɯé ʔãtɕâ’ = â’ ∅ lĩ ʔãxĩ k^hâ’ ʔã t^hə
 rich.man come ask 3.ACC 3.SUBJ go seek shoot eat thing

Lit. ‘Rich.man come ask him (he) go seek, shoot, eat thing.’

‘The rich man came and asked him to go hunting.’

5 $\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ $\text{tɕâi}'$ wé tɕə lî $\text{lə} =$ mai' bɛ
 3.ERG say 3.ABS 1.NOM go NEG well NEG

‘Lit. He said it, “I go not well not.”’

‘He said, “I don’t feel like going.”’

6 $\text{tɕə} = \text{t}^h\text{ə}$ $\text{lə} =$ ʔo nà mê bɛ
 1.POSS = stuff NEG exist even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. “My thing not exist, even.one kind not.”

“I don’t have anything at all.”

7 kəsámâ $\text{tɕâi}'$ wé $\text{tɕə} =$ $\text{mə} =$ ʔāxí $\text{ʔe}'$ $\text{nə} = \text{ɥǎ}$
 rich.man say 3.ABS 1.NOM IRR seek DAT 2.POSS = body

Lit. ‘Rich.man say it, “I would seek for your body (stuff).”’

‘The rich man said thus, “I will look for (something) for you.”’

8 $\text{tɕôp}^h\text{uxwi}$ $\text{tɕâi}'$ wé $\text{tɕə} = \text{mí}b\text{ǔ}$ $\text{lə} =$ ʔo bɛ pa'
 male.orphan say 3.ABS 1.POSS = rice.parcel NEG exist NEG also

Lit. ‘Orphan say it, “My rice.packet not exist not also.”’

‘The Orphan said, “I don’t have a rice packet either.”’

9 kəsámâ $\text{tɕâi}'$ wé ʔâ $\text{tɕə} =$ mə bǔ mí dí $\text{nə} = \text{ɥǎ}$ pa'
 rich.man say 3.ABS Ah! 1.NOM IRR wrap.up cooked.rice with 2.POSS = body also
 l̥
 EMPH

Lit. ‘Rich.man say it, “Ah! I would wrap.up cooked.rice with your body also!”’

The rich man said, “I will wrap up rice for you, also.”’

10 $\text{tɕôp}^h\text{uxwi}$ $\text{k}^h\text{ó}$ ∅ lî $\text{p}^h\text{o}'$ kəsámâ $\text{ʔə} = \text{k}^h\text{ái}$ wai'
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ go follow rich.man 3.POSS = back immediately

Lit. ‘Boy orphan part, (he) go follow rich.man, his back immediately.’

‘On the boy orphan’s part, (he) went with the rich man.’

Episode 2

11 lî lî wé dɛ
 go go 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. ‘Go, go them.’

‘They went and went.’

12 *kásámâ* *ʔāβε* *tʰə* *təblʰ* *mê*
 rich.man get thing many CL.kind

Lit. ‘The rich.man got thing, many kind.’
 ‘The rich.man got animals of many kinds.’

13 *me'* *kʰlâi'* = *â* *kʰâu'* = *â* *tʰupʰu* = *â* *lípʰu* = *â* *∅*
 be_{be.true} turtle or monitor.lizard or small.bird or baby.squirrel or 3.SUBJ
ʔāβε *wé* *kû'* *mê* *l̥*
 get 3.ABS every CL.kind EMPH

Lit. ‘Be turtle, or monitor lizard, or chick, or baby squirrels, (he) got them, every kind.’
 ‘Regardless of whether it was a turtle, a monitor lizard, a chick, or a baby squirrel, (he) got them, every kind.’

14 *∅* *ʔāxí* *ʔāxí* *ʔā* *wé* *tʰɔ̃* *lū* *mítʰə*
 3.SUBJ seek seek eat 3.ABS reach at noon

Lit. ‘(He) seek seek eat them reach at noon.’
 ‘He hunted them until noon.’

15 *kásámâ* *kʰó* *∅* *ʔāxuʔā* *ʔākεʔā* *wé*
 rich.man TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ barbecue roast 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Rich man part, (he) barbecue roast them.’
 ‘On the rich.man’s part, (he) roasted them (animals).’

16 *∅* *ʔā* *wé* *dε* *lə =* *uʔê* *l̥*
 3.SUBJ eat 3.ABS dε one CL.person EMPH

Lit. ‘(He) ate them, one person.’
 ‘(He) ate them all by himself!’

17 *∅* *lə =* *kemá* *ʔā* *tɕôpʰuxwi* *∅* *nâ* *mê* *ʔe'*
 3.SUBJ NEG give eat male.orphan 3.OBJ even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. ‘(He) did not give (it) to the orphan, even one kind.’
 ‘(He) did not give any to the boy orphan to eat.’

18 *ʔə = wé* *tɕâi'* *ʔe'* *tɕôpʰuxwi* *pʰuxwi* *ʔə = ʔi* *tɕə =* *me'* *kemá* *ʔā*
 3.ERG say DAT male.orphan male.orphan 3.POSS = this 1.NOM be_{be.true} give eat
nê *∅* *nə =* *ʔā* *∅* *mə =* *ʔwĩ* *nê*
 2.ACC 3.OBJ 2.NOM eat 3.OBJ IRR be.tasty OK

Lit. ‘He say to orphan, “Orphan, This. I be give eat you (it), you eat (it) would be.tasty.’
 ‘He said to the orphan, “Orphan, as for this, if I gave (it) to you to eat, it would be tasty.”’

- 19 *tçôp^huxwi* *k^hlâi* *tç^há* *wé* *ʔá* *mâ* *nə =* *me'* *kemá* *ʔã* *xâ* *∅*
 male.orphan speak reply 3.ABS Ah! uncle 2.POSS be give eat 1.PL.ACC 3.OBJ
kə = *ʔã* *∅* *ʔwĩ* *səbò*
 1.PL.NOM eat 3.OBJ be.tasty for.sure

Lit. ‘Orphan speak reply him, “Ah! Uncle! Your be giving (it) to us to eat, we eat (it) be.tasty for sure!”’

‘Orphan answered him, “Ah! Uncle! If you gave (it) to us to eat, it would be tasty for sure!”’

- 20 *kəsámâ* *k^hlâi* *tç^há* *wé* *ʔâ* *kə =* *lə =* *kemá* *ʔã* *nɛ* *∅* *bɛ*
 rich.man speak reply 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC 3.OBJ NEG

Lit. ‘The rich.man spoke replied him, “Ah! We won’t give you it to eat.”’

‘The rich.man answered him, “Ah, we will not give (it) to you to eat.”’

- 21 *tçôp^huxwi* *lə =* *ʔãbɛ* *wé* *nâ* *mê* *bɛ*
 male.orphan NEG get 3.ABS even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. ‘The orphan did not get it, even one kind.’

‘The orphan did not get anything.’

Episode 3

- 22 *ʔo* *kâ'* *lə* *nî* *dɔ'* *kəsámâ* *ʔãtçá'* *tçôp^huxwi* *lí* *ʔãxá'* *k^há'*
 exist consequently one CL.day more rich.man ask male.orphan go seek shoot
ʔã *t^hə* *kədɔ'*
 eat thing again

Lit. ‘Exist consequently one day further, rich.man ask orphan go seek, shoot, eat thing further.’

