GRAMMATICAL STUDIES OF

MAN NOI PLANG

Emily Dawn Lewis

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

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS
Faculty of Arts

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Title   Grammatical Studies of Man Noi Plang
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Abstract

This thesis examines certain grammatical features of Man Noi Plang, which is a
Palaungic language in the northern branch of the Mon-Khmer family. Man Noi
Plang is one of many Plang dialects spoken in Menghai County, Xishuangbanna
Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province in the People's Republic of China.

The purpose of the thesis is to describe aspects of the grammar of a previously
undescribed dialect of Plang. This will include a general description of Plang
word classes and syntax, which will provide a workable foundation for further
grammatical research in this and other Plang dialects.

The syntax of clitics and other referent particles in texts will be investigated in
detail. Specifically, the syntax of personal pronouns, clitics, the discourse particle
ti, the discourse particle *na*, and the discourse particle *ka* will be discussed.
Hypotheses regarding marked personal pronoun behavior, the existence and
syntax of clitics and the functions of *ti*, *na*, and *ka* will be put forth for further
examination and testing. It is hoped that the hypotheses presented here will
stimulate more investigation that will lead to new insights and evidence that will
refine and clarify understanding of the syntax of these particles in Plang
languages.

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ชิ้นนี้ศึกษาถึงลักษณะไวยากรณ์บางประการของภาษามันนอยปลั้งซึ่งจัดอยู่ในกลุ่มภาษาปะหล่อง ในสาขาเหนือของตระกูลภาษามอญ-เขมร ภาษามันนอยปลั้งเป็นหนึ่งในหลายภาษาถิ่นปลั้งที่พูดกันในเมืองเมงฮาย เขตปกครองตนเองชนชาติไทสิบสองปันนา มณฑลยูนนาน ประเทศสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน

วิทยานิพนธ์ชิ้นนี้มุ่งอธิบายลักษณะไวยากรณ์ของภาษาถิ่นหนึ่งของปลั้งซึ่งยังไม่เคยศึกษามาก่อน และมีการพรรณนาเชิงกว้างเกี่ยวกับหมวดคำและวากยสัมพันธ์ของภาษาปลั้ง ซึ่งจะเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการนำไปเป็นฐานที่ใช้ได้จริงสำหรับการวิจัยไวยากรณ์ของภาษาถิ่นนี้ รวมทั้งภาษาถิ่นปลั้งอื่น ๆ ในอนาคต

เนื้อหาของวิทยานิพนธ์ศึกษาวากยสัมพันธ์ของรูปติดและอนุภาคอ้างอิงอื่น ๆ ในตัวบทต่าง ๆ อย่างละเอียด โดยเฉพาะวากยสัมพันธ์ของบุรุษสรรพนาม, อนุภาคสัมพันธสาร *ti na* และ *ka* และการศึกษาเพิ่มเติมรวมทั้งพิสูจน์สมมติฐานว่าด้วยพฤติกรรมบุรุษสรรพนามที่มีลักษณะแตกต่างจากทั่วไป การมีอยู่และวากยสัมพันธ์ของรูปติดและหน้าที่ของอนุภาคสัมพันธสาร *ti na* และ *ka* เป็นที่คาดหวังว่าสมมติฐานที่นำเสนอนั้นจะนำมาซึ่งการศึกษาเพิ่มเติม รวมทั้งนำไปสู่แนวคิดและหลักฐานใหม่ที่สามารถพัฒนาให้ความเข้าใจต่อวากยสัมพันธ์ของอนุภาคเหล่านี้ในภาษาปลั้งให้กระจ่างยิ่งขึ้น

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

***	Unknown gloss and/or part of speech in text
ADV	Adverbial
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
CLF	Classifier
CLI	Clitic
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DEG	Degree
DEM	Demonstrative
Dummy.sub	Dummy subject
EXCL	Exclamation
INDEF	Indefinite
INTG	Interrogative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IRR	Irrealis
LRP	Language resource person
LZN	Localizer noun
Main.part	Main participant marker
MOD	Modal
MKR	Marker
N	Noun
NEG	Negator
Non.foc	Non-focus marker
NP	Noun phrase

NP[POSS]	Possessive noun phrase
Nprop	Proper noun
NUM	Numeral
Obl.arg.mkr	Oblique argument marker
ONO	Onomatopoeia
POSS	Possessive marker
PRC	People's Republic of China
PREP	Preposition
PP	Prepositional phrase
PRO	Pronoun
PRT	Particle
REM	Remote demonstrative
RF	Reduced force
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
QUAN	Quantifier
Topiclzr	Topicalizer
Top.cont	Topic continuity marker
V	Verb
Vst	Stative verb
VP	Verb phrase
1sg	First person singular
1du	First person dual
1pl	First person plural
2sg	Second person singular
2du	Second person dual
2pl	Second person plural
3sg	Third person singular

3du	Third person dual
3pl	Third person plural

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Language introduction

Plang is a Mon-Khmer language, which is part of the Austro-Asiatic super-family. Within the Northern division of the Mon-Khmer family, it is in the Eastern sub-branch of the Palaungic branch.[1] Along with the Lawa and Wa languages, it is in the Waic group (see Figure 1).

```
Austro-Asiatic
        Mon-Khmer
                Northern Division
                        Khmuic
                        Palaungic
                                Western sub-branch
                                        Palaung languages
                                        Riang
                                        Danau
                                Eastern sub-branch
                                        Waic
                                                Plang
                                                Lawa languages
                                                Wa languages
```
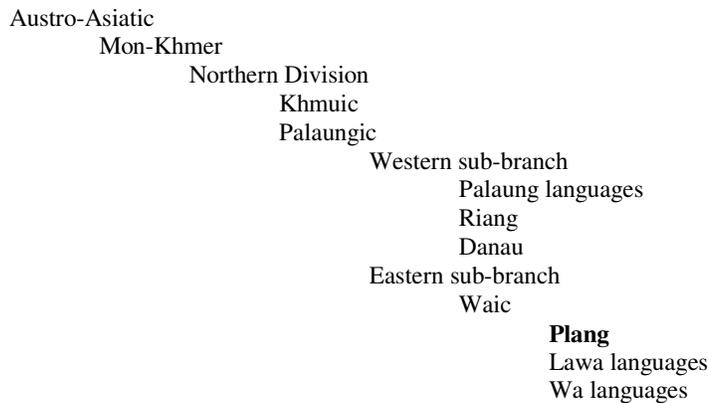
Figure 1. Position of Plang in the Northern Division of Mon-Khmer (Adapted from Block 1994a and Howard and Wattanapun 2001)

Plang languages are spoken in the People's Republic of China (PRC), Myanmar and four or five villages in Thailand. There are approximately 24,000 speakers in the PRC (Gordon 2005). The number of speakers in Myanmar is approximately 12,000. In Thailand, there are approximately 3,000 resident Plang speakers and 2,000 migrant workers (Hopple, p. c.). These numbers include all varieties of Plang. Man Noi Plang is an unwritten language, although Pang Pung (Plang) in Thailand has a written Roman script. Language vitality, according to the Ethnologue and the present researcher's observation, is strong.

In the PRC the Plang are referred to as Bulang (布郎) by the government. They are one of the fifty-five recognized minorities in the country. They live in Yunnan (云南) Province (see Figure 2). There is a concentration of Plang people

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[1] The Eastern and Western sub-branches of the Palaungic branch were incorrectly switched in the 2005 edition of the Ethnologue. This mistake will be corrected in the next edition (Hopple, p.c.).

in Shuangjiang County (双江) and Lincang County (临沧) and a larger concentration in Menghai County (勐海) near the border with Myanmar. Plang people from these two groups have had very little contact with each other and when they interact, they must use Mandarin Chinese to communicate. A few preliminary language surveys have been done in Menghai County, including wordlist collection from approximately six villages on Bulang Mountain (Harper, forthcoming). However, the geographic extent of the Plang people as well as the number of language varieties is unknown at this time.

Figure 2. Yunnan Province in the PRC

The language variety studied for this thesis is spoken in the village of Man Noi on Bulang Mountain. Bulang Mountain is at the southernmost tip of Menghai County, Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province (see Figure 3).
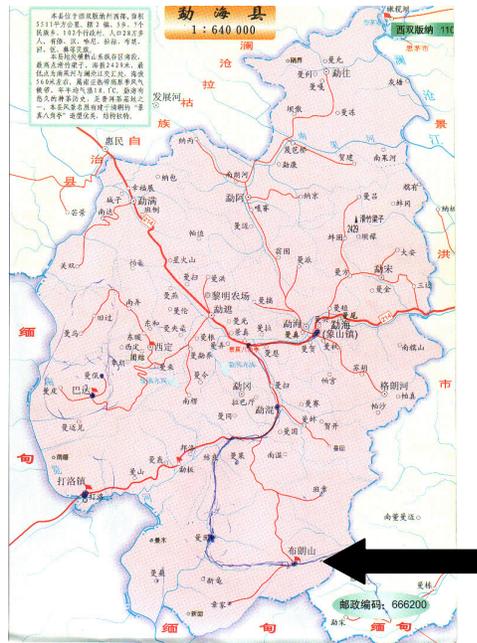
Figure 3. Bulang Mountain in Menghai County

1.2 History and background to the Plang people

The Plang in the PRC migrated from an unknown location further north many centuries ago. According to their stories, they lived in the valleys until the more-numerous Dai people came into the valleys and pushed the Plang up onto the mountaintops. Since then, the Plang have struggled to eke out a living as subsistence farmers. Their main crops are tea, rice, and rubber trees. They sell their tea and rubber tree crops, but generally grow rice for personal consumption. They often raise chickens, pigs, and water buffalo. This provides occasional meat in their usual diet of vegetables and rice.

In the past, Plang families often had many children. However, due to the PRC's child planning initiatives, Plang families may now only have two children without penalty. Parents usually work in the fields all day while children stay with their grandparents. When children are 6-8 years old they begin school. Larger villages have government-built elementary schools. In order to attend high school, Plang children must move to a larger city off of Bulang Mountain. Since school is expensive and extra hands are always needed in the fields, most Plang children only go to school until about the sixth grade, although the education level is rising with each new generation.

3

The Plang follow Theravada Buddhism, which they learned from their Dai neighbors. Larger villages have their own temples and monks. Boys often spend time as monks at some point in their upbringing. They study Dai translations of the Buddhist scriptures. Before the Plang adopted Buddhism, they were animists. Strong vestiges of animism permeate their practice of Buddhism. For example, animal sacrifices are often part of their religious festivals. Besides Buddhism, a handful of Plang have recently adopted Christianity.

1.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Although the Western branch of Palaungic has been studied for many years, very little has been written about the grammar of the languages in the Waic sub-branch of Eastern Palaungic, including Plang. This thesis presents what has been learned about the syntax of one Plang dialect, namely, Man Noi Plang, with examples from texts and elicited material.

This study is limited by the fact that only three Man Noi Plang texts were used. More data would have provided more evidence to prove or disprove certain hypotheses. Research time was also limited due to geographical constraints, i.e., this thesis was written in Thailand away from native speakers. Research time in the PRC was limited by the availability of the Language Resource Person (LRP) and translators. Another limitation is that the researcher is not yet a competent speaker of the language.

1.4 Goal of the Study

The first objective is to describe aspects of the grammar of a previously undescribed dialect of Plang. This will include a general description of Plang word classes and syntax, to provide a workable foundation for further grammatical research in this and other Plang dialects. The second objective is to investigate the syntax of pronouns more fully. This element in Plang grammar appears to be unusual and therefore warrants further study.

1.5 Benefits of the Study

One benefit of this study is grammatical information about a previously unstudied variety of Plang. On a broader scope, this information will also benefit the study of other Waic languages and even comparisons with other languages in

the Palaungic branch as a whole. It is hoped that this study will motivate and direct others in further Plang research endeavors. It is also hoped that this information will benefit future language development among the Plang people of Bulang Mountain in the PRC.

1.6 Methodology and summary of three texts

The three texts that were collected for this thesis are from native speakers of Plang in the village of Man Noi. Other material was elicited from two of these speakers to supplement the three texts. Various general typologies were consulted before and during the analysis stage, as well as books and articles on specialized grammatical topics. Textual material takes precedence over elicited material in this description.

1.6.1 Data Gathering

The first text is titled "Bulang Mountain Trip" (hereafter referred to as "Trip"). It is 109 lines long. It was collected in July 2007 in Jinghong, Jinghong County, Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan, PRC. The speaker is a 20-year-old female from the village of Man Noi on Bulang Mountain. She had been living and working in Jinghong for approximately two years when this text was collected. The text chronicles a trip in which the speaker took three foreigners to visit her village on Bulang Mountain. She talks about the drive up the mountain, their arrival, and what they did each day. The first full day they were on the mountain they walked up to the Old Village to visit her grandparents and aunt. They spent a lot of time looking for edible things in the forest and climbing fruit trees. The second day one of the foreigners returned home on the public bus. The speaker and one of the other foreigners went up to see her family's tea fields. Then on the third day, she and the two foreigners who were left went back to their homes.

The second text is titled "Two Brothers" (hereafter referred to as "Brothers"). The text is over eleven minutes long, but only the first seven minutes were used for analysis due to time constraints. The seven-minute portion is 117 lines long. It was collected in April 2008 in the village of Man Noi, Menghai County, Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan, PRC. The speaker is an approximately 45-year-old female from the village of Man Noi. She was living in

the village when this text was collected. The text is a folktale about two brothers named Aihonam and Ailanam. They are very poor and looked down upon, so they decide to seek "special knowledge," i.e., religious instruction from a man named Parasi. As they prepare for their journey, it becomes evident that Aihonam has a good, wise helpful wife and Ailanam has a lazy bad-mouthed wife. The two brothers spend time learning how to worship correctly from Parasi and then he tells them that they are ready to return home. Parasi tells them to teach their wives how to worship so that the families can improve their positions. Aihonam returns home and tells his wife what he has learned. He shows her all the good things they received and she is very happy. Then Aihonam and his wife go to see how things turned out for Ailanam. Things have not gone well for him. He is still miserably poor. Ailanam's wife curses Aihonam and his wife's horses. Her words cause whores to cover the horses' heads (end of glossed text). Aihonam suggests to Ailanam that he get a new wife. So the brothers find a poor widow who seems kind and helpful and Ailanam marries her instead. At the end of the story, the storyteller gives the moral, which is that wives should obey their husbands and be good wives. She said that it is a cautionary tale for wives and girls.

The third text is titled "Adam Goes to Church" (hereafter referred to as "Church"). It is 88 lines long. It was collected in March 2008 in Jinghong from a 20-year-old male from the village of Man Noi. In the text the speaker recounts his first experience of going to the local government church in Jinghong. He and the foreigner he lived with went to a Bible study one Saturday night. Everyone was split up into small groups and then they had to introduce themselves. Then they played a game in their group. After the game, a lady taught a Bible lesson. After the meeting, the speaker and his friend walked home with some other friends. The next morning the speaker went to the Sunday morning service by himself. In the service they sang, prayed, and listened to a Bible lesson. Then the speaker went home.[2]

The total number of lines of text is 314. Over 200 other sentences in isolation were elicited between April and June 2008.

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[2] Appendix 1 contains an interlinearized version of the Church text. Appendix 2 contains a charted version of the Church text.

1.6.2 Data Analysis

Since there is no previous grammatical work on Man Noi Plang, this study does not present its findings in a specific grammatical framework. Instead, a basic linguistic functional approach is used to describe the phenomena. Various typological grammars, which are discussed in 1.8.4, informed the analysis.

1.7 Phonology

A comparison is currently being done by Harper (forthcoming) on the phonology of six Plang dialects on Bulang Mountain in the PRC. The following information and charts on Man Noi Plang consonants and vowels come from his work. Since there is no accepted orthography at this time, data in this thesis is presented using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).[3]

It is proposed that there are 21 consonant phonemes in Man Noi Plang. They are illustrated in Figure 4.

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosives	p		t		c		k		ʔ	
	p^h		t^h		c^h		k^h			
Nasal		m		n		ɲ		ŋ		
Fricatives	f	v	s						h	
Tap			r							
Approximants	w					j				
Lateral App.				l						

Figure 4. Man Noi Plang Consonant Phonemes (adapted from Harper, forthcoming)

It is proposed that there are ten vowel phonemes in Man Noi Plang. They are illustrated in Figure 5.

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[3] Words that are not Plang (i.e. borrowings from Mandarin or Dai) include symbols that are not part of Plang phonology. The first occurrence of each borrowing is noted.

	Front		Central		Back	
Close	i				ɯ	u
		ɪ				
Close-mid	e				ɤ	o
Open-mid	ɛ				ɔ	
Open			ɑ			

Figure 5. Man Noi Plang Vowel Phonemes (from Harper, forthcoming)

It is proposed by Harper that Man Noi Plang has two tones. However, since phonology work is in progress and there is no orthography at this time, it was impossible to identify the tones reliably. Therefore tone is not marked in the data.

1.8 Literature Review

Nothing has been written on the grammar of Man Noi Plang at this time. The grammar and phonology of Plang dialects found in Thailand have been studied. When the scope of research is expanded to include other Waic languages, there is still a dearth of resources on grammar because most of what has been written about Wa, specifically, is phonological in nature. Various general grammars and grammatical articles guided the researcher during the analysis.

1.8.1 Western Palaungic literature

Much has been written about the Western Palaungic branch of the Palaungic family, especially the Ruching Palaung. Howard and Wattanapun (2001) provide a thorough review of the earliest sources that mention the Ruching Palaung (also called Silver Palaung) including Symes (1827), Yule (1858), Scott and Hardiman (1900), Cecil Lowis (1906), A.A. Cameron (1912), Scott (1921), and Leslie Milne (1910; 1921; 1924; 1931). Most of these sources are not linguistic in nature, but merely mention the Ruching Palaung and comment on their lifestyle and customs. Leslie Milne, in particular, contributed much information on Ruching Palaung culture because she lived among them for various lengths of time for three years. She also studied their language and wrote *An Elementary Palaung Grammar* to document what she learned. The book is descriptive in nature, rather than analytical, but it includes examples of the features she lists. Howard and Wattanapun also review more recent sociological information found in

Lebar, Hickey, and Musgrave (1964), Leach (1954), Sao Saimong Mangrai (1965), Martin Smith (1991), Sarapi Shila (1993), and Richard Diran (1997).

Hermann and Margarete Janzen have published three papers on the grammar of Ruching Palaung, which they refer to as Pale Palaung. They have studied clauses and phrases (1972 and 1976b) and verb-aspect words (1976a). They have also written two papers on the phonology of Ruching Palaung. One of the papers (nd.) is in German and the other one (1978) compares Ruching Palaung with two other Palaung dialects. Hermann Janzen has also written a dissertation (1987) on topicalization in Thai and Pale (Palaung).

1.8.2 Literature on other Plang dialects

Gerard Diffloth (1992) wrote about the relationship between different Bulang subgroups based on Proto-Waic reconstructions. He was unable to determine into which subgroup Bulang Mountain Plang[4] should go because he had only six words from that dialect.

Kontoi and Pangloh are dialects of the Eastern Palaungic branch that is spoken in Plang villages in northern Thailand, specifically in Baan Huay Nam Khun. Debbie Paulsen prepared manuscripts on Pangloh phonology (1987a) and tonal variants in Pangloh (1987b). Her MA thesis was "A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Plang" (1989). This thesis was published in Mon-Khmer Studies in 1992a. She wrote a paper on tone and intonation in Plang (1991), which she later had published (1996b). She also published a paper on phonology in Plang (1996a).

Paulette Hopple and Paulsen prepared a lexicon of Pangloh (1987), a Pangloh rhyme book (1988a), a phonemic outline of Kontoi Plang and Pangloh (1988b), a phonology of Kontoi Plang (1988c), a Northern Thai-Khmer-Plang-English picture dictionary (1988d), a Kontoi Plang rhyme book (1988e), and a manuscript on Plang tones (1988f). Together with Ting Rew, they prepared a Plang-English lexicon (1990). Hopple has also written an unpublished manuscript on the original location of the Kontoi Plang in the PRC (1987) and one on Plang register (1997).

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[4] Diffloth refers to the dialect as the "Bulangshan dialect." It is unclear which village on Bulang Mountain (*shan* in Chinese) speaks the dialect he is referring to.

Paulsen (1992b) wrote a paper detailing the use of fourteen Kontoi Plang particles. She also co-authored a paper on independent clause structure in Kontoi Plang with Karen Block (1997). Block's (1994) MA thesis was on the discourse of first person narratives in Kontoi Plang. Her thesis includes a chapter on basic Kontoi Plang syntax. A briefer version of her thesis was published in 1996. Also in 1996, Block published a short paper on Kontoi Plang possessive noun phrases. It appears that Kontoi Plang and Man Moi Plang are mutually unintelligible, although their grammatical structure is similar.

Jenvit Suknaphasawat (2007) has researched the grammar of the Pang Pung dialect of Plang. It appears to be more similar than Kontoi Plang to Man Noi Plang, although the two dialects still appear to be mutually unintelligible. Suknaphasawat's grammatical sketch describes lexical categories, clause types, speech act distinctions, and phrase structure. It includes numerous examples.

The Plang in the PRC are given six pages in Ma Yin's *China's Minority Nationalities* (1994), which was edited by Ma Yin and published in the PRC. In the book they are referred to as "Blangs." There is a brief description of their history, daily living, pre-liberation life, and post-liberation life. One book has been written on the Plang language by Chinese linguists Li Dao Yong, Nye His Jen, and Chyou Eh Feng (1986). It has not been translated into English. The book gives a brief phonological and grammatical sketch of two Plang varieties, one of which is in found in Xin Man O, which is a village on Bulang Mountain, and the other which is found in Guan Shuang, which is northwest of Bulang Mountain. Unfortunately, the description seems to encompass both varieties without distinguishing which features belong to which dialect.

1.8.3 Relevant Mon-Khmer literature

Rebecca Bequette (2008: 43ff) wrote her MA thesis on participant reference in Bunong, which is a Mon-Khmer language in the Bahnaric branch. In her inventory of participant reference resources in Bunong, she discusses surrogate noun phrases, which are terms of kinship modified by possessors. She notes the use of a surrogate noun phrase with a co-referent pronoun in apposition and comments, "Pragmatically, having a pronoun appositionally after a noun does not appear to add any additional information, but it does add length to the referring expression" (45). Plang also has pronouns in apposition with NPs,

although the researcher has chosen to interpret this structure as an NP and an emphatic pronoun.

In an article on discourse structure in Chrau, which is a Southern Bahnaric language of the Mon-Khmer family, Dorothy Thomas (1978: 235-6) discusses participant reference strategies. She says that the default method of referring to whoever is in focus is to use the third person singular pronoun. When a participant is first brought into focus a demonstrative or the third person singular pronoun often modifies the participant's name or role in a subject NP.

Khasi, which is a Mon-Khmer language of east India, has pronominal clitics that have various functions including independent pronouns and agreement markers (Bedell 2008: 3). This means that the "agreement markers are duplicates of [Khasi's] pronouns and articles" (8). Plang also seems to be unique in that it has verb agreement markers that are identical with its personal pronouns.

Like Plang, Khmu is in the Northern Division of Mon-Khmer. Suwilai Premsrirat (1987) has written a lengthy paper on the grammar of Khmu, focusing particularly on intra- and interclausal syntax.

1.8.4 Grammatical literature

Plang lexical categories were determined according to the grammatical tests used by Paul Schachter and Timothy Shopen (2007) in their article on parts-of-speech-systems. The criteria they use are distribution of word, range of syntactic function, and morphological or syntactic categories that can be used to identify a word (such as case or number for nouns).   Paul Kroeger's (2005: 47) comments on determining lexical categories provided similar criteria from a different perspective by which to test categories. For example, what Schachter calls morphological or syntactic categories, Kroeger calls "sameness of internal structure." Audra Phillips' (2004) paper on lexical categories in West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen gives a slightly different organization scheme for parts of speech, taking into account language-specific phenomena.

The analysis of the Plang noun phrase was begun by following the order of Talmy Givon's (2001a and b) basic discussion with reference to Phillips' (2004) article "The Noun Phrase in West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen." Matthew Dryer's (2007b: 154) article on the structure of the noun phrase contains valuable typological information. For example, he notes that in languages without articles

(such as Plang), demonstratives often serve the function of distinguishing definite from indefinite. Regarding the structure of possessors, he contends that it is unusual for a language to use the same pattern for both nominal and pronominal possessors (183). Dryer's article on word order (2007c) contains helpful cross-linguistic generalizations.

The functions of the Plang noun phrase (NP) were analyzed according to Avery Andrews' (2007a) distinction between core functions and oblique functions. Core functions, according to Andrews, have the grammatical functions A, S, or P and "whatever other grammatical functions [that] are sufficiently like them to be plausibly grouped with them" (153). An NP has the grammatical function A if it is an agent or if it is treated grammatically like an agent. Similarly, an NP has the grammatical function S if it is a subject or if it is grammatically treated like a subject. Finally, an NP has the grammatical function P if it is a patient or if it is treated grammatically like a patient. Any argument that is not A, S, or P (i.e., a core function) and all adjuncts are classified as obliques (157). However, his criteria for distinguishing oblique arguments and oblique adjuncts are based more on semantic roles rather than on his core grammatical relations. Since this study aims to use grammatical criteria, Andrews' analysis proved unsatisfactory. Kroeger (2005: 58), on the other hand, provides grammatical criteria for distinguishing arguments and adjuncts; therefore this study utilizes them for analysis of NP functions. Kroeger defines arguments as elements of a sentence that are required by the verb to make the sentence complete; the verb, in fact, subclassifies the arguments it will take. Arguments are unique within their clause, and there can only be one argument of its kind in a clause. All subjects and objects are arguments, although arguments are not limited to subjects and objects. Adjuncts are not required or subclassified by the verb. They are not unique within a clause and many arguments of the same kind can occur in the same clause. Adjuncts are never subjects or objects.

Analysis of the verb phrase in Plang began with Givon's (2001a) verb categories. However, this produced too many small categories and failed to draw a broad picture of the Plang verb phrase. It proved more helpful for this study to describe verb phrases in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) terms. Van Valin (2005: 4) describes clause structure in terms of "the layered structure of the clause." The different layers are the nucleus, the core, and the periphery. The semantic unit that underlies the nucleus is the predicate, which usually consists of a verb. The

core contains the nucleus and whatever arguments the predicate requires. The periphery contains non-argument elements. Van Valin's treatment of grammatical categories such as tense, aspect and modality is particularly helpful. He says that these and other elements, such as negation and illocutionary force, are operators that function at different levels of the clause (8). This notion provides a way of explaining how these elements can modify the nucleus, the core, or the clause as a whole without occurring next to the verb in a linear fashion.

Enfield's (2003) discussion on the syntactic areal features of the Lao word *daj* 'can' helped explain the behavior of the Plang word *pun*, which can be a main verb, modal, or aspect marker, depending on its syntactic position.

Andrews' (2007a) comments on languages with fluid word order were insightful. Some languages do not have strict word order, but their order is not free, either. Concerning these, Andrews comments, "Fluid word order is usually not actually free, but is rather signaling pragmatic functions rather than grammatical relations" (10). Plang word order is not free, but it is not as stringent as some languages with strict word order.

For the analysis of Plang clause types Dryer's (2007a) article on clause types was studied. His discussion is based on the structure of the predicate with the major distinction being verbal and nonverbal predicates. In his discussion of verbal predicates, he notes that the distinction between objects and adjuncts is sometimes not a clear one grammatically. The guideline is that "objects complete the meaning of the verb in a way that adjuncts do not" (22). Sandra Thompson, Robert Longacre, and Shin Ja Hwang's (2007) article on adverbial clauses was also considered. Their comments on special word order marking a subordinate clause were helpful in the analysis.

Li and Thompson's two articles (1976 and 1981) give a general discussion of topics, which proved helpful for determining if subjects and topics are distinct in Plang. Talmy Givon's (1983) discussion of the factors involved in topic continuity provided cross-linguistic guidelines for coding participants. For example, the less accessible a participant is to a listener, the more coding is necessary. Conversely, highly persistent and important topics are often coded syntactically with zero anaphora or clitic pronouns.

Plang pronoun syntax is unique: not only do pronouns occur in the default subject position, but they also seem to occur after the verb when they are referring to the subject participant or when they are co-referential with a subject. In order to try to understand the function of the pronoun behavior, Levinsohn's (2007) materials on narrative discourse analysis were employed. Although the focus of this thesis is not on text analysis, it proved useful, from a grammatical point of view, to chart the texts. Charting facilitated classification of structures that were default and structures that were marked by noting the frequency of different structures. Besides frequency, Dryer (2007c: 73ff) also mentions other criteria for determining default word order. He says that the structure with the least restrictions, simplest structure, and neutral pragmatic effect is usually the most basic one. Charts were also used to keep track of what referent particles such as *ti* were marking, keeping the attention on local continuity, rather than discourse continuity.

1.9 Organization of thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the lexical categories found in Plang and the tests used to determine them. Chapter 3 discusses adverbial adjuncts. Chapter 4 investigates the phrase structure of noun phrases, verb phrases, and prepositional phrases. Chapter 5 examines the structure of independent clauses. Chapter 6 discusses Plang's pronoun and clitic syntax, as well as three discourse particles. Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of the findings and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2
Lexical Categories

This chapter presents the tests and their application for determining lexical categories in Man Noi Plang. The criteria for defining each word class are primarily grammatical, not semantic. First, nouns are discussed in 2.1. Then verbs are taken up in 2.2. Prepositions, quantifiers, and modals are discussed in 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, respectively. Finally, conjunctions, negators, emphasis markers, interjections, mood markers, and politeness markers are discussed in 2.6 through 2.11.

2.1 Nouns

Nouns can be identified using two tests, one of which identifies a necessary property of nouns and the second of which identifies a common (though not necessary) property of nouns. Test one is that nouns always function as heads of noun phrases. Noun phrases, in turn, usually function as subjects or objects (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 7). Test two is modification: nouns in Man Noi Plang can be modified by various types of noun phrases (Dryer 2007b: 151).

2.1.1 Nouns as heads of noun phrases

Example (1) illustrates the noun k^ha 'road' functioning as the head of the subject noun phrase (NP). Example (2) illustrates two nouns functioning as heads of object NPs. The head of the object NP of the first clause is *pap* 'book' and the head of the object NP of the second clause is *pi* 'pen'. The subjects of each of the clauses in (2) are left implicit.

(1)　**Trip.008**

ma	**kʰa**	kɔm	ka	lɯ
oh!	**road**	very	top.cont	bad
EXCL	**N**	ADV	MKR	Vst

Oh! The road was very bad.

(2) Church.036

tʰɤk	**pap**	tʰɤk	**pi**
take	**book**	take	**pen**
V	**N**	V	**N**

"Take a book, take a pen."[5]

In the previous example, the NPs were objects of a verb; they can also function as objects of prepositions, as in (3) where *maja* 'grandmother' is the head of the object NP of the preposition *tam* 'with'. In (4) *kʰɛp* 'shoe' is the head of the object NP of the preposition *ta* 'by'.

