

A GRAMMAR OF BIH

by

TAM THI MINH NGUYEN

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March 2013

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Degree awarded March 2013

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

March 2013

Title: A Grammar of Bih

Bih is a Chamic (Austronesian) language spoken by approximately 500 people in the Southern highlands of Vietnam. This dissertation is the first descriptive grammar of the language, based on extensive fieldwork and community-based language documentation in Vietnam and written from a functional/typological perspective. The analysis in this work is supported with illustrations drawn mainly from texts, with examples from elicitation when needed as well.

In phonology, Bih is the only mainland Chamic language to have retained all four Proto-Chamic presyllabic vowels. As a result, Bih is the only Chamic language having only primary clusters inherited from Proto-Chamic and lacks the secondary clusters created by a reduction of an original disyllable form in Proto-Chamic, which occur in other languages of the family. In addition to the vowels, Bih retains only six out of thirteen Proto-Chamic presyllable consonants, but it retains all main syllable consonants from Proto-Chamic. In addition, all voiced "aspirated" consonants in Proto-Chamic become voiceless in Bih. This phonological change is common throughout coastal

Chamic and it is also shared among Bih and other two highland Chamic languages, Chru and Northern Roglai, but not with Ede.

In morphological terms, Bih is an isolating language. Words are mostly monosyllabic, although there are a number of disyllable or trisyllable words with the fossilized prefixes *pa-* or *ma-* or both. Without inflection on verbs, like other mainland Southeast Asian languages, Bih includes a set of particles functioning as grammatical markers. In fact, many Bih words function as either a full lexical verb or particle depending on their syntactic behaviors.

The fundamental mechanisms of Bih syntax are clause-chaining and verb serialization. Most grammatical forms develop from serial verb source constructions. Another feature of great areal typological interest is the topic and focus distinction system of Bih, which, in combination with word order alternations, indicates the discourse status of a referent: whether it is new and/or important in the discourse, or the speaker's evaluation of whether or not a referent is accessible to the mind of the hearer, or whether it contradicts a presupposition or expectation on the part of the hearer or of people in general. Bih has a very interesting obviative-like system, which uses one third person pronoun form to refer to the character whose point of view is being represented and another for all other third persons.

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- Nguyễn, T. M. T. (2009). Tiếng Bih-xu hướng biến đổi: từ Proto-Chăm đến đương đại (From Proto-Cham to the modern dialect: a case study with Bih). *Proceedings from the Government Policies for Languages in Vietnam Conference*. Hanoi: Vietnam Institute of Linguistics.
- Nguyen, Tam. (2006). Some topics in Ede syntax. MA thesis. University of Oregon.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Scott DeLancey, my advisor who has inspired me since the beginning of my graduate studies. He not only spent countless hours on my dissertation but also reminded me to consider a larger areal hypothesis or historical perspective in my conclusions. Working with him over the years has been a highlight of my linguistic career.

I would also like to thank Professors Doris Payne and Spike Gildea not only for agreeing to serve on my dissertation committee but also for challenging and inspiring me since my first year at the University of Oregon. I am also grateful to other faculty members with whom I have worked: Eric Pederson, Lisa Redford, Cynthia Vakareliyska, Janne Underriner and the late Professor Susan Guion Anderson. I am also thankful for Professor Zhuo Jing-Schmidt for her support both on this work and on one of my qualifying papers.

This work would not have been possible without support for extensive fieldwork from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project of the School of Oriental and African Studies and from a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation. I would also like to thank the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon, the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies and the Center for the Study of Women in Society for their support. Thanks also to the Yamada Language Center for its support over many years of my study. Thanks also to Dr. Graham Thurgood and Dr. Paul Sidwell of a Chamic community for their comments and suggestions on my Bih historical phonology work.

My fieldwork and research in Vietnam also got support from the local people. I am indebted to Anh Trần Quang Tuấn, the head of the Buôn-Tráp People's Committee, to Ban Nghiên Cứu Dân tộc tỉnh Đắk Lắk (the Center for Ethnic Research in Daklak) and to the University of Tây Nguyên for their support. I offer special thanks to Dr. Buôn Krông Thị Tuyết Nhung, to Thái Thị Hoài An and to Đỗ Thị Chấn for being supportive friends. I would like to especially thank Dr. Đoàn Văn Phúc at the Vietnam Institute of Linguistics, who has been a source of support and inspiration, for his encouragement and belief in what I have been doing for Bih and Êđê.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the Bih community. I am indebted to my main consultants who were willing to share their language and culture with me: Hriu Hmök (duôn Ka), H'Ngu Đier (duôn Mot), Y Prăng Adrǒng (aê Wih), Y Rah Đuôndăp (aê Mot), Duôn Lũn and H'Băn Đuôn Yă (duôn Wun). Many thanks are due to Ma Pa, Y-Hiu Êban and H'Lâm H'Mök for their assistance.

I am also indebted to my friends -- Gwen Hyslop, Rosa Vallejos, Joanna Jensen, Brian Butler and Linda Konnerth -- for their support. Thanks also to Jeff Magoto for giving me both academic and personal support, and to Michelle Hefner, Ginny White and Sabina Stark for their support during my pregnancies and motherhood.

I would like to express my love and gratitude to Kay Rumsey, for being a good friend, for being my children's' American grandma and for always being available to support my family. My mother in Vietnam has always believed in my education and stood behind me with love. And finally, from the bottom of my heart, I thank my husband, Lượm Danh who quit his practice to come here to take care of our children and make us a home.

To Lượm, Nam and Minh-Anh, of course.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bih is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 500 people in Krông Ana district of Dak Lak province in Vietnam. This dissertation is the first descriptive grammar of Bih, based on extensive fieldwork and community-based language documentation in Vietnam.

The relationship between Bih and Ede in the highland Chamic branch had been questioned since Maitre (1912)'s work. Doan (1998) presented phonetic differences among dialects of Ede including Bih. Since then, the answer to the question of whether or not Bih was a dialect of Ede had remained unanswered. Data presented in this dissertation (and other work of mine) support our conclusion that Bih is a separate highland Chamic language. However, whether Bih is particularly close to Rade or Jarai or whether Bih forms a genetic subgroup with either Rade or Jarai, or all three of them were members of an original dialect chain, is still unresolved.

The aim in this dissertation is to present a descriptive grammar of Bih from a functional/typological framework. The second chapter of this grammar introduces the Bih people and the Bih documentation project from which data presented in this dissertation come.

The third chapter describes the Bih phonological system with reference to its retentions and changes from Proto-Chamic (PC). Section 3.1 presents an inventory of Bih phonemes including both consonants and vowels while Section 3.2 describes the syllable

structure. Much of the discussion of Section 3.3 is about the distribution of these phonemes. The last section (§3.4) describes the relation between Bih phonemes and their orthographic symbols. After chapter III, all Bih data presented in the dissertation are in the Bih orthography.

Chapter IV introduces word classes in Bih. Open classes are nouns, a sub-class of the nominal class, verbs, and expressives; the remainder are closed classes. Chapters V and VI discuss the two main nominal classes: nouns and pronouns. In §5.1, Bih noun stems, compound nouns and derived nouns are presented. The internal structure of the noun phrase is demonstrated in section 5.2. Section 5.3 discusses all quantifiers and section 5.4 discusses participants in the attributive phrase. Then, chapter VI provides a picture of definite and indefinite pronouns and also discusses non-canonical transitive pronouns: reflexives and reciprocals. Chapter VII introduces the syntactic structure of nominalization.

Verbs and the verbal system are introduced in chapter VIII. In section 8.1, all characteristics that define a Bih verb are presented. The verb classification is demonstrated in section 8.3. The verbal system in section 8.4 presents some morphemes that can function as either full lexical verbs or as grammatical markers. The transition process (from a full lexical verb to a grammatical marker) is continuous and the categorical status of these morphemes is something between these two.

An areal feature in Southeast Asian languages, expressives, is discussed in chapter IX. The next two chapters, chapters X and XI, discuss basic clausal syntax and its modifications. Much of discussion of basic clausal syntax in chapter X focuses on copulas (§10.1), transitivity and basic clause structure (§10.2) and non-canonical transitivity (§10.3). Modifications of basic clause structure discussed in chapter XI include negative

and interrogative constructions, imperatives and sentence particles.

Chapter XII describes adverbials, both adverbial modifiers of the basic clause and adverbial clauses. Chapters XIII and XIV introduce multi-verb constructions and subordinating constructions. Multi-verb constructions include chained clauses (§13.1), serial verb constructions (§13.2) and verb compound clauses (§13.3).

The final chapter discusses the discourse status of arguments in Bih. Topic and focus are marked through different constructions in Bih discourse: the topic marked construction (§15.1.1), contrastive focus (§15.1.2) and the fronted NP construction (§15.1.3). Chapter XV also presents an interesting feature in Bih discourse that distinguishes between one topical third person pronoun and all other third persons. This is similar to the phenomenon called "obviation" in North American languages.

CHAPTER II

THE BIH LANGUAGE

2.1 . Chamic languages

Chamic languages are a sub-group of the Western Malayo-Polynesian division of the Austronesian family. Along with Central-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian is one of the two divisions that forms the Malayo-Polynesian language branch.

Aside from Malay, the Chamic languages are the only Austronesian languages spoken on the mainland of Asia. Although Austronesian apparently originated in southern China (Bellwood et al., 1995), Chamic is not a remnant of an original mainland Austronesian-speaking population, but represents a migration of Austronesian speakers from the islands (Thurgood, 1999, p. 5).

Within the Chamic languages, there are two subgroups: Highland Chamic, which includes Ede (also called Rade/Rhade), Jarai, Bih, Chru, Northern Roglai and Tsat, and Coastal Chamic including Haroi, Western Cham and Phan Rang Cham. Acehnese is a Chamic language which reached Sumatra before Proto-Chamic diverged into the mainland modern Chamic languages (Thurgood, 1999, p. 48). As for Bih, it was considered as an Ede dialect (Maitre, 1912; Đoàn, 1998) until my work. The current evidence suggests that it is a separate highland Chamic language although future research is needed to confirm whether it forms a genetic subgroup with either one or the other of Ede or Jarai, or if the three languages were members of the original dialect chain as

Thurgood (1999) suggested. Figure 2.1 (adopted from Thurgood 1999 with Bih added) shows the proposed internal subgrouping of the Chamic languages:

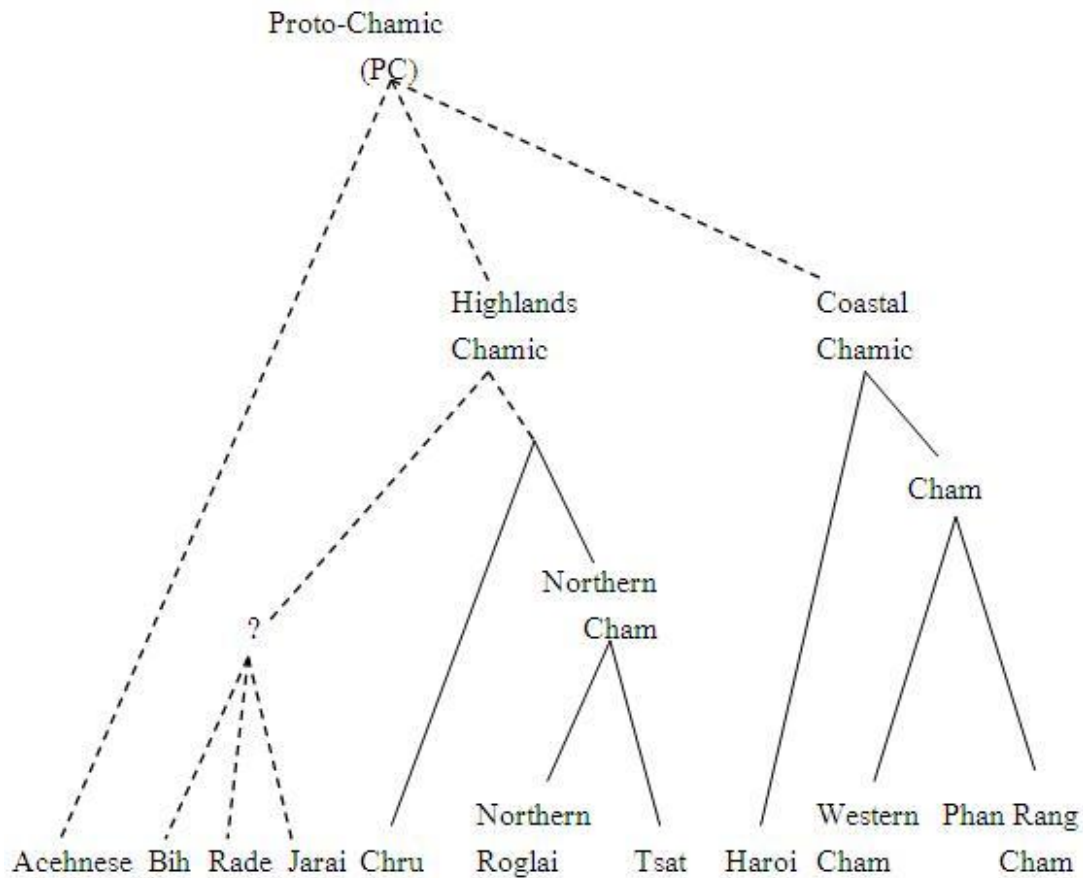


Figure 2.1: The Proto-Chamic dialect chain and its modern Chamic languages

2.2 . The Bih and their current language situation

Bih is spoken in Buon Trap town in the district of Krong Ana, with a small population resident in the neighboring districts of Lak in the east, where Mnong¹ people

¹ The Mnông language belongs to Môn-Khmer family.

live, and in the district of Cư Kười in the north and in Buôn Ma Thuột city in the northwest, and in the district of Krông Nô in the south where Ede is the dominant language. The location of Bih is illustrated in Figure 2.2:

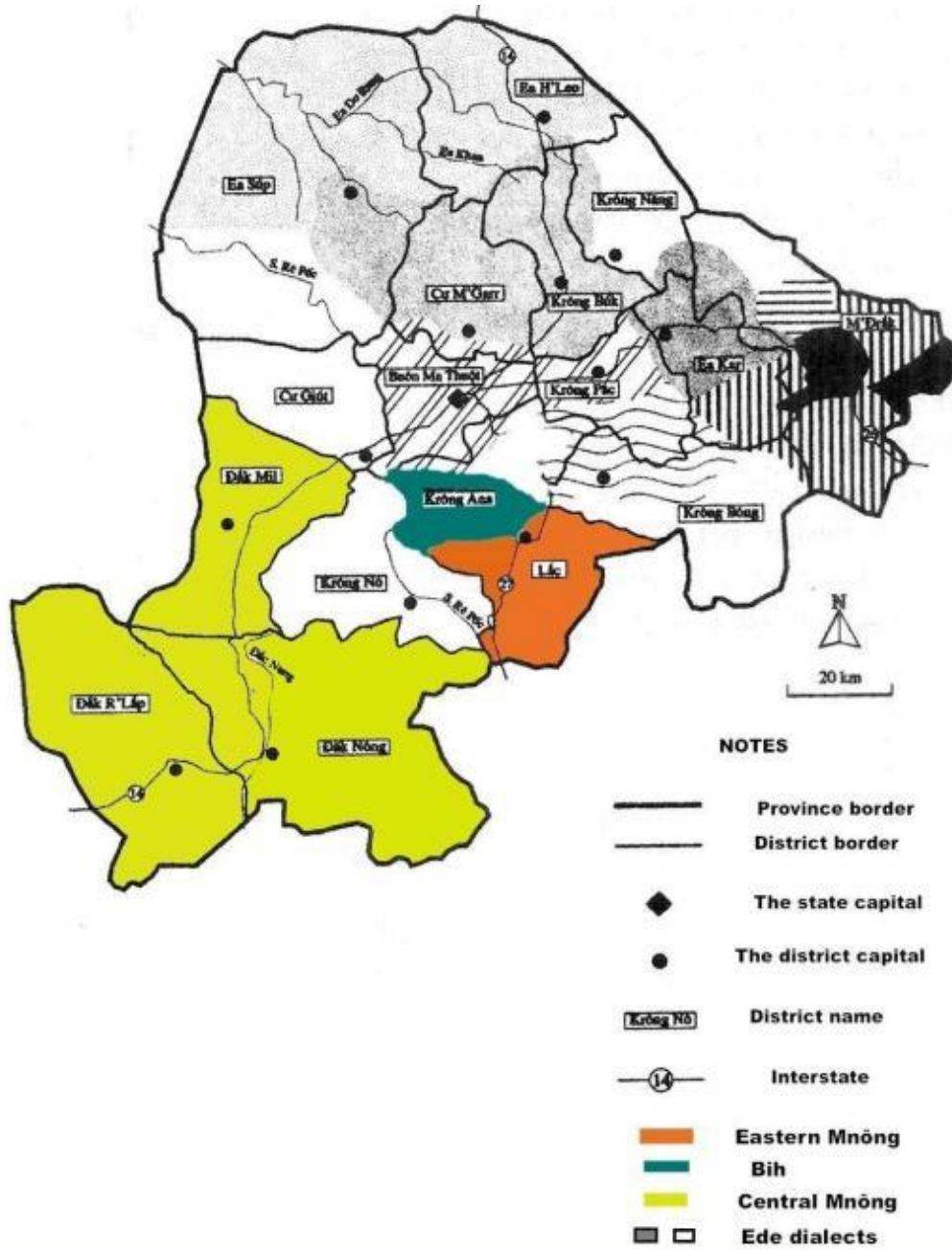


Figure 2.2: Bih and its surrounding area (adapted from Doan 1998)

During the Vietnam War, Bih people moved to Buôn Ma Thuột city and resided mainly at Buôn Ale-A and Buôn Ale-B. After the war, many of them moved back to Buon Trap but there were a number of Bih speakers who remained in Buon Ma Thuot city from that time. Bih speakers at Buon Trap nowadays explain their language diversity as resulting from the time they lived in Buon Ma Thuot city where Ede is the dominant language: some of them got used to Ede while others still spoke Bih in their families but used Ede to communicate with others. As for Bih people who have lived in Buon Ma Thuot since the Vietnam War, because of the phonological similarities between Bih and Ede, they adopted Ede as their primary language.

In 2009, there were about 500 Bih people in Buôn Tráp town. However, there are not that many Bih speakers. There are only a few old people who can speak Bih and who are aware that Bih is a different language from Ede. Many people consider themselves to be ethnically Bih, but cannot speak Bih, let alone read or write it. Children and grandchildren of village elders don't understand them if they speak Bih. In fact many elderly people have to use Ede to communicate with their children and others. In time, they got used to using Ede such as the case of the 82-year-old consultant of the Bih documentation project who still kept Bih grammar in his speech but with almost Ede vocabulary. In addition, a number of adults in their forties express that they feel comfortable in speaking Ede and Vietnamese, but not Bih, even though they consider themselves as Bih ethnically. A few of them who know some Bih vocabulary have a mixed speech of Ede grammar with Bih lexicon. In the family of one of the project consultants, her 48-year-old daughter understands some of her conversations in Bih, but speaks almost solely in Ede. Her grandchildren, 18 and 16-year-old girls, don't even speak Ede, the primary

language of the community, let alone Bih. This is because people of the young generation (15 to 18 years old) learned Vietnamese at school and leave the village for better economic opportunities in other bigger cities such as Buon Ma Thuot and Hochiminh city.

In addition, even in Buon Trap town, Bih people live with other minority groups and they use Ede as the dominant language to communicate amongst themselves. Therefore, the Bih community shows significant language variation. Ethnically, Bih people are divided into three groups: one group speaks more or less pure Bih, one group speaks Ede, and another speaks a mix between Bih and Ede. (Because of extensive contact between the two languages, all Bih speakers use some Ede vocabulary, and all Ede speaking Bih retain some Bih vocabulary.) Multiple pronunciations occur not only of common lexical words but also of some grammatical elements. Table 2.1 demonstrates some evidence for this mix.

Table 2.1: Bih variation samples

Bih	Ede	A mixed version between Bih and Ede features	GLOSS
timŭn	kəmŭn	tərəmŭn	'cucumber'
tukăw	kəkăw	təkăw	'fingernail'
ərtak	etak	rtak	'bean'
ərŋa:n	eŋa:n	rŋa:n	'ladder'
pade	mədie	mdɛ/pade	'unhusked rice'

pinɛ	mɔnie	mnɛ/pine	'virgin'
atɛ	atie	ate	'liver'
awɛ	hɔrie	are	'come'

2.3 . The Bih documentation project

There was no prior documentation of Bih until I began work on the language. Doan (1998) was a lexical comparison of Ede dialects where the author considered Bih to be an Ede dialect. Maitre (1912) found the Bih people in Buon Trap town but noted that they spoke an Ede dialect.

In 2005, I went to Buon Trap town to determine if the Bih community was interested in a language documentation project and to get a sense of whether or not Bih is a dialect of Ede.

The Bih Documentation Project was founded in 2008 with the goals: 1) to document and describe the Bih language, 2) to write a descriptive grammar of Bih, 3) to create a Bih-Vietnamese-English dictionary with Bih orthography.

In 2008, after the first three months of the project to collect data from Bih people in the community, there were not many differences between my Bih and Ede data at that point except the fact that certain middle-aged Bih speakers sometimes added the Bih prefix *ma-* onto their Ede lexicon. The most interesting part of the project came when I got to know some elderly people in the village who didn't speak much Ede. I started to gather the Bih data from them and compared their speech to others. The results helped to explain why their children and grandchildren couldn't understand their speech because they spoke pure

Bih, especially when communicating among themselves, while their children and grandchildren spoke Ede. The elderly people have to use Ede to communicate with their children and grandchildren. Gradually, as a result, their speech has become mixed with Ede.

The data we collected are from these elderly Bih speakers. It is the true that without these speakers, there is no Bih language, but only Ede. Because all cultural activities in the community are conducted in Ede, we only collected narratives and conversations from these Bih speakers. Therefore, the data we collected were mainly narratives and folktales and daily social conversations.

Consultants for the project ranged in age from fifties to eighties. The youngest Bih speaker, H'Riu Hmök who was also the project's main consultant, was born in 1953. The oldest consultant, who prefers to remain anonymous, was born in 1922. The second oldest speaker was Y Präng Adrǒng. He was the village shaman and knew a lot of Bih folktales. He became the main storyteller until he passed away in 2010. Besides other elderly Bih speakers, there were two young Bih people regularly participating as the project language assistants. Y Hiu Êban, born 1974, became a transcribing assistant and H'Lâm Hmök, born 1995, has started to learn Bih since the beginning of the project.

The Bih orthography was created based on the Ede orthography because of the phoneme similarities of the two languages. Since it was created, along with a typing keyboard layout, Bih people are proud of their "written" language and have started to use Bih in their conversations. They requested the inclusion of Ede as an additional language into a trilingual Bih-Vietnamese-English lexicon as they indicated that they will learn Bih faster with an Ede version of the Bih lexicon because they know Ede. The two Ede

speakers, H'Mi Čil and H'Juaih Niê Kdām, who worked for the Bih Documentation Project as transcribers, became Ede data entry assistants for the lexicon.

The Bih Documentation Project was funded by the Endangered Language Documentation Project, out of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) through an Individual Graduate Studentship since 2007. The National Science Foundation also supported the Bih dictionary from 2009-2012 through a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant. In addition, the Department of Linguistics, Center for the Study of Women in Society, and Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (CAPS) at the University of Oregon also supported aspects of the research. The Alice Cozzi Heritage Language Foundation supported the cost for the Ede entries for the lexicon as well.

CHAPTER III

BIH PHONOLOGY

This chapter presents the inventory of phonemes, the syllable and the transcriptions in Bih.²

3.1 . Inventory of phonemes

3.1.1 . Consonants

The five places of articulation are labial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Oral stops are produced at all five places of articulation. The four manners of articulation of oral stops are voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated and voiced glottalized (implosives³). There are four nasal stops produced at four places of articulation: labial, alveolar, palatal and velar.

There are two places of articulation for fricative segments: alveolar and glottal; two for glides: one labial and one palatal; one alveolar rhotic and one alveolar lateral.

All of the Bih consonant phonemes are represented in Table 3.1, which shows the contrastive Bih consonant phonemes in IPA.

² A paper on Bih phonology was first described at the Government Policies for Languages in Vietnam Conference in Hanoi, Vietnam in 2009.

³'Pre-glottalized' is the term used frequently for these segments in the literature on Cham languages (Thurgood, 1999.) Phonetically, pre-glottalized segments are implosives (Greenberg, 1970) (Ladefoged, 1981)

Table 3.1: Bih consonant phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
	Voiced	b	d	ʃ	g	
	Implosive	ɓ	ɗ	f		
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives			s			h
Glides		w		j		
Rhotics			ɹ			
Laterals			l			

Table 3.2 shows Bih phonemic contrasts. // presents phonemes while [] presents words that include a phoneme.

Table 3.2: Minimal sets illustrating phonemic contrasts

Initial positions	Final positions
/p/ [puh] 'to drive away (animals)'	/p/ [jap] 'to count'
/b/ [buh] 'to put on one's arm/leg'	
/ɓ/ [ɓuh] 'to see'	
/p/ [pīt] 'to sleep'	
/ph/ [phīt] 'bitter'	
/t/ [tih] 'to dig with a bamboo spade'	/t/ [pīt] 'to sleep'
/d/ [dih] 'there'	
/ɗ/ [ɗih] 'to lie'	
/t/ [tũn] 'to push'	
/th/ [thũn] 'year'	
/c/ [cěʔ] 'great-grandchild'	/c/ [lac] 'to say'
/j/ [jěʔ] 'close, near'	

/f/ [fɛʔ] 'to describe action's quietness' (in [fɛʔ fɛʔ]: expressive)	
/c/ [caɪ] 'province' /ch/ [chaɪ] 'a big gong'	
/k/ [kah] 'topic marker'	/k/ [ʔawak] 'spoon'
/g/ [gah] 'side'	
/k/ [koŋ] 'bracelet' /kh/ [khoŋ] 'dry season'	
/ʔ/ [ʔih] 'second person sigular'	/ʔ/ [jũʔ] 'black'
/m/ [meh] 'to be unsuccessful because of supernatural cause'	/m/ [ʃəm] 'soup'
/n/ [neh] 'one's mother's younger sister'	/n/ [lăn] 'earth, soil, ground'
/ɲ/ [ɲeh] 'to hit with one's elbow'	/ɲ/ [phaŋ] 'to sneeze'
/ŋ/ [ŋeh] 'clean'	/ŋ/ [saŋ] 'house'
/s/ [saŋ] 'house'	
/h/ [hiaɪ] 'to cry'	/h/ [bɔh] 'fruit'
/ɪ/ [ɪɔŋ] 'back (noun)'	/ɪ/ [hiaɪ] 'to cry'
/w/ [wai] 'to pedal (bicycle)'	
/j/ [jaŋ] 'spirit'	

3.1.2 . Vowels

Bih has fourteen contrastive vowels, including the four vowels, /u/, /ə/, /o/ and /a/ which have long and short phonemes. As for other vowels in Bih, the length distinction is neutralized in glottal-final syllables. In other words, though it is contrastive, vowel length is also subject to two phonotactic constraints: open syllable vowels are always long while vowels closed by /ʔ/ are always short.

The front and back vowels have three levels of height distinctions. Front: high /i/,

mid-high /e/ and mid-low /ɛ/; back: high /u/, mid-high /o/, and mid-low /ɔ/. Front vowels do not distinguish length; at high and mid-high back positions there are long and short phonemes. The greatest number of height distinctions is made for the central vowels. The central vowels are: high / i̇/, mid-central / ə /, higher mid-low /ə/ and low /a/. Length is distinctive only for the mid-central and low vowels / ə̇/ and /ă/. Table 3.3 illustrates all of these vowels in Bih.

Table 3.3: Bih vowels

	Front	Center	Back
Close	i	i̇	ũ/u*
Close-mid	e	ə̇/ə ə	ō/o
Open-mid	ɛ		ǒ
Open		ă/a	

*The symbol ̣ appears above a vowel representing a short vowel.

Contrasting positions of the vowels are provided in near minimal pairs below:

(3.1) FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
/ti/ 'at'	/bi/ 'baby snakehead fish'	/katũŋ/ 'pull'
/rḍe/ 'Ede people'	/bə / 'be pitied'	/muŋ/ 'muzzle'
/gɛ/ 'stick'	/ḅə̇/ 'but'	/ʔə̇ʔ/ 'to vomit'
	/aŋəp/ 'dark'	/go/ 'to lean a little'
	/ʔumăk/ 'fat'	/g̣ə̇/ 'pot'
	/anak/ 'child'	

Bih also has diphthongs and triphthongs. The diphthongs are combinations of two vowels in which the first vowel is either a front or a center or a back vowel. They are /ie/,

/iɛ/, /ia/, /ei/, /əi/, /əu/, /au/, /ai/ and /ui/, /ue/, /uə/, /uǎ/, /ua/, /uo/. There are three triphthongs in Bih. These triphthongs are combined of either three vowels as /ieu/ or vowels and a glide as /uai/ and /uay/. Notice that the last two triphthongs are reconstructed as /*uay/ and /*uəy/ in Proto-Chamic (henceafter PC) respectively (Thurgood, 1999, p. 135).

Below is examples of the diphthongs and triphthongs:

(3.2)

/ɰien/	'giving birth'
/ɰien/	'close friend'
/hiar/	'cry'
/nei/	'this'
/kəu/	'I/me'
/nau/	'go'
/lui/	'quit'
/fue/ (in /gǎp fue/)	'extended family'
/ʔaduən/	'grandmother'
/juǎm/	'expensive'
/dua/	'two'
/juop/	'west'
/miew/	'cat'
/maluai/	'opo squash'
/kuay kuay/	'iguana'

3.1.2.1 . Phonemic Length

Thurgood (1999), following Lee (1966), indicates that vowel length contrasts in PC

were reconstructed for only three vowels *-a, *-u and *-ɔ and in limited environments. Even among these three vowels, there is no specific pattern for which PC vowel length applies: each vowel has its own particular pattern: *-a has a length contrast in certain environments before stops, velar nasals and liquids while *-ɔ has a length contrast in limited environments before glottal stop, velar stop and velar nasal. *-u only contrasts with *-ũ in two environments: before glottal stop and velar nasal. This indicates that the length contrast reconstructed in PC doesn't have any specific pattern for those three vowels. This section will illustrate how the vowel length contrast applies in Bih.

3.1.2.1.1 . Length distinctions for /a/

Bih has a neat pattern of length contrast for the vowel /a/ in which the length distinction occurs in all sonorant-final syllables and two final stops: alveolar and velar stops. However, only short vowel /ǎ/ goes with the final glottal stop. A list of minimal pairs for the length distinction of the vowel /a/ is provided below:

(3.3)	/ʔumǎk/	'fat'
	/ʔanak/	'child'
	/pusǎt/	'navel'
	/pinhat/	'chisel'
	/pǎŋ/	'to make a wall'
	/ʔudaŋ/	'shrimp'
	/tlǎn/	'python'
	/pulan/	'month'
	/dǎl/	'to wedge'

/manal/	'mend'
/ďār/	'bury'
/ʔukhar/	'root'
/tanǎʔ/	'to cook'

3.1.2.1.2 . Length distinctions for the vowel /u/

It is interesting to see that the length contrast for the high back vowel /u/ occurs only with the coda phoneme /ŋ/. This is also the only environment in which the long vowel /u/ occurs while its short counterpart /ǔ/ occurs with all stop-final syllables. The following list will show the possible environment in which the length distinction for the vowel /u/ occurs:

(3.4)	/muŋ/	'muzzle'
	/buŋ/	'proper name of a pot'
	/ʔasǔŋ/	'mortar'
	/tərapǔŋ/	'flour'
	/mǔt/	'to enter'
	/manǔk/	'chicken'
	/bǔč/	'to pull up from the ground'
	/pəɾətǔʔ/	'a star'

3.1.2.1.3 . Length distinctions for /ə/

/ə/ has a length contrast with the two final stops: bilabial /p/ and alveolar /t/ (see examples 3.5a-b). In syllables closed by a velar stop /k/ and a glottal stop /ʔ/, only short / ə/

occurs (example 3.5 c). Elsewhere, only long / ə/ occurs (example 3.5 d):

(3.5)

- a. /ɓlɛp/ 'good'
/chǎp/ 'sounds created when someone jumps up on something very fast'
- b. /jət/ 'hold up'
/frǎt/ 'finish'
- c. /kachǎʔ/ 'dirty'
/brǎk/ 'suddenly'
- d. /brɛn/ 'happy'
/bə/ in expressive: /bə lah/ 'describes walking continuously/without end'

3.1.2.1.4 . Length distinction for /o/

The current data show that the back vowels /o/ and /ǒ/only contrast in syllables closed by a velar stop /k/. Also, phonetically the vowel /o/ becomes /ǒ/ with the glottal stop coda while it is long in other environments:

(3.6) /c^hǒk/ 'stick together'

/dok/ 'sit'

/bǒʔ/ 'face'

/bro/ 'lucky'

/kroŋ/ 'river'

3.1.2.1.5 . Complementary distribution of length for other vowels

The two vowels /i/ and /i/ become phonetically /ĩ/ and /ĩ/ respectively in stop-final syllables while they are long before a sonorant coda. The following lists provide their complementary distribution:

- (3.7) [chĩʔ] 'sell'
[bĩp] 'a duck'
[ʃlĩt] 'to twist'
- [cĩʔ] 'mountain'
[ʃrĩk] 'to remember'
[chĩt] 'sounds of chickens fighting'
[cĩp] 'stand up quickly'
- [ciŋ] 'a gong'
[cil] 'tree proper name'
[ʃri] 'lucky'
- [bi] 'baby snakehead fish'
[bin] 'mountain field'

The vowel /-e-/ is phonetically short only when it is followed by a palatal coda /-c/ or /-ɲ/; and it is long in open syllables:

- (3.8) [ɪde] 'Ede people'
[dɛc] 'weave'
[frɛɲ] 'crunchy'

As for /-e-/ , it is short when followed by a glottal stop, and long elsewhere:

- (3.9) [jɛʔ] 'near, close'
[ge] 'a stick'

[ɛp] 'peek'
 [get] 'a bottle of water'
 [crək] 'to split grass'
 [jɛŋ] 'fish net'
 [wɛh] 'fishing'

The vowel /ə/ is only short if it is followed by a velar stop /-k/ while with other coda consonants, it is long:

(3.10) [kasə̃k] 'small basket for carrying cooked rice'
 [ʔaŋəp] 'dark'
 [agə̃m] 'darken'

Bih only has a short vowel /-ə̃-/:

(3.11) [gə̃ʔ] 'pot'
 [ŋə̃k] 'east'
 [tʰə̃ŋ] 'knife'

3.2 . The word and syllable structure

An important word syllabification pattern for Bih is the “sesquisyllabic” structure (Matisoff, 1973) in which a canonical word consists of a reduced ‘pre-tonic’ (presyllable) and a main ‘tonic’ syllable. Different initial cluster patterns are found in those words that have presyllable onsets against main syllable onsets. There are also restrictions on co-occurrence of presyllable and main onset consonants. A subset of the allowable onsets, vowels and codas in the presyllable can be found in the main syllables. Thus, the main syllable has the larger inventory of phonemes. Plus, the main syllable displays the whole set of possible phonological contrasts.

Austronesian languages are often disyllabic with penultimate stress (Thurgood, 1999, p. 60). Chamic languages with the influence of Mon-khmer stress pattern (which is iambic--weak and strong stress patterns) reduce or even drop the vowel in the presyllable results in iambic stress patterns. The iambic stress patterns then leads to the development of monosyllabic word structure with two-consonant initial clusters throughout Chamic languages (p.61). Even though Bih still retains disyllabic words from PC, it is adapted to the iambic stress patterns. The Bih word structure is shown in Figure 3.1:

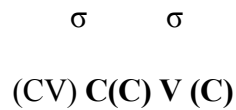


Figure 3.1: Bih word structure. Parentheses mean optional, main syllable is in bold while presyllable is non-bold.

This word template consists an optional presyllable and a main syllable that includes an onset, nucleus and a coda. The onset glottal stop is not marked in the Bih orthography system. Syllables may have a coda, but the minimal syllable structure is CV.

3.3 . The distribution of phonemes

The distribution of phonemes depend on the position occupy in the word and syllable. Therefore, this section will discuss which phoneme can occur in what position in Bih.

3.3.1 . Pre-syllable

3.3.1.1 . Consonants

The inventory of onset consonants in the pre-syllable is restricted. Only six

consonants in Table 3.1 can occur in the onsets of pre-syllable. There is no coda in the pre-syllable. They are illustrated in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Bih pre-syllable onset consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p-	t-	c-	k-	ʔ
Nasals	m-				
Rhotics		ɹ-			

3.3.1.2 . Vowels

Bih has four vowels in its pre-syllable: /-a/, /-i/, /-u/, /-ə/. This is an inherited feature from Proto-Chamic and Bih is the only current Chamic language which has a four-way distinctions in pre-syllable vowels (Thurgood, 1999, p. 107). There is no length contrast in pre-syllables.

3.3.2 . Main syllable

3.3.2.1 . Onset consonants

All consonants in the language can be in the initial onset position of a main syllable. Additionally, Bih main syllable onsets also allow initial clusters. These are 'primary clusters' (Thurgood, 1999, p. 93) which are inherited clusters from PC. Clusters in modern Chamic languages are divided into three groups: primary clusters inherited from PC, secondary clusters obtained from reduction of PC disyllable forms, and Mon-Khmer borrowings in post-PC. (3.12) shows the Bih primary clusters inherited from PC; the second member of the cluster is either *l- or *r-:

(3.12)	/pl-/	/pluh/	'ten'
	/bl-/	/blei/	'buy'
	/tl-/	/tlɔh/	'break'
	/dl-/	/dlo/	'brain'
	/pr-/	/ prɔŋ /	'big'
	/br-/	/ bruă? /	'work'
	/kr-/	/kra/	'monkey'
	/tr-/	/trei/	'full'
	/dr-/	/ dră? /	'hand on hip'

According to Thurgood (1999), throughout Chamic there was a reduction of what was an original disyllable in PC when the vowel of the pre-syllable was lost and the main syllable consonant was one of the liquids *l- or *r-. In other words, from original disyllables with liquids, loss of the presyllable vowel creates a monosyllable with an initial cluster. Bih hasn't reduced its disyllables to clusters because it still retains four PC vowels in pre-syllables. Thus the process of reduction to create secondary clusters hasn't happened in Bih.

In addition, Bih also has three other clusters which were borrowed at the post-PC stage. They are ^xcr-, ^xsr- and ^xgr-⁴:

(3.13)	/cr-/	/ crih /	'strange'
	/sr-/	/ srɔ? /	'subside'
	/gr-/	/ grăm /	'thunder'

⁴ x means 'borrowed and not reconstructable to PC' (Thurgood 1999: xvi).

3.3.2.2 . Coda consonants

The inventory of coda consonants is a subset of the main syllable initial position onset consonants. The reduction in inventory is because there is only one manner of articulation (voiceless unaspirated) for stops in coda position while in onset positions, there are four: voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated and voiced glottalized.

Syllable- final /-h/ results from the merger of the two PC final consonants *-h and *-s. The merge from *-s into /-h/ occurs with the two vowel nuclei *-u- and *-a:-. The following list of words exemplifies the final consonant /-h/ in Bih:

(3.14)	PC	Bih	Gloss
	*blah	/blah/	'split'
	*bra:s	/braih/	'husked rice'
	*labuh	/ʔbuh/	'fall down'
	*tikus	/tikuih/	'rat'

Bih has five final sonorants: /-m/, /-n/, /-ŋ/, /-l/ and /-ɾ/. Interestingly, Bih still preserves a PC *r- which is lost even in Acehnese and in Ede, the Chamic languages which otherwise have best retained the original PC finals.

3.3.2.3 . Nucleus

The distribution of vowel phonemes in the nucleus is described in relation to the type of vowel combinations (monothong, diphthong or triphthong) and whether the syllable is open or closed. Also, the number of vowels occurring in open final syllables is limited.

Almost all the monophthong vowels in Bih can occur in both open and closed syllables, except for /-e/ and /-ɔ-/. Again, as stated earlier, phonetically, vowels in open syllables are longer than those in closed syllables. In the cases of /-e/ and /-ɔ-/, /-e/ occurs

only in open syllables while /-ɔ-/ only occurs in closed syllables and is always short.

Bih has three diphthongs that occur only in open syllables: /ɛi/, /-əu/ and /-au/.

Other diphthongs (see the list at section 3.1.2) can occur in both open and closed syllables.

Triphthongs (/ieu/, /uai/ and /uay/) only occur in open syllables.

3.4 . Transcriptions

The following tables will show Bih orthographic symbols arranged according to the articulatory properties of the sounds they represent. These symbols will be used instead of the IPA symbols in subsequent chapters.

Table 3.5: Bih orthographic consonant symbols

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	č	k	(unmarked*)
	Aspirated	ph	th	čh	kh	
	Voiced	b	d	j	g	
	Implosive	ɓ	ɗ	dj		
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ng	
Fricatives			s			h
Glides		w		y		
Rhotics			r			
Laterals			l			

* Bih orthography is based on Ede orthography in which an onset glottal stop is not represented.

Table 3.6: Bih orthographic vowel symbols.

	Front	Center	Back
Close	i	ɯ	ɯ/u*
Close-mid	ê	ɔ̃/σ â	ɔ̃/ô
Open-mid	e		ɔ̃
Open		ă/a	

* Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the left represents a short vowel.

The diphthongs in Bih orthography are /-iê/, /ie/, /-ia/, /-ei/ (the first front-vowel group); /-oi/, /-âo/, /-ao/, /-ai/ (the first center-vowel group) and /-ui/, /-uê/, /-uâ/, /-uă/, /-ua/, /-uô/ (the back-vowel group) respectively. The three triphthongs are /-iêu/, /-uai/ and /-uay/.

CHAPTER IV

WORD CLASSES

This chapter simply lay out the major word classes of Bih: nominal (§4.1); verb (§4.2); expressive (§4.3); preposition (§4.4.1); adverb (§4.4.2); grammatical markers (§4.4.3); negator (§4.4.4) and interjection (§4.4.5). Detailed syntactic descriptions of each category will be discussed in later chapters.

Open classes include noun (a sub-class of the nominal class), verb and expressive while the remainder are closed classes.

4.1 . Nominals

The nominal class includes several subcategories: noun, numeral, classifier, pronoun, demonstrative and possessive.

4.1.1 . Nouns

Noun can be divided into either proper or common nouns. Proper nouns include individual persons' names (*Y-Bia* 'a girl's name') or animals' names (*Blem* 'an elephant's name'), and place names (*Krông Nô* 'a district name'). Common nouns include human (*arǎng* 'people'), friends (*jieng* 'friend'), afterlife forms (*yang* 'dead person'), body parts (*tangan* 'hand', *jǒng* 'leg'), flora (*punga* 'flower'), fauna (*asâo* 'dog'), astronomical objects (*pulan* 'moon'), times (*guh* 'morning').

Kin terms are used to refer to and address people. Below is a list of kin terms in Bih:

- (4.1) *aê* 'grandfather'
duân 'grandmother'
amĩ ama 'parents'
amĩ 'mother'
ama 'father'
prõng 'mother's older sister'
neh 'mother's younger sister'
wa 'mother's older brother and his wife'
miêt 'mother's younger brother and his wife'
ayõng 'older brother'.
mai 'older sister'
adei 'younger sibling'
e 'older sister's husband, older brother's wife'

4.1.2 . Pronouns

Pronouns can be divided into two systems: definite pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Definite pronouns are mostly personal pronouns. These pronouns are distinguished in person (first, second and third) and in number (singular and plural). The first person plural distinguishes the inclusive and exclusive. The plural forms are *kamei* first plural exclusive, and *he* first plural inclusive. The first singular form is *kâo*. *Di ih* is the second plural. The second singular person pronoun has two forms: one, *ih*, for one's son-in-law (polite form) and another, *õng*, for everybody else. The two forms *ñu* and *gõ* are third singular person pronouns. While the former is used for one third person pronoun whose character is in focus in discourse, the latter is for all other third persons. *Di ñu* is third plural. There is also a special third person plural form for animals, *dãng ñu*, even though the third person plural form *di ñu* can be used to refer to animals as well. Indefinite

pronouns are distinguished for persons *mnuih*, things *adǒ*, and places *anôk*. Table 4.1

presents the definite pronouns mentioned above:

Table 4.1: Bih pronouns

Singular	Plural
1st kâo	he (INCL) kamei (EXCL)
2nd ǒng (familiar)/ih (polite)	di ih
3rd ñu	di ñu/dǎng ñu
3rd gǒ	di gǒ
3rd pǒng	---
3rd arǎng	arǎng

4.1.3 . Numerals

Numbers function as cardinal numerals or in both ordinal expression and classifier expressions. Table 4.2 provides the basic cardinal numbers of Bih:

Table 4.2: Bih cardinal numbers

Bih	Gloss
sa	'one'
dua	'two'
tlâu/trlâu	'three'
pă	'four'
ima	'five'
năm	'six'
tijuh	'seven'
sapăn	'eight'
duapăn	'nine'
pluh	'ten'
pluh sa	'eleven'
pluh duapăn	'nineteen'
dua pluh	'twenty'
tlâu pluh	'thirty'
sa ituh	'one hundred'
sa ibâu/trbâu	'one thousand'

4.1.4 . Classifiers

Classifiers are a small closed class in Bih. The Bih language also includes class terms (DeLancey, 1986 and Grinevald, 2000). More details about Bih classifiers are given in §5.3.2. Below is the list of Bih classifiers.

Table 4.3: List of Bih classifiers

<p><i>trlām</i>: 'human and animals and objects in general' <i>phūr</i>: 'trees' <i>ḥě</i> and <i>urāt/uruāt</i>: 'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects' <i>pők</i> and <i>blah</i>: 'two-dimensional rigid and flexible objects' <i>boh</i> and <i>trlām</i>: 'three-dimensional big and small round objects.' <i>usār</i>: fruits in general.</p>

4.2 . Verbs

Verbs are an open class. They occur as the head of a VP. Verbs in Bih don't require tense-aspect-modality marking but rather have an independent tense/aspect marker (§4.4.3) or an adverbial (§4.4.2). Verbs take two bipartite negative *ḥuh...ôh* and *ka...ôh*. They can form serial verb construction (§13.2) and complex predicates (Chapter XIII and Chapter XIV).

There is no distinct syntactic class of adjectives. However, verbs in Bih express the following properties --dimension (*ḥhīt* 'small'), color (*jū* 'black'), taste (*mamih* 'sweet') and tactile (*a-uôn* 'soft')-- which are expressed by adjectives in some other languages such as English.

Verbs also can go through a nominalization process with the nominalizer *talei /trlei*

in order to function as nouns. In (4.2), *angoh* 'hot' and *a-ăt* 'cold' are two stative verbs.

When *trlei* precedes, *trlei angoh a-ăt* functions as a nominal predicate for the copula *mâo*:

(4.2) Buh lõ mâo trlei angoh a-ăt ôh ñu lač
NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2 3 say
'He said that there will be no fever anymore.'(ND007/260)

Verbs in Bih fall into different classes according to their transitivity. However, basically, there are two divisions: intransitive and transitive verbs. While transitive verbs have two core arguments, intransitive verbs have only one. Other further classes in Bih are ditransitive verbs where the indirect argument is marked by *kĩn/ko'* and stative verbs. Each subclass of verbs will be discussed in relevant chapters.

4.3 . Expressives

Expressives are an open class in Bih. They are words rich in iconicity (Diffloth , 1979). They are expressions conveying sensations and visual perceptions as well as emotions (Enfield, 2005; Matisoff, 2001). Expressives can stand alone as a clause. The term “expressives”, following Diffloth (1972) or ideophones (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001) in other languages, is used in this chapter to refer to an iconic word class defined by its distinct phonological and semantic properties. Expressives in this dissertation don't include the group of onomatopoeia.

Expressives in Bih include two types: full reduplication (*djeh djeh* 'doing something not seriously') and partial reduplication (e.g *arblě arblö* 'describing lands with

too much water’ and *hốk krdốk* ‘describing a very happy feeling’, *lah lañ* ‘very lazy’).