‘On another day, the rich man asked the orphan to go hunting again.’

- 23 *tçôp^huxwi* *nɔ* *lí* *wé* *lə =* *mai'* *lâ* *bɛ*
 male.orphan NMLZ_{that} go 3.ABS NEG well at.all NEG

Lit. ‘As for the orphan, (he) went without any comfort at all.’

‘As for the orphan, he did not want to go at all.’

- 24 *kəsámâ* *nɔ* *∅* *ʔãtçâ'* *wé* *dâi'* *dâi'* *tçâi'* *wé* *lə =* *ní*
 rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ ask 3.ABS on.and.on on.and.on say 3.ABS one CL.day
jé *jô* *tçə = mĩbõ* *p^hâ'du*
 completely this 1.POSS = rice.parcel be.very.big

Lit. 'The rich.man, (he) asked him on and on, saying it, "Today, my rice parcel is big."
 'As for the rich.man, (he) asked him on and on and said, "Today, my rice parcel is really big."'

- 25 *tçə =* *ʔã* *= á'* *lə =* *lau'* *bɛ*
 1.NOM eat 3.ACC NEG exhaust NEG

Lit. "I eat it not exhausted."
 "I won't eat all of it."

- 26 *tçə =* *bõ* *∅* *dí* *nə = uɔ̃* *pa'* *l̩*
 1.NOM wrap.up 3.OBJ with 2.POSS = body also EMPH

Lit. "I wrapped for your body it also."
 "I also wrapped (some) for you."

- 27 *tçôp^huxwi* *nɔ* *∅* *lĩ* *p^ho'* *wé* *ʔə = k^hái* *wai'*
 male.orphan NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ go follow 3.ABS 3.POSS = back immediately

Lit. 'The orphan, (he) went following him, his back immediately.'
 'As for the orphan, (he) went with him immediately.'

Episode 4

- 28 *lĩ* *lĩ* *wé*
 go go 3.ABS

Lit. 'Go, go them.'
 'They went and went.'

- 29 *kəsámâ* *nɔ* *∅* *ʔãbɛ* *k^hlái'* *∅* *ʔãbɛ* *k^hâu'* *∅* *ʔãbɛ* *t^hu*
 rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ get turtle 3.SUBJ get monitor.lizard 3.SUBJ get bird
∅ *ʔãbɛ* *lĩ* *təblĩ'* *mê*
 3.SUBJ get squirrel many CL.kind

Lit. 'The rich.man, (he) get turtle, (he) get monitor lizard, (he) get bird, (he) get squirrel, many kind.'
 'As for the rich man, (he) many kinds of animals: turtles, monitor lizards, birds, and squirrels.'

30 $t^h\tilde{ɔ}$ $m\tilde{ɪ}t^h\tilde{ɔ}$ $kasámâ$ $ʔãxuʔã$ $ʔãkeʔã$ $wé$
 to noon rich.man barbecue roast 3.ABS

Lit. ‘To noon, rich.man barbecue roast them.’
 ‘At noon, the rich man roasted them.’

31 $ʔə = wé$ $lə =$ $kemá$ $ʔã$ $tɕôp^huxwi$ $∅$ $nã$ $mê$ $bɛ$
 3.ERG NEG give eat male.orphan 3.OBJ even.one CL.kind NEG

Lit. ‘He did not give eat (to) the orphan (them), even one kind.’
 ‘He did not give the orphan anything to eat.’

32 $∅$ $tɕâi'$ $ʔe'$ $tɕôp^huxwi$ $ʔâ$ p^huxwi $tɕə =$ me' $kemá$ $ʔã$ $nê$ $∅$
 3.SUBJ said DAT male.orphan Ah! male.orphan 1.NOM be give eat 2.ACC 3.OBJ
 $nə =$ $ʔã$ $∅$ $mə =$ $ʔwĩ$ $nê$
 2.NOM eat 3.OBJ IRR tasty OK

Lit. ‘(He) said to the orphan, “Ah, Orphan, I be give eat you, you eat would tasty, OK.”’
 ‘(He) said to the orphan, “Ah, Orphan, if I gave (it) to you to eat, it would be tasty, OK.”’

33 $tɕôp^huxwi$ $k^hlâi$ $tɕ^há$ $= á'$ $ʔâ$ $mâ$ $nə =$ me' $kemá$ $ʔã$ $xâ$ $∅$
 male.orphan speak reply 3.ACC Ah! uncle 2.NOM be give eat 1.PL.ACC 3.OBJ
 $kə =$ $ʔã$ $∅$ $mə =$ $ʔwĩ$ $sâ$
 1.PL.NOM eat 3.OBJ IRR tasty EMPH

Lit. ‘The orphan spoke replied him, “Ah! Uncle! You be give eat us (it), we eat (it) would be tasty!”’
 ‘The orphan answered him, “Ah! Uncle! If you gave to us to eat, we would eat tasty for sure.”’

34 $kasámâ$ $tɕâi'$ $wé$ $ʔâ$ $kə =$ $lə =$ $kemá$ $ʔã$ $nê$ $∅$ $bɛ$
 rich.man say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.NOM NEG give eat 2.ACC 3.OBJ NEG

Lit. ‘The rich man say it, “Ah! We not give eat you it.”’
 ‘The rich man said it, “Ah! We will not give (it) to you to eat.”’

35 $tɕôp^huxwi$ $lĩ$ $wé$ $dĩ$ $kasámâ$ $sá$ $p^há$
 male.orphan go 3.ABS with rich.man three CL.time

Lit. ‘The orphan went him with the rich.man three times.’
 ‘The male orphan went with the rich man three times.’

36 *kəsámâ* *lə =* *kemá* *ʔã* *wé* *ʔə = mî* *nà* *pʰá* *bɛ*
 rich.man NEG give eat 3.ABS 3.POSS = cooked.rice even.one CL.time NEG

Lit. 'The did not give eat him, his cooked rice, even one time.'

'The rich man did not give him his rice even one time.'

Episode 5

37 *mî* *ʔo* *lə =* *nî* *dô'* *kəsámâ* *u'é* *ʔākôlai'* *tçôpʰuxwi* *lí* *ʔãxí*
 day exist one CL.day further rich.man come call male.orphan go seek
kʰá' *ʔã* *tʰə* *kadô'*
 shoot acquire thing further

Lit. 'Day exist one day further, the rich.man came and called the orphan (he) go, seek, shoot and acquire things further.'

'Another day, the rich man came and called the male orphan to go hunting again.'

38 *tçôpʰuxwi* *kʰó* *lí* *wé* *dâi'* *pa'*
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} go 3.ABS still also

Lit. 'The orphan's part, went him still also.'

'On the male orphan's part, he still went.'

39 *lí* *lí* *wé* *dɛ* *kʰí* *u'é* *nɔ*
 go go 3.ABS dɛ two CL.person NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'Go, go them, two people.'

'They were going, the two of them.'

