



ASPECTS OF BRU KHOK SA-AT GRAMMAR
BASED ON NARRATIVE TEXTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a description of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on five narrative texts. Bru is a Katuic Mon-Khmer language. Bru Khok Sa-at is one of many related varieties of languages in Northeastern Thailand and is spoken by a group of eight villages in the Sakon Nakhorn province.

A generative grammar approach was used to analyze five third-person narrative texts. The basic syntax of phrases, clauses, and sentences in Bru Khok Sa-at was analyzed. Word classes were defined and examined. Rules were given for the general order of phrases, specifically focusing on noun and verb phrases. Different clause types were identified, and complex sentences were analyzed based on what conjunctions they use.

This thesis does not attempt to analyze in depth any specific aspect of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar. Only the grammatical features found in the five narratives are discussed on. The hope is that this thesis will provide a foundation for further research in a variety of areas relating to Bru Khok Sa-at grammar.

ชื่อเรื่อง:	ลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์ในเรื่องเล่าภาษาบรูโคกสะอาด
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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดจากเรื่องเล่า 5 เรื่อง ภาษาบรูเป็นภาษาในตระกูลมอญ-เขมร สาขากะตือก ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดเป็นภาษาหนึ่งที่ใช้ในภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศไทยและพูดในหมู่บ้าน 8 แห่งในจังหวัดสกลนคร

การวิเคราะห์เรื่องเล่าที่เกี่ยวกับบุคคลที่สามทั้ง 5 เรื่องใช้แนวคิดของไวยากรณ์ปริวรรต โดยวิเคราะห์วากยสัมพันธ์ระดับพื้นฐานของวลี อนุพากย์ และประโยคในภาษาบรูโคกสะอาด รวมทั้งได้ให้นิยามชนิดของคำและวิเคราะห์ชนิดของคำ ให้กฎการเรียงลำดับทั่วไปของวลีโดยเน้นนามวลี และกริยาวลี และระบุอนุพากย์ชนิดต่าง ๆ รวมทั้งวิเคราะห์ประโยคความซ้อนตามคำสันธานในประโยคเหล่านั้น

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

*P	* phrase (NP = noun phrase)
1P_exc	First person exclusive
1P_inc	First person inclusive
1S	First person singular
2P	Second person plural
2S	Second person singular
3P	Third person plural
3S	Third person singular
3S_polite	Third person singular polite
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
C	Clause
C	Consonant (in Phonology Section)
CAUS	Causative
Clf	Classifier
COMP	Complimentizer
Coordconn	Coordinating connective
Cop	Copulative verb
Det	Determiner
EXIST	Existential
HON	Honorary
INTENS	Intensifier
Interj	Interjection
IRR	Irrealis
MSEA	Mainland Southeast Asia
N	Noun
NEG	Negator
NMLZ	Nominalizer
Num	Numeral
PASS	Passive
POSS	Possessive
Prep	Preposition

Pro	Pronoun
PROG	Progressive
Prt	Particle
Quant	Quantifier
RECIP	Recipient
REFLEX	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
S	Sentence
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
Subordconn	Subordinating connective
Top	Topic marker
UNK	Unknown
V	Verb
V	Vowel
Vaux	Auxiliary verb
Vd	Ditransitive verb
Vi	Intransitive verb
Vt	Transitive verb

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis Introduction

This section discusses the basic structure and background of the thesis.

1.1.1 Goal of the Thesis

The objective of this thesis is to describe the basic syntax of phrases, clauses and sentences in Bru as spoken in the village of Khok Sa-at (Bru Khok Sa-at) using third-person narrative texts. This includes a look at word classes, noun and verb phrases, clauses, and complex sentences. The thesis provides a foundation for further research in a variety of areas relating to Bru Khok Sa-at grammar.