(3) Trip.033

kacuh	ɛ	ti	**tam**	**maja**	ʔɛ
talk	1pl	main.part	**with**	**grandmother**	1pl
V	CLI	MKR	**PREP**	**N**	**PRO**

We talked with my grandmother.[6]

(4) Trip.068

kʰɯt	ka	ti	**ta**	**kʰɛp**	a	katak
rub	top.cont	main.part	**by**	**shoe**	RF	sore
V	MKR	MKR	**PREP**	**N**	PRT	N

It was rubbed by his shoe, a sore.[7]

2.1.2 Noun modification

Nouns can also be identified by other phrases. Nouns in Man Noi Plang can be modified by genitive constructions, demonstratives, quantifiers, classifier phrases, and other noun phrases, although only genitive modification will be discussed here.[8]

Nouns can be marked for possession by other nouns. In (5) the noun *ma* 'mother' and the noun *kɯɯn* 'father' are individually modified by the genitive pronoun *ʔɛ* '1pl'.

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[5] *pap* 'book' is a loan word from Dai. *pi* 'pen' is a loan word from Mandarin.

[6] Although the the first person plural pronoun is used, it is not co-referential with the pronoun '1pl' earlier in the sentence. The second occurrence of '1pl' refers to the speaker and her family (who are not with her at this time). In Plang culture, family members and family-oriented things (i.e., the family's house or family members) are always referred to with plural genitive pronouns. However, for the sake of clarity, these family-oriented plural pronouns will be given singular interpretations in the free translation. Also, *maja* 'grandmother' is a loan word from Dai.

[7] *kʰɛp* 'shoe' is a loan word from Dai.

[8] For a discussion of modifiers in the NP, see 4.1.3.

(5) Trip.011

ma	ʔɛ	kɯɯn	ʔɛ	kɛ	cɯ	mok
mother	1pl	father	1pl	3pl	also	exist
N	**PRO**	**N**	**PRO**	PRO	ADV	V

My mother and my father were also there.[9]

2.1.3 Subclasses of nouns

There are several subclasses of nouns including pronouns, localizer nouns, and nominalized verbs. It is helpful to distinguish these classes of nouns because some of them have more restricted distributions than common nouns.

2.1.3.1 Pronouns

Personal and genitive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative and indefinite pronouns, and reflexive pronouns are discussed in sections 2.1.3.1.1 through 2.1.3.1.4. Personal pronouns are the largest category. Personal pronouns in Plang have different distributional properties from nouns. These properties are discussed in Chapter 6.

2.1.3.1.1 Personal/genitive pronouns

Table 1 lists the personal pronouns in Man Noi Plang. They are classified by number and person.[10] Number distinctions are singular, dual, and plural. The third dual and the second dual are also used to refer to a female who has had children. [11] Person distinctions are first, second, and third. There are several other forms of the first singular pronoun and the first plural pronoun, but the differences appear to be phonologically conditioned. The set of personal pronouns doubles as genitive pronouns. Following the table are examples of each pronoun functioning as NPs.

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[9] For a discussion of the appositional pronoun *kɛ* '3pl', see 6.1.2.

[10] Pang Pung Plang also has an inclusive/exclusive distinction (Suknaphasawat 2007, m.s.), which is not present in Man Noi Plang.

[11] Suknaphasawat notes the same phenomenon in Pang Pung Plang. He comments, "a female who has a child (being a mother) is referred to in the second person singular and third person singular with the regular dual pronoun" (14).

Table 1: Personal/genitive pronouns in Man Noi Plang

	singular	dual	plural
First	ʔɯ	ʔa	ʔɛ
Second	mi	pa	pɛ
Third	ʔɤn	ka	kɛ

The first person singular pronoun *ʔɯ* is functioning as the subject NP in (6). It is marked by the main participant marker *ti*.[12]

(6) Trip.005

ʔɯ	ti	hɤi	ciao	tianhua	fei	a
1sg	main.part	go	pay	telephone	bill	RF
PRO	MKR	V	V	N	N	PRT

I went to pay the telephone bill.[13]

The first person dual *ʔa*, which is used by the speaker to refer to him or herself plus one other person, is illustrated twice in (7).

(7) Brothers.040

lat	ʔa	hɤi	patimat	mi	lat	ʔa	hɤi	kʰɔ	ti	cɪm
be.about.to	**1du**	go	serve	2sg	be.about.to	**1du**	go	ask	main.part	get
AUX	**PRO**	V	V	PRO	AUX	**PRO**	V	V	MKR	V

watkɔŋ	tam	mi
special.knowledge	with	2sg
N	PREP	PRO

"We are about to go serve you and we are about to go request to get the special knowledge with you."

The first person plural *ʔɛ*, which is used by the speaker to refer to him or herself and more than one other person, is illustrated in (8).

(8) Trip.032

sakpai	ʔɛ	jaŋ	som
afternoon	**1pl**	not.yet	eat
N	**PRO**	ADV	V

That afternoon, we hadn't eaten yet.

The second person singular is *mi*. In (9) its referent is the vocative NP *ciao ʔɯ cai ʔɯ* 'my lord, my man'.

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[12] See 6.3.1 for a discussion of this particle.

[13] *tianhua* 'telephone' and *fei* 'bill' are loan words from Mandarin.

18

(9) Brothers.075

lat	ka	la	nɔ	ciao	ʔɯ	cai	ʔɯ	**mi**	lat	ti	pun	ʔa
after that	3du	say	that	lord	1sg	man	1sg	**2sg**	after that	main.part	get	1du
CONJ	PRO	V	DEM	N	PRO	N	PRO	**PRO**	CONJ	MKR	V	PRO

la	pɤ	kana
obl.arg.mkr	things	what
PREP	N	INTG

After that she said that, "My lord, my man, after that what things did you get [for] us?"[14]

The second person dual *pa* is illustrated in (10).

(10) Brothers.050

pa	taŋ	lɛi	mei	ɛɔ	ɲa	ɛɔ	juŋ	ɛɔ	kon	ɛɔ
2du	hortative	again	return	look.for	home	look.for	village	look.for	child	look.for
PRO	MKR	ADV	V	V	N	V	N	V	N	V

kamɯın	ti
wife	main.part
N	MKR

"You two again return and look for [your] house, look for [your] village, look for [your] children, look for your wife."

The second person plural *pɛ* is illustrated in (11).

(11) Brothers.065

pɛ	taŋ	kɔ	ti	kakɤt	kɯın
2pl	hortative	wait	main.part	meet	father
PRO	MKR	V	MKR	V	N

"You wait and meet [your] father."

The third person singular *ʔɤn* is functioning as the subject NP in (12).

(12) Trip.086

lɛi	**ʔɤn**	la	ti	kui	pu	tam	ima	ka
then	**3sg**	say	main.part	have	friend	with	Ima	3du
CONJ	**PRO**	V	MKR	V	N	PREP	Nprop	PRO

She said she made friends with Ima.

The third person dual pronoun *ka* is functioning as the subject NP in (13).

---

[14] *ciao* 'lord' is a loan word from Dai.

(13) Brothers.033

ka	kɔ	lat	tɤ	hɤi	pɔ	ni	cɤt
3du	then	after that	***	go	way	this	finished
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	PRT	V	N	DEM	V

They [two friends] then after that went this way - [they] were done [discussing with their wives].

The third person dual, rather than the third person singular, is always used to refer to a female who has had children. The third person dual pronoun *ka* is referring to a singular female with children in (14).

(14) Trip.091

ka	pam	ka	katɔŋ	pam	ɯ	cum	ka
3du	chew	3du	head	chew	1sg	foot	top.cont
PRO	V	CLI	N	V	CLI	N	MKR

She chewed on the head, I chewed on the feet.

The third person plural *kɛ* is illustrated in (15) where it is functioning as the subject NP.

(15) Church.061

lat	kɛ	la	jɤ	ni	mu	pu	mi	tɪn
after that	**3pl**	say	do	this	where	friend	2sg	also
CONJ	**PRO**	V	V	PRO	INTG	N	PRO	ADV

After that they said this, "So where [is] your friend?"

As previously mentioned, personal pronouns also function as genitive pronouns. An example of a genitive pronoun is illustrated in (16). The pronoun *ʔɛ* '1pl' is the genitive and *ɲa* 'house' is the head of the NP.

(16) Trip.018

tapuh	ka	lɛi	ɪt	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ
night	top.cont	then	sleep	at	**home**	**1pl**
N	MKR	CONJ	V	PREP	**N**	**PRO**

As for night, then we slept at my home.

2.1.3.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns in Man Noi Plang: *ni* 'this, these;' *nɔ* 'that, those;' and *tɛ* 'that over there, those over there'.[15] The proximal

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[15] The proximal demonstrative also has the form *ɛn* 'this' and the distal demonstrative also has the forms *nɔn* 'that' or *ɔn* 'that'. Further study is needed to determine the distribution of these different phonological realizations.

demonstrative pronoun *ni* 'this, these' is functioning as the object argument in (17). In the context of the story, the two brothers Aihonam and Ailanam have been studying the special knowledge so that they will know how to worship properly. This sentence signals the end of their time studying.

(17) Brothers.046

ka   pɔ   **ni**   cɤt
3du   ***   **this**   finished
PRO   ***   **DEM**   V

They finished this [study].

In (18) the distal demonstrative pronoun *nɔ* 'that, those' is functioning as the object of the preposition *kʰa* 'at'. The remote demonstrative *tɛ* is functioning as the subject NP in (19).

(18) Data.063

ɲa   ʔɯ   mok   kʰa   **nɔ**
home   1sg   exist   at   **that**
N   PRO   V   PREP   **DEM**

My house is there.

(19) Data.026

tɛ   kui   kupi
REM   have   fruit
DEM   V   N

That [place] over there has fruit.

2.1.3.1.3 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns

Plang interrogative and indefinite pronouns are the same set. The pronoun *kana* 'what' is functioning interrogatively in (20). Another pronoun *jamuŋ* 'when' is functioning interrogatively in (21). The interrogative pronoun in each example is what signals that the utterance is a content question.

(20) Data.011

mi   jɤ   **kana**
2sg   do   **what**
PRO   V   **INTG**

What did you do?

(21) Data.012

ʔʏn	iŋ	**jamuŋ**
3sg	come	**when**
PRO	V	**INTG**

When will he come?

In (22) *kana* 'what' means 'whatever' in the clause "whatever we wanted to do."
In context it is functioning as an indefinite pronoun. Example (23) illustrates the
pronoun *sumnʏn* 'whoever' functioning as an indefinite pronoun. In the context
the speaker is not asking a question.

(22) Trip.017

ʔɛ	la	jʏ	**kana**	maŋ	pʏt	hai	ka	jʏ	ta
1pl	would	do	**whatever**	not	fundamentally	good.easy	top.cont	do	***
PRO	AUX	V	**INDEF**	NEG	ADV	V	MKR	V	PRT

Whatever we would do, it was fundamentally not easy to do.

(23) Church.022

sumnʏn	la	ʔʏn	ti	ʏcʼ
whoever	say	3sg	main.part	finish
INDEF	V	PRO	MKR	V

Whoever, he speaks; then finished.

2.1.3.1.4 Reflexive/emphatic pronoun

The pronoun *muun* 'self' combines with personal pronouns to give a reflexive
meaning. In (24) the clause is made reflexive by the presence of *muun* 'self' at the
end of the sentence. In (25) the clause is given a reflexive meaning by the
presence of *muun muun* 'self self'. More study is needed to determine what the
significance of the doubling is.

(24) Data.106

ʔʏn	sʏmok	ti	**muun**
3sg	hide	main.part	**self**
PRO	V	MKR	**PRO**

He hides himself.

(25) Data.108

ʔɤn	ti	nɔk	ɤn	ti	**mɯɯn**	**mɯɯn**
3sg	main.part	see	3sg	main.part	**self**	**self**
PRO	MKR	V	CLI	MKR	**PRO**	**PRO**

She looks at herself.

The pronoun *mɯɯn* 'self' can also show contrast. In (26) it contrasts the personal pronoun *ʔɤn* '3sg' with the alternative.

(26) Data.008

ʔɤn	ciaŋ	jɤ	**mɯɯn**
3sg	able	do	**self**
PRO	MOD	V	**PRO**

She can do it herself.[16]

2.1.3.2 Localizer nouns

Localizer nouns are words that are often prepositions in other languages. The subclass of localizer nouns can be the object of a preposition and the head of a possessive phrase. In (27) the localizer noun *tuk* 'front' is the object of the preposition *kʰa* 'at'. The localizer noun *cɛŋ* 'side' in (28) is the object of the preposition *juŋ* 'at'. It is also the head of the possessive phrase *cɛŋ ʔɤn* 'her side'.

(27) Data.030

mok	ɤn	**kʰa**	**tuk**
exist	3sg	**at**	**front**
V	CLI	**PREP**	**LZN**

He is at the front.[17]

(28) Data.029

ʔɤn	mok	ɤn	**juŋ**	**cɛŋ**	**ʔɤn**
3sg	sit	3sg	**at**	**side**	**3sg**
PRO	V	CLI	**PREP**	**LZN**	**PRO**

He is sitting beside her.[18]

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[16] *ciaŋ* 'able' is a loan word from Dai.

[17] For a discussion of *ɤn* '3sg' without the glottal stop, see 6.2.

[18] *cɛŋ* 'side' is a loan word from Dai.

2.1.3.3 Nominalized verbs

Verbs can be nominalized by the nominalizer *ku*. In (29) the verb *la* 'say' is nominalized by *ku* to mean "words." In (30) two verbs *cɯ* 'know' and *joŋ* 'know [how to do something]' are nominalized by *ku*.

(29) Brothers.112

jɯ̄ŋ	hun	ti	un	jaŋ	**ku**	**la**	parasi	la	ɤn	nɔ
seem	***	main.part	not	be.same.as	**nominalizer**	**say**	Parasi	say	3sg	that
V	***	MKR	NEG	V	**PRT**	**V**	Nprop	V	CLI	DEM

"[He] seems like it is not the same as Parasi's words" he said that.

(30) Brothers.020

ʔa	pun	ti	cɪm	**ku**	**cɯ**	**ku**	**joŋ**	cɪm	pun	ti
1du	attained	main.part	get	**nominalizer**	**know**	**nominalizer**	**know**	get	can	main.part
PRO	ASP	MKR	V	**PRT**	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	V	MOD	MKR

lat	watkɔŋ
be.about.to	special.knowledge
AUX	N

"'We will be about to get knowledge and ability and can get the special knowledge.'"

2.2 Verbs

There are two tests for verbs in Man Noi Plang. Test one is that verbs can function as heads of verb phrases (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9), which is discussed in 2.2.1. Test two is that they can also be specified for aspect, mood, and polarity (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9). Only one of these specifications, polarity, will be discussed in 2.2.2.[19] Subclasses of verbs are discussed in 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Verbs as heads of verb phrases

Distributional properties such as serving as heads of verb phrases set verbs apart from other words classes (Payne 1997: 47). Example (31) demonstrates the verb *lih* 'go down' functioning as the head of the VP. Example (32) demonstrates the verb *pɛt* 'kill' functioning as the head of the VP.

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[19] For a discussion of the verb phrase and its operators, see 4.2.

(31) Trip.066

kɔi	**lih**	ε
slowly	**go.down**	1pl
ADV	**V**	CLI

We went down slowly.

(32) Trip.104

ka	cɯ	lɛi	**pet**	ʔɛ	la	ɛh	a
3du	also	then	**kill**	1pl	obl.arg.mkr	chicken	RF
PRO	ADV	CONJ	**V**	PRO	PREP	N	PRT

She also killed us a chicken.

2.2.2 Polarity

Schachter and Shopen (2007: 10) include polarity as a verb specification because "polarity marking distinguishes affirmative from negative." In (33) the verb ɤ 'agree' is negated by the negative particle *maŋ* 'not'. A different negator is used in (34): *un* 'not' is negating the verb *kaɲɛt* 'listen'.[20]

(33) Trip.101

maŋ	ka	**ɤ**	tɤ
not	3du	**agree**	***
NEG	PRO	**V**	PRT

She didn't agree.

(34) Brothers.032

ʔɤn	kɔ	**un**	**kaɲɛt**	ka
3sg	then	**not**	**listen**	3du
PRO	CONJ	**NEG**	**V**	PRO

He then did not listen to her.

2.2.3 Verb subclasses

Words that are often adjectives in other languages have been identified as attributive verbs in Plang. They pass both tests for verbs: they can be specified (for polarity, in this case) and they can function as predicates on their own like other verbs. In (35) the attributive verb *hɔn* 'big' is negated by *maŋ* 'not'. In (36) the same attributive verb *hɔn* 'big' is functioning as the predicate. Therefore, attributive words in Plang are classified as verbs.

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[20] For a discussion of the different negators in Plang, see 2.7.

(35) VP.031

ʔɤn	**maŋ**	ʔɤn	**hɔn**
3sg	**not**	3sg	**big**
PRO	**NEG**	PRO	**Vst**

He is not big.

(36) VP.030

ʔɤn	**hɔn**
3sg	**big**
PRO	**Vst**

He is big.

However, attributive verbs have behaviors that are not characteristic of other types of verbs. For example, comparative and superlative forms are formed when degree adverbs modify attributive verbs. In (37) the degree adverb *lat* 'more than' is modifying the attributive verb *hɔn* 'big' to achieve the comparative meaning 'bigger'. The superlative is illustrated in (38) where the degree adverb *kʰɛn* 'most' is modifying *hɔn* 'big'.

(37) Data.056

fak	ɛn	na	**hɔn**	ka	**lat**	tianhua
cup	this	topiclzr	**big**	top.cont	**more.than**	telephone
N	DEM	PRT	**Vst**	MKR	**DEG**	N

This cup is bigger than the telephone.

(38) Data.057

ɛn	na	**kʰɛn**	**hɔn**
this	topiclzr	**most**	**big**
DEM	PRT	**DEG**	**Vst**

This is the biggest.

2.3 Prepositions

Six prepositions have been discovered thus far in Plang. Functionally, prepositions "convey some information about the referent of the phrasal constituent [preposition plus the NP] that is not expressed by the noun itself" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 34). The prepositions are listed in Table 2 with their meanings. Following the table, an example of each preposition is given.

Table 2: Prepositions in Man Noi Plang

Preposition	Gloss
cum	'from'
juŋ	'at'
kʰa	'at'
la	'oblique argument marker'
ta	'by' or 'to'
tam	'with'

The preposition *cum* 'from' in (39) is the head of the prepositional phrase *cum vɛ* 'from work', where it indicates the previous location of the subject of the clause.

(39) Trip.012

kɔmpɤ	huɯt	kɛ	**cum**	**vet**	ti
just.then	arrive	3pl	**from**	**work**	main.part
ADV	Vmot	CLI	**PREP**	**N**	MKR

They had just arrived from work.[21]

The preposition *juŋ* 'at' in (40) is the head of the prepositional phrase *juŋ ɲa ʔɛ* 'at my home'.

(40) Trip.009

huɯt	ɛ	**juŋ**	**ɲa**	**ʔɛ**	mɔ	lakakʰau	ti	ta	pai	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	**at**	**home**	**1pl**	just.then	about	one	hour	after	do	that
Vmot	CLI	**PREP**	**N**	**PRO**	CONJ	ADV	NUM	CLF	ADV	V	PRO

We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.[22]

The preposition *kʰa* is a Dai loan word, which explains why there are two prepositions that mean 'at'. *kʰa* 'at' in (41) heads the prepositional phrase *kʰa tuk* 'at the front'.

(41) Data.030

mok	ʔɤn	**kʰa**	**tuk**
sit	3sg	**at**	**front**
V	PRO	**PREP**	**LZN**

He is at the front.

Although both *kʰa* and *juŋ* both mean 'at', their distribution is different. *kʰa* is used with all localizer nouns except *cæŋ* 'side', which prefers *juŋ*. *juŋ* is also used

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[21]   *vɛt* 'work' is a loan word from Dai.

[22]   *ta* 'hour' is a loan word from Dai.

with nouns that are more prototypical locations (i.e., 'home', 'church', 'China', 'village'). For example, in (42) *kʰa* 'at' is unacceptable with the location *ɲa ʔɛ* 'my house'. Conversely, in (43) the preposition *juŋ* 'at' is unacceptable with the localizer noun *tuk* 'front'.

(42) Data.133

*huɯt	ɛ	**kʰa**	**ɲa**	**ʔɛ**	mɔ	lakakʰau	ti	ta	pai	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	**at**	**home**	**1pl**	then	about	main.part	hour	after	do	that
V	CLI	**PREP**	**N**	**PRO**	CONJ	ADV	MKR	N	ADV	V	DEM

(Intended: We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.)

(43) Data.134

*mok	ɤn	**juŋ**	**tuk**
exist	3sg	**at**	**front**
V	CLI	**PREP**	**LZN**

(Intended: He is at the front.)

The preposition *la* heads oblique argument phrases. In (44) *la* is marking *ɛh* 'chicken' as the oblique argument of the verb *pɛt* 'kill'. The object *ʔɛ* '1pl' comes closest to the verb, before the oblique argument. In (45) *la* is marking the oblique argument of the verb *ka* 'give', which is *kukakɯt* 'gift'. Again, the object *ma kɛ* 'their mother' occurs before the oblique argument.

(44) Trip.090

iumpan	kɛ	cɯ	pɛt	ʔɛ	**la**	**ɛh**	a
Iumpan	3pl	also	kill	1pl	**obl.arg.mkr**	**chicken**	RF
Nprop	PRO	ADV	V	PRO	**PREP**	**N**	PRT

Iumpan also killed us a chicken.

(45) Data.040

ʔɤn	ka	ma	kɛ	**la**	**kukakɯt**
3sg	give	mother	3pl	**obl.arg.mkr**	**gift**
PRO	V	N	PRO	**PREP**	**N**

He gave their mother a gift.

Even if the object argument is only implied, the oblique argument marker *la* is still used in some cases. In (46) Iumpan is giving a phone call to the speaker and the people with her. The object argument is not made explicit, but the oblique argument marker *la* is used before the argument 'telephone [call]' to make the

sentence clearer.[23] According to native speakers, the sentence is not acceptable without the oblique argument marker, as evidenced in (47).

(46) Trip.070

huɪt	ε	juŋ	kʰa	hɔn	mɔ	iumpan	ka	ta	kei	**la**	**tianhua**
arrive	1pl	at	road	big	then	Iumpan	give	hit	to	**obl.arg.mkr**	**telephone**
Vmot	CLI	PREP	N	Vst	CONJ	Nprop	V	V	PREP	**PREP**	**N**

When we arrived at the big road, Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call].[24]

(47) Data.102

*huɪt	ε	juŋ	kʰa	hɔn	mɔ	iumpan	ka	ta	kei	tianhua
arrive	1pl	at	road	big	then	Iumpan	give	hit	to	telephone
V	CLI	PREP	N	Vst	CONJ	Nprop	V	V	PREP	N

(Intended: When we arrived at the big road, then Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call].)

The preposition *ta* 'by' in (48) is the head of the prepositional phrase *ta kʰεp* 'by [his] shoe'. It is indicating the instrument which caused the rubbing. *ta* more frequently means 'to', as in (49) where it is heading the prepositional phrase *ta ka* 'to them'. In this case, it indicates the addressee of the verb *la* 'say'.

(48) Trip.068

kʰɯt	ka	ti	**ta**	**kʰεp**	a	katak
rub	top.cont	main.part	**by**	**shoe**	RF	sore
V	MKR	MKR	**PREP**	**N**	PRT	N

It was rubbed by his shoe, a sore.

(49) Brothers.037

pa	lat	pʰaijɔt	kʰaokan	pɤ	kana	la	ɤn	nɔ	**ta**	**ka**
2du	be.about.to	declare	situation	things	what	say	3sg	that	**to**	**3du**
PRO	AUX	V	N	N	INDEF	V	CLI	DEM	**PREP**	**PRO**

"You two are about to declare the situation - what things [you want]," he said that to them.

The preposition *tam* 'with' in (50) is the head of the prepositional phrase *tam maja ε* 'with our grandmother'. It indicates association.

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[23] The words and structure *ta kei* 'hit to' are loan words from Mandarin.

[24] *ta* 'hit', *kei* 'give', and *tianhua* 'telephone' are loan words from Mandarin.

(50) Trip.033

kacuh	ε	ti	**tam**	**maja**	ʔε
talk	1pl	main.part	**with**	**grandmother**	**1pl**
V	CLI	MKR	**PREP**	**N**	**PRO**

We talked with my grandmother.

2.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are identified by their distribution: they occur after nouns in NPs and before nouns in temporal phrases with a time classifier. Semantically, they "indicate quantity or scope" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 37). In (51) the Plang numeral *lai* 'two' modifies the noun *pu* 'friend'. The quantifier *huɯn* 'many' is modifying the noun *lɪk* 'pig' in (52).

(51) Church.050

ɔn	mɔ	muh	ʔɤn	miti	pɛn	ʔɤn	pu	ʔɯ	ɔn	mɔ	miti	lɛn
then	then	name	3sg	Midi	be	3sg	friend	1sg	then	then	Midi	again
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	Nprop	COP	PRO	N	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	Nprop	ADV

ti	kui	**pu**	**lai**
main.part	have	**friend**	**two**
MKR	V	**N**	**NUM**

Then the one named Midi, [who] is my friend, at that time she had two other friends.

(52) NP.004

lɪk	huɯn	ʔɯ	som	ka
pig	**many**	**1sg**	eat	top.cont
N	**QUAN**	**PRO**	V	MKR

My many pigs are eating.

The distribution of quantifiers is different in time phrases: the quantifier precedes the noun. The numeral *ti* 'one' modifies the noun *ta* 'hour' in (53). In (54) the quantifier *cum* 'every' is modifying the proper noun *ʃiŋcʰiwu* 'Friday'.

(53) Data.090

huɯt	ε	juŋ	ɲa	ʔε	mɔ	lakakʰau	**ti**	**ta**	pai	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	at	home	1pl	then	about	**one**	**hour**	after	do	that
V	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	ADV	**NUM**	**N**	ADV	V	DEM

We arrived at my home about one hour later, do that.[25]

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[25] *ta* 'hour' is a loan word from Dai.

(54) Data.017

ʔɛ	ti	**cum**	**ʃiŋcʰiwu**	la	ʔɛ	hɤi	məŋhai
1pl	main.part	**every**	**Friday**	IRR	1pl	go	Menghai
PRO	MKR	**QUAN**	**Nprop**	PRT	PRO	V	Nprop

Every Friday we go to Menghai.[26]

Numerals are not a distinct category from quantifiers because they cannot co-occur with quantifiers. The construction in (55) is ungrammatical. The quantifier *huin* 'many' cannot co-occur with the numeral *pɔn* 'five' in the NP.

(55) NP.013

*ɲa	pʰɔn	huin	mok	ka	juŋ	mannoi
home	five	many	exist	top.cont	at	Man.Noi
N	NUM	QUAN	V	MKR	PREP	Nprop

(Intended: Many five houses are in Man Noi.)

Plang people use both Plang numerals and Dai numerals for 1-10. The Plang numerals are given in Table 3. Dai numerals are used for all numerals above ten.

Table 3: Plang Numerals 1-10

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
kuti, ti	*lai*	*lɔi*	*pun*	*pʰɔn*	*leh*	*haleh*	*hɔŋti*	*satɯm*	*kui*

2.4.1.1 Classifiers

Only two classifiers have been identified in Plang at this time. Classifiers occur with quantifiers in a classifier phrase. The classifier *cu* 'group' is illustrated in (56) where it is the head of the classifier phrase *pun cu* 'four groups'. The word *cu* 'group' is not a noun because the modifier *pun* 'four' does not pattern like a quantifier in an NP, i.e., it does not follow the noun. Further evidence for classifiers is given in (57). The classifier *cum* 'set' is the head of the classifier phrase *ti cum* 'one set', which is modifying the noun *fɛhpoh* 'clothes'.

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[26] *siŋcʰiwu* 'Friday' and *məŋhai* 'Menghai' are loan words from Mandarin.

(56) Church.009

taŋ	ɤcʼ	ti	saka	kɛ	ʔɛ	**pun**	**cu**
all	complete	main.part	separate	3pl	1pl	**four**	**group**
ADV	V	MKR	V	PRO	PRO	**NUM**	**N**

All of us - they divided us [into] four groups.[27]

(57) Grammar.006

ma	ʔɛ	ka	tɤi	ka	ʔɯ	la	**fɛhpoh**	**ti**	**cum**
mother	1pl	give	buy	give	1sg	obl.arg.mkr	**clothes**	**one**	**set**
N	PRO	V	V	V	PRO	PREP	**N**	**NUM**	**CLF**

My mom bought me a set of clothes.

2.5 Modals

The function of modality is to express information about the speaker's attitude or the agent's relationship to a proposition (Kroeger 2005: 147). The agent-oriented modal *ciaŋ* 'able' is illustrated in (58). The modal expresses that the agent has the ability to serve. *pun* 'can' in (59) is also an agent-oriented modal with a similar meaning. It conveys the relationship between the agent and the verb: the agent has the ability to *cɪm* 'get' the *watkɔŋ* 'special knowledge'.

(58) Brothers.022

kamɯɪn	aihonam	non	ka	kah	hak	ka	pɤi	kʰai	cat
wife	Aihonam	just.then	3du	emphasis.marker	because	3du	person	really	***
N	Nprop	ADV	PRO	PRT	CONJ	PRO	N	ADV	***

ciaŋ	**patimat**	kɔm	ka	la	nɔ	ɤ	ɤ	ɤ	ciao	ʔɯ	cai	ʔɯ	kala
able	**serve**	very	3du	say	that	agree	agree	agree	lord	1sg	man	1sg	no
MOD	**V**	ADV	PRO	V	DEM	V	V	V	N	PRO	N	PRO	NEG

kujo
matter
N

Aihonam's wife she just now, because she *** [was] a person [who was] very able to serve, she spoke that, "Okay, okay, okay, my lord, my man, no problem."

(59) Brothers.020

ʔa	pun	ti	cɪm	ku	cɯ	ku	joŋ	**cɪm**	**pun**	ti
1du	attained	main.part	get	nominalizer	know	nominalizer	know	**get**	**can**	main.part
PRO	ASP	MKR	V	PRT	V	PRT	V	**V**	**MOD**	MKR

---

[27] *cu* 'group' is a loan word from Mandarin.

lat   watkɔŋ

be.about.to special.knowledge

AUX   N

"'We will be about to get knowledge and ability and can get the special knowledge.'"

2.6 Conjunctions

There are eight morphemes in the text that seem to be conjunctions. The function of these conjunctions is to connect clauses, phrases, or words in discourse. Each conjunction and its tentative gloss have been provided in Table 4. Many of their individual meanings are the same at this point. Further study is required. Following the table, an example of each conjunction in text is provided.