40 *me'* *kəsámâ* *nɔ* *∅* *tçai* *tçai* *tînõ* *u'ù* *pʰá'du* *lə =* *bʰ*
 be rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ walk walk meet snake be.very.big one CL.line

Lit. 'Be rich.man, (he) walk walk meet snake be.very.big, one line.'

'As for the rich man, (he) was walking and met a very large snake.'

41 *u'ù* *pʰá'du* *lə =* *bʰ* *ʔí* *bâi* *= á'* *tʰ* *ʔə = jàdê*
 snake be.very.big one CL.line this coil.around 3.ACC to_{reach} 3.POSS = waist

Lit. 'Snake be.very.big, one line this coil.around him to his waist.'

'This large snake coiled around him up to his waist.'

42 *ʔə = wé* *kú'* *tçôpʰuxwi* *pʰuxwi* *= â* *∅* *klâ* *∅* *sâ*
 3.ERG call male.orphan male.orphan dear 2.SUBJ slash 3.OBJ EMPH

Lit. 'He called the orphan, "Orphan! (You) slash it!"'

'He called the male orphan, "Orphan, dear! Slash (it)!"'

- 43 *tçôp^huxwi* *k^hó* *∅* *lí* *xâ* *t^hô* *∅* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé* *ʔâ* *mâ* *tçə=*
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ go cross reach 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ABS Ah! uncle 1.NOM
me' *klâ* *∅* *p^hi* *ʔi* *∅* *mə=* *t^he'* *nê*
 be slash 3.OBJ to this 1.SUBJ IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) went, crossed and reached and said to him “Ah! Uncle! I be slash to this, I would separate you.”’

‘On the male orphan’s part, (he) went, crossed, reaching and said to him, “Ah, Uncle! If I slash here, (I) will separate you.”’

- 44 *kəsámâ* *tçâi'* *wé* *nə=* *me'* *klâ* *∅* *∅* *t^he'* *∅* *səbò*
 rich.man say 3.ABS 2.NOM be slash 3.OBJ 2.SUBJ separate 1.OBJ for.sure

Lit. ‘The rich.man said it, “You be slash (it), (you) separate (me) for sure.”’

‘The rich man said it, “If you slash (it), (you) will separate (me) for sure.”’

- 45 *tçôp^huxwi* *k^hó* *∅* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé* *ʔâ* *kə=wé* *kə=* *lə=* *klâ* *t^hô*
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.POSS 1PL.NOM NEG slash thing
bɛ *nɔ* *də'*
 NEG NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. ‘The orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we won’t slash things!”’

‘On the orphan’s part, (he) said to him, “Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.”’

Episode 6

- 46 *t^hô* *ʔə=tç^há* *ɣiù* *bâi* *=á'* *t^hô* *lù* *ʔə=kila'* *p^hâ*
 to_{reach} 3.POSS = CL.time snake coil.around 3.ACC to_{reach} at 3.POSS = armpit inside

Lit. ‘To its time, the snake coiled around him, reaching to his armpit’s inside.’

‘In time, the snake coiled around him up to his armpit.’

- 47 *tçôp^huxwi* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *wé* *ʔâ* *mâ* *tçə=* *me'* *klâ* *∅* *p^hi* *ʔi* *∅*
 male.orphan say DAT 3.ABS Ah! uncle 1.NOM be slash 3.OBJ to DEM.PRN_{this} 1.SUBJ
mə= *t^he'* *nê*
 IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. ‘The orphan say to him, “Ah! Uncle! I be slash (it) to this, (I) would separate you.”’

‘The orphan said to him, “Ah! Uncle! If I were to slash to here, (I) would sever you.”’

- 48 *kəsámâ* *nɔ* *∅* *tçâi'* *ʔe'* *=á'* *p^huxwi* *=ə* *∅* *klâ* *=á'*
 rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ACC male.orphan dear 2.SUBJ slash 3.ACC
t^hô
 for.sure!

Lit. ‘The rich.man, (he) said to him, “Orphan, (You) slash it for sure!”’

‘As for the rich man, (he) said to him, “Orphan, dear, slash it!”’

49 *tɕôp^huxwi* *k^hó* *∅* *tɕâi'* *wé* *ʔâ* *xâ* *kə =* *lə =* *klâ* *t^hə* *bɛ*
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.ACC 1.PL.NOM NEG slash thing NEG
nɔ *də'*
 NMLZ_{that} NMLZ_{EMPH}

Lit. 'The orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! Us, we won't slash things.'"

'On the orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! As for us, we will not slash anything.'"

Episode 7

50 *ʔo* *ʔo* *uŋù* *bâi* *=â'* *t^hɔ̂* *lù* *ʔə = k^ho' b^hɔ̂*
 exist exist snake coil.around 3.ACC to_{reach} at 3.POSS = neck

Lit. 'Existing and existing, the snake coiled around him reaching to his neck.'

'After a while, the snake coiled around him up to his neck.'

51 *tɕôp^huxwi* *k^hó* *∅* *tɕâi'* *wé* *ʔâ* *mâ* *tɕə =* *me'* *klâ* *∅* *p^hi*
 male.orphan TOP_{cl.part} 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS Ah! uncle 1.NOM be_{be.true} slash 3.OBJ to
ʔi *∅* *mə =* *t^he'* *nê*
 this 1.SUBJ IRR separate 2.ACC

Lit. "The orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! Uncle! I be slash (it) to this, I would separate you.'"

'On the orphan's part, (he) said it, "Ah! Uncle! If I slash to here, (I) would separate you.'"

52 *kəsámâ* *nɔ* *∅* *tɕâi'* *ʔe'* *=â'* *p^huxwi* *=â* *∅* *klâ* *∅*
 rich.man NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ACC male.orphan dear 2.SUBJ slash 3.OBJ
t^hâ' *klâ* *∅* *t^hâ'*
 for.sure! slash 3.OBJ for.sure!

Lit. 'The rich.man, (he) said to him, "Orphan! (You) slash (it) for sure, slash it for sure!'"

'As for the rich man, (he) said to him, "Orphan, dear! Slash it! Slash it!'"

53 *tɕôp^huxwi* *nɔ* *∅* *tɕâi'* *ʔe'* *wé* *ʔâ* *kə =* *lə =* *klâ* *t^hə* *bɛ*
 male.orphan NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ say DAT 3.ABS Ah! 1.PL.NOM NEG slash thing NEG
nɔ *də'*
 NMLZ_{that} EMPH

Lit. 'The orphan, (he) said to him, "Ah! We won't slash things.'"

'As for the boy orphan, (he) said to him, "Ah! We will not slash anything.'"

Closure

54 $t^h\check{\jmath}$ $\text{ʔə} = t\phi^h\check{\alpha}$ $u\check{u}$ $l\emptyset =$ $b\hat{\sigma}$ $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{ɿ}}$ $b\hat{a}i$ $=\hat{\alpha}'$ $b\hat{a}i'$ $sw\hat{a}i'$
to_{reach} 3.POSS = CL.time snake one CL.line this coil.around 3.ACC close completely

Lit. 'To its time, the snake coiled around him, closing completely.'

'In time, this snake coiled around him, closing completely!'