1.1.2 Scope and Limitations of the Thesis

This thesis provides a look at Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on narrative texts. It focuses on Bru Khok Sa-at syntax especially phrases, clauses and sentences. It is not intended to be exhaustive and will not examine morphology or analyze in-depth topics like particles, tense, aspect, or mood. The analysis was done using five third person narrative texts: Seven Orphans (203 lines), The Big Snake Son-in-law (183 lines), The Buyeang Fish (121 lines), The Wild Buffalo Ear (134 lines), and The Grandfather Ghost (122 lines). They were collected and originally glossed by Charles Thomas Tebow II with the assistance of Kabin Hunghuan, who was the elected village official, and Thongbai Khunakorn his language assistant. This thesis also made use of his broader database on Bru Khok Sa-at to verify or give further examples if needed. This database includes a lexicon of nearly 3000 words. It also includes another 66 texts, though at least 40 are translations, and many are only tentatively glossed with no free translation.

1.1.3 Benefits of the Thesis

Western Bru is currently a much debated term for languages spoken in Northeastern Thailand, where people refer to themselves as Bru. An examination of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on third-person narratives will aid in greater understanding of Western Bru, especially Bru Khok Sa-at. It is hoped that this thesis will foster more research in Bru Khok Sa-at and will aid in language planning and policy among the Bru-So group.

1.1.4 Methodology

This thesis uses a generative grammar approach as is used in Language Typology and Syntactic Description edited by Timothy Shopen (2007a, b & c). This theory focuses on how a single word generally functions as the head of a phrase. The phrase retains some of the same properties as the head. So a noun phrase has many of the same properties as a noun. Phrases may then be combined until they form clauses. Clauses can be combined to form complex sentences. Based on this analysis, generalizations can be formed which explain the syntactic structure observed in Bru Khok Sa-at.

The discussion of the analysis starts with word classes, and proceeds onto phrases, clauses, and sentences by combining larger and larger units. This thesis is an attempt to provide a descriptive grammar of Bru Khok Sa-at and will not be concerned with theoretical issues such as formal generative rules or attempt to explain the semantics behind language use.

Each example will consist of the Bru Khok Sa-at transcribed in IPA as well as a word-for-word gloss in English. A more natural gloss will appear underneath the word-for-word gloss. However, this gloss will be much more literal than the gloss that appears with the same stories in Tebow's discourse thesis (2010a), as the grammatical structure is more in focus while connections between separate sentences and discourse structure is not discussed. The examples are occasionally supplemented with tree diagrams, generally in the chapter focusing on phrases, to illustrate their structure graphically.

1.1.5 Corpus

The data analyzed in this study was based on five narrative texts.

1.1.5.1 The Seven Orphans

The Seven Orphans is a story about a married couple who have no children. They pray to the gods who send them seven sons. However, the couple is not able to gather enough food for both themselves and the children, so they plot to abandon or kill the children. Eventually the seven children are abandoned in a tree, where a bird comes to save them. He leaves them in a good land, and after a season they have enough to eat. They eventually meet seven daughters of a nearby king, whose village is experiencing a famine. The seven sons provide food for the daughters and the village. They eventually marry the daughters and live happily ever after.

1.1.5.2 The Big Snake Son-in-law

The Big Snake Son-in-law has two parts. The first is about a couple who have many unmarried daughters. They go in search of mangos, which are all in the possession of a large snake. The snake says they can have the mangos if one of their daughters marries him. Eventually the youngest daughter agrees and eats the mangos. She is later terrified of the snake, but marries him anyway. He eventually reveals that he is a god and can remove the snake skin to look like a handsome man. She plots to destroy the snake skin so her husband will look like a handsome man all the time and succeeds.

The second part is about a couple who have a daughter, and they want a son-in-law like the first family. So they capture a snake and force their daughter to marry it. However, the snake is a normal snake and eats the daughter. Later the snake is caught in a trap by two brothers. When they see the bulge in the snake, they carefully cut it open and discover the daughter. They revive her, and the oldest brother marries her. She cannot remember anything that happened to her before, but plants a pumpkin vine and prays for the gods to send the vine to her parent's house. Eventually her mother follows the vine and finds her. They are reunited and live happily ever after.