4.4 . Other word classes

4.4.1 . Prepositions

Prepositions occur as heads of prepositional phrases. They include locative prepositions encoding the indirect object (*kơ* as shown in (4.3)) and other phrasal constituents such as location (*ti/ta* in (4.4)), direction, source (*măng* in (4.5)); and instrument (*hăng* in (4.6), for example):

(4.3) Nei arăng brei kan akềñ đơ apăl kơ ñu.
 now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
 'People give a catfish which is as big as the upper arm to him.'
 (PA011/019)

(4.4) ống dlăng aduân kâu ti sang.
 2 look grandmother 1 LOC house
 'You look at my grandmother at home.'(ND008/176)

(4.5) Ñu tangủ atăm măng anôk palei ñu năn,
 3 get.up REC from place wife 3 DIST

 hăng palei ñu năn.
 with wife 3 DIST
 'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.'(ND007/095)

(4.6) Đa răng pilih hăng braih
 many 3 exchange with husked-rice
 'He trades his hunting products for husked rice' (ND009/008)

4.4.2 . Adverbs

Adverbs are a small closed class in Bih. They code aspect, manner, degree or frequency. Some lexical items such as expressives may function adverbially but aren't members of the adverb class. Below are some examples:

- (4.7) ǒng lǒ wǐt yǒh ta imai ǒng ǔôn dih.
2 again return PTCL LOC sister 2 village FAR.DIST
'You again return to your sister at our village there.' (ND003/079)

- (4.8) (Si mnuih hiar lǎm nei, thào dah laǎ hǒ!)
Who person cry in PROX know that say PTCL
Hũn pa-djǎl hǒ, đǎm pa-dǎp hǒ!
Inform CAUS-fast PTCL don't CAUS-hide PTCL
'(Who is crying here?) Please answer right now and do not hide anything.'
(ND011/042)

- (4.9) Ñũ nao riǎ atǎm ǔrǔ~ǔrǔ~ǔrǔ jing gǒ đũôm
3 go lay.in.wait REFL slowly COP 3 be.stuck
hǎng panâk pasa hǎng talei nǎn.
with weaving.stick weaving.stick with rope/thread PROX
'He sees: slowly she is stuck in the weaving frame.' (ND008/258)

4.4.3 . Aspect markers

There are three particles that mark aspect in Bih: *dô* is a progressive aspect marker and *leh* is a perfective aspect marker. *Dôk* is another particle functioning as an imperfective marker while it is also a lexical verb meaning to 'sit/stay/reside'. To my knowledge, *leh* is grammaticalized from a lexical verb *leh* 'finish' and has a clausal-final

position while *dôk* is preverbal. The following examples (4.10)-(4.13) present these particles:

(4.10) Dô duân năn ma-huĩ yoʰ.
 PROG grandmother then PRE-scare PTCL
 'The grandmother is being scared' (ND008/113)

(4.11) Leh pě leh pě ma-tăm đuế.
 Finish pick finish pick PRE-RECP leave
 'Having finished picking the tangerines, they all left.' (ND008/108)

(4.12) Kào pa-dje leh ñu.
 1 CAUS-die PFV 3
 'I killed him.' (ND008/199)

(4.13) Năn ñu ma-dôk đih ti anuă,
 then 3 PRE-PROG lay LOC rotten.wood

 dôk đih ta anuă năn ñu čiăng pīt.
 PROG lay LOC rotten.wood then 3 want sleep

 buh ă ñu lõ kalei ubei.
 NEG diligent 3 again dig yam

 năn dôk pīt ti năn yoʰ.
 then PROG sleep LOC PROX PTCL
 'Then while he was lying down by the rotten wood, he felt sleepy. He didn't want to dig yams, so he was sleeping there.' (PA011/156)

4.4.4 . Negations

There are two types of negation in Bih: a) one construction for negating a NP or clause and b) two constructions used to negate a VP. *buh djǝ* is the negator for a NP/clause

(as shown in (4.14)) while bipartite *ḅuh...ôh* 'not' and *ka...ôh* 'not yet' (*ôh* is optional) (in example (4.15) and (4.16)) are used to negate a VP. In addition, *kĩn* is also a negator for these above types as shown in (4.17):

(4.14)

a. ỡ Đông-krje, hăng adố ống weh?
 VOC PN with what you go.fishing
 'Hey Đông-krje, what do you go fishing with?'

b. Kâu weh hăng ulăt.
 I go.fishing with worm
 'I go fishing with worms.'

c. ḅuh djỡ!
 NEG right
 'It is not right.'(ND007/007)

(4.15) ḅuh kâu thâu mĩ a.
 NEG I know mom VOC
 'Mom, I do not know.' (ND005a)

(4.16) Arnei ka kâu lố thâu mĩn ôh.
 now NEG1 I again know think NEG2
 'Now I haven't thought (about it) yet.'(ND008/434)

(4.17) Kĩn lố lai rei.
 NEG1 again be.over NEG2
 'He is still sick.' (ND007/188)

4.4.5 . Interjections

Interjections are a closed class which function as interactive (Givon, 2001, p.102).

Their expressions include attitude, surprise, vocatives, query, uncertainty and commands.

Below are some examples:

(4.18) ǒh, mamă ǔh jing abao madôk ǔh jing.
oh.no PRE-take NEG COP snail PRE-be.at NEG COP
'Oh no! When she picks up the snail, she can't because the snail is still at its location.'(ND008/010)

(4.19) ǒ Bia ǒ Bia, ti anôk ǒng dôk?
VOC PN VOC PN, where place 2 stay
'Hey, Bia! Where are you?' (ND010/081)

(4.20) Nao wě duân ah mahuă bě.
go IMP grandma VOC PRE-eat IMP
'Eat now Grandma!' (ND008/226)

CHAPTER V

NOUNS AND THE NOUN PHRASE

This chapter discusses syntactic descriptions of nouns and the noun phrase (NP) structure in Bih. The first section (§5.1) describes nouns, compound nouns and derived nouns in Bih. Section 5.2 will demonstrate the internal structure of the NP followed by more detailed description of each syntactic category in the NP. Quantifier phrases are discussed in §5.3; attributive phrases are discussed in §5.4.

5.1 . Nouns

Nouns in Bih constitute a lexical class including noun stems, compound nouns and derived nouns. In this section, I will describe Bih noun stems (§5.1.1), three types of compound noun (§5.1.2), and derived nouns (§5.1.3).

5.1.1 . Noun stems

Bih noun stems are mainly one or two syllables. There are many disyllabic noun stems in Bih, mostly of Proto-Chamic origin. As I described in Chapter III, these disyllabic noun stems reflect the fact that Bih still keeps a four-way vowel distinction in pre-syllables from Proto-Chamic (*manūk* 'chicken', *tikuīh* 'rat', *putei* 'banana' and *mnǒng* 'things'). In addition, in Bih there are some polysyllabic noun stems from borrowed words (*cikaret-* 'cigarette') or proper names (*Djông-krje* 'male.name'). However, there are also a significant number of monosyllabic noun stems. Below are some examples for Bih one syllable noun stems.

(5.1)	buôn	'village'
	sang	'house'
	prāk	'money'
	huã	'eat.cooked rice'
	pīt	'sleep'

5.1.2 . Compound nouns

5.1.2.1 . Noun-noun compounds

There are a lot of noun-noun compounds in Bih which the meaning of each root stands for a sub-category which is similar to the other. For example, *pũk sang* 'houses' consists of *pũk* 'a small house in the mountains' and *sang*, the word for a regular house. In other words, both of them mean a place to stay/live. It is common to see these compounds in Bih, representing a larger category than either noun does by itself:

(5.2)	<i>pũk</i>	<i>sang</i>
	mountain.house	house
	'houses'	

<i>čim</i>	<i>kan</i>
bird	fish
'eating animals'	

<i>aũuê</i>	<i>abãn</i>
mat	blanket
'household items'	

<i>asei</i>	<i>djãm</i>
cooked.rice	soup
'food'	

braih *pade*
husked.rice unhusked.rice
'main harvesting products'

bǔng *bai*
back.basket back.basket
'back baskets'

phǔn *kayâo*
trunk tree
'trees'

5.1.2.1.1 . Additive compound nouns

There are some compound nouns whose meanings express things in pairs such as couples (*amǎ ama* 'parents'(lit. 'mother father'), *aê duân* 'grandparents' (lit. grandfather grandmother')) or relatives with the same genders (*amet awa* 'uncles' (lit.'parents' younger uncle parents' older uncles'), *neh prǒng* 'aunts' (lit. mother's younger sister mother's older sister') or 'siblings' *ayǒng adei* (lit. 'older brother younger sibling')). The fact that they behave syntactically as units like as other single nouns (*sa amǎ ama* 'the same parents') indicates that they are compound nouns rather than conjoined noun phrases. Of course, in a different context where people count each parent as a single unit, it is also normal to see *sa amǎ* 'mother' and *sa ama* 'father' as independent syntactic units as well.

5.1.2.2 . Frozen compound nouns

Frozen compound nouns in Bih are those which consist of one root still having its lexical meaning while the other no longer has its own meaning even though historically it may have. Below are two examples of frozen compound nouns in Bih:

- (5.3) *arlô tãm* 'wild buffalo'
 mãng ai 'a lot'

In *arlô tãm*, *tãm* has no lexical meaning, but when it is combined with *arlô* 'forest animal', it indicates one kind of animal, 'wild buffalo'. In *mãng ai*, *mãng* means 'from' while *ai* is "frozen" and synchronically it has no contribution to the lexical meaning 'a lot' in the compound *mãng ai*.

5.1.2.3 . Class term compound nouns

There are many compound nouns in Bih that include one element that indicates a category (called class term) and another element which specifies a specific element in that category. This phenomenon is very common in Southeast Asian languages (Haas, 1964; DeLancey, 1986) and will be discussed in detail in §5.3.2.3. Below are some examples of Bih class term compound nouns:

- (5.4) *boh kruế*
 CLF tangerine
 'tangerines'
- anak putao*
 child head.village
 'head village child'

palei phũn
 wife trunk
 'main wife'

trõng phang
 eggplant dry (in drying season)
 'eggplants in dry season'

5.1.3 . Derived nouns

Any verb in Bih can syntactically be made a noun by addition of the nominalizer *talei/kalei/trlei*. This process will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII:

(5.5) Trlei angoh a-ăt
 NMZ hot cold
 'sickness' (ND007/260)

5.2 . Internal structure of the noun phrase

A noun phrase in Bih consists of a noun, plus optionally a quantifier and/or a numeral, a classifier preceding a noun, and an adjective phrase, an associative pronoun and/or a determiner following a noun. The following diagram summarizes the order of a NP constituent in Bih:

Quantifier	Number	Classifier	HEAD noun	Attributive	Possessor	Demonstrative
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Figure 5.1: The internal structure of the noun phrase

Some examples illustrating the possibilities of Figure 5.1 are shown below.

The quantifier can be a number (5.6), or a number and either a classifier (5.7) or a

measure noun (5.8). Quantifier phrases often precede the head, but they can follow it in a special contrastive discourse context.

(5.6) dua urei
two day
'two days' (ND007/291)

(5.7) sa urăt ñũk
one CLF necklace
'one necklace' (ND010/117)

(5.8) sa trpăt djăm
one bunch vegetable
'one bunch of vegetables' (Elicitation. HM20090510)

The attributive can be a locative prepositional phrase (5.9) or a relative clause

(5.10):

(5.9) dhǒng ti sang dih
knife LOC house FAR.DIST
'the knife at home' (PA015/014)

(5.10) adǒ brei kǐn angoh gǒr ñăn
thing give DAT sick 3 DIST
'things that give to that sickness of him' (ND007/268)

Possessive phrases always follow the head:

(5.11) gǒ lăn he ačô nei
pot clay 2INCL REFL PROX
'this pot from our clay' (BB004)

(5.12) ao ñũ
shirt 3
'his/her shirt'

Demonstratives are always phrase final:

- (5.13) adũ nǎn
 room DIST
 'that room'

5.3 . The quantifiers

In this section, I describe in detail Bih numerals (§5.3.1) including cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers. Classifiers (§5.3.2) are discussed with a distinction between classifiers and class terms in Bih. Mensural classifiers and other expressions which are used as classifiers are also described. Section §5.3.3 describes other quantifiers.

5.3.1 . Numerals

5.3.1.1 . Cardinal numerals

All the cardinal numerals in Bih are of Chamic origins. The first seven cardinal numerals and the number 'ten' in Bih are shared with other Chamic languages, while the numbers 'eight' and 'nine' are shared with Ede but not with others. This is because these two numbers show variation not only among modern Chamic languages and between them and Proto-Chamic, but also differences from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian to Proto-Chamic and Malay as well. Table 5.1 shows the Bih cardinal numeral system.

Table 5.1: The numeral system

Bih	Êđê	Gloss
sa	sa	'one'
dua	dua	'two'
tlâu/trlâu	tlâu	'three'
pă	pă	'four'
ima	êma	'five'
năm	năm	'six'
tjuh	kjuh	'seven'
sapăn	sapăn	'eight'
duapăn	duapăn	'nine'
pluh	pluh	'ten'
pluh sa	pluh sa	'eleven'
pluh duapăn	pluh duapăn	'nineteen'
dua pluh	dua pluh	'twenty'
tlâu pluh	tlâu pluh	'thirty'
sa ituh	sa êtuh	'one hundred'
sa ibâu/trbâu	sa êbâu	'one thousand'

There are two alternative forms for the numerals 'three' and 'one hundred': *tlâu/trlâu* and *ibâu/trbâu*. However, the former form is used more frequently than the latter one. It could be because it sounds similar to Ede—the language Bih people use to communicate with each other and with outsiders though they confirm that the latter forms are also used when they count things among themselves.

From one million, a borrowed-Vietnamese form *sa triệu* is used in Bih counting .

To name the months or enumerate months, the cardinal numeral system is used:

pulan sa 'January', *sa pulan* 'one month'. Likewise with time, cardinal numerals are used: *ima mông*: 'five o'clock'.

5.3.1.2 . Ordinal numerals

Bih ordinal numeral formation consists the particle *tǎl* and a cardinal numeral. It is the same as the ordinal numeral system in Table 5.1: *tǎl sa*: 'first', *tǎl pluh*: 'tenth', etc.

5.3.2 . Classifiers

Many Bih morphemes have multiple functions in different syntactic structures. Many forms used as classifiers also function as nouns or class terms.

The Bih classifying system includes both classifiers and class terms: both have a similar classifying function associated with the quantification of entities. However, while most nouns in Bih need separate classifiers, Bih also has several nouns used as their own classifiers. These nouns are called "class terms" (see DeLancey, 1986 for more discussion about classifiers and class terms). In this section, I describe Bih classifiers (§5.3.2.1), class terms (§5.3.2.3) and time expressions (§5.3.2.4) which also relate to the way people use classifiers.

5.3.2.1 . Introduction

The set of classifiers in Bih is small and their use is mainly obligatory in counting (except for counting days). When I say 'mainly obligatory', I mean that Bih speakers vary in the way they use classifiers: it is not just because the obligatory use depends on discourse (not noun semantics), but also in some contexts, a Bih speaker one time uses a classifier, another time does not use any. Even when she uses one classifier, it is not always a Bih classifier, sometimes an Ede classifier instead. This occurs in narrative texts

as well: either Bih or Ede classifiers have been used, or no classifiers at all.

This is understandable because in everyday conversation, because many Bih classifiers are cognate with those of Ede, and because Bih people get used to Ede, they use Ede classifiers even when Bih has its own distinct classifier forms. However, when asked about the corresponding Bih forms, speakers will choose the Bih forms and this is consistent among Bih speakers. The list of Bih classifiers below is from Chapter IV:

trām: 'human and animals and objects in general'

phūr: 'trees'

bě and *urāt/uruāt*: 'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'

pők and *blah*: 'two-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'

boh and *trlām*: 'three-dimensional big and small round objects.'

usār: fruits in general

The most variable classifier in Bih is the classifier *trlām* used for animate entities, including humans and objects in general. In Ede, the classifiers for humans, animals and objects in general are different: *čô* for human, *drei* for animals and *boh* for objects in general. Therefore, variation occurs when in everyday conversation, people use these three distinct classifiers, even in their folktales, instead of the Bih *trlām*. However, they are consistent when asked if *trlām* could be used instead or they even correct themselves when telling a story if they remember the Bih one, as shown in (5.14):

- (5.14) Palě hě sa urāt karah, sa trlām?
CAUS-fall QP one CLF ring, one CLF
'Did one ring drop?' (ND010/115)

It is necessary to point out that according to Adams (1991:69), the two Bih classifiers *ḥě* and *blah* and the Ede classifier *drei* are of Mon-Khmer origin. In other words, Chamic languages in Vietnam borrowed certain classifiers from Austroasiatic languages in the region. As indicated in Chapter III, Bih has had long term contact with Mnông, a Mon-Khmer language; therefore, it would need further study to determine which Bih classifiers actually are from a Mon-Khmer language such as Mnông.

5.3.2.2 . Mensural classifiers

Bih has measure nouns which name quantified amounts. They occur in the classifier position to count measurements. Below are some examples:

(5.15) sa kadô pade
 one bag unhusked.rice
 'one bag of un-husked rice'
 (Elicitation.HM20081210)

(5.16) sa gǒ asei
 one pot cooked.rice
 'one pot of cooked rice'
 (Elicitation. ND20090110)

With measure nouns, sometimes in discourse a classifier phrase in Bih consists only of a number and a measure noun that functions as a classifier, as shown in (5.17) and (5.18), or we sometimes see the noun first followed by the numeral and classifier, as in (5.19):

(5.17) Sa palah bǝng anǎn, sa palah pioh.
 one half eat then, one half keep
 '(They) eat a half while keep the other.' (ND007/113)

(5.18) ñu mǎ sa trpǎt sa trpǎt sa trpǎt.
 3 take/pick.up one bunch one bunch one bunch
 'She picks up three bunches of vegetables: one after another'
 (RH017a/013)

(5.19) nǎn madôk bǝng kan nǎn: sa para, dua para.
 then PRE-sit eat fish DIST one cupboard two cupboard
 'Then he sits and eats two cupboards of fish' (PA015/038)

5.3.2.3 . Class terms

Bih class terms have a semantic function similar to that of classifiers. Class terms are often (but not always) used as their own classifiers for compound nouns in which they are the head.

The following table (Table 5.2) shows some class terms in Bih and some examples for their category. The class terms in Table 5.2 can function as classifiers for those compound nouns in that table:

Table 5.2: List of Bih class terms

boh: class term for three dimensional objects in general:	
Example:	<i>boh sang</i> : houses
	<i>boh mnǔk</i> : chicken eggs
	<i>boh tâo</i> : stones
	<i>boh đǔng</i> : coconuts

<p>ana: class term for trees:</p> <p>Example: <i>ana punūt</i>: a name of a tree <i>ana kayâo</i>: trees in general</p>
<p>gõ: class term for pots:</p> <p>Example: <i>gõ aseí</i>: pot to cook rice <i>gõ djãm</i>: pot to cook soups <i>gõ bǔng</i>: one type of traditional Bih pot</p>
<p>ǃăng: class term for holes:</p> <p>Example: <i>ǃăng êar</i>: a well <i>ǃăng boh-tâo</i>: a small stone cave</p>

In a case of *boh* – a class term for three dimensional objects in general, for example, it can be used as a classifier for some of the nouns which it is the class term for, such as *sa boh sang* 'one house', *dua boh mnũk* 'two eggs'. However, since class terms often occurs with their classified nouns in a lexicalized compound noun (in which the class term is the head) and classifiers are associated with their classified terms in a syntactic construction, it makes sense to see a lexicalized compound noun having one class term while the same lexicalized compound noun in a special construction requires a classifier which is different from its class term. In other words, some class terms are not used as classifiers. It is the case of *boh* in *boh đũng* 'coconut'. *Boh* in *boh đũng* is a class term and it occurs with *đũng* as a lexicalized compound noun to categorize one type of object. However, this type of

object in a numeral noun phrase requires a classifier which differs from their class term *boh*. It is *usār*, the classifier for all fruits having seeds (the hard skin of the coconut is considered as the seed of the coconut): *sa usār boh đǔng* 'one coconut'.

The same applies to *gǒ*: it is a class term and it becomes a mensural classifier in counting: *dua gǒ aseï* 'two pots of rice', in a context when people want to know the total amount of cooked rice they have/someone has. However, if someone is counting how many pots for cooking rice one person/one family has, this requires a classifier – that is *boh*, in addition to *gǒ* which functions as the class term: *dua boh gǒ aseï* 'two pots of rice'.

Ana, a class term for trees, is an example of a class term which cannot be a classifier at all. In counting trees, Bih people use *phǔn*, the classifier for trees: *sa phǔn punǔt*.

5.3.2.4 . Time expressions

Beside using a clock to express an exact time (§5.3.1.1), Bih also has a time expression *iwa* representing a unit of time during which an action is completed, for example, one bird's wingbeat (only half of cycle) as in (5.20), a period of sleeping time (from the time one person starts to sleep until wake up-half of a cycle: sleeping-waking up-sleeping) as in (5.21), one breath (half of a breathing cycle: either inhale or exhale):

(5.20) Sa iwa čǐm phiêr
 one IWA bird fly
 'one bird's wingbeat' (PA011/303)

(5.21) Sa iwa ɓiã ta nãñ ñu ruêh ðieo nuã yoh.
 one IWA short LOC DIST 3 look.around left right PTCL
 'After a short sleep, he looks for her around.' (PA016/087)

(5.22) Sa iwa ɓiã ðĩng-buãl ñu magãt êman nao dlãng
 one IWA short servants 3 lead elephant go look
 'In a little bit (shortly) his servants lead the elephants to go watching (it) '
 (PA011/520)

5.3.3 . Other quantifiers

In Bih, there are some quantifiers that are used to express approximate quantity. They tend to precede the nominal. They are *ajih* 'all' in (5.23), *djãp* 'every' in (5.24), *lu* 'many' in (5.25) and *ða* 'some' in (5.26):

(5.23) ajih nãm trlãm manũk.
 all six CLF chicken
 'all six chickens' (Elicitation HM20081210)

(5.24) Djãp mnuih are ta ñu.
 every people come LOC 3gl
 'Everybody comes to her.' (ND008/089)

(5.25) Arã anei lu leh mnuih pẽ.
 up to now many PFV people pick.up
 'Up to now many people picked (it) up already.' (ND008/118)

(5.26) Ða mnuih dje nôk nei nôk dih.
 some people die place PROX place FAR.DIST
 'Some people died here and there.' (ND010/099)

Bih also has another way to express approximate quantity by using two numerals

next to each other. These two numerals are often small numerals (always smaller than 'ten'), as shown below:

(5.27) dua tláo urei
two three day
'a few days' (ND007/292)

(5.28) ima nãm para
five six cupboard
'some cupboards' (PA015/024)

5.4 . The attributive phrase

The attributive phrase always follows the head. It can be a prepositional phrase or a relative clause.

5.4.1 . The locative prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase can function to locate a nominal as shown in (5.29) and (5.30). In (5.29), the speaker makes reference to the small house in the mountain field, as opposed to other places:

(5.29) pŭk ta uma.
small.house LOC mountain.field
'the small house at the mountain field'
(Elicitation. HM20081026)

In (5.30), a mother is talking to her son and makes reference to a knife at her house as opposed to the knife that he lost at the lake:

(5.30) dhǒng ti sang dih
knife LOC house FAR.DIST
'the knife at home' (PA015/014)

5.4.2 . The relative clause

Relative clauses function to modify a NP. Their structure is discussed in detail in Chapter 14. Some Bih relative clauses are shown below, with the relative clause in brackets:

(5.31) adǒ [brei kǐn angoh gǒ] nǎn
thing give DAT sick 3 DIST
'things that give to that sickness of him' (ND007/268)

(5.32) anuôr [dôk mă kan] nǎn
rotten.trunk sit take/pick.up fish DIST
'the rotten trunk that (we) sat on and picked up fish' (PA015/012)

5.4.3 . Possessive

In Bih, a possessor always follows the head without any marker of their relation. It is exactly like a compound noun, but in a possessive construction, there are only one nominal and a free (possessor) pronominal as in the following examples (5.33)- (5.35):

(5.33) dhǒng ǒng
knife 2sg
'your knife' (PA015/014)

(5.34) bǎm ana ñu
arrow crossbow 3sg
'his crossbow and arrow' (PA016/010)

(5.35) ao aduân
shirt grandmother
'the grandmother's shirt' (ND003)

5.4.4 . Demonstrative

Demonstratives include three words which show three degrees of distance: proximate *nei*, distal *năn* and far distal *dih*. These demonstratives function as determiners in the NP. Their positions are always phrase final as shown below:

(5.36) mnởng kâo nei
thing 1 PROX
'this thing of mine' (PA015/059)

(5.37) truh ta yan tasă pade ñu năn
arrive LOC season ripe unhusked.rice 3 DIST
'When that unhusked rice of his is ripened' (PA016/005)

(5.38) phung pukăn dih
PL other FAR.DIST
'those other people' (ND010/003)

CHAPTER VI

PRONOUNS

This chapter presents the Bih pronoun system including definite (§6.1) and indefinite pronouns (§6.2). Definite pronouns are mostly personal pronouns which show distinctions in person (first, second and third), number (singular, plural) and social level (familiar and polite). The first person also has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The third person "plural" pronoun can also be used for a single definite reference. Bih synchronically has a plural distinction between human and animals even though that distinction did not exist in the past according to Bih speakers. Some interrogative pronouns are used as indefinite pronouns to show distinction between persons, non-persons and places. However, for negative indefinites, Bih uses a typical negative existential verb phrase as indefinite pronouns.

6.1 . Definite pronouns

6.1.1 . Personal pronouns

Bih uses a set of pronouns to mark first person singular, first person plural inclusive, first person plural exclusive, second person singular, second person plural and third person singular and third person plural. In addition to these, speakers nowadays distinguish between familiar and polite second person singular forms, although older speakers say that there was no such distinction in the past (as shown in Table 4.1).

In some contexts nowadays, two singular pronouns: *õng* (familiar) and *ih* (polite) are recognized, although in folktales only one form, *õng*, is used. Bih speakers explain that the second polite singular form *ih*, as well as the third person singular and plural forms *ñu* and *di ñu*, are borrowed from Ede, the dominant language which Bih speakers all use. However, there is no historical evidence to show whether these are borrowed from Ede or are inherited from Proto-Chamic. Bih also has *dǎng ñu* as a third person plural form, but in current Bih it is more used for animals than for humans.

As shown in Table 4.1, Bih has four third person singular forms: *ñu*, *gõ*, *põng* and *arǎng*. The third person singular and plural forms *ñu* and *di ñu* can be used to refer to both humans and animals. However, the third singular *põng* is only used for humans, and has no plural counterpart.

Another third person form, *arǎng*, is singular only in a context where the speaker refers to the person (male or female) who has been mentioned in a previous context. Otherwise, *arǎng* is always interpreted as plural. For instance, *arǎng* in examples (6.1) and (6.2) refers to third person plural (example (6.1)) and a third person singular (example (6.2)). In (6.1), *arǎng* mentions non-referential people in a village, while in (6.2) it refers to Đông-krje:

- (6.1) Nei arǎng brei kan akěñ đơ apǎl kơ ñu.
 now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
 'People give a catfish which is as big as the upper arm to him.'
 (PA011/019)

(6.2) Arăng ba ajih mớh ta palei arăng ta sang
 3 bring all MIR LOC wife 3 LOC house

răng aồ.
 3 REFL

'He took it all [the whole half of the roast buffalo] to his wife back at his own house.'(ND007/220)

Out of these four third person forms, *ñu* and *gở* have an interesting distinction in discourse. Both are third person singular pronouns but *ñu* is used for the main character in discourse while *gở* is another third person whose character is not the focus of the current context. This distinction will be dealt with in Chapter XV- on discourse status of arguments.

6.1.2 . Other definite pronouns

There are two third plural pronouns for animals: *đi ñu*, which is the ordinary anaphoric reference form for an animal, and *dăng ñu*, which is used in folktales to refer to animal characters that act like human beings, i.e. which are able to talk or have human characteristics. Example (6.3) below is from a story in which Y-Liêm has raised a monkey and the monkey later wants to marry Y-Liêm's husband. When Y-Liêm and her brother Krang go to the monkey village, they refer to the monkeys as *dăng ñu*.

(6.3) Mâu ubai matăm bởng matihĩ~matihêr atăm ñu

COP yam PRE-REC eat together REC 3

matãm bởng đảng ñũ.

PRE-REC eat PL 3

'When the yam soup is ready, they eat together.' (ND003/147)

6.2 . Indefinite pronouns

Bih has no syntactic construction to express 'someone' or 'anyone' as indefinite pronouns, but uses only one series of pronouns for both interrogative and indefinite functions. In other words, Bih uses interrogative pronouns for indefinite functions.

6.2.1 . Interrogative pronouns as indefinite functions

There are no lexemes which function uniquely as indefinite pronouns in Bih. These concepts are expressed by a combination of an interrogative and a generic noun which most frequently *mnuih* 'person', *adỏ* 'thing' or *anỏk* 'place'. There is no grammatical distinction between interrogative and affirmative structure in Bih (questions are marked by interrogative particles). So a construction combining an interrogative particle and a generic noun has two possible interpretations, as either an indefinite construction or an interrogative. The interpretation as indefinite or interrogative depends on the information structure of the context. Examples (6.4) and (6.5) demonstrate the same expression *sei mnuih* 'who person' with two different interpretations: one as an interrogative expression and the other as an indefinite expression:

- (6.4) Sei mnuih ỏng mã?
who person 2 take/pick up
'Who did you bring home?' (ND007/037)

(6.5) Sei mnuih ngă pŭk sang!
who person make mountain-house house
'Noone built houses. (Lit. 'Who person will make houses!') (ND009/122)

Both (6.4) and (6.5) have the same expression, *sei mnuih*, at the beginning of the sentence regardless of its syntactic function. In (6.4), *sei mnuih* functions as an object argument while in (6.5), it is a subject argument. Whether it is interpreted as a question or as an affirmative sentence depends on the particular context. In example (6.4), the husband has brought home a stranger and his wife asks who it is. Thus, it is an interrogative statement. On the other hand, (6.5) is a rhetorical question. In this example, a father wants to emphasize that because both of his children are girls, if he dies, there would be no one to do hard physical work (e.g. to build a house) for the family. In other words, the family would be left with no one who could do necessary physical labor. It is true that (6.5) is formally a question, but it is functionally used as an affirmative sentence. This is the way Bih expresses an indefinite statement. Therefore, syntactically there is no difference between (6.4) and (6.5), but functionally (6.4) is a question while (6.5) is not.

If Bih speakers want to say 'no one', they will use a negative indefinite expression, which is described in section 6.2.2.

Table 6.1 presents three ways that Bih expresses interrogative combinations which function as indefinite pronouns. Bih also has separate interrogative forms for negative indefinite functions. These negative forms exist without a generic noun. In addition, there are also other negative indefinites in Bih expressed by non-existential structures.

Table 6.1: Bih indefinite/interrogative pronouns

	interrogative/indefinite + generic noun	negative indefinite interpretation	negative indefinite expressions
person	<i>sei mnuih/arăng</i> who person	-----	buh mào mnuih NEG COP person
thing	<i>nǎng mnǎng/adǎ</i> what thing/thing <i>ndǎ</i> what thing	<i>ya (mnǎng)</i> NEG (what thing)	buh mào adǎ NEG COP thing
place	<i>ti/ta anôk</i> LOC place	<i>ta</i> NEG	buh mào anôk NEG COP place
how	ti-ba/si-ba/si	-----	-----
why	ai	----	-----

6.2.1.1 . *Sei mnuih* 'who person'

With an interrogative *sei* and a generic noun *mnuih*, *sei mnuih* creates an ambiguity between the interrogative and indefinite interpretations, which is only resolved by looking at the context as explained above. Both (6.6) and (6.7) below provide other examples:

(6.6) Sei mnuih hiar lăm nei?
 who person cry LOC PROX
 'Who has cried in here?' (ND011/042)'

(6.7) Sei rǎng lǎng palě atăm boh tǎng-lǎng
 who person try drop REC fruit PN

mǎng dlǎng rǎ-rǎ rǎ-rǎ rǎ-rǎ ta lǎn yaih.
 from above a lot a lot a lot LOC ground EXC

'No one tries to drop such a lot of (Tǎng-lǎng) fruits like that.'(ND010/098)

(6.6) has an interrogative reading and occurs in a context where the elephant heard the sounds of crying coming from a big hole and he asked who cried down there. In contrast, (6.7) is an affirmative statement. Here, a lot of fruits are being dropped to the ground in order to kill the elephant family who wanted to get Y-Bia. The speaker wants to say that there are so many fruits dropping down from the tree that human beings could not be making it happen (Only birds could be able to do this.)

6.2.1.2 . *Nǒng adǒ/Ndǒ* 'what thing'

(6.8) Ndǒ ǒng čǎng?
 what.thing 2 want
 'What do you want?'(PA011/158)

(6.9) Ndǒ ma-huǐ!
 what.thing PRE-scare
 'Do not be scared!'(Lit. 'What are you scared of') (PA011/360)

(6.10) Ya kâo ma-čiang!
 what 1 PRE-want
 'Nothing I want.' (Lit. What I want!) (ND009/116)

(6.8) and (6.9) involve a situation where the village head has sent his servants to Y-Rīt's house. In (6.8), Y-Rīt wants to know what the village head wants from him. In (6.9), his wife wants to reassure him by saying that there's nothing to be scared of because she will help him fulfill the village head's requests. *Ya* in (6.10) literally means what, but it never occurs in an interrogative sentence. It is a negative particle.

6.2.1.3 . *Si-ba/Si* 'how/what'

(6.11) Si-ba ǒng angoh?

how 2 sick

'What makes you sick?' 'Lit. how are you sick?'(ND007/100)

(6.12) Si malǒ ngǎ?!

how PRE-again do

'We can't do anything' (Lit: 'How we can do now?!') (ND007/017)

Examples (6.11) and (6.12) come from the story of *Dông krje* and the monkey. The monkey family wonders why *Dông krje*, who had looked healthy, suddenly becomes sick after a night of sleeping at their house (6.11). Later, when *Dông krje* asks for buffalo meat to cure his illness, the monkeys have to accept that request because they believe a ghost caused his illness. So, it must have been the ghost speaking, not *Dông krje*. In (6.12), there is no way they can deny the ghost's request.

6.2.1.4 . *Ai* 'why'

(6.13) Ai malǒ kalei ubei?

why PRE-again dig yam

'Why do we need yams?' (ND007/016)

(6.14) Ai ǔuh thào hěñ, ǔuh thào maláo pine.

why NEG know ashamed, NEG know embarrassed girl

'She is not ashamed (to do that).' (Lit: Why was she not ashamed?)

(ND009/114)

(6.13) and (6.14) both have an interrogative construction but (6.14) is used as an indefinite statement. In (6.13), when the husband monkey asks his wife's grandmother to go to dig yams, she wants to know why they need yams when they already have something

better-- rice and potatoes. Example (6.14) comes from a story about two sisters-- Y- Djă and Y-Hen. Because of their father's promise, Y-Djă must marry a python, but Y-Hen rejected that idea. When Y- Djă agrees to the proposal, Y-Hen laughs at her and thinks that her sister should be ashamed of her decision expressing it as a statement.

6.2.1.5 . *Ti anôk* 'where'

(6.15) ỡ Bia ỡ Bia, ti anôk ỡng dôk?
 VOC PN VOC PN, where place 2 stay
 'Hey, Bia! Where are you?' (ND010/081)

(6.16) (Ha sang kâo ỡô ỡh,) ta kâo manao?
 (LOC house 1 grandchild VOC,) where 1 PRE-go
 '(At my house, hey grandchild), where can I go.'(ND008/101)

(6.15) is an interrogative construction in which *ti* is an interrogative particle and *anôk* is a generic noun that means 'place'. Example (6.16) is syntactically similar to (6.15). However, it functions with illocutionary force as a negative indefinite statement.

6.2.2 . Negative indefinite expressions

There are no negative indefinite words such as 'nothing', 'no one' or 'nowhere' in Bih, but rather some indefinite expressions which function as negative indefinites. These expressions actually have an internal verb phrase structure, which starts with a negative marker and a verb, but functions as a noun phrase. All negative indefinite expressions in Bih have the same structure: *huh + mâo + NP* (Neg + have + NP). Depending on what the negative indefinite is, the NP in the structure could be a person, a thing or a place. For example, Bih uses *huh mâo mnuih* 'not have person/people' to express an indefinite

person, and *ḅuh mâo adǎ* 'not have thing' for an indefinite thing and *ḅuh mâo anôk* 'not

have place' for an indefinite place. Below are some examples:

(6.17) ḅuh mâo anôk ñu nao ôh (alah~alañ Thô).
NEG1 COP place 3 go NEG2 (lazy PN)
'There is no place he goes (because he is lazy)' (PA011/004)

(6.18) ḅuh mâo ngǎn tǎm~ênua~ba~kađi ôh.
NEG1 COP property compensation NEG2
'There is nothing we can give (them) as compensation.' (PA011/276)

(6.19) ḅuh mâo pô lǎ msě ôh ǎ.
NEG1 COP person also same NEG2 at all
'There is no one who is as beautiful as her' (PA013/075)

(6.17) talks about Thô, a lazy man who doesn't want to go anywhere to work or even to find something to eat. He always stays at home and goes nowhere. (6.18) is spoken by Thô's grandmother, who wants to remind him that if he eats the food that is prepared by someone else, not by him and his grandmother, they have nothing to give the person who cooked it. (6.19) involves a comparison between people (other women) in the village and Du-brot who, whenever she put something on her body, that is the most beautiful. No one in the village wears things (e.g. clothes, jewelry) as beautiful as hers.

6.3 . Reflexives and reciprocals

Bih also has reflexives and reciprocals that function as noun phrases. These non-canonical object pronouns will be dealt with in Chapter 10.3, which shows the relations between a single participant in multiple roles and multiple participants in multiple roles. In

the following examples, the first one includes a reflexive pronoun while the second one has reciprocals:

(6.20) Paul mrao ñu aố.
PN wash 3 REFL
'Paul washed himself.' (Elicitation. HM2010.05.02)

(6.21) Di ñu tằm thảo
PL 3 REC know
'They know each other.' (Elicitation. HM2010.05.02)

CHAPTER VII

NOMINALIZATION

This chapter describes the syntactic structure of Bih nominalization. It demonstrates that the nominalizer *talei* is used to create derived nouns from lexical verbs. While there are both derivational nominalization and clausal nominalization in Bih, the former has *talei* as its marker and the latter has no marker. Both constructions have functions as noun phrases in broader syntactic constructions.

7.1 . Introduction

Genetti *et al.* (2008) make a distinction between derivational and clausal nominalization in which derivational nominalization is a syntactic process which creates lexical nouns from other lexical categories and clausal nominalization is used to nominalize an entire clause to allow it to function as a noun phrase in a larger syntactic structure.

Genetti *et al.* (2008) demonstrate the difference between these two types of nominalization in Table 7.1 below:

Table 7.1: Two types of nominalization (Genetti *et al.*, 2008, p. 164)

	Applied to:	Result in:	Structure:
Derivational	Verb or predicate	Lexical verb	[V-NMZ] NOUN
	Verb	Lexical adjective	[V-NMZ] ADJ
Clausal	Clause	Noun phrase	[(NP)...V-NMZ]NP

According to Genetti et al.'s distinction, Bih has both derivational and clausal nominalization. The former is marked by *talei*, which is described in §7.2 while the latter has a zero nominalizer, which I describe in §7.3.

7.2 . Derivational nominalization

The nominalizer *talei*, which marks derivational nominalization, has three allomorphs: *talei*, *trlei* and *kalei*. According to Bih speakers, *talei* and *trlei* are Bih forms while *kalei* is a borrowing of the Ede *klei*. Of the two, *talei* is used more frequently throughout the data and in every conversation amongst Bih speakers. Therefore, in this chapter, I will use the form *talei*. *Trlei* has exactly the same range of use.

When *talei/trlei* precedes a lexical verb, it creates a lexical noun, as shown in examples (7.1)-(7.3). In (7.1), *angoh* 'hot' and *a-ăt* 'cold' are two lexical stative verbs expressing different body temperatures. When *talei* precedes them, it turns the whole phrase *talei angoh a-ăt* into a noun phrase meaning 'fever', which have functions as a predicate for the existential copula *mâo*:

- (7.1) Buh lõ mâo trlei angoh a-ăt ôh ñu lač
 NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2 3 say
 'He said that there will be no fever anymore.'(ND007/260)

In (7.2), *kalei* nominalizes an adjective *tũ-dum* to become a lexical noun meaning 'wealth'. Then *kalei tũ- dum* becomes a predicate complement of the main copula verb *jing*:

(7.2) Arăng lǒ jing mǎo kalei tǔ-dưn rōng anak ố
 3 again COP have NMZ rich raise child grandchild
 'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

Nđưm~đǎ in (7.3) means 'old'. When *talei* precedes *nđưm~đǎ aê duôn makunei*, it makes the whole phrase *talei nđưm~đǎ aê duôn makunei* function as a NP meaning 'folktale':

(7.3) Nei kâo pǎlě Thô-alah khăng
 now 1 tell PN often

 talei nđưm~đǎ aê duôn makunei
 NMZ old grandmother grandfather pass

 trlei Bih.
 story Bih

'I now tell a Bih folktale: Thô-alah.' (PA011/002)

7.3 . Clausal nominalization

Bih clausal nominalization applies to a clausal construction to allow it to function as a noun phrase in a larger syntactic context. In other words, the Bih clausal nominalization process allows a complement clause to function as a noun phrase. In addition, complement clauses can also be created from nominalized clauses with or without a complementizer, but have no other mark of nominalization. Examples below show different internal complement clauses in Bih and they all are treated as a noun phrase without a nominalizer:

(7.4) Kào mĩn dah eh kapaìh tadi.
 1 think COMP excrement cotton true
 'I thought that they were worthless.' (BB001/091)

In (7.4) the main verb *mĩn* is a complement taking verb and *eh kapaìh tadi* is its full complement clause in which *eh kapaìh* is the subject argument of the complement and *tadi* is the predicate of the complement. (7.4) occurs in the context where the wife threw all of her husband's belongings made of fabric – things such as clothes, blankets and scarves – since she thought they were useless fabric stuff (called *eh kapaìh*). The whole grammatical clause *eh kapaìh tadi* is treated as an object for the main verb *mĩn* with *dah* as its complementizer.

Example (7.5) illustrates a nominalized complement clause for which the verb complement clause functions as an object in its external syntactic construction:

(7.5) Di ih mathào ngǎ sang aje.
 PL 2 PRE-know make house house
 'You both know how to make houses.' (ND009/082)

In (7.5), the main verb *mathào* 'know' has *ngǎ sang aje* 'make houses' as its object. However, internally, *ngǎ sang aje* is the verb-complement clause in which the subject argument of this complement verb *ngǎ* 'make' is co-referential with the subject of the main verb: *di ih*. *Ngǎ sang aje* functions as a noun phrase for the main verb *mathào* without an explicit nominalizer or a complementizer:

In (7.6), the full complement clause *abao kào blũ nei* 'My snail speaks now' is the object of the string of verbs *kǎp mhiũ* without a complementizer:

(7.6) ǒng kǎp mhữ abao kâo blǔ nei
2 wait listen snail 1 speak now
'You wait to hear my snail speaking now.' (ND008/040)

More details about complement clauses will be discussed in §14.1.

CHAPTER VIII

VERBS AND THE VERBAL SYSTEM

Verbs in Bih include not only words denoting actions or events, but also words which denote properties, which may be expressed by different word classes in other languages. This chapter presents Bih verb types and its verbal system. §8.1 provides some distinguishing properties of Bih verbs and §8.2 provides Bih derived verb stems. Section 8.3 presents verb classification, while section 8.4 describes different syntactic functions (such as a verb, a versatile verb, a verb particle) from the same morphemes in Bih.

8.1 . Characteristics of the verb class

Verbs in Bih can be defined as words which can take direct negation:

ḅuh...ôh/ka...ôh 'no/not.yet' (in which syntactically, *ḅuh* and *ka* are pre-verbal particles while *ôh* optionally occurs in verb phrase final position) and other verbal markers such as progressive marker *dô/dôk* and the perfective marker *leh* (*dô/dôk* is pre-verbal while *leh* is post-verbal). In addition, only Bih verbs can get a prefix *pa-* whether it is an active causative prefix or it is fossilized (more discussion about *pa-* is in section 8.2). These are distinguishing features which Bih nominals do not have.

Bih verbs include words expressing concepts which may translate as adjectives in other languages such as English. Consider the following examples (8.1), (8.2) and (8.3) in which the main predicates are expressed through *djă* 'to handle', *siem* 'beautiful', and *jăk* 'good', which are equivalent to two distinct word classes, verb and adjective, in English.

(8.1) Pañă matlâo urei, ðuh ñu lõ djă aseï
 Until PRE-three day, NEG1 3 again handle cooked-rice

kra năn ôh, Djông năn ôh.
 monkey DIST NEG2 Djông DIST NEG2

‘Until the third day, he still wouldn’t take cooked-rice from that monkey and Djông.’ (ND003/223)

(8.2) Kih pŭk ðuh siem, pasiem;
 sweep mountain-house NEG1 beautiful CAUS-beautiful

kih sang ðuh jăk pajăk yoh.
 Sweep house NEG1 good CAUS-good PTCL

‘She sweeps until the house is very clean.’ (Lit. when sweeping the house, if it is not beautiful, (she) makes it beautiful; if it is not good, (she) makes it look good.) (PA013/103)

(8.3) Speaker A: ông dlăng gŏ kâo nei: siem leh hě?
 2 look pot 1 PROX beautiful PFV QP
 ‘Look! Is my pot already beautiful?’

Speaker B: Siem leh!
 beautiful PFV
 ‘It is already beautiful ’ (BB005)

In (8.1), the main verb *đjă* takes a negator *ðuh... ôh*, which negates the action ‘handle’. *Siem* in both (8.2) and (8.3) show two Bih verbal characteristics: in (8.2) it takes *ðuh* as a negative marker to negate a status while in (8.3) it has *leh* as its perfective marker. Because it co-occurs with those syntactic markers, *siem* in both sentences is a verb, even though its equivalent may be expressed by different categories in other

languages.

8.2 . Derived verb stems

A Bih verb can have two derivational prefixes: *pa-* 'CAUSATIVE', and *ma-*, a prefix with no fixed synchronic meaning. These are the only two prefixes in Bih. *Ma-* is a prefix which occurs in words of any word classes in Bih without making any semantic contribution of its own to the meaning of the word. Historically, *ma-* in PC (Thurgood 1999) is a verbal prefix and in other Chamic languages such as Cham, it is a causative prefix. It is interesting to notice that *ma-*, a very productive prefix in Bih, is also a verb prefix in modern Malay, one of the Malayo-Chamic languages.

Pa is the causative prefix with some (but not all) intransitive verbs. The following examples (8.4)-(8.7) show how *pa-* works in Bih:

(8.4) Amĩ kâo dje leh.
mother 1 die PFV
'My mother died.' (Elicitation DBK20081012)

(8.5) Kâo pa-dje leh ñu.
1 CAUS-die PFV 3
'I killed him.'(ND008/199)

(8.6) Kâo manei nei.
1 bathe PROX
'I bathe now.' (ND009/226)

(8.7) Kâo pa-manei ñu nei.
1 CAUS-bathe 3 PROX
'I bathe her now.' (ElicitationHM20120824)

It is common to see a causative morpheme add another participant to an otherwise intransitive construction to make it become a transitive event as *pa-* does in (8.5) and in(8.7). (8.4) is an intransitive construction with a stative intransitive verb *dje* 'die' while (8.5) is an transitive event with a causative prefix on the stative verb *dje* 'die', changing that verb to an event verb *padje* 'kill'. In (8.6), *manei* requires one participant that functions as both agent and patient of an event; while in (8.7), with the causative *pa-*, *pamanei* now has *kâo* as an agent and *ñu* as a patient. In examples (8.5) and (8.7), *pa-* is an active causative prefix. However, with a transitive event as shown in (8.8), *pa-* does not function as a causative to bring another participant to the event in (8.9). The fact that both (8.8) and (8.9) convey the same thing means both (8.8) and (8.9) are transitive clauses whether there is *pa-* marking on the verb or not. Therefore, *pa-* does not have a causative sense in this transitive clause.

(8.8) *čiǎng tlah palei khar*
 want release wife unsuccessful
 'He does not want to release the wife.'(Elicitation.HM20100215)

(8.9) *čiǎng pa-tlah palei khar*
 want CAUS-release wife unsuccessful
 'He does not want to release the wife.' (ND008/612)

It is often (but not always) the case when *pa-* occurs with transitive verbs that express the event relating to inanimate objects as shown in (8.10) or relating to inactive animate objects as in (8.11):

(8.10) Ñu pa-atũk êar.
 3 CAUS-boil water
 'She boiled water.' (Elicitation HM20120710)

(8.11) Kbãl ma-pa-ḃě kan, pa-ḃě kan,
 1 PRE-CAUS-break fish CAUS-break fish

kbãl ma-pa-duřm lãm gǒ anãn.
 1 PRE-CAUS-put in pot DIST

'She broke the cooked fish by hand and put into that pot.'(RH002/21)

In It is often (but not always) the case when *pa-* occurs with transitive verbs that express the event relating to inanimate objects as shown in (8.10) or relating to inactive animate objects as in (8.11):

(8.10), *êar* 'water' is an inanimate object, so *pa-* is attached to the verb *atũk* 'boil'. In

(8.11), *kan* 'fish' is an animate object. However, in this context, the fish is already cooked,

so, it has become an inactive animate. Thus, *pa-* is used with the verb as well. Again, in

these cases, *pa-* does not function as a causative prefix at all. We often do not see *pa-*

occurring with animate objects as shown in (8.12):

(8.12) Ñu ma-duřm lãm gǒ ḃũng.
 3 PRE-put in pot PN(copper.material made)

'He put (his eel) in the copper pot.' (PA012/078)

Example (8.12) comes from a portion of text which describes how Jatarĩt took care of his eel (who later became his wife) after he found her: first he put her in his grandma's valuable pot, then later fed an eel with a special food. As an eel is an animate object, we do

not see *pa*-been used in (8.12).

Besides being used with inanimate objects, *pa*- is still used as an active causative prefix with stative verbs as shown in examples (8.13)-(8.14) below:

(8.13) Kih pŭk ɓuh siem, pasiem;
Sweep mountain-house NEG1 beautiful CAUS-beautiful

kih sang ɓuh jāk pajāk yoʰ.
Sweep house NEG1 good CAUS-good PTCL
'She sweeps until the house is very clean.'(PA013/103)

(8.14) Tukuay ñu ɔng lõ paphet padlông ɓêť.
pot.top 3 2 again CAUS-be.equal CAUS-high a bit
'You again make the pot top be equal and higher a bit.' (BB004b)

Notice that even though *pa*-often goes with inanimate objects (not with animate objects), it is not always the case. Because the fact that the occurrence of *pa*- in a construction with inanimate object does not make any semantic difference with the counterpart without *pa*-, both constructions (with and without *pa*-) coexist in the language. In other words, *pa*- sometimes does occur with animate objects as in (8.15) and other times *pa*- does not occurs with inanimate objects as in (8.16):

(8.15) Djăp-djik-lik-anao yoʰ ñu ma-pa-dŭm ma-pa-dŭm lăm năn
everything PTCL 3 PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST
'Everything that could be harmful to the monkey he put in the drum.'
(ND007/413)

(8.16) (Tikuih dle)... Ñu dŭm ti anuăr dlông anuăr năn.
(mouseforest) 3 put LOC rotten.wood on rotten.wood DIST
'He put the mouse from the hunting on the rotten wood.' (PA011/147)

The text from which example (8.15) comes describes what kinds of creatures (bugs and insects) *Dông-krje* collected to put in his drum to give to the monkey. In example (8.15), all of creatures are animate, but we see *pa-* there in the example. On the other hand, in example (8.16), the mouse from *Jatarĩt*'s hunting is dead. If *pa-* is required with an inactive animate object, it is expected to see *pa-* in example (8.16). Since *pa-* does not bring a causative meaning, it does not occur in (8.16). In other words, since *pa-* does not function as an active causative prefix, it is fossilized.