55 $s\check{\text{ɿ}}$ $w\acute{e}$ $d\epsilon$
die 3.ABS dε

Lit. 'Die him.'

'He (the rich man) died.'

Appendix C

F4 Folktale

Participant Legend

Orphan
Rich.man
Orphan and rich.man
 Orphan's Dog
 Rich man's wife
 Orphan's grandmother
Hunted things
Rice/Food
Snake
Tools (shoulder bag and knife)
wé (reference to the following message)

Grounding Legend

Foreground: light green
Background: light grey

Introduction

1 *tçôp^huxwi* *ʔə = t^hwĩ* *sĩ*
 male.orphan 3.POSS = DOG be.skilled

Lit. 'Orphan, his dog be.skilled.'
 'The orphan's dog was skillful.'

2 *kəsámâ* *wé* *sĩuyé* *wé* *tçôp^huxwi* *ʔə = t^hwĩ* *sĩ*
 rich.man TOP_{3.ABS} know 3.ABS male.orphan 3.POSS = dog be.skilled

Lit. 'Rich man, him, (he) know it, orphan, his dog, be.skilled.'
 'As for the rich man, (he) knew that the orphan's dog was skillful.'

Episode 1

3 *∅* *tçâi'* *dε* *∅* *mə =* *lĩ* *ʔãtçâ'* *tçôp^huxwi*
 3.SUBJ say de 1.SUBJ IRR go ask male.orphan

Lit. '(He) say, "(I) will go ask male.orphan."
 '(He) said, "(I) will go and ask Orphan."

4 *tɕôp^huxwi* *nə=* *lî* *k^hó* *lê*
 male.orphan 2.NOM go CL.part QUES

Lit. “Orphan, you go part?”

“Orphan, where are you going?”

5 *∅* *tɕâi'* *∅* *lî* *ʔǎxí* *k^hâ'* *ʔǎ* *t^hwip^hh̃*
 3.SUBJ say 1.SUBJ go seek shoot eat grasshopper

Lit. ‘(He) say, “(I) go, seek, shoot, eat grasshopper.”’

‘He said, “I am going hunting grasshoppers.”’

6 *tɕôp^huxwi* *∅* *lə=* *pǎ̀* *bɛ*
 male.orphan 1.SUBJ NEG be.beneficial NEG

Lit. “Orphan, (hunting grasshoppers) not be.beneficial not.”

“Orphan, hunting grasshoppers is not useful.”

7 *∅* *tɕâi'* *lî* *ʔǎxí* *k^hâ'* *ʔǎ* *t^hə* *dí* *jê*
 3.SUBJ say go seek shoot eat thing with 1.ACC

Lit. ‘Say, “Go seek shoot eat thing with me.”’

‘(He) said, “Go hunting with me.”’

8 *ə̂* *mâ* *tɕə=* *lî* *lə=* *ke* *bɛ* *∅* *tɕâi'*
 Oh! uncle 1.NOM go NEG be.able NEG 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “Oh, Uncle! I go not able,” (he) say.”

““Oh, uncle! I can’t go,” (he) said.’

9 *kə=* *lə=* *ʔǎbɛ* *mî* *bɛ*
 1.PL.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG

Lit. “We not get cooked.rice.”

“I haven’t eaten yet.”

10 *ʔǎ* *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ* *tɕə=* *mə=* *bõ* *ʔe'* *nə=* *mî* *me'* *du*
 Ah! 3.SUBJ say dɛ 1.NOM IRR wrap.up DAT 2.POSS = cooked.rice be_{be.true} be.big

Lit. ‘Ah! Say, “I will wrap.up for your cooked.rice be big.”’

‘Ah! He said, “I will wrap up a large packet of rice for you.”’

11 *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ* *ní* *nə=* *lə=* *ʔǎbɛ* *mî* *bɛ* *nɔ*
 3.SUBJ say dɛ yours 2.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG NMLZ_{that}

Lit. ‘Say, “Yours, you not get cooked.rice.”’

‘(He) said, “As for you, you have not eaten yet.”’

12 ní nə = t^hwĩ si
yours 2.POSS = dog be.skilled

Lit. “Yours, your dog be.skilled.”
“As for you, your dog is clever.”

13 Ø má ʔə = mé bõ mí lĩ wé wai’
3.SUBJ give 3.POSS = wife wrap.up cooked.rice go 3.ABS immediately

Lit. ‘(He) give his wife wrap.up cooked.rice went them immediately.’
‘(He) had his wife wrap up the rice and they went.’

Episode 2

14 t^hwĩ mâ t^hə lə = tɕõ lĩ lə = klâ’ lĩ
dog bark thing one CL.place go one CL.place go

Lit. ‘Dog bark thing, one place go, one place go.’
‘The dog barked (at) places and (they) went.’

15 ʔə = t^hə xwĩ t^hɔ lə = p^hlõ
3.POSS = thing fill shoulder.bag one CL.body

Lit. ‘His thing fill shoulder.bag, one body.’
‘His stuff filled one shoulder bag.’

16 tɕôp^huxwi wé dɛ k^hlâi’ p^hu lə = bẽ xɔ’
male.orphan TOP_{3.ABS} dɛ turtle be.small one CL.flat.thing EMPH

Lit. ‘Orphan, him, (he get) turtle be.small, one flat.thing.’
‘As for the orphan, (he) got one small turtle.’

17 uýét^hâi t^hɔ Ø mɛk^hêlâimimɛk^hêlâp^hɛ
return reach 3.SUBJ make.fire

Lit. ‘Return reach, (he) make.fire’
‘When (they) arrived, (he) made a fire.’

18 tɕôp^huxwi t^hə sú ʔã sâ’ mí pa’
male.orphan thing desire eat heart cooked.rice also

Lit. ‘Orphan, thing desire eat heart cooked.rice also.’
‘As for the orphan, (he) was hungry for rice.’

19 ʔə = wé 3.ERG de ʔǎxu char ʔǎ eat lĩ squirrel ʔǎ eat mĩ cooked.rice

Lit. '(He) char eat squirrel, eat cooked.rice.'
 'He roasted a squirrel and ate rice.'

20 tɕôp^huxwi male.orphan wé TOP_{3,ABS} ʔə = t^hə 3.POSS = thing mé be.ripe

Lit. 'Orphan, him, his stuff be.ripe.'
 'As for the orphan, himself, his stuff was ripe.'

21 ʔə = wé 3.ERG ʔǎ eat Ø 3.OBJ ní with mĩ cooked.rice tɕôp^huxwi male.orphan k^hwè observe t^hǎ ascend = â' 3.ACC

Lit. 'He eat with cooked.rice and orphan observe ascend him.'
 'He ate rice and the orphan watched him.'

22 tɕôp^huxwi male.orphan nə = 2.NOM sú desire ʔǎ eat sâ' heart mĩ cooked.rice tɕ^h some

Lit. "Orphan, you desire eat heart cooked.rice some?"
 "Orphan, are you hungry for rice?"

23 ʔé Hey! mâ uncle kə = 1.PL.NOM sú desire ʔǎ eat sâ' heart Ø 3.OBJ sənè sure

Lit. "Hey, Uncle! We desire eat heart sure."
 "Oh yes, Uncle, I am really hungry."