Table 4: Conjunctions in Man Noi Plang

Conjunction	Gloss
am	'or'
hak	'however, but'
kɔ	'then'
kɔm	'then'
lat	'after that'
lei	'then'
mɔ	'then'
ɔn	'then'

The coordinating conjunction *am* 'or' occurs in (60). *am* 'or' coordinates the verb *mei* 'ready' with the negative adverb *jaŋ* 'not yet'.

(60) Data.096

mi   mei   mi   ti   **am**   jaŋ

2sg prepare 2sg anaphoric **or**   not.yet

PRO V   PRO PRO   **CONJ** ADV

Are you ready to go or not yet?

The conjunction *hak* 'however' in (62) connects this utterance with the previous discourse, which is illustrated in (61). It introduces new information that is contrary to expectation. In the context of these examples, the outburst in (61) is the first evidence that the speaker is not a good person. The speaker's bad character proves to be an integral part of the story. It is possible that *hak* is actually a contrafactual modality particle. More study of this particle is needed.

(61) Brothers.028

pun	kɛ	kana	ka	la	ka	nɔ	ka	ti	kah
get	whore	whatever	3du	say	3du	that	3du	main.part	emphasis.marker
V	N	INDEF	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	PRO	MKR	PRT

"Get a prostitute - whatever!" she said that, she [did].

(62) Brothers.029

hak	ka	kʰai	pɛt	mɯi
however	3du	very	temper	bad
CONJ	PRO	ADV	N	Vst

However she [had] a very bad temperament.

kɔ 'then' may be an areal feature both phonetically and functionally. Somsonge (1992) discusses the particle *kʌʔ* 'well,…; so then; also' in oral Kui[28] narrative and notes that some of the functions are similar to the Thai temporal sequence marker *kɔ̂ɔ*. Further study is needed to determine whether the Plang particle *kɔ* 'then' has all of the functions Kui *kʌʔ* and Thai *kɔ̂ɔ* have. The Plang *kɔ* 'then' occurs in (63). It connects the circumstance in the first clause, *ka ciaŋ patimat kasat pa* '[if] they are able to serve [following] after you', with the result in the second clause, *kɔ mut* 'after you then [they will] change'.

(63) Brothers.057

ka	ciaŋ	patimat	kasat	pa	**kɔ**	mut
3du	able	serve	after	2du	**then**	change
PRO	MOD	V	ADV	PRO	**CONJ**	V

"[If] they [the wives] are able to serve [following] after you, then [they will] change."

The conjunction *kɔm* 'then' is illustrated in (65). It chronologically connects Ailanam's statement in (64) with his wife's response in (65).

(64) Brothers.026

ailanam	la	ɤn	ti	lat	ka	a	hɤi	ɛɔ	ti	hamhɛn
Ailanam	say	3sg	main.part	be.about.to	give	1du	go	look.for	main.part	study
Nprop	V	CLI	MKR	AUX	V	CLI	V	V	MKR	V

ti	lat	watkɔŋ
main.part	be.about.to	special.knowledge
MKR	AUX	N

Ailanam, he said, "We [the two brothers] are about to go and look for and will study the special knowledge."[29]

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[28] Kui is a Mon-Khmer language of the Katuic branch.

[29] The root *hɛn* 'study' is a loan word from Dai.

(65) Brothers.027

ka	**kɔm**	ka	jɤ	ti	ni	hɤi	hɤi	hɤi
3du	**then**	3du	do	main.part	this	go	go	go
PRO	**CONJ**	PRO	V	MKR	DEM	V	V	V

She then did this, "Go! Go! Go!"

The conjunction *lat* 'after that', which is illustrated in (67), connects the discourse in (66) with the events that follow. *lat* 'after that' usually signals the beginning of a new event chronologically.

(66) Brothers.046

ka	pɔ	ni	cɤt
3du	***	this	finished
PRO	***	DEM	V

They finished this [study].

(67) Brothers.047

lat	ʔɤn	ti	la	nɔ	ta	ka	lɛi	ti	ɛn	na	pa
after that	3sg	main.part	say	that	to	3du	again	main.part	this	topic.con	2du
CONJ	PRO	MKR	V	DEM	PREP	PRO	ADV	MKR	DEM	MKR	PRO

kɔ	lɛi	ti	hɤi	pun	ti	hamhɛn	ta	ʔɯ
then	again	main.part	go	can	main.part	study	to	1sg
CONJ	ADV	MKR	V	MOD	MKR	V	PREP	PRO

After that he [Parasi] said that to them again, "In this way you then again can go and study with me."

The conjunction *lɛi* 'then' connects the utterance in (69) to the previous discourse, which is illustrated in (68).[30] It is a simple chronological connector that moves the action of the story along.

(68) Trip.015

mɔ	a	mɔ	lɛi	cɤt	ɛ	som	ti	mɔ	lat	ʔɛ	hɤi
then	RF	then	then	finished	1pl	eat	main.part	then	after that	1pl	go
CONJ	PRT	CONJ	CONJ	V	CLI	V	MKR	CONJ	CONJ	PRO	V

ɛɔ	ti	kacɯh	ti
look.for	main.part	talk	main.part
V	MKR	V	MKR

And then after we finished eating then after that we went looking for [people] to talk to.

---

[30] Example (68) also contains the conjunction *lɛi* 'then'; it connects the utterance to the preceding discourse.

(69) Trip.018

tapuh	ka	**lɛi**	ɪt	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ
night	top.cont	**then**	sleep	at	home	1pl
N	MKR	**CONJ**	V	PREP	N	PRO

As for night, then we slept at my home.

Another conjunction, *mɔ* 'then', is illustrated in (71). It is chronologically connecting the utterance with the previous event, which is illustrated in (70).

(70) Trip.009

huɪt	ɛ	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ	mɔ	lakakʰau	ti	ta	pai	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	at	home	1pl	just.then	about	one	hour	after	do	that
Vmot	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	ADV	NUM	CLF	ADV	V	PRO

We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.

(71) Trip.010

a	**mɔ**	ca	ɛ	ti	som
RF	**then**	cook	1pl	main.part	eat
PRT	**CONJ**	V	CLI	MKR	V

And then we cooked a meal.

The final conjunction *ɔn* 'then' is illustrated in (73) where it is connecting the utterance with the previous discourse. The previous discourse is illustrated in (72). It chronologically moves the events along.

(72) Brothers.049

kasa	na	ti	pa	kɔ	lɛi	lih	ɛɔ	ti	sɤt	ti
next.day	topiclzr	main.part	2du	then	again	go.down	look.for	main.part	grab	main.part
ADV	PRT	MKR	PRO	CONJ	ADV	V	V	MKR	V	MKR

lat	sai	la	ɤn	nɔ
be.about.to	sand	say	3sg	that
AUX	N	V	CLI	DEM

"Tomorrow also you then again are about to go down and look for and get sand," he said that.[31]

(73) Brothers.054

ɔn	a	ka	kɔ	lat	ti	kasa	lɛi	ti	kah
then	RF	3du	then	after that	main.part	next.day	again	main.part	emphasis.marker
CONJ	PRT	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	MKR	ADV	ADV	MKR	PRT

---

[31] *sai* 'sand' is a loan word from Dai.

lih	sɤt	ti	lat	sai	lɛi	iŋ	sommɔŋsomma	ti
go.down	grab	main.part	***	sand	again	go.back	appease	main.part
V	V	MKR	***	N	ADV	V	V	MKR

Then they, then after that the next day again, went down and got sand and again went back to appease.

2.7 Negators

Negators change the polarity of a proposition. There are four different negators in Plang: two general negators and two negative imperatives. One of the general negators *un* is illustrated in (74) where it is negating the verb *kaɲet* 'listen'. The negator *maŋ* 'not' is also acceptable in this sentence. This is illustrated in (75).

(74) Brothers.032

ʔɤn	kɔ	**un**	**kaɲet**	ka
3sg	then	**not**	**listen**	3du
PRO	CONJ	**NEG**	**V**	PRO

He then did not listen to her.

(75) Data.068

ʔɤn	kɔ	**maŋ**	**kaɲet**	ka
3sg	then	**not**	**listen**	3du
PRO	CONJ	**NEG**	**V**	PRO

He then did not listen to her.

Although the two general negators are often interchangeable, there are examples where they are not. In (76) the negator *maŋ* 'not' is negating the verb *lih* 'go down'. However, as evidenced by (77), the negator *un* 'not' is unacceptable here.

(76) Data.001

maŋ	ʔɛ	kɔi	**lih**
not	1pl	slowly	**go.down**
NEG	PRO	ADV	**V**

We did not go down slowly.

(77) Data.101

***un**	ʔɛ	kɔi	**lih**
not	1pl	slowly	**go.down**
NEG	PRO	ADV	**V**

(Intended: We did not go down slowly.)

There are two imperative negators, *toŋ* and *am*. *toŋ* 'do not' is illustrated in (78) where it is modifying the verb *hɤi* 'go'. The other negative imperative *am* is also

acceptable in this sentence; this is demonstrated in (79). In (80) *am* 'do not' is modifying the verb *ɛn* 'eat'. Although the negative imperative *toŋ* 'do not' is marginally acceptable in this sentence, as illustrated in (81), native speakers prefer *am* 'do not' here.

(78) VP.013

toŋ	hɤi
do.not	**go**
V	**V**

Don't go!

(79) VP.049

am	hɤi
do.not	**go**
V	**V**

Don't go!

(80) VP.014

am	ɛn
do.not	**eat**
V	**V**

Don't eat [that]!

(81) VP.060

?*toŋ	ɛn
do.not	**eat**
V	**V**

Don't eat [that]!

2.8 Emphasis marker

One emphasis marker has been identified in Plang. It occurs at the end of a clause and gives emphasis to the whole utterance. In (82) *kah* 'emphasis marker' is emphasizing the situation of having a lot of wealth. *kah* 'emphasis marker' can also emphasize the emotion of the speaker, as in (83).

(82) Brothers.090

kɔ	ka	ti	pɛn	ku	kan	kɔm	rumrɯŋ	nɔ	**kah**
then	3du	main.part	be	change	situation	many	wealth	that	**emphasis.marker**
CONJ	PRO	MKR	COP	V	N	ADV	N	DEM	**PRT**

Then they became in that situation of [having] much wealth.

38

(83) Brothers.028

pun	kɛ	kana	ka	la	ka	nɔ	ka	ti	**kah**
get	whore	whatever	3du	say	3du	that	3du	main.part	**emphasis.marker**
V	N	INDEF	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	PRO	MKR	**PRT**

"Get a prostitute - whatever!" she said that, she [did].

2.9 Interjections

Interjections are grammatically independent of phrases or clauses. They express the emotion of the speaker. Six interjections have been identified in Plang. They are listed with their meanings in Table 5. Following the table are examples of each interjection.

Table 5: Interjections in Man Noi Plang

Interjection	Gloss
ai	(emphasis?)
alɔ	'oh no'
ɯ	'hey'
ma	'oh' (emphasis)
ɔi	'hey'
ɔ	'oh' (surprise)

The verbal particle *ai* only appears in the Brothers text; therefore it may be part of the speaker's idiolect.[32] It may express the speaker's emotion about the proposition or add emphasis. More study needs to be done to see if it appears in other texts and if so, what it means. In (84) *ai* follows the verb *ɤc* 'complete', which is functioning adverbially here.

(84) Brothers.059

kana	ka	ɯ	ta	pa	ɤcʼ	**ai**	la	ɤn	ɔn
all.of.them	give	1sg	to	2du	complete	*******	say	3sg	that
INDEF	V	CLI	PREP	PRO	V	**PRT**	V	CLI	DEM

"All of them - I have given [them] to you completely," he said that.

The interjection *alɔ* 'oh no' is illustrated in (85). It indicates surprise and dismay on the part of the speaker.

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[32] The LRP suggested that it is the way the storyteller says *a*, which is a modal particle that reduces the force of an utterance.

(85) Brothers.109

lat	ʔɤn	huɪt	juŋ	cɛŋ	juŋ	kɛ	la	ɤn	nɔ	**alɔ**	la	ɤn	nɔ
after that	3sg	arrive	at	side	village	3pl	say	3sg	that	**oh.no**	say	3sg	that
CONJ	PRO	V	PREP	LZN	N	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	**EXCL**	V	CLI	DEM

After that he arrived beside their village and he said that, "Oh no!" he said that.

The interjection *ɯ* 'hey' occurs in (86). It is used to get someone's attention or to begin a new topic.

(86) Brothers.007

lat	ʔɤn	ti	la	nɔ	ailanam	**ɯ**	pukɔ	mi	mɔŋ	jaŋ
after that	3sg	main.part	say	that	Ailanam	**hey**	friend	2sg	feel	be.same.as
CONJ	PRO	MKR	V	DEM	Nprop	**EXCL**	N	PRO	V	V

ku
nominalizer
PRT

After that he said this - Ailanam, "Hey, friend, are you feeling the same as what I am saying?"

ɔi 'hey' occurs in (87). It is used to catch the attention of the hearer.

(87) Brothers.039

lat	ka	la	nɔ	parasi	**ɔi**	maŋ	ʔa	kan	kui	kan	kana
after that	3du	say	that	Parasi	**hey**	not	1du	situation	have	situation	whatever
CONJ	PRO	V	DEM	Nprop	**PRT**	NEG	PRO	N	V	N	INDEF

After that they said that, "Parasi, hey, we - a situation - do not have any situation whatsoever."

The interjection *ma* 'oh!' occurs in (88). It expresses emotion on the part of the speaker.

(88) Trip.008

ma	kʰa	kɔm	ka	lɯ
oh!	road	very	top.cont	bad
EXCL	N	ADV	MKR	Vst

Oh! The road was very bad.

The interjection *ɔ* 'oh' occurs in (89). It expresses surprise on the part of the speaker.

(89) Church.053

ʔɯ	ti	vɛ	**ɔ**	la	ɯ	jɤ	ni	miti	miti
1sg	main.part	turn	**oh**	say	1sg	do	this	Midi	Midi
PRO	MKR	V	**EXCL**	V	CLI	V	PRO	Nprop	Nprop

I turned - "Oh," I said this, "Midi! Midi!"

2.10 Mood markers

There are three mood markers in Plang.[33] Mood markers indicate the purpose of the speaker in speaking (Kroeger 2005: 163). The question marker *ka* is used at the end of polar questions to indicate interrogative mood.[34] In (90) the question marker *ka* occurs at the end of the question *haipah mi* 'are you healthy?' Another example of a question with the question marker *ka* is illustrated in (91) where is occurs after the question *ʔa la hɤi* 'are we going?'

(90) Trip.029

maja	ʔɛ	la	jɤ	ti	ni	haipah	mi	**ka**
grandmother	1pl	say	do	main.part	this	healthy	2sg	**question.mkr**
N	PRO	V	V	MKR	DEM	Vst	PRO	**PRT**

My grandmother said this, "Are you healthy?"

(91) Data.020

ʔa	la	hɤi	**ka**
1du	IRR	go	**question.mkr**
PRO	PRT	V	**PRT**

Are we going?

Plang has a hortative mood marker, which is a subcategory of the imperative mood. It softens a command. In (92) the hortative mood marker *taŋ* softens the husband's command to his wife to prepare him for a journey. In (93) the hortative mood marker *taŋ* is used with *ʔɛ* '1pl' to exhort the congregation at church to come back next week and study with the speaker.

(92) Brothers.017

pa	**taŋ**	haŋhɛn	ʔɯ
2du	**hortative**	prepare	1sg
PRO	**MRK**	V	PRO

"You prepare me."

---

[33] There are four moods in Plang: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and hortatory. The declarative mood and imperative mood do not have any specific markers, so they are not discussed here.

[34] Paulsen (1996: 61) reports that Kontoi Plang also uses the particle *ka* to mark yes/no questions.

(93) Church.046

mɔ	ʔɛ	**taŋ**	hɛn
then	1pl	**hortative**	study
CONJ	PRO	**MKR**	V

"Then let's study."

The particle *a* seems to reduce the forcefulness of a proposition. This particle occurs in Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1981) where it gives a sense of reduced forcefulness. It is possible that Plang adopted this particle from Mandarin or that this particle is an areal feature. In (94) the particle *a* softens the command *mai ti um* 'write and remember'. In (95) it reduces the forcefulness of the contrast clause.

(94) Church.037

ka	pɛ	mai	ti	ɯn	**a**
give	2pl	write	main.part	remember	**RF**
V	PRO	V	MKR	V	**PRT**

"[I] will have you write and remember."

(95) Trip.074

siaohə	kɤ	pɔk	ɤn	juŋ	katʰɔk	ʔɛ	ti	pɔk	**a**	kʰa	katɔŋ
Xiao.He	***	ride	3sg	at	truck.bed	1pl	main.part	ride	**RF**	in	head
Nprop	V	V	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	MKR	V	**PRT**	PREP	N

Xiao He rode in the truck bed, we rode in the cab.[35]

2.11 Politeness marker

In (96) *lɤ* does not have an English equivalent, so the translation 'please' is only an approximation. As a politeness marker, it shows deference to the person addressed (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 59). According to native speakers, it is often used when someone arrives from a long arduous journey.

(96) Brothers.070

ʔɤn	ai	lɯ	kɯɯn	ʔɛ	kɔi	**lɤ**	kɔi	**lɤ**
3sg	***	arrive	father	1pl	slowly	**polite**	slowly	**polite**
PRO	PRT	V	N	PRO	ADV	**PRT**	ADV	**PRT**

"He arrived! Our father! Slowly, please - slowly, please!'"

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[35] *siaohə* 'Xiao He' is a Mandarin name.

Chapter 3
Adverbial Adjuncts

In order to define adjuncts, arguments must first be discussed. Kroeger (2005: 58ff.) contends that arguments are generally required for the utterance to be complete. They are subclassified by the verb, which means that the verb selects which arguments it will take. Also, a clause can only have one of each type of argument, which means that an argument in a clause is unique. Adjuncts, on the other hand, are elements in a sentence that give additional information, but are not necessary for the sentence to be complete. They are not subclassified by the verb, but can generally be added to any clause. Also, many adjuncts with the same function can be added to the same clause.

Adjuncts can be phrases or clauses. They are usually adverbial. Since adverbial phrases can modify entire propositions as well as verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs, Schachter and Shopen (2008: 20) define the function of adverbial phrases as "modifiers of constituents other than nouns." Semantically, adverbial phrases give information about time, manner, instrument, or place. Adverbial phrases can modify the degree of attributive verbs. Adverbial phrases also give information about the speaker's attitude toward the desirability or rightness of a thing or situation. They give information about the character or motives of a subject. Epistemic comments are also coded as adverbial phrases.[36]

Since the structure of adjuncts is so varied, they will be grouped by function, rather than structure. Location adjuncts are discussed in 3.1. Time adjuncts are discussed in 3.2. Manner, degree, and instrumental adjuncts are discussed in 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, respectively. Finally, epistemic adjuncts are discussed in 3.6.

3.1 Location adjuncts

Location adjuncts give information about the location of the sentence. The one-word location adjunct *məŋhun* 'Menghun' is modifying the verb *hɯɯt* 'arrive' in (97).

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[36] Adverbial phrases communicating the speaker's attitude or the character or motives of a subject have not yet been identified in Man Noi Plang.

(97) Trip.003

cɤt	ɛ	mɔ	lɛi	pʰat	hɔt	a	iŋ	huɯt	lɛi	huɯt	**məŋhun**
finished	1pl	then	then	drive	car	RF	go	arrive	then	arrive	**Menghun**
V	CLI	CONJ	CONJ	V	N	PRT	Vmot	Vmot	CONJ	Vmot	**Nprop**

When we finished, we then drove the car and arrived in Menghun.[37]

In (98) the NP *ɲa iciŋ kɛ* 'I Zhing's house' is a phrasal location adjunct modifying the clause.

(98) Trip.054

ɔn	a	som	ɛ	**ɲa**	**iciŋ**	**kɛ**
then	RF	eat	1pl	**home**	**Izhing**	**3pl**
CONJ	PRT	V	CLI	**N**	**Nprop**	**PRO**

Then we ate at Izhing's house.[38]

The prepositional phrase *juŋ ɛn* 'at this [place]' in (99) is also a phrasal location adjunct modifying the clause.

(99) Brothers.035

ʔɤn	kɔ	lat	la	nɔ	wanawa	ʔɯ	ti	katam	ɯ	watkɔŋ
3sg	then	after that	say	that	Wanawa	1sg	main.part	worship	1sg	special.knowledge
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	DEM	Nprop	PRO	MKR	V	CLI	N

ti	pun	sɪp	pai	pi	**juŋ**	**ɛn**
main.part	attained	ten	more.than	year	**at**	**this**
MKR	ASP	NUM	QUANT	N	**PREP**	**DEM**

He then after that said that - Wanawa [Parasi], "I [have] worshiped the special knowledge for more than ten years here."[39]

In (100) the clausal location adjunct *huɯt ʔɛ juŋ kʰa hɔn* '[when] we arrived at the big road' is modifying the main clause *mɔ iumpan ka ta kei la tianhua* 'then Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call]'.

(100) Trip.070

ɛ	**juŋ**	**huɯt**	**kʰa**	**hɔn**	mɔ	iumpan	ka	ta	kei	la	tianhua
1pl	**at**	**arrive**	**road**	**big**	then	Iumpan	give	hit	to	obl.arg.mkr	telephone
CLI	**PREP**	**Vmot**	**N**	**Vst**	CONJ	Nprop	V	V	PREP	PREP	N

When we arrived at the big road, Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call].

---

[37] *hɔt* 'car' is a loan word from Dai.

[38] The pronoun *kɛ* '3pl' is functioning genitivally; it refers to Izhing's entire family.

[39] *pi* 'year' is a loan word from Dai.

3.2 Time adjuncts

Time adjuncts comment on the time of an action. The two adverbs *kasa* 'next day' and *siŋcʰi tʰiɛn* 'Sunday' are modifying the entire utterance in (101). Likewise, the temporal adverbial clause *pun ka cɛt ta pai* 'after seven o'clock', which is also in (101), is modifying the entire utterance.

(101) Church.069

ɔn	a	**kasa**	**siŋcʰi**	**tʰiɛn**	ʔɯ	lɛi	kuh	pun	ka	cɛt	ta
then	RF	**next.day**	**week**	**day**	1sg	again	get.up	attained	dummy.sub	seven	hour
CONJ	PRT	**ADV**	**N**	**N**	PRO	ADV	V	ASP	MKR	NUM	N

pai
after
ADV

Then the next day [on] Sunday, I then go up after seven o'clock.

Most adverbial phrases in the corpus are temporal. They can consist of two adverbs or an adverb with other temporal elements. Janzen (1976: 690) reports that in Ruching Palaung adverbial phrases consist "of a small class of more or less close-knit morphemes with merging semantic load." In (102) the adverbial phrase *tɛ cɛao* 'at the beginning, early' modifies the clause *la kɛ* 'they said'.

(102) Church.029

tɛ	**cɛao**	ɔn	a	la	kɛ	mɛi	nɣn	la	kɤt	la	kɛ	mɛi
at.the.beginning	**early**	that	RF	say	3pl	prepare	who	say	wrong	say	3pl	prepare
ADV	**ADV**	PRO	PRT	V	PRO	V	INTG	V	Vst	V	PRO	V

fa	ʔɛ	kapɣ
share	1pl	sing
V	PRO	V

Early at the beginning of that [game] they said to prepare, whoever spoke wrong, they said, we [should] prepare to share [a song].

In (103) the adverb *lakakʰan* 'about' is modifying the classifier phrase *ti ta* 'one hour', which is modifying the adverb *pai* 'after'. This same structure can also mean "one hour later" as (104) illustrates. Context determines the meaning.

(103) Trip.009

huɪit	ε	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ	mɔ	**lakakʰau**	**ti**	**ta**	**pai**	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	at	home	1pl	just.then	**about**	**one**	**hour**	**after**	do	that
Vmot	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	**ADV**	**NUM**	**CLF**	**ADV**	V	PRO

We arrived at my home just after one o'clock, [we] do that.

(104) Data.090

huɪit	ε	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ	mɔ	**lakakʰau**	**ti**	**ta**	**pai**	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	1pl	at	home	1pl	then	**about**	**one**	**hour**	**after**	do	that
V	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	**ADV**	**NUM**	**N**	**ADV**	V	DEM

We arrived at my home about one hour later, [we] do that.

In (105) the temporal adverbial clause *cɔ la ka jɤ* 'as soon as they said this' modifies the following clause *huɪit pɤ* 'the things arrived'.

(105) Brothers.088

ɔn	a	lut	pɤ	ti	kah	**cɔ**	**la**	**ka**	**jɤ**
then	RF	suddenly	things	main.part	emphasis.marker	**as.soon.as**	**say**	**3du**	**do**
CONJ	PRT	ADV	N	MKR	PRT	**ADV**	**V**	**CLI**	**V**

ti	huɪit	pɤ	ti	tatʰeit	tatʰeit
main.part	arrive	things	main.part	boom	boom
MKR	V	N	MKR	ONO	ONO

And then suddenly the things - as soon as they spoke this - the things arrived - boom, boom!

Sentence-initial temporal adverbial clauses have a particular syntax that is discussed in 6.2.1. An example of a sentence-initial temporal adverbial is given in (106) where the adverbial clause *cɤt kapɤ* 'after singing' is modifying the clause *kɛ kɔ ka ʔɛ taokao* 'they then had us pray'.

(106) Church.005

cɤt	**kapɤ**	kɛ	kɔ	ka	ʔɛ	taokao
finished	**sing**	3pl	then	give	1pl	pray
V	**V**	PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	V

[We] finished singing, then they had us pray.

Adverbs of frequency are a subcategory of time adverbials that code particular temporal aspects. In (107) the frequency adverb *lɛi* 'again' takes the whole proposition as its scope. The frequency adverb *ɲam* 'often' occurs twice in (108). Its scope is also the whole proposition.

(107) Brothers.049

kasa	na	ti	pa	kɔ	**lɛi**	lih	ɛɔ	ti	sɤt	ti
next.day	topiclzr	main.part	2du	then	**again**	go.down	look.for	main.part	grab	main.part
ADV	PRT	MKR	PRO	CONJ	**ADV**	V	V	MKR	V	MKR

lat	sai	la	ɤn	nɔ
be.about.to	sand	say	3sg	that
AUX	N	V	CLI	DEM

"Tomorrow also you then again are about to go down and look for and get sand," he said that.

(108) Church.007

naŋ	kɔ	kɛ	mok	**ɲam**	ti	hɤi	ciaotʰaŋ	**ɲam**	ti	hɤi	ka	kɛ
person	then	3pl	sit	**often**	main.part	go	church	**often**	main.part	go	give	3pl
N	CONJ	PRO	V	**ADV**	MKR	V	N	**ADV**	MKR	V	V	CLI

ti	cu
main.part	group
MKR	N

Then the people who often sit at church, who often go, they were put into a small group.[40]

3.3 Manner adjuncts

Manner adjuncts comment on the manner of an action or an agent. In (109) *kɔi* 'slowly' describes the manner of *lih* 'go down'. The manner adverb *vai* 'quickly' is modifying the verb *lih* 'go down' in (110). 'Suddenly', in (105), is also a manner adverb.

(109) Trip.066

kɔi	**lih**	ɛ
slowly	**go.down**	1pl
ADV	**V**	CLI

We went down slowly.

(110) VP.045

vai	ʔɛ	ti	**lih**
quickly	1pl	main.part	**go.down**
ADV	PRO	MKR	**V**

We went down quickly.

The clausal manner adjunct that is modifying the verb *aŋ* 'be stupid' in (111) is *jaŋ lɪk* 'like a pig'.

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[40] *ciaotʰaŋ* 'church' is a loan word from Chinese.

(111) Brothers.114

kɔm	ka	jɤ	ti	ni	kʰai	**aŋ**	**jaŋ**	**lɪk**
just.then	3du	do	main.part	this	very	**stupid**	**be.same.as**	**pig**
CONJ	PRO	V	MKR	DEM	ADV	**Vst**	**V**	**N**

Just then she [the bad wife] did this, "[You are] very stupid like a pig!"

3.4 Degree adjuncts

Degree adjuncts are adverbs that give information about extent.[41] The adverb *pʰɛo* 'extremely' describes the extent of *ɛo ŋan* 'despise and bully' in (112). In (113) *ham* 'very' is modifying the extent of the verb *hɪp* 'grassy'.

(112) Brothers.008

pɤi	kʰai	cat	pɤi	**ɛɔ**	**ŋan**	ta	ʔa	**pʰɛo**
person	really	***	person	**despise**	**bully**	to	1du	**extremely**
N	ADV	***	N	**V**	**V**	PREP	PRO	**ADV**

"People really despise and bully us extremely [and never stop]."

(113) Trip.050

kahɤm	ɔn	**ham**	**hɪp**	ka	maŋ	hai	ka	ɛɔ
forest	that	**very**	**grassy**	top.cont	not	good.easy	top.cont	look.for
N	DEM	**ADV**	**V**	MKR	NEG	V	MKR	V

That forest is very grassy, it's not easy to look for [fruit].

3.5 Instrumental adjuncts

Instrumental adjuncts give information about the instrument used to perform an action.[42] Plang codes instrumental adverbials as prepositional phrases. In (114) the prepositional phrase *ta pi* 'with a pen' is modifying the verb *mai* 'write'. In (115) the prepositional phrase *ta kaɲɔn* 'with a knife' is modifying the verb *jɤ* 'do'.

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[41] Givon splits this category into "adverbs modifying adjectives" and "emphatic 'adverbs'" (2001a: 94). Since Plang does not have a separate adjective class and the 'function words' Givon identifies in his emphatic category are not numerous in Plang, it seemed practical to have only a degree category at this time.

[42] Although instrument phrases can be treated as obliques (Payne 1997: 48), the present study treats them as instrumental adverbials as in Givon (2001a: 90).

(114) Grammar.044

ka	ti	mai	ka	tu	**ta**	**pi**
3du	main.part	write	3du	words	**by**	**pen**
PRO	MKR	V	CLI	N	**PREP**	**N**

She writes with a pen.

(115) Grammar.045

tapasoŋ	ɛn	jɤ	tʰuh	**ta**	**kaɲɔn**	a
old.man	this	do	chopsticks	**by**	**knife**	RF
N	DEM	V	N	**PREP**	**N**	PRT

The old man makes chopsticks with a knife.[43]

3.6 Epistemic adjuncts

Epistemic adverbials usually give the speaker's opinion of the truth of an event (Givon 2001a: 92). At this time only one epistemic adverbial has been found in Plang. In (116) *jɔŋ* 'perhaps' codes the character's opinion of the possibility of forgetting how difficult life has been.

(116) Brothers.021

kasa	**jɔŋ**	ʔa	kɤt	pi	tok	pi	pʰan	ti	pi	haipaʔsi
next.day	**perhaps**	1du	all	forget	poor	forget	***	main.part	forget	pathetic
ADV	**ADV**	PRO	ADV	V	V	V	***	MKR	V	V

ti	la	ʔɤn	ti	la	nɔ
main.part	say	3sg	main.part	say	that
MKR	V	PRO	MKR	V	PRO

"'Afterward perhaps we will be able to then forget [how] poor, forget ***, forget [how] pathetic [things are]'" said he, said this.