8.3 . Verb classification

8.3.1 . Verbal sub-classes

Verbs in *Bih* broadly fall into two basic classes: event and stative verbs. Both event and stative verbs syntactically have those distinguishing properties described in §8.1: both can take negation and the perfective marker *leh*. However, the two categories are distinguished by two facts. The first distinction is that only event verbs, but not stative verbs, can co-occur with the progressive marker *dô*. Examples (8.17)-(8.19) below demonstrate the first distinction between event and stative verbs.

(8.17) and (8.18) provide examples of an event verb *manao dlǎng* 'go looking' and a state verb *thào* 'know' in which the former takes a progressive *dô* while the latter cannot.

The fact that examples (8.18) and (8.19) are ungrammatical indicates that *thào* 'know' as a state verb can't take any progressive markers:

(8.17) Dô gǒ ma-nao dlǎng ta ndriêng nǎn.
 PROG 3 PRE-go look LOC deck DIST
 'She is going to look at the deck.'(ND008/129)

(8.18) *Dô ñu thào.

(8.19) *Ñu dôk thào.

Both event and stative verbs can take perfective marker *leh*, but a second distinction between the two is that semantically, an event verb like *jhít* 'to stitch' in (8.20) when taking *leh* as its perfective marker, means 'finish stitching'; while a stative verb, like *tasǎ* 'ripened/cooked' in (8.21) together with *leh*, means being ripened/cooked. In other words, the perfective marker *leh* with an event verb means 'finish an action', while with a stative verb it means 'be in a status':

(8.20) Anôk tumha ñu riah makunei dih, arǎng jhít leh.
 place parent-in-law 3 cut pass FAR.DIST 3 stitch PFV
 'His father in law stitched together the place where he cut before.'(PA011/121)

(8.21) Gǒ tasǎ leh.
 3 ripen/cooked PFV
 'It is already cooked.' (PA011/024)

Within the class of event verbs, a first sub-division is between transitive and intransitive verbs which is based on the number of arguments participating in a verb frame for which the verb subcategorizes. Transitive verbs are those which have two core participants (A and O) while intransitive verbs have one core participant (S). These

categories are determined based on syntactic criteria only, since Bih has no morphological markers to distinguish argument roles. The syntactic evidence for participant roles is their position in a clause. Examples (8.22) and (8.23) below show different semantic roles of the same argument *puya* 'crocodile' according to its syntactic distribution in a clause:

	A	V	V	O
(8.22)	Ñu	nao	čiem	puya.
	3	go	feed	crocodile

'He goes to feed the crocodiles' (ND003/283)

	S	V	[LOC]
(8.23)	Dô puya	ma-iran	ta dei.
	PROG crocodile	PRE-run	LOC younger.sibling

'The crocodiles are running toward the younger sibling.'(ND003/288)

In (8.22) *puya* has its semantic role as the patient of the event of feeding, while in (8.23) it is an agent of the action of running. These different semantic readings are brought by different syntactic distributions of *puya* in these two clauses: the former follows the verb *čiem* 'feed' while the latter precedes the verb *mairan* 'run', without any overt markers either on the argument itself or on the main verb in these two sentences.

Transitive verbs include monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. The latter have three arguments: an agent, a patient and a recipient. The recipient will always take *kĩn/ko* 'LOC' as its marker regardless of its syntactic position in a clause:

	A	V	P	P	[R]
(8.24)	Gõ	ma-brei	ma-eng	ao	kĩn ñu.
	3	PRE-give	PRE-skirt	shirt	DAT 3

'She gave her skirt and shirt to her (the monkey).' (ND003/185)

	[S]	V		[R]		[O]
(8.25)	Amĩ	ama	kâo	paḅlě	kĩn	kâo	tanao	bũn~buăt~ulăt~kathe			
	mother	father	1	tell	DAT	1	story	poor			

he nei.

1INCL PROX

'My parents told me about our poverty.' (RH003/006)

As shown in (8.24) and (8.25), *ñu* '3' and *kâo* '1' are the recipients in the two actions expressed by *brei* 'give' and *paḅlě* 'talk', respectively. In (8.24), the recipient follows the patient argument while in (8.25) it precedes the patient and directly follows the verb; in both cases the recipient is marked by *kĩn* 'LOC'.

The class of stative verbs is divided into stative transitive verbs and stative intransitive verbs. The latter includes concepts which are expressed by adjectives in English. (8.26) is an example of a stative transitive verb construction in which the verb *thâo* 'know' requires two arguments: *õng* '2' and *đĩ đĩ jõng trlâo akõk trdei* 'climb feet first head after' respectively. On the other hand, examples (8.27) and (8.28) illustrate stative intransitive verb constructions:

(8.26) Oh si-ba õng thâo đĩ đĩ jõng trlâo akõk trdei.
 EXC how 2 know go.up go.up leg before head after
 'Hey, how do you know to climp up to the tree with feet first and head later?' (PA015/064)

(8.27) Jõng tangan siem mớh palei pine dih.

- leg hand beautiful PTCL wife girl FAR.DIST
 'That woman's body is beautiful.' (ND009/273)
- (8.28) Tikuih năn brũ leh.
 rat DIST rotten PFV
 'That rat is rotten already.' (PA011/149)

8.3.2 . Copulas

There are three copulas in Bih: equational *jing*, existential *mâo* and locative *dôk*. As I describe in detail in Chapter X, copulas, like other lexical verbs, share much of characteristics of verbs in Bih described below. Examples (8.29)-(8.31) below show the copulas in Bih. In example (8.29), *jing* is the equational copula meaning 'become'. This example comes from a text describing how Jatarit found out a person who helped his grandmother and him to do housework while they went out to work in the field. What he saw were, first that person wove, and then she became stuck in the weaving frame and can't get out of it:

- (8.29) Ñu nao riă atăm brũ~brũ~brũ jing gở đuôm
 3 go lay.in.wait REFL slowly COP 3 be.stuck
- hăng panâk pasa hăng talei năn.
 with weaving.stick weaving.stick with rope PROX
 'He goes and lays in wait (until he sees that) slowly she becomes stuck in the weaving frame.' (ND008/258)

Example (8.30) has *mâo* as an existential copula:

- (8.30) Mlăm mâo mớh mnuih ha ống,
 night COP MIR person LOC 2
- urei mâo mớh mnuih ka ống amara mâo kớ ống.

day COP MIR person DAT 2 FUT COP DAT 2

'There will be people with you day and night.' (ND011/103)

Dôk in example (8.31) means 'be.at'. It is a locative copula:

(8.31) Drei ma-dôk lăm sang.

1INCL PRE-be.at PREP house

'We are home.' (ND008/239)

8.4 . Verbal system

The Bih language has no morphological system to mark aspect or other categories on verbs, but instead has a set of particles functioning as aspect markers. Like particles in other Southeast Asian languages (cf. Matisoff , 1991), particles in Bih convey basic grammatical information such as verbal aspect, negation, speakers' expectation and attitude, degree of politeness, etc. The claim that particles are a semi-open class reflects that the process of becoming a particle in Bih is continuous. It is common to see a morpheme in Bih in transition from a full lexical verb into a grammatical marker, with a categorial status something between these two. These might be called auxiliary verbs in languages with rich morphological systems, but in Bih there are no formal criteria which define an auxiliary category. In other words, many particles in Bih are either erstwhile verbs or are still active verbs. However, typically, when functioning as a particle, such a verb has a limited grammatical behavior (e.g. not taking negation) and is different in meaning from its counterpart verb (even though the meaning of the particle can be recognized as a somewhat “bleached” version of the meaning of the verb). An example is the morpheme *dôk*, which could be a main verb meaning 'sit/stay' or a progressive marker meaning 'continually' and functioning to convey an ongoing-process aspect for an event. Of course, the meaning of

dôk as an aspectual particle is derived from the meaning of *dôk* as a main verb meaning 'sit/stay', but it is clearly distinct. It is not clear at what point the borderline between the particle and its counterpart in a verb class should be drawn. This is also true for other grammatical markers which also function as verbs in Bih; the verb meaning and the grammatical marker meaning are not always significantly different.

In this section particles around the Bih verb phrase are described. Because the process of becoming a particle in Bih is still continually developing, this section discusses all functions of a morpheme as a verb or as a particle or as something in between such as a versatile verb (§8.4.1)

Section 8.4.2 describes all verb phrase particles in Bih, along with examples. For those particles which co-exist with their full lexical verbs, examples for the two functions are presented together; a deeper analysis of full lexical verbs is presented in Chapter X on Basic Clausal Structure. Also, if there is a morpheme which shows a stage between a full lexical verb and a grammatical particle on the path of grammaticalization, some data will be presented to show the intermediate status (§8.4.2). However, a detailed analysis of these morphemes is presented in the relevant chapter (Chapter XIII on verb serialization).

8.4.1 . From verb to versatile verb

A versatile verb is a verb that occurs with other verbs in a sequence of verbs and semantically it becomes a supporting verb in the sequence (Matisoff, 1991, p. 403). This section presents some common verbs in Bih which can both stand by themselves as verbs and co-occur with other verbs in a sequence to create a serial verb construction. More details about verbs in sequence will be given in §13.2. This section only provides examples presenting different status (from a verb to versatile verb) of the same morphemes. These

verbs are a motion verb *nao* 'go' and posture verb *dôk* 'sit'. These verbs are among commonest verbs falling into a special slot in a sequence of verbs.

8.4.1.1 . *Nao* 'go' > juxtaposed verb

Nao means 'go'. It can occur as the only verb in a sentence as shown in (8.32):

- (8.32) Nei kâo lǒ nao lăm bĥĭt dih.
 now 1 again go PREP forest FAR.DIST
 'Now I again go to the forest.' (PA011/289)

Nao can also occur with other verbs in one sentence without any markers to indicate subordination or coordination as shown in (8.33):

- (8.33) Kâo ma-nao ĉĥĭ abao nei.
 1 PRE-go sell snail PROX
 'I go to sell this snail.' (ND008/032)

There are two verbs *nao* 'go' and *ĉĥĭ* 'sell' in (8.33). However, syntactically these two verbs can take only one aspect or a bipartite negation marker for the whole sequence as shown in (8.34) and (8.35). Thus they are treated as a single verb/predication:

- (8.34) Kâo ma-nao ĉĥĭ abao nei leh.
 1 PRE-go sell snail PROX PFV
 'I sold this snail already.'

- (8.35) Buh kâo ma-nao ĉĥĭ abao nei ôh.
 NEG1 1 PRE-go sell snail PROX NEG2
 'I do not go to sell this snail.'

Semantically, there are cases where *nao* in a sequence of verbs is not the same as *nao* when it is a main verb. It still means 'go' but it is at a more abstract level. Example

(8.36) comes from a text in which Jatarīt has a tangerine tree with a lot of fruits. When he is not at home, many animals come to ask for a tangerine. His grandmother has to give each of them one. Then when he comes home and sees many fruits gone, he wants to go find those animals and ask them for compensation. Example (8.36) is when he tells his grandmother what he intends to do:

(8.36) Kâo nao tiã boh kâo yōh.
 1 go chase fruit 1 PTCL
 'I will find those animals and ask for compensation.' (Lit. 'I will follow my fruits') (ND008/163)

Literally example (8.36) means that he follows his fruits. However, what he wants to do is find those who took his fruits and ask them for compensation.

In addition, *nao* 'go' can be used to express an action which is not related to motion at all. In (8.37), *nao* 'go', together with an imperative *wě*, means 'go ahead/do not hesitate' to do something; in this case, 'go ahead and eat':

(8.37) Nao wě duân ah ma-huă bě.
 go IMP grandma VOC PRE-eat IMP
 'Please eat now Grandma!' (ND008/226)

8.4.1.2 . *Dôk* 'sit'>juxtaposed verb

Dôk is a lexical verb which means 'sit/stay/reside'. As a verb, it can stand in its own sentence with or without aspect/negation markers as described in §8.4.2.2. This section provides examples in which *dôk* is one of a series of verbs in sequence. Example (8.38) presents a construction in which *dôk*, together with *wăn* 'weave' and *puñam* 'weave' creates a sequence of verbs which is considered as one predicate with no

subordination/coordination:

- (8.38) Kâo dôm wăn puñam.
1 sit weave weave
'I sit weaving' (ND010/005)

Examples (8.39) and (8.40) present another situation where *dôm* could be a versatile verb or could be a further step in a grammaticalization process. In (8.39), *dôm* without a context could mean 'sit'. However, in (8.40) it means something different. Example (8.40) is from a portion of a text in which Y-Bia, the village head's daughter, became pregnant and had a son, but does not know who her child's father is. When her son pointed out that Y-Rit, a very poor villager, is his father, she does not know how to explain to her father about that, because she had not met him before. Then, she recalls that she ate a roast fish dropped in front of her by a crow a while ago and that roast fish was Y-Rit's. Thus, in this context where the subject's position while engaged in the action 'recall' is not relevant, *dôm* modifies the main verb *hdor* as a progressive marker (more details about the process of grammaticalization are in XIII):

- (8.39) Ñu dôm hdor mớh.
3 sit recall MIR
'She sits recalling'

- (8.40) Ñu dôm hdor mớh. Ñu bởng kan maknuê năn
3 sit recall MIR 3 eat fish past DIST
'She is recalling that she ate that fish' (PA011/079)

8.4.2 . From verb to verb particle

As mentioned early in §8.4, Bih has certain morphemes that can function as both full lexical verbs and particles. The criteria for distinguishing a full lexical verb from a particle are when it is a verb, it can be negated and it can be the only morpheme in a verb phrase (Matisoff, 1991). This section shows *brei*, *dôk* and *leh* both as full lexical verbs and particles.

8.4.2.1 . *Brei* 'give'>causative> benefactive particle

The morpheme *brei* has three co-existing functions in Bih: as a full lexical verb 'give', as a benefactive particle and one function between these two: a causative versatile verb or a causative particle. The following examples present different functions of *brei* in Bih:

- (8.41) Nei arăng brei kan akěñ đơ apăl kơ ñu.
now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
'People give a catfish as big as the upper arm to him.'
(PA011/019)

Brei in (8.41) is a full lexical verb. Syntactically, it could take a aspect/negation marker as shown in (8.42) (more details about a basic clausal construction in Bih are in Chapter X):

- (8.42) Nei bưh arăng brei kan akěñ đơ apăl kơ ñu.
now NEG people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
'People do not give a catfish as big as the upper arm to him.'

The benefactive particle *brei* often has its position before the recipient argument. Syntactically it can't be negated and can't stand as the only morpheme in a verb phrase. It

functions like a dative marker in languages with morphological case marking.

Notice that even though the particle *brei* functions as a benefactive marker, it always co-occurs with a locative marker *ko/ta/to* before the recipient argument as shown in example (8.43):

(8.43)	Thô	gǝ	magĩr	ngǎ	ana	nǎn
	PN	3	PRE-try	make	crossbow	DIST
	ngǎ	leh	ngǎ	ana	rĩ	brǎm,
	make	PFV	make	crossbow	whittle	arrow
	dua	tláo	urăt,	brei	kǝ	ñu.
	two	three	CLF,	BEN	DAT	3

'Thô tried to make a crossbow and some arrows for him.' (PA011/088)

Example (8.43) occurs in a context where Thô tries to make a crossbow and some arrows for a boy who cried when he saw his friends having arrows and crossbows but not him. One may interpret that syntactically there is a zero object after *brei* in example (8.43) and that zero object is co-referent with *ana* 'crossbow' and *dua tláo urăt* 'some arrows'. It would seem that we could interpret *brei* as a main verb in example (8.43), with the meaning 'He made a crossbow and some arrows and gave them to him.' However, this is not the case here because if *brei* in (8.43) were a verb, it would be able to take negation: 'He made a crossbow and some arrows but did not give them to him'. Thus, the fact that (8.44) is ungrammatical indicates that *brei* is not a verb, it is a particle only:

(8.44)	*Thô	gǝ	magĩr	ngǎ	ana	nǎn
	PN	3	PRE-try	make	crossbow	DIST

ngă leh ngă ana rĩ brăm,
 make PFV make crossbow whittle arrow

dua tlâu urăt, ƭuh brei kɔ̃ ñu.
 two three CLF, NEG BEN DAT 3

'Thô tried to make a crossbow and some arrows but did not give them to him.'

The morpheme *brei* in Bih also has another function which is different from these above functions. Semantically it brings a causative sense to a main verb in a clause as in (8.45). This semantic meaning makes this morpheme, together with a causative prefix *pa-*, very productive in Bih (depending on what type of verb it co-occurs with, the language will use either this morpheme or a prefix; more discussion of the prefix *pa-* will be found in §8.2). Syntactically, it can't be either a full lexical verb or a particle according to the distinguishing criteria mentioned at the beginning of §8.4.2. It has the position of a full lexical verb but it must always occur with another verb. In a negative sentence, the negation applies to the sequence of verbs but never only to *brei*. It can't be the only morpheme in a verb phrase and still keep the same semantic content as it is when co-occurring with another verb. It is called a 'versatile verb' (after Matisoff, 1991, p. 403). In addition, it can't be a particle either because it doesn't co-occur with a locative marker *kɔ̃/ta/to* as it does as a particle.

(8.45) Răng dê brei dôk mnuih tamŭn,
 people EMPH CAUS stay person people
 ǒng dê mabrei dôk tlăn madôk ular
 2 EMPH PRE-CAUS stay python PRE-stay snake

'Other people let their children get married to human beings while you let your child get married to a python.' (ND009/066)

Notice that in example (8.45), the two verbs in a sequence *mabrei* and *dôk* have two different subjects: *õng* is the agent of the verb *mabrei*, but not of the verb *dôk*. In other words, there is no CAUSEE explicit here. If there is an explicit CAUSEE that is the subject of the verb *dôk*, the CAUSEE will precede the verb *dôk* as shown in (8.46):

(8.46) *õng dê mabrei anak õng dôk tľn madôk ular*
 2 EMPH PRE-CAUS child 2 stay python PRE-stay snake
 'You let your child get married to a python.'

8.4.2.2 . *Dôk* 'sit/stay'>progressive

Similar to the case of *brei* 'give' above, the etymon *dôk* in Bih has its lexical meaning coexisting alongside its grammatical meaning. In other words, *dôk* in Bih has two functions: one as a lexical verb and the other as a particle.

As a verb meaning 'sit/stay', *dôk* can occur as the only verb in the clause and can take a negative marker to negate the event, as shown in examples (8.47) and (8.48):

(8.47) *Kão dôk ha sang.*
 1 stay LOC home
 'I am home.' (ND008/102)

(8.48) *Đuh kão dôk ha sang.*
 NEG 1 stay LOC home
 'I am not at home.'

Unlike *brei*, which has a different syntactic position as a verb and as a particle, *dôk* has the same position for all of its functions. As a particle, *dôk* is also clause medial.

Semantically it brings a progressive aspect to the event carried by the main verb. In example (8.49), *dôk* brings the progressive aspect to the action *đih* 'laying down' of the main character in the story. Semantically, it can't be a verb because 'sit' and 'lay down' cannot both describe the same single event. Syntactically, it can't be the only morpheme in the verb phrase without changing the meaning of the event (as in example (8.49)). In other words, it can't be the head of the verb phrase without *đih* 'lying down' as a main verb in example (8.49):

(8.49)	Năn	ñu	ma-dôk	đih	ti	anuär,			
	then	3	PRE-PROG	lie	LOC	rotten.wood			
	dôk	đih	ta	anuär	năn	ñu	čiang	pít .	
	PROG	lie	LOC	rotten.wood	then	3	want	sleep	
	ħuh	ar	ñu	lǒ	kalei	ubei,			
	NEG	diligent	3	again	dig	yam			
	năn	dôk	pít	ti	năn	yǝh.			
	then	PROG	sleep	LOC	DIST	PTCL			

'Then when he was lying down by the rotten wood, he felt sleepy and did not want to dig yams. Then he was sleeping there.'(PA011/153)

One may argue that the third *dôk* in example (8.49) is a serial verb instead of a particle meaning 'continuing' and so the meaning could be 'he sits sleeping'. It is true that in example (8.49) *dôk pít* could be ambiguous: without context it can be either 'is sleeping' or 'sits sleeping', because there is no syntactic test to distinguish *dôk* as a particle and a

serial verb except the context where it occurs. In example (8.49), it isn't a serial verb meaning 'sit' in *dôk pīt* because the context tells readers that he was lying down just right before the action of *pīt* 'sleep', so it is a progressive particle. Obviously, verb serialization is the path through which a full lexical verb is grammaticalized to become a particle (more discussion about this in Chapter XIII with verb serialization). However, it is unclear at what point on the path of grammaticalization a serial verb turns into a grammaticalized particle. This is the case for *dôk*, as there is no syntactic test to distinguish the two uses unless they are in context. In another example (example (8.50) below) where *dôk* co-occurs with another verb, it is again the context which determines whether it is a versatile verb or a particle:

- (8.50) Drei taduah ðuôn kĭn ǒng
 2INCL look.for village DAT 2
- dôk ngă pŭk sang kơ ǒng.
 stay make/do mountain.house house DAT 2
- 'We look for a village and will be making houses (there) for you.' (PA011/262)

(8.50) is from a story where a crow wants to give some compensation to Thô from whom he stole food. (8.50) is one of his suggestions to Thô: that they (a crow and Thô) can go to look for a place where he can build the new village for Thô with houses. *Dôk* in this example can't be a full lexical verb which means 'sit/stay' because *dôk* and *ngă* can't go

not what happened before is related to the one expressed by the verb (detailed in section 8.4.2.2).

It could be that the two progressive aspect markers *dô* and *dók* are historically related. In Eðê, only *dók* is found as a progressive marker.

8.4.2.4 . *Leh* 'finish'>perfective

Similar to the case of *brei* 'give' in §8.4.2.1, the etymon *leh* in Bih has its lexical meaning coexisting alongside its grammatical meanings: it can function as a full lexical verb meaning 'to finish', it can also be a serial verb and it is a grammatical marker for a perfective aspect as well. In the case of *leh*, its position in the clause indicates its syntactic function. In other words, different positions of *leh* in a clause present its different syntactic functions.

As a verb meaning 'to finish', *leh* can only take two nominal arguments, but not one nominal argument and an action. In other words, in order to be a full lexical verb, *leh* in Bih can only occur with 'someone' and 'something' as its arguments but not 'someone' and 'doing something' as its arguments. For example, 'she finishes her work' or 'they finish their parts'. As soon as there is another verb co-occurring in a clause, *leh* either turns into a perfective or a serial verb.

(8.52) *Leh* *duôr* *nei,* *nao* *duôr* *dih,*
 finish *CL* *PROX* *go* *CL* *FAR.DIST*

leh *čř* *dih* *nao* *čř* *dih,*
 finsh *mountain* *FAR.DIST* *go* *mountain* *FAR-DIST*

paliã~palia.

endless

'She passed one mountain after another: an endless going.'(PA014/115)

(8.52) describes how far the main character in the story, YBia, had to go in order to get home. She finished one mountain after another until she reached a village where no people live.

The particle *leh* shows the completed status of an event. Semantically, it is derived from the verb *leh* 'to finish'. However, it has a syntactic position different from the verb *leh*: it is verb phrase final as shown in (8.53) while the full lexical verb is clause medial.

(8.53) Amĩ patã leh wã!
Mother tell PFV PTCL
'The mother said already.' (ND005b)

(8.54) Ñũ leh leh nah ñũ.
3 finish PFV part 3
'She finished her part.' (RH017)

Example (8.54) presents two different positions demonstrating two distinct functions of the morpheme *leh*. It is from the context where the whole family of H-Riu Hmök is making their traditional grass mats. In the process of doing them, there are at least two people who sit on either side of the mat frame and put the material through the frame one after another. The main verb *leh* in this case co-occurs with the particle *leh*. It is interesting that when one tries to take out the second *leh* in (8.54) in elicitation, the main consultant said it would be fine but in everyday language Bih people do not speak like that.

She also explained that when using *leh* as a verb 'to finish', it means either that action is *completely* finished, which means it has to have the particle *leh* as a perfective or it indicates that the subject has finished doing something which means it needs *leh* as a serial verb.

In addition to example (8.54), again, the criteria to distinguish between a verb and a particle in Bih could apply to distinguish the verb *leh* and the particle *leh* as well. In particular, the full lexical verb can take negation, but the particle cannot as shown in (8.55) and (8.56) below:

(8.55) Ka ñu leh leh nah ñu.
 not.yet 3 finish PFV part 3
 'She hasn't finished her part yet.'

(8.56) *Ñu leh ka leh nah ñu.
 3 finish not.yet PFV part 3

(8.57) *Ñu leh nah ñu.
 3 PFV part 3

Examples (8.55) and (8.56) demonstrate that *leh* can only take negation when it is a full lexical verb. Also, the fact that (8.57) is ungrammatical shows that *leh* can't occur alone as the head of the verb phrase.

Leh also functions as a versatile verb in Bih. As a versatile verb, it co-occurs with other verbs and brings the meaning 'completed' to an action conveyed by the other verbs.

Usually, the verbal phrase having *leh* as a versatile verb is a part of a clause chain (for the difference between a clause chain and verb serialization, refer to Chapter XIII.) In this function, *leh* has a clause initial position which is different from those of the other functions:

- (8.58) *Leh* *kâo* *mhao* *năn*, *năn* *yoh*,
 finish 1 drink DIST, then PTCL
- kâo* *mâo* *tien* *pruič* *năn*.
 1 have stomach intestine DIST
- ‘After I drank that (water), I become pregnant.’ (ND005)

In example (8.58), *leh* is clausal initial and it brings a completed sense to the verb *mhao* 'to drink'. Often the subject of the subordinate clause *leh* is co-referent to the subject of the main predicate as shown in (8.59):

- (8.59) *Leh* *mâo* *arbüng* *drei* *wit* *yoh*.
 Finish COP bamboo.shoot 1INCL return PTCL
- 'After having bamboo shoot, we will return right back. ' (ND010/007)

Out of the three functions of *leh*, *leh* in the subordinate clause occurs most frequently and with almost all verbs. In languages with morphological systems, *leh* in this function would be an auxiliary verb. It is interesting to see that the process of grammaticalization with *leh* has three stages: from a full lexical verb to a versatile verb and from a full lexical verb to the particle. Each of the three stages of *leh* is associated with

distinct syntactic position.

CHAPTER IX

EXPRESSIVES

Expressives are a minor word class in Bih. The term “expressives”, following Diffloth (1972), is used in this chapter to refer to an iconic word class defining by its distinct phonological and semantic properties. Expressives are described in many languages in Mainland Southeast Asia including Semai (Diffloth, 1976), Bahnar (Banker, 1964) and Vietnamese (Hoang, 1994). This word class is a special class of words rich in iconicity (Diffloth, 1979), but does not include strictly onomatopoeic forms. This chapter will analyze Bih expressives in terms of their phonological structure after mentioning about the nature of expressives as sound symbolic phenomenon and semantics of expressives.

9.1 . The nature of the phenomenon-sound symbolism in Bih expressives

Bih expressives include two or four-syllable expressions that are composed of partially or completely reduplicated bases, with vaguely sound-symbolic meaning which is related to the meaning of the base but is more abstract and suggestive. The bases are often verbs, but Bih also has some expressives that are derived from nouns. For instance, the expressive *mhao~mhâm* is used to describe actions relating to drinking water or liquid but not wine. It is derived from the base *mhao* which is a verb meaning 'drink'.

Another example is *alũih~alâm*. This is an expressive describing things which are very cheap. This meaning comes from the meaning of the base *alũih* which means 'cheap'. On the other hand, *kadô~kadung* and *akei~urei* are examples in which the bases are nouns.

Kadô is a flat container used in harvesting seasons or in keeping goods and *akei* refers to a young man. However, *kadô~kadung* is an expressive used to talk about a kind of flat containers in general and *akei~urei* is used to describe a situation when people talk about young men as opposed to young women or other groups of people. In other words, these two expressives are used in a more abstract situation than each of their base is. This is also a case of four syllable expressions. The noun *lu* in Bih meaning 'lots'. Its two syllable expressive is *lu~lin*, which is used to describe things that are a lot. The degree will increase much more if people use *lu~lit~ lu~ lin*.

Expressives in Bih are mostly derived and productive. From a base, people can create different expressives and get other people's agreement on their uses. For example, *brũ* is a verb meaning 'slow', 'light'. There are different expressives from this base such as *brũ brũ*, *bu brũ*, *brũ bra*, and they all are used to describe the degree of movements, slowly, or something is light.

However, there are expressives where the base can't be determined or the base has no lexical meaning, but people do have common agreements in using them. For example, *karung~karem* and *purã~purô* are expressives which Bih speakers can't tell which one is the base in each expressive. However, *karung~karem* is used to describe a mixed category of things that are from different categories. To make it clear, for example, a seller who comes on the way to the Bih mountain village to sell things that Bih speakers

may need, such as household stuffs, gardening tools, hunting tools, etc, he sells *karung~karem* (*ñu čhǐ karung~karem*.) There is no base in this expressive. The same to *pură~purô*, it is used to describe some objects which are big and to Bih speakers, this expressive has no base. On the other hand, *muť muť* ‘doing something very slowly’ is an expressive which comes from the base that has no lexical meaning. It is used to describe doing something not seriously. Other examples are also the case in which *miu~miu* is an expressive to describe a quite or sad status, but *miu* has no lexical meaning by itself or the meaning of *rungu* in the expressive *rungu~rungu* can't be identified.

9.2 . Notes on the semantics of Bih expressives

One common characteristic of expressive meanings is the fact that expressives can be used to describe an iconic event/situation as a whole in the form of a single lexical item which otherwise would be expressed in an independent clause, in languages which do not have expressives. Because expressives describe sensory perceptions such as visual, smell, taste and feelings, one expressive can be used in various situations: it could be used to describe an event as a “cluster of elementary sensations” (Diffloth, 1976, p. 257) or to express one particular sense in that “cluster”. Thus, with the same expressive, one speaker may use it to describe a visual situation, another may use it as a feeling expressive, and it could be used as an aural one; they all are acceptable among speakers as long as the meanings of that expressive share a common core.

This situation is found with *awung awăng*, which could be interpreted as a whole

range of sensations in terms of all feelings and actions that alcohol can cause after drinking too much, or as a specific sense in ‘describing feelings of a person, who drank a lot of alcohol and feels excited in doing something he wants’, or as in ‘describing the unstable feeling of a person who is drunk or sick’. It could describe a visual-based expression of ‘the walk of a person who is either drunk or sick, whose one foot is on this side but the other could be on the other side’. The point here is that each speaker may find one sensation he wants to express by an expressive, which others use for other sensations, as long as they all agree that the sensations they want to describe all exist in that expressive. The more people agree on its meaning, the more frequently that expressive is used and accepted.

Another example is *pujip pujap*, used to describe any situation in which things are out of their regular expectation. For example, a package of salt is normally sold for a thousand *đồng*, Vietnam currency, and then at the time of speaking, it is sold for five or even six thousand *đồng*. In the speaker’s mind, it is unbelievably expensive, out of her expectation. Thus, that whole event is expressed by *pujip pujap*. Another context where *pujip pujap* is used is the situation in which people are whittling bamboo to make sticks for their weaving. After they get what they want, they continue to whittle bamboo to make sticks for some indeterminate later purpose (they really don’t know what these sticks could be used for). This behavior of doing things for some later could be described as *pujip pujap*. *Pujip pujap* is also used to describe the case where people stick clay together to make cooking pans, but it turns out that the clay is too dry, so it breaks into small pieces,

which come apart. The whole event is *pujip pujap*.

Another common characteristic of expressives is that the meanings of certain expressives may be part of the meaning of some specific verbs, but the expressives themselves do not co-occur with those verbs. For example, *rep čhep* is an expressive describing an itchy feeling happening through the whole body. Its meaning is associated with itchiness and does not occur elsewhere, but syntactically, it doesn't occur with the verb *ktāl* 'itch, be itchy' as in (9.1). A similar example is found in *paliă palia*. *Paliă palia* is used to describe non-endless actions, commonly for walking. It is often being used in sentences describing a non-endless walking without the presence of the verb 'walk' *nao*. In other words, expressives in certain degree stand for themselves, not modify for any words:

- (9.1) a. *rep čhep* *asei prlei* *kâo*.
 REDUP body body 1
 'my body is itchy.'
- b. *paliă palia* *ñu*.
 REDUP 3
 'He [walks] on and on. (ND003)

9.3 . The phonological patterns of reduplication in Bih

9.3.1 . Complete reduplication

Complete reduplication in Bih involves expressives in which a reduplicant is reduplicated from a base which are mainly mono syllable or disyllable. For instance, from

brǐ'slow', its complete reduplication is *brǐ~brǐ* used to describe things in a slow movement, or from *bruě*'straight', *bruě~bruě* is used to describe things in a very straight line, or *rungu~rungu* is a disyllable expressive used to a situation where a lot of people gather together to eat and drink for fun.

In Bih complete reduplication, the base is often the one getting high pitch. It may also be used to create partial reduplication as well. This is the common way to determine a base in an expressive, especially with expressives that the base has no lexical meaning.

- (9.2) *djeh djeh* 'doing something not seriously'
djeh djut 'describing bad manners'

Considering *djeh djeh* in example (9.2), the base is the first form *djeh* having the high pitch and it is also the one used to create a partial reduplication *djeh djut* where the rhyme of the base *-eh* changed into *-ut*.

The source for complete reduplication is mainly from monosyllabic root. The disyllabic expressives are mainly partial reduplication which is described in section 9.3.2.

9.3.2 . Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication describes expressives in which only a certain portion of the main root is changed. Including in this section are partial reduplications which have either peak or onset or coda or rhyme in the base different from that of the reduplicant.

9.3.2.1 . Nucleus changes

Expressives belonging to this group are those in which initial consonant/consonant clusters and final consonant of the root and the reduplicant are the same while the main

vowel changes. Below are examples for this type of partial reduplication:

- (9.3) *arĕlē arĕlŏ* ‘describing lands with too much water’
ĕrwâp ĕrwŏp ‘describing place with a lot of moving people’
nik nak ‘describing things having its original history’
pŭk pāk ‘describing too much talk’
rlung rlŭng ‘describing things moving side by side in water’
trĕm trĕm ‘describing things shorter than its expected size’
tadĭt tadăt ‘describing hesitating in speaking’

As shown in (9.3), the initial consonant or consonant clusters and the final consonant in the base are repeated respectively in the reduplicant. The only portion of the root changed is the syllable nucleus. There are no rules defining possible phonological changes. The root’s and the reduplicant’s vowels could both be as in *arĕlē arĕlŏ*, or both back vowels as in *rlung rlŭng*, but they can also be from different groups of vowels as in *ĕrwâp ĕrwŏp* and *nik nak*. In other words, the phonological relation of the vowels of the root and the reduplicant is unpredictable.

9.3.2.2 . Onset changes

This group of expressives is created by reduplicating the root rhyme and changing the onset consonant/consonant cluster in the reduplicant. There is no onset-changed restriction between the root and the reduplicant: it could be from a single consonant in the base to a consonant cluster in the reduplicant or vice versa. *hŏk krdŏk* and *tŭt trlŭt* in (9.4) give examples in which the initial consonant of the base, which is a single consonant, changed into an initial consonant cluster of the reduplicant. On the other hand, *tloh inoh* and *ĕhĭt-lĭt* shows the opposite way where the onset consonant of the base is a cluster while

that of the reduplication is a single consonant. *kriêp mliêp* in (9.4) demonstrates another case in which the base and the reduplicant both have an onset consonant cluster, *ml-*, which is not very common for this type of reduplication and also the cluster ‘*ml-*’ itself is irregular in Bih:

- (9.4) *hõk krdõk* ‘describing a very happy feeling’
tõt trlõt ‘describing trees/plants without leaves because they fell off all’
tloh inoh ‘describing things in a large number’
bhõt-lõt ‘describing things very tiny’
kriêp mliêp ‘very quiet’
biã riã ‘describing things coming very shortly’
nũih kũih ‘describing things easy to do’

9.3.2.3 . Coda changes

We also find expressive reduplication where the only element changed in the reduplicant, compared to the base is the final consonant, as in (9.5):

- (9.5) *lah lañ* ‘very lazy’
kruh krun ‘describing an action happening frequently’
jhãk jhãr ‘describing things in a large quantity’

As indicated in Chapter III, Bih has twelve consonants which can occur as codas, but not all of these twelve consonants can occur in a coda-changed reduplication group.

The commonest pattern is alternation between a voiceless glottal fricative /-h/ and alveolar/palatal nasal /-n/ or /ñ/. Also, there are not many expressives belonging to this group. More common is the pattern where both elements of the rhyme – both the final

consonant and the vowel – are changed, are very common.

9.3.2.4 . Rhyme changes

Rhyme changes are the most productive pattern of the partial reduplication. In Bih, it is common to see more close syllables with a rhyme changed than open syllables as shown in (9.6):

- (9.6) *arlăn arlet* ‘always’
arleh rluăt ‘describing things not smooth (as clay, mortar, dough)’
brañ brô ‘describing a very bright light as sun’
găt gîn ‘describing things in a very big size’
gõ gõi ‘things everywhere’
grî grîm ‘describing things very dirty’
lič lek ‘doing something again and again’
moh māl ‘lucky’
mprüč mprüi ‘describing things with splay ends’
rhô rhêč ‘describing things in a very long length’
rõ ruôm ‘embarrassing’

CHAPTER X

BASIC CLAUSAL SYNTAX

Chapter X presents basic clause structure and modifications of basic clause structure. Bih copulas will be presented in section 10.1 while transitivity and non-canonical transitivity events are demonstrated in section 10.2 and section 10.3 respectively. Modifications of a basic clause construction include negative and interrogative constructions, imperative constructions and sentence particles.

10.1 . Copulas

There are three copula verbs in Bih: *jing*, *mâo* and *dôk* as briefly described in section 8.3.2. This section presents the structural and functional properties of the copula verbs in Bih. Structurally, copulas occur in the verb slot in a clause, i.e. clause-medially. Functionally, copulas "express proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession" (Payne, 1997, p. 111). The following data (10.1)- (10.19) demonstrate these properties of each copula in Bih.

10.1.1 . Equational *jing*

Jing is an equational copula connecting two pronominals. (10.1) provides an example in which *jing* functions as a copula to join two NPs: *ñu* and *mnuih Bih*:

- (10.1) Ñu jing mnuih Bih.
 3 COP person PN
 'He is Bih.' (Elicitation. HM20091022)

As a verb, *jing* also can take negation *ǃuh...ôh* (which I will describe in a later chapter) just as a regular Bih verb does:

(10.2) ǃuh kâo jing mnuih Bih ôh.
 NEG1 1 COP person PN NEG2
 'I am not Bih' (Elicitation.HM20100506)

(10.3) ǃh, mamă ǃuh jing abao madôk ǃuh jing.
 oh.no PRE-take NEG COP snail PRE-be.at NEG COP
 "Oh no! When she picks up the snail, she can't because the snail is still at its location.'(ND008/010)

In the *jing* predicate nominal constructions, when the second NP in a proposition describes some characteristic properties of the first NP, *jing* is optional as in (10.4).

However in this case when *jing* is required, as in example (10.5), it means 'become':

(10.4) Ñu (jing) mnuih jhat.
 3 COP person bad
 'He is a bad person.' (Elicitation. HM20091022)

(10.5) Ñu jing mnuih jhat.
 3 become person bad
 'He becomes a bad person.' (Elicitation. HM20091022)

Beside as a copula, *jing* also functions as a lexical verb meaning 'become' even

though syntactically, the lexical verb 'become' *jing* connects two NPs as well. In (10.6),

jing connects *ñu* and *be*:

- (10.6) Káo pablě matáo be mnuih ñu
 1 tell/talk ghost goat person 3
- bĩa-dah ñu jing be, ñu matáo be năn.
 but 3 become goat, 3 ghost goat DIST
- 'I tell a story about a ghost goat. She is actually a human but becomes a ghost goat.'(ND006/001)

(10.7) presents a similar construction, where *jing* joins the two NPs: *arăng* and *máo kalei tũ-dữn rông anak cồ* as a headless relative clause in which the subject *arăng* changes into the concept expressed by the predicate noun *máo kalei tũ-dữn rông anak cồ*.

- (10.7) Arăng lỏ jing máo kalei tũ-dữn rông anak cồ
 3 again become have NMZ rich raise child grandchild
- 'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

10.1.2 . Existential *máo*

Máo has two functions: an existential copula and a possessive verb 'to have'. Structurally these two functions occur in the two constructions: a verbal copula construction and a transitive verb construction. An existential copula construction syntactically starts with the copula *máo*; then, there is often one indefinite noun followed

by a location with a locative marker, as shown in example (10.8):

- (10.8) Mâu djăm ta di ih, mâu ta kâu.
COP soup LOC PL 2 COP LOC 1
'(If) there are soups at your house, there are some at mine.' (ND007/085)

Example (10.9) presents a similar existential construction: *mâu* means 'exist' and the only nominal element in the sentences is an indefinite noun *mnuih* then a locative marker and a person.

- (10.9) Mlăm mâu mớh mnuih ha ống,
night COP MIR person LOC 2

urei mâu mớh mnuih ka ống amara mâu kớ ống.
day COP MIR person DAT 2 FUT COP DAT 2
'There will be people with you days and nights.'(ND011/103)

As a verbal construction, an existential *mâu* construction also takes *buh...ôh* as its negative marker, as shown in (10.10) and (10.11):

- (10.10) Buh lố mâu trlei angoh a-ăt ôh.
NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2
'There won't be a fever (for me) any more.'(ND007/260)
- (10.11) Buh mâu anôk ñu nao ôh.
NEG1 COP place 3 go NEG2
'He doesn't go anywhere.' (Lit. there is no place he goes'.)
(PA011/004)

On the other hand, a possessive *mâo* construction includes both a possessor and a possessee in which a possessor precedes the verb *mâo* while the possessee follows it without any locative or dative markers. The possessive *mâo* is just like any transitive verb in a language which takes two nominal arguments in one construction.

Example (10.12) comes from a portion of text describing young people in the village going to the mountain to look for vegetables. Syntactically, (10.12) is a transitive construction including a possessor *di ñu* and a possessee *djăm biep*:

- (10.12)Leh di ñu mâo djăm biep,
 finish PL 3 have vegetable PN
- di ñu wĩt yoh ta buân.
 PL 3 return PTCL LOC village
- 'After they had one type of vegetable, they returned home.' (ND011/011)

When a transitive *mâo* construction is negated, the negative marker *buh* is preverbal and follows the subject argument, as shown in (10.13) and (10.14):

- (10.13)Arăng lăm nei buh mâo ôh krbao
 3PL PREP PROX NEG1 have NEG2 buffalo
- dă krbao kâo, amĩ aduân kâo
 CONJ buffalo 1 mother grandmother I
- 'People nowadays don't have buffalos like my ancestors' buffalos.
 (ND007/297)

- (10.14) Kamei ðuh mâo ngăn tǎm~ênu~ba~ kađi ôh.
 1EXCL NEG1 have property compensation NEG2
 'We do not have property to pay compensation.' (PA011/276)

10.1.3 . Locative *dôk*

The verb *dôk* as a lexical verb means 'sit' as shown in (10.15), or 'stay, reside' as in

(10.16):

- (10.15) Y-Bia dôk puñam.
 PN sit weave
 'Y-Bia sits weaving.' (PA011/028)

- (10.16) Kào dôk ta ðuôn amĩ kjar kào ta Kiên-Giang dih.
 1 reside LOC village mother husband1 LOC PN FAR-DIST
 'I live at my husband mother's village in Kiên-Giang.'
 (Elicitation.HM20120826)

Like 'stay, live' verbs in many other Southeast Asian languages, *dôk* also functions as a locative copula which occurs in clauses presenting a relation between a nominal and a location with a locative marker such as *ha* in (10.17), *lăm* in(10.18) or *ti* in (10.19):

- (10.17)Kào dôk ha sang.
 1 be.at LOC house
 'I am home.' (ND008/102)

- (10.18)Di ih dôk lăm adjê dih,
 PL 2 be.at PREP storage.house FAR.DIST

di ih dua ung mỗ, tlào ha anak ỡng.
 PL 2 two husband wife, three LOC child 2
 'You all (both of you and your child) are in the storage house over there.'
 (PA011/097)

(10.19) ỡng dờk ti nei yờh hỡ!
 2 be.at LOC PROX PTCL IMP
 'You please be here.' (ND011/055)

10.2 . Transitivity and basic clause structure in non-copula constructions

This section discusses constituent order and grammatical relations, and how word order in Bih relates to its grammatical relations in a basic clause. Syntactic relations are mainly expressed through word order in Bih. Thus, the section starts with word order and grammatical relations (§10.2.1) before going into details about grammatical relations and semantic roles (§10.2.2). I employ notion of subject, direct object and indirect object, and their syntactic functions as an A/S or O without giving definitions of those.

10.2.1 . Word order and grammatical relations

Basic constituent order in Bih is fixed AVO. (In chapter XV, a constituent which is placed in focus by moving it in a first position will be described.) This chapter describes the basic word order where nothing has been moved into focus position. Constituent order alone can code grammatical relations in simple basic intransitive/transitive clauses: the subject directly precedes the verb. As for ditransitive clauses, the indirect object is the

only grammatical relation encoded by both word order and by a case making morpheme

kø. This section presents data indicating the relations between a verb and its arguments.

In an intransitive clause such as (10.20), the subject ordinarily precedes the verb:

(10.20) *Kào angoh, lõ ɓlě angoh.*
1 hot again rise hot
'I am sick again.'(ND007/097)

In this case, *kào* precedes the predicate, so it is the subject of the sentence.

However, Bih also has intransitive sentences in which the subject follows the predicate, as in (10.21). In this case, *duân Sun năn* follows the predicate *mawĩt yoh* and is the subject of the sentence even though its position is different from that of (10.20).

(10.21) *Năn mawĩt yoh duân Sun năn.*
then PRE-return PTCL grandmother PN DIST
'Then, grandmother Sun returns home.'(ND008/016)

This might be because Bih was originally an Austronesian language which was verb initial, so certain traces of verb initial syntax still exist in the language. However, modern Bih today mainly has AVO word order.

In transitive clauses, word order plays an important role in expressing syntactic functions of arguments in a clause. Examples (10.22) and (10.23) illustrate simple basic word order in transitive clauses in Bih:

(10.22) *õng dlǎng aduân kào ti sang.*
2 look grandmother 1 LOC house
'You look at my grandmother at home.'(ND008/176)

(10.23) Gõ mabõng katãr tle.
 3 PRE-eat corn pound
 'He ate mashed corn.'(PA012/020)

In (10.22), the fact that *õng* precedes the main verb *dlãng* determines its syntactic relation to the verb: it is a subject of the verb; while *aduân kão* follows the main verb, and so is the object. On the other hand, in (10.23) *gõ* precedes the transitive verb *mabõng* and *katãr tle* follows the verb, so *gõ* is the subject and *katãr tle* is the object of the sentence.

In ditransitive clauses, word order is also the main indicator of grammatical role, as shown in examples (10.24) and (10.25):

(10.24) Kão brei agãr leh kõ õng.
 1 give drum PFV DAT 2
 'I gave the drum to you already.'(ND007/402)

(10.25) Nei arãng brei kan akẽñ đõ apãl kõ ñu.
 Now 3PL give fish cat.fish as arm DAT 3
 'Now people give him a cat fish as big as an arm to him.' (PA011/019)

Kão in (10.24) precedes the main verb *brei*, so it is the subject of the sentence while in (10.25) the main verb *brei* is preceded by *arãng*, thus, *arãng* is the subject of (10.25).

Both in (10.24) and (10.25), there are two object arguments following the main verb: *agãr* and *õng* in (10.24), and *kan akẽñ đõ apãl* and *ñu* in (10.25) respectively. Both *õng* and *ñu*,

beside following the main verb, each also has *ko'* as a dative marker relation. Thus, an indirect object is the one following a verb and marked by the dative marker *ko'* as shown in (10.24) and (10.25). However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, any constituent which is in focus could be moved to a first position. Therefore, if an argument with a syntactic marker *ko'* is placed in focus position, *ko'* will be moved along with the NP (more discussion in Chapter XV).

10.2.2 . Grammatical relations and semantic roles

As we have seen in section 10.2.1, grammatical relations are shown mainly by the syntactic positions of arguments. The overt coding of grammatical relations is through word order where the position of a noun phrase in the clause determines its argument status with respect to the verb, except for ditransitive clauses in which the indirect object is determined by both word order and the case marker *ko'*. Simple basic clauses are either transitive or intransitive. I will refer to core relations as A, O and S, where A is the argument of a transitive clause and prototypically an agent, O is the argument of a transitive clause and prototypically a patient, and S is the single argument of an intransitive clause. In Bih, core relations are unmarked while obliques are marked by *ta/ka/ko'* (since indirect object is marked by *ta/ka/ko'*, so it is an oblique in Bih). Both core arguments and obliques can be fronted (Chapter XV) or relativized (Chapter XIV).

The following data presents certain semantic roles of core arguments and obliques in Bih:

In (10.26), the A argument *kâo* 'I' is the agent of the verbs *padje* 'kill' and *ñu* is the patient O. In (10.27) the A argument *õng* 'you' is the agent of the verb *atăt* 'lead' and *kâo* is the patient:

(10.26) *Kâo pa-dje leh ñu.*
 1 CAUS-die PFV 3
 'I killed him.'(ND008/199)

(10.27) *õng atăt kâo duân ah.*
 2 lead 1 grandmother VOC
 'You lead me (there), Grandma.'(ND007/278)

In (10.28) the A argument *kâo* is the experiencer of the verb *mhữ* 'hear/listen', while in (10.30) the experiencer *kâo* is the S argument of the predicate *angoh* 'be sick':

(10.28) *Kâo mhữ mớh asô mađuh~mađah.*
 1 hear/listen MIR dog barking.sounds
 'I heard some barks.'(ND007/156).