24 kə = 1.PL.NOM me' be_{be.true} sú desire ʔǎ eat sâ' heart Ø 3.OBJ bɛ NEG kə = 1.PL.NOM ʔyé come t^hǎ not.even p^há CL.time

Lit. "We be desire eat heart not, we come not.even time."
 "If I were not hungry, I would have not come, even one time."

25 ô Oh! tɕôp^huxwi male.orphan ʔə um tɕə = 1.NOM lə = NEG má give ʔǎ eat nɛ 2.ACC Ø 3.OBJ bɛ NEG

Lit. "Oh, Orphan, I not give eat you not."
 "Oh, Orphan, I'm not giving you anything to eat."

26 nə = mâ ʔyé 2.POSS = aunt bɔ̃ wrap.up mĩ cooked.rice lə = NEG du be.big bɛ NEG tɕâi' say

Lit. "Your aunt wrap.up cooked.rice not be.big not," say.'
 "Your aunt wrapped up a small amount of rice," he said.'

- 27 $\text{ʔə} = \text{wé}$ ʔã ʔã lau' \emptyset ʔwĩ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ã}$ $\text{ʔə} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{lâi}'$
 3.ERG eat eat exhaust 3.SUBJ carry(basket) ascend 3.POSS = turtle
 $\text{ʔə} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{âu}'$ $\text{ɣét}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}$ \emptyset wai'
 3.POSS = monitor.lizard return 3.ABS immediately

Lit. 'He eat, eat exhaust, (he) carry ascend his turtle, his monitor lizard, return immediately.'

'He ate and ate everything, picked up the basket with the turtle and monitor lizard, and went home immediately.'

- 28 $\text{tɕôp}^{\text{h}}\text{uxwi}$ wé dɛ $\text{də}'$ \emptyset $\text{ɣét}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{au}'\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{wĩ}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{au}'\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{wĩ}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{au}'\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{wĩ}$
 male.orphan TOP_{3.ABS} dɛ NMLZ_{EMPH} 3.SUBJ return slowly slowly slowly

Lit. 'Orphan, him, return slowly, slowly, slowly.'

'The orphan, himself, went back very slowly.'

- 29 \emptyset $\text{ɣét}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}$ $\text{lə} =$ ke lâ bɛ
 3.SUBJ return NEG be.able at.all NEG

Lit. 'Return, not able at all.'

'He was not able to go back.'

Episode 3

- 30 $\text{ʔə} = \text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ĩ}$ ʔo $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{wèlè}$ ʔo $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{wèlè}$ $\text{ʔə} = \text{ɣét}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ɕ}$
 3.POSS = grandmother exist wait exist wait 3.POSS = return reach

Lit. 'His grandmother exist wait, exist wait his returning reach.'

'His grandma waited and waited for his arrival.'

- 31 $\text{tɕôp}^{\text{h}}\text{uxwi}$ $\text{nə} = \text{mâ}$ $\text{ɣét}^{\text{h}}\text{âi}$ jai' $\text{jâu}'$ ni
 male.orphan 2.POSS = uncle return be.long INCH OK?

Lit. "Orphan, your uncle return be.long already, OK?"

"Orphan, your uncle came back a long time ago."

- 32 $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ĩ}$ $\text{kə} =$ $\text{lə} =$ ʔãbɛ mĩ bɛ $\text{kə} =$ tɕai $\text{lə} =$ ke bɛ
 grandmother 1.PL.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG 1.PL.NOM walk NEG be.able NEG
 \emptyset $\text{tɕâi}'$
 3.SUBJ say

Lit. "'Grandmother, we not get cooked.rice not, we walk not able not," (he) say.'

"'Grandma, I did not eat rice, so I could not walk," (he) said.'

33 ʔũ ∅ tɕâi' nə = mâ má ʔã nê ∅ p^há ʔe'
 yonder 3.SUBJ say 2.POSS = uncle give eat 2.ACC 3.OBJ CL.time NEG

Lit. “Yonder,” say, “Your uncle give eat you time not.”
 “So, your uncle did not give you anything to eat.”

34 ∅ lə = má ʔã x̂ ∅ bɛ tɕâi'
 3.SUBJ NEG give eat 1.PL.ACC 3.OBJ NEG say

Lit. “(He) not give eat use not,” say.’
 “(He) did not give me anything to eat.”

Episode 4

35 ∅ ʔã k^hlâi' k^hâu' lau' ɣô ∅ ɣék^hwè t^hâi ∅ d̂'
 3.SUBJ eat turtle monitor.lizard exhaust finish 3.SUBJ invite return 3.OBJ more

Lit. ‘(He) eat turtle, monitor lizard exhaust finish, (he) invite return (him) more.’
 ‘After (he) ate up the turtle and monitor lizard, (he) came and invited him (to go hunting) again.’

36 ʔ mâ tɕə = lî lə = ke bɛ
 Oh! uncle 1.NOM go NEG be.able NEG

Lit. “Oh uncle! I go not be.able not.”
 “Oh uncle! I can’t go.”

37 tɕə = lə = ʔãbɛ mî bɛ
 1.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG

Lit. “I not get cooked.rice not.”
 “I have not eaten rice.”

38 ʔ ∅ tɕâi' lə = ɣô jô tɕə = má nə = mâɣè b̂ ʔe'
 Oh! 3.SUBJ say one CL.morning this 1.NOM give 2.POSS = aunt wrap.up DAT
 nə = mî ní nə = ɣâ me' du
 2.POSS = cooked.rice with 2.POSS = body be_{be.true} be.big

Lit. “Oh! say, “one morning this, I give your aunt wrap.up for your rice with your body, be big.”
 “Oh! This morning I had your aunt wrap up a large (packet) of rice for you.”

39 ʔə = wé dɛ d̂ lî wé d̂'
 3.ERG dɛ NMLZ_{EMPH} go 3.ABS more

Lit. ‘Him, go him more.’
 ‘As for him, he went again.’

Episode 5

40 *lī wé dɛ də' ∅ ʔābɛ tʰâi tʰə̀ bì nɔ*
 go 3.ABS dɛ NMLZ_EMPH 3.SUBJ get return thing like DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. 'Go them, they get return thing like that.'

'When they went, (they) got animals as before.'

41 *tɕôpʰuxwi wé ʔābɛ dū' lī d̥t̚*
 male.orphan TOP_{3.ABS} get only squirrel CL.body

Lit. 'Orphan, him, get only squirrel body.'

'As for the orphan, (he) only got one squirrel.'

42 *ʔə = wé tʰə̀ xwī tʰɔ̃ pʰlɔ̃*
 3.ERG thing fill shoulder.bag CL.body

Lit. 'He thing fill shoulder bag body.'

'As for him, his stuff filled a shoulder bag.'

43 *∅ lə = má ʔā tɕôpʰuxwi ∅ bɛ xɔ'*
 3.SUBJ NEG give eat male.orphan 3.OBJ NEG EMPH

Lit. '(He) not give eat orphan (it) not!'

'(He) did not give the orphan anything to eat.'