3.7 Purpose Adjuncts

The clause *ɛɔ tɯpuh a juŋ kahɤm* 'look for mushrooms in the forest' in (117) may be an example of an adverbial purpose clause (the free translation reflects this hypothesis). However, it could also be interpreted as two coordinated verbs, which would be translated "Then I Zhing made us go and look for mushrooms in the forest."

---

[43] *tʰuh* 'chopsticks' is a loan word from Dai.

(117) Trip.047

a	mɔ	iciŋ	ka	lɛi	ka	sɯh	ʔɛ	tuh	**ɛɔ**	**tɯpuh**	**a**
RF	then	Izhing	3du	then	3du	cause	1pl	go.up	**look.for**	**mushroom**	**RF**
PRT	CONJ	Nprop	PRO	CONJ	PRO	V	PRO	V	**V**	**N**	**PRT**

juŋ	**kahɤm**
at	**forest**
PREP	**N**

And then IZhing made us go look for mushrooms in the forest.

Another possible purpose adjunct is found in (118). The clause *taokao* 'pray' is either a purpose adjunct or it is coordinated with the verb *lɛt* 'go in'. The free translation reflects the adjunct interpretation. If the verbs were in coordination, the free translation would be "[I] went in and prayed first."

(118) Church.072

lɛt	**taokao**	ɔ
go.in	**pray**	first
V	**V**	ADV

[I] went in to pray first.

3.8 Reason Adjuncts

Reason adjuncts are always clausal adjuncts (Payne 1997: 316-317). In (119) the clausal adjunct *aipʰatciŋ hak ʔɤn jam* 'because Aiphatzhing was crying' gives the reason for the main clause *tuh ɛɔ ʔɛ tikʰau* 'we looked for [only] a while'. Like many other adjuncts, reason adjuncts add important semantic information, but are still syntactically unnecessary.

(119) Trip.048

tuh	ɛɔ	ɛ	tikʰau	**aipʰatciŋ**	**hak**	**ʔɤn**	**jam**
go.up	look.for	1pl	a.while	**Aiphatzhing**	**because**	**3sg**	**cry**
V	V	CLI	ADV	**Nprop**	**CONJ**	**PRO**	**V**

We looked for [only] a while because Aiphatzhing was crying.

The clausal adjunct *hak ka pɤi kʰai cat ciaŋ patimat kɔm* 'because she *** [was] a person [who was] very able to serve' in (120) is giving the reason for the main clause *ka la nɔ* 'she said that'.

(120) Brothers.022

kamɯɯn	aihonam	non	ka	kah	**hak**	**ka**	**pɣi**	**kʰai**	**cat**
wife	Aihonam	just.then	3du	emphasis.marker	**because**	**3du**	**person**	**really**	*******
N	Nprop	ADV	PRO	PRT	**CONJ**	**PRO**	**N**	**ADV**	*******

ciaŋ	**patimat**	**kɔm**	ka	la	nɔ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ciao	ʔɯ	cai	ʔɯ	kala
able	**serve**	**very**	3du	say	that	agree	agree	agree	lord	1sg	man	1sg	no
MOD	**V**	**ADV**	PRO	V	DEM	V	V	V	N	PRO	N	PRO	NEG

kujo
matter
N

Aihonam's wife she just now, because she *** [was] a person [who was] very able to serve, she spoke that, "Okay, okay, okay, my lord, my man, no problem."

3.9 Conditional Adjuncts

Plang conditional clauses occur before the main clause. The temporal connector *kɔ* occurs at the beginning of the main clause. In (121) the clausal adjunct *ka ciaŋ patimat kasat pa* '[If] they are able to serve [following] after you' sets the condition for the accomplishment of the main clause *kɔ mut* 'then [they will] change'.

(121) Brothers.057

ka	ciaŋ	patimat	kasat	pa	kɔ	mut
3du	**able**	**serve**	**after**	**2du**	then	change
PRO	**MOD**	**V**	**ADV**	**PRO**	CONJ	V

"[If] they [the wives] are able to serve [following] after you, then [they will] change."
In the "Brothers" text another conditional adjunct, which is given in (122), immediately follows (121). The conditional clausal adjunct *ka un ciaŋ patimat raksa pa* '[If] they cannot serve and obey you' is linked to the main clause *mok ka juŋ pɛ ti nɔ ai* 'they will remain there where you all are' by the temporal connector *kɔ* 'then'.

(122) Brothers.058

ka	un	ciaŋ	patimat	raksa	pa	kɔ	mok	ka	juŋ	pɛ	ti	nɔ
3du	**not**	**able**	**serve**	**obey**	**2du**	then	exist	3du	at	2pl	main.part	that
PRO	**NEG**	**MOD**	**V**	**V**	**PRO**	CONJ	V	CLI	PREP	PRO	MKR	DEM

ai	la	ɣn	nɔ
***	say	3sg	that
PRT	V	CLI	DEM

"[If] they cannot serve and obey you, then they will remain there where you all are," he said that.

Chapter 4

Phrases

This chapter describes the composition and function of noun phrases, verb phrases, and prepositional phrases. The noun phrase, including the various modifiers of the head noun, is discussed in 4.1. The verb phrase and operators are discussed in 4.2. Prepositional phrases are addressed in 4.3.

4.1 Noun phrase

The noun phrase in Plang consists of a head noun with six optional post-head elements (Dryer 2007b: 151). These elements are attributive verb phrases, quantifiers, demonstratives, possessor NPs, relative clauses, and prepositional phrases.[44] After a brief introduction to the order of the elements in a noun phrase, each element is discussed with examples.

4.1.1 Relative ordering of elements in a noun phrase

The relative ordering of elements in a noun phrase is presented in (123). It follows the cross-linguistic generalization that if the modifiers follow the noun, then the order is usually adjective-like modifier phrase, numeral, and then demonstrative (Greenberg 1963a: 68-69). In terms of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), deixis operators and definiteness operators occur outside of number and quantification operators as predicted (Van Valin 2005: 24).[45] The order of relative clauses (REL) and prepositional phrases (PP) in relation to each other has not yet been determined.

(123) Relative ordering of elements in an NP

NP = N (Attributive VP) (QUANT) (NP$_{[POSS]}$) (DEM) (REL) (PP)

The minimum NP in Plang is composed of a noun. This is illustrated in (124) with the noun *pɤi* 'people', which is serving as the subject noun phrase.

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[44] Although coordinated noun phrases are generally included in a discussion of the noun phrase, they are beyond the scope of this thesis.

[45] An "operator" in RRG terms is an element that modifies a specific layer of a clause or, in this case, a phrase.

(124) Data.064

pɤi	mok	juŋ	ɲa	hɔn	ɔn	a
person	exist	at	home	big	that	RF
N	V	PREP	N	Vst	DEM	PRT

People live in those many houses.

The theoretical order of attributive verb phrases, quantifiers, possessor NPs, and demonstratives in an NP is illustrated in (125). The noun *lɪk* 'pig' is modified by the attributive verb phrase *hɔn* 'big', the quantifier *lɔi* 'three', the possessive NP *ʔɯ* '1sg', and the demonstrative *ɔn* 'that'.

(125) Data.091

lɪk	hɔn	lɔi	ʔɯ	ɔn	kɛ	mok	kɛ	juŋ	kʰɔ
pig	**big**	**three**	**1sg**	**that**	3pl	exist	3pl	at	pig.pen
N	**Vst**	**NUM**	**PRO**	**DEM**	PRO	V	CLI	PREP	N

Those three big pigs of mine are in the pigpen.

Although an infinite number of modifiers are hypothetically possible, the maximum NP found in the textual material only contains a noun and two modifiers. In (126) the noun *kamɯɪn* 'wife' is modified by the possessor noun phrase *ailanam* 'Ailanam', here coded by a proper noun, and the demonstrative *nɔn* 'that'. One of the only other examples of a noun with two modifiers is illustrated in (127). The noun *pukɔ* 'friend' is modified by the possessor noun phrase *ʔɯ* '1sg' and the distal demonstrative *tɛ* 'remote demonstrative'.[46] Although the textual material only has examples of a possessor noun phrase modifier and a demonstrative co-occurring, other modifiers can also co-occur.

(126) Brothers.108

mɔ	**kamɯɪn**	**ailanam**	**nɔn**	ka	kah	hak	ka	juŋ	ka
then	**wife**	**Ailanam**	**that**	3du	emphasis.marker	however	3du	seem	3du
CONJ	**N**	**Nprop**	**DEM**	PRO	PRT	CONJ	PRO	V	PRO

ti	ɛn	pok	hɔk	ka	juŋ	kɔpʰɛ	jɤ	ni	pɤnnɛ
main.part	this	sunning	seed	3du	at	round.shallow.basket	do	this	a.little
MKR	DEM	V	N	***	PREP	N	V	PRO	ADV

Then that wife of Ailanam, she however, she, this one, seemed to be sunning seeds in a shallow basket, doing a few of these.

---

[46]The pronoun *ɤn* '3sg' that follows the NP is in apposition to it; it is not part of the NP.

(127) Brothers.110

pukɔ	ʔɯ	tɛ	ʔɤn	juɯŋ	ti	pɛn	ku	jin	ku	joŋ	jɤ
friend	**1sg**	**REM**	3sg	seem	main.part	be	nominalizer	quiet	nominalizer	quiet	do
N	**PRO**	**DEM**	PRO	V	MKR	COP	PRT		V	PRT	V	V

nɔ	la	ɤn	nɔ
that	say	3sg	that
DEM	V	CLI	DEM

"My friend over there, he seems to be quiet and inactive, doing that," he said that.[47]

4.1.2 Noun phrase heads

Simple nouns, compounds, nominalizations, and pronouns can function as the head of an NP. An example of the noun *lɪk* 'pig' functioning as the head of an NP is illustrated in (128). Another example of a noun functioning as the head of an NP is illustrated in (129). The noun *cu* 'group' is the head of the NP *cu ʔɛ* 'our group'. Plang nouns are not marked for gender or number.

(128) NP.003

lɪk	hɔn	ʔɯ	som	ka
pig	big	1sg	eat	top.cont
N	Vst	PRO	V	MKR

My big pig is eating.

(129) Church.015

cu	ʔɛ	kui	ɛ	sɪp	sam	pɤi
group	1pl	have	1pl	ten	three	person
N	PRO	V	CLI	NUM	NUM	N

As for our group, we had thirteen people.

Compounds can also function as the head of an NP. In (130) the compound *kavaŋ la* 'tea field' is functioning as the head of the NP *kavaŋ la hɔn* 'big tea field'.

(130) Data.086

mok	ɛ	**kavaŋ**	**la**	hɔn
exist	1pl	**field**	**tea**	big
V	CLI	**N**	**N**	Vst

We were in a big tea field.[48]

---

[47] *jin* 'quiet' is a loan word from Dai.

[48] *la* 'tea' is a loan word from Dai.

Nominalizations also function as heads of NPs. The nominalized verb *ku la* 'words' is functioning as the head of the object argument in (131). The proper noun *parasi* 'Parasi' is modifying the head as a genitive. The proper noun *parasi* 'Parasi' is not the subject of the verb *la* 'say' because *la* 'say' is not functioning as a verb here. The nominalizer *ku* causes the verb to function as a noun. Furthermore, even if *la* 'say' could take a subject, that subject would have to precede the verb, rather than follow it as *parasi* 'Parasi' does.

(131) Brothers.112

juɯŋ	hun	ti	un	jaŋ	**ku**		**la**	parasi	la	ɤn	nɔ
seem	***	main.part	not	be.same.as	**nominalizer**		**say**	Parasi	say	3sg	that
V	***	MKR	NEG	V	**PRT**		**V**	Nprop	V	CLI	DEM

"[He] seems like it is not the same as Parasi's words" he said that.

Example (132) illustrates a personal pronoun functioning as the head of an NP. The subject NP *ʔɤn* '3sg' in (132) is the head of the subject NP.

(132) Brothers.060

ʔɤn	kɔ	lat	pɯn	ka	la	sakupam	nɔ	na
3sg	then	after that	blow	give	obl.arg.mkr	leaves.of.blessing	that	topiclzr
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	V	PREP	N	DEM	PRT

kah
emphasis.marker
PRT

He [Parasi] then after that blew those leaves of blessing [on them].

4.1.3 Noun phrase modification

Noun heads can be modified by six different kinds of modifiers in Plang: attributive verb phrases, quantifiers, possessor NPs, demonstratives, relative clauses, and prepositional phrases. All modifiers are post-nominal.

4.1.3.1 Attributive verb phrases

Attributive verb phrases occur directly after the noun head they modify. Example (133) illustrates this: the noun *kʰa* 'road' is modified by the attributive verb *hɔn* 'big'. In (134) the noun *juŋ* 'village' is modified by the attributive verb *liŋ* 'old'. If there are other modifiers, they will occur after the attributive verb.

(133) Trip.069

a	mɔ	huɯɪt	ɛ	juŋ	**kʰa**	**hɔn**
RF	then	arrive	1pl	at	**road**	**big**
PRT	CONJ	V	CLI	PREP	**N**	**Vst**

Then we arrived at the big road.

(134) Trip.020

mɔ	ʔɯ	ti	siaohə	ila	iŋ	**juŋ**	**liŋ**
then	1sg	main.part	Xiao.He	Ila	go	**village**	**old**
CONJ	PRO	MKR	Nprop	Nprop	Vmot	**N**	**Vst**

And then Xiao He, Ila, and I went to the old village.

Attributive verb phrases are analyzed as phrases because they themselves can be modified by various degree adverbs and comparatives as illustrated in (135). The noun *malaŋ* 'character flaw' is modified by the attributive verb *mɯi* 'bad', which is in turn modified by the adverb *kʰai* 'very'.[49]

(135) Brothers.030

hak	ka	**kʰai**	**malaŋ**	**mɯi**
however	3du	**very**	**character.flaw**	**bad**
CONJ	PRO	**ADV**	**N**	**Vst**

However she [had] a very bad character flaw.

4.1.3.2 Quantifiers

A quantifier modifying a noun is illustrated in (136). The quantifier *kɔm* 'many' is modifying the indefinite noun *kana* 'whatever'. Numerals are included in this category. Example (136) illustrates the numeral *lai* 'two' modifying the noun *pu* 'friend'.

(136) Brothers.078

parasi	la	nɔ	**kana**	**kɔm**	ʔɯ	ti	ka	ta	pa	ɤcʼ	ai	lɯ
Parasi	say	that	**whatever**	**many**	1sg	main.part	give	to	2du	complete	***	***
Nprop	V	DEM	**INDEF**	**ADV**	PRO	MKR	V	PREP	PRO	V	PRT	PRT

la	ɤn	nɔ
say	3sg	that
V	CLI	DEM

"Parasi said that, 'Many things I [will] give to you completely' he said that."

---

[49] It is also possible to analyze attributive verb phrases in the NP in Plang as relative clauses (Andrews 2007b: 209-210). The free translation for (135) following this interpretation would be "However she [had] a character flaw which was very bad."

(137) Church.050

ɔn	mɔ	muh	ʔɤn	miti	pɛn	ʔɤn	pu	ʔɯ	ɔn	mɔ	miti	lɛn
then	then	name	3sg	Midi	be	3sg	friend	1sg	then	then	Midi	again
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	Nprop	COP	PRO	N	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	Nprop	ADV

ti	kui	**pu**	**lai**
main.part	have	**friend**	**two**
MKR	V	**N**	**NUM**

Then the one named Midi, [who] is my friend, at that time she had two other friends.

The order of quantifiers is somewhat fluid. The NP in (138) *kɔm pɤi* 'many people',[50] in which the quantifier appears before the noun it is modifying, comes from a text. It is also acceptable to put the quantifier in the default position after the noun it modifies, as is illustrated in (139). According to native speakers, both sentences are good.

(138) Brothers.068

kɔm	**pɤi**	ti	nɔk	ʔɤn	huɯt
many	**person**	main.part	see	3sg	arrive
ADV	**N**	MKR	V	PRO	V

Many people saw him arrive.

(139) Grammar.073

pɤi	**kɔm**	ti	nɔk	ʔɤn	huɯt
person	**many**	main.part	see	3sg	arrive
N	**ADV**	MKR	V	PRO	Vmot

All the children saw him arrive.

4.1.3.3 Possessor NPs

Possessor NPs are the third element in the NP. Both nominal possessor NPs and pronominal possessor NPs have the same structure (i.e., they follow the noun), which makes Plang unusual among the world's languages (Dryer 2007b: 182).[51] In (140) the noun *cum* 'foot' is the possessee and the proper noun *siaohə* 'Xiao He' is the possessor. Another example of possessors in the NP is illustrated in (141). The possessor *ʔɛ* '1pl' modifies the possessee *maja* 'grandmother'.

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[50] The pronoun *ti* is not part of the NP. See 6.3.1.

[51] Block (1996: 8) and Suknaphasawat (unpublished: 18) also note that nominal and pronominal possessors pattern the same way in Kontoi Plang and Pang Pung, respectively.

(140) Trip.067

a	mɔ	**cum**	**siaohə**	sɯ	ka
RF	then	**foot**	**Xiao.He**	hurt	top.cont
PRT	CONJ	**N**	**Nprop**	Vst	MKR

Then Xiao He's foot was hurt.

(141) Trip.029

maja	**ʔɛ**	la	jʏ	ti	ni	haipah	mi	ka
grandmother	**1pl**	say	do	main.part	this	healthy	2sg	question.mkr
N	**PRO**	V	V	MKR	DEM	Vst	PRO	PRT

My grandmother said this, "Are you healthy?"

Layered possessive NPs in Man Noi Plang pattern the same way as they do in Kontoi Plang (Block 1996: 8). The noun head (possessee) is modified by a complex possessor composed of its own possessive NP. This is illustrated in (142) where the possessee *soʔ* 'dog' is modified by the possessor *kɯɯn ʔɛ* 'our father'. The possessor NP is composed of the possessee *kɯɯn* 'father' and the possessor *ʔɛ* '1pl'. The tree in (143) presents the structure of the layered possessive NP.

(142) Data.043

soʔ	kɯɯn	ʔɛ	mɯi
dog	**father**	**1pl**	bad
N	**N**	**PRO**	Vst

My father's dog is ugly.

(143) Tree.001
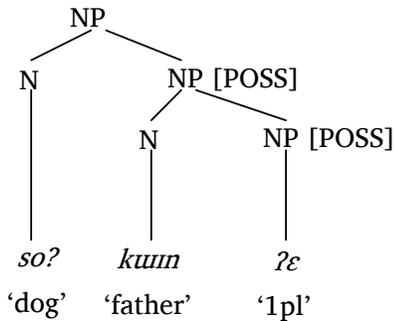
4.1.3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are the fourth element in the NP. They can modify the head noun on their own, as illustrated in (144). The proximal demonstrative *ɛn* 'this' modifies the noun *tapasoŋ* 'old man'. In (145) the distal demonstrative *ɔn* 'that'

modifies the noun *kahɤm* 'forest'. The remote demonstrative *tɛ* along with the possessive pronoun *ʔɯ* '1sg' in (146) is modifying the noun *pukɔ* 'friend'.[52] Besides having a deictic function, demonstratives in Plang also give definiteness to the noun they modify. As is typical of demonstratives used to denote definiteness, they are not obligatory (Dryer 2007b: 155).

(144) Grammar.025

tapasoŋ	ɛn	luŋ
old.man	**this**	tall
N	**DEM**	Vst

This old man is tall.

(145) Trip.050

kahɤm	ɔn	ham	hɪp	ka	maŋ	hai	ka	ɛɔ
forest	**that**	very	grassy	top.cont	not	good.easy	top.cont	look.for
N	**DEM**	ADV	V	MKR	NEG	V	MKR	V

That forest is very grassy, it's not easy to look for [fruit].

(146) Brothers.110

pukɔ	ʔɯ	tɛ	ʔɤn	jɯŋ	ti	pɛn	ku	jin	ku	joŋ	jɤ
friend	**1sg**	**REM**	3sg	seem	main.part	be	nominalizer	quiet	nominalizer	quiet	do
N	**PRO**	**DEM**	PRO	V	MKR	COP	PRT	V	PRT	V	V

nɔ	la	ɤn	nɔ
that	say	3sg	that
DEM	V	CLI	DEM

"That friend of mine over there, he seems to be quiet and inactive, doing that," he said that.

Demonstratives can also function as noun phrases without a head noun (Dryer 2007b: 194). In (147) the proximal demonstrative *ɛn* 'this' is functioning as the subject NP of the verb *nɔk* 'read'. The distal demonstrative *ɔn* 'that' is functioning as the subject NP *kui* 'have' in (148).

(147) Yesterday.021

ɛn	nɔk	pap	a
this	read	book	RF
DEM	V	N	PRT

This one reads a book.

---

[52] The English free translation cannot adequately represent the fact that the remote demonstrative and the possessive pronoun are both modifying the noun.

(148) Data.069

ɔn	a	kui	ka	ɲa	hɯɯn
that	RF	have	top.cont	home	many
DEM	PRT	V	MKR	N	QUAN

Those are many houses.

4.1.3.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Plang have the same form as a main clause (SVO) and are not marked by a relative word. In (149) the relative clause *kɔk ʔɯ* 'bite me' is modifying the noun *soʔ* 'dog'.[53] The relative clause occurs after the demonstrative *kɔ* 'that', which specifies that a certain dog is being talked about.

(149) Data.010

soʔ	kɔ	kɔk	ʔɯ	hɤi	ka	ɲa	aipɛ
dog	that	bite	1sg	go	top.cont	home	Aipee
N	DEM	V	PRO	V	MKR	N	Nprop

The dog that bit me went to Aipee's house.

In (150) the relative clause *tajɤm ɛh* '[who] kills chickens' is modifying the noun *pu* 'friend'.

(150) Yesterday.006

lɤnku	kʰɤ	pu	naŋ	tajɤm	ɛh
yesterday	run.into	friend	person	kill	chicken
ADV	V	N	N	V	N

Yesterday I ran into my friend the chicken killer.

4.1.3.6 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases can modify nouns in the noun phrase. The prepositional phrase *juŋ ɲa* 'at home' is modifying the compound noun *pɤi kame* 'male person' in (151).[54] In (152) the prepositional phrase *juŋ kʰa* 'on the road' is modifying the noun *soʔ* 'dog'. The prepositional phrase occurs after the numeral *kuti* 'one', which makes the dog non-specific.

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[53] There is no relative clause marker in Plang. Relative clauses are simply juxtaposed with the noun they are modifying.

[54] Further study such as that described by Payne (1997: 92-94) needs to be done to determine if *pɤi kame* 'male person' is indeed a compound noun in Plang.

(151) Data.093

pɤi	kame	juŋ	ɲa	som	ɤn
person	**male**	**at**	**home**	eat	3sg
N	N	**PREP**	N	V	CLI

The man in the house is eating.

(152) Data.094

soʔ	kuti	**juŋ**	**kʰa**	jɯm	ɤn
dog	one	**at**	**road**	dead	3sg
N	NUM	**PREP**	N	V	CLI

The dog on the road is dead.

4.1.4 NP functions in text

NPs can be terms, oblique arguments, adjuncts, and topics.[55] Terms, according to Kroeger (2005: 57), are arguments that have the grammatical relation of subject or object. Any argument that is not a subject or an object has the grammatical relation of oblique argument. An element of a sentence that gives additional information, but is not necessary for the sentence to be complete, is an adjunct.[56] A topic is an element that tells what the sentence is about and occurs in sentence-initial position (Li and Thompson 1976). It does not necessarily have a co-referential grammatical relation in the sentence. Some term arguments are also topics.

NPs that occur before the main verb have the grammatical relation of subject in Plang. For example, in (153) the NP *pɤi* 'person' is the pre-verb argument (and thus the subject) of the verb *kuh* 'get up'. The NP that occurs after the verb has the grammatical relation of object. In (153) the coordinate NP *som tɯ* 'rice and vegetables' has the grammatical relation of object since it occurs after the verb *kɯ* 'steam'.

(153) Brothers.024

kasa	pɤi	kɔm	kɔŋ	kuh	**kɯ**	ti	**som**	**tɯ**	kuh	haŋhɛn
next.day	person	then	then	get.up	**steam**	main.part	**rice**	**vegetable**	get.up	prepare
ADV	N	CONJ	CONJ	V	**V**	MKR	**N**	**N**	V	V

---

[55] Noun phrases can also function as predicates; this is treated in 5.1 under non-verbal predicates.

[56] For a fuller discussion of the differences between arguments and adjuncts, see the introduction to Chapter 3.

ʔɤn	sɤt	hɯi	na	hɯ	huɯk		aihonam	nɔn	nɯn
3sg	take	bag	possession	give	fasten.around.waist		Aihonam	that	one
PRO	V	N	PRT	V	V		Nprop	DEM	DEM

kah
emphasis.marker
PRT

Next day then someone [his wife] got up, steamed rice and vegetables, got up and prepared him, took his bag and gave and fastened [it] around that one Aihonam's waist.

The object can be fronted for emphasis.[57] In (155) the NP *kana* 'all of them' has the grammatical relation of object. Normally, it would follow the verb *ka* 'give' as it does in (159). Some of the previous discourse is given in (154) to establish that the *sakupam* 'leaves of blessing' are already a known piece of information. Therefore (155) is not an example of focus-presupposition articulation, but rather topic-comment articulation.

(154) Brothers.055

parasi	nɔ	ʔɤn	kɔ	lat	puɯn	ka	la	sakupam
Parasi	that	3sg	then	after that	blow	give	obl.arg.mkr	leaves.of.blessing
Nprop	DEM	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	V	PREP	N

That Parasi, he then after that blew [them] leaves of blessing.

(155) Brothers.059

kana	ka	ɯ	ta	pa	ɤcʼ	ai	la	ɤn	ɔn
all.of.them	give	1sg	to	2du	complete	***	say	3sg	that
INDEF	V	CLI	PREP	PRO	V		PRT	V	CLI	DEM

"All of them - I have given [them] to you completely," he said that.

Oblique arguments are not necessarily required by the verb to make the proposition complete, but they do add important semantic information. Like term arguments, they are specified by the verb, which means, "a particular kind of argument is permitted only with a verb of the appropriate type" (Kroeger: 2005: 59). They are also unique within their own clause. The NP *kɛ* '3pl' in (156) is an oblique argument of the verb *pɛt* 'kill'. The argument *kɛ* '3pl' is not the subject or the object, nor does the verb *pɛt* 'kill' require a beneficiary argument to be complete. However, the verb *pɛt* 'kill' can specify a beneficiary argument and that argument is unique, which means that it is an oblique argument.

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[57] Fronting arguably makes these NPs topics, as well.

(156) Trip.055

iciŋ	ka	pɛt	**kɛ**	la	ɛh	a
Izhing	give	kill	**3pl**	obl.arg.mkr	chicken	RF
Nprop	V	V	**PRO**	PREP	N	PRT

Izhing killed them a chicken.

Another example of an oblique argument is illustrated in (157). The NP argument *pi* 'pen', which is the object of the preposition *ta* 'by', is not required by the verb *mai* 'write', but the verb *mai* 'write' can specify an instrument argument. The instrument argument is not the subject or the object, but it is unique within its clause. Thus, it is an oblique argument.

(157) Grammar.044

ka	ti	mai	ka	tu	**ta**	**pi**
3du	main.part	write	3du	words	**by**	**pen**
PRO	MKR	V	CLI	N	**PREP**	**N**

She writes with a pen.

The grammatical relation of oblique argument is optionally marked by the preposition *la*. In (158) the object argument is the NP *ma kɛ* 'their mother'. It is unmarked. The verb *ka* 'give' also requires a theme argument, which the theme NP *kukakuɪt* 'gift' fills. The second NP after the verb, which is marked by the preposition *la*, is the oblique argument.

(158) Data.040

ʔɤn	ka	**ma**	**kɛ**	la	**kukakuɪt**
3sg	give	**mother**	**3pl**	obl.arg.mkr	**gift**
PRO	V	**N**	**PRO**	PREP	**N**

He gave their mother a gift.

The argument *kukakuɪt* 'gift' can be placed directly after the verb *ka* 'give', as is illustrated in (159). This changes its grammatical relation to primary object. The NP *ma kɛ* 'their mother', which is marked by the preposition *ta* 'to', is an oblique argument.

(159) Data.039

ʔɤn	ka	**kukakuɪt**	ta	ma	kɛ
3sg	give	**gift**	to	mother	3pl
PRO	V	**N**	**PREP**	N	PRO

He gave a gift to their mother.

Elements that are not arguments are adjuncts. They are usually marked by a preposition. In (160) the intransitive verb *hɯɪt* 'arrive' refers to its one term grammatical relation with the clitic *ɯ* '1sg'. Therefore the NP *ciaoʰaŋ* 'church', which is marked by the preposition *juŋ* 'at', is an adjunct.

(160) Church.071

hɯɪt	ɯ	**juŋ**	**ciaoʰaŋ**	ka	jaŋ	kʰɔ	pɛt	ta
arrive	1sg	**at**	**church**	top.cont	not.yet	be.at.time	eight	hour
V	CLI	**PREP**	**N**	MKR	ADV	V	NUM	N

I arrived at church before eight o'clock.

NPs can also function as topics. In (161) the NP *ma ʔɛ kɯɯn ʔɛ* 'my mother and my father' is the topic of the sentence. The second NP *kɛ* '3pl', is the subject argument.[58]

(161) Trip.011

ma	**ʔɛ**	**kɯɯn**	**ʔɛ**	**kɛ**	cɯ	mok
mother	**1pl**	**father**	**1pl**	**3pl**	also	exist
N	**PRO**	**N**	**PRO**	**PRO**	ADV	V

My mother and my father were also there.

Topic NPs can also be marked by the particle *na*, which functions as a topicalizer.[59] *Na* marks a left-dislocated NP as the topic of a sentence.[60] The NP *lɪk lɔi ʔɤn* 'my three pigs' in (162) is marked as the topic by the topicalizer *na*. The topic continuity marker *ka*, is functioning as a clitic whose referent is the topic.

(162) NP.022

lɪk	**lɔi**	**ʔɯ**	**na**	mok	ka	juŋ	karum
pig	**three**	**1sg**	**topiclzr**	be.at	top.cont	at	section.under.house
N	**NUM**	**PRO**	**PRT**	V	MKR	PREP	N

As for my three pigs, they are under the house.

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[58] This analysis follows Janzen (1987). See 6.1.2.

[59] *na* can also function as a topic continuity marker; see 6.3.2.

[60] Left dislocation itself is also a marker of topical referents, particularly definite and anaphoric referents (Givon 2001b: 265).