1.1.5.3 The Buyeang Fish

The Buyeang Fish is a story about a younger brother who is nice to everyone, but the older brother plots to kill him. The soldiers sent to kill him take pity on him and let him go. However, they tell him never to come back or he will be killed. He runs off into the jungle, and helps three animals: a buyeang fish, a deer, and a wolf. Eventually he comes to a village where everyone but one old woman has been turned into stone. The old woman tells him that a witch has done this. She has a

magic mirror that can see everyone and a wand that can turn them to stone. He challenges the witch, who has to find him three times, and he uses the help of the buyeang fish, the deer, and the wolf. On the third time, she does not find him and in her anger, throws the wand down. It breaks and points at her, turning her into stone. The spell is broken, the king gives the younger brother his daughter in marriage, and they live happily ever after.

1.1.5.4 The Wild Buffalo Ear

The Wild Buffalo Ear tells the story of a grandfather and grandson who get meat from some hunters. However, they discover it is only a wild buffalo ear. The gods decide to help the grandfather and his son, and turn the wild buffalo ear into a beautiful woman to help them in the house. After they discover her, the grandson marries her. She also helps in the field by magically controlling the weeds. During a famine, she is also able to turn rice leaves into rice. When the grandfather sees her doing this, he criticizes her. She goes out to the field and removes her magic and is never seen again.

1.1.5.5 The Grandfather Ghost

The Grandfather Ghost is about a grandfather who dies and leaves his grandson alone in the village. When the grandson cries, the grandfather takes pity on him and gives him medicine to be able to see the dead. The grandson lives with his grandfather and goes hunting with some friends. He is not able to see the deer the friends tell him to shoot, only a grasshopper. He brings the grasshopper home to his grandfather only to discover that the grasshopper is the deer. Later the grandson goes and hunts for birds. His grandfather comes home and is horrified to discover that he has killed the village elders, which the grandson thought were birds. The grandfather takes the grandson out of the villages and forces him to leave. The grandson lives alone in the land of the living.

1.2 Language Introduction

This section discusses the linguistic background of Bru Khok Sa-at.

1.2.1 Linguistic Affiliation

Bru is a difficult linguistic term to define. Linguists are still trying to determine whether certain related languages are mutually intelligible. In addition, the term “Bru” is used to refer to a broader number of groups than would call themselves Bru. Other spellings of Bru include Bruu and Brou.

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) has two classifications: Eastern Bru and Western Bru. Bru Khok Sa-at would fall under Western Bru. While most linguists would agree that Bru Khok Sa-at is an Austro-Asiatic language in the Mon-Khmer family belonging to the Eastern Mon-Khmer branch and, more specifically, is a Katuic language (Lewis 2009) agreement diverges from there.