(10.29) *Kâo angoh, lỏ ẵlẻ angoh.*
 1 hot, again rise hot
 'I am sick again.'(ND007/097)

In (10.30), the A argument *kâo* is the agent of the verb *mả* while *thỡng nei* is the O argument functioning as an instrument. In

(10.31) and (10.32), *adjê* and *dei* are locative obliques while in (10.33) *õng* is a

benefactive oblique:

(10.30) Kào mǎ thổng nei makhăt kan ñu.
1 hold/pick.up knife PROX PRE-cut fish 3
'I use this knife to cut his fish.' (Elicitation.HM20091020)

(10.31) Di ih dôk lăm adjê dih.
PL 2 sit PREP storage.house FAR.DIST
'Both of you sit in the storage house overthere.' (PA011/097)

(10.32) Puya mairan ta dei.
Crocodile PRE-run LOC younger.sibling
'The crocodiles run into the younger brother.' (ND003)

(10.33) Kào brei krbao kơ ống.
1 give buffalo DAT 2
'I give a buffalo to you.' (ND007/300)

The fourth grammatical relation, indirect object, is encoded syntactically as a prepositional phrase and semantically as a recipient. Indirect objects are marked by *ta/kơ* as shown in (10.32) and (10.33).

As mentioned above, because there is no syntactic marking on verbs or their arguments to show grammatical relations (except indirect objects), transitivity in Bih can be recognized by word order. However, it is the semantic properties of a verb which define the event's transitivity. The mapping between semantics and syntax, e.g., the mapping between agent and clausal subject, and patient and direct object, is especially important to determine grammatical relations for those clauses which have two NPs preceding a verb as

in (10.34) (in which one NP is fronted for discourse purposes).

Since basic word order is the only syntactic indication of grammatical relations in transitive clauses in Bih, in clauses having two NPs preceding a verb such as (10.34), the subject is the immediately pre-verbal NP while the other is not:

- (10.34) Katăr năn kâo tle hǒng putei.
 corn DISTAL 1 pound with banana
 'As for that corn, I pound with bananas.' (PA012/051)

In addition, because the function of fronting is to establish a known entity as topical in the text in discourse, any NP or prepositional phrase in Bih thus can be fronted for discourse purposes. Syntactically a fronted phrase can be any core or non-core NP, but the fronted position is often occupied by the grammatical relation O. Pragmatically, fronting an O argument indicates that the O argument is topical. If the subject argument is in focus, because it is already fronted, there will be a marker (either *lě* or *moh* or *dê*) to tell that subject argument is in focus (detailed in Chapter XV). In (10.35), *kâo* is the pre-verbal NP and it is semantically the agent, so it is the subject of the sentence, while *katăr năn* is semantically the patient of the event but it is fronted. It is the O argument in focus.

The fact that the semantic component is one of the criteria (beside word order) for determining syntactic transitivity of a simple clause in Bih is true for those clauses in which one participant can have two different semantic roles such as both actor and undergoer or where roles of actor and undergoer each map to multiple participants, which will be

presented in the following section (§10.3).

10.3 . Non-canonical transitivity

10.3.1 . Reflexives

This section presents the grammatical expression of reflexives, one type of non-canonical transitive construction in Bih where actor and undergoer roles map to a single participant (Frajzyngier & Curl, 1999). For example, if a child cuts herself with a knife, the referent is both agent and patient. The data presented in this section were mainly elicited for an inventory of reflexive meanings in "Universals and the Typology of Reflexives" project organized by the Utrecht Institute of Linguistics. The data here present reflexives with different verbs or different grammatical constructions.

The only reflexive form in Bih is *ačô* 'self'. The *ačô* construction involves an event where a single referent fills multiple, distinct semantic roles. (10.36) provides a reflexive with a simple transitive verb *khăt* 'cut':

(10.36) Ñu khăt ñu ačô.
3 cut 3 REFL
'She cuts herself.' (Elicitation.HM20110320)

(10.37) presents a reflexive with a bodily care verb *mrao* 'wash':

(10.37) Paul mrao ñu ačô.
PN wash 3 REFL
'Paul washed himself.' (Elicitation.HM20110320)

In (10.38) and (10.39) we have reflexives of experience verbs:

(10.38) Tam krčao ñu ačô.
 PN scare 3 REFL
 ‘Tam scares herself.’

(10.39) Tam jhuñ kñ ñu ačô.
 PN hate DAT 3 REFL
 ‘Tam hates herself.’

There is always a pronoun preceding a reflexive *ačô*. Syntactically, if the subject of a sentence is singular, a singular pronoun *ñu* is used as in (10.39) and (10.40), but if it is a plural, a plural form is used as in (10.41) and (10.42):

(10.40) ōng prni kñ ōng ačô.
 2 praise DAT 2 REFL
 ‘You admire yourself.’

(10.41) Di ih prni kñ di ih ačô.
 PL 2 praise DAT PL 2 REFL
 ‘You admire yourselves.’

(10.42) Kamei prni kñ kamei ačô.
 1EXCL praise DAT 1EXCL REFL
 ‘We admire ourselves.’

Example (10.43) demonstrates that Bih treats *Grăp čô mnuih* ‘everyone’ as a group of people, and semantically it is plural; thus the reflexive in this case has to be plural *di ñu ačô*, otherwise it is ungrammatical as in (10.44):

(10.43) Grăp ăô mnuih manei kĭn đĩ ñu ăô.
 Every CLF people wash DAT PL 3 REFL
 ‘Everyone washed himself.’

(10.44) *Grăp ăô mnuih manei kĭn ñu ăô.

Examples (10.45)-(10.49) present reflexives of verbs with various kinds of oblique or prepositional or indirect objects or with locative adjuncts. It is interesting to see in example (10.46) that the reflexive constituent includes a proper name instead of a pronoun as expected: the proper noun Y-Kô, together with *ăô* in the reflexive constituent is repeated instead of *ñu*. Nevertheless, in this case if a singular form *ñu* is used, it causes an ambiguous interpretation (either ‘Nghiep’s mother described Kô to himself or ‘Nghiep’s mother described Kô to herself’). Thus, the proper name Kô is used to make a clear reference:

(10.45) Tam blũ kĭn ñu ăô.
 PN speak DAT 3 REFL
 ‘Tam spoke to herself.’

(10.46) Mĩ Nghiep pablẽ kĭn Y-Kô hăng Y-Kô ăô.
 mother PN talk DAT PN with PN REFL
 ‘Nghiep’s mother described Kô to himself.’

(10.47) Mĩ Nghiep pablẽ kĭn ñu ăô hăng Y-Tam.
 Mother PN talk DAT 3 REFL with PN
 ‘Nghiep’s mother described herself to Tam.’

(10.48) Mĩ Mlih pamūt arđeh ñu ačo lăm sang.
 mother PN CAUS-push motorbike 3 REFL LOC house
 'Mlih's mother pushed her motorbike to the house.'

(10.49) Mĩ Nghiệp blei druôm-ură kǐn ñu ačo.
 mother PN buy notebook DAT 3 REFL
 'Nghiệp's mother bought a notebook for herself.'

(10.50)-(10.53) present reflexives in embedded clauses: the subject of an embedded clause is the one coreferent with the reflexive pronoun:

(10.50) Tam pamǐn dah Y-Kô b̄uh ñu ačo lăm mta kinh.
 PN think that PN see 3 REFL LOC eye mirror
 'Tam thought that Y-Kô saw himself.'

(10.51) Tam lač kơ mĩ Nghiệp pablě kǐn Y-Lam.
 PN say DAT mother PN talk DAT PN
 'Tam told Nghiệp's mother to describe Y-Lam'

(10.52) Y-Kô lač kơ mĩ Nghiệp pablě kǐn ñu ačo.
 PN say DAT mother PN talk DAT 3 REFL
 'Y-Kô told Nghiệp's mother to describe herself.'

(10.53) Mĩ Nghiệp b̄uh leh Tam kađap kǐn ñu ačo.
 Mother PN see PFV PN defend DAT 3 REFL
 'Nghiệp's mother saw Tam defending herself.'

Examples (10.54)-(10.56) demonstrate that the subject of the main clause is the one coreferent with the pronoun *ñu*:

- (10.54) Tam rmuh mǐ Nghiêp prni kǐn ñu aồ.
 PN request mother PN praise DAT 3 REFL
 ‘Tam_a asked Nghiêp’s mother_b to praise her_a.’
- (10.55) Y-Lam mhữ leh mǐ Nghiêp prni kǐn ñu.
 PN hear PFV mother PN praise DAT 3
 ‘Y-Lam_a heard Nghiêp’s mother_b praising her_a.’
- (10.56) Mĩ Rai pamǐn mǐ Nghiêp pajhuñ kǐn ñu.
 Mother PN think mother PN CAUS-hate DAT 3
 ‘Rai’s mother_a thinks that Nghiêp’s mother_b hates her_a.’

It is interesting to see that when the subjects of the main clause, Y-Lam in (10.55) and Mĩ Rai in (10.56) respectively, are the ones coreferent with the pronoun *ñu*, there is no reflexive *aồ*. Otherwise, if the reflexive form is present, as in (10.57) and (10.58), it will be coreferent with the subject of the embedded clause:

- (10.57) Y-Lam mhữ leh mǐ Nghiêp prni kǐn ñu aồ.
 PN hear PFV mother PN praise DAT 3 REFL
 ‘Y-Lam heard Nghiêp’s mother_b praising her_b.’
- (10.58) Mĩ Rai pamǐn mǐ Nghiêp pajhuñ kǐn ñu aồ.
 Mother PN think mother PN CAUS-hate DAT 3 REFL
 ‘Rai’s mother_a thinks that Nghiêp’s mother_b hates her_b.’
 (Elicitation.HM20110320)

10.3.2 . Strict reciprocity: Type 1 *tăm* construction

This section presents another non-canonical transitive event, the reciprocal. *Tăm* constructions in Bih present both reciprocity in a strong sense, or strict reciprocity (Dalrymple et al., 1998) in which roles of actor and undergoer each map to multiple participants, and collaborative events where multiple participants map onto the same role. The data in this part illustrates strict reciprocity, while section 10.3.3 presents the second type.

The type 1 *tăm* construction commonly involves constructions in which the subject argument is a single plural pronoun as in (10.59) or two separate nouns conjoined together with *leh-anăn* 'and' as in (10.60) and (10.61). The position of *tăm* is immediately preceding the verb. Examples (10.59)-(10.62) have core arguments as reciprocal referents:

(10.59) Di ñu tăm thao
PL 3 REC know
'They know each other.'

(10.60) Armông leh-anăn mabui tăm pakađah
tiger and wild.buffalo REC CAUS-fight
'Tiger and wild buffalo fight each other.'

(10.61) Y-Phon leh-anăn palei ñu tăm khăp
PN and wife 3 REC love
'Y-Phon and his wife love each other.'

(10.62) Tam leh-anăn mĩ Nghiêp tằm unĩng
 PN and mother PN REC miss
 ‘Tam and Nghiêp’s mother miss each other.’

Examples (10.63)-(10.66) present data in which non-arguments are co-referential.

In the examples (10.59)-(10.62), each of the participants is both actor and undergoer to each other and each of them is a core argument of the event. However, in (10.63), it is each person's motorbike that is a reciprocal referent, not the owner himself. In (10.64), the reciprocal non-arguments are Blit's father's and Tam's languages, or the house in

(10.65) and cooked rice in (10.66):

(10.63) Di ñu tằm pamũt ardeh di ñu
 PL 3 REC CAUS-enter motorbike PL 3
 ‘They pushed each other's motorbike into the house.’

(10.64) Ma Blit leh-anăn Tam tằm thô sãng
 Father PN and PN REC know understand

 tanao di ñu blũ năn.
 story PL 3 speak PROX
 ‘Blit’s father and Tam know each other’s language.’

(10.65) Ma Blit leh-anăn ma Hũa tằm jru ngã sang.
 Father PN and father PN REC help build house
 ‘Blit’s and Hũa’s fathers help to build each other’s house.’

(10.66) Ñu tǎm čhök aseï
 3 REC scoop cooked.rice
 ‘They scoop cooked rice for each other.’

In a reciprocal construction, subject arguments are ordinarily plural. In (10.66), the subject argument *ñu* itself is singular. However, *ñu*, together with the reciprocal *tǎm*, means plural. Sometimes, the subject *ñu* is omitted, and example (10.66) turns into (10.67) and is still grammatical. Both (10.66) and (10.67) are the same semantically (we will return to this example in connection with the Type 2 *tǎm* construction).

(10.67) Tǎm čhök aseï
 REC scoop cooked.rice
 ‘They scoop cooked rice for each other.’

In example (10.63), participants of the event map the same role (an agent) to the predicate. However, what makes this an example of strict reciprocity is that the patient is each other's motorbike. In other words, each participant in (10.63) pushed the other participant's motorbike but not their own motorbike. If each of them pushed their own motorbike into the house, then each of them has the same role, as in (10.68):

(10.68) Di ñu tǎm pamüt ardeh di ñu ačô
 PL 3 REC CAUS-enter motorbike PL 3 REFL
 ‘They pushed their motorbike into the house together.’

Syntactically (10.63) is similar to (10.68) even though semantically the construction

expresses a collective event which should fall under the type 2 *tăm* construction.

10.3.3 . Collaborative event: Type 2 *tăm* construction

The type 1 *tăm* construction expresses an event in which multiple participants each map into multiple roles, for example, each participant is both actor and undergoer. The type 2 *tăm* construction presents a scene in which multiple participants have the same role:

(10.69) Alek yoh di gở tăm pít tăm đih năn.
Quiet PTCL Pl 3 REC sleep REC lie then
'Deeply, they lie together and sleep together.'(ND007-216)

(10.70) Ñũ đờng tăm pah gở. (PA013-62)
3 IMPFV REC scold 3
'They are scolding her.'

(10.71) Di ñũ dua tăm pavang prăăm gở
PL 3 two REC together fight 3
'Both of them together fight her.'

Examples (10.69)- (10.72) provide evidence that each of the subject arguments acts the same as the others. In (10.69), which comes from a monkey story, each monkey lies and sleeps in the same way: very quietly and deeply. Each of them is a theme/experiencer of the event. Example (10.71) shows a case similar to (10.66) in the way both of them have a singular subject argument together with a reciprocal marker *tăm* which forces a plural interpretation of the subject argument. Thus, syntactically, (10.66)

and (10.71) are not much different from examples of the Type 1 construction in section 10.3.2: *tăm* is in immediate preverbal position. However, semantically, there is a distinction between the type 1 *tăm* construction and type 2 *tăm* construction: all participants in type 2 map the same role to the predicate:

- (10.72) Tăm huă bởng.
 REC eat.rice eat
 ‘They eat together.’ (ND007/198)

Nevertheless, because the two types of *tăm* construction are the same in terms of syntactic structure, and differ only in semantics, we cannot really say that (10.67) and (10.72) belong to two different construction types. According to the main consultant, it is the meaning of the verb *chỏk* 'scoop' and the cultural context which select the first interpretation for example (10.67), that they scoop cooked rice for each other. In Bih culture, when people gather together at an event, e.g. to help a family when a family member has died, at meal time, it is polite for one person to serve cooked rice to another person and vice versa. So this is the natural interpretation, even though example (10.66) could in principle be interpreted as collaborative, that is that one person scoops cooked rice for another person and that person scoops cooked rice for someone else. The consultant rejected this interpretation but she admitted that someone might say that. However, she pointed out that if the verb in (10.67) is replaced by *tană* 'cook', as in (10.73) below, then it will be interpreted as a type 2 *tăm* construction. This indicates that a construction with *tăm*

could belong to either type of *iăm* construction depending on a meaning of the verb.

(10.73) Tăm tană asei

REC cook cooked.rice

‘They cooked rice together.’

CHAPTER XI

MODIFICATIONS OF BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Modifications of the basic clause construction include negative and interrogative constructions, imperative constructions and sentence particles.

11.1 . Negative and Interrogative sentences

There are three preverbal negative morphemes, *ǂuh*, *ka*, and *kǎn*, which can co-occur with two optional verb-phrase final markers: *ôh* which occurs with *ǂuh* and *ka*, and *rei* which occurs with *kǎn*. I have not found any difference between negated sentences with and without *ôh*. It is very common for *kǎn* to occur without *rei*, especially with a negated existential copula construction. *Kǎn...rei* also means 'not...either' where two events are negated together.

11.1.1 . Negative constructions

11.1.1.1 . Discontinuous negative constructions: *ǂuh...ôh* and *ka...ôh*

Bih has two discontinuous negative constructions: *ǂuh...ôh* 'not, no' and *ka...ôh* 'not yet'. Syntactically, *ǂuh* and *ka* are pre-verbal particles while *ôh* optionally occurs in verb phrase final position. Semantically, *ǂuh...ôh* brings a negative meaning to an event at the time of speaking while *ka...ôh* not only negates an event at the time of speaking but also entails the possibility that it will happen at a later time. Examples below ((11.1)-(11.2))

show these two bipartite negation particles: (11.1) includes *ḅuh...ôh* while in (11.2) there is *ka...ôh*. However, in (11.2), it is possible to interpret that the action *thào mĩn* 'think' might happen later, even though it is not a certainty that it will happen.

(11.1) Pañă matlâo urei, ḅuh ñu lǎ djă ase
 Until PRE-three day, NEG1 3 again handle cooked.rice
 kra năn ôh, Djǒng năn ôh.
 monkey DIST NEG2, PN DIST NEG2
 'Until the third day, he didn't take any cooked rice from the monkey and
 Djǒng.' (ND003)

(11.2) Arnei ka kâo lǎ thào mĩn ôh.
 now NEG1 1 again know think NEG2
 'Now I haven't thought (about it) yet.' (ND008/434)

Examples (11.3)-(11.4) present negative sentences in which the verbal-phrase final *ôh* is omitted:

(11.3) ḅuh kâo thào mĩ a.
 NEG 1 know mom VOC
 'Mom, I do not know.' (ND005a)

(11.4) Ka kâo ngă aje trlâo kơ di ih palei kjar.
 NEG1 1 make house first DAT PL 2 wife husband
 'I haven't made a house for both of you first yet.' (ND009/106)

11.1.1.2 . Discontinuous negative construction *kĩn...rei*

Bih also has another negative construction, also discontinuous *kĩn...rei* (example(11.5)) Again, the final particle *rei* is optional (ex. (11.7)). This construction not only has the same position but also functions the same as the bipartite negation *ǂuh...ôh*. The fact that there would be no difference if *kĩn...rei* in example (11.5) is replaced by *ǂuh...ôh* as shown in (11.6) indicates that these two constructions have the same function:

(11.5) Kĩn ñu paǂ rei.
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2
'He won't let him be hungry.' (ND007/034)

(11.6) ǂuh ñu paǂ ôh.
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2
'He won't let him be hungry.'

(11.7) Kĩn ñu brei.
NEG 3 give
'He did not give.' (PA011/071)

However to negate two or more events together, *kĩn...rei* is used, but not *ǂuh...ôh*.

Example (11.8) presents a case where *kĩn...rei* negates more events. (11.8) comes from the portion of text in which Jatarĩt goes to exchange his snail for things he wants. People first offer him blankets, but he does not want them. Next, they offer clothes, but he does not want them either. Then, they offer to build a house for him. He does not want that either. In

this case, *kǐn...rei* is used but not *ǃuh...ôh* or the sentence will be ungrammatical, as

shown in (11.9):

(11.8) Kǐn kâo čienɡ rei.
NEG1 1 want NEG2
'I do not want it either.' (ND008/070)

(11.9) *ǃuh kâo čienɡ ôh.

11.1.1.3 . Discourse negative construction

Kǐn also participates in another negative construction which has a different scope of negation than *kǐn* described in section 11.1.1.2. In §11.1.1.2, *kǐn (kǐn...rei)* is syntactically preverbal and it negates an event expressed in that construction, while *kǐn* as described in this section is syntactically a NP-final marker functioning as a discourse-purpose negative marker and the constituent that gets negated is the NP preceding *kǐn*. Examples (11.10)-(11.12) below demonstrate how *kǐn* as a discourse negative marker differs from that of the discontinuous negative marker.

Syntactically, *añuôï, sang* and *nih nôk* in (11.10), and *čhar* in (11.11), respectively, precede the marker *kǐn* and are specifically negated; while in (11.12) *kǐn* is clause-initial and the whole event expressed in (11.12) is negated. In other words, (11.10) and (11.11) present a construction in which *kǐn* follows things that it negates. This order is different

from the discontinuous construction *kĩn...rei* in (11.12) where *kĩn* is in clause-initial

position:

(11.10) Añuôi *kĩn* rǎng lang, sang *kĩn* rǎng kih,
mat NEG 3 spread house NEG 3 sweep

nih nôk *kĩn* rǎng padǒng.
places NEG 3 CAUS-stand

'He did not spread out his mat, did not clean his house and did not let anyone stand at any places.' (PA010)

(11.11) *čhar* *kĩn* kâo *čǎng*.
big.gong NEG 1 want

'As for the big gong, I don't want it.' (PA011/182)

(11.12) *Kĩn* ñu pa-ǎ rei.
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2

'He won't let him be hungry.' (ND007/034)

In addition, *kĩn* is used to negate with a speaker's emphasis on negated things (often with high intonation on *kĩn*). For instance, in the following examples *kĩn* not only negates an action as in (11.13) and an event in (11.14) but also with an emphasis on the action in (11.13) and the event in (11.14):

(11.13) *blǎ* *kĩn* *blǎ*.
Speak NEG speak

'Speaking is not speaking.' (ND005a)

(11.14) Pĭt malǎm kĭn jǎk, dōk urei kĭn jǎk lei.
 Sleep night NEG good, stay day NEG good NEG
 ‘He doesn’t feel good both day and night.’ (Lit: ‘He does not feel good during the day, he does not sleep well at night either.’) (PA010)

It is necessary to point out that in Bih, noun phrases are fronted to a focus position (more details in Chapter XV) in discourse. (11.10) and (11.11) are typical of the way Bih speakers place emphatic focus on negated things. If the NP constituents which are fronted in these examples instead occur in the normal position in the clause following the main verb, as shown in (11.15) and (11.16), so that they are not in focus, then their negative elements fall under a discontinuous negative construction:

(11.15) Kĭn kâo čǎng čhar.
 NEG 1 want big.gong
 ‘I don’t want the big gong.’

(11.16) Kĭn rǎng lang aũôi, kĭn rǎng kih sang,
 NEG 3 spread mat NEG 3 sweep house

 kĭn rǎng padǒng nih nôk (lei/rei).
 NEG 3 CAUS-stand places
 ‘He did not spread out his mat, did not clean his house and did not let anyone stand at any places.’

However, for certain negated NPs which are under focus, such as those in (11.13) and (11.14), focus negative construction is the only negation the sentences (11.13) and (11.14) can have.

11.1.2 . Questions

The only means Bih uses to express interrogatives is to add an interrogative marker to a declarative statement. Yes/no questions are marked with the interrogative particle *hě*.

Wh-questions are formed with question words such as *ti anôk* 'where', *si ba* 'why' etc. A

yes/no question in Bih is shown in 11.1.2.1 and a wh-question is presented in 11.1.2.2.

11.1.2.1 . Yes/no question

Hě is a yes/no question particle placed post-verbally in a sentence. (11.17)-(11.18)

show examples of the question particle *hě*:

(11.17) ǒ Rǐt ǒ Rǐt ha sang hě ǒng yǒng?
 VOC PN VOC PN LOC house QP 2 brother
 'Hey, brother Rǐt, are you home?' (ND008/397)

(11.18) ǃǎng đơm hě?
 hole old QP
 'Is it an old hole?' (RH005/152)

(11.19) ǃởng hě ñu dua ung mǒ.
 eat QP 3 two husband wife
 'Are they eating?' (PA011/537)

11.1.2.2 . Wh-question

Wh-questions are formed by placing a wh-question word at the beginning of an affirmative statement. The data below (11.20)- (11.24) demonstrate wh-question sentences

with different wh-question words:

(11.20) Ai ǒng palư kâo Đông-krje eh?
why 2 lie 1 PN VOC
'Why did you lie to me, Đông-krje ?'(ND007/016)

(11.21) ỡ Bia ỡ Bia, ti anôk ǒng dôk?
VOC PN VOC PN where place 2 sit
'Where do you sit, Bia?'(ND010/081)

(11.22) Si ma-lǒ ngă?
how PRE-again do
'What can I do?' (ND007/017)

(11.23) Nǒng adǒ?
what thing
'what's up?' (ND007/060)

(11.24) Sei mnuih ngă pũk sang?
who person make/do mountain.house house
'Who makes houses?'(ND009/122)

It is striking that question words are always sentence-initial in Bih regardless of their syntactic function. For instance, in (11.24) the question word *sei mnuih* 'who' has the function of syntactic subject, but in (11.25) the same question word fills the syntactic object role. Both (11.24) and (11.25) have *sei mnuih* at the beginning of the sentence:

(11.25) Sei mnuih ǒng mă?
who person 2 pick.up
'Who did you bring home?' (ND007/037)

Similarly *nǒng adǒ* in (11.26) is sentence-initial, even though it fills in a syntactic object of the sentence:

- (11.26) Nǒng dǒ ǒng mahui?
what thing 2 PRE-scare
'What are you scared of?' (PA011/396)

It is interesting to see that all question words are at the beginning of a sentence in Bih, as this is not true in other languages in the area such as Vietnamese. For example, in the case of example (11.24) where the question word *sei mnuih* 'who' syntactically is in a subject position, Vietnamese *ai* 'who' will be at the beginning of a sentence as shown in (11.27). However, in the case of (11.25) where the question word *sei mnuih* is in an object position, Vietnamese *ai* 'who' will be in the object position, not at the beginning of a sentence as shown in

(11.28). (Both Bih and Vietnamese have the same word order AVO):

- (11.27) Ai làm nhà.
who make house
'Who makes houses?'(Elicitation.TN20121208)
- (11.28) Anh đấ ai về?
2 bring who return
'Who did you bring home?'(Elicitation.TN20121208)

It is not clear why all wh-words are sentence-initial. It might have to do with pragmatic order where anything in focus has to be moved into initial focus position.

11.2 . Imperatives

Since Bih has no inflection of verbs, there is no imperative verb form. Instead, there is a set of particles which mark an utterance as falling at some point along a continuum of “imperativity” ranging from a mild request to demand. In addition to imperative particles, it is possible for Bih speakers to simply use the verb itself as an imperative to express a command. However, this expression only is used with some action verbs such as *nao* 'go', *dôk* 'sit', *đuế* 'go.away' etc. from an older person to a younger person or from a higher class person to a lower class person but not the other way around. This section describes all imperative particles.

11.2.1 . Mild imperative *hở*

Hở is used for a mild request or suggestion. Speakers provide a mild request to the addressee and hope that the addressee follows the suggestion. In (11.29), the husband before going out into the forest to look for food for the family, requests his wife to stay at home with their child and he expects that she will agree with him. That is when *hở* is used:

(11.29) ǒng dôk hǒng anak hỏ!
 2 stay with child IMP

kâo nao ayu tih ubei.
 1 go have.fun dig yam

'You stay at home with our child please and I will go to dig yams.'(PA011/131)

(11.30) shows the case where the husband wants his wife to take a bath before him because he doesn't want the water to get dirty before she takes a bath. (The husband is a python). Therefore, he gives her a suggestion:

(11.30)Kâo manei kâo
 1 take.a.shower 1

õng manei õng trlâo hě kâo trdei hõ!
 2 take.a.shower 2 before QP 1 after IMP

'You take a shower first and then me later please! '(ND009/226)

11.2.2 . Mild encouraging imperative *goh*

The particle *goh* is a friendly encouraging imperative. It is used to encourage someone to do some action. For example, in (11.31), Y-Bia at first does not want to pick up a bamboo shoot whose shape is like an elephant penis. Then, the bamboo shoot itself encourages her to pick it up with an encouraging imperative *goh*:

(11.31)õ Bia õ Bia õng mă goh.
 VOC PN VOC PN 2 pick.up IMP

'Hey Bia, please pick (me) up!' (ND010/020)

In (11.32), the speaker is Djõng's wife. She suggests to her husband and a monkey

that they go into the forest to gather firewood for the family. This is not something they are required to do:

(11.32) Di ih matām nao mǎ djuh goh.
 PL 2 PRE-REC go take/pick.up firewood IMP
 ‘How about you both go to pick up firewood!’ (ND003)

11.2.3 . Strong imperative *bě*

The particle *bě* is in a verbal final position. According to Thurgood (1999), this particle is originally borrowed from Mon-Khmer languages, and it occurs throughout the Chamic languages as a negative imperative. However, it is a positive imperative in Bih. It is used when a speaker strongly requests some action from listeners. It is often used with a request from someone more powerful to someone less powerful, so the addressee has little choice about whether to comply, or the addressee is forced to accept the request because it's for his own benefit.

(11.33) comes from a portion of text in which the king asks his servant to go to Jararīt's house. That is when *bě* is used:

(11.33) Nao bě di ih dǐng-katang ah.
 go IMP PL 2 servant VOC
 'You all please go!' (ND008/299)

(11.34), on the other hand, is in a context where the requestee, a monkey, has come to Djông krje to ask for compensation. He is aware that Djông krje often lies to him about the compensation. Therefore, when Djông krje tells him to sit and wait (while he goes to look for something that he considers a compensation), the monkey has no choice but to

wait (in order to get the compensation):

- (11.34) ỡng dờk guờn bẻ.
 2 sit wait IMP
 'You please wait.'(ND009/319)

Sometimes *bẻ* is used as a suggestion to a listener as indicated in (11.35):

- (11.35) Kờo brei ỡng dờk anak kờo bẻ.
 1 CAUS 2 stay child 1 IMP
 '[Let me go and] I will let you marry my daughter.' (ND009/027)

The father in the story where (11.35) occurs is the captive of a python, and is asking to be released. He understands that the python won't let him go for free, so, he suggests that if the python lets him go, he will let him marry his daughter. This suggestion is used with a suggestive imperative *bẻ*.

11.2.4 . Negative imperative *đằm*

The negative particle *đằm* often goes with the optional second negative marker *ờh* to create a discontinuous negative imperative as in example (11.36) below:

- (11.36) Bờih jiẻng ah đằm ỡng bẻng ờh kờo.
 oh.no friend VOC IMP 2 eat NEG2 1
 'Oh no! Friend, please do not eat me.' (PA011/179)

The bipartite negative imperative *đằm...ờh* also combines with *hẻ*, the polite mild imperative, to give a friendly suggestion or a polite request as shown in (11.37) and

(11.38):

(11.37) Đăm ống ba kâo, Mĩ hỏ!
IMP 2 bring 1sg Mom IMP
'Mom, please do not take me to throw away!' (ND003)

(11.38) Đăm ống đũa ôh hỏ.
IMP 2 wear NEG2 IMP
'Please do not wear it.' (ND007/373)

11.3 . Sentence particles

Bih, like other mainland Southeast Asian languages, has no obligatory aspect/modality marking as such (although TAM categories can be indicated when necessary, see section 4.4.3). But a declarative sentence will usually have a final particle indicating something about the speaker's attitude toward the information being communicated, or about the situation in which he or she is speaking. In this section we will discuss some important sentence-final particles of this kind.

11.3.1 . Mirative particle *moh*

The mirative particle *moh* in Bih marks "new or unexpected information to the speaker" (DeLancey, 1997) and its counterpart particle *yoh* marks information which is explicitly not unexpected to the speaker (more discussion about *yoh* in section 11.3.2). Unexpected information could be in a verbal phrase or it could be about participants of the event expressed in the clause. Often, when it is a particular participant in the clause whose involvement is somehow unexpected or new information, that participant is in a fronted

position in a clause. The use of *moh* to mark fronted focused constituents will be discussed in Chapter XV.

We see an example of mirative *moh* in (11.39). In this story, the main character, Đông Krje, after becoming a prisoner of the monkey's family, pretended that he was sick and asked for good food. The monkeys believed there was a ghost inside Đông Krje's body so they gave him whatever he requested. One time he requested a chicken. Next he requested a roast pig. The third time he requested a roast buffalo. The monkey family and he ate one half of the buffalo and saved the rest for the next time when he was sick again. After the monkey family went to sleep, he took the whole half of the roast buffalo back to his house for his wife. This is an unexpected turn of events, certainly to the monkeys but also to the audience, and this is expressed by the use of *moh*:

(11.39) Arăng ba ajih moh ta palei arăng ta sang
 3 bring all MIR LOC wife 3 LOC house

răng ačô.

3 REFL

'He took it all [the whole half of the roast buffalo] to his wife back at his own house.'(ND007/220)

In (11.40), the main character of the story, *Thô alah*, takes with him to the forest a small knife which he sticks into his hair bun (A hair bun is a normal place for Bih villagers to carry small tools). However, when the story shows him using that knife for cutting down

and splitting bamboo this is quite surprising, because these are tasks which in real life need a bigger knife than could be carried in the hair. The constituent *hǒng dhǒng nǎn* ‘with that knife’ is marked with *moh* to indicate this unexpectedness. Otherwise, if this were a normal incident using the appropriate sized knife, *yoh* would be used instead. We can see in the same example (11.40) when *Thô* told his wife that he would go to look for yams, it is expected that one would find yams at the place where he is going (the forest). Thus when he does see some, the clause is marked with non-mirative *yoh*:

(11.40)	Dhǒng	arĩ	ñu	ti	boh	ǔk	nǎn	ñu	madjǎ,
	knife	PN	3	LOC	CLF	hair	then	3	PRE-take
	Djǎ	nao	truh	ti	kmrǒng		dih,		
	take	go	arrive	LOC	forest		FAR.DIST		
	ǔh	yoh	ubei	dua	kdrũn	tlǎo	kdrũn.		
	see	PTCL	yam	two	CLF	three	CLF		
	Nei	makhǎt		alê			khǎt	alê,	
	now	PRE-cut		medium.bamboo			cut	medium.bamboo	
	mablah		hǒng	dhǒng	nǎn	moh.			
	PRE-split		with	knife	DIST	MIR			

'He took with him the knife in his bun to the forest to dig yams. He found some yams there. Then he (to my surprise) cut down medium bamboos there and he used that knife to split the bamboo as well.'(PA011/136)

11.3.2 . Anti-mirative/Expected Informative *yoh*

In contrast to *mo'h*, the *yoh* particle expresses that the information marked should not be unexpected to the hearer. The information that *yoh* carries into the event is something the speaker assumes that the hearer would already know or could anticipate, so there should be no surprise. The non-surprising information could be an expected wish in everyday life of Bih people as in (11.41):

- (11.41) Kào čǎng sei siem djǎm jǎk yoh.
1 want cooked.rice good soup good PTCL
'I want delicious soup and good cooked rice.'(PA011/232)

Rice is special food in Bih culture; the everyday staple is yams. So anyone, asked what they would most like to eat, is likely to ask for rice.

Or it can be a matter of information that is already familiar to the hearers, as in (11.42), which is an acknowledgement of a conclusion which the hearers have already come to:

- (11.42) Kào soh yoh nei.
1 wrong PTCL PROX
'I am wrong.'(PA011/214)

Or it could be a suggestion that the information being communicated is something which the hearer should know, whether or not they actually do, as in (11.43):

(11.43) ǒng katř yǝh pakajǎp.
 2 keep.a.lid PTCL CAUS-tight
 'You should keep the lid really tight.'(ND007/208)

When the information is out of the listeners' expectation, *moh* is used as described in section 11.3.1

11.3.3 . Explaining/contradicting particle *lah*

The particle *lah* is used to give an explanation for some action. For example, in (11.44), Djǒng asks the female monkey if his wife treats her (the monkey) well when the monkey returns to their house. The monkey tries to explain to Djǒng that his wife beat her badly and shows him the bruises. She uses the particle *lah* with an affirmative statement:

(11.44) Nei lah, ǒng dlǎng imai mačǎm kǎo.
 This IMP 2 look older-sister PRE-beat 1
 'Look! You look how she beats me.' (ND003)

In (11.45) when Thô takes home a lot of things which a poor family like his can't get, his wife questions him about where he got those things. He explains that all of those are from his friend who gave them to him, trying to claim that he did not steal them from anyone:

(11.45) Mǎo ôh lah, dǎ jǎng kǎo brei lah.
 have NEG2 IMP thing friend 1 give IMP
 'It is not. These things are from my friend.'(PA011/273)

11.3.4 . Emphatic *wǎ*

The particle *wǎ* is an emphatic particle used to emphasize an event that already happened before the time of speaking. In the following examples, (11.46) and (11.47) emphasize that the speaker *kâo* 'I' does the action in the event: *lač* 'say' in (11.46) and *madôk* 'get married' in (11.47) respectively. In example (11.48), the speaker doesn't go and the event is emphasized by the *wǎ* particle:

(11.46) *Kâo lač nǎn wǎ.*
1 say DIST PTCL
'I said so.' (ND009/088)

(11.47) *Nǎn wǎ kâo dê kâo madôk.*
DISTAL PTCL 1 EMPH 1 PRE-stay
'I got married because of that.' (ND009/147)

(11.48) *Āuh wǎ kâo nao.*
NEG PTCL 1 go
'I did not go.' (ND005b)

CHAPTER XII

ADVERBIALS

This chapter describes adverbials as modifiers for any constituents other than nouns in Bih. These modifiers can be adverbial words/phrases or adverbial clauses. Syntactically adverbials in Bih (whether single words, phrases, or clauses) have no restricted positions in a clause. Semantically, they cover a wide range of concepts and both types of adverbials modify verb phrases or entire propositions. Adverbial words and phrases will be described in §12.1 while adverbial clauses are in §12.2.

12.1 . Adverbial modifiers of the basic clause

Adverbial modifiers of the basic clause in Bih include lexical adverbs (12.1.1), adverbial meanings expressed by prepositional phrases (12.1.2), and by Expressives (12.1.3).

12.1.1 . Lexical adverbs

Lexical adverbs in Bih include manner adverbs, adverbs expressing aspect, quantification and time. In general, there is no fixed position for adverbs in a clause in Bih. It depends on whether an adverb modifies a whole clause or a verb: if an adverb modifies a whole clause, it is often clause-initial. If an adverb modifies a verb, it could be preverbal or postverbal.

12.1.1.1 . Manner adverbs

Some manner adverbs are *prǎl* 'fast', *brǐř* 'slow' and *brǒk* 'suddenly'. Below are some examples of manner adverbs in clauses:

(12.1) Đăm ớng phiar prǎl ôh hǒ!
 NEG1 2 fly fast NEG2 IMP

huỉ ñu mào đưi tiǎ ớng.
 afraid 3 NEG win follow 2

'Please do not fly fast because he won't be able to follow you.'(PA014/224)

(12.2) Leh-năn inũng ñu năn ẳrử prǒng, ẳrử prǒng,
 and then eel 3 DIST slowly big slowly big

ẳrử prǒng, prǒng yǒh
 slowly big big PTCL

inũng đớgăt~đớgĩn.
 eel very big

'Then, his eel gradually got bigger and bigger.'(PA012/081)

Semantically, both *prǎl* and *ẳrử* modify the main verb in a clause in terms of describing a manner of the action in their clause: flying fast in (12.1) and gradually (lit. slowly) getting bigger in (12.2). Syntactically, *prǎl* is post-verbal while *ẳrử* is pre-verbal. On the other hand, *Brǒk* in example (12.3) modifies the whole event, and it is clause-initial:

(12.3) Brǒk ñu kra năn hmử
 suddenly 3 monkey DIST hear
 'Suddenly the monkey heard.'(ND007/168)

12.1.1.2 . Aspectual adverbs

There are three aspectual adverbs in Bih. They are *mrâo* 'just/recently', *adôk* 'still' and *tanǒng/kanǒng* 'only'.

(12.4) Hlei mâo ǎô anak alũč,
Who have grandchild child loss

nao kriu mrâo nei.
go fishing just PROX

'Who recently lost the child who went finishing?'(PA015/084)

(12.5) Bǒr imai dôk ung lǎm êar dih...
as.for sister be.at husband in water FAR.DIST

ǒuh mâo dje sǐt ôh imai nǎn,
NEG1 have die true NEG2 sister DIST

adôk udǐp.
still alive

'As for his sister, she did not die, she is still alive and married to a husband in the river there.'(ND003/254)

As shown in (12.4) and (12.5), *mrâo* and *adôk* have two different positions in a clause. *Mrâo* occurs after the verb in (12.4), in (12.5) *adôk* precedes the verb. On the other hand, *tanǒng/kanǒng* has different positions in a clause depending on whether it modifies the action or the event. For example, in (12.6), the speaker wants to mention that only making the traditional clay pots is the thing they as women in the village know

or as shown in (12.7), because only one person can help to mash the clay land to make it be ready to make pots, so *tanǒng* is clause-initial. However, if *tanǒng* modifies the action as shown in (12.8), it is verbal-initial:

(12.6) Adǒ ñu aê akei nǎn ǃǒ he pine
 thing 3 grandfather male DIST but 1INCL female

dǒ he mathâo
 what 1INCL PRE-know

tanǒng he muân yǒh he thâo,
 only 1INCL make PTCL 1INCL know

adǒ amǐ aduôn he đǒm.
 thing mother grandmother 1INCL old

'We do not know things men do. We only know (and can do) things our grandmother and mother make.'(RH005/077)

(12.7) Tanǒng ih majru tle.
 only 2 PRE-help mash
 'Only you help to mash the land.'(RH005/018p)

(12.8) Kâo kanǒng mǎ djuh arǒk.
 1 only take firewood rotten.bamboos
 'I only pick up firewood.' (RH005/013p)

12.1.1.3 . Adverbs of replay

Two adverbs *lǒ* 'again' and *ǎt* 'also' can express the repetition or replay of an event. Both of them precede a main verb of a clause as shown in (12.9) and (12.10).

However, *lǝ* always expresses an exact replay in which the same action is performed by the same participants:

(12.9) ǝng lǝ wīt yoʰ ta imai ǝng ʔuon dih.
2 again return PTCL LOC sister 2 village FAR.DIST
'You again return to your sister at our village there.' (ND003/079)

While *ǝt* may likewise describe an exact replay as shown in (12.10), it can also express a repetition of an action by a different participant as shown in (12.11):

(12.10) Leh nǎn brei čim blī nao ǝt sěnnǎn mǝh iēu.
and give bird PN go also such.as MIR call
'and then he lets Blī bird go to also call his sister as the pigeon did.'
(PA014/217)

In (12.9), the action 'return' is repeated by the same participant *ǝng*. On the other hand, *ǝt* in (12.10) and in (12.11) shows an action repetition but with different participants. In (12.10) *ǝt* functions as a signal for repetition coming in this case it is an *iēu* 'call' action, but with a different participant: *čim blī*. Example (12.10) is from a text where a younger brother first lets a pigeon go to call his sister who lives with the village head. However, after the pigeon comes back, he then sends the Blī bird to also call his sister exactly as the pigeon did. The repetition here is the action of calling his sister. In (12.11), the repeated action is shooting the the bird, first by someone else and now by the village head. Example (12.11) is in a context where the head village lets his servant shoot

the pigeon when the pigeon called his wife and told her about her brother. When he sees that the Bli bird has come to call his wife (after the pigeon), he himself, not his servant, goes to shoot it, and *ãt* is used:

- (12.11) *ãt* *mtao* *lõ* *panah* *mõh* *gõ*.
 also head.village again shoot MIR 3
 'The head village again shot the bird (as someone else did before).'(PA014/218)

12.1.1.4 . Quantification

12.1.1.4.1 . Duration

Adverbs of degree modify verbs/verbal phrases and noun phrases as well. They are *sui* as in (12.12), *tadi* as in (12.13), *ʔuh...aĩ* as in (12.14); and *ajãn* as in (12.15) and *mãng ai* as in (12.16):

- (12.12) *Dõk* *sui* *thũn~ngũn* *pulan* *dõk* *pãk,* *dõk* *puĩam*.
 sit long year month sit weave, sit weave
 'She stayed there for a long time.'(PA014/178)

- (12.13) *Kão* *pablẽ* *tadi* *trlei* *kanap* *mĩnai* *amĩ* *ama* *kão*
 1 tell true NMZ poor poor mother father 1

đom *dẽ*.
 old EMPH
 'I told truthly about my parents' poverty a long time ago.'(RH003/078)

- (12.14) *ʔuh* *kamei* *pagao* *trlei* *amĩ* *ama* *aĩ*.
 NEG 1EXCL pass story mother father at.all
 'We always listen to our parents.' (RH003/110)

(12.15) Dôk tană huă bởng ta năn yơh ajăn ñu.
 sit cook eat eat LOC DIST PTCL only 3
 'He sits to cook and eat over there himself.' (PA014/118)

(12.16) Ñu bởng kan maknuê năn, mắng ai ñu.
 3 eat fish recent.time DIST a lot 3
 'She ate a lot of fish.'(PA011/080)

12.1.1.4.2 . Frequency

These adverbs modify action repetitions. Some of them are *lở* 'again' and *nanao*

'always':

(12.17) Buh amỉ lỏ padưm ôh. Abít mahuỉ ajih.
 NEG1 mother again put.down NEG2 together PRE-scare all
 'I will not put them together because I am afraid that it will all run
 out.'(RH002/071)

(12.18) Ñu djă ba cỉêng, cỉêng đũề nanao plĩa~plĩa
 3 take bring carry carry leave always REDUP

dua duôr cữ tláo duôr cữ.
 two CLF mountain three CLF mountain

'He always carries all of his animals on his way through mountains.'
 (PA014/191)

12.1.1.4.3 . Time

Adverbs of time provide information about the point or the period of time at which
 an event takes place. Again, like other adverbs, they occur in different positions in a clause:
 clause-initial as *ntra* 'later' in (12.20) or clause-final as *makunei* 'recently' in (12.22) or in

the middle of a clause as *trguah* 'tomorrow' in (12.23). However, these are not their firm positions, each adverb of time can have different positions in different clauses depending on what each adverb modifies (*ntra* has two different positions in (12.20) and (12.21).)

Below is the list of frequent used adverbs of time:

- (12.19) *abrei* 'yesterday'
trguah 'tomorrow'
urei nei 'today'
samen nei 'this week'
pulan dih 'next month'
thũn prdih 'in two years'
arnei 'now'
ntra 'later'
guah makunei 'this past morning'
ntra tlãm 'later in the afternoon'
malãm nei 'this coming night'

- (12.20) *ũm ăr lõ tană duân ah,*
 EXC work.hard again cook grandmother VOC

ntra he wĩt huă ta ƚuôn.
 later 1INCL return eat LOC village

'We do not want to cook here, later we will go home to eat.'

(ND008/218)

- (12.21) *õng gãm yõh, huĩ ƚlě angoh kâo ntra tlãm.*
 2 put.lid.tight PTCL scare rise sick 1 later night

'You put the lid on tight because I am afraid that I will be sick later tonight.'(ND007/116)

(12.22) Kâo čăm aduân kâo makunei.
 1 beat grandmother 1 past.time
 'I recently beat my grandmother.' (ND008/177)

(12.23) Leh tăl si trguh, brañ guh idah yang urei...
 Finish until as tomorrow clear morning rise God sun
 'Until the next day when the sun was very clear.' (PA011/283)

12.1.2 . Prepositional phrases

The internal structure of a prepositional phrase is discussed in (4.4.1). This section describes a prepositional phrase in terms of its function as an adverbial modifier of a clause. It could function as a target location for the event as shown in (12.24) or a location where an event starts as shown in (12.25). In addition, a prepositional phrase can provide extra information about the event such as giving particular information about what instrument the main character used as in (12.26) or about a comitative participant, whether animate as in (12.27) or inanimate as shown in (12.28):

(12.24) Đông Krje lở nao ba ũn ta palei ta sang.
 PN again go bring pig LOC wife LOC house
 'Đông Krje again takes the pork to his wife at home.' (ND007/136)

(12.25) Ñũ tangũ atăm măng anôk palei ñũ năn,
 3 get.up RECP from place wife 3 DIST

 hăng palei ñũ năn.
 with wife 3 DIST
 'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.' (ND007/095)

(12.26)Đa tuah hǒng karang,
many scoop.up with fishing.colander

đa tuah hǒng nhǒk.
many scoop.up with fish.trap

'Many people scoop fish up with fishing colanders but others with fish traps.'(PA011/011)

(12.27)Leh mã ulăt, năn gǒ nao cǔt weh năn,
Finish take worm then 3 go put.a.string.into fish.hook DIST

cǔt weh năn, năn matuôm hǎng kra.
put.a.string.intofish.hook then then PRE-meet with monkey

'Finished collecting worms, he went fishing and then met the monkeys.'
(ND007/003)

(12.28)Đa rǎng pilih hǎng braih hǎng pukuěc ađa.
Many 3 exchange with rice with rice.bran some

'He exchanges some of his fish to take some rice and some rice bran.'

(ND009/008)

12.1.3 . Expressives

Expressives are described in detail in Chapter IX. This section discusses the function of expressives in modifying a basic clause. An expressive can modify a main verb in a clause as in (12.29) where the reduplicated expressive *bubuč* gives more information about the way the python in a story sits, or it may by itself describe the whole event as in (12.30) where the expressive *djik~djik~djik* evokes the image of the whole body shaking:

(12.29) bở tăn năn dôk bubuč ti năn mớh dôk,
 as.for python DIST sit REDUP LOC DIST MIR sit
 ti phũn kayâo năn mớh gở dôk.
 LOC trunk tree DIST MIR 3 sit
 'As for the python, he sits with his body circle around the tree's trunk.'
 (ND009/032)

(12.30) Dô gở mahũ yớh yớng aseĩ~prlei
 PROG 3 PRE-scare PTCL want body
 djĩk~djĩk~djĩk atãm yớh mahũ năn.
 REDUP RIC PTCL PRE-scare DIST
 'She herself is very scared: her body is shaking.' (ND008/159)

Expressives, like other adverbs in Bih, can occur in different positions in different clauses as shown in examples (12.31) and (12.32). In example (12.31), *brũ~brũ* modifies the main verb *čung* 'wait' while in example (12.32), it modifies the whole clause. It describes the degree of things changing in a whole event: Y-hen realizes that her sister became more beautiful when she got married to a python, so now she (Y-hen) has started not eating (in order to cause her father to look for a husband for her like her sister's husband). It is in a clause-initial position:

(12.31) Kamei ƒuh wă kamei pađuě,
 1EXCLNEG PTCL 1EXCL CAUS-leave
 kamei čung brũ~brũ goh.
 1EXCLwait REDUP IMP
 'We do not leave her, we will wait slowly for her.' (PA013/009)

(12.32) Leh-năn ǃrǃ~ǃǃ~ǃrǃ, oh imai kâo wǎ dih,
and REDUP EXC sister 1 PTCL FAR.DIST

oh yaih maǃ asei inăn.
oh.no oh.no PRE-hungry cooked.rice DIST

'Slowly, she recognized her sister and since then she did not eat.'(ND009/275)

12.2 . Adverbial clauses

Out of the three devices for marking subordinating clauses such as adverbial clauses listed by Thompson and Longacre (1985) – grammatical morphemes, special verb forms and word order – the only device found in Bih is marking by grammatical morphemes. These are morphemes with lexical content such as *to'* / *to'-dah* 'if/when', *kyua* / *kyua-dah/bǎng* 'because' and *ǃiǎ* / *ǃiǎ-dah* 'however, but'. *Dah* in these morphemes also functions as a complementizer on its own, but when it combines with *to'* 'if/when', *kyua* 'because' and *ǃiǎ* 'however, but', it indicates that the clause in which it occurs is an adverbial clause. Adverbial clause markers occur more often with *dah* (e.g. *to'-dah*, *kyua-dah*, *ǃiǎ-dah*) although they also occur without *dah*.