In (163) *na* marks the demonstrative pronoun *ɛn* 'this', which is the left-dislocated NP of the quotation clause. The topic continuity particle *ka* is again functioning as a clitic.[61]

(163) Brothers.056

ʔɤn	kɔ	lat	la	nɔ	**ɛn**	**na**	mok	ka	juŋ	kon	kamɯɪn
3sg	then	after that	say	that	**this**	**topiclzr**	exist	top.cont	at	child	wife
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	DEM	**DEM**	**PRT**	V	MKR	PREP	N	N

pa	ka	nɔ	ai
2du	top.cont	that	***
PRO	MKR	DEM	PRT

He then after that said that, "This [blessing], it is there at that [place] of your children and wives."

4.2 Simple verb phrase and operators

For the discussion of the simple verb phrase and related elements, it has proved helpful to use certain terms and ideas from Role and Reference Grammar (RRG; Van Valin 2005).[62] In order to be consistent and avoid misinterpretation, the RRG term 'predicate' will be used in place of verb phrase. RRG posits that the predicate is usually a single verb that is contained in the nucleus. The nucleus and the arguments are contained in the core. The core and all other periphery non-arguments are contained in the clause. This schema is called the layered structure of the clause (see Figure 6).
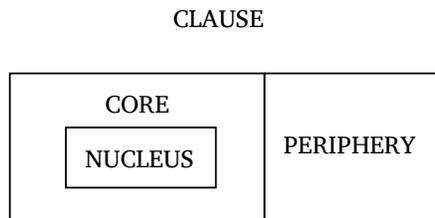
CLAUSE

Figure 6: The Layered Structure of the Clause (Van Valin 2005: 4)

Negation, aspect, and modals are operators that occur outside of the predicate.[63] Operators have scope over different layers of the clause. After the predicate is

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[61] For a discussion of *ka*, see 6.3.3. When a sentence contains both the particle *na* and the particle *ka*, *ka* will always be co-referential with the NP that *na* topicalizes.

[62] The term "simple" indicates that complex constructions such as coordination and complementation will not be discussed.

[63] The term "operator" also comes from Van Valin (2005: 8-11).

discussed in 4.2.1, each operator and its scope are discussed with examples in 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Predicate

A single verb can make up the predicate in Plang. This is illustrated in (164) with the verb *sut* 'angry'. Another example of a predicate is found in (165) with *hɤi* 'go'.

(164) VP.023

ʔɤn	**sut**
3sg	**angry**
PRO	**V**

He is angry.

(165) Trip.034

mɔ	lɛi	**hɤi**
then	then	**go**
CONJ	CONJ	**V**

Then [we] went.

4.2.2 Operators

Three operators have been identified in Plang at this time: negation, aspect, and modality.[64] All languages have negation (Van Valin 2005: 9). Aspect and modality are not used as frequently in Plang as they are in agglutinating languages. Enfield (2003: 51) comments that this is an areal feature of Mainland Southeast Asian languages. Negation is discussed in 4.2.2.1, followed by aspect in 4.2.2.2. Modals are discussed in 4.2.2.3.

4.2.2.1 Negation operators

According to RRG, negation operators[65] can take any layer of the clause as their scope: nucleus, core, or clause. Negation is an optional operator. When an argument is negated, the operator's scope is the core, which is the level on which

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[64] Van Valin (2005: 9) uses the term "modality" to refer to root modals such as ability, permission, obligation, or responsibility.

[65] The lexical category of negators is discussed in 2.7.

negation usually operates in Plang.[66] Core-level negation is also known as narrow scope negation. Clause-level negation relates the entire proposition to an epistemic reality outside the clause. Core-level negation is illustrated in (166), where the subject argument *ka* '3du' is negated by the clause-initial negator *maŋ*.[67]

(166) VP.009

iroŋ	**maŋ**	**ka**	pɛt	ʔɛ	la	ɛh
Irong	**not**	**3du**	kill	1pl	obl.arg.mkr	chicken
Nprop	**NEG**	**PRO**	V	PRO	PREP	N

It was not Irong who killed a chicken for us.

The negator is clause-initial when an oblique argument is negated, as well. In (167) the first clause *ʔɤn pɛt ɛh* 'she killed a chicken', is setting the scene. The second clause, in which the oblique argument *ta ʔɛ* 'for us' is negated, begins with the negation operator *maŋ* 'not'. The scope of negation is the core.

(167) VP.008

ʔɤn	pɛt	ɛh	**maŋ**	ʔɤn	pɛt	na	**ta**	**ʔɛ**	pɛt	na	ta	kɛ
3sg	kill	chicken	**not**	3sg	kill	topic.con	**to**	**1pl**	kill	topic.con	to	3pl
PRO	V	N	**NEG**	PRO	V	MKR	**PREP**	**PRO**	V	MKR	PREP	PRO

She did not kill a chicken for us; she killed it for them.

When the nucleus of a clause is negated the negation operator has the clause as its scope. The nucleus in (168), *pɛt* 'kill', is negated by the clause-initial negation operator. [68] In (169) the negation operator *maŋ* 'not' is also clause-initial; it is negating the nucleus *pun* 'have'. Therefore, syntactically, it does not appear to matter whether the negation operator has the clause or the core as its scope, nor does it matter what element of the sentence is negated. The negation operator is always clause-initial.

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[66] Negation on the nuclear level involves derivational morphology, which Plang does not seem to have.

[67] The subject is co-referential with the topic *iroŋ* 'Irong' in this sentence.

[68] The first personal pronoun *ʔɤn* '3sg' is functioning as the topic and is therefore outside of the clause.

(168) VP.010

ʔɤn	maŋ	ʔɤn	pɛt	ɛh	ʔɤn	ka	ɛh	kuh
3sg	not	3sg	kill	chicken	3sg	give	chicken	feed
PRO	NEG	PRO	V	N	PRO	V	N	V

As for her, she did not kill the chicken - she fed it.

(169) Trip.061

maŋ	ʔɛ	pun	ti	la	makanuŋ	a	tok
not	1pl	have	main.part	obl.arg.mkr	jackfruit	RF	***
NEG	PRO	V	MKR	PREP	N	PRT	PRT

We didn't have ourselves [any] jackfruit.

4.2.2.2 Aspect operators

Aspect operators have the nucleus as their scope. The aspect marker *pun* 'attained', which is grammatically derived from the verb *pun* 'have', is illustrated in (170). Like many other Mainland Southeast Asian languages, this main verb can function as an aspect operator when it occurs before the verb (Enfield 2003: 42). It gives the main verb the sense of 'attainment'. For example, in (170) the aspect operator gives the action of the verb *sɤ* 'pack up' the sense of having been attained. This same aspect is given to the action of the verb *hɤi* 'go' in (171).[69]

(170) Trip.109

pun	pɤi	ti	sɤ	ka	la	la	pɤnnɛ
attained	person	main.part	pack.up	3du	obl.arg.mkr	tea	a.little
ASP	N	MKR	V	PRO	PREP	N	ADV

I only had [time] to pack them up a little tea.

(171) Brothers.101

kɔ	ʔa	pun	ti	hɤi	kanap	ti	hamhɛn	na	ɛn	na	la	ɤn
***	1du	attained	main.part	go	labor	main.part	study	***	this	***	say	3sg
PRT	PRO	ASP	MKR	V	V	MKR	V	PRT	DEM	PRT	V	CLI

nɔ
that
DEM

"*** we went and labored and studied this," he said that.

---

[69] It is uncertain whether the scope of this aspect operator includes all three verbs. However, it is certain from the context that all three verbs have been attained.

4.2.2.3 Modal operators

There are four modals in the corpus. They are optional and take the core as their scope (Van Valin 2005: 9). Example (172) illustrates the modal *ciaŋ* 'able' modifying the core *ʔɤn pɤt la* 'he picks tea'. It occurs between the subject argument and the predicate.

(172) VP.020

ʔɤn	**ciaŋ**	**pɤt**	la
3sg	**able**	**pick**	tea
PRO	**MOD**	**V**	N

He can pick tea.

The second modal in the corpus is *la* , which is an irrealis particle. It is illustrated in (173). There is no subject in this clause, which is often the case with weather-related propositions. The whole core is modified: *ka lɛ ke iŋ* 'it was raining'.[70]

(173) Trip.044

hak	a	mok	juŋ	kavaŋ	la	**la**	ka	lɛ	ke	iŋ	iŋ	juŋ	ɲa
however	RF	exist	at	field	tea	**IRR**	***	rain	***	come	go.back	at	home
CONJ	PRT	V	PREP	N	N	**PRT**	PRT	V	PRT	V	V	PREP	N

tah	ε	ti
rest	1pl	main.part
V	CLI	MKR

However [we] were in a tea field and it was going to rain, [so] we returned home and rested.

The particle *lat* is the third modal operator. Unlike the first two modals, this one follows the verb it modifies. The LRP suggests that it is like the Chinese word *yao*, which has a wide range of meaning. *yao* can mean 'want', 'want to', 'must', 'be going to; be about to', or 'if' (Wu Jing Rong and Cheng Zhen Qiu 2001: 1802-3). The Plang modal *lat* is illustrated in (174). It has the sense of 'be going to; be about to'. It follows the verb *sɤt* 'grab' and the clitic *a* '1du' and comes before the direct object *kih* 'salt', which is interesting since it is modifying the whole core.

(174) Brothers.086

sɤt	a	**lat**	kih
take	1du	**be.about.to**	salt
V	CLI	**AUX**	N

"We are about to take salt."

---

[70] The function of the particle *ka* in this sentence is unclear at this time.

In (175) the particle *lat* does not have the same sense as it does in (174). Although it is unclear what its function is here, the syntax is the same: *lat* follows the verbs *lih sɤt* 'go down and grab' and the main participant marker *ti*. Again, it precedes the direct object, which in this case is *sai* 'sand'.

(175) Brothers.043

ka	kɔ	lih	sɤt	ti	**lat**	sai	kah
3du	then	go.down	grab	main.part	***	sand	emphasis.marker
PRO	CONJ	V	V	MKR	***	N	PRT

They then went down and got sand.

The fourth modal is *pun*, which is the same word that was used aspectually in (170) and (171). When *pun* is post-verbal it can function as a modal operator meaning 'can' or 'able'.[71] Enfield (2003: 42), in his cross-linguistic study of this idea, expects that it will be post-verbal when it has a modal function. Example (176) illustrates *pun* 'can' modifying the core. In (177) the modal operator *pun* 'can' is modifying the verb *cɪm* 'get'.

(176) Brothers.047

lat	ʔɤn	ti	la	nɔ	ta	ka	lɛi	ti	ɛn	na	pa
after that	3sg	main.part	say	that	to	3du	again	main.part	this	topic.con	2du
CONJ	PRO	MKR	V	DEM	PREP	PRO	ADV	MKR	DEM	MKR	PRO

kɔ	lɛi	ti	hɤi	**pun**	ti	hamhɛn	ta	ʔɯ
then	again	main.part	go	**can**	main.part	study	to	1sg
CONJ	ADV	MKR	V	**MOD**	MKR	V	PREP	PRO

After that he [Parasi] said that to them again, "In this way you then again can go and study with me."

(177) Brothers.020

ʔa	pun	ti	cɪm	ku	cɯ	ku	joŋ	cɪm	**pun**	ti
1du	attained	main.part	get	nominalizer	know	nominalizer	know	get	**can**	main.part
PRO	ASP	MKR	V	PRT	V	PRT	V	V	**MOD**	MKR

lat	watkɔŋ
be.about.to	special.knowledge
AUX	N

"'We will be about to get knowledge and ability and can get the special knowledge.'"

---

[71] It is also possible that it "marks postverbal complementation or clause coordinating structures" (Enfield 2003: 42), but this will not be discussed here.

4.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are composed of a preposition and an NP. The structure is illustrated in (178): the head is a preposition that is modified by an NP. There are many prepositions in Plang; for a full list of prepositions and examples of each, see section 2.3.

(178) Order of elements in the prepositional phrase

PP = PREP NP

Example (179) illustrates the simplest kind of prepositional phrase possible. The preposition *juŋ* 'at' heads the prepositional phrase. The NP *ciaoᵗʰaŋ* 'church' is the object of the preposition.

(179) Church.002

tɛu	a	kʰa	huɪt	a	**juŋ**	**ciaoᵗʰaŋ**	kah	jaŋ	kʰɔ	pɛt
walk	1du	road	arrive	1du	**at**	**church**	emphasis.marker	not.yet	be.at.time	eight
V	CLI	N	V	CLI	**PREP**	**N**	PRT	ADV	V	NUM

ta	tikʰao	ka	kɔ	kʰɔ
hour	a.little.bit	dummy.sub	then	be.at.time
N	ADV	MKR	CONJ	V

We walked [down] the road and arrived at the church before it was 8 o'clock, in a little bit it was time [to start].[72]

In (180) the preposition *ta* 'to' is the head of the prepositional phrase. The NP *kon kamɯɪn ʔɯ kɛ* 'my children and wife' is the object of the preposition.

(180) Brothers.014

iŋ	la	**ta**	kon	kamɯɪn	ʔɯ	kɛ
go.back	say	**to**	child	wife	1sg	3pl
V	V	**PREP**	N	N	PRO	CLI

"[I will] return and speak to my children and wife."

Localizer nouns, which are discussed in 2.1.3.2, are words that are often prepositions in other languages. In Plang they function as the object of a preposition as in (181), where the localizer noun *tuk* 'front' is the object of the preposition *kʰa* 'at'.

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[72] *tɛu* 'walk' is a loan word from Dai.

(181) Data.030

mok	ɤn	kʰa	tuk
exist	3sg	**at**	**front**
V	CLI	**PREP**	**LZN**

He is at the front.

Chapter 5
Simple Clause Types

This chapter discusses both verbal and nonverbal simple clause types.[73] Nonverbal predicates, which include noun phrase predicates, prepositional phrase predicates, existential predicates, genitive predicates, and impersonal predicates are discussed first in 5.1. Verbal predicates, which include intransitive and transitive predicates, are discussed in 5.2.

5.1 Nonverbal predicates

Noun phrase predicates make use of one of two different copulas.[74] They are discussed in 5.1.1. Prepositional phrase predicates use a different copula from the two equational ones and are discussed in 5.1.2. Existential predicates, which use yet another copula, are discussed in 5.1.3. Genitive predicates are discussed in 5.1.4. Finally, impersonal predicates are discussed in 5.1.5.

5.1.1 Noun phrase predicates

Plang uses two copulas with noun phrase predicates: *pɛn*[75] and *cei*. They are interchangeable in most cases, but not always. *pɛn* 'be' is illustrated in (182). It equates the subject pronoun *ila* 'Ila' with the nominal predicate NP *pu ʔɯ* 'my friend'.[76] The copula *cei* 'be' can also be used in this sentence without any meaning change, as demonstrated in (183).

(182) Data.048

ila	**pɛn**	ɤn	pu	ʔɯ
Ila	**be**	3sg	friend	1sg
Nprop	**COP**	CLI	N	PRO

Ila is my friend.

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[73] By "simple" clause types it is meant clauses that contain no subordinate clauses or coordinated structures.

[74] Dryer (2007b: 225) says that a copula is "more of a function word than a predicate; its function can be thought of as combining with nonverbal predicates to form what is syntactically a verbal predicate."

[75] The copula *pɛn* 'be' has the same phonological form as the Dai copula *pen* (disregarding tone). Further study needs to be done to determine whether this copula is a borrowing from Dai.

[76] See 6.2 for further discussion of the clitic.

(183) Data.049

ila	**cei**	ɤn	pu	ʔɯ
Ila	**be**	3sg	friend	1sg
Nprop	**COP**	CLI	N	PRO

Ila is my friend.

Another example of *pɛn* is found in (184) where it equates the subject pronoun *ʔɤn* '3sg' with the nominal predicate *pɤi coŋkuo* 'Chinese person'. The copula *cei* 'be' is just as acceptable in this sentence, as demonstrated in (185).

(184) VP.026

ʔɤn	**pen**	pɤi	coŋkuo
3sg	**be**	person	Chinese
PRO	**V**	N	N

He is Chinese.

(185) VP.055

ʔɤn	**cei**	pɤi	coŋkuo
3sg	**be**	person	Chinese
PRO	**COP**	N	N

He is Chinese.

One of the situations where the two copulas are not interchangeable involves time changes, which is not unusual across languages according to Dryer (2007a). The copula *pɛn* 'be' is used for future situations, as demonstrated in (186). The copula *pɛn* 'be' equates the subject NP *ʃiaoai* 'Xiao Ai' with the nominal predicate *kanpu* 'village head'. The copula *cei* 'be' is unacceptable in this situation, as demonstrated in (187). Perhaps the copula *cei* 'be' cannot be used in certain irrealis situations.

(186) Data.045

ʃiaoai	lat	ʔɤn	**pen**	kanpu
Xiao.Ai	IRR	3sg	**be**	village.head
Nprop	AUX	PRO	**COP**	N

Xiao Ai will be village head.

(187) Data.097

*ʃiaoai	lat	ʔɤn	**cei**	kanpu
Xiao.Ai	IRR	3sg	**be**	village.head
Nprop	AUX	PRO	**COP**	N

(Intended: Xiao Ai will be village head.)

Another situation where the two copulas are not interchangeable may involve the use of different negators. In (188) the copula *cei* 'be' is equating the subject NP *ka* '3du' with the nominal predicate *tɔŋ* 'brothers'.[77] The negator *maŋ* 'not' is negating the proposition. The copula *pɛn* 'be' is not acceptable in this sentence, as demonstrated in (189). However, the sentence is acceptable without a copula, as demonstrated in (190). The subject NP *ka* '3du' is juxtaposed with the predicate nominative *tɔŋ* 'brothers'.

(188) VP.047

ka	ti	**maŋ**	**ka**	**cei**	**tɔŋ**
3du	main.part	**not**	**3du**	**be**	**brother**
PRO	MKR	**NEG**	**PRO**	**COP**	**N**

They are not brothers.

(189) VP.046

*ka	ti	**maŋ**	**ka**	**pɛn**	**tɔŋ**
3du	main.part	**not**	**3du**	**be**	**brother**
PRO	MKR	**NEG**	**PRO**	**COP**	**N**

(Intended: They are not brothers.)

(190) VP.034

ka	ti	maŋ	ka	tɔŋ
3du	main.part	not	3du	brother
PRO	MKR	NEG	PRO	N

They [are] not brothers.

5.1.2 Prepositional phrase predicates

It is common for languages to use a different copula that includes the idea of location for prepositional phrase predicates (Dryer 2007a: 239). Plang uses the copula *mok* 'exist' for prepositional phrase predicates. In (191) the copula *mok* 'exist' introduces the location predicate *juŋ kavaŋ la* 'at a tea field'. There is no

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[77] The NP *ka* '3du' marked by *ti* 'main participant marker' is possibly an example of topicalization.

explicit subject, although from the context it is clear that the speaker is referring to herself and her companions.

(191) Trip.044

hak	a	**mok**	**juŋ**	**kavaŋ**	**la**	la	ka	lɛ	ke	iŋ	iŋ	juŋ	ɲa
however	RF	**exist**	**at**	**field**	**tea**	IRR	***	rain	***	come	go.back	at	home
CONJ	PRT	**V**	**PREP**	**N**	**N**	PRT	PRT	V	PRT	V	V	PREP	N

tah	ɛ	ti
rest	1pl	main.part
V	CLI	MKR

However [we] were in a tea field and it was going to rain, [so] we returned home and rested.

In (192) the copula *mok* 'exist' introduces the prepositional phrase predicate *juŋ mannoi* 'at Man Noi'. The subject is *ɲa ʔɯ ɔn* 'that house of mine'.

(192) NP.001

ɲa	ʔɯ	ɔn	a	**mok**	ka	juŋ	mannoi
home	1sg	that	RF	**exist**	top.cont	at	Man.Noi
N	PRO	DEM	PRT	**V**	MKR	PREP	Nprop

That house of mine is in Man Noi.

5.1.3 Existential predicates

In many languages prepositional phrase predicates and existential predicates are coded in the same way, but in Plang they are different (Dryer 2007a: 240). Existential predicates in Plang are coded with the verb *kui* 'have', which functions as a type of copula.[78] When *kui* 'have' functions as a copula its semantic load is reduced because the nominal predicate bears the important semantic information. Example (193) illustrates the verb *kui* 'have' and the nominal predicate *juŋ kuti* 'one village'. Example (194) also illustrates an existential predicate. The nominal predicate *ɔŋ lai* 'two brothers' takes the copula *kui* 'have'. The subject seems to be a combination of the so-called "dummy subject" *ka* and the numeral *kuti* 'one', which commonly functions as an empty subject in presentational sentences.

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[78] It may be that these "existential" predicates are better categorized as verbal predicates. The predicate NPs are not coded by a preposition, which means that they pattern more like normal verbal predicates. However, since the syntactic verb *kui* 'have' does not have its full verbal meaning, this researcher has chosen to place them here under non-verbal predicates.

(193) Data.051

kui	ka	juŋ	kuti	muh	mannoi
have	dummy.sub	**village**	**one**	name	Man.Noi
V	MKR	**N**	**NUM**	V	Nprop

Once there was a village called Man Noi.

(194) Brothers.001

luŋma	kui	ka	kuti	ɔŋ	lai
before	**have**	dummy.sub	one	**brother**	two
ADV	**V**	MKR	NUM	**N**	**NUM**

Once before there were two brothers.

5.1.4 Genitive predicates

Another subcategory of nonverbal predicates consists of a genitive construction (Dryer 2007a: 248). In (195) the subject is *kamɯi ɔn* 'that money' and the predicate is the genitive construction *la ʔɯ* 'of me'. The predicate in (196) is also *la ʔɯ* 'of me'. The subject is the topicalized NP *ɲa hɔn ɔn na* 'that big house'.

(195) Data.053

kamɯi	ɔn	la	ʔɯ
money	that	POSS	1sg
N	DEM	PRT	PRO

That money is mine.

(196) NP.008

ɲa	hɔn	ɔn	na	la	ʔɯ
home	big	that	topiclzr	POSS	1sg
N	Vst	DEM	PRT	PRT	PRO

That big house is mine.

5.1.5 Impersonal predicates

Some predicates do not take any arguments. These zero-argument clauses are called impersonal clauses, zero-intransitive clauses or ambient clauses (Dryer 2007a: 267). They often include meteorological clauses (Kroeger 2005: 186). In (197) the verb *lɛ* 'rain' does not take any semantic arguments, although the syntactic subject is the dummy subject *ka*. Another example of an impersonal predicate is illustrated in (198) with the verb *hɔn* 'hot'.

(197) Data.059

lɛ   ka
rain   dummy.sub
V   MKR

[It is] raining.

(198) Trip.075

la   ɤn   nɔ   **hɔn**
say   3sg   that   **hot**
V   CLI   DEM   **Vst**

He said it was hot.[79]

Time clauses can also be impersonal clauses. In (199) the verb 'be late' does not take any semantic arguments.[80]

(199) Data.058

ɲam   ɛn   na   **lak**   ka
time   this   topiclzr   **be.late**   dummy.sub
N   DEM   PRT   **V**   MKR

Right now it is a little bit late.

5.2 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates in Plang can be divided according to the number of arguments that they require. Intransitive predicates are one-argument predicates. They are discussed in 5.2.1. Transitive predicates include two-argument and three-argument predicates. They are discussed in 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Intransitive predicates

There are two semantic subcategories of intransitive predicates. Stative predicates are addressed in 5.2.1.1. Next, nonstative predicates are discussed in 5.2.1.2.

5.2.1.1 Stative predicates

Stative predicates in Plang include prototypical states (e.g., "sleep") and what are often called descriptive or attributive predicates. Attributive predicates are

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[79] *hɔn* 'hot' is a loan word from Dai.

[80] The phrase *ɲam ɛn* 'this time' is functioning adverbially in the sentence and thus is not an argument of *lak* 'be late'. The particle *ka* may be an empty referent subject.

common "in languages in which there is no distinct adjective word class, but in which there is a subclass of verbs" that function as adjectives do in other languages (Dryer 2007a: 259). Example (200) illustrates the prototypical stative verb *tah* 'rest'. It takes *ʔɛ* '1pl' as its subject argument. The locative adjunct *ɲa ʔɛ* '[at] our home' is modifying the proposition. The locative adjunct is not required by the verb, as demonstrated in (201) where the verb *tah* 'rest' does not have a locative adjunct. The only reference to the subject is the clitic *ɛ* '1pl'.[81]

(200) Trip.079

ʔɛ	cɯ	lɛi	**tah**	ti	ɲa	ʔɛ
1pl	also	then	**rest**	main.part	home	1pl
PRO	ADV	CONJ	**V**	MKR	N	PRO

Then we also rested at my home.

(201) Trip.078

a	mɔ	a	mɔ	lɛi	tapuh	tapuh	a	mɔ	**tah**	ɛ
RF	then	RF	then	then	night	night	RF	then	**rest**	1pl
PRT	CONJ	PRT	CONJ	CONJ	N	N	PRT	CONJ	**V**	CLI

And then, at night, we rested.

Attributive predicates are a subclass of stative predicates. In (202) the attributive verb *kaɲɤ* 'muddy' is a complete predicate. It takes the empty referent *ka* as a sort of dummy subject argument; that is, syntactically it is functioning as the subject which, according to Givon (2001a: 118), "refers to no entity in particular…it thus merely but fills a formal syntactic role." The attributive verb *luŋ* 'tall' in (203) takes the pronoun *ʔɤn* '3sg' as its subject argument.

(202) Trip.096

kaɲɤ	**ka**
muddy	**dummy.sub**
Vst	**MKR**

It was muddy.

(203) VP.028

ʔɤn	**luŋ**
3sg	**tall**
PRO	**Vst**

He [is] tall.

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[81] For a discussion of the clitic *ɛ* '1pl' in this sentence, see 6.2.

5.2.1.2 Nonstative predicates

Nonstative predicates have semantic names including eventive, process, and activity verbs (Dryer 2007a: 259). In (204) the verb *kuh* 'get up' illustrates a nonstative predicate. The subject is understood from the context.

(204) Brothers.103

kasa	**kɯh**	cɛao
next.day	**get.up**	early
ADV	**V**	ADV

The next day [they] got up early.

The eventive verbs *iŋ* 'go back' and *kacɯh* 'talk' are illustrated in (205) where they take the subject argument *ʔɛ* '1pl'.

(205) Church.055

ɔn	mɔ	**ʔɛ**	kɔ	**iŋ**	hɯm	tɛu	kʰa	**kacɯh**	ti	iŋ
then	then	**1pl**	then	**go.back**	together	walk	road	**talk**	main.part	go.back
CONJ	CONJ	**PRO**	CONJ	**V**	ADV	V	N	**V**	MKR	V

Then we then went back together and walked [down] the road and talked as we went back.

5.2.2 Transitive predicates

Transitive predicates take two or more arguments (Dryer 2007a: 250). Two-argument predicates are discussed in 5.2.2.1. Three-argument predicates are discussed in 5.2.2.2.

5.2.2.1 Two-argument predicates

A basic transitive sentence has two arguments. In (206) the verb *kok⁷* 'shoulder' takes the subject argument *ʔɯ* '1sg' and the object argument *hɯi* '[my] bag'. Another example of a transitive predicate is illustrated in (207). The verb *pɔk* 'ride' takes *ʔɯ* '1sg' as the subject argument and *tancʰə* 'bicycle' as the object argument.

(206) Church.051

ʔɯ	ti	**kok**	ʔɯ	hɯi	ti
1sg	main.part	**shoulder**	1sg	bag	main.part
PRO	MKR	**V**	PRO	N	MKR

I shouldered my bag.

(207) Church.070

ʔɯ	kɔ	lɛi	**pɔk**	tancʰə	hɤi	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ
1sg	then	again	**ride**	bicycle	go	at	church
PRO	CONJ	ADV	**V**	N	V	PREP	N

Then I rode [my] bicycle to go to church.[82]

5.2.2.2 Three-argument predicates

Three-argument predicates are also called ditransitive predicates. Plang has two ways to form ditransitive predicates. More data needs to be collected in order to determine which structure is more basic. The rationale for their order here is that the preposition *ta* 'to' in (208) has more semantic specificity than the preposition *la* in (209), which simply marks the oblique argument. In (208) the subject argument *ʔɯ* '1sg' precedes the verb *ka* 'give'. The object argument *pap ɛn* 'this book' follows the verb. The oblique argument is marked by the preposition *ta* 'to'.

(208) Grammar.005

ʔɯ	ti	**ka**	ɯ	pap	ɛn	ta	ʔɤn	ti
1sg	main.part	**give**	1sg	book	this	to	3sg	main.part
PRO	MKR	**V**	CLI	N	DEM	PREP	PRO	MKR

I gave the book to her.

The second way that Plang deals with ditransitive predicates is illustrated in (209). The verb *ka* 'give' takes *ʔɯ* '1sg' as the subject argument. The argument *ʔɤn* '3sg' is not marked by a preposition; it is the object. The oblique argument *pap ɛn* 'this book', which is marked by the preposition *la* 'oblique argument marker', follows the object.

(209) Grammar.004

ʔɯ	ti	**ka**	ɯ	ʔɤn	la	pap	ɛn
1sg	main.part	**give**	1sg	3sg	obl.arg.mkr	book	this
PRO	MKR	**V**	CLI	PRO	PREP	N	DEM

I gave her the book.

Locative oblique arguments are a subcategory of three-argument predicates (Givon 2001a: 142). The verb *sɤ* 'put' in (210) takes *ʔɯ* '1sg' as the subject argument. *tɯ* 'vegetables' is the object and *juŋ matɔŋ kʰa ne* 'at the pot's inside' is

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[82] *tancʰə* 'bicycle' is a loan word from Chinese.

the locative oblique. In (211) the verb *pɯn* 'put' takes *ʔɤn* '3sg' as the subject argument. The object is *pap* 'book' and the locative oblique is *kʰa tuk paŋ* 'on top of the table'.

(210) Grammar.001

ʔɯ	ti	**sɤ**	tɯ	juŋ	matɔŋ	kʰa	ne
1sg	main.part	**put**	vegetable	at	pot	in	inside
PRO	MKR	**V**	N	PREP	N	PREP	LZN

I put the vegetables in the pot.

(211) Grammar.003

ti	**pɯn**	ɤn	pap	kʰa	tuk	paŋ
main.part	**put**	3sg	book	in	top	table
MKR	**V**	CLI	N	PREP	LZN	N

He put the book on the table.

Chapter 6

Personal pronouns, clitics and discourse particles in text

Personal pronouns and clitics are ubiquitous in Plang texts. Besides occurring in the default subject position (before the verb), pronouns that are co-referential with the subject occur in apposition with the subject. This is discussed in 6.1. The existence of clitics is somewhat unusual in Mon-Khmer languages, so special attention is given to this phenomenon in 6.2. The particles *ti*, *na*, and *ka* are discourse particles that have various referring functions in texts. These discourse particles will be discussed in 6.3.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Default personal pronoun syntax, which includes pronouns as NP subjects and NP objects, is discussed in 6.1.1. Personal pronouns in apposition are discussed in 6.1.2.