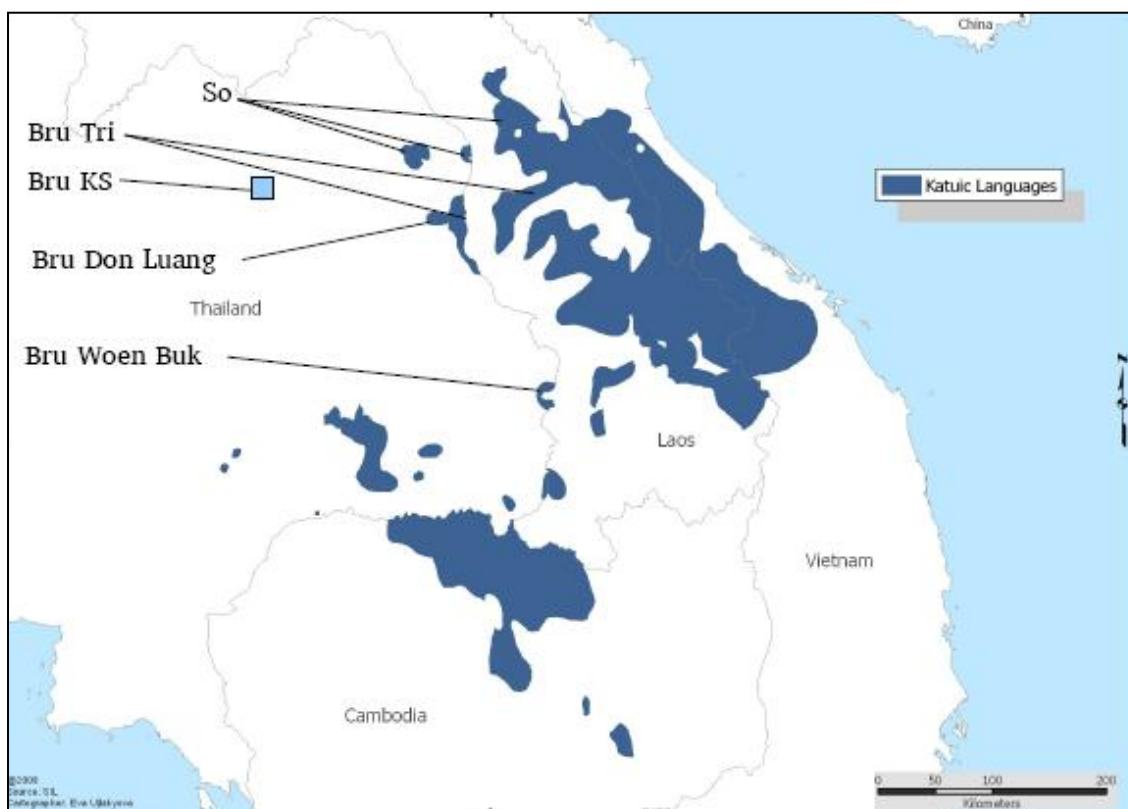


Figure 1 Katuic groups in Southeast Asia
(adapted from Mann, et. al. 2009: 10 by Tebow 2010a: 2)

The Katuic branch is large, among the Mon-Khmer family, but the majority of the languages are in the Western Katuic subgroup and live mostly in Eastern Thailand and Cambodia (SEALang 2009). Western Bru is among the Western Katuic branch in the Brou-So group (Lewis 2009). Bru is found in Northeastern Thailand, Southern Laos, and Central Vietnam (Green 1996: 2).



Figure 2 Bru linguistic tree
(Lewis 2009)

However, Miller and Miller (1996) argue that Bru actually fits under the North Katuic branch along with So and Katang.

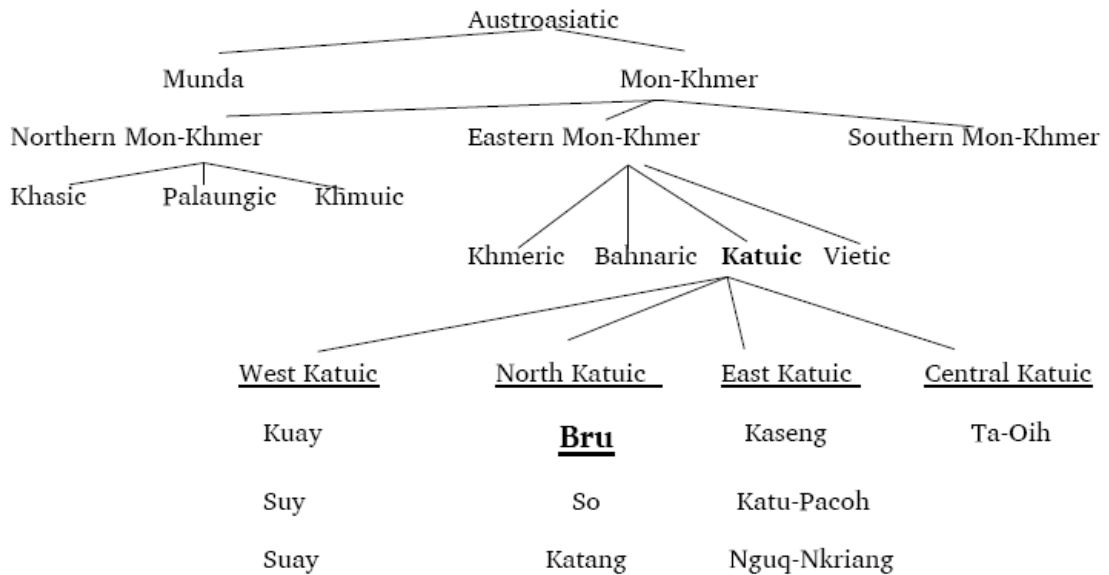


Figure 3 Bru linguistic tree
(Tebow 2010a: 3)

While the exact location of Bru is debated, it is clear that it is part of the Katuic subgroup.