Adverbial clauses can precede or follow main clauses, although with an adverbial clause expressing cause the preference is for the main clause to precede the clausal subordinate clause. Bih adverbial clauses are generally declarative clauses, but *to'-dah* may sometime introduce an imperative clause.

12.2.1 . *Tơ-dah* conditional clause

A *Tơ-dah* clause supports a main clause in terms of giving a condition for the event expressed in the main clause to take place. Examples (12.33)-(12.38) introduce declarative clauses while in example (12.39), the main clause is imperative:

(12.33) *Tơ-dah* di ih luảr kâo koh padje.
if PL 2 lie 1 cut CAUS-kill
'If you all are lying to me, I will kill you.' (ND008/344)

(12.34) *Tơ* palư năn kâo lỏ hrê nei
if lie then 1 again come here

ống ốuh ốởng ốử mớh
2 roast eat agree MIR
'If I am lying to you, I agree to come here for you to kill me. '
(PA011/210)

(12.35) *Tơ-dah* ốieng adei ống dỏk adei,
if want younger.sister 2 stay younger.sister

ốieng imai ống dỏk imai.
want older.sister 2 stay older.sister
'If you want the younger daughter, you can get married to her, and if you want the old one, you can get married to her as well. '(ND009/089)

(12.36) *Tơ-dah* kâo dje ắt tuôm hắng mỗ kâo mớh.
if 1 die also meet with wife 1 MIR
'If I die, I also meet my wife.'(ND008/621)

(12.37) Tơ-dah ɓuh lai ɔ̃ng, tam-lam dǎ nei.
 if NEG be.over 2 hard like PROX
 'If you do not recover, it is bad.' (ND007/236)

(12.38) Tơ-dah êmô ɕiǎng eh, brei ñu eh lǎm êa hǒ!
 If cow want defecate give 3 defecate in water IMP
 'When the cows want to defecate, let them defecate in the river please.'
 (PA011/420)

(12.39) Tơ-dah ao kâo đưông ta yuốp nei
 if shirt 1 float LOC East PROX

 đǎm ɔ̃ng nao mã ôh hǒ!
 NEG1 2 go take NEG2 IMP

Tơ-dah ao kâo đưông ta ngök nǎn
 if shirt 1 float LOC West DIST

ɔ̃ng tiǎ mã yoh.
 2 follow take PTCL

'When my shirt floats toward the East, please do not pick it up. When it floats toward the West, please chase to pick it up.' (ND009/229)

12.2.2 . *Kyua-dah/bǎng* causal clause

Both *kyua-dah* and *bǎng* mean 'because'. However, according to Bih speakers, *kyua-dah* is an Ede form while *bǎng* is Bih. Our examples of *kyua-dah* come from a speaker who has a lot of Ede influence in his speech; we do not see examples of *bǎng* in

his texts. Our examples with *bǎng* come from a speaker of "purer" Bih. However, this speaker does occasionally also use *kyua-dah*:

(12.40) Maudǐp yǝh anak ñu....
 PRE-alive PTCL child 3

dôk lǎm ðuôn sang yǝh kyua-dah mâo
 stay in village house PTCL because COP

mtâo dlê ðǝng mnuih.
 ghost forest eat people

'His son is still alive. He stays in the village (does not go into the forest) because there is a ghost who eats human beings there.' (PA015/115)

(12.41) ǝ duôn ǝ duôn, ǝng jum mǝh kâo
 VOC grandma VOC grandma 2 want MIR 1

ða.....
 much...

Kyua-dah nao bǎng ta miêt wa,
 because go go.away LOC uncle uncle

ðuh arǎng lõ jum ôh.
 NEG1 people again want NEG2

'Hey, Grandma, please help me because my cousins do not want to help me.'(PA016/082)

(12.42) ơ!, mǎ mǎ nao nao yơh.
 yes hold/pick.up hold/pick.up go go PTCL

Si malǒ ngǎ?
 why PRE-again make

ẵng kâo soh yơh kâo blũ hỡng ỡng.
 because 1 wrong PTCL 1 speak with 2

'Go ahead and do it', Dong-Krje said, "What can I do? I was wrong to talk to you like that. '(ND007/017)

12.2.3 . *Biả-dah* 'however, but' clause

A *biả-dah* clause introduces some contradicting facts in comparison to a main clause. It could be an event which is inconsistent with the one in the main clause as in (12.43) and in (12.44). Or it could be two different topics that the main clauses are about as in (12.45):

(12.43) Lah điêo nuả mào êa biả-dah
 side left right have water but

ti êa krông năn, ajih khuốt leh.
 LOC water river DIST be.out dry.up PFV

'There is water elsewhere except the river.' (PA011/449)

(12.44) Buh kâo thâo biă-dah kâo mhữ mớh
 NEG 1 know but 1 hear MIR

asâo mađuh~mađah.

dog bark.alot

'I do not know but I heard the dogs barked a lot.' (ND007/155)

(12.45) Truh ta buôn, aseï djăm mớh ñu brei,
 Arrive LOC village cooked.rice soup MIR 3 give

kĩn ñu paữ rei. biă-dah paanuh,
 NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2 however CAUS-tie

ăt ñu paanuh mớh.

also 3 CAUS-tie MIR

'After arriving at the monkey village, although they did give food to Dong-Krje, they still kept him tied to the spinach plants.'(ND007/034)

CHAPTER XIII

MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter will examine constructions involving more than one simple clause combined into a larger sentence in which these clauses function as matrix clauses: chained clause constructions (§13.1), serial verb constructions (§13.2), and verb compound constructions (§13.3).

13.1 . Chained clauses

Longacre (1985) defines a chain structure as a construction in which one of the verbs in the chain is more grammatically marked for tense/aspect/mood than other verbs. In this kind of chain structure, the final and medial verbs are of two morphologically different verb forms. It is often the case that the final verb has full inflectional morphology while other preceding verbs do not. These non-final verbs may have morphological markers for the fact that their subject is the same or different from that of the final verb.

Longacre's definition is not easily applicable to Bih, which has no verb morphology. What I will call a "clause chain" in this work is similar to what Li and Thompson (1981) and Li (2004) call "topic chain" in Chinese linguistics (although their definition of topic in a topic chain is different from topic as described in Chapter XV in this dissertation). A chained clause construction includes more than one clause, in which one clause with a specific NP refers to a referent that is subsequently mentioned in other clauses but without overtly specified coreferential NP's. It is often the case that the

specific NP is referred to in the first clause of a chain, but there are exceptions. Plus, a clause with that specific NP and its following clauses may belong to different chains. In other words, two different chains could be connected to each other (by a conjunction for example), so that the first NP in the first chain could be coreferent to other clauses in the second chain depending on discourse context. Semantically, the referred NP is often an agent, a theme for the whole event in a chain.

In Bih, there are two ways in which chained clauses show the relations between clauses in a sequence: one is by simple juxtaposition (13.1.1) and the other is using the chronological successive connector *leh năn/ năn* 'and then/then'(13.1.2).

13.1.1 . Juxtaposed chained clauses

It is very common in Bih that two or more clauses are juxtaposed and share one argument. The shared argument can occur overtly in the first clause as in (13.1) or in the second clause as in (13.2) and in (13.3). In (13.1), the pronoun *ñu* is only specified in the first clause in (13.1.a.) while it never occurs again in (13.1b.) and (13.1c) even though it is the referent that these two clauses are about:

- (13.1) a. Ñu lõ čuh êmô kabao,
 3 again roast cow buffalo
- b. lõ iêu ðuôi iêu mjâo,
 again call midwife call shaman

- c. lǒ lǒ bǒng huǎ ka anak ñu nǎn.
 again again eat eat DAT child 3 DIST
 'He again roasted cow and buffalo and called a midwife and a shaman to
 come pray.'(PA015/112)

In (13.2), we see an example where the first clause *Leh mào arbǔng* and the
 second clause *wǐt yǒh* share the same subject argument *drei* 'we' which occurs overtly in
 the second clause:

- (13.2) Leh mào arbǔng, drei wǐt yǒh.
 Finish COP bamboo.shoot 1INCL return PTCL
 'After having bamboo shoot, we will return home.' (ND010/007)

Example (13.3c) describes two events: *Leh bǒng ǔn* and *lai* in which they both
 share *kào* as their argument:

- (13.3) a. Bǒ si-ba ǒng angoh?
 but why 2 sick
 'But what makes you sick?'
 b. Angoh yǒh. Angoh rih ǔn.
 sick PTCL sick kill pig
 'I am sick. This is called sick for pork.'
 c. Leh bǒng ǔn, kào lai.
 Finish eat pig 1 recover
 'After eating pork, I will be no longer sick.'(ND007/102)

The relationship between verbal phrases in the two examples (13.2) and (13.3) is consequential or resultative, meaning that the second verbal phrase is the consequence/result of the first verbal phrase. In (13.1), on the other hand, the relationship among clauses in a chain is simple sequence.

Example (13.4) on the other hand, presents an interesting chained clause structure in a larger discourse context. The portion of text example (13.4) comes from is about a conversation between a grandmother and her grandson who plans to leave his grandmother's house to go looking for his sister. (13.4a.) is his response to the grandmother when she asks him to stay longer with her and it is the end of their conversation. On the other hand, (13.4b.) and (13.4c.) are narrative clauses describing what actually happens after the conversation between them. Notice that (13.4a.) and the other two examples (13.4b.), and (13.4c.) are two different types of speech: the former is direct speech while the latter is narrative. Thus, they belong to different chains: the first belongs to a chain which describes the conversation between the grandmother and the grandson while the latter belongs a chain describing what happens after the conversation. It is understood that all clauses in the latter chain in (13.4b.) and (13.4c.) are about the grandson who is referred as *kâo* in the previous chain in (13.4a.) even though there is no overt pronoun or NP mentioning it:

- (13.4) a. *Buh kâo dũi dôk duôn ah, kâo đuẽ leh.*
 NEG1 win stay grandmother VOC, 1 leave PFV
 'I can't stay, grandma. I will leave.' (PA014/112)

b. Dua tlâu hruê ta năn lǎ đũ,

two three day LOC DIST again leave

Akăt mngai hǒng ala tinǔng điêo nuă,

cover ear with leaf eel left right

đũ matăm yǒh.

leave PRE-REC PTCL

'After that two or three days, he himself left with a high determination.'

c. Leh duôr nei, nao duôr dih,

Finish mountain PROX go mountain FAR.DIST

leh ǎ dih, nao ǎ dih,

Finish mountain FAR.DIST go mountain FAR.DIST

paliă~ palia.

endless

'He crossed mountain after mountain.'(PA014/115)

The relationship among clauses in a chain is mainly sequential; apart from that they show some independence from each other, and the semantic relation among these clauses is looser than that of serial verb constructions discussed in §13.2. Thus, it is possible to have one type of grammatical marker in one clause and another on another clause. For example, in (13.4a.), there are two clauses: *Buh kâo dũr dŏk duôn ah* and *kâo đũ leh*: the former is a negated clause while the second one is not. In other words, in (13.4a.), only the first event gets negation, while the second event is marked for tense/aspect with the aspect marker *leh*.

13.1.2 . The marked chained clause

The clause linker *leh năn/năn* 'and then/then' is marked to connect different separated clauses regardless of whether or not they all share one argument. In other words, these clauses belong to different chains connected by *leh năn/năn* 'and then/then'. The events expressed by these chained clauses may have a sequential, conditional, causative or purposive relationship.

It is common (but not necessary) to see that subject arguments in a chained clause connected by *leh năn/năn* are coreferential. Example (13.5) demonstrates the case where the two clauses in a chain share the same subject argument *kâo* 'I' and it occurs in both clauses:

- (13.5) *Leh kâo mhao năn, năn yoh, kâo mâo*
Finish 1 drink then, then PTCL 1 COP

tien pruêc năn.
belly intestine DIST
'After I drank that (water), then I was pregnant.' (ND005a)

On the other hand, (13.6) and (13.7) present examples in which two clauses share one subject argument with *leh năn* as a connector. The second clause has an anaphoric zero which is coreferential with the previous clause:

- (13.6) *Amĩ ñu lăm ðuôn, leh-năn dờng tian kơ ñu năn.*
mother 3 in village then PROG belly DAT 3 DIST
'Her mother stayed in the village and was pregnant her.'(PA014/002)

(13.7) Ñũ pioh năn, leh năn tangũ sǐ trguah
 3 keep then, finish then get.up as tomorrow,
 sǐ guah dih năn.
 as tomorrow FAR.DIST then
 'He kept the husk then, and then got up in the days after then.'
 (ND008/203)

Leh năn can also simply connect clauses describing different events (as shown in

(13.8)) or two sequential events (as shown in (13.9)) that do not share arguments:

(13.8) Pít yoh dă kra yoh arăng lač.
 sleep PTCL like monkey PTCL 3PL say
 Leh năn arăng Đông-krje dê, rănŋ nao ba
 finish then 3 PN EMPH 3 go take/bring
 pha manũk ta palei rănŋ, sa palah pők.
 thigh chicken LOC wife 3 one half open
 'The monkeys sleep deeply (people say:"sleep like a monkey"), and then Đông-
 krje takes the other half of the chicken to his wife.'(ND007/074)

(13.9) Jatarit năn hia yoh, ñhă ñhă ñhă ñhă ñhă,
 PN then cry PTCL (crying.sound)
 ðuh thâu lõ mĩn.
 NEG know again think

Leh năn mỗ palei ñu năn lač.
 Finish then wife wife 3 then say

Ndǒ ǒng kǐn hiar Rǐt ah?
what 2 DAT cry PN VOC

'Jatarǐt then cried because he did not know what to do. And then his wife asked:
"what made you cry, Rǐt?'"(ND008/470)

Examples (13.8) demonstrates that *leh nǎn/nǎn* connects two separated events in a clause chain: (1) *Pǐt yo'h dǎ kra yo'h arǎng lač* 'The monkeys sleep deeply (people say: "sleep like a monkey")' and (2) *arǎng Dông-krje dê, rǎng naoba pha manũk ta palei rǎng, sa palah pǒk* 'Dông-krje takes the other half of the chicken to his wife'.

In (13.9), the two clauses connected by *leh nǎn* are: (1) *Jatarǐt nǎn hia yo'h, nǎh nǎh nǎh nǎh nǎh, bũh thȃo lǒ mǐn*, and (2) *mǒ palei nũ nǎn lač "Ndǒ ǒng kǐn hiar Rǐt ah?"*. These distinctly different events in a chain are sequential and then *leh nǎn/nǎn* links them together.

Sometimes *leh nǎn/nǎn* connects two separated sequential events in which one event has a zero anaphor which is not coreferential with the subject of the event expressed in the following clause but is rather coreferential with the subject of a preceding event as shown in the following example:

(13.10)(*Ñu ma-tulǔ gǝ.*)
 OBV PRE-submerge PROX

Leh tulǔ nǎn, dô adei gǝ ma-hiar yǝh
 Finish submerge then PROG sibling 3 PRE-cry PTCL
 kiñ amai gǝ, Y-Liêm.
 DAT older.sister 3 PN

‘Seeing that submerging, the younger brother cried for his older sister, Y-Liêm.’
 (ND003)

The two verbs *tulǔ* and *hiar* can't share the same subject *adei gǝ* in (13.10). *Tulǔ* has a distinct zero subject coreferential with the subject of the previous sentence: *ñu*.

However, although the anaphoric zero refers back to a preceding clause, the clause *Leh tulǔ* is chained with the following clause *dô adei gǝmahiar yǝh kiñ amai gǝ, Y-Liêm* in (13.10). This is because the two clauses are in a causative sequence: the first action causes the second action.

These examples (13.7)-(13.10) indicate that *nǎn* is a connector between different events regardless of whether they have the same or different subject arguments. That is also why *nǎn* is commonly needed in a chain with numerous clauses that describe multiple events such as (13.11). This example, (13.11), illustrates numerous chained clauses- many with subject ellipted. These clauses share one subject argument *Ama ñu* which occurs in the first clause, and *nǎn* overtly links them together:

- (13.11) Ama ñu jak nao brei mnei,
 father 3 invite go give bathe,
- [Ø (1) nao brei mnei ti êa dih].
 go give bather LOC water FAR.DIST
- năn [Ø (2) truh ti dih] năn,
 then arrive LOC FAR.DIST then
- [Ø (3) toh kapin ao] năn mniê.
 take.off loincloth shirt then girl
- năn ama ñu năn [(4) čăm],
 then father 3 then beat
- [Ø (5) čăm] năn,
 beat then
- [Ø (6) mâo lõ čăng ôh kơ mniê năn],
 NEG1 again want NEG2 DAT girl DIST
- anak ñu pine năn,
 child 3 girl DIST
- [Ø (7) čăng kơ anak akei],
 want DAT child boy
- anak pine năn, năn ñu [(8) lui hĩ lăm pin êa].
 child girl DIST, then 3 forget quit in river.head water

'Her father asked her to go for a bath at the head of a river. When arriving there, he took her clothes off and got noticed that she was a girl (not a boy). Because he did not like girls (he liked boys), he beat her and left her at the river head.'(PA014/012)

13.2 . Serial verb constructions

13.2.1 . Serial verb construction in general

In a serial verb construction (SVC) there is a sequence of verbs that act as a single predicate without overt marking of coordination or subordination. All verbs in this construction share the same actor or object and the same tense/aspect value, and the construction is treated as mono-clausal (Foley & Olsen, 1985). When occurring in a SVC, one verb may eventually lose its syntactic status and become a functional marker, providing obvious evidence for the shift into a new category.

SVCs, according to Aikhenvald (2006, p. 21), can be divided into two types, asymmetrical and symmetrical. An asymmetrical SVC includes one verb that belongs to a semantically and grammatically restricted class and one or more belonging to an open class. The verb from an open class will describe the event while the one from the restricted class will modify the event by providing additional specification such as

motion or direction. On the other hand, symmetrical serial constructions include only open class verbs which are of equal status in describing the event.

13.2.2 . SVCs in Southeast Asian languages

Verb serialization is an areal phenomenon in Southeast Asian languages (Bisang, 1996; Matisoff, 1991). While types of SVC vary among serializing languages, Southeast Asian languages show a consistent pattern of SVCs with two or more verb words in what is considered a single clause. Like SVCs in other languages, they have common properties such as verbs sharing arguments and tense/aspect/modality specification. Matisoff (1991) considers one of the verbs in a sequence of verbs the “verb-head” (Vh) and others are “versatile verbs”(Vv) (which are equivalent to what Aikhenvald called asymmetrical), semantically subordinated to the head. By Matisoff’s definition, versatile verbs can be full verbs in their own constructions, but when occurring in SVCs, they change their status and become modifiers for other verbs. Southeast Asian languages also show a pathway to grammaticalization through verb serializing construction in which certain independent lexical verbs, through the process of grammaticalization, become grammatical forms in a SVC (Bisang, 1996; Matisoff, 1991, cf. DeLancey, 1991). Both Bisang (1996) and Matisoff (1991) present SVCs and the process of grammaticalization through verb serializing in Southeast Asian languages such as Hmong, Khmer, Thai and Vietnamese.

This section presents some types of SVCs in two mainland Southeast Asian languages with which Bih has been in close contact: Vietnamese and Ede.

Nguyen (2005) presents an analysis of Vietnamese SVCs showing the existence of both asymmetrical and symmetrical types. According to Nguyen (2005), the "versatile verbs" in an asymmetrical construction are often verbs of direction while the "verb-head" is typically a manner or position verb (examples (13.12) and (13.13)). As for symmetrical types, Nguyen (2005) indicates that verbs in the sequence are motion/position and action verbs (examples (13.14) and (13.15) below). Below are some examples of Vietnamese SVCs:

(13.12) Nam nhảy ra/ sang chỗ Tôi.
 PN jump go.out/ go across place 1
 ‘Nam jumps out to my place’.

(13.13) Con ong bay vào chỗ Nam.
 N bee fly go.in place PN
 ‘The bee flies into Nam’s place’.

(13.14) Nam đứng hát.
 PN stand sing
 ‘Nam stands singing.’

(13.15) Nam ngồi viết thư.
 PN sit write letter
 ‘Nam sits writing a letter’

The position verbs in (13.12) and (13.13) are heads and the directional verbs are modifiers for the head. Therefore, the status of the verbs in the sequence is not equal. In

(13.14) and (13.15) each verb contributes to the meaning of the sentence and has equal status.

Nguyen (2007) and Nguyen (in press) describe verb serialization in Ede, another highland Chamic language of which Bih was previously thought to be a dialect. Ede also has both types of SVCs, which in Nguyen 2007 are referred to as nuclear SVC, core SVC, and modifying SVC types. A core SVC in Ede includes a sequence of verbs each of which still keeps its own meaning and contributes to the whole sentence's meaning; while in a modifying SVC, one verb modifies the other verb meaning with which it occurs. Nguyen (2007) also makes a distinction between nuclear and core SVC in which verbs in the former don't have their own arguments while those in the latter do. The following data illustrate these types of SVC in Ede:

(13.16)Y-Kug	duah	ɓuh	H'Du.
PN	look-for	see	PN
'Y-Kug found H'Du.'			

(13.17) Phung buôn sang đru pô sang nao druôm kyâo
 PL village house help owner house go cut tree
 hlãm kmrởng ngã bông
 in forest make coffin
 ‘People in the village help the house owner to go to cut trees in a forest to make coffin.’

(13.18) Aduôn đru yap brei kơ ố.
 Grandmother help count give to grandchild
 ‘Grandmother counts word for grandchild.’

The connection between SVCs in Ede and grammaticalization stages is described in Nguyen (2011). Verb serialization in Ede is similar to other SVC languages where a serialized verb, such as 'finish', 'use', 'give' or a postural verb such as 'sit', is losing its verbal status in the sequence and being grammaticalized. Therefore, with these SVCs, the degree of intergration among verbs in sequence is higher than those in which each verb has equal verbal status. The following examples of Ede SVCs show the intergration of verbs in sequence: in (13.19), the two verbs: *dôk* and *mdei* somewhat keep their own meaning while in (13.20), *mă* no longer literally means as 'pick.up/take':

(13.19) Kâu dôk mdei bhiăo.
 I sit rest abit
 'I rest shortly.' (UNK20080813.57)

- (13.20) Sui sa bliŭ, arăng hiu čuă dlăng mă.
 long one time, people go visit look use/pick.up
 'People went check on them one for a while.' (JNK2005.004)

The above data for SVCs in Vietnamese and Ede show that these two languages have typical Southeast Asian language patterns for a verb serializing construction. The first type consists of a string of verbs which take one tense/aspect/negation as a single clause regardless of whether each verb has its own argument/s or all verbs share the same argument(s). In the second type, a serial verb can have the same syntactic behaviors as those of the first type; however, one verb in a series becomes a grammatical marker for the whole sequence. It is the semantic nature of verbs such as 'sit', 'stand', 'finish', 'give' in these two languages that motivates them into certain grammatical slots in serial verbs constructions.

13.2.3 . SVCs in Bih

13.2.3.1 . Properties of serial verb constructions in Bih

In Bih, verbs that participate in a SVC can be sorted into restricted and open classes. The restricted category is quite small, including only specification of motion or direction (*nao* 'go', *wiŋ* 'return', *truŋ* 'arrive') and the benefactive *brei* 'give'.

Like verb serializing constructions in other languages, SVCs in Bih have typical features of a SVC such as sharing arguments and aspect markers among verbs in a sequence and considered as a single clause. In examples (13.21), (13.22) and (13.23), we see one typical feature of verbs in SVCs: sharing arguments. In (13.21), the two verbs *trũn* and *ḃởng* share the same arguments: *Dĩng-buǎl ñu* and *gǎp-djuê ñu*.

(13.21) *Dĩng-buǎl ñu gǎp-djuê ñu trũn*
 servant 3 extended.family 3 go.down

ḃởng bít hống mtao yở nǎn.
 eat together with village.head PTCL DIST

'His servants and his family go down to eat with the village head.'(PA011/646)

In (13.22), the two verbs *nao* and *hủn* share not only one argument *ñu* but also an adverbial marker *lở*:

(13.22) *Ñu lỏ nao hủn hống palei ñu.*
 3 again go inform with wife 3

'He again goes to inform to his wife.' (ND007/184)

In (13.23), all three verbs have *kamei* as their shared argument. All of these verbs when in a sequence of verbs have no coordination or subordinating markers. They simply are next to each other:

(13.23) Kamei wĩt nao ba trǒng kĩn ñu.
 1EXCL return go bring/take eggplant DAT 3
 'We return to bring eggplants for him.'(PA014/141)

In addition, each sequence of verbs in the examples (13.21), (13.22) and (13.23) can take only one aspect or negation marker for the whole sequence, as shown in (13.24), (13.25) and (13.26):

(13.24) Buh dǐng-buǎl ñu gǎp-djuê ñu trǔn
 NEG1 servant 3 extended.family 3 go.down
 bǒng bít hǒng mtao ôh nǎn.
 eat together with village.head NEG2 DIST
 'His servants and his family do not go down to eat with the village head.'(PA011/646)

(13.25) Ñu lǒ nao hũn hǒng palei ñu leh.
 3 again go inform with wife 3 PFV
 'He again went to inform to his wife.' (ND007/184)

(13.26) Ka kamei wĩt nao ba trǒng
 NEG1 1EXCL return go bring/take eggplant
 kĩn ñu ôh.
 DAT 3 NEG2
 'We have not returned to bring eggplants for him yet.'(PA014/141)

(13.27) Kamei wĩt nao ba trǒng kĩn ñu leh.
 1EXCL return go bring/take eggplant DAT 3 PFV
 'We already returned to bring eggplants for him.'(PA014/141)

The individual verbs in a sequence cannot be independently marked for aspect or

negation (13.28), (13.29) and (13.30):

(13.28)**Đuh đing-buăi ñu, găp-djuê ñu trăn ôh, ðuh ðờng bít hống mtao ôh năn.*

'His servants and his family do not go down, they do not eat with the village head'

(13.29)**Ñu lỏ nao leh, hủn hống palei ñu leh.*

'He again goes to his wife, (and) informs to his wife'

(13.30)**Kamei wít leh, nao leh, ba trống kĩn ñu leh.*

'We returned, went to him, took eggplants to him'

Examples (13.21)-(13.27) show that although there is more than one verb, Bih SVCs function as a single predicate to describe a single event. Again, each construction can only take one aspect or negation marker as a single syntactic unit even though they consist of at least two verbs or they will be ungrammatical like (13.28)-(13.30). This is different from a clause chain where each verb can have its own arguments and aspect or negation marker as shown in section 13.1.

13.2.3.2 . Serial verb constructions: type 1

As we have seen, type 1 verb serializing constructions in Bih have all of the properties of a SVC described in §13.2.3.1. That is, each construction has only one aspect or negation marker even though it consists of more than one verb in sequence. In Aikhenvald's (2006: 21) terms, type 1 SVCs in Bih are of the asymmetrical type in

which a construction includes both a restricted verb and other open class verbs. Further

examples are given in examples (13.31)-(13.34):

(13.31) ǒng nao mǎ yǒh đưôn nei.
2 go hold/pick.up PTCL hat PROX
'You come to pick up the hat.'(ND007/184)

(13.32) Nei kâo nao iêu di ih nei.
PROX 1 go call PL 2 PROX
'Now I come to call you all.' (PA011/164)

(13.33) Kamei wít mǎ đhǒng nǎn,
1EXCL return hold/pick.up knife DIST
di ih nao hủn hǒng amĩ ama kamei.
PL 2 go inform with mother father 1EXCL
'We returned from picking up the knife. You all please inform our parents.'
(PA015/078)

(13.34) Dôk tanǎ huǎ bởng ta nǎn yǒh ajǎn ñu.
sit cook eat eat LOC DIST PTCL only 3
'He sits to cook and eat over there himself.' (PA014/118)

The first verb in a sequence in examples (13.31)-(13.34) is a motion verb: *nao* in (13.31) and (13.32), *wít* in (13.33); and a posture verb *dôk* in (13.34). The other verb(s) in a sequence will be from the open class such as *mǎ* in (13.31) and (13.33), *iêu* in (13.32) or *tanǎ*, *huǎ* and *bởng* in (13.34). As in other verb serializing languages (Foley and Olson (1986: 41)), the most favored restricted slot in Bih SVCs type 1 is a verb of

motion, location or posture, mainly a motion verb *nao* 'go'. These intransitive verbs serve as a modifying function for the event or activity named by the other verbs. Cross-linguistically, serialized motion verbs tend to occur in first position (of the sequence) where to some extent, they may set the scene or an attitude for the performance of an action which expressed by other verbs (Lord, 1993).

13.2.3.3 . Serial verb constructions: type 2

Bih also has symmetrical type 2 SVC's, according to Aikhenvald's criteria, where the components of the SVC are all verbs of the open class. This means that each of verbs in a sequence can express any verbal meaning (they are not restricted into one type of verbs or a common type of verb) and they all have equal verbal status in the sequence:

(13.35) Ñu čuh bǝng atǎm yǝh kǎo.
 3 roast eat REFL PTCL 1
 'He himself kills me.' (PA011/219)

(13.36) nei yua mataduah duiñ pusei arǎng
 now tell look.for pick.up nail 3
 sě agǎr arǎng tah lui hǐ nǎn yǝ,
 drum.frame drum 3 pry.out forget quit DIST PTCL

 taduĩñ matrôk hǝng kǝ lǔ.
 pick.up put with pan PN
 'Now he tells (Y-Rit) to look for nails and drum frames which people threw
 away, and put them in a pan.' (PA012/091)

(13.37) Di ih lōng blǔ lǎng hōng ñu.
PL 2 try talk watch with 3
'You all convince him.'(PA013/136)

Even though the action, event or state named by the first verb in sequence of verbs precedes that of the second verb and so on in examples (13.35)-(13.37), there is no sense that their meaning is more central than any other. In other words, the meaning relation between verbs in a serial construction is typically simply chronological order. They all tend to refer to sub-parts or aspects of single overall event, and are equal in terms of contributing to the overall event. In (13.35), both *čuh* and *bǝng* participate as sequential actions from which the meaning of 'kill' is created. In (13.37), all three verbs: *lōng*, *blǔ* and *lǎng* together mean 'convince' in a context where one person *ñu* does not want to talk to anybody until his request is accepted. Therefore, each verb in the sequence plays a role as others.

13.2.3.4 . Serial verb constructions in Bih and the process of grammaticalization

DeLancey (2004, p. 1593) points out that the initial stage of the process of grammaticalization begins with a productive syntactic construction which includes a particular lexeme in a specific slot occurring in sequence with other more specific

verbs. The fact that verbs are serialized is considered a starting point of the process of grammaticalization because each verb in sequence loses its syntactic characteristics as compared to its behavior in its own independent clause. Bih verb serialization is not an exception: it exemplifies a case similar to other SVC languages where two or more verbs in the serialized verbs take only one aspect/negation marker for the whole sequence. In addition, there is a specific slot in Bih SVCs: a grammaticalizing motion verb or posture verb occupies the first position in a sequence of verbs. This type of first position verb in Bih serial construction falls into a typical specific slot in a verb serializing construction cross-linguistically (Foley & Olson, 1985, p. 41). It is those restricted verbs in the SVC which are losing their verbal status and being grammaticalized. The following examples show one serialized motion verb, 'return', on the path toward grammaticalization:

- (13.38) (ưm ăr lỏ tană duân ah,)
 INT work.hard again cook grandmother VOC
- ntra he wít huả ta ẵôn.
 later 1INCL return eat LOC village
 '(We do not want to cook here), later we will eat at home.'
 (ND008/218)

In this example we see a SVC in which the sequence of verbs includes *wĩt* ‘return’ and *huǎ* ‘eat’. The first position in the sequence is a motion verb, and the meaning relation between the two verbs is iconic with respect to temporal order of verbs: *wĩt* precedes *huǎ* just as the event of returning precedes the event of eating.

In (13.39), however, the relation between the two verbs is different:

- (13.39) Kamei *wĩt* *mǎ* *dhǒng* *nǎn*,
 1EXCLreturn hold/pick.up knife DIST
 'We returned from picking up the knife.' (PA015/078)

In (13.39), as in (13.38), *wĩt* is in the first position of the sequence and *mǎ* is the second verb. This means their syntactic order is still the same as that of (13.38).

However, semantically, the action *mǎ* ‘pick up’ precedes that of the action *wĩt* ‘return’, so the overall meaning of the sequence is counter-iconic: the subjects first *mǎ thǒng* ‘pick up the knife’ and then *wĩt* ‘return’. Thus, even though the motion verb *wĩt* is still in the first position, it represents an event which follows the second verb in its sequence.

This meaning relation is very common in everyday spoken Bih, as *wĩt* is always in first position regardless of whether the act of returning precedes or follows the event denoted by the following verb:

(13.40) Ñu wĩt ayu.
 3 return play
 'He returns from playing (outside).' (Elicitation.HM20120826)

(13.41) Ñu wĩt mă-bruă.
 3 return work
 'He returns from work.'(Elicitation.HM20120826)

(13.42) *Ñu ayu wĩt.

(13.43) *Ñu mă-bruă wĩt.

Moreover, semantically, the meaning of the verb *wĩt* in the two examples (13.40) and (13.41) can't be negated. The only part which can be negated is the second verb:

(13.44) Buh ñu wĩt ayu ôh, ñu wĩt mă-bruă m'oh.
 NEG1 3 return play NEG2 3 return work MIR
 'He comes from work, but not from playing outside.'

If someone wants to mention that he still plays and has not returned from playing yet, and wants to negate the 'return' part, (13.45) will be ungrammatical:

(13.45) *Ka ñu wĩt ayu ôh, (ñu adôk nao ayu m'oh.)
 NEG1 3 return play NEG2, 3 still go play MIR

Wĩt in the examples (13.40) and (13.41) can't both be negated. Otherwise, *wĩt* can be negated as it can in its independent clause as in (13.46) and (13.47):

- (13.46) Ka ñu wĩt ôh. (Ñu adôk nao ayu mʘh.)
 NEG1 3 return NEG2 (3 still go play MIR
 'He has not returned yet. (He is still out playing.)'
- (13.47) Ka ñu wĩt ôh. (Ñu adôk mă-bruă mʘh.)
 NEG1 3 return NEG2 (3 still work MIR
 'He has not returned yet. (He is still at work.)'

The fact that *wĩt* in (13.40) and (13.41) is in first position in a sequence of verbs is consistent with the position of other serialized motion verbs, which are always in a first position in a SVC in Bih. Therefore, *wĩt* as a motion verb in (13.40) and (13.41) is grammatically in a first position even though its contribution to the overall meaning of the sentence is the event which occurred last. This means that *wĩt* in (13.40) and (13.41) is grammaticalized, since its semantic force is not directly inferable from its position. In the fact that the two *wĩt*'s (both in (13.38); and in (13.40) and (13.41)) both exists in a SVC in Bih shows *wĩt* moving along the path of grammaticalization: the former is still a motion verb like other motion verbs such as *nao* 'go' while the latter is grammaticalized.

Another commonly grammaticalized verb is the position verb *dôk* in Bih. As described in Section 8.4.1.2 and 8.4.2.2, *dôk* can be a full lexical verb or a versatile verb or a progressive marker. Examples below are from Chapter VIII:

(13.48) Kào dōk ha sang.
 1 stay LOC house
 'I stay at home.' (ND008/102)

(13.49) Kào dōk wǎn puñam.
 1 sit weave weave
 'I sit weaving' (ND010/005)

(13.50) Nǎn ñu ma-dōk đih ti anuǎr,
 then 3 PRE-PROG lay LOC rotten.wood
 dōk đih ta anuǎr nǎn ñu čǎng pít .
 PROG lay LOC rotten.wood then 3 want sleep

buh ar ñu lǒ kalei ubei,
 NEG diligent 3 again dig yam

nǎn dōk pít ti nǎn yoh.
 then PROG lay LOC DIST PTCL

'Then while he was lying down by the rotten wood, he felt sleepy. He didn't want to dig yams, so he was sleeping there.' (PA011/156)

Again in example (13.48) *dōk* is the only verb in the sentence meaning 'sit/stay'.

In (13.49), *dōk* is a versatile position verb while in (13.50) *dōk* is a progressive marker.

However, in some cases, it is syntactically not easy to decide whether a particular

instance of *dōk* is still a verb or is functioning as a grammatical marker, because *dōk* is

in a transition between a verb to a grammatical marker. (13.51) below provides an

example. It comes from a portion of text which describes how Y-Rít gets enough breast

milk for the village head. He goes to wild animal places (to wild pig's, to tiger's, to elephant's, to barking deer's) and example (13.51) is what he sees:

(13.51) a. Truh ta mabui, mabui dôk pamăm anak,
 Arrive LOC wild pig wild pig DÔK CAUS-nurse child
 'At the wild pig place, the wild pig is nursing her child.'

b. Truh ta armông năn, armông dôk pamăm anak mớh.
 arrive LOC tiger DIST tiger DÔK CAUS-nurse child MIR
 'At the tiger's place, the tiger is nursing her child.'

c. Lỗ nao ta êman, êman dôk pamăm anak.
 again go LOC elephant elephant DÔK CAUS-nurse child
 'He again goes to the elephant's place. The elephant is nursing her child.'

d. Truh ta djruah, dlăng djruah dôk pamăm anak.
 Arrive LOC deer watch deer DÔK CAUS-nurse child
 'At the deer's place, the deer is nursing her child.' (ND008/501)

Syntactically there is no difference among *dôk* in examples (13.51a)-(13.51d): it all is preverbal. However, semantically one may argue that in (13.51a)-(13.51c), *dôk* is a versatile verb meaning 'sit' even though it is hard to imagine the context in which a wild pig or a tiger or an elephant sits nursing, as these animals lie down to nurse. But it is impossible for a deer to sit nursing as in (13.51d), thus *dôk* in (13.51d) can only be interpreted as a grammaticalized progressive marker. Therefore, with the same syntactic

pattern as example (13.51d), *dôk* in example (13.51a)-(13.51c) is a progressive marker.

The fact that a regular verb in sequence and a grammaticalized verb such as the case of *wĩt* in (13.38) and in (13.40); and *dôk* in (13.48) and in (13.51) co-exist in the language demonstrates that the transition from a full lexical verb to a grammaticalized marker has not totally completed. To what extent this process will be completed is still unknown, but *wĩt* and *dôk* are examples for the fact that restricted verbs are a starting point for a process of grammaticalization.

13.3 . Verb compounds

A verb compound construction is a construction in which one predicate includes either two verbs expressing two associated actions, one included within the other (13.52)-(13.53), or two almost synonymous verbs (13.54):

- (13.52) Leh pĩt đĩh năn, alek yo'h di ñũ pĩt.
Finish sleep lay then, quiet PTCL PL 3 sleep
'They fell asleep very deeply as soon as they lay down.'
(ND007/071)

- (13.53) Ñũ marão tangũ pĩt.
3 just get.up sleep
'She just got up.' (Elicitation.HM20120826)

Pĩt đĩh in (13.52) and *tangũ pĩt* in (13.53) are verb compounds in which each verb in the compound has its own meaning but each expresses an action relating to the other.

For example, it is expected that sleeping is often associated with a lying down position while getting up is associated with emerging from sleeping. That is why *přt* and *đih* are together in (13.52); and *tangŭ* and *přt* are associated in (13.53). In other words, these verbs in a compound describe different actions but these actions are associated as part of a larger overall event.

On the other hand, the synonym-verb compound describes two almost similar actions as shown in (13.54):

(13.54) Leh huǎ bŏng nǎn, nǎn gŏ maiêu anak gŏ.
 finish eat.riceeat then, then 3 PRE-call child 3
 'Finishing the meal, he called his daughter.'(ND009/047)

Huǎ and *bŏng* both express the same action, 'eat'. However, these two verbs are different in terms of what is to be eaten: *huǎ* means to eat cooked rice while *bŏng* refers to eating anything. The reason why they often occur together is because in Bih culture a meal (or any cultural celebration) includes cooked rice and something else to eat with it.

Another feature of verb compounds is the fact that the two verbs in the compound do not have a fixed order: they can be switched or separated in the same predicate.

(13.55) provides an example of the two verbs *přt* and *đih* in a different order from

(13.52). The compound verbs can be separated in the same sentence as *přt* and *đih* in

(13.55) or *huǎ* and *bŏng* in (13.56); or in the case of example (13.57) in which another

word can be inserted between the two verb compound. However, when the two verbs are together in a compound, the compound expresses the event somewhat more abstractly than either of the verb used separately:

(13.55) Amâo arăng lǒ đih pīt hăng ñu,
 NEG 3 again lie sleep with 3

ők ñu majuh, ők ñu malua,
 always 3 encourage always 3 convince

arăng ƭuh arăng pīt,
 3 NEG 3 sleep

ƭuh arăng đih atăm hăng ñu.
 NEG 3 lie together with 3

'She did not agree to marry him even though he convinced her. '

(ND008/614)

(13.56) Kâo huă aseï ƭởng djăm, ƭuh amĩ brei
 1 eat cooked.rice eat vegetable NEG mother give

dôk Duh-ƭơ-ƭrốt
 stay PN

kâo ữ aseï tăl djê.
 1 keep.hungry cooked.rice til die

'I eat, but if Mom does not let me get married to Duh-ƭơ-ƭrốt, I will stay hungry until I die.' (PA013/160)

(13.57) Nei nǎn lǒ si tǎm, lǒ angoh mǒ'h.
 Now then again as afternoon, again sick MIR

 Angoh tangǔ malǎm pǐt.
 sick get.up night sleep

'Now he is again sick like in the afternoon. He is sick after getting up from the night. '(ND007/243)

CHAPTER XIV

OTHER SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter describes two types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses (§14.1) which function as noun phrases, and relative clauses (§14.2) which function as modifiers of nouns.

14.1 . Complement clauses

There are a number of types of complementation in which a clause functions as a core argument of a higher verb in Bih. This section presents different types of Bih complement constructions. They are *dah*-clause complements (§14.1.1), direct-quote complements (§14.1.2), nominalized complements (§14.1.3) and verbal phrase complements (§14.1.4).

14.1.1 . *Dah*-clause complements

Dah is a complementizer which introduces a following clause which functions as a core argument for the main verb of a higher clause. In (14.1), *mǎn* is the main verb which takes *dah di ih luǎr* as its object argument. *Di ih* 'you all' in *dah di ih luǎr* functions as a subject argument of the verb *luǎr* 'lie':

(14.1) Kâo mǎn dah di ih luǎr.
 1 think COMP PL 2 lie
 'I thought that you lied (to me).' (ND008/365)

In (14.2), the complement clause *eh kapaih tadi* takes *dah* as its complementizer and the whole clause functions as an object argument for the main verb *mǎn*:

(14.2) Kâo mǎn dah eh kapaih tadi.
 1 think COMP excrement raw.cotton true
 'I thought that they were real useless fabrics.'(BB001/091)

The lower construction which takes *dah* as its complementizer could be a NP with an embedded relative clause as shown in example (14.3.) In (14.3), *mnuih* in *mnuih pukǎn* is a NP with *pukǎn* as a relative clause without any markers for a relativizer (More details about Bih relative clauses are in section 14.2). *Mnuih pukǎn*, together with *dah*, functions as an object argument for the main verb *mǎn*.

(14.3) Kâo mǎn dah mnuih pukǎn.
 1 think COMP person different
 'I thought that this is someone else ' (ND008/513)

It is often the case when the complement taking verb is a cognitive verb (such as *mǎn* 'think', *thâo* 'know'), then the complement clause is signaled by *dah*. Otherwise, with other matrix verbs, the language uses different complement clause types.

Dah also functions as an adverbial clause marker in Bih. This means that in a combined clause including an adverbial clause and a main clause, *dah* will co-occur with other markers such as conditional markers to mark a subordinate clause as a conditional or clausal clause. This is described in §12.2.

14.1.2 . Direct quote complements

Direct quote complements are often complements of the verb *lač*'say'. The direct quote complement could be a verbal phrase, as shown in (14.4) or a full clause as shown in (14.5):

(14.4) ǒng lač ǔuh djǒ.
 2 say NEG right
 'You said: [it] is not right.' (ND007/021)

(14.5) Kâo mǐn dah eh kapaih mumǎng, ñu lač.
 1 think COMP excrement raw.cotton nothing 3 say
 'He said he thought that they were useless fabrics.'(BB001/090)

14.1.3 . Nominalized complements

Nominalized complements are those using the nominalizer *trlei/talei* to create a phrase that can function as a core argument of a higher clause construction. In (14.6), *trlei angoh a-ǎt* is a predicate nominal for the copula *mâo*:

- (14.6) Buh lǒ mào trlei angoh a-ǎt ôh ñu lač
 NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2 3 say
 'He said that his fever will go away.'
 'Lit: He said that there is not fever anymore.'(ND007/260)

14.1.4 . Verbal phrase complements

A complement "clause" can simply have the internal structure of a verb phrase.

This occurs with the matrix verb *čǎng/ číeng* 'want', which takes a verb phrase complement as its core object argument as shown in (14.7) and (14.8):

- (14.7) Nǎn tumha ñu b̄uh lǒ d̄r̄i čǎng b̄õng č̄im nǎn,
 then in-law 3 NEG again win want eat meat DIST

 mačǎng b̄õng pumao nǎn.
 PRE-want eat mushroom DIST

'His parents in law do not want to eat that meat, but want mushrooms instead. '
 (PA011/561)

- (14.8) Kào číeng b̄õng ubei, ǒng atǎt kào duân ah.
 1 want eat yam 2 lead 1 grandmother VOC

'I want to eat yams. Please show me the way, Grandma.' (ND007/278)

14.2 . Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are those functioning as modifiers embedded in the noun phrase they modify (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). RC's in Bih are unmarked, that is, there is

no relativizer, nominalizer, or relative pronoun to mark a clause as a RC. Syntactically, the head noun that a Bih relative clause modifies can be a subject, object or an oblique of a RC. Bih also includes relative clauses that Andrews (2007) called 'adjoined' or Givon (2001: 207) called extraposed relative clauses, where a relative clause is outside of the matrix clause. This section describes a basic structure of the RC (§14.2.1), a RC with a generic head noun (§14.2.2), and the accessibility of relativization (§14.2.3).

14.2.1 . Basic structure of the relative clause

Structurally, a NP with an embedded relative clause in Bih includes a head noun and relative clause. There is no relativizer to mark the construction. The head occurs to the left of the RC regardless its syntactic function in the RC. Examples (14.9), (14.10) and (14.11) illustrate typical RC constructions in Bih (the RC is in brackets):

(14.9) Arnei kâo pablě kơ mnuih [jah uma].
 now 1 talk DAT person cut.down mountain.field
 'Now I talk about the person who cut down the mountain field.'
 (PA016/001)

(14.10) Buh mâo adǒ [kâo čiang] ôh.
 NEG1 COP thing 1 want NEG2
 'There is nothing that I want.' (ND008/050)

(14.11) Di ih mǔt lăm nei yơh.
 PL 2 enter in PROX PTCL

 dlăng ti anôk [êa pa-puh pa-đững
 watch LOC place water CAUS-hit CAUS-float

di ih yɔh].
PL 2 PTCL

'You all enter in there (the drum), watch out for the place where the water carries the drum (with you all) to.' (PA011/106)

In these three examples, the head noun occurs to the left of the RC and is next to its modifying RC without any marker as a relativizer. Internally, a head noun that a RC modifies can be coreferential with different syntactic functions in different RCs. In other word, a head noun can function as a subject argument as in (14.9) or object argument as in (14.10) or an oblique of a RC as in (14.11). Example (14.9) includes a head noun *mnuih* 'person/people' with an embedded RC *jah uma* 'cut down the mountain field'. The head noun *mnuih* syntactically functions as the subject argument of the embedded RC *jah uma*. In example (14.10), the RC *kâo čienɡ* modifies the head noun *adǔ* which is coreferent with the object argument of the RC while example (14.11) presents the case where the head noun *anôk* is coreferent to an oblique of the RC: *êa papuh pađũng di ih yɔh* (Accessibility to relativization is described in Section 14.2.3.)

At a higher level, a head noun with an embedded RC can fill in different syntactic positions of a matrix clause. It could be a subject argument as shown in (14.12) or an object argument as in (14.13) and in (14.14):

(14.12) Mâu mnuih mgăt čiem ũn hlŭn gai kpiê
 COP person keep.bird feed pig servant call wine

mâu djăp lăm agăr năn.
 COP all in drum DIST

'There are people who raise birds and feed pigs, people (servants) that call other people to come for wine. All are in that drum.'(PA011/195)

Example (14.12) is a syntactic construction including a relative clause. (14.12) is an existential construction in which the copula *mâu* is always located at the beginning of the sentence as described in §10.1. In (14.12) *mnuih mgăt čiem ũn hlŭn gai kpiê* is a relative clause which functions as the subject of the sentence. Internally, *mnuih mgăt čiem ũn hlŭn gai kpiê* includes two relative clauses: *mnuih mgăt čiem ũn* and *hlŭn gai kpiê* in which *mnuih* and *hlŭn* are two head nouns for which *mgăt čiem ũn* and *gai kpiê* respectively are relative clause modifiers for.

(14.13) Djăp leh adă brei kŭn angoh gŏ năn.
 Enough PFV thing give DAT sick 3 DIST

'Things that we gave to his sickness are a lot.' (ND007/268)

In (14.13) we see an example in which a relative clause is embedded in the noun phrase which functions as an object of the matrix clause. *adă brei kŭn angoh gŏ năn* is a noun phrase functioning as the object of the sentence). In this NP, there is a relative clause: *brei kŭn angoh gŏ năn*. In the internal structure of this particular relative clause, there is a

missing subject which is not coreferential with anything in example (14.13). The understood subject for that relative clause is the monkey couple, in the context in which they have given to Đông-krje, their debtor, whatever he requested for his illness because they thought that his illness was caused by God, and what he requested was what God wanted.