44 *jai' jai' də' ʔé ∅ tɕâi' wé dɛ kə = lī lə = ke lâ*
 be.long be.long NMLZ_EMPH Hey! 3.SUBJ say 3.ABS dɛ 1.PL.NOM go NEG be.able at.all
bɛ mâ
 NEG uncle

Lit. 'Long, long, "Hey!" (he) say it, "We go not be.able at.all not, Uncle."'

'After a while, he said, "Hey! I can't go anymore, Uncle."'

45 *uɣétʰâi wé dɛ*
 return 3.ABS dɛ

Lit. 'Return him.'

'He went home.'

Episode 6

46 *uɣétʰâi wé dɛ ʔə = pʰɿ tɕâi' = â' nə = ʔābɛ mī = â*
 return 3.ABS dɛ 3.POSS = grandmother say 3.ACC 2.NOM get cooked.rice QUES

Lit. 'Return him, his grandmother say him, "You get cooked.rice?"'

'When he came back, his grandmother said to him, "Did you eat?"'

47 *nə=* *mə=* *dɛ* *ʔã* *kʰó* *lê* *pʰí* *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ*
 2.NOM IRR see eat CL.part QUES grandmother 3.SUBJ say de

Lit. “You would see eat part, Grandma?” (he) say.’

“How can I eat, Grandma?” (he) said.’

48 *tʰà* *kasámã* *lə=* *má* *ʔã* *xê* *∅* *tʰú* *pʰá* *∅* *tɕâi'*
 thing rich.man NEG give eat 1.PL.ACC 3.OBJ not.even CL.time 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “Thing, rich man not give eat us, not.even time,” (he) say.’

“The rich man did not let me eat even once,” (he) said.’

Episode 7

49 *də'* *ʔə=wé* *dɛ* *də'* *kʰái* *lə=* *uʔô* *dô'* *ə* *lí* *kʰái* *kəjò* *dâi'*
 EMPH 3.ERG de NMLZ_{EMPH} back one CL.morning more Oh! at back be.long still
ʔo *ʔãtɕâ'* *tʰâi* *∅* *dô'*
 exist ask return 3.OBJ more

Lit. ‘He, back one morning more, Oh!, at back be.long still exist ask return more.’

‘As for him, a long time after that, (he) asked (him) to go hunting again.’

50 *∅* *lí* *ke* *lá* *bɛ* *mâ* *ʔə* *∅* *tɕâi'*
 3.SUBJ go be.able at.all NEG uncle um 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “Go be.able at.all not, uncle,” (he) say.’

“(I) can’t go, uncle,” (he) said.’

51 *kə=* *lə=* *ʔãbɛ* *mí* *bɛ* *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ*
 1.PL.NOM NEG get cooked.rice NEG 3.SUBJ say de

Lit. “We not get cooked.rice not,” (he) say.’

“I did not get anything to eat,” (he) said.’

52 *ʔá* *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ* *nə=mâuɛ* *bõ* *kə=mí* *pí* *nâ'tɕʰú'*
 Ah! 3.SUBJ say de 2.POSS = aunt wrap.up 1.PL.POSS = rice be.small exceedingly
∅ *tɕâi'*
 3.SUBJ say

Lit. “Ah, say, your aunt wrap.up our rice be.small exceedingly,” (he) say.’

“Ah! Your aunt wrapped about very little rice for me.”

53 *sá* *kʰu* *tɕə=* *bõ* *nê* *∅* *du* *dâi'* *∅* *tɕâi'* *dɛ*
 be.new head 1.NOM wrap.up 2.ACC 3.OBJ be.big still 3.SUBJ say de

Lit. “Be.new head I wrap.up you be.big still,” (he) say.’

“This time I will wrap up a lot for you,” (he) said.’

54 ʔə = ʔí nɔ tɕə = bɔ̃ nɛ̃ Ø du dâi'
 this.one NMLZ_{that} 1.NOM wrap.up 2.ACC 3.OBJ be.big still

Lit. “This one, I wrap.up you be.big still.”
 “This time, I will wrap a lot for you.”

55 bɔ̃ Ø ní nə = ɥǎ̃
 wrap.up 3.OBJ with 2.POSS = body

Lit. “(I) wrap.up (it) with your body.”
 “(I’ll) wrap up (rice) for you.”

56 ʔə = p^hí k^hɛnɛ k^hɛnɛ = â’ lí wé wai’
 3.POSS = grandmother coerce coerce 3.ACC go 3.ABS immediately

Lit. ‘His grandmother coerce, coerce him, went him immediately.’
 ‘His grandmother nagged and nagged him and he went immediately.’

57 t^hwī mâ t^hə tɕɔ̃ Ø l̃ wé lə = klâ’ Ø l̃ wé
 dog bark thing place 3.SUBJ chase 3.ABS one CL.place 3.SUBJ chase 3.ABS

Lit. ‘Dog bark thing place chase it, one place (he) chase it, one place (he) chase it.’
 ‘Wherever the dog barked, (the rich man) followed it.’

58 ʔə = wé lí kjô kjô
 3.ERG go be.slow be.slow

Lit. ‘He (orphan) went be.slow, be.slow.’
 ‘He (orphan) went very slowly.’

59 t^hwī mâʔũ t^hə l̃ wã p^hâ’du p^hâ
 dog barking.and.barking thing at area be.very.big inside

Lit. ‘Dog barking and barking thing at area be.very.big inside.’
 ‘The dog was barking and barking at something inside a very large area.’

60 ʔə = wé dɛ lí ɕúðísâ’ lâ bɛ ɥǎ̃ k^hwâ p^hâ
 3.ERG dɛ go rush descend strike snake bush inside

Lit. ‘He (rich man) go rush descend strike snake bush’s inside.’
 ‘He (rich man) rushed down and encountered a snake in a bush.’

61 ɥǎ̃ bâi = â’
 snake coil.around 3.ACC

Lit. ‘Snake coil around him.’
 ‘The snake coiled around him.’

- 62 *tɕôp^huxwi* = *â*
male.orphan dear
 Lit. “Orphan!”
- 63 *hũ*
 hey!
 Lit. “Hey!”
 “What?”
- 64 *uɛ* *xɔʹ* *xɔʹ* *sâ*
 come right.there right.there EMPH
 Lit. “Come right here!”
 “Come here!”
- 65 *ʔâ*
 Yes
 “Yes!”
- 66 *hâ* *tɕôp^huxwi*
 hey! *male.orphan*
 “Hey Orphan!”
- 67 *hũ*
 hey!
 Lit. “Hey!”
 “What?”
- 68 *uɛ* *xɔʹ* *xɔʹ* *ʔê*
 come EMPH EMPH please
 “Come, please!”
- 69 *ʔâ*
 Yes
 Lit. “Yes!”
 “OK!”
- 70 \emptyset *kũʹ* *wé* *k^hlâiʹ* *k^hlâiʹ*
 3.SUBJ call 3.ABS again.and.again again.and.again
 Lit. ‘Call it again and again.’
 ‘(He) called again and again.’

71 ʔə = sâ' kî' nɔ
 3.POSS = heart be.achy NMLZ_{that}

Lit. 'His heart be.achy.'