Bru as spoken in the village of Khok Sa-at has also been influenced by Isan, but no attempt will be made to analyze the influence of Isan on Bru in this thesis.

1.2.3 History

There is some debate on where the Bru from Khok Sa-at came from and when. The village leader, Kabin Hunghuan, indicated that they had come from Laos to Thailand. They moved from the nearby village of Nong Hai Yaay in Thailand around 1961 (2010).

However, Kang Thon Kausaiya wrote that the Bru in the village of Khok Sa-at originally came from the nearby village of Nong Hai Noy in Thailand in 1950. Originally the village was named Khok Tho Lo 'visible forested hill'. They had plenty of food and freedom. In 1954 they chose a village leader over the 184 people divided into roughly 22 families. They provided for themselves by hunting and gathering foods in the abundant forest (1993).

Their lifestyle began to change around 1962 when the government started building a dam in the area (Kang Thon 1993). Hunghuan indicated that survey for the dam started in 1959. It was filled in 1968. Water flooded out two villages where Bru used to live: Na Lao and Na Suak (2010). This area was also where they used to hunt and gather food. Life was more difficult after this, and they changed the name of the village to Khok Sa-at 'clean forested hill' (Kang Thon 1993).

From 1965 to the time of writing in 1993 it became more difficult to find food as the forest disappeared. Many of the children and grandchildren of later years would not know of some of the animals that used to be common in the area. The language was also disappearing as people did not teach it to their children (Kang Thon 1993). More and more Isan people, who do not speak Bru, are moving into the area (Kabin 2010).

1.2.4 Current Lifestyle

The Khok Sa-at village is made up of 210 houses. Roughly 70% are Bru with the remaining 30% being primarily Isan. The majority of villagers (60%) are rice farmers. Perhaps 10% of those go to work in Bangkok during the off season. Approximately 35% cultivate other crops, and a smaller minority (5%) fish (Kabin 2010).

Animistic beliefs are still held in Khok Sa-at. Cows and pigs are used for sacrifices. Before making a large decision, like studying at the university, people pay their respects to the ancestors or village spirits (Kabin 2010). Further interviews and analysis on this topic would be profitable.

Young people must be eighteen-years-old before they may marry. The village leader married when he was nineteen and his wife was seventeen, but that was back when the road to the village was simple red dirt and the Thai authorities did not visit often. Many young people in their teens or twenties go to Bangkok for work. Some come back with enough money to marry. Some meet people from other provinces and marry and move elsewhere (Kabin 2010).

The village contains a preschool and elementary school, but no secondary school. The teachers speak Isan, but all the textbooks are in standard Thai. There is a government health center and some smaller stores. A village market is held on Tuesdays. The government center at the village is the village leader's house, though he attends meetings in Phankhone, the district center, about 8 kilometers away where there is also a hospital (Tebow 2010b).

There are concerns about the future viability of Bru in Khok Sa-at, as most of the children do not speak Bru. Some are starting to teach the children again, after becoming concerned about the future of their language.