A noun phrase which functions as an indirect object can also be modified by a RC. In (14.14), *mnuih dôk apit hống ỡng prdih dih* 'the person who sat with you two days ago' is a NP including the head noun *mnuih* and an embedded RC: *dôk apit hống ỡng prdih dih*:

(14.14) Kâu brei m'eng kâu kơ mnuih dôk apit hống
 1 give skirt 1 DAT person sit together with

 ỡng prdih dih.
 2 FAR.DIST FAR.DIST
 'I gave my skirt to the person who sat with you two days ago.'
 (Elicitation.HM20121014)

There are also relative clauses which modify non-core arguments of a matrix clause. In the following example (14.15), relative clause modifies a head noun which functions as an oblique of the matrix clause:

(14.15) Arnei kâu pablẽ kơ mnuih jah uma.
 now 1 talk DAT person cut.down mountain.field
 'Now I talk about the person who cut down the mountain field.'
 (PA016/001)

Example (14.15) includes an oblique NP *mnuih jah uma* following the main verb *pablě* 'talk' in (14.15). Example (14.16) demonstrates a different case where an oblique NP is fronted, so its relative clause is also fronted: both *Ka anak ñu djê năn* and *Ka anak ñu udĩp năn* are fronted:

(14.16) *Ka anak ñu djê năn dah leh ñu ngă pusat.*
 DAT child 3 die DIST then finish 3 make grave.stone

Ka anak ñu udĩp năn ñu lõ čuh êmô kabao,
 DAT child 3 live DIST 3 again roast cow buffalo

lõ iêu buôi iêu mjâo, lõ lõ
 again call mid.wife call shaman again again

bởng huă kơ anak ñu năn.
 eat eat.rice DAT child 3 DIST

'Again, for his child who had died, they built a death house and prayed for him. For the living child, they roasted cows and buffalos and called a shaman to come pray.' (PA015/112)

As indicated at the beginning of §14.2, Bih relative clauses include not only embedded clauses but also extraposed relative clauses where relative clauses are not adjacent to the head noun. Example (14.17) shows a relative clause which is extraposed to the end of the sentence:

(14.17) (Đăm ǒng akǎ ôh hǒng krbao lu drei hǒ
 NEG1 2 tie NEG2 with buffalo many CL IMP

ǒng akǎ ajǎn....akǎ bǎ anôk pukǎn.)
 2 tie alone tie IMP place different

Djǒ akǎ mǒng krbao dê, matajuǎ yǒh
 true tie from buffalo EMPH PRE-tread PTCL

mnǒng kruǎk gǒ areng.
 thing smash 3 crab

'(Do not tie this buffalo with other buffalos. Please tie it separately.) (However), it is true that he tied it with other buffalos, so they treaded on it, those buffalos that smashed it-the crab.'(ND007/310)

(14.17) is in the context where Đông-krje gave a crab to the monkey's family and said that it was his ancient buffalo and told them not to tie his buffalo with other buffaloes from the monkey's family, which were the real buffaloes. The monkey's family, who did not listen to him, then tied Đông-krje's crab with other buffaloes. So, the buffaloes trampled the crab, thus they are those that smashed his crab.

Givon (2001, p. 207) states that extraposed relative clauses only occur in restrictive relative clauses. This is the case in example (14.17) where the NP *mnǒng kruǎk gǒ areng* functions to limit the reference of its coreferential NP *krbao dê*. In other words, it is the buffaloes among which the monkey's family tied the crab that smashed the crab, not other buffaloes.

Notice also that *mnǝng*, the head noun which the extraposed relative clause *kruǎk gǝ areng* modifies, is indefinite, which is expected for the head of an extraposed relative clause, according to Givon (2001).

Externally, the surface syntax of a head noun and its modifying RC is not distinguishable from a juxtaposed chained clause (Chapter XIII.1.1) in which many clauses in a chain share one subject, because the relation between a head noun and a RC is simply that they are adjacent to each other without any relativizer to indicate their relationship. Both constructions have a noun followed by a clause or verb phrase. For instance, example (14.18) below without context could be interpreted either as a juxtaposed chained clause or a single clause with an embedded RC:

(14.18) Di ih [mathâodruôm kyâo]₁ [ngǎ pǝk sang]₂.
 PL 2 PRE-know cut tree make house house
 'You both know how to cut down trees and make houses.' (ND009/060)

(14.19) Di ih mathâo druôm kyâo[ngǎ pǝk sang]_{RC}.
 PL 2 PRE-know cut tree make house house
 'You both know how to cut down trees which are used to make houses.'
 (ND009/060)

Example (14.18) includes two clauses sharing one subject argument *di ih*. The second clause *ngǎ pǝk sang* is juxtaposed to the first clause *mathâo druôm kyâo* and both of them are governed by the shared subject argument *di ih*. On the other hand, example

(14.19) shows that *ngă pŭk sang* is a RC that modifies the head noun *kyâo*, thus, it is a single clause construction. Example (14.18) comes from a portion of text in which a father has two daughters, and wanted one of them to get married to a python because he had promised the python that he would let him marry one of his daughters (otherwise the python would kill him). He gave an explanation why he promised so. He said that if he died, no one in the family would be able to do hard work (men's work). If his daughters were sons, they would have been able to do physical work such as cutting down trees, making houses, finding food, taking care of their mom etc. That is why (14.18) is interpreted as a chained clause. However, without the context, both examples (14.18) and (14.19) are acceptable.

The examples (14.20)- (14.21) provide another distinction for a chained clause and a NP with an embedded RC:

(14.20) Ñu mǎ tilǎng mangǎ djǎm ubai.
 3 take worm make soup yam
 'She took worms to make soup which she called "yam soup".'
 (ND003/133)

(14.21) Kâo tuôm hǒng mnuih ðuôn sang mnǎm tape.
 1 meet with person village house drink wine
 'I met the village people who were drinking wine.'

Example (14.20) is a chained clause construction in which *tilǎng* and *mangǎ djǎm* *ubai* are two separate constituents while in (14.21) *mnuih ðuôn sang* and *mnǎm tape* is one constituent in which *mnuih ðuôn sang* is the head noun and *mnǎm tape* is a RC. This

head noun and its RC have no marker intervening them. So, when looking at linear order of these two constructions (a chained clause and a clause with a RC), they are similar.

However, example (14.21) has a generic noun *mnuih*, one of the Bih generic nouns which requires a modifier. This noun signals to readers that what follows it is a modifier(s), not a separate constituent (more discussion in §14.2.2).

14.2.2 . Generic head nouns

As described in §14.2.1, a juxtaposed chain clause and a NP with an embedded RC are syntactically ambiguous without context. Semantically, a head noun of a RC often carries some signal to readers that the next constituent which follows is a RC. That is, a head noun is often a generic noun. In other words, some generic nouns when filling in a position of a head noun, need a modifier and in this case it is a RC. These head nouns in Bih are *mnuih* 'person', *adǒ/dǒ* 'thing', *anôk* 'place'. The following examples (14.22)-

(14.24) demonstrate these generic nouns followed by a RC:

(14.22) Arnei kâo pablě kơ mnuih jah uma.
 now 1 talk LOC person cut.down mountain.field
 'Now I talk about the person who cut down on the mountain field.'
 (PA016/001)

(14.23) Truh ha năn ta tởng
 arrive LOC DIST LOC deep.water

 anôk di ñu dôk kriu makanuê năn mớh
 place PL 3 sit poison.fish previous DIST MIR
 'Arriving at the place where they sat and poisoned the fish before'
 (PA015/018)

- (14.24) (mang yoh nei)
 be.pited PTCL PROX
- Adõ öng maḃöng ntra nei
 thing 2 PRE-eat later PROX
- '(Oh, you poor thing), The thing that you will eat later'
 (ND007/158)

Examples (14.22)- (14.24) provide constructions in which *mnuih*, *anôk* and *adõ* are the head nouns of their NP's. Each of them occurs with a RC modifier. In (14.22) *mnuih* has *jah uma* as a RC modifier, in (14.23) *di ñu dôk kriu makanuê* is a RC for *anôk*, and in (14.24), *adõ* has *öng maḃöng ntra* as its RC. The examples (14.22)- (14.24) will be ungrammatical without RCs and demonstratives as shown below:

- (14.25) *Arnei kâo pablě kơ mnuih
 (14.26) *Truh ha năn ta tởng anôk
 (14.27) *(mang yoh nei) adõ

The fact that these examples (14.25)- (14.27) are ungrammatical without their modifying RC does not mean that these three nouns have to have a RC as their modifiers, only that they must have a modifier (though in text they usually occur with the RC.) The point here is that they can't stand without any modifier as one constituent unless there is a very specific context for their sentence. Compare these nouns (*mnuih*, *adôk* and *adõ*) with the head noun in (14.28) , *anuôr* 'rotten trunk', which also has a RC as its modifier.

However, unlike the generic nouns, *anuôr* can occur without any modifier as shown in example (14.28) below:

(14.28) Kâo mâo anuôr.
1 have rotten.trunk
'I have rotten trunks.'

(14.29) *Kâo ðuh mnuih.
1 see person

(14.30) Kâo ðuh arăng
1 see 3/people
'I saw people'

Example (14.28) is grammatical while (14.29) is ungrammatical. However, example (14.29) is grammatical if *mnuih* is replaced by another generic noun *arăng* which means the same as *mnuih* but can stand by itself without any modifiers as shown in (14.30). This indicates that there are certain generic nouns such as *mnuih*, *adôk* and *adô*, which are prone to the role of modified head noun, and thus automatically indicate that the following constituent is a modifying RC.

14.2.3 . Accessibility to relativization

This section provides data showing different syntactic slots which a head noun of a RC in Bih can fill. Keenan and Comrie (1977) argue that languages are different in the way they determine which NP position can be relativized. However, the variations follow the universal accessibility hierarchy in which a NP in a subject position is more likely to

be relativized than direct object, and then indirect object, oblique, genitive and object of comparison (p.66).

According to Keenan and Comrie (1977)'s hierarchy, a head noun in Bih can have different roles in a RC: it can function as a core argument such as subject or object, or as an oblique. The following data present different syntactic slots of a head noun in a RC. First, examples (14.31)- (14.32) demonstrate that a head noun functions as a subject argument of a RC:

(14.31) Nei taduah adõ riah agãr.
 now look.for thing split drum

'He was looking for something that splits the drum.'(PA011/120)

(14.32) Buh nãh wĩt ta ðuôn, wĩt ta ðuôn
 see then return LOC village return LOC village

pablě hõng mnuih ðuôn sang mnãm tape.
 talk with person village house drink wine

'Having seen that, they arrived home and talked to the village people who were drinking wine.'(PA015/004)

In example (14.31), *adõ riah agãr* includes a head noun *adõ* and a RC *riah agãr* in which the head noun is the subject argument of a RC. This example comes from a portion of text that describes how Jatarĩt and his family looked for something that would split the drum they were in in order to get out. They all entered the drum according to a

request from his father in law, who did not like the fact that his daughter had a son with a very poor person--Jatarit.

In example (14.32), *mnuih buôn sang* is the head noun that functions as a subject argument of a RC *mnăm tape* 'drinking wine'. This example is from a text in which two brothers found a portion of a river that has a lot of fish, they went back to their village and talked to villagers who were drinking wine about what they have seen.

A head noun can also function as an object argument of a RC as shown in examples (14.33)- (14.36):

(14.33) Dỗ jǎng kâo brei lah.
thing close.friend 1 give IMP
'Things that my friend gave to me.' (PA011/273)

(14.34) Kâo dê mâo adǎ kâo bǒng.
1 EMPH have thing 1 eat
'I myself have things that I eat.' (ND011/081)

(14.35) Sei mnuih ǒng mã?
who person 2 take/pick.up
'Who did you bring home?' (Lit. Who is the person you brought home?)
(ND007/037)

(14.36) Tam: Sei mnuih wăt-pagai?

who person get.married

'Who get married (there)?' (Lit. Who is the person getting married?)

Hriu Hmök: Mnuih ǒng brei čhũm ao prdih lah.

person 2 give pants shirt FAR.DISTAL IMP

'The person you gave clothes before.' (ElicitationHM20091006)

The portion of text from which example (14.33) comes describes how Thô, a very lazy guy who does not even want to go to look for food, brought home a lot of good food and toys for his son. Having seen that, his wife asked him where those things came from. Example (14.33) is his response. In this example *dǒ* is the head noun coreferent to the object of a RC *jiǎng kâo brei lah*. In (14.34), *adǒ* is also the head noun which is modified by the RC *kâo ǒng*. *Adǒ* functions as an object argument of the RC *kâo ǒng* in example (14.34).

Example(14.35) is from a text in which the male monkey brought home Đông-krje, whom the monkey considered as a prisoner because of Đông-krje's mistake. When seeing her husband with someone else who she did not know, the monkey wife asked her husband about Đông-krje. In (14.35), *mnuih* is the head noun and *ǒng mã* is a RC modified the head noun. The head noun is coreferent to the object argument of the RC. On the other hand, example (14.36) demonstrates a different syntactic function of a head noun in its RC. *Mnuih* in (14.36) is the head noun and *ǒng brei čhũm ao prdih lah* is the

RC. This example is a conversation between two speakers about a wedding in a village. Tam was asking about who was getting married in a family she knows of when she and Hriu Hmők passed by their house. Hriu Hmők answered that the person who was getting married was the one Tam gave clothes to before. In this example, *mnuih* functions as an indirect object of a RC.

A head noun which a RC modifies can be also coreferent to an oblique of that RC. Notice that a head noun which functions as an oblique of a RC in Bih is often a locative in the RC. In (14.37), *anuôr* functions as a locative of a RC *dôk mã kan năn* while in (14.38) and in (14.39), *anôk* is a locative of a RC *ñu nao* and *e ǒng ayu* respectively. In these examples (14.37)- (14.39), there is no locative or dative preposition at all:

(14.37) Anuôr dôk mã kan năn
 rotten.trunk sit take/pick.up fish DIST
 'The rotten trunk that (we) sat on and picked up fish'
 (PA015/012)

(14.38) Buh mâo anôk ñu nao ôh, alah-alañ Thô.
 NEG1 COP place 3 go NEG2 lazy PN
 'There is no place he goes. He--Thô-- is lazy' (PA011/004)

(14.39) Djăp anôk e ǒng ayu.
 enough place brother-in law 2 go.play
 'There are many places your brother in law went out to play.' (ND008/499)

CHAPTER XV

DISCOURSE STATUS OF ARGUMENTS

15.1 . Topic and focus in Bih

This section is about two discourse-pragmatic categories in Bih: topic and focus. These two terms have been discussed in the literature but there is no general agreement about what topic and focus are (Chafe, 1975; Dik et al., 1981, Givon, 1983; Lambrecht, 1994). Here, I adopt Lambrecht's (1994) usage in which topic refers to portion of a proposition in a given discourse context showing a relation between a referent and its proposition, and focus refers to a relation of an element of information in a proposition and is equal to the difference between the presupposition and assertion in the proposition. Topic, under Lambrecht's (1994, p. 118) definition, is what is construed about a referent in a given utterance context. Focus is considered as an element of information added into a proposition by asserting the information that is different from what is presupposed.

This section presents three types of pragmatically marked constructions in Bih: one with a topic marker *lě*, one with a contrastive focus marker, *móh*, and the third with a fronted NP.

These marked constructions are used in discourse situations in which a speaker intends to convey information about a not yet accessible referent (either it is being introduced for the first time or it is unactivated) or wants (1) to describe some event in which such a referent is a participant, or to refer to (2) a participant who contrasts with another participant in a given context, or (3) a referent that contradicts what people

assume or presuppose. If *lě* marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, *moh* marks contrastive focus. As for the fronted NP construction, it can mark a topic, a contrastive topic or contrastive focus. In other words, in comparison with *lě* and *moh*, NP fronting in Bih has multiple pragmatic functions including functions which overlap with those of *lě* and *moh*.

15.1.1 . *Lě*-construction

As described in Chapter X, Bih has basic AVO word order. This means a subject argument NP is before the verb. So it is often the case that when a subject argument becomes a topic of a proposition, it needs some signal/mark to tell listeners that it is topicalized. In Bih, that marker is *lě*. The fact that a subject argument, when topicalized, is often marked with *lě* as a topic marker is because in basic Bih word order, a lexical subject NP is already at the beginning of the sentence preceding the verb, and a lexical object NP follows the verb. Thus a subject cannot be marked for pragmatic status simply being before the verb. In addition, *lě* can mark a topicalized NP which has another syntactic functions such as an object, an oblique or an adverbial. However, when it follows a subject or object argument, *lě* can mark not only a topic but also a contrastive topic, depending on context and its position. The following data demonstrate two functions of *lě* one as a marker of topic and the other as a marker of contrastive topic.

Example (15.1) comes from a text describing the way Kadām Wiêt found the magic medicine to bring his father, who died of a sword wound, back to life. Kadām Wiêt

went to Grů Ak, the crow's village, as he had heard that Grů Ak had many magic things. He got married to Grů Ak's daughter there and stayed with her family and paid attention to things around the house. One day, he asked his wife to go around the house with him to identify things belonging to her family, so that later if her parents should ask him to bring some thing for them, he would know where it was. Then he saw some really bright objects and asked his wife what they were and if they were valuable. His wife told him:

(15.1) a. "ŕ! Eh di ñu yŕh.
 yes excrement PL 3 PTCL
 'Yes! Those are their excrement.'

b. Eh ñu nei lě đŕi bi hlao
 excrement 3 PROX TOP good CAUSE revive

 mnuih êka. "
 person injured
 'His excrement is good for reviving injured people.' (PA010/34)

(15.1a.) was her response to his question about if it was valuable. This is the first time the referent (excrement) is introduced, so it is brand new to the hearer (in this case, to Kadām Wiêt). Therefore, in order to continue with this newly introduced referent and give more information about it (which otherwise people would not), the speaker uses *lě* as a signal in (15.1b.) to tell her husband that the referent (her parents' excrement) are what she wants to talk about next. Syntactically, *Eh ñu nei* is coded as a subject of (15.1).

On the other hand, *Y-rŕt nei* in (15.2b.), different from the topicalized NP in (15.1), is coded as a syntactic object argument in a clause-initial position. *Y-rŕt* is the

first new referent who plays an important role in a discourse situation that a speaker wants to report on/describe before any other referents in the same given text:

(15.2) a. Arnei kâo pr̄ talei nŭng quăng Jatarĩt.
 now 1 tell story eel giant PN
 'Now I am telling a story about Jatarit's eel.'

b. Y-rĩt nei lě phŭng ñu năn arăng jak nao
 PN PROX TOP PL 3 DIST 3PL invite go
 mǎ năn, nao koh djrao ngă krđuôn.
 pick.upDIST go shortenbamboo make eel.catcher
 'Y-rĩt, they asked him to go shorten bamboo to make eel catchers.'
 (PA012/002)

(15.2) is taken from the text in which a speaker wants to tell a story about an eel belonging to a very poor person in a village, Jatarĩt whose nickname is Y-rĩt. (15.2a.) is the way the speaker introduces the story to hearers. It is usual to expect that more information about the eel or more participants in the story other than an eel itself would be introduced after (15.2a.). When (15.2b.) is inserted, the speaker wants to discontinue the introductory referent, an eel, and activate the topicalized referent in the story, Jatarĩt, who normally would not be fronted because the grammatical coding is an object

argument. In other words, when *Y-rĩt nei* is fronted with *lě*, in this context it is

pragmatically marked as a referent for which the proposition(s) is about.

If the above examples demonstrate topicalized NPs that are core arguments, the following data (15.3) provide examples in which a pragmatically marked referent is a non-core argument, in this case an adverb:

(15.3) a. Yaih ai ǒng palʉ kâo Dông-krje eh?
 EXCL why 2 lie 1 PN VOC
 'What! why did you lie to me, Dông-krje ?'

 ǒng lač aseh iman amĩ aduân ǒng
 2 say horse elephant mother grandmother 2

ang maiman amĩ aduân ǒng.
 great PRE-elephant mother grandmother 2
 'You said your ancestors' elephant was great.'

b. Arlâo năn lě ǒng brei brǒng,
 before DIST TOP 2 give big.storage.unit
 ǒng brei brǒng kơ kâo
 2 give big.storage.unit DAT 1

kăp angĩn -puih,
 wait windy.season
 ñu lač, gở kra lač.
 3 say 3 monkey say

'Last time, you gave me the big rattan storage container and said to wait for the windy season.'" said the monkey.!(ND007/349)

Example (15.3) is from a text about Đông-krje and the monkey's family. Đông-krje wanted to pay something back to the monkey's family for his mistake, which the monkeys called compensation. One time he gave the monkey's family a crab and told them that was his ancestors' buffalo. Then when the monkeys saw that was a lie (because the crab died when they tied it together with their buffalos), they went back to Đông-krje's house to ask for more compensation. Đông-krje lied to them again. He said he would give his ancestors' elephant to the monkeys and told them that they could ride the elephant across the river when the windy season arrived. It turned out that it was a big rattan storage container that Đông-krje gave to the monkey but not an elephant. Therefore, the monkey went back to him another time for compensation. (15.3a.) is where the monkey repeated what Đông-krje told them before. When (15.3b.) is inserted with high intonation on the topicalized NP *Arlâo năn*, the monkey wanted Đông-krje to know that they knew LAST TIME what he gave to them was a big container-- not an elephant as he said. The topicalized adverb falls into an adverbial time phrase.

What have seen so far in this section is that NP's in different grammatical roles can be topicalized with the topic marker *lě*. Notice that those topicalized NPs are introduced into discourse situations at the beginning of their proposition. The fact that the topic of a sentence in Bih is sentence-initial is not surprising from a universal tendency for accented topic expressions with a topic announcing function, according to Lambrecht (1994). In other words, it is common to see an accented NP, which has as a primary function of introducing a new referent or shifting from one referent to another, occur at

the beginning of or before the sentence (Lambrecht ,1994, p. 201). Therefore, in the case of Bih, when *Eh ñu nei*, *Y-rĩt* and *arlão nei* (in (15.1), (15.2) and (15.3) respectively) have the function of introducing a new topic to discourse, they are sentence-initial. However, not all topicalized NPs in Bih are at the beginning of a sentence. Bih also has topicalized NP's introduced at the end of a sentence. This is often a case in topicalized object NP's which follow a verb. When such a NP is marked with *lě* while still keeping its sentence-final position, we see a marked pragmatic purpose which is different from that of a fronted object like *Y-rĩt* in example (15.2).

Let's get back to the tale about Đông-krje and the monkey family in a larger discourse excerpt:

(15.4) a. Kra ah, arăp leh kâo maadôk hõng õng.
 monkey VOC enough PFV 1 PRE-stay with 2

Arnei si-ba mangă!
 now how PRE-make/do

kâo malõ tuh-ina-ba-kađi õng yõh.
 1 PRE-again give.compensation.for 2 PTCL

kâo brei krbao, krbao đõng mǎng amĩ aduân .
 1 give buffalo, buffalo from from mother grandma

drei nđõm
 1EXCL long.time

"Hey, Monkey, I stayed with you long enough. Now what should I do? I want to give you some compensation: I will give you my great grandmother's buffalo."

(ND007/296)

.....⁵

b. ǒng dōk guân bě!
 2 sit wait IMP

Kâo lǒ brei iman lě.
1 again give elephant TOP

'Please wait! I will give you an ELEPHANT.' (ND007/320)

.....

"What! Why did you lie to me, Đông-krje ? You said that your ancestors' elephant was great. Before, you gave me the big rattan storage container and said to wait for the windy season." said the monkey. (ND007/351)

c. Bơih bở nei kâo ðuh lǒ mâo nei.
 oh.no but now 1 NEG again have now

kâo brei ðuôn lě.
1 give hat TOP

' Oh no! Now I don't have it. I will give you a HAT.' (ND007/353)

"This hat is from my ancestors and nowadays people do not have any hat like that. Please wait for two days." Then the monkey agreed to wait for two days to get the special hat from Đông-krje.

.....

The monkey went back to Đông-krje again: "Hey Đông-krje, you said this was your ancestors' hat and told me that my family could put it on and sit under the sun.

⁵ This symbol means the material in the story is going on and on and not important to present.

However, the wax melted and ran all over my family members's faces. That was not a good hat as you said. You lied to me. Now I am again asking for my compensation."

d. Kra ah, arnei năn ah,
 monkey VOC now then VOC

Kâo brei agăř lě kơ ống.
 1 give drum TOP DAT 2

'Hey Monkey, now I will give you a DRUM.' (ND007/402)

(15.4) is a starting point for what Đông-krje offered to the monkey family for his compensation because he did not want to stay with the monkey family anymore. The first compensation he gave to the monkey family was *krbao* a buffalo as indicated in (15.4a.). Notice that *krbao* is a grammatical object argument following the verb *brei* in (15.4a.).

When (15.4b.) is introduced to the text, the coded object argument *iman* is marked with *lě*. Đông-krje wanted to pay compensation to the monkey family with his ELEPHANT instead of his buffalo as he had previously said. The topic marker *lě* is seen as a device where the speaker wanted to discontinue with what has preceded and start a new topic. Đông-krje wanted to not talk about his buffalo, but instead talk about his elephant.

(15.4c.) and (15.4d.) are similar to (15.4a.) both in syntactic coding and pragmatically marked situations. Syntactically, in both (15.4c.) and (15.4d.), *đuôn*, a hat, and *agăř*, a drum, are object arguments marked with the topic marker *lě*. They both follow a verb. In discourse, *đuôn* and *agăř* are introduced to the text as new topics in

(15.4c.) and (15.4d.) respectively with high intonation peak. The speaker wants the hearer to expect discontinuity about the previous thing, and to introduce a new thing to the discourse. *Lě* in this case, indicates a contrastive new topic.

(15.5) is another example to support the claim that when *lě* marks an object argument in a final position, it is usually functioning as a contrastive topic marker. The text from which (15.5) is taken describes how Jatarĩt went through challenges created by the village head. Jatarĩt was a very poor orphan who lived with an old generous lady whom he called grandmother. From his magical tangerine tree, he got a wife and many other things for his house. There was a chief in the village who had everything and did not want anyone else to have things which he did not have. When he found out that Jatarĩt's wife was more beautiful than any of his wives, he wanted Jatarĩt's wife. In order to have her, he needed to challenge Jatarĩt with other tasks first. The first thing he challenged Jatarĩt with was to obtain dried chilis and dried eggplants which were not in season. He got what he asked for. The next thing he wanted was cucumbers, and then, later he wanted bamboo shoots. Every single time he gave Jatarĩt a limited time to obtain what he wanted and often Jatarĩt had to rely on his wife to fulfill the king's requirements. One time, after all of his previously requested things were provided, he called his servant and said:

(15.5) ƒơih đĩng-katang di ih lỏ nao,
 hey servant PL 2 again go

 čĩeng kơ êa tusáo lẻ.
 want DAT water breast TOP

'Hey, servants! You all go to (Jatarĩt's house) for me. I want BREAST MILK.'(ND008/457)

The chief of the village, in contrast to his previous requests, now wanted something different: *êa tusâo*, breast milk. When this new referent is inserted into the discourse, it is differentiated from previous things such as cucumbers, dried chilis, and eggplants by the use of the contrastive topic marker *lě*. The speaker is no longer talking about bamboo shoots, but rather breast milk.

What have seen in (15.4) and (15.5) is that when *lě* is placed in clausal-final position, it marks a contrastive topic. However, contrastive topic marking with *lě* is not limited to sentence-final position. It can also occur at the beginning of a sentence. The following section of text demonstrates *lě* as a contrastive topic marker on a NP at the beginning of a sentence. (15.6) is again taken from the tale about Jatarĩt and the village chief who wanted Jatarĩt's wife. After the village chief's sons told him that Jatarĩt's wife was more beautiful than any of his wives, he asked his servants to go to double check the information. (15.6a.) says "they went" as opposed to (15.6b.) in which "HE went":

(15.6) a. Nao yo'h dĩng-katang ñu.
 go PTCL servant 3
 'His servants went (to Jatarit's house)' (ND008/306)

.....

They went back home and reported what they saw to the village head: 'It is true what your son said. When we arrived there (at Jatarit's house), he invited us to go up

inside. When we sat in the living room, there was a very bright light reflecting from his bedroom. We asked him about it. He said that the light came from his great grandmother's traditional wine *čeh tang* (something which only rich people would have). We said that was not true and then we left. (*So, the truth was Jatarit had a beautiful wife from which the bright light came-TN*).

Then the village head said "Are you lying to me? If you are lying to me, I will kill you all." "It is true. It is fine for you to kill us if we are lying to you", responded the servants. The village head said "Good".

b. nǎn sǐ trguah
 then until tomorrow

 ñu lě lǒ nao, putao lě lǒ nao.
 3 TOP again go, village.head TOP again go

'Then the following morning, he, the head of the village, went (to Jatarit's house)' (ND008/346)

In (15.6b.), the accented pronoun *ñu* is contrasted with the NP *dǐng-katang ñu*.

These two NPs code two active referents in this discourse: the village head and his servants. Because he wanted to make sure what they said was true, he himself went to

double check the information. *Lě* marks the contrastive referent (the village chief as opposed to his servants) and it is in a sentence-initial position.

Examples (15.4) to (15.6) provide evidence that a topicalized NP when being contrasted can be at the beginning of a sentence or in sentence-final position depending its syntactic function as a grammatical subject or object. However, when a topicalized NP falls into a syntactic object position, *lě* often marks it as contrastive while with a grammatical subject, it could either be contrastive or simply a topic marker introducing a new referent into a discourse. The fact that *lě* sometimes introduces a new topic into discourse (e.g. example (15.1) and (15.2)) and sometimes marks as a contrastive topic marker (e.g. example (15.4) and (15.6)) is usual, but the unusual thing about it is the fact that a *lě*-marked NP can be in a sentence-final position as opposed to a sentence-initial position as in other languages in SEA region such as Vietnamese (Cao 1998), Chinese (Li & Thomson, 1976), or Ede (Nguyen 2006), where such constructions are consistently sentence-initial.

15.1.2 . Contrastive focus: *moh*- construction

If *lě* marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, a construction having *moh* adds information into a proposition contradicting what is presupposed or assumed

(Lambrecht, 1994, p. 207). The following data provide evidence that *mơh* indicates contrastive focus (which may be also different from the mirative *mơh* discussed in Section 11.3.1).

Example (15.7) comes from a section of text describing how a little boy found his father. *Mơh* occurs in the story where the main character is crying because he wants a crossbow after seeing that his friends all had their crossbows. It was presupposed that what he wanted was a crossbow. Therefore, his relatives tried to make one for him. It turns out that when his grandfather made one for him, he did not want it. His uncles made one for him, he did not want that one either. What surprises hearers is that he wanted *his father* to make one for him. There is a counter expectation in the proposition and that is what *mơh* is used for.

(15.7) Nei aê ñu ngă kĩn ñu ẵiẵng,
 now grandfather 3 make NEG 3 want

miêt wa ñu ngă kĩn ñu ẵiẵng
 uncle uncle 3 make NEG 3 want

ăt hia kĩn ama mớh ngă ana.
 still cry DAT father FOC make crossbow

'Now when his grandfather or his uncle made a crossbow for him, he didn't want it. He wanted (to the speaker's surprise) his father to make one for him.'

(PA011/052)

(15.8) presents another discourse situation in which what is presupposed and what is added via *mơh* are positioned next to each other in a comparison construction:

(15.8) Mǒ ǒng tilít ańuê ka, ka siem
 wife 2 roll mat not.yet not.yet beautiful

ka siem ñu mǒh, siem arǎng mǒh.
 not.yet beautiful 3 FOC beautiful 3 FOC
 ('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

Mǒ ǒng ti nǎn lang ańuê, ngǎ abǎn, brei abǎn,
 wife 2 LOC DIST spread mat, make blanket give blanket

ǎt siem arǎng mǒh.
 again beautiful 3 FOC
 ('Your wife who spreads a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

Mǒ phũn ǒng, palei phũn ǒng
 wife root 2 wife root 2

ǎt siem arǎng mǒh.
 again beautiful 3 FOC
 ('Your head wife is not as beautiful as her.')

'It is her who is more beautiful than any of your wives.' (ND008/293)

The section of text from which (15.8) is taken describes how much more beautiful Jatarĩt's wife is in comparison to the village chief's wives. The chief's son went back home and reported to his father how beautiful Jatarĩt's wife was. His expectation about his father's wives was that they were the most beautiful. Therefore, when he put each of his father's wives and Jatarĩt's wife (who is coded in the pronoun *arǎng*) in a comparative

construction to compare their beauties, there is a contrast between what is presupposed and what is added into the proposition.

On the other hand, (15.9) provides evidence for the difference between the two *moh*-constructions: a mirative *moh* and contrastive focus. In general, constructions containing the mirative *moh* have the unexpected information coded in different syntactic constituents from that of the contrastive focus *moh*. Syntactically, a mirative *moh* occurs in a verb phrase final position (15.9), while a contrastive focus *moh* occurs at the end of a NP (examples (15.7) and (15.8)). Pragmatically, *moh* as a NP operator presents unpredictable information which contradicts with what is assumed or presupposed while a mirative *moh* does not.

(15.9)	Dhǒng	arĩ	ñu	ti	boh	ǃũk	nǎn	ñu	madǰǎ,
	knife	PN	3	LOC	CL	hair	then	3	PRE-take
	Dǰǎ	nao	truh	ti	kmrǒng	dih,			
	take	go	arrive	LOC	forest	FAR.DIST			
	ǃuh	yǒh	ubei	dua	kdrũn	tlǎo	kdrũn.		
	see	PTCL	yam	two	CLF	three	CLF		
	Nei	makhǎt		alê	khǎt	alê,			
	now	PRE-cut		medium.bamboo	cut	medium.bamboo			
	mablah	hǒng	dhǒng	nǎn	mǒh.				
	PRE-split	with	knife	DIST	MIR				

'He took with him the knife which is often in his bun to the forest to dig yams. He found some yams there. Then he (to my surprise) cut down medium bamboos there and he used that knife to split the bamboo as well.'(PA011/136)

In (15.8) it is Y-Bia (coded by the pronoun *arǎng*) rather than the chief's main wives, who is the most beautiful. This is contradiction to the hearer's assumption that chief's wives are the most beautiful. However, in (15.9), it is surprising to hearers that Đông-krje uses a small knife that is often in his hair bun to cut down and split bamboo to make tools for digging yams. However, his action does not contradict any expectation before the time of speech as *moh* does in (15.8). Moreover, mirative *moh*, but not contrastive focus *moh*, can be replaced by an anti-mirative particle *yoh* to indicate that the information is not marked as unexpected. Therefore, it is grammatical to replace *moh* by *yoh* (15.10), but then the sentence no longer carries surprising information to hearers. However, it is impossible to replace *moh* by *yoh* in (15.11):

(15.10) (Dhǒng arǎ ñu ti boh bǔk nǎn ñu madjǎ. Djǎ nao truh ti kmrǒng dih, bǔh yoh ubei dua kdrǔn tlǎo kdrǔn,)

Nei makhǎt alê khǎt alê, mablah hǒng dhǒng nǎn yoh.

'Then he cut down and split the bamboo with that knife. '

(15.11) *Mǔ ǒng tilǎt ańuê ka, ka siem
 wife 2 roll mat not.yet not.yet beautiful

ka siem ñu yoh, siem arǎng yoh.
 not.yet beautiful 3 PTCL beautiful 3 PTCL

('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

*Mõ ǒng ti nǎn lang aũê, ngǎ abǎn, brei abǎn,
 wife 2 LOC DIST spread mat, make blanketgive blanket

ǎt siem arǎng yǒh.
 again beautiful 3 PTCL

('Your wife who spreads a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

*Mõ phũn ǒng, palei phũn ǒng
 wife root 2 wife root 2

ǎt siem arǎng yǒh.
 again beautiful 3 PTCL

('Your head wife is not as beautiful as her.')

'None of your wives is as beautiful as her.'

15.1.3 . Fronted NP construction

Word order variation and its pragmatic function in discourse have been discussed in many studies (Fox ,1985; Payne, 1990 (ed.), 1992; Downing & Noonan (eds.) 1995, inter alia). Lambrecht (1986) describes the relation between word order variation in French, a SVO language, in terms of the two pragmatic components, topic and focus. Payne (1995) examines the correlation between main clause word order and pragmatic factors motivating word order variation in a verb initial language, 'O'odham. According to Lambrecht (1986), in spoken French, a canonical clause, instead having SVO order in which a subject NP precedes the verb, has no subject NP at all. The majority of nouns in these "preferred clauses" are not syntactic subjects or objects of the proposition. These nouns occur in clause-initial position but in a non-argument position and bound to the

verb. They are what he called topic constituents. They appear to the left of the "preferred clauses" for certain pragmatic purposes. Payne (1995) shows that in rigid verb initial languages, the pragmatically marked information is mostly placed in preverbal position: clause-initially. Thus, Lambrecht (1986) and Payne (1995) show that both some verb medial and some verb initial languages use the same means, NP fronting, to indicate a pragmatically marked referent.

This is also the way Bih pragmatically marks a NP in relation to its proposition. We often see an object or oblique argument fronted when topicalized but without the topic marker *lě*. Fronting is typically the way this language activates a referent which a speaker wants a hearer pay attention to; it indicates that the speaker will introduce more information about that referent in a given context or that the fronted referent is in contrast to a previous one. In addition, fronted NPs can present an unpredictable fact which contradicts what the hearer may have presupposed about something in the discourse. In other words, a fronted NP in Bih could present a topic, a contrastive topic or a contrastive focus (in Lambrecht's sense) in a proposition. This is similar to the case of the Mayan languages described in Aissen (1992).

This section describes fronted NPs with these two functions. As for fronted object NPs which are also marked by the topic marker *lě*, they are described in section 15.1.1. (It is necessary to mention here that the fronted object NP with the *lě* marker and the fronted object NP without *lě* have no pragmatic difference according to Bih speakers,

although the former often corresponds to a referent introduced as a first topic in a given text (example (15.2).)

The following data (15.12)-(15.15) provide examples for different pragmatic functions of a fronted NP in Bih:

(15.12)(Drink wine and eat buffalo when celebrating the end of the harvest season.)

a. Bǎng-phǎ ngǒk bǎng-phǎ yuôp, ǒng kađăl.
 door east door west 2 close

b. bǒ, ti gǔ nǎn ǒng cǔt turǒng uda yǒh hǒ.
 but LOC below.part DIST 2 put stake stake PTCL IMP

'Close all entrance doors. As for the part below, put pointed stakes down there please.'(ND007/436)

The section of text from which (15.12) is taken describes what Dông-krje told the monkey family about how to use his drum and what to do before using it. *Bǎng-phǎ ngǒk* and *bǎng-phǎ yuôp* are the referents that the speaker, Dông-krje, is directing his hearers to pay attention to. It is what the speaker will be referring to for the rest of the proposition. So, it is a topic of (15.12a.). In a Bih traditional long house, there are two entrance doors: one is in front of the house and the other is on the back of the house. Their house, one kind of stilt house, has two parts: the main part is above and the lower part is for keeping animals. When (15.12b.) is inserted into the text, hearers know by the fronted NP *ti gǔ nǎn* that Dông-krje has changed his referent: from this point on, he is no longer talking about all the activities which will take place during the celebration. Now,

the proposition is only about those which will take place in 'the lower part'. The fronted NP in this case functions as marked signal for a topic of the discourse section.

(15.13) is a similar example in which a topicalized NP is fronted. Syntactically, the fronted NP *anôk tumha ñu riah makunei dih* functions as an object argument in

(15.13). When it is fronted, it becomes a referent that speaker wants to give more information about:

- (15.13) (nei taduah adõ riah agãr)
 now PRE-find thing pierce drum
 (now he is looking for something to pierce the drum)
- anôk tumha ñu riah makunei dih,
 place parent.in.law 3 pierce previous FAR.DIST
- arãng jhĩt leh.
 3 sew PFV
 'As for the place his father pierced before, he sewed.'(PA011/120)

(15.14b.), on the other hand, presents a different case in which *Mabuiñ akâo*, a referent that the proposition is about, is coded in a fronted NP and syntactically

functions as a predicate nominal of an existential copula *mâo* construction:

- (15.14)a. Tơ ñu dõk, madõk yơh ajãn di ñu lẽ.
 If 3 stay PRE-stay PTCL only PL 3 TOP
 'If they want to get married, they themselves get married.'

- b. Mabuiñ akâo ðuh mâo ôh.

PRE-ask.for ask.for NEG1 COP NEG2

'As for asking for permission, there would not be any.'

c. Buh mào buiñ akâo ôh.

NEG1 COP ask.for ask.for NEG2

'There is no asking for permissions from anyone.'

d. Tũ ñu dôk yõh, akei khăp pine, pine khăp akei
agree 3 stay PTCL boy love girl girl love boy

ñu bi dôk.

3 together stay

'If the girl loves the boy and the boy loves the girl, they live together.'

(PA013/179)

(15.14) is taken from a tale about Duh ɓɔ-ɓrɔ̄t. Dăm-bhu is in love with her and wants to marry her. However, his parents do not want him to marry her because she was ugly. In the Bih culture, agreement and permission from parents is necessary for a marriage. Nevertheless, Dăm-bhu intends to marry her regardless of what his parents say. In (15.14a.), Duh ɓɔ-ɓrɔ̄t's grandmother expresses Duh ɓɔ-ɓrɔ̄t's opinion about marriage-- an opinion that Dăm-bhu shares. When (15.14b.) is inserted into the text, the speaker wants the hearer to understand that as for 'asking for permission', there would be nothing like that from them.

Syntactically a NP which functions as an oblique argument could also be fronted and made the topic of a proposition. (15.15) is an example. (15.15) comes from a text describing two siblings who went back to a fishing place to retrieve the younger brother's special knife. Only the older brother survives, because a ghost at the fishing place ate the younger one. After a long journey, the older brother finally arrived back home. His parents were very happy because they thought both of them had died. (15.15) describes what they did for each of the two boys:

(15.15) (After arriving home, they prayed for their children. Then the day after, they again roasted cows, and buffalos to pray for the child who was still alive.)

- a. Ka anak ñu djê năn dah leh ñu ngă pusat.
 DAT child 3 die DIST then finish 3 make one.stone
- b. Ka anak ñu udĩp năn ñu lõ čuh êmô kabao,
 DAT child 3 live DIST 3 again roast cow buffalo
- lõ iêu ãuôi iêu mjâu, lõ lõ ãởng huả
 again call mid.wife call shaman again again eat eat.rice
- kơ anak ñu năn.
 DAT child 3 DIST

'For their child who had died, they built a deathhouse and prayed for him. For the living child, they roasted cows and buffalos and called a shaman to come pray.' (PA015/112)

Both *ka anak ñu djê năn* and *ka anak ñu udĩp năn* are syntactically connected to the verb in (15.15a.) and (15.15b.) as obliques. By fronting, *ka anak ñu djê năn* becomes the referent which the proposition (15.15a.) is about while the proposition of (15.15b.) is about *ka anak ñu udĩp năn*. These two referents are the topics of their propositions in (15.15a.) and (15.15b.) respectively. By fronting a NP, the speaker directs the hearer's attention: by this delimiting fronted noun phrase, the incoming information of the proposition is about the child who passed away in (15.15a) and the living child in (15.15b).

Notice that all of the fronted NPs in (15.12)-(15.15) have different syntactic functions in connection to their grammatical sentence. A fronted NP could be an object argument as in (15.12) and (15.13), or an oblique as in (15.15a) and (15.15b). In other words, even though fronted NPs can have different syntactic roles in a grammatical sentence, they all can be the topic of a sentence. This is one of the properties of a topic described by Li and Thompson (1976): anything can be a referent for which a proposition is about. This is the main difference between a topic and a syntactic subject.

Examples (15.12)-(15.15) present fronted NP's in Bih functioning as pragmatic topics. The data below, (15.16), show an example in which a fronted NP shows a different function in discourse. A fronted NP here is not simply a referent that one proposition is about. Rather it is contrasted with another topic mentioned either previously or in the same context:

(15.16) a. ñu plāk ama gǒ ti jǒng tām
 3 pull father 3 LOC foot REFL

sawei ti gǔ
 throw LOC lower.part

leh-nǎn čuh ama gǒ nǎn.
 then roast father 3 DIST

'He pulled the father by the feet, and then threw him on the ground, and then roasted (the body) over the fire.'

b. pha mra ñu pioh, akǒ aseï ñu ñu djǎ.
 thigh shoulder 3 keep head body 3 3 hold

'He kept the father's thighs and shoulders while he took the head and the body (to his wife at home).' (PA016/033)

(15.16) comes from a text which describes how a ghost killed a father who went hunting with his son. (15.16a) describes how the ghost caught the father who was on the tree with his son. When (15.16b.) is introduced, both *pha mra* and *akǒ aseï* are topics of their proposition, but they are also contrastive with one another: as for thighs and shoulders, he kept them, but as for the head and the body he took them (home).

Therefore these two fronted NPs *pha mra* and *akǒ aseï* are contrastive topics.

Another function of Bih fronted NPs can be seen in the following example where a referent of a proposition contradicts the hearer's expected referent:

(15.17) (That is not right. I pound with banana.)

Katǎr ʔhǔk katǎr nǎn kǎo tle hǒng putei

corn smashed corn DIST 1 pound with banana

năn kâo đǎ ba. Kâo ĩuh mâo aseı.
then 1 hold take/bring 1 NEG have cooked.rice

'It is smashed corn that I pound with banana to take with me because I do not have cooked rice.' (PA012/051)

The text from which (15.17) comes describes what foods Y-rĩt and his friends ate when they went to look for bamboo to make eel catchers. Y-rĩt's friends have cooked rice for their lunch while he only has an inferior corn-based dish. Because his friends lied to him (they said that they would let him use their cutting tools), Y-rĩt decided to lie to them when they asked him what kind of food he was eating. He said it was dog excrement. When they went back to the village, his friends told the village chief that Y-rĩt's dog excrement were very sweet and good. When the village chief asked him, his reply was (15.17). Y-rĩt wanted the Chief to know that it was smashed corn and not dog excrement as presupposed. In other words, what his hearers, his friends and the Chief, had in mind about his food was that it was dog excrement. So, when the referent *Katǎr ĩhũk katǎr năn* is inserted, the speaker, Y-rĩt, wanted to contrast the referent with his hearers' presupposition. Therefore it is a contrastive focus.

15.2 . The third and fourth arguments

This section presents a grammatical category which distinguishes a topical third person from all others. This is similar to the phenomenon which has been called "obviation" in North American languages such as Algonquian, Kutenai etc. in which one third person pronoun used to introduce new information or to reference a given participant as a topic of discourse is called proximate, and contrasts with a distinct form of third person reference called obviative. In these languages, there are certain syntactic properties associated with the obviation system. For example, in Ojibwe, an Algonquian language spoken in Canada and the United States, a noun functioning as a subject will be unmarked if it is proximate and will be marked by a suffix indicating its obviative status. Also, a transitive verb has two forms: one is a direct form and the other is inverse. The direct form is used if the subject is proximate while the inverse form is used if the subject is obviative.

Even though Bih does not have an inverse system marked on the verb as other languages that have the proximate/obviative distinction do, we find in Bih narrative one third person pronoun, *ñu*, used to refer to the character whose point of view is being represented, and another, *gǒ*, for other third persons. We will use the terms proximate

and obviative to refer to these two third persons in Bih although the Bih system is simpler than in the languages for which these terms were originally intended.

This section presents data from three stories in order to show how Bih makes a proximate/obviative distinction from different perspectives. The following section of text is taken from a tale of Jatarit, the protagonist, whose life is the main focus of the story. Jatarit lives with his grandmother in great poverty. His life changed when his grandmother went fishing. She caught no fish, but did catch a magic snail which could sing. Jatarit decided to trade his valuable snail for a tangerine at the market because he liked tangerines. It turned out that the seeds from his tangerine provided a heavy-bearing tangerine tree that attracted a lot of birds who all wanted to have one of the tangerines. One of the birds, who took a tangerine from Jatarit's tree while he was not at home gave him a magic box as compensation. Out of the box came Y-Bia, a beautiful woman who became Jatarit's wife. Y-Bia was able to provide anything the family needed. The village chief was not happy with the fact that a poor person like Jatarit could have the most beautiful wife, who was even more beautiful than any of his wives.

He challenged Jatarĩt many times, but Jatarĩt, with his wife's help, became the victor and by the end of the story he became the village chief.

In (15.18a.), when the proximate third person *Jatarĩt* is first introduced, a proper name is used. In (15.18b.) we have *aduân ñu* 'his grandmother' with the proximate pronoun. When his grandmother is referred to by a pronoun in (15.18c.), it is with the obviative *gõ* :

(15.18)a. Kào lǒ pablě Jatarĩt.
 1 again tell PN
 'I again tell a story about Jatarĩt.'

b. Nei aduân ñu aduân Sun nǎn
 now grandmother PROX grandmother PN DIST

 nao yao yǒh duân.
 go fishing PTCL grandmother
 'His_{PROX} grandmother goes fishing.' (ND008/001)

.....

c. Nǎn gõ dê gõ nao hǎng arǎng mǒh,
 then OBV EMPH OBV go with 3PL MIR

 gõ katuai hǒng arǎng.
 OBV follow with 3PL
 'She_{OBV} goes and follows other people.' (ND008/004)

These references, *ñu* for Jatarĩt and *gõ* for his grandmother, are consistent throughout the text (examples (15.19) and (15.20) come from the end of the text):

(15.19) Ai-panao čô kâo ah, gõ lač.
luckily grandchild 1 VOC OBV say
'She_{OBV} said to her grandson (Jatarĩt) that he was lucky to go home after
fighting with the village chief.'(ND008/619)

(15.20) nãn lač kjar Y-Đut yõh kĩn ñu Y-Rĩt nãn
then say husband PN PTCL DAT PROX PN DIST

kĩn ñu Jatarĩt.
DAT PROX PN
'Then (the elephant) recognized him as the husband of Y-Đut, another
nickname for Y-Bia.' (ND008/644)

This indicates that Jatarĩt was the central topic of the story while his
grandmother was not.