'He was anxious.'

72 uŷũ bâi = â' tʰó tʰã tʰó tʰã
 snake coil.around 3.ACC be.tall ascend be.tall ascend

Lit. 'Snake coil.around him be.tall ascend be.tall ascend.'

'The snake coiled around him higher and higher.'

73 lî tʰô mɛ l̄ mâ
 go reach do QUES uncle

Lit. 'Go reach, "Do?, Uncle."'

'When (he) arrived, (he asked), "What happened, Uncle?"'

74 ʔî ʔè uŷũ bâi jê
 this please snake coil.around 1.ACC

Lit. "This, please. Snake coil.around me."

"This! A snake is squeezing me."

75 tɔ̄pʰuxwi klâ sí Ø sâ
 male.orphan slash die 3.OBJ EMPH

Lit. "Orphan! Slash die (it)!"

"Orphan, kill (it)!"

76 ʔə = wé jâ tʰã xe' blâi'kʰu
 3.ERG draw ascend hacking.knife Blaiqkhu

Lit. 'He draw ascend hacking.knife, Blaiqkhu'

'He drew his knife, Blaiqkhu.'

77 lâ tê mâ tʰə ʔî tɔ̄ = me' klâ Ø Ø mə = sí ʔè
 EXCL certainty uncle thing this 1.NOM be_{be.true} slash 3.OBJ 3.SUBJ IRR die please

Lit. "La te, uncle, thing this, I be slash (it), (it) will die."

"Ah, uncle, this thing, if I slash (it), (it) will die."

78 ʔé pʰuxwi klâ Ø xɔ' xɔ' sənè
 Hey! orphan slash 3.OBJ EMPH EMPH sure

Lit. "Hey, orphan! Slash (it)!"

"Hey, orphan, slash (it)!"

79 *tʰə* *kʰɛnɛ* *∅* *dʂ'*
 thing coerce 3.OBJ more

Lit. 'Thing coerce (him) more.'

'He tried to persuade (him) again.'

80 *ʔə = wé* *jà* *tʰã* *xɛ'* *blâi'kʰu*
 3.ERG draw ascend hacking.knife Blaiqkhu

Lit. 'He draw ascend hacking.knife, Blaiqkhu'

'He drew his knife, Blaiqkhu.'

81 *lâ* *tê* *mâ* *tɕə = xɛ'* *tʰí* *ʔi* *ɣũ* *tʰí*
 EXCL certainty uncle 1.POSS = hacking.knife be.equal DEM.PRN_{this} snake be.equal
ʔi
 DEM.PRN_{this}

Lit. "La te, uncle, my hacking.knife be. equal this, snake be.equal this."

"My goodness, uncle, my knife is equal to this and the snake is equal to this."

82 *tɕə =* *mɛ'* *klâ* *∅* *∅* *mə =* *sí* *ʔɛ*
 1.NOM be_{be.true} slash 3.OBJ 3.SUBJ IRR die please

Lit. "I be slash (it), (it) will die."

"If I slash (it), (it) will die."

83 *tɕôpʰuxwi* *klâ* *∅* *tâ'* *ê*
 male.orphan slash 3.OBJ right.then for.sure

Lit. "Orphan slash (it) right.then, for.sure."

"Orphan, slash (it), right now!"

84 *hâ* *ʔə = wé* *ʔə = sâ'* *kí'* *nâ'* *nâ'* *nâ'*
 hey! 3.ERG 3.POSS = heart be.achy excessive excessive excessive

Lit. 'Hey! He, his heart be. achy excessive.'

'He was very scared.'

85 *jai'* *jai'* *ɣũ* *bâi* *= â'* *tʰai'*
 be.long be.long snake coil.around 3.ACC superlative

Lit. 'Be.long, be.long, snake coil.around him superlative.'

'After a while, the snake coiled around him completely.'

86 uyù tçõtəle' ʔə = sâ' ʔə = wé sí tʰə'
snake stretch 3.POSS = heart 3.ERG die !

Lit. 'Snake stretch his heart, he die!'

'When the snake stretched its body, he died!'

87 ʔə = wé ʔwĩ tʰã tʰâi kəsámâ ʔə = tʰɔ̃ nɔ uyétʰâi
3.ERG carry(basket) ascend return rich.man 3.POSS = shoulder.bag NMLZ_{that} return
wai'
immediately

Lit. 'He carry ascend return rich man, his shoulder bag, return immediately.'

'After he picked up the rich man's shoulder bag, (he) returned home.'

88 ʔə = mĩbõ lə = bõ ní dɛ ʔə = kʰlâi' ʔə = kʰâu' xwĩ
3.POSS = rice.parcel one CL.packet and de 3.POSS = turtle 3.poss = monitor.lizard fill
tʰɔ̃ pʰlõ
shoulder.bag CL.body

Lit. 'His rice parcel, one packet and his turtle, his monitor lizard fill shoulder bag body.'

'His rice parcel, turtle, and monitor lizard filled the shoulder bag.'

Episode 8

89 uyétʰâi tʰɔ̃ ʔə = pʰĩ tçâi' = â' nə = ʔābɛ mĩ = â
return reach 3.POSS = grandmother say 3.ACC 2.NOM get cooked.rice QUES

Lit. 'Return reach, his grandmother say to him, "You get cooked rice?"'

'When he arrived home, his grandmother said to him, "Did you get rice?"'

90 kə = ʔābɛ ∅
1.PL.NOM get 3.OBJ

Lit. "We get (it)."

"I got (it),"

91 pʰĩ ʔāuyê ʔã ∅ xɔ' xɔ' ∅ tçâi'
grandmother prepare.dishes.accompanying.rice eat 3.OBJ EMPH EMPH 3.SUBJ say

Lit. "'Grandmother, prepare dishes accompanying rice eat!" (he) say.'

"Grandma, please prepare something to eat!" (he) said.'

92 kə = sú ʔã sâ' mĩ jâu'
1.PL.NOM desire eat heart cooked.rice INCH

Lit. "We desire eat heart cooked.rice already."

"I am already hungry."

93 \emptyset 3.SUBJ $\text{ʔãmíʔòt}^h\text{í}$ eat $\text{ɥ}^{\hat{d}}$ finish kəsámâ rich.man ʔə = mé 3.POSS = wife ɥé come

Lit. ‘(He) eat finish, rich man, his wife come.’

‘After he had eaten, the rich man’s wife came.’

94 $\text{tə̀òp}^h\text{uxwi}$ male.orphan \emptyset 3.SUBJ me^{\prime} be_{be.true} nə = 2.NOM lí go $\text{t}^h\text{ə}$ thing ní with $\text{nə = m\hat{a}}$ 2.POSS = uncle bò right? $\text{j\hat{a}}$ Right?

Lit. “Orphan, (it) be.true your going thing with your uncle right, right?”

“Orphan, is it true that you went hunting with your uncle?”

95 $\text{ʔ\hat{a}}$ Yes kə = 1.PL.NOM lí go $\text{t}^h\text{ə}$ thing ní with $\text{kə = m\hat{a}}$ 1.PL.POSS = uncle $\text{s\hat{ə}}$ have.likewise

Lit. “Yes, we go thing with our uncle.”