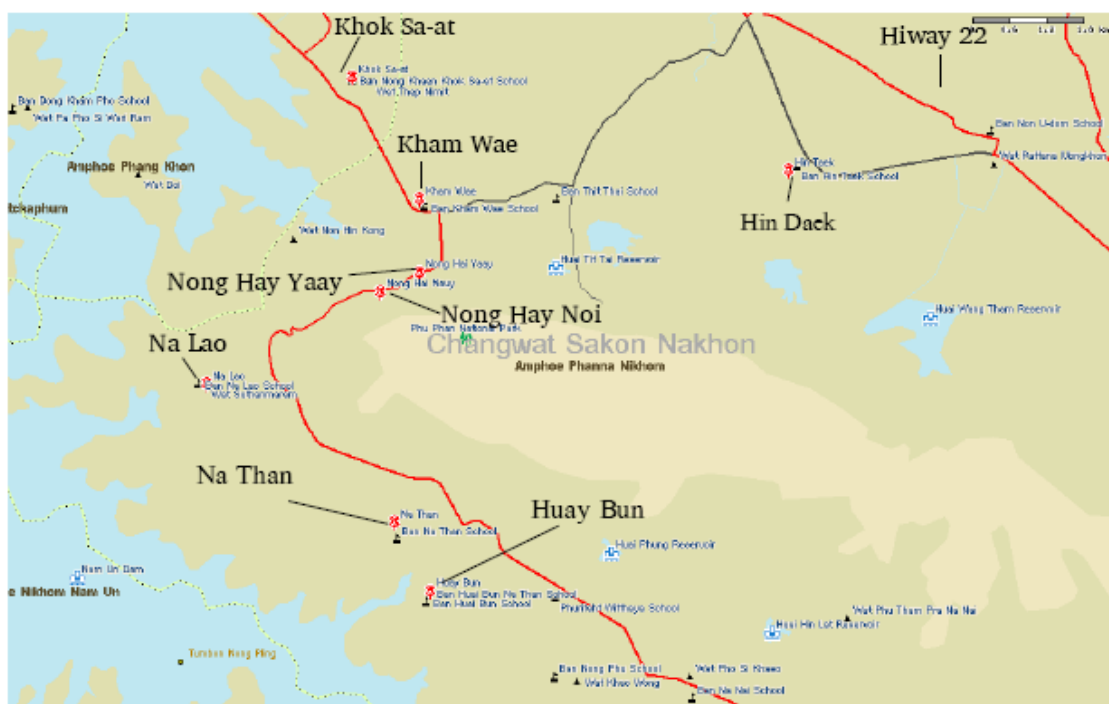


Figure 5 Location of the eight Bru villages that speak the Khok Sa-at dialect (Mapmagic Thailand 2008 from Tebow 2010a: 4)²

² Khok Sa-at ‘clean hill’, Kham Wae ‘precious type-of-vegetable’, Hin Daek ‘broken stone’, Nong Hay Yaay ‘big banyan-tree’, Nong Hay Noi ‘small banyan-tree’, Na Lao ‘sugarcane-like field’, Na Than ‘juzube field’, Huay Bun ‘climbing-vine creek’

1.3 Phonology

While phonology is not investigated in this thesis, some notes have been made to aid in reading the Bru examples. Further research in this area would be valuable. For a fuller discussion of Bru phonology see Gainey (1985), Green (1996), John Miller (1966), Phillips, Miller, & Miller (1976), Theraphan (1979), and Vuong Huu (1999).

1.3.1 Consonants

Bru Khok Sa-at has 21 consonants. The consonant chart generated by Phonology Assistant³ based on five Bru Khok Sa-at narratives gathered by Tebow (2010a) follows:

Table 1: Consonants

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d	tʃ		k		ʔ
	p ^h		t ^h		tʃ ^h		k ^h		
Nasal		m		n		ɲ		ŋ	
Trill				r					
Fricative			s						h
Approximant				l		j		w	

1. Weakening: $\sqrt{tʃ} \rightarrow [c] / _ \#$
2. Assimilation: $N \rightarrow m / _ \# _ p$
 $N \rightarrow n / _ \# _ t$
 $N \rightarrow \eta / _ \# _ k$
3. Free Variation: $[v] \sim [w]$ (Tebow 2010: 18).

1.3.2 Vowels

Bru phonology is especially complicated when it comes to vowels. The total number of distinct vowels is highly contested. Different Bru dialects also have a different number of vowels. In Green's phonology, she presents 51 vowels: 37 oral monophthongs, 3 nasal monophthongs, 10 diphthongs, and 1 nasal diphthong (1996: 21).

In Bru Khok Sa-at there are both long and short vowels. There are also clear and breathy vowels. The vowel chart generated by Phonology Assistant based on five narratives follows:

³ Phonology Assistant 3.0.1 SIL International © 2008

Table 2: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back	
Close	i		ɯ	u
	ĩ		ɯ̃	ũ
	i:		ɯ:	u:
	ĩ:		ɯ̃:	ũ:
Close-mid	e		ɤ	o
	ẽ			õ
	e:		ɤ:	o:
	ẽ:		ɤ̃:	õ̃:
		ə:		
Open-mid	ɛ		ʌ	ɔ
	ẽ		ʌ̃	ɔ̃
	ɛ:		ʌ:	
	ẽ:		ʌ̃:	ɔ̃:
		ɒ		
Open			ɑ	
			ɑ̃	
			ɑ̄	
			ɑ̃̃	
			ɑ:	