6.1.1 Default personal pronoun syntax

The default personal pronoun syntax is covered in the discussion of NP functions in text in 4.1.4, but an example is given here for convenience.[83] Since Plang is an SVO language, we would expect the subject pronoun *ʔɤn* '3sg' to occur before the verb, which it does in (212).

(212) Brothers.035

ʔɤn	kɔ	lat	la	nɔ	wanawa	ʔɯ	ti	katam	ɯ
3sg	then	after that	say	that	Wanawa	1sg	main.part	worship	1sg
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	DEM	Nprop	PRO	MKR	V	CLI

watkɔŋ	ti	pun	sɪp	pai	pi	juŋ	ɛn
special.knowledge	main.part	attained	ten	more.than	year	at	this
N	MKR	ASP	NUM	QUANT	N	PREP	DEM

He then after that said that - Wanawa [Parasi], "I [have] worshiped the special knowledge for more than ten years here."[84]

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[83] For a full list of personal pronouns, see 2.1.3.1.

[84] The function of *wanawa* 'Wanawa' is to clarify who is speaking. Its structure is unique and therefore it seems best to assume that the speaker is adding *wanawa* 'Wanawa' as an afterthought.

Inclusory conjunction is a subclass of default pronoun syntax. The speaker names the person or people he or she is with and then includes him or herself with a first person dual or plural pronoun. For example, in (213) the subject is *laɔhɔ ʔa* 'Lao Ho, the two of us'. The speaker is included indirectly in the first dual pronoun *ʔa*.[85] In (214) Ignam and Danieen are mentioned by name in the subject NP, but the speaker adds herself indirectly in the inclusory pronoun *ʔɛ* '1pl'.

(213) Church.001

siŋcʰi	liɔ	tapuh	**laɔhɔ**	**ʔa**	cum	ʔa	ɲa	laɔhɔ	pun	ka
week	six	evening	**Lao.Ho**	**1du**	from	1du	home	Lao.Ho	attained	dummy.sub
N	NUM	N	**Nprop**	**PRO**	PREP	PRO	N	Nprop	ASP	MKR

cɛt	ta	pai	si	sɪp	ha	fun	hɤi	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ
seven	hour	after	four	ten	five	minute	go	at	church
NUM	N	ADV	NUM	NUM	NUM	N	V	PREP	N

Saturday evening Lao Ho [and I], the two of us went from his house at 7:45 to go to church.

(214) Trip.102

iɲam	tanien	ʔɛ	ti	ta	iŋ	ɛ	kɔi
Ignam	**Danieen**	**1pl**	main.part	***	go.back	1pl	alone
Nprop	**Nprop**	**PRO**	MKR	PRT	V	CLI	ADV

IGnam, Danieen [and I]; we went back alone.

6.1.2 Pronouns in apposition

Pronouns often occur in apposition with subject NPs. This could be considered a subclass of default pronoun behavior if it does not change the meaning of the proposition. In support of this interpretation, Bequette (2008: 45) comments on a similar phenomenon in the Mon-Khmer language Bunong: "Pragmatically, having a pronoun appositionally after a noun does not appear to add any additional information, but it does add length to the referring expression." However, Thomas (1978: 238) comments on a similar structure in the Mon-Khmer language Chrau that a noun in apposition to the third singular pronoun in the subject brings a participant into focus. Janzen (1987: 129) notes that "the most common form of subject topicalization in Pale [Palaung] is subject preposing with pronominal tracer in the subject slot," which results in two NPs in apposition. The first NP in (215) *tanien siaohə* 'Danieen and Xiao He' seems to

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[85] The function of the second *ʔa* '1du' after the prepositon *cum* 'from' is unknown at this time. Native speakers say that it sounds better with the second *ʔa* '1du'.

be an example of such topicalization. [86] The second NP *ka* '3du' is the pronominal tracer in the subject position, using Janzen's terminology. In the context of the story, the participants are known information, not new information or emphasized information.

(215) Trip.004

tanien	**siaohə**	**ka**	tɤi	ka	ti	som	sompɪt	a
Danieen	**Xiao.He**	**3du**	buy	3du	main.part	eat	sticky.rice	RF
Nprop	**Nprop**	**PRO**	V	CLI	MKR	V	N	PRT

As for Danieen and Xiao He, they bought sticky rice to eat.

If   (216) is interpreted as subject topicalization, then the first NP *hɔh* 'Han people' would be the topic and the second NP *kɛ* '3pl' would be the pronominal tracer in the subject position. The free translation reflecting this would be "At church, regarding the Han people, they finished singing, then they had the Dai people - they sang."

(216) Church.083

juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	ɔn	a	**hɔh**	**kɛ**	cɤt	kɛ	kapɤ	ti	lɛi	kɛ	ka
at	church	that	RF	**Han**	**3pl**	finished	3pl	sing	main.part	then	3pl	give
PREP	N	DEM	PRT	**Nprop**	**PRO**	V		PRO	V	MKR	CONJ	PRO	V

sɛm	**kɛ**	kapɤ
Dai	**3pl**	sing
N	**PRO**	V

At church then the Han people finished singing, then they had the Dai people - they sang.

However, in the context of this story, the Han people are not necessarily a topic; rather, they are being emphasized in contrast to *sɛm* 'Dai people'. In this case, the appositional pronoun is best analyzed as an emphatic pronoun (Kroeger 2005: 138). In   (216) the first NP is *hɔh* 'Han people' and the appositional pronoun *kɛ* '3pl' refer to the same individuals and, in fact, have the same grammatical relation in the sentence, which fits Kroeger's description of emphatic pronouns. Note that the same structure occurs with *sɛm kɛ* 'the Dai people, they' in the second clause, which balances out the contrast.

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[86] The term "topic" is basically a semantic term ("what the sentence is about"), although there are a few syntactic criteria for establishing what a topic is (Bussman 1996). For example, the topic of a sentence is generally in sentence-initial position (Li and Thompson 1976), although in Plang it can occur after temporal or locative adverbials. In topic-prominent languages, such as the Palaungic languages (Janzen 1987), it is often marked by particles or affixes.

These two examples illustrate that the context of the sentence must be taken into account when determining how to interpret pronouns in apposition to other NPs.

6.2 Clitics

In this section particles that refer to the same individual or thing as the subject NP but occur after a verb or other element will be investigated.[87] Example (217) illustrates this structure. The default subject position (before the verb) is filled by *ailanam* 'Ailanam'; the verb *la* 'say' follows the subject; the co-referential particle *ʔɤn* '3sg' follows the verb.

(217) Brothers.026

ailanam	la	**ɤn**	ti	lat	ka	a	hɤi	ɛɔ	ti	hamhɛn
Ailanam	say	**3sg**	main.part	be.about.to	give	1du	go	look.for	main.part	study
Nprop	V	**CLI**	MKR	AUX	V	CLI	V	V	MKR	V

ti	lat	watkɔŋ
main.part	be.about.to	special.knowledge
MKR	AUX	N

Ailanam, he said, "We [the two brothers] are about to go and look for and will study the special knowledge."[88]

The hypothesis for this behavior is that the personal pronouns have become clitics on the verb and that these clitics are moving toward becoming verb agreement markers. Givon (2001a: 54) comments that this is a progression where "the difference between inflection, affix and clitic is essentially diachronic…the first formal stage in the rise of a morpheme out of a lexical word is that of cliticization, whereby the new morpheme is de-stressed and attached to an adjacent lexical word within the construction where it arises."

Trask (1991: 46) defines a clitic as "an item which exhibits behavior intermediate between that of a word and that of an affix. Typically, a clitic has the phonological form of a separate word, but cannot be stressed and is obliged to occupy a particular position in the sentence in which it is phonologically bound to an adjoining word, its host." Kroeger (2005: 317) defines clitics as "syntactically free but phonologically bound."

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[87] The reason these particles are included under marked personal pronoun syntax is that when analysis was begun, it was assumed that they were pronouns since they are identical to the set of personal pronouns. However, languages can have agreement markers that are identical to independent pronouns (Bedell 2008: 8).

[88] For a discussion of *ti* in apposition with the pronoun, see 6.3.1.

The glottal stop in Plang is a phonetic feature of the vowel onset in word-initial environments. The personal pronouns ʔɯ '1sg', ʔa '1du', ʔɛ '1pl', and ʔɤn '3sg' exhibit this feature. Therefore when the syllable becomes word-final, one would expect that the initial glottal stop would be lost. This is what one finds, as illustrated in (218) and (219). In (218) ɛ '1pl' has lost the glottal stop, which indicates that it is phonologically bound to the verb hɯɯt 'arrive'. In (219) the second occurrence of ɤn '3sg' has lost the glottal stop, which indicates that it is phonologically bound to the verb la 'say'.[89] In the case of (219), the clitic is barely perceptible to non-native listeners. This is anecdotal evidence that the personal pronouns that begin with a glottal stop are indeed phonologically bound to their host.

(218) Trip.009

hɯɯt	**ɛ**	juŋ	ɲa	ʔɛ	mɔ	lakakʰau	ti	ta	pai	jɤ	nɔ
arrive	**1pl**	at	home	1pl	just.then	about	one	hour	after	do	that
Vmot	**CLI**	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	ADV	NUM	CLF	ADV	V	PRO

We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.

(219) Brothers.025

kɔm	ʔɤn	la	nɔ	ta	kamɯɯn	ti	kasa	kuh	cɛao	lɤ	**la**	**ɤn**
then	3sg	say	that	to	wife	main.part	next.day	get.up	early	polite	**say**	**3sg**
CONJ	PRO	V	DEM	PREP	N	MKR	ADV	V	ADV	PRT	**V**	**CLI**

nɔ
that
DEM

Then he [Ailanam] said that to his wife, "Tomorrow, get up early please," he said that.
Another piece of phonological evidence for determining whether these particles are phonologically bound is stress placement. Kroeger (2005: 318) says, "stress placement is frequently determined by phonological word boundaries, and each phonological word normally contains only a single primary stress." If a particle is not stressed (i.e., it is unstressed or destressed[90]), this may indicate that it is being treated as part of a larger phonological word. In Plang, the particles that follow verbs are generally destressed, although occasionally they are simply unstressed. For example, in (220) the second syllable of *kana* 'all of them', the

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[89] The first occurrence of ʔɤn is an independent subject pronoun.

[90] A syllable that is unstressed is neither stressed nor destressed. A syllable that is destressed is noticeably shorter and/or has less force than a stressed syllable.

word *ka* 'give', the word *ɤcˀ* 'complete' and the word *la* 'say' receive primary stress. The particle *ɯ* '1sg' is destressed, which supports the interpretation that it is being treated phonologically as part of the verb *ka* 'give'.

(220) Brothers.059

kana'	**ka'**	**ɯ**	ta	pa	ɤcˀ	ai	la'	ɤn	ɔn
all.of.them	**give**	**1sg**	to	2du	complete	***	say	3sg	that
INDEF	**V**	**CLI**	PREP	PRO	V	PRT	V	CLI	DEM

"All of them - I have given [them] to you completely," he said that.

The evidence from the phonological rule concerning the glottal stop and the evidence from stress placement indicates that the particles that follow verbs are phonologically bound to their hosts. Therefore these particles meet the first part of the definition of a clitic. Now we will examine whether these particles are syntactically bound or syntactically independent. If they are syntactically bound, then they are affixes that mark agreement on the verb. If they are syntactically independent, then they are clitics.

Kroeger gives a list of tendencies that can help distinguish between clitics and affixes. First, if the bound word only attaches to one type of word (i.e., one lexical category), it is more likely an affix or agreement marker. All of the examples given thus far have been attached to a verb; 99% (148 out of 150) of the examples in the textual data are also attached to verbs. However, 1% (2 out of 150 examples) attach to nouns, which means that Plang exhibits a very weak clitic tendency in this regard. The two examples of a bound word attaching to nouns are given in (221) and (222). The particle *a* '1du' attaches to the noun *som* 'rice' in (221). The particle *ka* '3du' attaching to the noun *hɔk* 'seed' is illustrated in (222). Another possible interpretation for these two anomalous sentences is that the particles are genitive pronouns. The free translations would then be changed to "our rice" and "her seeds," respectively.

(221) Brothers.084

ka	lat	ka	la	nɔ	ɤ	ciao	ʔɯ	cai	ʔɯ	sɤt	a	lat	som
3du	after that	3du	say	that	agree	lord	1sg	man	1sg	take	1du	be.about.to	rice
PRO	CONJ	PRO	V	DEM	V	N	PRO	N	PRO	V	CLI	AUX	N

a	ɔ
1du	first
***	ADV

They after that said that, "Okay, my lord, my man, we are about to take rice first."

(222) Brothers.108

mɔ	kamɯɯn	ailanam	nɔn	ka	kah	hak	ka	juŋ	ka
then	wife	Ailanam	that	3du	emphasis.marker	however	3du	seem	3du
CONJ	N	Nprop	DEM	PRO	PRT	CONJ	PRO	V	PRO

ti	ɛn	pɔk	hɔk	**ka**	juŋ	kɔpʰɛ	jɤ	ni	pɤnnɛ
main.part	this	sunning	seed	**3du**	at	round.shallow.basket	do	this	a.little
MKR	DEM	V	N	*****	PREP	N	V	PRO	ADV

Then that wife of Ailanam, she however, she, this one, seemed to be sunning seeds in a shallow basket, doing a few of these.

Kroeger's second general guideline is that if the bound words are obligatory, they are likely affixes or verb agreement. However, in Plang they are not obligatory, as illustrated in (223) and (224). The default subject position (before the verb) is filled by *siaohə* 'Xiao He' in (223). The co-referential pronoun *ɤn* '3sg' follows the verb. Example (224) illustrates that this sentence is acceptable without the particle after the verb. Conversely, the NP *siaohə* 'Xiao He' can be removed if the particle *ɤn* '3sg' after the verb remains, as illustrated in (225). The implications of this will be discussed below.

(223) Trip.035

siaohə	hɛn	**ɤn**	hɛt	paŋ	tam	iɕiŋ	ka
Xiao.He	study	**3sg**	language	Bulang	with	Izhing	3du
Nprop	V	**CLI**	N	Nprop	PREP	Nprop	PRO

Xiao He studied Bulang with Izhing.[91]

(224) Data.115

siaohə	hɛn	hɛt	paŋ	tam	iɕiŋ	ka
Xiao.He	study	language	Bulang	with	Izhing	3du
Nprop	V	N	Nprop	PREP	Nprop	PRO

Xiao He studied Bulang with Izhing.

(225) Data.114

hɛn	**ɤn**	hɛt	paŋ	tam	iɕiŋ	ka
study	**3sg**	language	Bulang	with	Izhing	3du
V	**CLI**	N	Nprop	PREP	Nprop	PRO

He studied Bulang with Izhing.

Kroeger's third general guideline for distinguishing clitics and affixes is that bound words that are in complementary distribution with free pronouns or full

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[91] The final *ka* '3du' refers to IZhing.

NPs are more likely clitic pronouns.[92] Payne (1997: 42) concurs that person marking on the verb that "'agrees with' the *independently expressed* subject of the verb" (emphasis added) is agreement. As can be seen in (226), as well as (217), pronouns and full NPs can co-occur with the post-verbal bound words, which is a more verb agreement-like tendency. Also in (226) the NP *pu miti* 'Midi's friends' is in the default subject position before the verb *katɛ* 'ask'. Following the verb is the bound word *kɛ* '3pl'.

(226) Church.058

tikʰau	**pu**	**miti**	katɛ	**kɛ**	ʔɯ	mi	mok	juŋ	mu
in.a.little.while	**friend**	**Midi**	ask	**3pl**	1sg	2sg	exist	at	where
ADV	**N**	**Nprop**	V	**PRO**	PRO	PRO	V	PREP	PRO

In a bit Midi's friends asked me, "Where do you live?"

Kroeger (2005: 319) also refers to Zwicky and Pullum's criteria for distinguishing between clitics and affixes when he mentions that syntactic rules tend to treat clitics as separate words apart from their host. A possible example of this happening in Plang is illustrated in (227) where the clitic follows the preposed verbs and the goal. However, the particle could also be analyzed as a pronoun, as illustrated in (228), although this would be marked pronoun syntax.[93] Further study of syntactic rules needs to be done in order to use this test.

(227) Data.141

ciaŋ	tatɯn	hɯɪt	juŋ	**ɯ**
able	run	arrive	village	**1sg**
MOD	V	V	N	**CLI**

I can run to the village.

(228) Data.140

ciaŋ	tatɯn	hɯɪt	juŋ	**ʔɯ**
able	run	arrive	village	**1sg**
MOD	V	V	N	**PRO**

I can run to the village.

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[92] Kroeger (2005: 319) notes that Zwicky and Pullum (1983) assert that "restrictions on co-occurrence, or gaps in the set of possible combinations, are more common with affixes than with clitics."

[93] The researcher does not have access at the moment to recordings of these sentences, so she is unable to determine if the glottal stop is present here.

To sum up the syntactic evidence thus far, bound words in Plang occasionally attach to more than just verbs, which is a tendency of clitics, and they are not obligatory, which is also clitic-like. Syntactic rules may treat the particles as separate from their hosts, which is a clitic-like tendency. However, the particles can co-occur with pronouns and full NPs, which tends to signal verb agreement. Since these indicators are split, it is hypothesized that Plang has clitics that are moving toward verb agreement. In support of this hypothesis, the evidence shows that these particles in Plang overwhelmingly attach to verbs, which suggests that as the language changes the particles will eventually only attach to verbs, thus solidifying their move toward verb agreement.

Pronouns can also occur after a verb without a NP in the default subject position (pre-verb). Example (229) illustrates this structure: the pronoun *kɛ* '3pl' is following the verb *huɪt* 'arrive'. There is no NP in the default subject position before the verb. Payne (1997: 43) comments, "typically either a noun phrase or a clitic, but not both, can refer to an entity in a given clause." This is similar to Kroeger's complementary distribution tendency, which was discussed above. Although the person marking *kɛ* '3pl' after the verb in (229) is the only reference to the subject, (230) illustrates that this particle is not behaving like a clitic because an NP such as *ma ʔɛ kuɪn ʔɛ* 'my mother and my father' can be added in the default position. Since NPs can be added to sentences like (230), these particles are not really in complementary distribution with NPs, which means they behave more like verb agreement in this respect.

(229) Trip.012

kɔmpɤ	huɪt	**kɛ**	cum	vɛt	ti
just.then	arrive	**3pl**	from	work	main.part
ADV	Vmot	**CLI**	PREP	N	MKR

They had just arrived from work.

(230) Data.136

ma	**ʔɛ**	**kuɪn**	**ʔɛ**	kɔmpɤ	huɪt	**kɛ**	cum	vɛt	ti
mother	**1pl**	**father**	**1pl**	just.then	arrive	**3pl**	from	work	main.part
N	**PRO**	**N**	**PRO**	ADV	V	**CLI**	PREP	N	MKR

My parents just then arrived from work.

Finally, the bound words are obligatory only in the sense that generally some reference must be made to the actor of the verb, whether it is coded as a pronoun or full NP before the verb or as a bound word attaching to the verb. If

only the bound word is used to indicate the actor of the verb, as in (229), then the bound word is obligatory in this situation. However, since the bound words are not in complementary distribution with full NPs or subject pronouns, the particles in Plang are not yet agreement markers. For example, the particles *a* '1du' in (231) can be removed if there is an NP in the default subject position as illustrated in (232). Note that native speakers prefer to add the main participant marker *ti* when an explicit subject is used. Further study of this phenomenon needs to be done.

(231) Church.002

tɛu	**a**	kʰa	huɪt	**a**	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	kah	jaŋ	kʰɔ	pɛt
walk	**1du**	road	arrive	**1du**	at	church	emphasis.marker	not.yet	be.at.time	eight
V	**CLI**	N	V	**CLI**	PREP	N	PRT	ADV	V	NUM

ta	tikʰao	ka	kɔ	kʰɔ
hour	a.little.bit	dummy.sub	then	be.at.time
N	ADV	MKR	CONJ	V

We walked [down] the road and arrived at the church before it was 8 o'clock, in a little bit it was time [to start].

(232) Data.122

ʔa	ti	tɛu	kʰa	ʔa	ti	huɪt	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ
1du	main.part	walk	road	**1du**	main.part	arrive	at	church
PRO	MKR	V	N	**PRO**	MKR	V	PREP	N

We walked [down] the road and arrived at the church.

The particles that refer to the same individual or thing as the subject in sentences without an NP in the default subject position appear to behave more like agreement when Kroeger's complementary distribution tendency is considered. However, these particles appear to behave more like clitics in regard to obligatoriness. Again, the evidence is split between clitic-like behavior and agreement-like behavior. Therefore, as was hypothesized, it is probably best to say that Plang has clitics which one suspects are moving toward verb agreement.

6.2.1 Clitics in temporal clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses tend to occur at the beginning of the sentence in Plang. Clitic syntax is one of the markers of these clauses. The reference to the subject of a temporal adverbial clause is coded as a clitic. Example (233) illustrates this structure. The verb *cɤt* 'finished' comes before the clitic *ɛ* '1pl.

This clause is subordinate to the main clause, which is *pʰat hɔt a iŋ huɪt lɛi huɪt* '[we] went by car and arrived'.

(233) Trip.003

cxt	**ɛ**	mɔ	lɛi	pʰat	hɔt	a	iŋ	huɪt	lɛi	huɪt	məŋhun
finished	**1pl**	then	then	drive	car	RF	go	arrive	then	arrive	Menghun
V	**CLI**	CONJ	CONJ	V	N	PRT	Vmot	Vmot	CONJ	Vmot	Nprop

When we finished, we then drove the car and arrived in Menghun.

The sentence becomes ungrammatical when the clitic *ɛ* '1pl' is replaced by a subject pronoun NP before the verb in a temporal adverbial clause. This is illustrated in (234).

(234) Data.085

***Ɂɛ**	**cxt**	mɔ	lɛi	pʰat	hɔt	a	iŋ	huɪt	lɛi	huɪt	meŋhun
1pl	**finished**	then	again	drive	car	RF	go	arrive	again	arrive	Menghun
PRO	**V**	CONJ	ADV	V	N	PRT	V	V	ADV	V	Nprop

(Intended: When we finished, we then went by car and arrived in Menghun.)

Not all subordinate clauses have this marked clitic structure. For example, the subordinate clause in (235) is a result-reason clause. The first clause is *tuh ɛu Ɂɛ tikʰau* 'we went up and looked for a little while'; it is the independent clause. The second clause, which is *aipʰatciŋ hak Ɂxn jam* 'because Ai Phat Zhing was crying', is subordinate to the first clause. Note that the subject pronoun NP *ka* '3sg' occurs in the default position before the verb *jam* 'cry' in the subordinate clause. Therefore clitic order does not indicate a subordinate clause in general, but only a temporal adverbial clause.

(235) Trip.048

tuh	ɛɔ	ɛ	tikʰau	aipʰatciŋ	hak	**Ɂxn**	**jam**
go.up	look.for	1pl	a.while	Aiphatzhing	because	**3sg**	**cry**
V	V	CLI	ADV	Nprop	CONJ	**PRO**	**V**

We looked for [only] a while because Aiphatzhing was crying.

It is ungrammatical for the pronoun to be replaced by a clitic after the verb in a subordinate reason-result clause. Example (236) is ungrammatical because in a reason-result clause the clitic *xn* '3sg' cannot follow the verb *jam* 'cry'. This sentence also provides evidence that Plang does not have verb agreement at this time.

(236) Data.077

*tuh	ɛɔ	ʔɛ	tikʰau	aipʰatciŋ	hak	jam	ɤn
go.up	look.for	1pl	a.while	Aiphatzhing	because	cry	3sg
V	V	PRO	ADV	Nprop	CONJ	V	CLI

(Intended: We looked for only a while because Aiphatzhing was crying.)

6.2.2 Direct quotations and pronoun/clitic syntax

This section discusses the introduction of direct quotes by means of a verb and a pronoun or clitic.[94] There are 46 instances of direct quotes set off by a verb and a pronoun or clitic in the three texts. Most of these (90%) come from the third person narrative "Brothers." Two verbs are used to set off a direct quotation in Plang. The most common verb is *la* 'say'. The other verb that can be used is *jɤ* 'do'. The two verbs can be used in the same VP to introduce a direct quotation. There is often a demonstrative pronoun functioning as the object of the verb. Either *ni* 'this' or *nɔ* 'that' can be the object.

The syntax of 40 instances of the 46 direct quotes can be explained with a simple rule: when the VP precedes the quote, the subject pronoun will precede the verb. When the VP follows the quote, the subject will be referred to with a clitic following the verb (see Table 6).

Table 6: Direct quotations in Plang

	Quotes that follow rule	Other quotes	Total
Number of quotes	40	6	46
Percentage of quotes	87%	13%	100%

Example (237) illustrates the first half of the rule. The VP *la jɤ* 'say do' precedes the quoted material. According to the rule, if the VP precedes the quotation, then the pronoun, referring to the speaker, should precede the verb, which it does. *kɛ* '3pl' occurs before *la jɤ* 'say do'.

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[94] Indirect quotations behave differently.

(237) Church.061

lat	**kɛ**	**la**	**jɤ**	ni	mu	pu	mi	tɪn
after that	**3pl**	**say**	**do**	this	where	friend	2sg	also
CONJ	**PRO**	**V**	**V**	PRO	INTG	N	PRO	ADV

After that they said this, "So where [is] your friend?"

The second half of the rule is illustrated in (238). The VP *la* 'say' occurs after the quoted material. According to the rule, when the quote VP follows the quotation, the speaker should be referred to by a clitic following the VP, which it is in this example. The clitic *ɤn* '3sg' follows the VP *la* 'say'. However, native speakers say that either reference to the speaker (subject NP or clitic) is acceptable in either situation. Therefore the order prescribed by the rule should be taken as a guideline, rather than as a rule.

(238) Brothers.048

pun	cɛt	wa	**la**	**ɤn**	nɔ
attained	seven	day	**say**	**3sg**	that
ASP	NUM	N	**V**	**CLI**	DEM

"It has been seven days," he said that.[95]

Three of the other six examples follow their own pattern, which is demonstrated in (239). The verb *la* 'say' is followed by the clitic *kɛ* '3pl' so we would expect the quote to precede the quote formula; however, following the clitic, the other verb used in quote formulas *jɤ* 'do' occurs. Then the quote formula follows.

(239) Church.065

la	**kɛ**	**jɤ**	ni	ɔ	hɛt	hɔh	mi	na	pun
say	**3pl**	**do**	this	oh	language	Han	2sg	topiclzr	have
V	**CLI**	**V**	DEM	EXCL	N	Nprop	PRO	PRT	V

They said this, "Oh! Your Chinese (language) [you] have [it]!"

The other three exceptions are given in (240), (241), and (242), respectively. Example (240) is a direct contradiction to the rule: although the quote follows the verb *la* 'say', the reference to the subject is coded by the clitic *ɯ* '1sg' instead of an independent pronoun.

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[95] *wa* 'day' is a loan word from Dai.

(240) Brothers.018

la	ɯ	nɔ	ta	pukɔ	ti	kasa	na	kɯna		ruŋ	ŋai	sai
say	1sg	that	to	friend	main.part	next.day	topiclzr	at.the.time.when	***	sun	rise
V	CLI	DEM	PREP	N	MKR	ADV	PRT	ADV	***	N	V

cɛŋ	ka	a	ɛɔ	ti	hamhɛn	ti	lat	watkɔŋ
bright	give	1du	look.for	main.part	study	main.part	be.about.to	special.knowledge
Vst	V	CLI	V	MKR	V	MKR	AUX	N

"I said that to [my] friend, 'Tomorrow when the sun rises let's go look for and be about to study the special knowledge.'"

Example (241) does not fit neatly into the rule because the quote formula *la ɤn nɔ* 'he said that' appears on both sides of the quote. The quote formula that occurs before the quote also has a clitic instead of an independent pronoun, which contradicts the rule.

(241) Brothers.109

lat	ʔɤn	huɯt	juŋ	cɛŋ	juŋ	kɛ	**la**	**ɤn**	**nɔ**	alɔ	**la**	**ɤn**	**nɔ**
after that	3sg	arrive	at	side	village	3pl	say	3sg	that	oh.no	say	3sg	that
CONJ	PRO	V	PREP	LZN	N	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	EXCL	V	CLI	DEM

After that he arrived beside their village and he said that, "Oh no!" he said that.

The final anomalous example exhibits high emotion, which is probably the best explanation for the occurrence of three references to the doer of the action. In (242) the personal pronoun *ka* '3du' precedes the verb *la* 'say', which contradicts the rule since the quote precedes the verb. However, there is a clitic *ka* '3du' as we would expect in addition to another independent pronoun *ka* '3du' after the demonstrative pronoun *nɔ* 'that' with the emphasis marker *kah*. Contradicting the rule heightens the dramatic effect of the sentence.

(242) Brothers.028

pun	kɛ	kana	**ka**	**la**	**ka**	nɔ	**ka**	ti	kah
get	whore	whatever	3du	say	3du	that	3du	main.part	emphasis.marker
V	N	INDEF	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	PRO	MKR	PRT

"Get a prostitute - whatever!" she said that, she [did].

These patterns do not fit neatly into the guideline noted above. However, if the prescribed order it taken as a guideline, rather than as a rule, then these examples are not problematic.

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6.3 Discourse particles

The rational for including a discussion of these particles is that, like pronouns, they have a referring function in texts. Although this is not a discourse thesis, it appeared valuable to note the syntax of the particles *ti, na,* and *ka* in order to provide a foundation for future discourse analysis. The particle *ti* and its syntax are discussed in 6.3.1. The particle *na* and its syntax are discussed in 6.3.2. The particle *ka* and its syntax are discussed in 6.3.3.

6.3.1 The particle *ti*

In order to investigate the syntax of the particle *ti,* only the text "Church" was analyzed. This text was chosen because it was possible to ask questions about the storyteller's intent and meaning with more confidence since the storyteller served as the language resource person. The entire text was charted using Levinsohn's conventions for charting (2007: 16).[96] Then the referent[97] for each occurrence of *ti* was determined with reference to the semantics of the sentence and the information given by the storyteller.

Personal pronouns and the particle *ti* are combined ten times in the text "Church." A *ti* that directly follows a personal pronoun marks the personal pronoun itself. It is hypothesized that the purpose of the particle *ti* is to establish or maintain participant marking on the most important participant, whether that participant is the most important one in the text as a whole or whether it is locally the most important participant.[98] Levinsohn (2007: 119) contends that major participants are active for a large portion of the narrative. If one participant is distinguished apart from the others and has a particular set of terms that mark it as salient, then it is the Very Important Participant (VIP) (135). VIPs can be either global (they are important throughout the whole text) or local (they are important for a section of the text). Major participants such as a VIP are generally coded minimally, that is, with zero anaphora, clitics, or

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[96] This chart can be found in Appendix 2.

[97] The referent is the thing that is referred to by various referential devices.