On the other hand, we also find the use of the proximate form to place
narrative focus on a local instead of a global topic. Example (15.21) is from a conversation
between Jatarĩt and the two dragons Y-Rĩ and Y-Rãn about how his grandmother was
scared of all the strange powerful animals who came for his tangerines while he was not
home. For this portion of the narrative only, where Jatarĩt is speaking and presenting
someone else as the main character of his discourse, it is the grandmother who is referred to
by the proximate *ñu*, although elsewhere in the story she is always obviative:

(15.21)a. ỡng dlǎng aduân kâo ti sang,
 2 look grandma 1 LOC house

b. sa ñu huĩ kơ ỡng, sa ñu huĩ kơ kâo.
 one PROX scare DAT 2 one PROX scare DAT 2
 'You look at my grandma: on the one hand she is scared of you while on
 the other hand she is afraid of me.'(ND008/177)

In addition, speaking of a local topic in a certain portion of text, any third person can be referred to by the proximate pronoun *ñu* if he or she is the focus of that brief episode regardless whether he or she occurs from the beginning of the story as the global topic or not. Examples (15.22) and (15.23) come from the portion of text about Jatarĩt's wife and the village chief respectively. Jatarĩt's wife had not been introduced to the text until example (15.22) and the village chief was introduced only in the second half of the story by (15.23). When the narrative stops tracking Jatarĩt, for an episode that follows his wife Y-Bia, it is Y-Bia who is referred to by the proximate pronoun. Likewise the village chief, for a narrative portion where he plays a central role, is referred to with *ñu* since he is the topic for that portion:

(15.22)a. Leh tanǎ aseĩ atũk djǎm, ñu Y-Bia nǎn,
 Finish cook rice cook soup, PROX PN DIST,

b. Leh-nǎn ñu wâng abǎn, wâng dỏ piên ao yơh.
 Then PROX weave blanket, weave thing loin-clothes shirt PTCL

‘Then that Ybia, when finished cooking rice and soup, she_{PROX} then weaves blankets, loin clothes and shirts.’ (ND008/251)

- (15.23) Năn ñu mayua đĩng-katang ñu,
 then PROX PRE-tell servant PROX
- nao bĕ di ih đĩng-katang ah,
 go IMP PL 2 servant VOC
- di ih nao lăng ta sang Y-Rĭt dih.
 PL 2 go look LOC sang PN FAR-DIST
- ‘Then he_{PROX} told his servants to go and look inside Y-Rĭt’s house.’
 (ND008/300)

It makes sense that in portions of the text where the narrative stops tracking the global topic, the local topic is then referred to by the proximate as shown in (15.22) and (15.23) above. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how the language deals with a situation where the local topic meets the global topic in the same portion of narrative. For instance, in the story about Jatarĭt, there is an episode which follows the village chief. Jatarĭt becomes involved because the village chief wants things from him. Here, when both of them are being referred to, it is expected that Jatarĭt, as the global topic, will be referred to by the proximate pronoun and the village chief will be referred as an obviative as shown in example (15.24):

(15.24) a. Leh-năn lǒ ʔuh mǒh đǐng-buǎl putao ñu
 and again see MIR servant head.village PROX

 năn, đǐng-katang ñu lǒ nao.
 DIST, servant PROX again go

b. "Si-ba Y-Rít ah ǒng nao leh hě?" "Ǒ, kâo nao leh."
 how PN VOC 2 go PFV QP yes, 1 go PFV

.....

c. Ya hǒk-krdǒk yǒh đǐng-katang gǒ dê.
 what happy PTCL servant OBV EMPH

'Then again his_{PROX} servants went to Y-Rít: "Hey, Y-Rít, did you go?"

"Yes, I did" Y-Rít responded.'

.....

'His_{OBV} servants were very happy.' (ND008/610)

However, it is not always the case where both a local topic in the episode and the global topic are present that the local topic will be referred to with the obviative pronoun. Sometimes both a global topic and a local one are referred to by the same proximate form *ñu*. In other words, the same proximate form is used to refer to two different third persons in that case. In order to make clear which third person the

proximate pronoun is referring to, Bih uses a noun phrase adjacent to the proximate to make a distinction between the two topics, as shown in example (15.25):

(15.25) a. Năn mỗ ñu Y-Rĩt palei ñu năn lač,
 then wife PROX PN wife PROX then say
 (you told your brother to cook rice and soups)

b. Bở ñu putao nei năn,
 but PROX king this then

 ðuh lõ thâu dỏ ñu lõ čheng.
 NEG again know thing PROX again want

'Then Y-Rĩt_{PROX}'s wife told her brothers to talk to Y-Rĩt and ask him to cook rice and soup. As for him_{PROX}, the chief, she did not know what he wanted.' (ND008/601)

However, occasionally an obviative can be used to refer to the main character in an episode that follows a different third person who belongs to the natural world. In the story above, Jatarĩt is referred to by an obviative in a context which describes where wild animals (in this case, deer) live and their actions there. Thus, in (15.26), he is marked as an obviative:

(15.26) Truh ta năn, đũk-ardũk mớh, đruah djruah tiă gở năn.
 arrive LOC DIST, slowly MIR deer deer follow OBV DIST
 'When he_{OBV} arrived there, the deer followed him_{OBV}.'(ND008/502)

Another story providing evidence of how Bih makes a proximate/obviative distinction is a story about Đông-krje and his relation to the monkey family. In Bih culture, monkeys often represent mischievous tricksters. Thus it is often the case when a folktale is about or has monkeys as characters, that folktale always has a lesson for hearers. Đông-krje became a prisoner of the monkey family after saying that he used monkey penis as bait for fishing (in fact he used worms, like everyone else, but got annoyed when the monkeys refused to believe him). He stayed with their family and caused a lot of trouble for them such as asking them to kill their livestock one after another--first a chicken, then a pig, a buffalo and finally their grandmother. The reason they did whatever he said was that they thought there was a ghost in his body and what he told them was really the ghost speaking. After the monkey family killed their grandmother as he had requested, he wanted to go back to his own house. He offered to pay for his mistake (what he said about his fishing foods) with a single compensation. From then on, he lied to them repeatedly. For example, one time he gave them a crab and told them that it was his ancestors' buffalo. Another time he gave them a big storage bin and told them that it was his ancestors' elephant that they could use to ride across

the river. Another time he gave them his ancestors' hat and told them to sit in the sun while wearing that hat. Finally, he gave to them a drum that he had filled with a lot of poisonous insects and creatures. He told them to use his drum when they celebrate the harvest season. As a result, all the monkeys died. At first, Đông-krje just wanted to pay off his debt to the monkeys. So when he gave his first compensation, it was just a compensation. However, with the later deceits, he wanted to kill them. So the degree of dangerousness of each subsequent compensation, compared to the earlier ones, always increased. But the monkey family did not realize that. They believed and followed his directives every time, but kept returning to him complaining that the compensation he had given did not match his description. Finally because of their stupidity, they died and Đông-krje was the winner after repeatedly duping the monkey family. The lesson from the story is "Do not be stupid like the monkeys who died because they believed what their enemy said". Because the monkey family and their stupidity are the main topic of discourse, the monkey is the main character and thus, it is expected that the monkey will be referred to by the proximate pronoun *nũ*. Therefore, at the beginning of the story when Đông-krje is the first person introduced to hearers, he is referred to by the

obviative pronoun *gǝ* as shown in (15.27). It is a signal to hearers that this person is not the main topic of the story. Then, when the monkey is introduced after *Dông-krje*, as in (15.27c-e), it was referred to by the proximate pronoun *ñu*.

- (15.27)a. Káo pablě tlei đơm. Káo pablě Dông-krje.
 1 tell story long.time 1 tell PN
- b. Krje năn gǝ nao cǔt weh.
 PN DIST OBV go put fishing.tool
 'I am telling a story about *Dông-krje*. He_{OBV} goes fishing.'
 (ND007/001)
- c. cǔt weh năn, năn matuôm hăng kra.
 put fishing.tool then, then PRE-meet with monkey
- d. tuôm hăng kra, năn ñu kra lač:
 meet with monkey then PROX monkey say
- e. ǝ Dông-krje, hăng adǝ ǝng weh?
 VOC PN with thing 2 go.fishing
 'Then he_{OBV} met the monkey and he_{PROX}, the monkey, asked *Dông-krje*,
 with what did you go fishing.' (ND007/003)

Just as in *Jatarĩ*'s story, in certain portions of this story, where the narrative topic is a local topic instead of the global one, the proximate is used to refer to the local topic of that portion. In the following examples, it is *Dông-krje* who is referred to by *ñu*. The first is shown in a portion of text, (15.28), in which the monkey and his family are talking

about Đông-krje's request regarding the type of meat he wants to eat (the grandmother!).

The second example, (15.29), occurs in the narrative describing how Đông-krje made the hat that he gave to the monkey:

(15.28) Ñũ lač arih aduân yoʰ, ñu lač.
 PROX say kill grandmother PTCL PROX say
 'He_{PROX} said to kill our grandmother.' (ND007/257)

(15.29) Ñũ mlia arlĩn năn.
 PROX shine wax DIST
 'He_{PROX} buffed the wax.' (ND007/362)

In another case when both Đông-krje, as a local topic, and the monkeys are mentioned in one portion of narrative, a NP occurs next to a proximate to make it clear who the pronoun refers to. Example (15.30) describes how Đông-krje goes looking for things to put in the drum, and then, when he is finished making the drum, he goes to call the monkey. In this portion of text, the proximate *ñu* in (15.30a.) refers to Đông-krje, so the second *ñu* in (15.30b.) is followed by a NP *kra năn* to make a clear reference to the monkey:

(15.30) a. Djăp~djĩk~djĩp~lĩk anao yoʰ ñu.
 everywhere go PTCL PROX

 ma-pa-duĩm ma-pa-duĩm lăm năn leh-năn ah
 PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST and then

- b. lǒ nao iêo ñu kra năn.
 again go call PROX monkey DIST
 'He_{PROX} went everywhere (to look for insects) to put in the drum, and
 then, he_{PROX} called out to him_{PROX}, the monkey. '(ND007/415)

As mentioned with reference to (15.26), the main character is sometimes referred to by the obviative *gǒ* instead of the proximate *ñu*. Example (15.26) comes from an episode where Jatarit was in the wild animal territory. In the story of Đông-krje and the monkey, the monkey is usually the topic of discourse. But in some of the last episodes in which the monkey has still luckily survived and has gone back to Đông-krje to ask for another compensation, he is referred to by the obviative (up until he dies) as shown in (15.31) and (15.32). It is not clear what discourse factors cause this switch between two coding pronouns, though according to Bih speakers it has to do with the fact that Đông-krje was the winner, and the monkey was too stupid to survive in the story, so this was the way they ended:

- (15.31) Dô mamă yaih hăk-krdăk yǒh gǒ. Kra năn mamă.
 PROG PRE-take EXCL happy PTCL OBV monkeythen PRE-take
 'The monkey_{OBV} was so happy to take the hat.'(ND007/372)

- (15.32) Dô matiă kađah tiă hủ di gǒ yǒh.
 PROG PRE-follow bite follow etc PL OBV PTCL
 'They were chasing to bite them_{OBV}.'(ND007/454)

In a different story involving a man-eating ghost, the ghost has not been introduced yet in the first episode. So here, his victim is referred to with a proximate pronoun *ñu* as shown in (15.33):

(15.33) Ñu dôk kăp arnap ñu dua anak ama.
PROX sit wait house PROX two child father
'Both the father and son were waiting for their wild animals in their
lookout house in a tree.'(PA016/007)

In this story, the ghost's victim was a father of a family so poor that they did not even have a house in a village. So they built a small mountain house right at the edge of the forest. One time the father and his son went hunting. They got a big forest buffalo and built a fire there to cook it. The ghost smelled roasting meat and came. Both father and son climbed up the tree, but the ghost pulled the father down and ate him, leaving the thighs and shoulders. Then the ghost told the son that they would go home to his mother and take her the "buffalo" meat. When he met the wife, Y-Bia, the ghost appeared as the father. He gave the wife all the thighs and shoulders from her husband and told her that they were from a buffalo. The ghost then took some wine and drank. Y-Bia recognized her husband's legs and prepared to flee. She and her children escaped and arrived at the home of an old lady who was the only one brave enough to hide them in her house after hearing their story. When the ghost came, the old lady tricked him into swallowing a red hot stone. She burned him to ashes, but forgot to throw his head into the fire. Y-Bia and her children decided to stay with the old lady for the rest of their lives. One time, when Y-Bia went looking for snails at the river, she realized that the head of the ghost was

following her. She ran back to the old lady's house, but it was too late as the ghost grabbed her wrist and bit her calf when she climbed up the stairs and she died.

This story provides a consistent distinction between a proximate and obviatives in which the proximate is used to refer to the main character while all other third persons in the story are obviatives. Since the main character, in this case the ghost, occurs in the story, he is referred to by the proximate in (15.34) and (15.35) even though at the beginning of the discourse, the father was introduced by the proximate as shown in (15.33) above. From there on, the father is referred to by the obviative (15.36) and his son was, too (15.37). When Y-Bia is first introduced into the story, she is also referred to as obviative in (15.38). So was the old lady: she was often called by *duân sun*, 'good grandmother', but other than that, she was referred to as an obviative as in (15.39):

(15.34) ḅrăm ana ỵọh ḅiă-dah m̄ao l̄o t̄hao
 arrow crossbow PTCL but NEG again know

m̄ao panah ñu n̄ăn.
 NEG shoot PROX DIST

'They have their crossbows but do not know how to shoot him_{PROX}.'

(PA016/029)

(15.35) Ak̄o ñu n̄ăn jing l̄o jing yang ỵọh.
 head PROX then become again become ghost PTCL

'His head then becomes the ghost.'(PA016/154)

- (15.36) Apāl gǝ nǎn adôk, ñu djǎ dǎ nǎn.
 arm OBV DIST still PROX hold like DIST
 'His_{OBV} arms are still left, the ghost_{PROX} holds (to the wife).'
- (PA016/036)
- (15.37) ñu plǎk ama gǝ ti jǝng tǎm.
 PROX pull father OBV LOC leg REC
 'He pulled the father's legs.'(PA016/033)
- (15.38) Mamăt mamăt nǎn jǝng arlô,
 dark dark then leg wild.animal
- pungač pungač jǝng jǝng kjar gǝ mnuih.
 light light leg leg husband OBV human
 'When it was dark, the legs looked like wild animal legs, when it was
 light, they were her husband's legs.'(PA016/048)
- (15.39) Duôn sun gǝ ngǎ kuě kabüt büt
 grandma PN OBV make scoop grave.stone grave.stone
- msat nǎn bǝng êmô bǝng kabao nǎn.
 grave.stone then eat cow eat buffalo then
 'The grandma made a grave stone and prayed for the mother.'
- (PA016/149)

APPENDIX A

BIH-EDE-ENGLISH LEXICON (SELECTED WORDS)

This lexicon contains only selected words taken from my Bih lexicon database. The first column is Bih words that are from the texts collected through the Bih documentation project. The second column is Ede version that is provided by two Ede native assistants of the project.

A - a

abao	abao. <i>large water snail.</i>	arbüŋ	êbüŋ. <i>bamboo shoot.</i>
abâo	hbâo. <i>ashes.</i>	ardeh	êdeh. <i>vehicle.</i>
abrei	mbruê. <i>yesterday.</i>	are	hriê. <i>come.</i>
adăng	hdăng. <i>charcoal.</i>	arip	hrip. <i>suck in.</i>
adei	adei. <i>younger sibling.</i>	arlang	hlang. <i>thatch.</i>
adôk	adôk. <i>still.</i>	arlin	hlin. <i>candle wax.</i>
adũ	adũ. <i>room.</i>	arluh	êbuh. <i>collapse.</i>
adũng	adũng. <i>nose.</i>	arñan	êñan. <i>ladder.</i>
agăr	hgor. <i>drum.</i>	arsa	êsa. <i>Sambhur deer.</i>
akă	kă. <i>tie.</i>	artak	êtak. <i>bean sprout.</i>
akei	êkei. <i>boy/man.</i>	asah	sah. <i>sharpen.</i>
akĩt	ruă. <i>hurt.</i>	asăm	săm. <i>cover.</i>
akök	kö. <i>head.</i>	asâo	asâo. <i>dog.</i>
alâo	hlâo. <i>pestle.</i>	aseh	aseh. <i>horse.</i>
ale	alê. <i>medium bamboo.</i>	asei	êsei, aseï. <i>cooked rice, body, meat of fruit.</i>
alöŋg	hlöŋg lar. <i>forever/until.</i>	asuk	êsük. <i>ribs.</i>
anak	anak, êđai. <i>child, child.</i>	asüŋg	êsüŋg. <i>mortar.</i>
anăn	anăn. <i>name.</i>	ataih	taih. <i>far.</i>
anăp	ti -anăp. <i>front of.</i>	ate	tiê. <i>liver.</i>
angĩn	angĩn. <i>wind.</i>	atük	tük. <i>cook.</i>
angĩt	êngĩt. <i>sky.</i>	awa	awa. <i>white-headed langur, uncle, parent-in-law.</i>
angu	êngu. <i>white sesame.</i>	awak	awak. <i>ladle.</i>
anông	ênông. <i>carry on pole.</i>	awăr	wor. <i>forget.</i>
añuăr	amung. <i>stalk of bananas.</i>	awe	hwiê, həwie. <i>rattan.</i>
apui	pui. <i>fire.</i>	aya	êya. <i>ginger.</i>
arăng	arăng. <i>person.</i>		
arbâo	êbâo. <i>thousand.</i>		

B - b

bě	bě. <i>imperative.</i>
bê	bê. <i>calf.</i>
blah	blah. <i>split.</i>
blei	blei. <i>buy.</i>
boh	boh, boh. <i>fruit/egg/ CL</i>

bông bông. *coffin*.
braih braih. *rice(husked)*.
brei brei, brei. *give, permit*.
bruă bruă. *work*.
brūk brū. *rotten*.

B - b

băng	băng. <i>hole</i> .	biă	biă. <i>little</i> .
brăm	brăm. <i>arrow</i> .	bỗ	bỗ. <i>face</i> .
bế	bế. <i>CL for long thin object</i> .	bỡng	bỡng. <i>eat</i> .
bũk	bũk. <i>head hair</i> .	bỡng	bỡng. <i>burn</i> .

C - c

čhar	čhar. <i>big gong</i> .	čök	čök. <i>wail</i> .
čhök	jhök. <i>scoop up/ladle</i> .	čuh	čuh. <i>roast something over fire by hand</i> .
čhum	čhum. <i>pants</i> .		

D - d

dar	dar. <i>encircle</i> .	dlăng	dlăng, dlăng. <i>watch, look</i> .
dôk	dôk, dôk, dôk, dôk. <i>sit/stay, be at, still</i> .	dleh	dleh. <i>tired</i> .
dỡng	dỡng. <i>stand</i> .	dlô	dlô. <i>brain</i> .
dua	dua. <i>two</i> .	dlông	dlông. <i>tall, long, above part</i> .
dră	dră. <i>hand on hip</i> .		

Đ - đ

đang	đang. <i>lie supine</i> .	đuôn	đuôn. <i>a bamboo conical hat</i> .
đih	đih. <i>lie</i> .	đuông	đuông. <i>float</i> .
đung	đung. <i>wrap up</i> .		

E - e

eh eh. *excrement/feces*.

Ê - ê

êar êa. *water.*

G - g

gah gah. *side.*
gãm gãm. *put lid on.*
ge giê. *stick.*
gõ gõ. *pot.*
grãm grãm. *thunder.*

grieng griäng. *fang.*
gũk pông. *chicken cage.*
guôp gũ. *below.*

H - h

hăng hăng. *spicy.*
hiar hia. *cry.*

hök hök. *pour out.*

I - i

hông hông. *wasp.*
ibat êbat. *walk.*
iêu iêu. *call.*
ima ema. *five.*
ina ana, ênua. *feminine, (class term).*

ingit êngit. *sky.*
ipan êpan. *centipede.*
ira hra. *salt.*
irũm êrũm. *needle.*
iwa êwa. *breath.*

J - j

jak jak. *invite.*
jê jê. *near.*
jhat jhat. *bad.*
jhĩt jhĩt. *sew.*

joh joh, đăk (êman). *break.*
jông jông. *axe.*
jũ jũ. *black.*

Dj - dj

djõ djõ. *correct.*
djrao đrao. *bamboo type.*
djruah đruah. *barking deer.*

djuh djuh. *firewood.*
djũp djũp. *smoke.*

K - k

kă	kă. <i>tie.</i>	k'ho	k'ho. <i>K'ho people.</i>
kal	kal. <i>lock.</i>	không	không. <i>dry.</i>
kalei	klei. <i>-ing, dig.</i>	kỗ	kỗ. <i>white.</i>
kamei	hmei. <i>we(ex).</i>	koh	koh. <i>shorten.</i>
kan	kan. <i>fish.</i>	kông	kông. <i>bracelet.</i>
kanăl.akök	anăl kô. <i>pillow.</i>	kra	kra. <i>monkey.</i>
kang	kang. <i>jaw.</i>	krông	krông. <i>river.</i>
káo	káo. <i>1sg.</i>	krur	êlũ. <i>bowl.</i>
kapal	kpal. <i>thick.</i>	ksuă	ksô. <i>lung.</i>
karăm	krăm. <i>hatch.</i>	ktăr	ktor. <i>corn.</i>
katăk	ktăk. <i>sap.</i>	kulít	klít. <i>skin.</i>
katăl	ktăl. <i>itchy.</i>	kunăm	knam. <i>black cloud.</i>
katre	ktrei. <i>scissors.</i>	kuñít	kñĩ. <i>yellow, tumeric.</i>
katũng	ktũng. <i>pull.</i>	kur	ku. <i>animal tail.</i>
kawăt	kwăt. <i>wire.</i>	kura	krua. <i>tortoise.</i>
kayáo	kyáo. <i>tree.</i>	kutáo	ktáu. <i>head lice.</i>

L - l

lač	lač. <i>say.</i>	lek	liêk. <i>tickle.</i>
lăm	hlăm lam. <i>in.</i>	lôk	lôk. <i>peel.</i>
lăn	lăn. <i>land.</i>	luai	luê. <i>swim.</i>
lê	lê. <i>fall down.</i>		

M - m

mă	mă. <i>hold/use/take/pick up.</i>	maráo	mráo. <i>new/just now.</i>
mabui	hlô ũn. <i>wild pig.</i>	masăm	msăm. <i>sour.</i>
mabũk	ruă. <i>drunk.</i>	masĩn	msĩn. <i>salty.</i>
malăm	mlam. <i>night.</i>	mata	ală. <i>eye.</i>
maláo	mláo. <i>ashamed.</i>	mdũng	adũng. <i>nose.</i>
malông	lông. <i>try.</i>	mhao	mhao. <i>drink.</i>
manei	mnei. <i>bathe.</i>	miêu	miêu. <i>cat.</i>
măng	mõng. <i>from.</i>	mnũk	mnũ. <i>chicken.</i>
marai	mrai. <i>thread.</i>	mung	amung. <i>muzzle.</i>

N - n

năm	năm. <i>six.</i>	nei	nei. <i>this.</i>
nao	nao. <i>go.</i>		

Ñ - ñ

ñeh ñeh. *elbow.*
ñu ñu. *3sg.*

ñük añü. *necklace/beads.*

NG - ng

ngă ngă. *make.*

ngök ngö. *east.*

P - p

pă pă. *four.*
pade mdiê. *unhusked rice/paddy.*
pađuôp myor. *offer.*
păk puh. *fan.*
pakă kuč pui, mkă. *feed a fire, measure.*
pală plă. *palm.*
palě mplě. *drop.*
pamah mmah. *chew.*
panah monah. *shoot.*
pasah msah. *wet.*
patük mtük. *cough.*
pě pě. *pick/pluck.*
phañ bhañ, hdrak. *sneeze.*
phīt phī. *bitter.*
phün phün. *trunk.*
pinang mnang. *betel (areca -palm).*
pine mniê. *girl/woman.*
pluh pluh. *ten.*
pök pök. *open.*
pöng pöng. *nail/hammer.*

prăk prăk. *money.*
prök prök. *squirrel.*
pröng pröng, elder aunt, pröng, big.
prtü mtü. *star.*
pü pü. *carry in one's arms.*
pujeh mjeh. *seeds.*
pukă mkă. *measure.*
pukăn mkăn. *another.*
pula pla. *plant.*
pulan mlan. *month.*
pulăo mlăo. *body hair.*
pumao mmao. *mushroom.*
puñam mñam. *weave.*
punga mnga. *flower.*
pungăt mngăt. *spirit.*
pusăt msăt. *belly button.*
pusei msei. *iron.*
putei mtei. *banana.*
puya mya. *crocodile.*

R - r

rang êbhu/bhu. *spread it out.*
răng adrăng. *rice straw.*
răk răk. *grass.*
rdê êdê. *Rade people.*
rông rông. *raise.*

röng röng. *backbone.*
rök adrök. *toad.*
rtuh êtuh. *a hundred.*

S - s

rup	rup. <i>picture.</i>	siem	siam. <i>beautiful.</i>
sa	sa. <i>one.</i>	siep	lang. <i>spread out.</i>
sang	sang. <i>house.</i>	sroh	hroh. <i>grind/polish.</i>
săp	săp pui. <i>smoke from fire.</i>	srõ	hrõ. <i>subside.</i>
sei	hlei. <i>who.</i>		

T - t

ta	ti. <i>at.</i>	tlăn	tlăn. <i>python.</i>
tă	tă. <i>chop.</i>	tláo	tláo, êláo. <i>three, laugh, formerly.</i>
tabar	kba. <i>tasteless.</i>	tlě	tlě. <i>steal.</i>
takung	kkung. <i>carry.</i>	tlõ	tlõ. <i>stab.</i>
talan	êlan. <i>road.</i>	tloh	tloh. <i>break.</i>
talei	klei, klei. <i>the, string.</i>	tông	tông. <i>beat gong.</i>
tană	knă. <i>cook rice.</i>	trbáo	kbáo. <i>sugarcane.</i>
tangan	kngan. <i>hand.</i>	trdei	êdei. <i>behind</i>
tangũ	kgũ. <i>get up.</i>	trei	trei. <i>full.</i>
tanguăr	knguôr. <i>flat woven tray.</i>	trluič	tuč. <i>last.</i>
tape	kpiê. <i>rice vine.</i>	trmah	kmah. <i>generous.</i>
tara	êra. <i>girl(teenage).</i>	trõng	trõng. <i>eggplant.</i>
tarah	êrah. <i>blood.</i>	trpăt	kpăt. <i>hold in hand.</i>
tasă	ksă. <i>ripe/cooked.</i>	trpũng	kpũng. <i>flour.</i>
than	adhan. <i>branch.</i>	trũn	trũn. <i>descend.</i>
tháo	tháo. <i>know.</i>	tugáo	kgáo. <i>bear.</i>
thei	adhei. <i>forehead.</i>	tuhua	khua. <i>ripe, grown up.</i>
thõng	dhõng. <i>knife.</i>	tukáo	kkáo. <i>fingernail.</i>
thũn	thũn. <i>year.</i>	tuki	ki. <i>horn.</i>
		tulang	klang. <i>bone.</i>
tiă	tiõ. <i>chase.</i>	tuleh	kleh. <i>untie.</i>
tian	tian. <i>stomach.</i>	tumeh	kmeh. <i>post/pillar.</i>
tigei	êgei. <i>tooth.</i>	tupa	êpa. <i>arm span.</i>
tijuh	kjuh. <i>seven.</i>	tupă	kpă. <i>straight.</i>
tikah	hdor. <i>remember.</i>	turei	êruê. <i>thorny bamboo.</i>
tikuih	kkuih. <i>mouse.</i>	tusáo	ksáo. <i>breast.</i>
tilah	êlah. <i>tongue.</i>	tu-üt	ko-üt. <i>knee.</i>
timũn	kmũn. <i>cucumber.</i>		

U - u

ubei	hbei. <i>yam.</i>	udăm	hdăm. <i>ant.</i>
ubuh	ebuh. <i>fall down.</i>	udang	hdang. <i>shrimp.</i>
ubung	êbüng. <i>bamboo shoot.</i>	udăr	hdor. <i>miss.</i>

udĭp hdĭp. *alive.*
uĭjan hĭjan. *rain.*
ukhar agha. *long root.*
ular ala. *snake.*
ulăt hluăt. *worm.*
uluăt hluăt. *worm.*
ulŭn hlŭn. *servant.*
uma hma. *mountain field/cultivated field.*

umăk êmă. *grease.*
unei hnuê. *honey bee.*
upei êpei. *dream.*
upih êpih. *thin.*
ură hră. *letter.*
urăt aruăt. *vein.*
urei hruê. *day.*

W - w

wa wa. *uncle.*
wăng wăng. *sickle.*

weh weh. *turn aside.*
wĭl wĭl. *round.*

Y - y

yang yang. *god.*
yap yap. *count.*
yoh yoh. *ptcl.*

yot pŭ yŏng. *pick a child up.*
yup ayŭ. *blow.*

APPENDIX B

A SELECTED TEXT

Text name: **Dông-krje and the monkey family**

Text ID: ND007

Speaker: H'Ngu Đier

Gender: Female

Age: born 1937

Audience: H'Riu Hmök, Y-Rah Bũôngdăp, Tam Nguyen and speaker's children and grandchildren.

ND007_001

Dă	nei										
as	PROX		grandchild	VOC	1	tell/talk		story	old		
											đom.

Kâo pablě Dông-krje.

1 tell/talk PN

The story I will tell you, Dông-krje goes like this...

ND007_002

Krje	năn	gỡ																				
PN	DIST	3	go	put	fishhook	take	worm	take	worm	PTCL												
																						yơh.

He went fishing with a worm on his hook.

ND007_003

Leh	mă	ulăt,	năn	gỡ																		
Finish	take	worm	then	3	go	put	fishhook	then														

Then he met a monkey.

ND007_004

tuôm hăng kra, năn ñu kra lač:
meet with monkey then 3 monkey say

ND007_005

ở Đông-krje, hăng adö öng weh?
VOC PN with things 2 go fishing

then the monkey asked him "Hey Đông-krje , What are you using for fishing?"

ND007_006

Káo weh hăng ulăt.
1 go fishing with worm
"I am using a worm", he answered.

ND007_007

ħuh djở!
NEG right
"That is not true", replied the monkey.

ND007_008

ħaih hăng ulăt lah.
EXCL with worm PTCL
"Yes, it is. It is a worm" Đông-Krje answered.

ND007_009

Hăng adö öng weh?
with things 2 go fishing
The monkey asked again "What are you using for fishing?"

ND007_010

káo weh hăng ulăt.
1 go fishing with worm
Then Đông-krje again said "I am using a worm"

ND007_011

ħuh ər ħuh ər!

NEG agree NEG agree

"not true, not true- you aren't telling me the truth"

ND007_012

Năn Đông-krje năn malač:

then PN then PRE-say

so, Đông-krje then said

ND007_013

Káo weh, káo čüt weh nei hăng pruêč kra,
1 go fishing 1 put fishhook PROX with intestine monkey

ND007_014

hăng ate kra, hăng tiboh kra
with liver monkey with heart monkey

ND007_015

hăng ahüng kra, hăng ple kra.
with stomach monkey with penis monkey

"I am using monkey intestine, monkey liver, monkey heart and monkey penis for fishing."

ND007_016

ħơih, ai ơng lač kơ káo đã năn, Đông-krje heh?
EXCL thing/what 2 say DAT 1 as DIST PN QP?

ơng dlao-wač, ơng are wě!
2 abuse 2 come IMP

nao hõng kamei kâo mã ỡng yơh, kâo pã aluh.
go with 1EXCL 1 take 2 PTCL 1 arrest pole

"What! How can you say that to me? You insult me. Come here! We will arrest you."

ND007_017

ơ!, mã mã nao nao yơh. Si malõ ngã?
yes hold/pick.up hold/pick.up go go PTCL why PRE-again make

ẵng kâo soh yơh kâo blũ hõng ỡng.
because 1 wrong PTCL 1 speak with 2

"Go ahead and do it", Đông-krje said, "What can I do? I was wrong to talk to you like that."

ND007_018

Kâo lač mã ple kra năn cứt hõng ple
1 say hold/pick.up penis monkey then put with penis

kra năn.
monkey DIST

ND007_019

Di ih rmuh kâo nei lič-lek
PL 2 ask 1 PROX always

but you all kept asking me what I used for fishing

ND007_020

Kâo lač ulăt, di ih lač ẵuh djở.
1 say worm PL 2 say NEG right

When I said 'a worm', you said 'not true', again and again

ND007_021

Kâo lač ulăt, ỡng lač ẵuh djở.
1 say worm 2 say NEG right

ND007_022

năn kâo malač đă năn, năn ỡng mă kâo.
 then 1 PRE-say as DIST then 2 hold/pick.up 1

Mă yơh năn.
 hold/pick.up PTCL DIST

Therefore, I said it. If you want to arrest me, go ahead and do it.

ND007_023

mamă năn mamă anuh, ngă anuh
 PRE-hold/pick.up then PRE-hold/pick.up stick/log make stick/log

then the monkeys took a pole and tied Đông-krje to it.

ND007_024

leh anuh, snăn mớh anuh, mă ẵlang
 finish stick/log so MIR stick/log hold/pick.up wild kapok

ND007_025

drei madruăm ẵlang hỏ!
 1EXCL PRE-cut.down wild.kapok IMP

ND007_026

lač ndăng kra ñu
 say PL monkey 3

ND007_027

drei madruăm ẵlang.
 1EXCL PRE-cut.down wild kapok

They intended to cut down a tree and tie Đông-krje tightly to the log.

ND007_028

bữih, đăm ỡng druăm ẵlang ôh!
 EXC NEG1 2 cut.down wild kapok NEG2

"Oh no, please don't cut down that tree, Đông-krje said

ND007_029

ǒng năn hang aseï prlei drei, hang aseï prlei mǒ anak ǒng,
2 then itchy body body 1INCL itchy body body wife child 2

amĩ ama ǒng, aseï prlei drei ñu hang mớh.
mother father 2 body body 1INCL 3 itchy MIR

*"because it will make the whole body itchy for you, your wife, your children.
Everybody will itch."*

ND007_030

hăng adǒ kâo mangă, ơ Đông-krje?
with things 1 PRE-make VOC PN

"What should I use?" asked the monkey

ND007_031

mă arũm tanũm djuê ana drei, mǒ anak ǒng,
hold/pick.up local.spinach all extended family 1INCL wife child 2

tanũm mớh.
all MIR

"You take all of Arũm plants and tie me to them."

ND007_032

drei tanũm mớh djuê ana.
1INCL all MIR extended family

ND007_033

năn paanuh Đông-krje hăng arũm.
then CAUS-tie PN with local spinach

Then the monkeys tied Đông-krje to the plants.

ND007_034

truh ta Ɣuôn, aseï djãm mớh ñu brei.
arrive LOC village cooked.rice soup MIR 3 give

ND007_035

kĩn ñu paũ rei.
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2

After arriving at the monkey village, although they did give food to Đông-krje , they still kept him tied to the plants.

ND007_036

biã-dah paanuh, ăt ñu paanuh mớh.
however CAUS-tie also 3 CAUS-tie MIR

ND007_037

năn truh ta buôn dih, năn mớ anak ñu:
then arrive LOC village FAR.DIST then wife child 3

ở sei mnuih ởng mã ởng dê nei.
VOC who person 2 hold/pick.up 2 EMPH PROX

When the monkey got home, his wife asked who he brought home with him.

ND007_038

kâu mã yớh ñu. ñu dlao-wač ñu suôi kâu.
1 hold/pick.up PTCL 3 3 yell 3 yell 1

"I brought him home because he insulted me.", said the husband, "He said:

ND007_039

đã cứt boh ple, boh hứ, cứt weh ñu lač.
PL put (class term) penis (classterm) etc. put fish.hook 3 say

he used monkey penises to put on a fish hook.

ND007_040

năn kâu mã ñu, kâu paanuh
then 1 hold/pick.up 3 1 CAUS-tie

so, I brought him home."

ND007_041

ơ. gở leh yớh năn.
yes 3 finish PTCL DIST

"uh huh, he did that already", responded his wife.

ND007_042

mỗ anak ñu mabrei aseı djãm mahuă yoh năn.
wife child 3 PRE-give cooked.rice soup PRE-eat PTCL DIST
Then the monkey's wife and his children gave Đông-krje some food to eat.

ND007_043

dôk pít yoh, sa tlãm jăk mớh.
sit/stay sleep PTCL one afternoon good MIR

ND007_044

sa malãm jăk mớh.
one night good MIR
he stayed there one day and nothing happened.

ND007_045

pañă madua malãm,pañă tlăo malãm năn
til PRE-two night til three night then
until the second day, the third day,

ND007_046

năn ñu Đông-krje năn arla angoh
then 3 PN then pretend sick
then Đông-krje pretended that he was sick

ND007_047

hữh-hữh-hữh-hữh
(sound.from.sick.person)
(moaning)

ND007_048

năn sui biă, hữh-hữh-hữh-hữh
then long time short time (sound.from.sick.person)

ND007_049

arih manũk arih manũk
kill chicken kill chicken

"Cook chicken, cook chicken" said Đông-krje .

ND007_050

leh-năn krep ñu Đông-krje dôk yơh năn,
and quiet 3 PN sit/stay PTCL DIST

ḅuh lỏ blũ ôh.
NEG1 again speak NEG2

and then he kept quiet.

ND007_051

năn ñu mhữ
then 3 listen

but the monkey had already heard.

ND007_052

ơh nỡng dỏ ỡng blũ makunei ơh Đông-krje?
VOC what things 2 speak PRE-pass VOC PN?

nỡng dỏ ỡng blũ?
what things 2 speak

ND007_053

huĩ kasăk matâo gữ yơh ỡng.
scare ghost ghost put.a.spell.on.SO PTCL 2

"What did you say, Đông-krje ?" asked the monkey, "I am afraid that ghosts are speaking through your mouth."

ND007_054

ḅuh mâo, kâo năn angoh, kâo angoh.
NEG COP 1 then sick 1 sick

"That is not true. I am sick" Đông-krje answered.

ND007_055

bở si-ba angoh ống?

but why sick 2

"But what makes you sick?"

ND007_056

rih mnủk, leh ống mnủk năn kah kâo lai,
kill chicken finish eat chicken then then 1 be.over

dă năn ãu laố.

as DIST 3 say

"Cook chicken. after eating chicken then I will not be sick anymore", answered Đông-krje .

ND007_057

ơ

yes

"Ok" the monkey said.

ND007_058

năn ãu mahủn hăng palei ãu
then 3 PRE-inform with wife 3

Then the monkey went to talk to his wife

ND007_059

ố palei ố palei?

VOC wife hey wife

"Hey, Honey!" said he

ND007_060

nống adố?

what things

"What's up?" [She replied]

ND007_061

nei lah, Nđông-krje lač ñu angoh,
PROX EMPH PN say 3 sick

ñu lač rih manük, leh bởng manük kah ñu lai.
3 say kill chicken finish eat chicken then 3 be.over

"Here is the story: Dông-krje says that he is sick, and if we cook chicken for him, he will recover."

ND007_062

ở, nởng dỏ ởng malỏ rmuh, mamả ừh gở.
EXC what things 2 PRE-again ask PRE-take roast 3

"Why do you need to ask me? Go ahead and cook a chicken for him"

ND007_063

năn maừh manük ina đờgắt, ừh yờh.
then PRE-roast chicken feminine big roast PTCL

Then the monkey took a huge hen and roasted it for him.

ND007_064

leh ừh năn sa palah bởng sa palah pioh.
finish roast then one half eat one half keep

After it was done roasting, he divided the chicken into two parts: one to eat right then and one to keep for later.

ND007_065

nei Dông-Krje hỏ, huỉ apar ởng ntra malằm.
PROX PN IMP scare hungry 2 a.bit.later night

ởng huả sa palah nei.
2 eat one half PROX

"Hey, Dông-krje, eat this half and keep the other half for later in case you are hungry again tonight."

ND007_066

nei drei bởng ajih-jang drei wăt palei drei mớh bởng,
RPOX 1INCL eat all 1INCL all wife 1INCL FOC eat

wăt anak drei mớh bởng.
all child 1INCL FOC eat

Everyone in my family ate already." the monkey said.

ND007_067

ơ

yes

"Ok", answered Đông-krje

ND007_068

Đông-krje năn laỏ: ỡng pioh pajăk hỏ!
PN then say 2 keep CAUS-good IMP

"You keep the other half safe please," Đông-krje continued

ND007_069

ơ

yes

"Ok.", said the monkey.

ND007_070

leh-năn huă bởng. Leh huă bởng madôk inăn.
and eat eat finish eat eat PRE-sit then

Leh dôk ta malăm mapăt inăn.
finish sit at night PRE-sleep then

After finishing eating, they all slept.

ND007_071

Leh pīt đih năn
finish sleep lie then

ND007_072

alek yōh di ñu pīt.
deeply(in .sleeping) PTCL PL 3 sleep

The monkey family slept deeply.

ND007_073

tăm angăr yōh makbrěč-makbrök yōh.
REC snore PTCL (sounds.of.snoring.loud.and.regularly) PTCL
they snored loudly and evenly.

ND007_074

pīt yōh đã kra yōh arăng lač.
sleep PTCL as monkey PTCL 3PL say
That is why people say "sleep like a monkey".

ND007_075

Leh-năn arăng Đông-krje dê, răng nao ba pha manũk
then/and 3 PN EMPH 3 go bring thigh chicken

ta palei răng, sa palah pők.
LOC wife 3 one half open

So then Đông-krje went and took the chicken thigh-the other half- to his wife.

ND007_076

sui ti năn, leh răng huă bởng,
long.time LOC DIST finish 3PL eat eat

ñu wīt truh ta sang
3 return arrive LOC house

and he stayed with his wife and ate there with her. After that, he went back to the monkey's house.

ND007_077

Leh truh ta sang năn, dök.
finish arrive LOC house DIST sit/stay

ND007_078

tangŭ guah ưm
get.up morning early

The following morning

ND007_079

Ờ Đông-krje, Ờ Đông-krje Ờ mnũk Ờng?
VOC PN VOC PN but chicken 2

"Hey, Đông-krje, where is your chicken?" the monkey asked.

ND007_080

ơ, ấuh kâu lờ thảo ôh, Jieng ah,
EXC NEG1 1 again know NEG2 closed friend VOC

kâu lờ năn ah.
1 again DIST VOC

"Oh no, I don't know. I feel sick again.

ND007_081

năn ah, ka Jieng ah, kâu lờ ấể angoh,
then VOC NEG closed friend VOC 1 again rise sick

ấể angoh lăm nei.
rise sick in PROX

My whole body feels sick again.

ND007_082

Nei thảo asâu ờng bẻ!
PROX know dog eat IMP

I am afraid that the dog ate it already." said Đông-krje

ND007_083

ħuh kâu lỏ thâu!
NEG 1 again know

"I don't know either" replied the monkey.

ND007_084

ở mang anei ħuh yờh lỏ mâu djăm ỡng mảbởng.
EXC be.pitied now NEG PTCL again have soup you PRE-eat

"You poor thing! You didn't have anything to eat" continued the monkey.

ND007_085

nao maở đả năn yờh.
go PRE-keep hungry as DIST PTCL

mâu djăm ta di ih, mâu ta kâu.
COP soup LOC PL 2 COP LOC 1

ndỏ lỏ cêruah kỡn djăm.
what again look for DAT soup

"Don't worry. If you have something to eat, then I will have that. I can't have nothing!"

Dông-krje said

ND007_086

năn Dông-krje năn laỏ.
then PN then say

ND007_087

Leh-năn ah madỏk inăn
then/and EXC PRE-sit then

and then Dông-krje stayed

ND007_088

lỏ sỡ tẳm ntra năn
again until/til afternoon a.bit.later then

through the afternoon

ND007_089

lỗ pít lỗ angoh mớh.
again sleep again sick MIR

When he went to bed, he was sick again.

ND007_090

hủh-hủh-hủh-hủh

(sound.from.sick.person)

.(moaning)

ND007_091

hủh-hủh. arih ừn, arih ừn arih ừn.
(sounds.from.sick.person) kill pig kill pig kill pig

"Cook pig, cook pig" said Đông-krje

ND007_092

năn krep Đông-krje dôk
then quiet PN sit

Then Đông-krje kept quiet.

ND007_093

bủih, bởk ãn lỗ tikah mngai ãn.
EXC suddenly 3 again remember ear 3

ND007_094

bởk ãn lỗ tikah mngai ãn năn.
suddenly 3 again remember ear 3 then

ND007_095

ãn tangũ atãm mãng anôk palei ãn năn, hãng palei ãn năn.
3 get.up REC from place wife 3 DIST with wife 3 DIST

However, suddenly the monkey heard (something). He got up from his bed.

ND007_096

ở, si-ba? nõng dỏ ởng năn ởng karao alãm nei

EXC why what things 2 then 2 call in PROX

arăng kasởk matâu gữ yớh ớng Đông-krje?

3 ghost ghost put.a.spell.on.SO PTCL 2 PN

"Hey, Đông-krje , Why? What did you say? I am afraid that ghosts are speaking through your mouth." said the monkey.

ND007_097

ấh! năn ớh, năn ớh. kâu angoh, lố ấh angoh ớ
NEG then EXC then EXC 1 sick again rise sick EXC

"No! I am again sick"

ND007_098

ấh angoh yớng mắng ai mắng ai te
rise sick want from a lot from a lot liver

ND007_099

tằm yớh aseı prlei yớng gớghủk-gớghắk.

REC PTCL body body want describing.strong and fast shaking

I am sick and my whole body is shaking." answered Đông-krje.

ND007_100

bở si-ba ớng angoh?

but why 2 sick

"But what makes you sick?"

ND007_101

angoh yớh

sick PTCL

ND007_102

angoh rih ắn, leh ắng ắn kâu lai.

sick kill pig finish eat pig 1 be.over

My sickness will be over if I eat pig." said Đông-krje

ND007_103

dă năn ñu lač.
as that 3 say

ND007_104

ᵔuh ᵔởng ửn ᵔuh lai ôh, dôk angoḥ nanao yôh.
NEG eat pig NEG1 be over NEG2 still sick always PTCL
"If I don't eat pig, it won't be over." continued Đông-krje

ND007_105

ơ. năn ñu lữ hủn hăng palei ñu
yes then 3 again inform with wife 3
"I understand!" answered the monkey. Then he went to inform his wife.

ND007_106

ờ palei ờ palei
VOC wife VOC wife
"Hey Honey" said the monkey

ND007_107

nởng adỏ?
what things
"What?" replied his wife

ND007_108

nei lah, Đông-krje lữ ᵔlẻ angoḥ.
PROX EMPH PN again rise sick

ñu lač rih ửn, leh ᵔởng ửn kah ñu lai.
3 say kill pig finish eat pig then 3 be.over

"Here is the story: Đông-krje is sick again. He said if he eats pig, then he will get well."

ND007_109

năn maᵔởng ửn kreo đờgăt atăm.
then PRE-eat pig castrated animals big REC

ND007_110

ǃǃng yǃh ǔn kreo
eat PTCL pig castrated animals

ND007_111

ǃ, nǃng dǃ ǃng lǃ rmuh.
EXC what things 2 again ask

Khǃ malai ǔn rǃng dǃ, mačuh gǃ.
if PRE-be over 3 3 EMPH PRE-roast 3

*"You don't need to ask. If that helps him recover, go ahead and roast a pig for him."
answered his wife.*

ND007_112

nǃn mačuh yǃh ǔn nǃn.
then PRE-roast PTCL pig DIST
then he roasted a big castrated pig

ND007_113

mamǃ ǃǃng. Sa palah pǃk ǃǃng anǃn, sa palah pǃk pioh.
PRE-take eat one half open eat then one half open keep
They ate one half and gave the other half to Đông-krje to keep.

ND007_114

nei nǃn nei ǃng pioh Jeng hǃ! nǃn Đông-krje hǃ.
PROX then PROX 2 keep closed.friend IMP then PN IMP
"You keep this half safe please" said the monkey

ND007_115

nei nǃn drei tǃm ǃǃng. ǃng pioh pasiem mǃh,
PROX then 1INCL REC eat 2 keep CAUS-beautiful MIR

ǃng gǃm pasiem mǃh.
2 put.lid.on CAUS-beautiful MIR

Everyone in my family ate. Keep it safe. Put the lid on securely" the monkey continued

ND007_116

ǒng gǎm yǒh, huǐ ǔlě angoh kâo
2 put.lid.on PTCL scare rise sick 1

"You put the lid on safely in case I am sick again" said Đông-krje

ND007_117

huǐ ǔlě angoh kâo ntra tǎm ǒng gǎm
scare rise sick 1 a.bit.later afternoon 2 put.lid.on

pasiem, huǐ asâo nǎn wǎ, huǐ asâo lu asâo aǎo.
CAUS-beautiful scare dog DIST PTCL scare dog several dog REFL

"Remember to put the lid on well enough to keep it away from dogs. Keep it for later in case I am sick again. I am afraid of your dogs" Đông-krje repeated

ND007_118

ǔh mâo ôh asâo sang yuôp sang ngök wǎ,
NEG1 COP NEG2 dog house west house east PTCL

ñu khǎng nao ta sang nei.
3 often go LOC house PROX

"No, it was not our dogs. It was our neighbor's dog which often comes here." said the monkey

ND007_119

dǎ nǎn Đông-krje nǎn malaǎ
as DIST PN then PRE-say

ND007_120

nei nǎn ơ.
PROX then EXC

"it could be" said Đông-krje

ND007_121

nei năn mahuă bǝng, leh huă bǝng năn.
PROX then PRE-eat eat finish eat eat then

ND007_122

magăm yoh.
PRE-put.lid.on PTCL

After finishing eating, he put the lid on and made sure the lid fit well.

ND007_123

mara pha ũn năn, mara ũn năn
shoulder thigh pig DIST shoulder pig DIST

The pork shoulder and thigh were

ND007_124

sa palah pǝk, găm, bŭh kajăp pakajăp,
one half open put.lid.on NEG tight CAUS-tight

bŭh kajăp pakajăp
NEG tight CAUS-tight

under the tight lid.