“Yes, I went hunting with my uncle.”

96 ʔũ yonder $\text{nə = m\hat{a}}$ 2.POSS = uncle $\text{m\hat{e}}$ do ká^{\prime} consequently $\text{k}^h\text{ó}$ CL.part $\text{l\hat{s}}$ QUES

Lit. “Yonder, your uncle do consequently part?”

“So, where is your uncle?”

97 ə Oh! \emptyset 3.SUBJ $\text{ɥé}^h\text{ái}$ return lú at $\text{k}^h\text{ái}$ back

Lit. “Oh! (He) return at back.”

“Oh, (he) is returning later.”

Episode 9

98 ʔo exist ʔo exist \emptyset 3.SUBJ lí go $\text{k}^h\text{w\`e}$ observe $\text{d\hat{s}^{\prime}}$ more

Lit. ‘Exist, exist, (she) go observe more.’

‘After a while, (she) came to see again.’

99 $\text{tə̀òp}^h\text{uxwi}$ male.orphan lí go $\text{t}^h\text{ə}$ thing ní with $\text{nə = m\hat{a}}$ 2.POSS = uncle $\text{= \hat{a}}$ QUES

Lit. “Orphan, go thing with your uncle?”

“Orphan, did you go hunting with your uncle.”

100 ʔə̌ ʔè kə = lí tʰə̌ dí kə = mǎ ʔũ də̌
 Yes please 1.PL.NOM go thing with 1.PL.POSS = uncle yonder NMLZ_{EMPH}

Lit. “Yes, we go thing with our uncle yonder.”

“Yes, I went hunting with my uncle way over there.”

101 ʔə̌ Ø ʔé tʰái lí kʰái
 um 3.SUBJ return at back

Lit. ‘Return (her) at back.’

‘Later, (she) returned.’

Episode 10

102 jai’ jai’ ʔə = sǎ kǐ’ Ø lí ʔǎ tʰái Ø
 be.long be.long 3.POSS = heart be.achy 3.SUBJ go ask 3.OBJ

Lit. ‘Be.long, be.long, her heart be.achy, (she) go ask (him).’

‘After a while, she was anxious and went to ask (him).’

103 tʰái’ tʰə = mə = lô nê tō tō l̥ mǎ ʔé
 say 1.NOM IRR tell 2.ACC be.honest be.honest EMPH aunt

Lit. ‘Say, “I will tell you be.honest, be.honest, aunt.”’

‘(He) said, “I will tell the whole truth, Aunt.”’

104 ʔə̌ tʰái’ tʰə = lí pʰo’ ʔə = kʰái nɔ Ø má ʔǎ tʰə = mǐ
 um say 1.POSS = go follow 3.POSS = back NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ give eat 1.POSS = cooked.rice
 nǎ pʰá ʔe’ tʰái’
 even.one CL.time NEG say

Lit. ‘Say, “My going following his back, (he) give eat my cooked.rice even.one time not.”
 say’

‘(He) said, “When I went with him, (he) did not give me any rice, even one time.”’

105 mǎ ʔé lə = nê nɔ Ø kǐ’ wé Ø tʰái’ Ø lə = má ʔǎ
 yesterday one CL.day NMLZ_{that} 3.SUBJ call 3.ABS 3.SUBJ say 3.SUBJ NEG give eat
 tʰə = mǐ bɛ tʰái’
 1.POSS = cooked.rice NEG say

Lit. “Yesterday, one day, (he) call it say not give eat my rice not say.”

“Yesterday, (he) called and said that he would not give me any rice.”

106 \emptyset lâ bε uŋ̃ ʔə = k^hwâ p^hâ tɕâi'
 3.SUBJ descend strike snake 3.POSS = bush inside say

Lit. “(He) descend strike snake its bush’s inside,” say.’

“(He) went down and encountered a snake in the bush.”

107 uŋ̃ bâi = â' də' s̃́ wé
 snake coil.around 3.ACC NMLZ_{EMPH} die 3.ABS

Lit. “Snake coil around him, die him.”

‘When the snake coiled around him, he died.’”

108 tɕə = uŋ̃t^hâi ʔwĩ ʔã kâ' ʔə = k^hlâi' ʔə = k^hâu'
 I.NOM return carry(basket) eat consequently 3.POSS = turtle 3.POSS = monitor.lizard

Lit. “I return carry eat consequently his turtle, his monitor lizard.”

“So, I came back carrying his turtle and monitor lizard.”

109 â \emptyset tɕâi' me' bə nɔ s̃́ s̃́ wé t^hə mɛ pədâi nɛ
 Oh! 3.SUBJ say be_{be.true} like DEM.PRN_{that} die die 3.ABS thing do tease 2.ACC
 jã nɔ s̃́
 extent DEM.PRN_{that} !

Lit. “Oh!” say “Be like that, die, die him, thing do tease you extent that!”

“OK, (she) said, “If it is like that, he died because (he) treated you so badly.”

Closure

110 t^hai' wé p^hə nɔ
 stop 3.ABS at DEM.PRN_{that}

Lit. ‘Stop it at that.’

‘The end.’

Appendix D

Data frame screenshot

	B	C	D	E	F	G	AC	AD
1	Ref	Pre-nuclear	Subject/CS	Predicate	Objects/CC	Post-nuclear	SubjForm	SubjPerson
2	1.1		พ่อเลี้ยง ค้างพ่อ	ไอ		คิง แฉ่	NP	Third
3			person father.and.child	exist		two person		
4	1.2		อ จี	ไอ	เว้ แด	ซ้า ฟ่าง ล้อ	NPAbsolute	Third
5			3:poss money	have	3:subj	three hundred (money) emph		
6	1.3	อ พู นอ	---	ม ลี โฉ่	ท อุง	ค เต่า	zero	Third
7		3:poss child that		irr go study	magic	with monk		
8	1.4a		---	โชะ ทาง	อ แพ่อ จี ซ้า ฟ่าง นอ	ฉ็อง	zero	Third
9				take ascend	3:poss father 3:poss money t hree hundred (money) that	finish		
10	1.4b		---	ลี้ โฉ่	เว้	ไวะ	zero	Third

Within the data frame, each clause occupies two rows in the spreadsheet. The first row contains the clause in the N. Pwo Thai-based orthography, while the English glosses are contained in the second row. It is only the N. Pwo orthography rows that are tagged, as can be seen in the tagging columns AC and AD, in which tagging only occurs in every other row.

Starting with the leftmost column in the screenshot, the Ref column tracks each clause within the folktale. For example, 1.4a refers to the first clause in the fourth sentence of Folktale 1. This is followed by five data columns in which each clause is divided into Pre-nuclear, Subject/CS, Predicate, Objects/CC, and Post-nuclear material. These data columns are followed by two tagging columns: SubjForm and SubjPerson. The SubjForm tag tracks the form of subject reference, of which three levels are illustrated: NP, NPAbsolute, and zero. The SubjPerson tag in the next column tracks the person of the subject. The level illustrated in the screenshot is Third, which refers to a third-person referent.