[98] Janzen (1987: 312) finds the same sort of particle *ti* in Pale Palaung, which he calls an "immediate topic marker." He further says that it "marks out the coreferentiality and topicality of a topic item in a clause."

pronouns (in that order as the cognitive inaccessibility of the participant increases), as opposed to full noun phrases (Givon 1983: 18).

It is hypothesized that the particle *ti* is a marker of a VIP in Plang texts.[99] In (243) the NP *laɔhɔ ʔa* 'Lao Ho [and I], the two of us' reactivates the two participants who were introduced in the first sentence of the story. They prove to be the main participants for the following section and so the storyteller marks the NP with *ti* 'main participant marker' in order to signal their role to the listener.

(243) Church.010

laɔhɔ	ʔa	ti	cu	huɯm	hak	ʔa	kɔm	hɤi
Lao.Ho	**1du**	**main.part**	group	together	because	1du	just.then	go
Nprop	**PRO**	**MKR**	N	ADV	CONJ	PRO	CONJ	V

Lao Ho and I [were] grouped together because we had just come.

The context for (243) is that when the storyteller was at church the congregation was split up into small groups for Bible study. In Church.006 the storyteller begins explaining how the groups were split up. In Church.010 (243) the storyteller and his friend are marked as the most important participants. In Church.012 (244) the storyteller mentions the teacher of his small group for the first time, but the genitive pronoun is marked with *ti* so that it is clear that the storyteller and his friend are still the VIPs. Church.013 and Church.014 are about the teacher, although the VIPs are emphasized again in Church.014 (245) with the fronting and repetition of the genitive pronoun and the marker *ti*. The particle *ti* is used again in Church.016 (246) and Church.020 (247) in order to maintain the storyteller and his friend as the main participants. The episode continues through Church.032.

(244) Church.012

naŋ	kɔɪn	cu	**ʔɛ**	**ti**	muh	ka	pai	ciɛ
person	oversee	group	**1pl**	**main.part**	name	3du	Bai	sister
N	V	N	**PRO**	**MKR**	V	CLI	Nprop	N

The facilitator of our group was named Sister Bai.

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[99] Plang has other devices for marking important participant, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss them.

(245) Church.014

ʔɛ	**ti**	pɛn	ka	laoʃɨ	ʔɛ
1pl	**main.part**	be	3du	teacher	1pl
PRO	MKR	COP	CLI	N	PRO

She is our teacher.

(246) Church.016

pɤi	cɤt	kakɪ	**ɛ**	**ti**	sɪp	sam	pɤi	ti
person	finished	gather	**1pl**	**main.part**	ten	three	person	one
N	V	V	**CLI**	**MKR**	NUM	NUM	N	NUM

[When] the people are ready we gather, the thirteen people [in] one [group].

(247) Church.020

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	katɔ	la	**ɛ**	**ti**	ɤcˀ
give	3pl	1pl	everybody	say	**1pl**	**main.part**	complete
V	CLI	PRO	PRO	V	**CLI**	**MKR**	V

They let all of us speak completely.

Another example of the particle *ti* in apposition with a personal pronoun is illustrated in (248). The NP *ʔɯ* '1sg', marked by *ti* 'main participant marker ', is the subject argument of *vɛ* 'turn'. In the context, the storyteller is talking about how he saw some of his friends at church. Assuming that *ti* is clarifying the participant who is most important, it is being used here to let the listeners know that the storyteller remains the most important participant even as other participants are mentioned.

(248) Church.053

ʔɯ	**ti**	vɛ	ɔ	la	ɯ	jɤ	ni	miti	miti
1sg	**main.part**	turn	oh	say	1sg	do	this	Midi	Midi
PRO	MKR	V	EXCL	V	CLI	V	PRO	Nprop	Nprop

I turned - "Oh," I said this, "Midi! Midi!"

There are twelve examples of the marker *ti* that are not in apposition with a personal pronoun in the text "Church." In each of these examples there is a subject NP in the default position. The subject NP is always what is marked as the main participant by the marker *ti*. Therefore the function of *ti* in these examples is the same as when it occurs directly following a personal pronoun: it establishes or maintains a certain participant as the main participant. In (249) the main participant marker *ti* refers to the subject and thus marks the subject as being the most important participant. In (250) the main participant marker *ti* marks the subject *pɛ* '2pl' as the most important participant.

(249) Church.023

cɤt	ʔɛ	katɔ	la	**ti**
finished	1pl	all.of.us	say	**main.part**
V	PRO	PRO	V	**MKR**

We, all of us, finished speaking.

(250) Church.038

pɛ	cɤt	mai	**ti**	ɯn	a	mɔ	pɛ	taŋ	pɛ	iŋ
2pl	finished	write	**main.part**	remember	RF	then	2pl	hortative	2pl	go.back
PRO	V	V	**MKR**	V	PRT	CONJ	PRO	MKR	PRO	V

juŋ	ɲa
at	home
PREP	N

"You finish writing and memorizing and then you all again go home."

The main participant marker *ti* seems sometimes to mark elided NPs, as demonstrated in (251).[100] The first occurrence may be marking the elided genitival pronoun that would be modifying the noun *kavaŋ* 'leg'. The second occurrence may be marking the elided genitival pronoun that would be modifying the noun *tʰi* 'hand'.

(251) Church.026

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	tatʰap	kavaŋ	**ti**	tatʰap	tʰi	**ti**
give	3pl	1pl	slap	leg	**main.part**	slap	hand	**main.part**
V	CLI	PRO	V	N	**MKR**	V	N	**MKR**

They had us slap our legs and clap our hands.

6.3.2 The particle *na*

The particle *na* is usually a topic marker. When it is a topic marker it directly follows the topicalized phrase, which is a left-dislocated phrase. For example, in (252) the particle *na* is functioning as a topic marker marking the NP *ɛn* 'this'.

(252) Brothers.094

ɛn	**na**	ʔɯ	ti	mɤt	ɯ
this	**topiclzr**	1sg	main.part	pass.through	1sg
PRO	**PRT**	PRO	MKR	V	CLI

"This [trouble], I have passed through [it]."

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[100] Genitival pronouns are often ellided if they are understood from the context.

Besides marking the topic, the particle *na* can also function as a topic continuity marker referring to the topicalized element in an utterance. In (253) the topicalized subject is *katɔ* 'all of us'.[101] The clitic *ɛ* '1pl' gives the person and number of the doer of the verb *mɔŋ* 'feel'. *muhn* 'happy' is the predicate complement. The particle *na* is functioning as a topic continuity marker that is making the connection between the subject and the topic explicit.[102]

(253) Church.024

katɔ	mɔŋ	ɛ	**na**	muhn
all.of.us	feel	1pl	**topic.con**	happy
PRO	V	CLI	**MKR**	Vst

All of us, we felt happy.

Another example of *na* functioning as a topic continuity marker is found in (254). The topic is *kɔ pɛ un tʰaŋ cɯ ɔn* 'those of you who do not understand very well'. The verb *kakʰɤŋ* 'teach' takes the NP *ʔɯ taŋ* '1sg hortative' as its subject. *na*, which is functioning as a topic continuity marker, refers back to the left-dislocated phrase. It provides a convenient way to refer back to the entire topic without repeating information.

(254) Church.048

kɔ	pɛ	un	tʰaŋ	cɯ	ɔn	a	ʔɯ	taŋ	lɛi	kakʰɤn	**na**	jɤ
*****	**2pl**	**not**	**very**	**know**	**that**	RF	1sg	hortative	again	teach	**topic.con**	do
PRT	**PRO**	**NEG**	**ADV**	**V**	**DEM**	PRT	PRO	MKR	ADV	V	**MKR**	V

hai	kʰɛm	kʰɛm
good.easy	clear	clear
V	Vst	Vst

"As for those of you who do not understand very well, I will again teach you and be easy and very clear."

There are a few unexplained occurrences of the particle *na* that do not seem to be functioning as topic markers or as topic continuity markers referring to the topic. In (255) the particle *na* occurs after the demonstrative pronoun *ɛn* 'this', which is reminiscent of the pattern found when *na* is functioning as a topic marker (see (252)). However, the NP *ɛn* 'this' in (255) does not meet one of the

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[101] The topic marker *na* is optional. For a discussion of topicalized subjects in a Palaungic language, see Janzen (1987: 129).

[102] Topics are not necessarily co-referential with subjects.

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main requirements of a topic: it does not occur sentence-initial. Perhaps *na* in this sentence is marking the whole sentence as the topic.

(255) Brothers.011

jɔŋ	ʔa	kɤt	ti	pi	tok	pi	pʰan	pi	haipaʔsi	ti	ɛn
perhaps	1du	all	main.part	forget	poor	forget	***	forget	pathetic	main.part	this
ADV	PRO	ADV	MKR	V	V	V	***	V	V	MKR	DEM

na
***
PRT

"Perhaps we will forget [how] poor, forget ***, forget [how] pathetic this is."

Two more examples of the particle *na* not functioning as a topic marker or a topic continuity marker are found in (256). The LRP who helped translate this text said that the first *na*, which follows the verb *hamhɛn* 'study', is giving emphasis to the proposition. He said that the second *na* goes with the demonstrative pronoun *ɛn* 'this', which would fit the common pattern of a topic marker, except that *ɛn* 'this' does not satisfy the requirements of a topic (e.g., it is not sentence-initial).

It may be that *na* is marking the verbs *kanap ti hamhɛn* 'labored and studied' as the topic.[103] In this case, the first *na* is marking the topic and the second *na* is referring to the topic. The demonstrative pronoun *ɛn* 'this' would be functioning adverbially in this interpretation. Perhaps this example and the previous one demonstrate that *na* in Plang can mark a phrase as the topic even when it is not sentence-initial. The phrases that *na* may be marking meet the other requirements of being a topic: they name what the sentence is about; they are definite or generic; and they are certainly followed by a pause particle (Li and Thompson 1981: 87).

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[103] It is suggested that the verb *hɤɨ* 'go' should not be considered part of the topic because it is being modified by the aspect marker *pun* 'attained'.

(256) Brothers.101

kɔ	ʔa	pun	ti	hɤi	kanap	ti	hamhɛn	**na**	ɛn	**na**	la	ɤn
***	1du	attained	main.part	go	labor	main.part	study	***	this	***	say	3sg
PRT	PRO	ASP	MKR	V	V	MKR	V	**PRT**	DEM	**PRT**	V	CLI

nɔ
that
DEM

"*** we went and labored and studied this," he said that.

Three other anomalous examples of *na* seem to have a genitive function. In (257) *na* is referring to Aihonam, who is the main participant. Perhaps it is functioning genitivally in relation to the noun *huɨi* 'bag'. Another possibility is that it is marking an elided genitive NP as the continued topic. The free translation for this hypothesis would be "Next day somebody [the wife] then got up, steamed rice and vegetables, got up and prepared him, took the bag <u>of that one</u> and gave and fastened it around Aihonam's waist."

(257) Brothers.024

kasa	pɤi	kɔm	kɔŋ	ku̧	kɯ	ti	som	tɯ	ku̧	haŋhɛn
next.day	person	then	then	get.up	steam	anaphoric	rice	vegetable	get.up	prepare
ADV	N	CONJ	CONJ	V	V	PRO	N	N	V	V

ʔɤn	sɤt	**huɨi**	**na**	hɯ	hɯk		aihonam	nɔn	nɯn	ka̧
3sg	take	**bag**	**referent**	give	fasten.around.waist		Aihonam	that	one	emphasis.marker
PRO	V	**N**	**PRO**	V	V		Nprop	DEM	DEM	PRT

Next day somebody [the wife] then got up, steamed rice and vegetables, got up and prepared him, grabbed his bag and gave and fastened [it] around Aihonam's waist.

6.3.3 The particle *ka*

The particle *ka* has several functions in the data. The three main uses are as a topic continuity marker, an empty pronoun (dummy subject) and a non-focus continuity marker. Other functions that are still unclear at this time will be discussed at the end of the section.

Ka is used to refer to the topic of a sentence, much like the particle *na* when it is being used as a topic continuity marker (c.f. 6.3.2). It is an indirect way of mentioning the topic again without being repetitive. For example, in (258) the topic continuity marker *ka* refers to the topic *kahɤm ɔn* 'that forest' (twice) without repeating the NP.

(258) Trip.050

kahɤm	ɔn	ham	hɪp	**ka**	maŋ	hai	**ka**	ɛɔ
forest	that	very	grassy	**top.cont**	not	good.easy	**top.cont**	look.for
N	DEM	ADV	V	**MKR**	NEG	V	**MKR**	V

That forest is very grassy, it's not easy to look for [fruit].

It is unclear at this time what the differences between the markers *ka* and *na* are. However, it seems that *ka* is a more indirect way of referring to the topic. This hypothesis is based on native speakers' intuitions and on examples like (259) where *na* occurs before *ka*.[104] The topic of (259) is *cæŋ kʰa soʔ ɔn* 'that dog beside the road'. The topicalizer *na* is marking the subject of the verb *jəm* 'dead' as the topic. The marker *ka* also refers to the topic, so it is not providing any new information or filling another semantic relation. Native speakers report that the sentence can be said without *ka* at the end, but the sentence is clearer with the *ka*. Further study is certainly required.

(259) Data.028

cɛŋ	kʰa	soʔ	ɔn	**na**	jɯm	**ka**
side	road	dog	that	**topiclzr**	dead	**top.cont**
LZN	N	N	DEM	**PRT**	V	**MKR**

That dog beside the road is dead.

As a non-focus continuity marker, *ka* takes the focus off of the participant it refers to and puts the focus on the predicate or on the whole proposition. There are 35 examples of this use in the texts. This use is related to the topic continuity use noted above, but this one is different because the referent of *ka* is found outside of the sentence. In fact, it is often found several sentences before.

In (260) the non-focus continuity marker *ka* refers to the speaker and the people with her. It is clear from context that "we" is the referent of *ka*. The last explicit mention of the referent is three sentences previously. The effect of using *ka* instead of *ʔɛ* '1pl' in (260) is to put the attention on the predicate. The participants in this sentence are not new information, so the marker *ka* provides a way to refer to them without placing any attention on them.

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[104] There are eight examples in the text of *na* and *ka* being used in the same sentence to refer to the same topic. There are no examples of *ka* being used before *na* in this way.

(260) Trip.063

lɛi	lih	tɛu	**ka**	kʰa	mei
then	go.down	walk	**non.foc**	road	return
CONJ	V	V	**MKR**	N	V

And then [we] walked down the road and returned.

In (261) the non-focus continuity marker *ka* is referring to the speaker and the people with her, but it is not placing attention on them. The attention is on the predicate *som* 'eat'.

(261) Trip.103

a	mɔ	sakpai	**ka**	lɛi	som	ɲa	iʔiŋpʰat	kɛ
RF	then	afternoon	**non.foc**	then	eat	home	Iingphat	3pl
PRT	CONJ	N	**MKR**	CONJ	V	N	Nprop	PRO

And then, as for the afternoon, [we] ate at Iingphat's house.

Existential clauses account for nine examples of the particle *ka*. When the sentence is presentational there is no subject, but *ka* is always present. It does not contribute any semantic information; it functions as a dummy subject syntactically and simply means "there is" or "there are." In (262) the particle *ka* is functioning like a dummy subject of the verb *kui* 'have'.

(262) Church.082

ka	ko	**kui**	pɣi	kɔh
dummy.sub	also	**have**	person	Hani
MKR	ADV	**V**	N	Nprop

There were also Hani people.

There are three other examples of the particle *ka* whose function is unclear at this time. One of them occurs after a temporal phrase in (263) and before the subject NP *tanien* 'Danieen'. One possibility is that *ka* is functioning as a topic marker, marking *kasa* 'the next day' as the topic. However, *ka* does not seem to function this way in other examples.

(263) Trip.019

ɔn	a	kasa	**ka**	taniɛn	hɤi	tui	ɛn	iŋ	iumpan	ka	juŋ
then	RF	next.day	*******	Danieen	go	take	this	go	Iumpan	3du	at
CONJ	PRT	ADV	**PRO**	Nprop	V	V	DEM	Vmot	Nprop	PRO	PREP

koŋʃə
government.office
N

Then as for the next day, Danieen went to take Iumpan to the government office.

The second unclear example of *ka* is illustrated in (264) where it follows the topicalized NP *jisə* 'the meaning'. Perhaps it is functioning like the *ka* in (263) as a topic marker.

(264) Church.085

jisə	**ka**	la	kɛ	jɤ	pɤi	sɛm	ɔn	kɛ	cɯ
meaning	*******	*******	3pl	do	person	Dai	that	3pl	know
N	**MKR**	PRT	PRO	V	N	N	DEM	PRO	V

The meaning, those other Dai people do understand.[105]

The final unclear example of *ka* is illustrated in (265). It occurs after the modal irrealis operator *la* and before the verb *lɛ* 'rain'. Perhaps this is an extension of the use of *ka* in existential clauses, which means that it is a dummy subject here.

(265) Trip.044

hak	a	mok	juŋ	kavaŋ	la	la	**ka**	lɛ	ke	iŋ	iŋ	juŋ	ɲa
however	RF	exist	at	field	tea	IRR	*******	rain	*******	come	go.back	at	home
CONJ	PRT	V	PREP	N	N	PRT	**PRT**	V	PRT	V	V	PREP	N

tah ɛ ti
rest 1pl main.part
V CLI MKR

However [we] were in a tea field and it was going to rain, [so] we returned home and rested.

Further study of these particles needs to be done in order to determine the full range of their syntax.

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[105] *jisə* 'meaning' is a loan word from Mandarin.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of each chapter in 7.1. Areas for further research are discussed in 7.2.

7.1 Summary of each chapter

The contents of chapters one through six are summarized in 7.1.1 through 7.1.6, respectively.

7.1.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 1 presents information on the language family of Plang, as well as the history and background of the Plang people in the PRC. The scope, limitations, goals, and benefits of the study were mentioned. The goal has been to describe aspects of the grammar of a previously undescribed dialect of Plang. Also, since the syntax of personal pronouns, clitics, and certain reference particles in Plang texts is unique, these elements were investigated in particular.

The methodology used was described, including how the texts were collected and analyzed. A brief overview of Man Noi Plang phonology was discussed. Then a review of relevant materials from related Waic literature, Western Palaungic literature, and other Mon-Khmer literature was presented.

7.1.2 Chapter 2: Lexical categories

There are two open classes of words: nouns and verbs. Nouns are identified by the fact that they function as head of noun phrases, which in turn function as arguments. They also can be modified by various things such as possessors, attributive verbs, and classifier phrases. Verbs are identified by the fact that they can function as heads of verb phrases and they can be specified for polarity. Closed classes in Plang include prepositions, quantifiers, and modals. Other closed classes include conjunctions, negators, emphasis markers, interjections, mood markers and politeness markers.

7.1.3 Chapter 3: Adverbial Adjuncts

Adverbial adjuncts give extra information about the sentence, but are not necessary for the sentence to be complete. They can be coded as words, phrases, or clauses. Semantically, they include locative adjuncts, time adjuncts, manner adjuncts, degree adjuncts, instrument adjuncts, epistemic adjuncts, purpose adjuncts, reason adjuncts, and conditional adjuncts.

7.1.4 Chapter 4: Phrases

Noun phrases, verb phrases, and prepositional phrases are addressed in Chapter 4. Noun phrases consist of a noun head that can be modified by attributive verbs, quantifiers, possessors, and demonstratives. NPs can function as core arguments or oblique arguments. The simple predicate (or verb phrase) in Plang consists of a single verb. Operators, such as negators, adverbs, and auxiliaries, modify the predicate. Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition heading a noun phrase.

7.1.5 Chapter 5: Simple clauses

In Chapter 5 nonverbal and verbal predicates are discussed. Nonverbal predicates include noun phrase predicates, prepositional phrase predicates, impersonal predicates and existential predicates. Verbal predicates are divided into intransitive and transitive predicates. Intransitive predicates can be subdivided into stative and nonstative. Transitive predicates include two-argument predicates and three-argument predicates.

7.1.6 Chapter 6: Pronouns in text

The syntax of personal pronouns, clitics, and the discourse particles *ti*, *na*, and *ka* were discussed in Chapter 6. Pronouns in apposition with nouns are functioning as emphatic pronouns. Particles that are identical with the personal pronouns and that follow a verb in an independent clause are clitics. Clitics are always used in a temporal clause, rather than an independent pronoun. The pronoun and clitic syntax for direct quotes is that the verb of speaking goes between the pronoun or clitic and the quote itself. Therefore if a subject pronoun is used, then the quote will follow the quote formula. Likewise, if a clitic is used, then the quote will precede the quote formula.

It is hypothesized that the particle *ti* marks the most important participant in a sentence; thus it is called a main participant marker. The particle *na* generally refers to the topic, although there are a few instances that do not necessarily have that function. The particle *ka* seems to be a more indirect way of referring to the topic of a sentence. It can also function as a non-focus pronoun or as a dummy subject in existential clauses. Besides these uses, there are a few examples in the texts that require more investigation.

7.2 For further study

Many areas of Plang syntax can be studied in the future. More study needs to be done concerning the various negators to determine their distribution and differences in meaning, if any. In the same way, the distribution of the copulas *cɛi* 'be' and *pɛn* 'be', which is possibly a loan word from Dai, needs to be investigated. The differences between the Plang conjunction *juŋ* 'at' and the Dai loan *kʰa* 'at' need to be investigated, as well.

As more texts are collected and analyzed, more particles such as modals and aspect markers will probably be discovered. Complex sentences involving coordination, relative clauses, and complementation need to be investigated.

Each of the hypotheses given in Chapter 6 should be tested against more data. Discourse analysis of Plang texts will contribute new insights into pronoun and clitic syntax and the function of discourse particles, especially regarding participant reference and topic continuity strategies. As for the anomalous examples in the texts, new hypotheses need to be created to encompass them. For example, it was mentioned that *na* can function as a topicalizer and as a marker of topic reference. However, there are several examples of *na* that do not fit either of these descriptions. Further study of this particle is needed to determine whether these examples can all be explained as functions of the same particle or whether they are homophonic particles with distinct functions.

It is hoped that the hypotheses presented here will stimulate more investigation in this and other related dialects. Much research can be done in the area of discourse analysis, especially in the area of participant reference and focus. As more research is done in Plang and related languages, further understanding of the syntax of participant reference in Plang will be refined and clarified.

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Appendix 1

Interlinearization of "Church" Text

Church.001

siŋcʰi	liɔ	tapuh	laɔhɔ	ʔa	cum	ʔa	ɲa	laɔhɔ	pun	ka	cɛt
week	six	evening	Lao.Ho	1du	from	1du	home	Lao.Ho	attained	dummy.sub	seven
N	NUM	N	Nprop	PRO	PREP	PRO	N	Nprop	ASP	MKR	NUM

ta	pai	si	sɪp	ha	fun	hɤi	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ
hour	after	four	ten	five	minute	go	at	church
N	ADV	NUM	NUM	NUM	N	V	PREP	N

Saturday evening Lao Ho [and I], the two of us went from his house at 7:45 to go to church.

Church.002

tɛu	a	kʰa	huɪt	a	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	kah	jaŋ	kʰɔ	pɛt
walk	1du	road	arrive	1du	at	church	emphasis.marker	not.yet	be.at.time	eight
V	CLI	N	V	CLI	PREP	N	PRT	ADV	V	NUM

ta	tikʰao	ka	kɔ	kʰɔ
hour	a.little.bit	dummy.sub	then	be.at.time
N	ADV	MKR	CONJ	V

We walked [down] the road and arrived at the church before it was 8 o'clock, in a little bit it was time [to start].

Church.003

kɛ	kɔ	ka	ʔɛ	kakɪ	ti
3pl	then	give	1pl	gather	main.part
PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	V	MKR

They then had us gather.

Church.004

kɛ	kɔ	ka	ʔɛ	kapɤ
3pl	then	give	1pl	sing
PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	V

Then they had us sing.

Church.005

cɤt	kapɤ	kɛ	kɔ	ka	ʔɛ	taokao
finished	sing	3pl	then	give	1pl	pray
V	V	PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	V

[We] finished singing, then they had us pray.

Church.006

cɤt	taokao	kɛ	kɔ	saka	huɯpɛn	cu
finished	pray	3pl	then	separate	became	group
V	V	PRO	CONJ	V	V	N

[We] finished praying, then they separated [us] [into] groups.

Church.007

naŋ	kɔ	kɛ	mok	ɲam	ti		hɤi	ciaotʰaŋ	ɲam	ti		hɤi	ka	kɛ
person	then	3pl	sit	often	main.part		go	church	often	main.part		go	give	3pl
N	CONJ	PRO	V	ADV	MKR		V	N	ADV	MKR		V	V	CLI

ti	cu
main.part	group
MKR	N

Then the people who often sit at church, who often go, they were put into a small group.

Church.008

naŋ	kɔ	kɛ	kɔm	hɤi	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	ka	kɛ	ti	cu
person	then	3pl	just.then	go	at	church	give	3pl	one	group
N	CONJ	PRO	CONJ	V	PREP	N	V	PRO	NUM	N

Those people [who] just started to go to church, they put them in a group.

Church.009

taŋ	ɤcˀ	ti	saka	kɛ	ʔɛ	pun	cu
all	complete	main.part	separate	3pl	1pl	four	group
ADV	V	MKR	V	PRO	PRO	NUM	N

All of us - they divided us [into] four groups.

Church.010

laɔhɔ	ʔa	ti	cu	huɯm	hak	ʔa	kɔm	hɤi
Lao.Ho	1du	main.part	group	together	because	1du	just.then	go
Nprop	PRO	MKR	N	ADV	CONJ	PRO	CONJ	V

Lao Ho and I [were] grouped together because we had just come.

Church.011

saka	kɛ	ʔɛ	pun	cu
separate	3pl	1pl	four	group
V	PRO	PRO	NUM	N

They divided us [into] four groups.

Church.012

naŋ	kɔin	cu	ʔɛ	ti	muh	ka	pai	ciɛ
person	oversee	group	1pl	main.part	name	3du	Bai	sister
N	V	N	PRO	MKR	V	CLI	Nprop	N

The facilitator of our group was named Sister Bai.

Church.013

ka	ta	pɛn	ka	naŋ	kakʰɤn
3du	***	be	3du	person	teach
PRO	PRT	COP	CLI	N	V

She is the teacher.

Church.014

ʔɛ	ti	pɛn	ka	laoʃɨ	ʔɛ
1pl	main.part	be	3du	teacher	1pl
PRO	MKR	COP	CLI	N	PRO

She is our teacher.

Church.015

cu	ʔɛ	kui	ɛ	sɪp	sam	pɤi
group	1pl	have	1pl	ten	three	person
N	PRO	V	CLI	NUM	NUM	N

As for our group, we had thirteen people.

Church.016

pɤi	cɤt	kakɪ	ɛ	ti	sɪp	sam	pɤi	ti
person	finished	gather	1pl	main.part	ten	three	person	one
N	V	V	CLI	MKR	NUM	NUM	N	NUM

[When] the people are ready we gather, the thirteen people [in] one [group].

Church.017

ɔn	mɔ	ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	la	ʔɛ	cum	mu	ʔɛ	pen	paŋ	am	ʔɛ
then	then	give	3pl	1pl	say	1pl	from	where	1pl	be	Bulang	whether	1pl
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	PRO	V	PRO	PREP	INTG	PRO	COP	Nprop	CONJ	PRO

pen	hɔh	am	ʔɛ	pen	kɔh
be	Han	whether	1pl	be	Hani
COP	Nprop	CONJ	PRO	COP	Nprop

Then they have us say where we [are] from, whether we are Bulang or Han or Hani.

Church.018

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	la	ti	ɔn	mɔ	ʔɛ	lɛi	siaŋsin	ʔɛ	sin	cu	ɔn
give	3pl	1pl	say	main.part	that	then	1pl	again	believe	1pl	believe	Lord	that
V	PRO	PRO	V	MKR	PRO	CONJ	PRO	ADV	V	PRO	V	N	DEM

a	pun	mu	kɔm	sin	mi	na	am	mi	sin	a	lakʰ	lɪŋ
RF	attained	how	just.then	believe	2sg	***	whether	2sg	believe	RF	a.lot	old
PRT	ASP	INTG	CONJ	V	PRO	PRT	CONJ	PRO	V	PRT	ADV	Vst

They have us again say that then how long we then had believed [in] that Lord, whether you just believed or believed a long time.

Church.019

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	cum	du	cum	pɤi
give	3pl	1pl	from	body	from	person
V	PRO	PRO	PREP	N	PREP	N

They had us go from person to person.

Church.020

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	katɔ	la	ɛ	ti	ɣcʼ
give	3pl	1pl	everybody	say	1pl	main.part	complete
V	CLI	PRO	PRO	V	CLI	MKR	V

They let all of us speak completely.

Church.021

katɔ	la	ʔɛ	ti	ɣcʼ
everybody	say	1pl	main.part	finish
PRO	V	PRO	MKR	V

Everybody, we finished speaking.

Church.022

sumnɣn	la	ʔɣn	ti	ɣcʼ
whoever	say	3sg	main.part	finish
INDEF	V	PRO	MKR	V

Whoever, he speaks; then finished.

Church.023

cɣt	ʔɛ	katɔ	la	ti
finished	1pl	all.of.us	say	main.part
V	PRO	PRO	V	MKR

We, all of us, finished speaking.

Church.024

katɔ	mɔŋ	ɛ	na	muhn
all.of.us	feel	1pl	topic.con	happy
PRO	V	CLI	MKR	Vst

All of us, we felt happy.

Church.025

ɔn	mɔ	ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	jɣ	ku	kahah
then	then	give	3pl	1pl	do	nominalizer	play
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	PRO	V	PRT	V

Then they have us play games.

Church.026

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	tatʰap	kavaŋ	ti	tatʰap	tʰi	ti
give	3pl	1pl	slap	leg	main.part	slap	hand	main.part
V	CLI	PRO	V	N	MKR	V	N	MKR

They had us slap our legs and clap our hands.

Church.027

ɔn	mɔ	ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	la	muh	ti	ɔ
then	then	give	3pl	1pl	say	name	main.part	first
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	PRO	V	N	MKR	ADV

Then they had us say our name first.

Church.028

ɔn	mɔ	lɛi	kɛ	ka	ʔɛ	la	muh	pɤi
then	then	again	3pl	give	1pl	say	name	person
CONJ	CONJ	ADV	PRO	V	PRO	V	N	N

Then then again have us say other people's names.

Church.029

tɛ	cɛao	ɔn	a	la	kɛ	mɛi	nɤn	la	kɤt	la	kɛ	mɛi
at.the.beginning	early	that	RF	say	3pl	prepare	who	say	wrong	say	3pl	prepare
ADV	ADV	PRO	PRT	V	PRO	V	INTG	V	Vst	V	PRO	V

fa	ʔɛ	kapɤ
share	1pl	sing
V	PRO	V

Early at the beginning of that [game] they said to prepare, whoever spoke wrong, they said, we [should] prepare to share [a song].