ND007_125

nei năn bǝ Dông-krje năn dôk ti atăm apui năn yoh
PROX then but PN then sit LOC REC fire DIST PTCL

While the monkey did that, Dông-krje sat by the kitchen stove

ND007_126

padang apui nanao, pagŭt angoh nanao mǝh
CAUS-dry.hands.by.heat fire always CAUS-pretend sick always MIR

ñu năn
3 DIST

to warm his hands and acted like he was still sick.

ND007_127

ḥuh thâo lǒ lai angoh nǎn
NEG know again be.over sick DIST

ND007_128

Leh čuh ũn nǎn kah malai ḥiǎ.
finish roast pig then then PRE-be over short time
He acted like he was still sick for a little while.

ND007_129

lai wuḥ-wuḥ.
be over describing.a.sick.person.just.recovering.a.bit
and then recovered a bit.

ND007_130

Leh-nǎn madôk inǎn
then/and PRE-sit/stay then
through the afternoon

ND007_131

dôk nǎn pǐt yoh tǎm
sit/stay then sleep PTCL afternoon
Then in the evening

ND007_132

tǎm pǐt tǎm ḍih yoh palei kdjar anak čô gǒ.
REC sleep REC lay PTCL wife husband child grandchild 3
All the monkey family went to bed.

ND007_133

bǒ Đông-krje dê ti gah gǒ pǐt ajǎn gǒ
but PN EMPH LOC guest area 3 sleep alone 3

kakhũñ.

sleep.in.a.separate.place

As for Dong-krje, he slept separately at the guest place

ND007_134

alek yoh di ñu tãm pĩt đih nãn
deeply(in .sleeping) PTCL PL 3 3 sleep lay DIST

While the monkeys slept deeply, Dông-krje untied himself

ND007_135

Dông-krje dê toh tuleh heh anuh nãn.
PN EMPH release untie QP tie DIST

ND007_136

nao lõ nao ba ãn ta palei ta sang.
go again go bring pig LOC wife LOC house

and took the other half of pork to his wife at home.

ND007_137

ơ palei ơ palei? Nỡng adõ?
VOC wife VOC wife what things

"Hey, Honey?" called Dong-krje. "What's up?" his wife responded

ND007_138

õng tangũ lah, nei õng khã ãn.
2 get up EMPH PROX 2 welcome pig

"Wake up, please. Here. Have some pork" said Dông-krje

ND007_139

oh? ti-ba õng thâu mào ãn?
EXC why 2 know have pig

"Wow! Where did you get the pork?" asked the wife.

ND007_140

ư ùn
yes pig

ND007_141

ùn kâo angoh năn nei kâo lač rih ùn,
pig 1 sick then now 1 say kill pig

leh rih ùn kah kâo lai.
finish kill pig then 1 be over

This pork? From my illness. I said if he roasted a pig, then I would recover from my illness." said Đông-krje

ND007_142

ḅũih! ống ngă đă năn, palei ñũ lač.
EXC 2 make as DIST wife 3 say

ND007_143

djeh-djeh, ḅũih ḅuh đũr ấ.
not serious EXC NEG win at all

"Oh no! You should not have done that. That was not good at all" said his wife.

ND007_144

ơ
yes

"You are right" responded Đông-krje

ND007_145

Leh-năn madôk. leh huă năn, truh ta sang
then/and PRE-sit/stay finish eat then arrive LOC house

huă ḅởng hống palei ñũ. Leh-năn lố wĩt ta sang.
eat eat with wife 3 then/and again return LOC house

Ater eating the pork with his wife, he went back to the monkey's house.

ND007_146

Truh ta sang pĩt yơh Đông-krje năn.

arrive LOC house sleep PTCL PN DIST
Then he went to bed.

ND007_147

pít tula tangũ yoh ñu phung kra năn.
sleep morning get up PTCL 3 PL monkey DIST
In the morning when the monkeys got up

ND007_148

tangũ rsũp-a-ũi
get up sleepily
they were still sleepy.

ND007_149

ở Đông-krje, ở Đông-krje? Nởng adở?
VOC PN VOC PN what things
Then the monkey said "Hey Dong-krje!" "What?", said Đông-krje

ND007_150

bở ũn ởng? thâu! ởng dlăng lăm para năn.
but pig 2 know 2 look in traditional.storage.shelf DIST
"Where is your pork?" asked the monkey. "I don't know", said Dong-krje, "Go look in the storage shelf.", continued Đông-krje

ND007_151

kâu lỏ ẵ angoh mớh lăm nei.
1 again rise sick MIR in PROX
"My whole body feels sick again."

ND007_152

arnei malăm lỏ ẵ angoh mớh kâu
now night again rise sick MIR 1
Last night I felt sick again

ND007_153

ởng long lăm para năn

1 try in traditional storage shelf DIST

Try looking on the storage shelf" continued Dong-krje

ND007_154

ơh, ấuh lổ ấuh ôh nei, Đông-krje ah, mang yớh nei.

EXC NEG1 again see NEG2 PROX PN VOC be pitied PTCLPROX

"Oh no! It is not there, Dong-krje. What should we do now?", responded the monkey

ND007_155

ấuh kâu thâu, ấiả-dah kâu m히려 mớh asâu

NEG 1 know however 1 listen MIR dog

"I don't know either. However, I heard the dogs barking last night

ND007_156

marđuh-marđah ấu ấm pakadah.

sound.from.cats/dogs.walking 3 REC CAUS-bite

ND007_157

ấuh kâu lổ thâu, kâu ấuh lổ đui tangũ,

NEG 1 again know 1 NEG again win get.up

kâu angoh yớh yớng pupri atấm, lổ ấlể angoh.

1 sick PTCL want shaking REC again rise sick

but I was sick, and shook so I could not get up" said Đông-krje

ND007_158

ấớih, mang yớh nei adổ ống maởng ntra nei

EXC be pitied PTCL PROX things 2 PRE-eat a bit later PROX

dje kumấp yớh nei.

die seriously PTCL PROX

"Oh no! said the monkey, what will you eat later? We will all die because of this."

ND007_159

adôk đjăm adấp dih mâu inăn drei maởng.

still soup long time ago FAR.DIST COP DIST 1INCL PRE-eat
Then Đông-krje said "We still have some soup left, so we can eat."

ND007_160

năn Đông-krje năn lač
then PN then say

ND007_161

Leh-năn dōk, lǒ sa tǎm, lǒ angoh mớh.
then/and sit/stay again one afternoon again sick MIR
Another night passed. Đông-krje was sick again.

ND007_162

pít yớh tǎm kra năn
sleep PTCL afternoon monkey DIST

ND007_163

tǎm pít yớh palei kjar yớh anak čô yớh,
REC sleep PTCL wife husband PTCL child grandchild PTCL

Đông-krje pít mớh.
PN sleep MIR

The monkey's family slept. So did Đông-krje.

ND007_164

lǒ sa tǎm năn
again one afternoon then
Another night passed.

ND007_165

hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person) (sounds.from.sick.person)

ND007_166

angoh mớh, ăt lǒ angoh mớh
sick MIR also again sick MIR
He was sick again.

ND007_167

rih krbao rih krbao
kill buffalo kill buffalo

"Eat buffalo, eat buffalo" said Dong-krje.

ND007_168

Leh-năn bởk ñu kra năn hmữ
then/and suddenly 3 monkey DIST listen

Suddenly the monkey heard.

ND007_169

oh, Đông-krje? Nởng dỏ?
EXC PN what things

"Hey, Dong-krje!" asked the monkey. "What?" answered Đông-krje

ND007_170

nởng dỏ ởng ngả đã năn
what things 2 make as DIST

ND007_171

kasởk matáo gữ yớh ởng?
ghost ghost put.a.spell.on.SO PTCL 2

"What did you do last night? Is the ghost speaking through your mouth?" asked the monkey.

ND007_172

buh mào, kào lỏ bẻ angoh.
NEG COP 1 again rise sick

"No. I felt sick" said Đông-krje

ND007_173

kớ yởng angoh yớh kào pablủ năn
DAT want sick PTCL 1 CAUS-speak DIST

When I am sick, my body talks like that." said Đông-krje

ND007_174

bở si-ba lỗ angoh?

but why again sick

"How come you are sick?"

ND007_175

bở manük, leh manük.

but chicken finish chicken

The monkey asked, "even though you already ate chicken,

ND007_176

ũn, leh ũn nei

pig finish pig PROX

and already ate pork"

ND007_177

ḅuh kâo lỗ thâu kâo dê Kra ah

NEG1 1 again know 1 EMPH monkey VOC

"I don't know why myself, friend!" said Đông-krje,

ND007_178

ḅuh lỗ thâu lăm aseï prlei kâo nei yơh

NEG again know in body body 1 PROX PTCL

"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body." continued to Đông-krje

ND007_179

năn Đông-krje năn laố

then PN then say

ND007_180

ḅuh kâo lỗ thâu lăm aseï prlei yơh, angoh kâo nei

NEG 1 again know in body body PTCL sick 1 PROX

"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body. I am sick"

ND007_181

ơh lah! bở ãu laỏ si-ba angoh ỏng nỏn?
yes! EMPH but 3 say why sick 2 DIST

"But did it say what makes you sick?" asked the monkey

ND007_182

rih krbao, leh ỏng krbao nỏn kah kỏo lai.
kill buffalo finish eat buffalo then then 1 be over

It said "Eat buffalo. Then I will get well."

ND007_183

ủi, mang đỏ nỏn, si-ba mathỏo pỏjing nei.
EXC be pitied as DIST why PRE-know CAUS-become PROX

"Oh no! What should I do now?"

ND007_184

nỏn ãu lỏ nao hủn hỏng palei ãu
then 3 again go inform with wife 3

Then he went to let his wife know.

ND007_185

si-ba ãu laỏ?
why 3 say

"What did he say?" asked his wife

ND007_186

ủi đỏ nei vỏ ãu laỏ goh
EXC as PROX PTCL 3 say IMP

"He said this", replied the monkey

ND007_187

ủn jih ủn, manủk jih manủk,
pig be.gone pig chicken be.gone chicken

drei mačuh lač malai angoh gở
1INCL PRE-roast say PRE-be over sick 3

"He ate pork already. He ate chicken already. But his sickness is still there. So, if he eats buffalo then he will be well." the monkey answered

ND007_188

kĩn lỏ lai rei.
NEG1 again be over NEG2

ND007_189

nei rih krbao, leh bởng krbao kah lai angoh
now kill buffalo finish eat buffalo then be over sick

ñu lač.
3 say

ND007_190

ơ
yes

"That is ok" said his wife.

ND007_191

năn palei ñu lač:
then wife 3 say:

oh tở dah ỡng mả, ửh ửh gở.
EXC if that 2 hold/pick.up roast roast 3

"If so, you get a buffalo and roast it,

ND007_192

dlǎng lǎng mảbởng krbao đờgắt~đờgỉn.
look look PRE-eat buffalo big

"roast a big one".

ND007_193

leh-năn mačuh yờh krbao năn,

then/and PRE-roast PTCL buffalo DIST

leh čuh krbao năn, pruêč ate năn
finish roast buffalo DIST intestine liver DIST

Then they roasted a buffalo, keeping the intestine.

ND007_ 194

pioh
keep

ND007_ 195

leh-năn
then/and
Then

ND007_ 196

sa palah pők tăm bởng, sa palah pők pioh
one half open REC eat one half open keep

one half was saved for later and the other half was kept for eating right then.

ND007_ 197

pioh kĭn Dông-krje makrem huă.
keep DAT PN save eat

ND007_ 198

Leh-năn matăm huă bởng,
then/and PRE-REC eat eat

leh huă bởng madưm lăm para
finish eat eat PRE-put in traditional storage shelf

Then they all ate the buffalo meat. The half saved for later was put on the storage shelf.

ND007_ 199

(so) I cannot go outside.

ND007_206

anei ǒng paanuh, khǎ ǒng ʔuh paanuh dih,
now 2 CAUS-tie if 2 NEG CAUS-tie FAR.DIST

nǎn kǎo ʔuh lǒ dʔi! angoh nei.
then 1 NEG again win sick PROX

"If you do not untie me, I can't go outside. My body is shaking" said Đông-krje

ND007_207

yǒng gaghǔk-gaghǎk s'aǐ angoh nei.
want describing strong and fast shaking completely sick PROX

ND007_208

ǒng katǔ yǒh pakajǎp.
2 keep.ST.in.a.container.with.a.tight.lid PTCL CAUS-tight

"You keep it safe, please" said Đông-krje

ND007_209

ø

yes

"Ok" the monkey said.

ND007_210

gǒ kra nǎn lač:
3 monkey then say

ND007_211

leh-nǎn makatǔ yǒh.
then/and PRE-keep.ST.in.a.container.with.a.tide.lid PTCL

Then he went to check the food on the storage shelf.

ND007_212

năn tađeh krbao năn
then flesh buffalo DIST

ND007_213

leh-năn mapit yoh tlăm.
then/and PRE-sleep PTCL afternoon

Then in the evening, they slept.

ND007_214

palei kjar anak gở
wife husband child 3

ND007_215

Dông-Krje pít mớh, gở tằm pít mớh.
PN sleep MIR 3 REC sleep MIR

Dông-krje slept and they all also slept.

ND007_216

alek yoh di gở tằm pít tằm đih năn
deeply(in .sleeping) PTCL PL 3 REC sleep REC lay DIST

They slept very deeply.

ND007_217

năn Dông-krje lỏ nao ba mớh
then PN again go bring MIR

Then Dông-krje again took the other half which the monkey kept for later

ND007_218

sa palah pỏk krbao ta palei
one half open buffalo LOC wife

ND007_219

pruêc ate adỏ ñu pioh kăn Dông-krje mahuả năn.
intestine liver things 3 keep DAT PN PRE-eat DIST

ND007_220

arăng ba ajih mớh ta palei arăng ta sang răng aồ
3 bring all MIR LOC wife 3 LOC house 3 REFL

He took it all to his wife at home.

ND007_221

leh-năn manăn yớh
then/and PRE-then PTCL

ND007_222

tangũ yớh palei ñu mắng dih
get up PTCL wife 3 from FAR.DIST

His wife got up and they ate together.

ND007_223

leh truh năn mahuă, bớng. Leh huă bớng
finish arrive then PRE-eat eat finish eat eat

When they finished eating,

ND007_224

năn Đông, năn Đông-krje lỏ wít ta sang kra năn mớh
then PN then PN again return LOC house monkey DIST MIR

Đông-krje again went back to the monkey's house.

ND007_225

lỏ truă anuh năn mớh
again tie stick/log DIST MIR

Again he tied himself to the log.

ND007_226

Leh truă anuh năn
finish tie stick/log DIST

and then he slept.

ND007_227

pĩt yoh Đông-krje
sleep PTCL PN

ND007_228

pađao pĩt đih yoh, ɓuh lõ lõ hđor nei dih
CAUS-warm sleep lay PTCL NEG1 again again miss PROX FAR.DIST

oh aĩ.
NEG2 at.all

He slept very well and didn't remember what he did.

ND007_229

Leh-năn tangũ guah ưm
then/and get up morning early
in the morning

ND007_230

tangũ sĩ trguah năn, năn ñu kra rmuh
get up until/til tomorrow then then 3 monkey ask
the monkey then asked

ND007_231

si-ba Jeng ah, lõ ɓlě angoh hě ống?
why close friend VOC again rise sick QP 2
"Hey friend! Are you still sick?"

ND007_232

ɓuh mào Jeng oh, lai leh wả kào.
Neg COP close.friend VOC be over PFV PTCL 1

đưi ɓiả leh.
win little PFV

"No. I am good now" said Đông-krje

ND007_233

σ, ai-panao Jeng ah.
yes luckily close friend VOC

"That is good. You are fortunate," said the monkey

ND007_234

năn ah, malai ǒng ah
then VOC be over 2 VOC

that you are good now.

ND007_235

Dông-krje ah
PN VOC

ND007_236

tơ dah ʔuh lai ǒng, tam-lam ɗă nei
if that NEG be over 2 hard as PROX

If you were still sick, we wouldn't know what to do, the monkey said,

ND007_237

anei ñu lač arih krbao
now 3 say kill buffalo

Because since we roasted the buffalo, now

ND007_238

krai-ʔai leh
all PFV

everything is all gone" said the monkey.

ND007_239

jing năn ah
become DIST VOC

Dông-krje then said "I feel good now"

ND007_240

kra ah năn ñu lač
monkey VOC then 3 say

ND007_241

nei năn madôk
PROX DIST PRE-sit/stay

Then he stayed on.

ND007_242

nei năn lǒ sǐ tlăm, lǒ angoh mớh.
PROX DIST again until/til afternoon again sick MIR

Then at nighttime, he became sick again.

ND007_243

angoh tangǔ malăm pǐt
sick get up night sleep

The illness came during 'sleeping time'.

ND007_244

hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person)
, (unhhh-unhhh-unhhh-unhhh)

ND007_245

rih aduân rih aduân
kill grandmother kill grandmother

"Kill the grandmother! Kill the grandmother!"

ND007_246

ớh
EXC

"Oh no!"

ND007_247

br̥k, kra lǝ mh̥ nǎn
suddenly monkey again listen DIST
The monkey suddenly heard that

ND007_248

kra lǝ tang̃
monkey again get up
and got up

ND007_249

leh-nǎn
then/and

ND007_250

oh! ơ Đông-krje? si-ba ǝng đih, ǝng ǝng nǎn ǝng
EXC VOC PN why 2 lay 2 2 DIST 2

krbao alǎm nei?
buffalo in PROX

"Hey, Đông-krje! Why do you still lie there? Where is the buffalo meat?" asked the monkey.

ND007_251

káo lǝ bl̥ angoh Jieng ah, nǎn nǎn ah
1 again rise sick close friend VOC then then VOC
"I am again sick, friend" Đông-krje said.

ND007_252

Đông-krje nǎn ah, kra ah, káo lǝ bl̥ angoh.
PN DIST VOC monkey VOC 1 again rise sick

ND007_253

ơh mang ơh ǝng nei, si-ba
EXC be pitied PTCL 2 PROX why

"Oh no! You poor thing!" The monkey said: "How could that happen?"

ND007_254

manūk ajih manūk, asâo ajih asâo,
chicken be.gone chicken dog be gone dog

ũn ajih ũn nei
pig be gone pig PROX

"You already ate chicken, pork, buffalo.

ND007_255

krbao ajih krbao nei
buffalo be gone buffalo PROX

ND007_256

bở nei si-ba ñu lỏ lač?
but PROX why 3 again say

Now, what does (your body) say?" asked the monkey

ND007_257

ñu lač arih aduân yơh ñu lač
3 say kill grandmother PTCL 3 say

"It said, if you kill the grandmother, then I will recover forever." Đông-krje said.

ND007_258

leh-năn poh aduân năn kâo lai ñu lač.
then/and beat grandmother then 1 be over 3 say

ND007_259

đuh lỏ mào đui nei ôh ñu lač
NEG1 again COP win PROX NEG2 3 say

"Oh no! This is not permitted" responded the monkey.

ND007_260

đuh lỏ mào trlei angoh a-ăt ôh ñu lač
NEG1 again COP NMZ sick cold NEG2 3 say

"But I won't ever be sick from now on" said Đông-krje.

ND007_261

ø

yes

"Ok", answered the monkey

ND007_262

lǒ nao ta palei ñu
again go LOC wife 3

Then he again went to his wife.

ND007_263

truh ta nǎn, si-ba
arrive LOC DIST why

When he got to his wife, he said "What should we do now"

ND007_264

palei ah?
wife VOC

ND007_265

lǒ ǃlě angh wǎ goh Đông-krje
again rise sick PTCL IMP PN

"Hey, Đông-krje is sick again"

ND007_266

ñu lǒ ǃlě angh
3 again rise sick

ND007_267

si-ba lǒ angh?
why again sick

"Why is he still sick?" asked his wife,

ND007_268

djăp leh adǒ brei kǐn angoh gǒ nǎn
all PFV things give DAT sick 3 DIST

"We gave everything to that illness of his" continued the wife

ND007_269

arnei ñu lač rih aduân,
now 3 say kill grandmother

leh poh aduân ñu lai ñu lač
finish beat grandmother 3 be over 3 say

"But this time he said if the grandmother is killed, he will completely recover" the monkey answered.

ND007_270

nǎn, ơ
then yes

"Ok" his wife agreed

ND007_271

nǎn madôk yơh, dōk nǎn majak aduân
then PRE-sit/stay PTCL sit/stay then PRE-invite grandmother

Then he said to the grandmother,

ND007_272

ơ duân ơ duân? Nǎng adǒ?
VOC grandmother VOC grandmother? what things

"Hey, Grandma!" "What's up?" responded the grandmother.

ND007_273

nǎn aduân ñu nǎn lač
then grandmother 3 then say

ND007_274

nao duân ah, drei nao kalei ubei

go grandmother VOC 1INCL go dig yam
"We are going to dig yams, Grandma" the monkey said

ND007_275

ơh, ai malố kalei ubei?
EXC thing/what PRE-again dig yam
"Why?" The grandmother asked in surprise.

ND007_276

pade he aố, braih he aố
paddy 1INCL REFL rice 1INCL REFL
"We have a lot of unhusked and husked rice, why do we need yams?" She continued.

ND007_277

aduân ñu laố
grandmother 3 say

ND007_278

ừ-ừh. Kâu ốieng ốởng ubei, ống atấ kâu duân ah.
EXC 1 want eat yam 2 lead 1 grandmother VOC
"No, I want to eat yams. Please show me the way, Grandma" the monkey requested.

ND007_279

ốớ jak palei nei hắng anak
but invite wife PROX with child
*"I asked my wife, but she would have to go with our children, and the sun is too hot"
the monkey continued*

ND007_280

ốah ade paốiá leh
PTCL sky sunshine PFV

ND007_281

leh-anắn majak saduân
and/then PRE-invite grandmother

"That is why I am asking you to go with me."

ND007_282

truh ta dih mapoh aduân lăm bǎng ubei nǎn
arrive LOC FAR.DIST PRE-beat grandmother in hole yam DIST
Then, when they arrived there, he beat the grandma until she died and he buried her in the yam field.

ND007_283

leh poh aduân lăm bǎng ubei, mawĩt ta sang.
finish beat grandmother in hole yam PRE-return LOC house
Then he returned home.

ND007_284

Leh truh ta sang nǎn
finish arrive LOC house DIST
When he got home,

ND007_285

leh leh jieng nǎn ah
finish finish close friend DIST VOC
he told Đông-krje that he killed his grandmother.

ND007_286

Dông-krje ah, leh kâo poh aduân
PN VOC finish 1 beat grandmother

ND007_287

leh kâo poh aduân kâo
finish 1 beat grandmother 1

"I killed my grandmother" the monkey said

ND007_288

ơ

yes

"Ok" Đông-krje replied.

ND007_289

leh poh aduân năn
finish beat grandmother DIST

ND007_290

năn madôk yôh
then PRE-sit/stay PTCL

After the monkey killed his grandmother, then Đông-krje stayed there a couple of more days.

ND007_291

dôk yôh paliă dua urei
sit/stay PTCL nonstop two day

ND007_292

tlăo urei, leh-năn, bôih
three day then/and EXC

ND007_293

kra ah, arăp leh kăo madôk hông ống.
monkey VOC all PFV 1 PRE-sit/stay with 2

Then one day he said "I stayed with you long enough to make up for my mistake

ND007_294

arnei si-ba mangă
now why PRE-make
Now, what should I do next?

ND007_295

kăo malố tuh-ina-ba-kađi ống yôh.

1 PRE-again give compensation for 2 PTCL
I will give you something as compensation for my mistake.

ND007_296

kâo brei krbao, krbao đờng mǎng amǐ aduân drei nđờm
1 give buffalo buffalo from mother grandmother 1INCL old

I will give you a buffalo from my great grandmother.”

ND007_297

arǎng lǎm nei ̣buh m̄o ôh krbao đǎ krbao kâo
3PL in PROX NEG1 COP NEG2 buffalo as buffalo 1

amǐ aduân kâo
mother grandmother 1

“People nowadays don’t have that kind of buffalo.” Đông-krje said, “They truly don’t have the same kind of buffalo as my ancestors.”

ND007_298

̣buh wǎ m̄o di gở
NEG PTCL COP PL 3

ND007_299

kâo lỏ tuh-ina-ba-kađi ỏng yờh kra ah
1 again give.compensation.for 2 PTCL monkey VOC

“I will give you that buffalo.” Đông-krje said again.

ND007_300

kâo brei krbao kớ ỏng
1 give buffalo DAT 2

ND007_301

ớ, mǎ yờh
yes hold/pick.up PTCL

"Agreed!" the monkey responded.

ND007_302

leh-năn matuleh Đông-krje, matah anuh inăn
then/and PRE-untie PN untie log DIST

Then they released Đông-krje by untying his legs from the log.

ND007_303

tah anuh Đông-krje mawĩt
untie.two.things.together.before stick/log PN PRE-return

ta sang, ta palei ñu.
LOC house LOC wife 3

Then Đông-krje returned home to his wife.

ND007_304

Truh ta sang, arăng mamă areng, manao ba
arrive LOC house 3 PRE-hold/pick.up crab PRE-go bring

Upon arriving home, he took his crab and gave it to the monkey.

ND007_305

nei năn kra ơi.
PROX DIST monkey VOC

"Hey, monkey!"

ND007_306

krbao amĩ aduân he nđơm nei
buffalo mother grandmother 1INCL old PROX

This is my ancestor's buffalo.

ND007_307

amĩ aduân ỡng ấuh mào ôh đã krbao kào nei
mother grandmother 2 NEG1 COP NEG2 as buffalo 1 PROX

Your ancestors didn't have this type of buffalo.

ND007_308

káo dê krbao mǎng amǐ mǎng aduân
1 EMPH buffalo from mother from grandmother

Only me, who has this buffalo from my ancestors. Therefore,

ND007_309

dje pô nei pô dih, pioh krbao káo
die REFL PROX REFL FAR.DIST keep buffalo 1

dje pô dih pô dih pioh krbao káo
die REFL FAR.DIST REFL FAR.DIST keep buffalo 1

under whatever circumstances that may happen to you, please keep my buffalo (because it is very valuable).

ND007_310

nǎn nǎn mamǎ, đǎm ǒng akǎ ôh hǒng
then then PRE-hold/pick.up NEG1 2 tie NEG2 with

krbao lu drei hǒ, ǒng akǎ ajǎn.
buffalo several CLF IMP 2 tie alone/only

Also, please remember, don't tie this buffalo with other buffalos at your house. Please keep him separate." Đông-krje said.

ND007_311

ơ

yes

"I understand." the monkey replied.

ND007_312

ñu kra nǎn lač. nǎn maakǎ
3 monkey then say then PRE-tie

ND007_313

akǎ bễ anôk pukǎn, djở akǎ mǒng krbao dê matajuǎ yơh.
tie IMP place another right tie from buffalo EMPH PRE-tread PTCL

ND007_314

mnởng kruăk gở areng
thing smash 3 crab

ND007_315

leh-anăn, leh dje areng năn. bởih,
and/then finish die crab DIST EXC

Then that buffalo died then.

ND007_316

Dông-krje ỡng lỏ palủ kâo
PN 2 again lie 1

The monkey then went to Dong-krje and said "You lied to me"

ND007_317

ỡng laở krbao mẳng amỉ mẳng aduân ỡng
2 say buffalo from mother from grandmother 2

"You said that was the buffalo from your ancestors. It died already. Therefore,

ND007_318

arnei adôk anủ kâo ta ỡng
now still debt 1 LOC 2

"you still have to give me compensation." the monkey emphasized.

ND007_319

bởih si-ba kâo lỏ thảo mào nei, ỡng dỏk guân bẻ
EXC why 1 again know COP PROX 2 sit/stay wait IMP

"Oh no! what should I do now! Please wait!", Dông-krje said,

ND007_320

kâo lỏ brei iman lẻ.
1 again give elephant TOP

"I will give you our elephant"

ND007_321

si-ba iman? bưih iman iman yuăm,
why elephant EXC elephant elephant expensive

iman bħn, atăm yoh iman kâu.
elephant expensive REC PTCL elephant 1

"What? Your elephant?" The monkey replied. "Our elephant is very valuable because it is from our great grandfather, from our ancestors.", Đông-krje said.

ND007_322

iman đõng mớng amĩ đõng mớng aduân, đõng mớng aê.
elephant from mother from grandmother from grandfather

ND007_323

dă nđơm dih
as old FAR.DIST

ND007_324

ơ
yes

"That is OK" the monkey responded.

ND007_325

năn mapuñam bởng
then PRE-weave giant.rattan.storage.unit

Then Đông-krje wove a huge rattan storage cylinder (used for storing rice).

ND007_326

puñam bởng
weave giant.rattan.storage.unit

ND007_327

bơ yoh bơ yoh, makoh djrao.
(time.expression) PTCL (time.expression) PTCL PRE-shorten bamboo type

Leh koh djrao puñam bởng
finish shorten bamboo.type weave giant.rattan.storage.unit

First he went for awhile to look for rattan plants and then he cut them down and then took home and started to weave.

ND007_328

leh puñam bröng năn nao iêu ñu
finish weave giant.rattan.storage.unit then go call 3

When he finished weaving, he called the monkey.

ND007_329

nei iman nei
PROX elephant PROX

"Here is the elephant" said Dong-krje,

ND007_330

đăm öng đĩ ôh dă nei hǒ, öng kăp angĩn năn
NEG1 2 go up NEG2 as PROX IMP 2 wait wind then

"Please don't climb up on the elephant right now. You should wait until you

ND007_331

angĩn-puih drei năn
windy season 1INCL DIST

see our windy season coming,

ND007_332

angĩn pađuông ñu dê, ñu nao
wind CAUS-strong.hit.by.wind 3 EMPH 3 go

tăm ruruôi atăm yǒh năn
REC fast REC PTCL DIST

When the wind hits it strongly, it will go by itself.

ND007_333

ndǒ mahũ Đông-krje ah.
what PRE-scare PN VOC

The monkey said "You shouldn't worry about me.

ND007_334

jởng tangan kâo putih đả pula pha đả atấp
leg arm 1 shank as plant thigh as big

Look! My muscles are big, so I can handle a big wind. Don't worry!"

ND007_335

đuh mâo huỉ ôh. ơ nao yớh
NEG1 COP scare NEG2 yes go PTCL

"OK, good! You can go now. I paid my debt to you all." Đông-krje said.

ND007_336

Leh kâo tuh ina ba kađi ớng
finish 1 pour feminine bring give.compensation.for 2

ND007_337

năn đuh yớh angĩn-puih
then see PTCL windy season

Then, the big wind came.

ND007_338

ba tẳm lẳm êar krông
bring REC in water river

The monkeys took Đông-krje's elephant to the river

ND007_339

ba lẳm êar krông năn
bring in water river DIST

They all were on top of that elephant.

ND007_340

Leh-năn, truh angĩn-puih, angĩn parốt atẳm
then/and arrive windy.season wind strong.blow REC

And then, the strong wind pushed them along with their rattan elephant away (down the river)

ND007_341

drak dje lăm êar
many/a lot die in water

ND007_342

gở brống blử.
3 giant.rattan.storage.unit rock

The rattan cylinder shook (rolled) badly

ND007_343

brống năn blử
giant.rattan.storage.unit DIST rock

ND007_344

drak dje lăm êar
many/a lot die in water

Then many of them died in the water.

ND007_345

leh-năn lỏ wít
then/and again return

Then the monkey again returned to Đông-krje

ND007_346

yaih ai ống palử kâo Đông-krje eh?
EXC thing/what 2 lie 1 PN VOC

"Dong-krje, you again lied to me" the monkey said,

ND007_347

ống laố aseh iman amỉ aduân ống
2 say horse elephant mother grandmother 2

"You said that was the elephant from your ancestors

ND007_348

ăng maiman amĩ aduân ống
because PRE-elephant mother grandmother 2

ND007_349

arlâu năn lẽ ống brei brống
before DIST TOP 2 give giant.rattan.storage.unit

Then you gave me your rattan elephant to wait for the strong wind" the monkey continued

ND007_350

ống brei brống kơ kâu
2 give giant.rattan.storage.unit DAT 1

ND007_351

kăp angĩn-puih
wait windy season

ND007_352

ñu lač, gở kra lač
3 say 3 monkey say

ND007_353

đơih bở nei kâu đuh lỏ mâu nei, kâu brei đơôn lẽ
EXC but PROX 1 NEG again COP PROX 1 give hat TOP

"Oh no! Now I don't have anything. I will give you a hat" Đông-krje said.

ND007_354

đơôn đờng mớng amĩ, đờng mớng aduân tằm yớh,
hat from mother from grandmother REC PTCL

đơôn kâu nei
hat 1 PROX

"This hat is from my ancestor" Đông-krje said.

ND007_355

dờng mớng aê dờng mớng aduân kâo yơh. đưôn nei,
from grandfather from grandmother 1 PTCL hat PROX

đuh lờ mâu dih nei ôh đưôn
NEG1 again COP FAR.DIST PROX NEG2 hat

This hat is from my ancestor. Nowadays people don't have one anymore." he continued.

ND007_356

leh-năn manăn inăn
then/and PRE-DIST then

and then,

ND007_357

ờng đôk guăn dua urei ta nấp nei hỏ.
2 sit/stay wait two day LOC front of PROX IMP

Dông-krje said: "Wait for two days please!"

ND007_358

năn kra gỏ madôk guăn inăn
then monkey 3 PRE-sit/stay wait then

Then the monkey sat and waited.

ND007_359

ñu puñam arlăn inăn
3 weave wax DIST

Then Dông-krje wove a hat

ND007_360

ngă griă đưôn, leh djăp griă năn,
make each.circle.layer hat finish all each.circle.layer DIST

ñu ngă arlăn
3 make wax

He made the frame of the hat, and then made wax.

ND007_361

ñu puñam arlĩn ñu mǎl arlĩn
3 weave wax 3 shine wax

He waxed the outer layer of the hat and buffed the wax to a shine.

ND007_362

ñu mlia arlĩn nǎn
3 shine wax DIST

He buffed the wax.

ND007_363

leh-nǎn lũm-arlũm dǎ đũon mớh dǎ đũon Bih nǎn mớh
then/and medium as hat MIR as hat PN DIST MIR

and then his hat looked like a Bih bamboo hat.

ND007_364

leh-inǎn

then/and

Then

ND007_365

nao iêu, nei kra ơi
go call VOC monkey VOC

he went to call to the monkey: "Hey, Monkey!"

ND007_366

ống nao mǎ yớh đũon nei
2 go hold/pick.up PTCL hat PROX

Come get the hat.

ND007_367

leh đũon káo siem mǎng ai mǎng ate tǎm yớh,
finish hat 1 beautiful from a lot from liver REC PTCL

đuôn amĩ aduân kâo nđơm
hat mother grandmother 1 old

This is a very beautiful hat from my grandmothers.

ND007_368

dởng mớng aê dởng mớng aduân kâo yơh,
from grandfather from grandmother 1 PTCL

kâo pioh kâo dê kĩn amĩ aduân kâo nđơm
1 keep 1 EMPH DAT mother grandmother 1 old

I kept it from my ancestors.

ND007_369

nởng kâo mayu tubẽ
what 1 go play quit/leave

and never wanted to let go of it" Đông-krje said.

ND007_370

ơ
yes

"Yes!" The monkey replied.

ND007_371

Dô mamã yaih hắk-krdắk yơh gờ.
PROG PRE-hold/pick.up EXC very happy PTCL 3

The monkey took it and was really happy

ND007_372

kra năn mamã
monkey DIST PRE-hold/pick.up

So the monkey took it

ND007_373

đăm ỡng đũa ôh hỡ.

NEG1 2 put on NEG2 IMP

"Please don't put it on, Đông-krje said,

ND007_374

ǒng kǎp nǎn arǎng huǎ plǎm, pinǎm thǔn,
2 wait then 3PL eat big drink year

rǎng bǒng ǔn krbao nǎn
3PL eat pig buffalo DIST

Wait until the season of celebration comes, when people eat pigs and buffalos to celebrate the end of the cropping season (final harvest),

ND007_375

ǒng đũa yǒh hǎng krah pađiǎ,
2 put on PTCL with middle sunshine

ǒng brei palei ǒng đũa đũaon nǎn
2 give wife 2 put on hat DIST

then put it on at high noon on a sunny day. Then let your wife put it on.

ND007_376

huǐ pađiǎ anak ǒng hǒ.
scare sunshine child 2 IMP

Let your children put it on, otherwise they will get a sunburn." Đông-krje reminded.

ND007_377

ơ

yes

"OK" the monkey answered.

ND007_378

tǎm dōk yǒh anak cō ǒng
REC sit/stay PTCL child grandchild 2

Đông-krje continued "All of your children and your wife will stay cool under the hat."

ND007_379

paanguôm hǒng palei ǒng nǎn mǝh.
CAUS-stay with with wife 2 DIST MIR

ND007_380

nǎn ǃuh arǎng pinǎm, arǎng paleh bruǎ nǎn
then see 3PL drink 3PL CAUS-finish work DIST

Then, when people were celebrating the end of the cropping season [final harvest],

ND007_381

matǎm nao inǎn
PRE-REC go then

they all went

ND007_382

manao, truh ta nǎn nǎn
PRE-go arrive LOC DIST then

to the celebration place.

ND007_383

dôk hǎng karah pađiǎ atǎm yǝh madôk
sit with middle sunshine REC PTCL PRE-sit

They sat under the high sun (with the hat on).

ND007_384

ǃrǔ ǃrǔ ǃrǔ ǃrǔ, arlǎn maliêk inǎn
slowly slowly slowly slowly wax PRE-melt so/then

Slowly the wax melted.

ND007_385

liêk dô arlǎn maguǎm, ǃǒ mata palei ñu
melt PROG wax PRE-stick face eye wife 3

anak ǒô ñu ajih.
child grandchild 3 all

The melted wax got on all of the faces of the monkey's children and his wife.

ND007_386

dlǎng pě ti nǎn ǃlǐt pě ti nǎn
watch touch.through LOC DIST stick touch.through LOC DIST

ǃlǐt ǃlǐt arlǐn
stick stick wax

It stuck all over on their faces.

ND007_387

Leh-nǎn lǒ wǐt ta Dông-krje mớh.
then/and again return LOC PN MIR

bớih Dông-krje ah, ai ống palủ
EXC PN VOC thing/what 2 lie

Then the monkey again returned to Dong-krje: "Hey, Dong-krje! Why did you lie to me?" The monkey asked,

ND007_388

ống laǎ, đưôn mǎng amǐ, mǎng aduân mǎng aê ống
2 say hat from mother from grandmother from grandfather 2

"You said that the hat came from your ancestors,

ND007_389

dǎ nđớm
as old

from a long time ago."

ND007_390

arnei ti ǃuh.
now LOC see

Now look!, the monkey continued.

ND007_391

blě ǒng palu arlĩn
rise 2 lie wax
You lied again about the wax

ND007_392

ǒng lač: đưôn ǒng siem jăk mǎng aê mǎng aduân.
2 say hat 2 beautiful good from grandfather from grandmother
that you said was your ancestor's hat.

ND007_393

baih dũm năn lah, gở hañ đei ǒng dōk hōng
EXC how much DIST PTCL 3 several many/much 2 sit with

pađiă.

sunshine

"Oh no! Đông-krje said, "It was because your children and wife sat too long in the sun.

ND007_394

anak palei ǒng dōk hăng pađiă.
child wife 2 sit with sunshine

ND007_395

dōk gở hăng pađiă ađa, ử năn tađăp đă
sit 3 with sunshine many keep.hungry then cool many

krei gở nei dōk hăng pađiă paliă-palia, năn
wrong event/thing EMPH PROX sit with sunshine nonstop then

jing gở maliêk i
become 3 PRE-melt EXC

If they had sat in the sun some and had sat in the cool place some, that would have been good. However, they sat too long in the sun, so the wax melted.

ND007_396

leh-năn buh đưi aĩ.

then/and NEG win at all

That was why it was not successful that way" Đông-krje said.

ND007_397

ăt kâo lǎ đũ mớh ống Đông-krje ah.
also 1 again compensate MIR 2 PN VOC

đũ đũ mớh si malǎ ngă.
compensate compensate MIR why PRE-again make

"Then I am again asking for my compensation then." the monkey said. "If you say so, what else can I do now?" Đông-krje said.

ND007_398

ăt kâo gữ mớh.
also 1 try MIR

"I will try" Đông-krje continued.

ND007_399

kâo tuh~ina~ba~kađi ống
1 give.compensation.for 2

"I will repay my debt to you."

ND007_400

kra ah
monkey VOC

ND007_401

arnei năn ah
now then VOC

Đông-krje continued "Now,

ND007_402

kâo brei agăr lǎ kớ ống.
1 give drum TOP DAT 2

I will give you a drum.

ND007_403

ǒng dōk guan hǒ!
2 sit wait IMP

Sit and wait please!

ND007_404

dua tlāo urei tanǎp nei biǎ-dah ǒng čheng arnei
two three day enough/exact PROX however 2 want now

ḅuh mào ôh.
NEG1 have NEG2

[Wait] about two or three days. But if you want it now, I don't have anything to give you. "Dông-krje said.

ND007_405

ơ
yes

"That is fine" said the monkey.

ND007_406

leh-nǎn mađǔng yơh agǎr, mangǎ sě agǎr.
then/and PRE-make PTCL drum PRE-make as drum

Leh ngǎ sě mađǔng
finish make as PRE-make

And then, Dông-krje made a drum.

ND007_407

leh đǔng nǎn
finish make then

after wrapping the outside

ND007_408

padụm năn křp
CAUS-put then be covered
Dông-krje put it aside.

ND007_409

mă êguăt, êpan, ular, udieng
hold/pick.up scorpion bedbug snake a.reptile.type
and then he took scorpions, bedbugs, snakes and put them into the drum and glued the drum cover [drum head] on really tight.

ND007_410

nei dih unei
PROX FAR.DIST bee
He put a lot of bees and other

ND007_411

khiêt, kumruăt pamūt lăm agăr năn gǎ-agõi yõh
wasp hive CAUS-enter in drum DIST extremely/a lot PTCL
harmful insects inside the drum.

ND007_412

leh-anăn
and/then
Then

ND007_413

djăp-djik-lik-anao yõh ñu mapadụm mapadụm lăm năn
everything PTCL 3 PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST
Everything that could be harmful to the monkey he put in the drum.

ND007_414

leh-năn ah
then/and EXC
and then

ND007_415

lõ nao iêu ñu kra năn
again go call 3 monkey DIST

he went and called to the monkey

ND007_416

ơ kra ơ kra? ơi
VOC monkey VOC monkey VOC

"Hey, Monkey!" Đông-krje called "Yes!" the monkey responded.

ND007_417

leh ỡng nao mả yơh găr dê
finish 2 go hold/pick.up PTCL drum EMPH

"Come and take the drum" Đông-krje said.

ND007_418

ơ
yes

"OK!" the monkey said.

ND007_419

siem sa mớh agăr
beautiful one MIR drum

"It is really beautiful." the monkey said.

ND007_420

mĩn dah găr tadi
think COMP drum true

He thought that it was a real drum.

ND007_421

gở dê đã arăng đã aố

3 EMPH as 3 as grandchild
The monkey is not like other people. (This means he is stupid).

ND007_422

mađã arăng tadi i
PRE-guess 3 true EXC
"That is a real drum" Đông-krje said.

ND007_423

năn mamă yơh agăr
then PRE-hold/pick.up PTCL drum
Then the monkey took the drum

ND007_424

nei kâo pată-patăn ỡng
PROX 1 tell 2
"I am reminding you about one thing" Đông-krje said

ND007_425

tuit dũm nei yơh hỡ!
end how.much PROX PTCL IMP
"this fulfills all of my debt to you, said Dong-krje,

ND007_426

kâo tuh-êna-ba-kađi ỡng, ấuh kâo lỡ mào ôh.
1 give compensation for 2 NEG1 1 again have NEG2
"I have paid you all of my debt. No more. OK?"

ND007_427

brei ngăn nei ỡng laố, ấuh đjỡ
give property PROX 2 say NEG right
"I gave you one thing, you said, "It's not right"

ND007_428

brei ngăn nei ǒng lač, ðuh djǒ
give property PROX 2 say NEG right

"I gave you another thing, you said, "It's not right"

ND007_429

kadrǎng kâo lǒ thâo mâo ngăn tuh-êna-ba-kađi ǒng
what 1 again know have property give.compensation.for 2

kra ah?
monkey VOC

"How could I know how to pay you back." Đông-krje continued.

ND007_430

arnei sa boh agǎr leh mǎng nei hǒ
now one CLF drum PFV from PROX IMP

"Now, just this one drum and I have repaid my debt to you."

ND007_431

ðuh lǒ mâo ôh.
NEG1 again have NEG2

"Nothing more. OK?" Đông-krje said.

ND007_432

đã ố ǒng anak ǒng lǒ karuh trguah
many grandchild 2 child 2 again ask/request tomorrow

guah dih
morning FAR.DIST

"Your children and grandchildren should not ask for anything any more."

ND007_433

kâo ba~kađi ǒng ajih leh nei
1 give.compensation.for 2 all finish now

ruối leh nei hǒ.

end.debt PFV PROX IMP
"Now I paid you back everything already. OK?"

ND007_434

ơ
yes
"I agree!" the monkey answered

ND007_435

ơng pinăm pe huả plăm pinăm thũn ớng ũn krbao
2 drink rice.vine eat big drink year eat pig buffalo
Dông-krje continued "When you celebrate the end of the season with pigs, buffalos.

ND007_436

ơ ắng-phả yũ, ắng ắng-phả ngỗk
yes main.door west main.door east
"Yes!" The monkey responded. "The main doors on the west and on the east [ends of your house] --

ND007_437

ắng-phả yuôp
main.door west

ND007_438

ơng kađăl
2 close
[Be sure to] close them all!" Dông-krje said.

ND007_439

bở ti gũ năn ớng ắt
but LOC below.part DIST 2 put.a.string.into
"And in the area under the house floor, put

ND007_440

turỗng uda yờh hỏ.

stake stake PTCL IMP
many pointed stakes please"

ND007_441

năn kah ǒng pinăm atông yǒh agăr ǒng
then then 2 drink play PTCL drum 2

tông yǒh ǎing ǎhar ǒng
play PTCK small.gong big.gong 2

And then drink wine and play gongs and play this drum.

ND007_442

nak ǎô ǒng, gǎp-djuê ǒng, imai dei ǒng
child grandchild 2 extended.family 2 sister sibling 2

All of people in your family-- your grandchildren, children and your sisters, brothers,

ND007_443

neh aprǒng ǒng, amǎ aduân ǒng
aunt elder.aunt 2 mother grandmother 2

all of your extended family members--

ND007_444

dưm lăm sang kđăl ǎng-phă ôk gah.
put in house close main.door owner.area guest.area

should stay inside the house with all of the doors locked.

ND007_445

kđăl yǒh ǎng-phă ôk gah hǒ
close PTCL main.door owner.area guest.area IMP

Remember to lock all doors, ok?"Dông-krje said.

ND007_446

ơ
yes

"Yes!" the monkey replied.

ND007_447

ti lãn nãn cứt turõng uda djáp anôk mớh hỏ.
LOC land DIST put.a.string.intostake stake all place MIR IMP

"Remember to put pointed stakes everywhere in the ground, please" Đông-krje emphasized

ND007_448

ơ
yes

"Yes!" the monkey answered.

ND007_449

leh-nãn mačũt mačũt yớh turõng uda
then/and PRE-put.a.string.into PRE-put.a.string.into PTCL stake stake

leh-nãn makadžal yớh bãng-phả
then/and PRE-close PTCL main.door

So then, the monkey put the pointed stakes under the first floor of his house and then he closed all of the doors

ND007_450

leh kđal bãng-phả nãn
finish close main.door DIST

after closing all of the doors,

ND007_451

dôk nãn atông agãr
sit then play drum

they sat and played the gong and beated the drum.

ND007_452

tông pinãm yớh tape huả plãm thũn,

play drink PTCL rice.vine eat big year

ḅởng ǔn krbao năn atông agăr
eat pig buffaloDIST play drum

They drank wind and ate and then beat the drum.

ND007_453

mǎng mamǎng prăt arluh agăr năn yaih
from PRE-from (sound.of.a.drum.surface.broken) break drum DIST EXC

And then, the drum broke.

ND007_454

êguăt êpan ular udieng
scorpion bedbug snake a.reptile.type

dô matiă kađah tiă hu di gổ yoh
PROG PRE-chase bite chase etc. PL 3 PTCL

and then all creatures got out. They chased and bit everyone

ND007_455

tiă ḅởng tiă nei dih yoh
chase eat chase PROX FAR.DIST PTCL

they pursued them to eat them

ND007_456

đă khiêt, đă nei đă dih yoh, ḅuh lổ thảo ôh.
many wasp many PROX many FAR.DIST PTCL NEG1 again know NEG2

The monkeys did not know what to do.

ND007_457

prtūk-prtũl mớh
many MIR

ND007_458

Dô matăm đũể mapők bẵng nẵn
PROG PRE-REC go PRE-open main.door DIST

mapők bẵng makadão ta nẵn
PRE-open main.door PRE-jump down LOC DIST

They ran to the doors and tried to open the doors and jumped onto the ground.

ND007_459

brũk-brẵk brũk-brẵk madjỗ turỡng nẵn
(sounds) (sounds) PRE-right stake DIST

Snap-crack. Snap-crack. Their backs broke on the pointed stakes.

ND007_460

ajih
all

All of them died.

ND007_461

Leh ajih nẵn, ẵuh lỡ mẵo lỡ dũi,
finish all then NEG again have again win

ẵuh dũi karuh ôh.
NEG1 win ask/request NEG2

After all of them had died, no one came to ask for (debt) payment from Đông-krje anymore.

ND007_462

dũi leh Đông-krje.
win PFV PN

Finally, Đông-krje won.

APPENDIX C
ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person singular
1INCL	First people plural inclusive
1EXCL	First people plural exclusive
2	Second person singular
3	Third person singular
ADV	Adverb
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distal
EXC	Exclamation
EMPH	Emphatic
FAR.DIST	Far distal
FOC	Focus
IMP	Imperative

LOC	Locative
MIR	Mirative
NEG	Negation
NMZ	Nominalization
OBL	Oblique
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PN	Proper name
PRE	Prefix
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximate/Proximal
PTCL	Particle
QP	Question particle
REC	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
REDUP	Reduplication
TOP	Topic
VOC	Vocative

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