Church.030

hak	maŋ	kɛ	lɛi	fa	ʔɛ	kapɤ	tɔ
however	not	3pl	then	share	1pl	sing	everybody
CONJ	NEG	PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	V	PRO

But they then did not [have] us share a song [with] everybody.

Church.031

ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	kahah	jɤ	nɔ	cɤt
give	3pl	1pl	play	do	that	finished
V	PRO	PRO	V	V	PRO	V

They had us play that; finished.

Church.032

cɤt	ɔn	mɔ	kɛ	kɔ	pai	ciɛ	kɔ	ka	la	kakʰɤn	ʔɛ
finished	then	then	3pl	then	Bai	sister	then	3du	***	teach	1pl
V	CONJ	CONJ	PRO	CONJ	Nprop	N	CONJ	PRO	PRT	V	PRO

They finished, then Sister Bai then taught us.

Church.033

nɔ	ka	kɔ	sɤt	pap	kuti
that	3du	then	take	book	one
PRO	PRO	CONJ	V	N	NUM

Then that one took a book.

Church.034

pap	ɔn	a	muh	ka	sin	ʃəŋmin
book	that	RF	name	top.cont	new	life
N	DEM	PRT	V	MKR	Vst	N

That book is called "New Life."

Church.035

lat   ka   la   jɤ ni
after that 3du   say do this
CONJ   PRO   V   V   PRO

After that she said this.

Church.036

tʰɤk pap tʰɤk pi
take book take pen
V   N   V   N

"Take a book, take a pen."

Church.037

ka   pɛ   mai   ti   ɯn   a
give 2pl   write main.part remember RF
V   PRO V   MKR   V   PRT

"[I] will have you write and remember."

Church.038

pɛ   cɤt   mai ti   ɯn   a   mɔ   pɛ   taŋ   pɛ   iŋ   juŋ
2pl finished write main.part remember RF then 2pl hortative 2pl go.back at
PRO V   V   MKR   V   PRT CONJ PRO MKR   PRO V   PREP

ɲa
home
N

"You finish writing and memorizing and then you all again go home."

Church.039

pɛ   taŋ   iŋ   nok ʃəndʒiŋ
2pl hortative go.back read Bible
PRO MKR   V   V   N

"You all then go read the Bible."

Church.040

kɔ   sɯ pɛ   nok ɔn   a
then   tell 2pl   read that RF
CONJ V   PRO V   PRO PRT

"Then [I] tell you to read those [passages]."

Church.041

ka   kɔ   la   ka   ʃəndʒiŋ ɔn   a   tɤi   ti
3du   then say 3du Bible   that RF   a.lot main.part
PRO CONJ V   PRO N   DEM PRT ADV MKR

She spoke a lot about the Bible.

Church.042

la	ka	taŋ	ɤcʼ	ti	sɪp	si	la	ka	sɪp	si	sɪp	si
say	3du	all	complete	main.part	ten	four	say	3du	ten	four	ten	four
V	PRO	ADV	V	MKR	NUM	NUM	V	PRO	NUM	NUM	NUM	NUM

kaluɯkʰ	jɤ	ka	ni
place	do	3du	this
N	V	PRO	DEM

She completely talked about those fourteen different places [in the Bible], she did this.

Church.043

pɛ	iŋ
2pl	go.back
PRO	V

"You go back   [home]."

Church.044

pɛ	taŋ	iŋ	nok	siŋcʰi	saŋtʰi
2pl	hortative	come	read	week	week
PRO	MKR	V	V	N	N

"You again come read next week."

Church.045

siŋcʰi	liɔ	saŋtʰi	pɛ	hɤi
week	six	week	2pl	go
N	NUM	N	PRO	V

"[On] Saturday you go [to Bible study]."

Church.046

mɔ	ʔɛ	taŋ	hɛn
then	1pl	hortative	study
CONJ	PRO	MKR	V

"We then study."

Church.047

kɔ	sɯ	pɛ	iŋ	nok	ɔn	a
***	tell	2pl	go	read	that	RF
PRT	V	PRO	V	V	PRO	PRT

"I tell you to go read those."

Church.048

kɔ	pɛ	un	tʰaŋ	cɯ	ɔn	a	ʔɯ	taŋ	lɛi	kakʰɤn	na	jɤ
***	2pl	not	very	know	that	RF	1sg	hortative	again	teach	topic.con	do
PRT	PRO	NEG	ADV	V	DEM	PRT	PRO	MKR	ADV	V	MKR	V

hai	kʰɛm	kʰɛm
good.easy	clear	clear
V	Vst	Vst

"As for those of you who do not understand very well, I will again teach you and be easy and very clear."

Church.049

laɔhɔ	ʔa	kɔ	kok	hɯi	ʔa	kɔ	la	iŋ
Lao.Ho	1du	then	shoulder	bag	1du	then	***	go.back
Nprop	PRO	CONJ	V	N	PRO	CONJ	PRT	V

Lao Ho and I shouldered [our] bags then went back.

Church.050

ɔn	mɔ	muh	ʔɤn	miti	pɛn	ʔɤn	pu	ʔɯ	ɔn	mɔ	miti	lɛn
then	then	name	3sg	Midi	be	3sg	friend	1sg	then	then	Midi	again
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	Nprop	COP	PRO	N	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	Nprop	ADV

ti	kui	pu	lai
main.part	have	friend	two
MKR	V	N	NUM

Then the one named Midi, [who] is my friend, at that time she had two other friends.

Church.051

ʔɯ	ti	kok	ʔɯ	hɯi	ti
1sg	main.part	shoulder	1sg	bag	main.part
PRO	MKR	V	PRO	N	MKR

I shouldered my bag.

Church.052

kɛ	mok	kɛ	kʰa	kʰɯh	hakʰ	kɛ	ʔɯ	jɤ	ni	aisammei
3pl	exist	3pl	at	behind	call	3pl	1sg	do	this	Aisammei
PRO	V	PRO	PREP	LZN	V	PRO	PRO	V	PRO	Nprop

Those [who] were behind called me, [they] did this, "Ai Sam Mei!"

Church.053

ʔɯ	ti	vɛ	ɔ	la	ɯ	jɤ	ni	miti	miti
1sg	main.part	turn	oh	say	1sg	do	this	Midi	Midi
PRO	MKR	V	EXCL	V	CLI	V	PRO	Nprop	Nprop

I turned - "Oh," I said this, "Midi! Midi!"

Church.054

ʔɤn	kɔ	jɤ	ti	ni	ʔɛ	ɛn	ka	pu	ʔɯ	ka	taŋ	lai
3sg	then	do	main.part	this	1pl	this	3du	friend	1sg	3du	all	two
PRO	CONJ	V	MKR	PRO	PRO	DEM	PRO	N	PRO	PRO	ADV	NUM

ti
main.part
MKR

She then did this, "We - they [are] both my friends, the two of them."

Church.055

ɔn	mɔ	ʔɛ	kɔ	iŋ	hɯm	tɛu	kʰa	kacɯh	ti	iŋ
then	then	1pl	then	go.back	together	walk	road	talk	main.part	go.back
CONJ	CONJ	PRO	CONJ	V	ADV	V	N	V	MKR	V

Then we then went back together and walked [down] the road and talked as we went back.

Church.056

laɔhɔ	kʰɛn	tɤŋ	ʔɤn	mok	ʔɤn	kʰato	ʔɛ	sih
Lao.Ho	most	slow	3sg	exist	3sg	backside	1pl	back.there
Nprop	DEG	Vst	PRO	V	PRO	N	PRO	LZN

Lao Ho is the slowest, he is back of us.

Church.057

ʔɯ	lɛi	ʔɯ	cam	pu	miti	ɔn	kɛ	kacɯh	ti	iŋ
1sg	again	1sg	with	friend	Midi	that	3pl	talk	main.part	go.back
PRO	ADV	PRO	CONJ	N	Nprop	DEM	PRO	V	MKR	V

I again with that friend Midi and those [people] talked as we went back.

Church.058

tikʰau	pu	miti	katɛ	kɛ	ʔɯ	mi	mok	juŋ	mu
a.while	friend	Midi	ask	3pl	1sg	2sg	exist	at	where
ADV	N	Nprop	V	PRO	PRO	PRO	V	PREP	INTG

In a bit Midi's friends asked me, "Where do you live?"

Church.059

mi	ɪt	juŋ	mu
2sg	sleep	at	where
PRO	V	PREP	INTG

"Where do you sleep?"

Church.060

ʔɯ	la	jɤ	ni	ɪt	ʔɯ	tam	pu	ti	juŋ	tʰiɛn	cʰɯŋ
1sg	say	do	this	sleep	1sg	with	friend	main.part	at	sky	city
PRO	V	V	PRO	V	PRO	PREP	N	MKR	PREP	N	N

I said this, "I stay with a friend at Tian Cheng."

Church.061

lat	kɛ	la	jɤ	ni	mu	pu	mi	tɪn
after that	3pl	say	do	this	where	friend	2sg	also
CONJ	PRO	V	V	PRO	INTG	N	PRO	ADV

After that they said this, "So where [is] your friend?"

Church.062

pu	ʔɯ	tɪn	tɤŋ	ʔɤn	mok	ʔɤn	kʰato
friend	1sg	also	slow	3sg	exist	3sg	backside
N	PRO	ADV	Vst	PRO	V	PRO	N

"My friend? He is slow - he is behind [us]."

Church.063

tikʰau	laɔhɔ	lɛn	hɯɪt
a.while	Lao.Ho	again	arrive
ADV	Nprop	ADV	V

A while later Lao Ho then arrived.

Church.064

kɛ	kɔ	lɛi	kacɯh	ti	tam	laɔhɔ
3pl	then	then	talk	main.part	with	Lao.Ho
PRO	CONJ	CONJ	V	MKR	PREP	Nprop

They then talked with Lao Ho.

Church.065

la	kɛ	jɤ	ni	ɔ	hɛt	hɔh	mi	na	pun
say	3pl	do	this	oh	language	Han	2sg	topiclzr	have
V	CLI	V	DEM	EXCL	N	Nprop	PRO	PRT	V

They said this, "Oh! Your Chinese (language) [you] have [it]!"

Church.066

mi	na	hai	cap	pun	mi	na	hai	kʰɛm
2sg	topiclzr	good.easy	decent	have	2sg	topiclzr	good.easy	clear
PRO	PRT	V	V	V	PRO	PRT	V	Vst

Your [Chinese] is pretty good, your [Chinese] is very clear."

Church.067

laɔhɔ	la	ʔɤn	jɤ	ni	maŋ	tam	cap
Lao.Ho	say	3sg	do	this	not	with	decent
Nprop	V	PRO	V	PRO	NEG	PREP	V

Lao Ho said this, "[It's] not very good."

Church.068

nom	ka	pɤn	pɤnnɛ
good	top.cont	a.little	a.little
Vst	MKR	ADV	ADV

"[It's] a little, little bit good."

Church.069

ɔn	a	kasa	siŋcʰi	tʰiɛn	ʔɯ	lɛi	kuh	pun	ka	cɛt	ta
then	RF	next.day	week	day	1sg	again	get.up	attained	dummy.sub	seven	hour
CONJ	PRT	ADV	N	N	PRO	ADV	V	ASP	MKR	NUM	N

pai
after
ADV

Then the next day [on] Sunday, I then go up after seven o'clock.

Church.070

ʔɯ	kɔ	lɛi	pɔk	tancʰə	hɤi	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ
1sg	then	again	ride	bicycle	go	at	church
PRO	CONJ	ADV	V	N	V	PREP	N

Then I rode [my] bicycle to go to church.

Church.071

hɯɪt	ɯ	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	ka	jaŋ	kʰɔ	pɛt	ta
arrive	1sg	at	church	top.cont	not.yet	be.at.time	eight	hour
V	CLI	PREP	N	MKR	ADV	V	NUM	N

I arrived at church before eight o'clock.

Church.072

lɛt	taokao	ɔ
go.in	pray	first
V	V	ADV

[I] went in to pray first.

Church.073

tikʰau	kʰɔ	ka	pɛt	ta
a.while	be.at.time	dummy.sub	eight	hour
ADV	V	MKR	NUM	N

In a while it was eight o'clock.

Church.074

kɛ	kɔ	ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	kapɤ
3pl	then	give	3pl	1pl	sing
PRO	CONJ	V	PRO	PRO	V

Then they had us sing.

Church.075

cɤt	kapɤ	lɛi	ka	kɛ	ʔɛ	taokao
finished	sing	then	give	3pl	1pl	pray
V	V	CONJ	V	PRO	PRO	V

[We] finished singing, then they had us pray.

Church.076

cɤt	taokao	lɛi	kɛ	ka	ʔɛ	mɔ	caŋ	laɔ	juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	lɛn	kakʰɤn
finished	pray	again	3pl	give	1pl	then	elder	old	at	church	again	teach
V	V	ADV	PRO	V	PRO	CONJ	N		Vst	PREP	N	ADV	V

ʔɛ	ta	ʃəŋciŋ
1pl	by	Bible
PRO	PREP	N

[We] finished praying again, they had us - then an elder at church then taught us the Bible.

Church.077

cɤt	kakʰɤn	lɛi	kɛ	ka	ʔɛ	kapɤ	tʰɛm
finished	teach	again	3pl	give	1pl	sing	again
V	V	ADV	PRO	V	PRO	V	ADV

[They] finished teaching, then they had us sing again.

Church.078

cɤt	kapɤ	taokao
finished	sing	pray
V	V	V

[We] finished singing, [we] prayed.

Church.079

ɔn	mɔ	ne	ciaotʰaŋ	ɔn	a	ka	ko	kui	pɤi	sɛm
just.then	just.then	inside	church	that	RF	dummy.sub	also	have	person	Dai
CONJ	CONJ	LZN	N	DEM	PRT	MKR	ADV	V	N	N

Just then in that church there were also Dai people.

Church.080

ka	ko	kui	pɤi	hɔh
dummy.sub	also	have	person	Han
MKR	ADV	V	N	Nprop

There were also Han people.

Church.081

ka	ko	kui	pɤi	paŋ
dummy.sub	also	have	person	Bulang
MKR	ADV	V	N	Nprop

There were also Bulang people.

Church.082

ka	ko	kui	pɤi	kɔh
dummy.sub	also	have	person	Hani
MKR	ADV	V	N	Nprop

There were also Hani people.

Church.083

juŋ	ciaotʰaŋ	ɔn	a	hɔh	kɛ	cɤt	kɛ	kapɤ	ti	lɛi	kɛ	ka
at	church	that	RF	Han	3pl	finished	3pl	sing	main.part	then	3pl	give
PREP	N	DEM	PRT	Nprop	PRO	V	PRO	V	MKR	CONJ	PRO	V

sɛm	kɛ	kapɤ
Dai	3pl	sing
N	PRO	V

At church then the Han people, they finished singing, then the Dai people, they had singing.

Church.084

cɤt	sɛm	kapɤ	mɔ	hɔh	kɛ	lɛi	kɛ	kapɤ
finished	Dai	sing	then	Han	3pl	again	3pl	sing
V	N	V	CONJ	Nprop	PRO	ADV	PRO	V

When they finished singing the Dai songs, then they again sang Han songs.

Church.085

jisə	ka	la	kɛ	jɤ	pɤi	sɛm	ɔn	kɛ	cɯ
meaning	***	***	3pl	do	person	Dai	that	3pl	know
N	MKR	PRT	PRO	V	N	N	DEM	PRO	V

The meaning, those other Dai people do understand.

Church.086

kɛ	kɔ	la	jɤ	pɤi	hɔh	kɛ	cɯ
3pl	then	***	do	person	Han	3pl	know
PRO	CONJ	PRT	V	N	Nprop	PRO	V

They then help the Han people understand [the meaning].

Church.087

cɤt	caŋ	laɔ	lɛn	wei	ʔɛ	taokao
finished	elder	old	again	for	1pl	pray
V	N	Vst	ADV	PREP	PRO	V

When [they] finished, the elder again prayed for us.

Church.088

cɤt	taokao	ʔɛ	kɔ	iŋ	ɛɔ	ti	iŋ	juŋ	ɲa
finished	pray	1pl	then	go.back	find	main.part	go	at	home
V	V	PRO	CONJ	V	V	MKR	V	PREP	N

We finished praying, then went back and found and went to our homes.

Appendix 2

Chart of "Church" Text

Ref.	Sentence introducers/topic	Subject 1	Time/location	Verb	Clitic	Objects	Post-nuclear
C.001	*ʃiŋcʰili tapuh* Saturday evening	*laoho ʔa* Laoho 1du	*cum ʔa ̠pa laoho pun ka cɛt ta pai si sɪp ha fun* from 1du house Laoho attained referent seven hour after 45 min.	*hɤi* go			*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ* at church
C.002				*tɛu* walk	*a*	*kʰa* road	
				hɯɯt hunt	1du		
				arrive	*a*		*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ*
			jaŋ not yet	*kʰɔ* be at time	1du	*pɛt ta* eight hour	*kạ*
			tikʰao ka kɔ in a little bit referent then	*kʰɔ* be at time			at church emph.
C.003		*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ* 1pl	*kɔ* then	*ka* give *kakɪ* gather	*ti* (1pl)	[pred.compl.]	
C.004		*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ* 1pl	*kɔ* then	*ka* give *kapɤ* sing		[pred.compl.]	
C.005	*cɤt kapɤ* finish sing	*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ* 1pl	*kɔ* then	*ka* give *taokao* pray		[pred.compl.]	

C.006	*cɤt taokao* finish pray	*kɛ* 3pl	*kɔ* then	*saka hupen* separate become		*cu* group	
C.007	*naŋ kɔ* person that	*kɛ* 3pl / *ti* (people) / *ti* (people)		*mok* sit / *hɤi* go / *hɤi* go / *ka* give	*kɛ* 3pl	*ti cu* one group	*ɲam* often / *ciaotʰaŋ ɲam* church often
C.008	*naŋ kɔ* person that	*kɛ* 3pl	*kɔm* just then	*hɤi* go / *ka* give	*kɛ* 3pl	*ti cu* one group	*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ* at church
C.009	*taŋ ɤc ti* all finish (people)			*saka* separate	*kɛ* 3pl	*ʔɛ pun cu* 1pl 4 group	
C.010	*hak* because	*laoho ʔa* Laoho 1du / *ʔa* 1du	*kɔm* just then	--- / *hɤi* go		*cu hum* group together	

C.011				*saka* separate	*kɛ* 3pl	*ʔɛ pun cu* 1pl 4 group	
C.012		*naŋ* person *ti* (she)		*kɔɪn* oversee *muh* name	*ka* 3du	*cu ʔɛ* group 1pl *pai ciɛ* Bai Sister	
C.013		*ka ta* 3du ***		*pen* be	*ka* 3du	*naŋ kakʰɤŋ* person teach	
C.014				*pen* be	*ka* 3du	*laoʃi ʔɛ* teacher 1pl	
C.015	*cu ʔɛ* group 1pl			*kui* have	*ɛ* 1pl	*sɪp sam pɤi* 13 person	
C.016	*pɤi cɤt* people finish			*kakɪ* gather	*ɛ ti* 1pl+		*sɪp sam pɤi ti cu* 13 person – one group
C.017	*ɔn mɔ* then *am* or	*ʔɛ* 1pl *ʔɛ* 1pl *ʔɛ* 1pl 1pl		*ka* give *la* say *pen* be *pen* be	*kɛ* 3pl	[pred.compl.] *ʔɛ cum mu* 1pl from where *paŋ* Bulang *hɔh* Han	

C.018	*am* or	*ʔɛ* 1pl *ɔn mɔ* then *ʔɛ* 1pl *ʔɛ* 1pl *am* whether *mi* 2sg	*lɛi* again *kɔm* just then	*pen* be *siaŋsin* believe *sin* believe *sin* believe *sin* believe	*ka* 3pl *ti* (1pl) *mi na* 2sg ***	*kɔh* Hani [pred.compl.] *cu ɔn* Lord that	*pun mu* attained how long *lakʰ lɪŋ* a lot old
C.019				*ka* give	*kɛ* 3pl	*ʔɛ* 1pl	*cum tu cum pɤi* from body to person
C.020		*ʔɛ kato* all of us		*ka* give *la* say	*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ ti* 1pl+	[pred.compl.]	*ɤc* completely
C.021	*kato* everybody			*la* say	*ɛ* 1pl		*ɤc* finish

C.022	*sumɤɤn* whoever		*la* say	*ɔn ti* 3sg+		*ɤc* finish
C.023	*cɤt* finish	*ʔɛ katɔ* 1pl - everybody	*la* say	*ti* (1pl)		
C.024	*katɔ* everybody		*mɔŋ* feel	*ɛ na* 1pl ref.	*muhn* happy	
C.025	*ɔn mɔ* then	*ʔɛ* 1pl	*ka* give *jɤ* do	*ka* 3pl	[pred.compl.] *ku kahah* game	
C.026		*ʔɛ* 1pl	*ka* give *tatʰap* slap *tatʰap* slap	*kɛ* 3pl	[pred.compl.] *kavaŋ ti* leg (our) *tʰi ti* hand (our)	
C.027	*ɔn mɔ* then	*ʔɛ* 1pl	*ka* give *la* say	*kɛ* 3pl	[pred.compl.] *muh ti* name (our)	*ɔ* first
C.028	*ɔn mɔ lei* then again	*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ*	*ke* give *la*		[pred.compl.] *muh pɤi*	

ID			1pl		say		name person	
C.029	*te ceu ɔn a* at beginning of that		1pl		*la* say *mɛi* prepare *la* say *mɛi fa* prepare share	*ke* 3pl *nɣn la kɣt* who say wrong *ke* 3pl *ʔɛ* 1pl	[indirect quote] [indirect quote] *kapɣ* song	
C.030	*hak maŋ* but not	*ke* 3pl	*lɛi* again	[[have]]	*fa* share	*ε* 1pl *kapɣ* song	[pred.compl.]	
C.031		*ʔɛ* 1pl		*ka* give *kahah jɣ* play do		*ke* 3pl	[pred.compl.]	*nɔ cɣt* that finish
C.032	*cɣt ɔn mɔ ke kɔ* finish then 3pl then	*pai ciɛ* Bai Sister	*kɔ* then	*la kakʰɣŋ* will teach			*ʔɛ* 1pl	
C.033	*nɔ* that	*ka* 3du	*kɔ* then	*sɣt* grab			*pap kuti* book one	
C.034	*pap ɔn*			*muh*		*ka*	*sin ʃəɲmin*	

		book that	name	ref.	new life	
C.035	*lat* after that	*ka* 3pl	*la jr* say do		*ni* this [quote]	
C.036			*tʰɤk* take *tʰɤk* take		*pap* book *pi* pen	
C.037		*pɛ* 2pl	*ka* give *mai* write *um* remain	*ti* (2pl)	[pred.compl.]	
C.038	*a mɔ* then	*pɛ* 2pl *pɛ taŋ pɛ* 2pl hort 2pl	*cɤt mai* finish write *um* memorize *iŋ* go back	*ti* (2pl)	[pred.compl.]	
C.039		*pɛ taŋ* 2pl hort	*iŋ nok* go back read		*ʃəŋdʒiŋ* Bible	*juŋ pa* at home
C.040	*kɔ* ***		*su* do	*pɛ* 2pl		

C.041		*kɔ* then		*la* say	*ka* 3du	*ɔn* that	*txi ti* a lot (3du)
C.042	*sɯp si kalukʰ* ten four place			*la* say / *jx* do	*ka taŋ* 3du hort / *ka* 3du	*ʃəŋdʒiŋ ɔn* Bible that / *ni* this	*yc ti* completely (3du)
C.043		*pɛ* 2pl		*iŋ* go back			
C.044		*pɛ taŋ* 2pl hort		*iŋ nok* go back read			*ʃiɲcʰisaɲtʰi* week
C.045	*ʃiɲcʰilio saɲtʰi* Saturday week	*pɛ* 2pl		*hxi* come			
C.046	*mɔ* then	*ʔɛ taŋ* 1pl hort		*hen* study			
C.047	*kɔ* ***	*pɛ* 2pl		*sɯ* tell / *iŋ nok* go back read		[indirect quote] *ɔn* that	
C.048	*kɔ* ***	*pɛ* 2pl / *ʔɯ taŋ*	*un tʰaŋ* not very / *lei*	*cɯ* know / *kakʰxŋ*		*ɔn* that / *na*	

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		1sg hort	again	teach jɤ hai do good			referent	kʰem kʰem clearly
C.049	kɔ then	lacɔhɔ ʔa Laoho 1du	kɔ then	kok shoulder la iŋ will go back			hɯi ʔa bag 1du	
C.050	ɔn mɔ then ɔn mɔ miti then Midi	ti (Midi)	len again	muh name pen be kui have	ɤn	miti Midi	ɤn	pukɔ ʔɯ friend 1sg	
C.051		ʔɯ ti 1sg +		kok shoulder	u 1sg		hɯi ti bag (my)	
C.052	kɛ 3pl			mok exist hakʰ call jɤ do	kɛ 3pl kɛ 3pl	ʔɯ 1sg ni this		kʰa kʰɯh at backside
C.053	ɔ	ʔɯ ti 1sg +		vɛ turn la	ɯ			

	oh			say	1sg	ni miti miti this Midi, Midi	
				jɤ do			
C.054	en na this topmkr	ʔɤn 3sg ka 3du	kɔ then	jɤ do	ti (3sg?)	ni this pu ʔɯ ka taŋ lai ti friend 1sg 3du ti hort two (3du)	
C.055	ɔn mɔ then	ʔɛ 1pl	kɔ then	iŋ go back tɕɯ walk kacuh talk iŋ go back	ti (people)	kʰa road	hɯm together
C.056		laoho Laoho ʔɤn 3sg	kʰɛn most	tɤŋ slow mok exist	ɤn 3sg	kʰato ʔɛ sih backside 1pl there	
C.057	ʔɯ lei 1sg again	ʔɯ 1sg	cam pu miti ɔn kɛ with friend Midi that 3pl	kacuh talk iŋ go back	ti (people)		

C.058	*tikʰao* in a little while	*pu miti* friend Midi / *mi* 2sg		*katɛ* ask / *mok* exist	[quote]		*juŋ mu* at where
C.059		*mi* 2sg		*ɩt* sleep			*juŋ mu* at where
C.060		*ʔɯ* 1sg		*laʄʌ* say do / *ɩt* sleep	*ʔɯ* 1sg	*ni* this	*tam pu ti juŋ* / *tʰien cʰəŋ* with friend (my) at Tien Cheng
C.061	*lat* after that / *mu* where	*kɛ* 3pl / *pu mi* friend 2sg		*laʄʌ* say do		*ni* this	*tɯ* also
C.062	*pu ʔɯ* friend 1sg			*tʌŋ* slow / *mok* exist	*ɯn* 3sg / *ʌn* 3sg	*kʰato* backside	
C.063	*tikʰau* little bit	*lɔcho* Laoho	*lɛn* again	*huɯt* arrive			

		kɛ 3pl	*kɔ lei* then again	*kacuh* talk	*ti* (3pl)	*ni* this		*tam laɔhɔ* with Laoho
C.064								*tam laɔhɔ* with Laoho
C.065	*ɔ* oh	*het hɔh mi* na / *na* language Han 2sg / ref.		*la* say / *jɤ* do / *pun* have	*kɛ* 3pl	*ni* this		
C.066		*mi na* 2sg ref. / *mi na* 2sg ref.		*hai cap pun* good decent have / *hai kʰem* good clear				
C.067	*maŋ tam* not with	*laɔhɔ* Laoho		*la* say / *jɤ* do / *cap* decent	*ʔɤn* 3sg	*ni* this		
C.068				*nom* good	*ka* ref.			
C.069	*ɔn a kasa* ʃiŋcʰicʰien / then next day / Sunday	*ʔɯ* 1sg	*lei* again	*kuh* get up				*pɤn pɤn ne* little little bit / *pun ka cet ta* pai / attained ref. 7 / hour after

C.070		*ʔɯ* 1sg	*kɔ lɛi* then again	*pɔk* ride *hɤi* go	*tancʰɔ* bicycle	*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ* at church
C.071		*ka* ref.	*jaŋ* not yet	*hɯɯt* arrive *kʰɔ* be at time	*ʔɯ* 1sg	*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ* at church
C.072				*lɛt taokao* go in pray	*ɔ* first	
C.073	*tikʰau* little bit			*kʰɔ* be at time	*pɛt ta* eight hour	
C.074		*kɛ* 3pl *ʔɛ* 1pl	*kɔ* then	*ka* give *kapɤ* sing	*kɛ* 3pl	[pred.compl.]
C.075	*cɤt kapɤ* finish sing	*ʔɛ* 1pl	*lɛi* again	*ka* give *taokao* pray	*kɛ* 3pl	[pred.compl.]
C.076	*lɛn cɤt taokao lɛi* again finish pray again	*cænjlao* elder	*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ* at church	*kakʰɤŋ* teach	*ʔɛ ta ʃəndʒiŋ* 1pl *** Bible	
C.077	*cɤt kakʰɤŋ lɛi*	*kɛ*		*ka* give		*tʰɛm* again

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finish teach / then	3pl / ʔɛ / 1pl		*kapɤ* / sing			
C.078	*cɤt kapɤ* / finish sing		*taokao* / pray			
C.079	*ɔn mɔ nei ciaotʰaŋ ɔn* / then in church that	*ka* / ref.	*ko* / some	*kui* / have	*pɤi sɛm* / person Dai	
C.080		*ka* / ref.	*ko* / some	*kui* / have	*pɤi hɔh* / person Han	
C.081		*ka* / ref.	*ko* / some	*kui* / have	*pɤi paŋ* / person Bulang	
C.082		*ka* / ref.	*ko* / some	*kui* / have	*pɤi kɔh* / person Hani	
C.083	*juŋ ciaotʰaŋ ɔn hɔh cɤt* / at church then the Han people finish	*kɛ* / 3pl		*kapɤ* / sing	*ti* / (Han people)	
	lɛi / again	*kɛ* / 3pl		*ka* / give		
	sem / Dai people	*kɛ* / 3pl		*kapɤ* / sing	[pred.compl.]	

C.084	*cɤt sɛm kapɤ* *mɔ hɔh kɛ lɛi* finish Dai sing then Han 3pl again	*kɛ* 3pl			*kapɤ* sing		
C.085	*jisə ka la* meaning *** will *pɤi sɛm ɔn* person Dai that	*kɛ* 3pl *kɛ* 3pl			*jɤ* do *cɯ* know		
C.086	*pɤi hɔh* person Han	*kɛ* 3pl *kɛ* 3pl	*kɔ* then		*la jɤ* will do *cɯ* know		[pred.compl.]
C.087	*cɤt* finish	*cæɲlaɔ* elder	*len wei ʔɛ* again [for 1pl]		*taokao* pray		[IO pre-verb]
C.088	*cɤt taokao* finish pray	*ʔɛ* 1pl	*kɔ* then		*iŋ ɛɔ* go back find *iŋ* go back	*ti* (1pl)	*juŋ ɲa* at home

RESUME

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