The diphthongs found in the five narratives are: [iɯ:], [iɤ:], [iu], [io], [ia], [ia:], [iɑ], [i:ɑ], [i:ɑ:], [ɛɑ], [uɑ], [ɯɑ], [ɯ:ɑ], [uɑ], [ɯ:ɑ], [oɑ], [oɑ:], [o:ɑ], [ɛɑ:], [ɯɑ:], [oɑ:] and [ɯɑ]. There are no triphthongs in the narratives.

Bru Khok Sa-at syllable structure is (C)(C)V(V)(C)(C). All consonants may appear word initial, but only the unvoiced, unaspirated plosives, nasals, trills, approximants, and [h] appear word final. Initial consonant clusters that appear in the five narratives are [pr], [pl], [br], [bl], [tr], [tʰr], [kr], [kl] and [kʰw]. Final consonant clusters that appear in the five narratives are [jh], [jʔ] and [wh]. The vowel may be any of 38 monophthongs or 22 diphthongs.

1.4 Literature Review

The following section focuses on literature on Bru, literature on related Katuic languages, and grammar literature.

1.4.1 Literature on Bru

There is a significant amount of literature on Bru, but most of it pertains to other dialects.

1.4.1.1 Eastern Bru

John and Carolyn Miller have written many articles about the Eastern Bru that were helpful for background information. Carolyn wrote on the substantive phrase in Brôu (1964), as well as an instruction booklet for Bru language lessons (1974). John wrote on word classes in Brou (1964). Phillips joined the Millers in an alternate analysis of Eastern Bru vowels (1976).

1.4.1.2 Bru Woen Buek⁴

Julie Green wrote many articles relating to the Bru Woen Buek community that were helpful for background information. These included Bru language lessons (1995) and a phonology (1996). She also wrote an article in conjunction with Feikje Van der Haak that had helpful background information on the Bru Woen Buek. Pattiya Jimreiwat wrote a grammar on Bru Woen Buek focusing on clause and phrase structures (1981). It was very helpful for comparison with Bru Khok Sa-at. Theraphan Thongkhum wrote a phonological paper on the distribution of sounds in Bruu using the Bru Woen Buek dialect (1979). This was also the basis for her later dictionary written in conjunction with See Puengpa (1980).

1.4.1.3 Bru Khok Sa-at

John and Carolyn Miller also wrote a preliminary grammar questionnaire for Bru Khok Sa-at specifically in addition to several other dialects (1980). However, the data was all elicited, and the transcription in Bru based on Thai script makes it more difficult to decipher.

Charles Thomas Tebow II wrote a discourse thesis using Bru Khok Sa-at texts (2010a). The same texts were used in this thesis. He also included a short section on grammar in the front of his thesis.

⁴ Also spelled Wyn Buek, Wyn Boek, Woen Boek, Woen Buk.

1.4.1.4 Comparisons

Brian Migliazza wrote a paper comparing So and Bru in Northeast Thailand (1991). This article was helpful in reading Miller and Miller's article comparing Bru to many other Katuic Mon-Khmer groups in northeast Thailand (1995). Miller and Miller also wrote a lexical comparison of Katuic Mon-Khmer languages that actually compares Bru Khok Sa-at to several other dialects (1996).

1.4.2 Literature on Other West Katuic Languages

Other grammar sketches in the West Katuic branch were very helpful for comparison with Bru Khok Sa-at. This included a preliminary grammar by Kees Jan Bos in Kuy⁵ (2009). Somsonge Burusphat wrote an article looking at the function of $k\lambda?$ in oral Kui narrative, which was more discourse related than grammar focused, but was still good for background information (1989). A grammar of So written by Chollada Jungprasert (1986) was helpful for comparison. A later grammar was written by Brian Migliazza (1998) in addition to many other helpful resources in So including a paper on So procedural texts (2001), So stories (2003), SEA language families (2004). Mark Alves also wrote a helpful grammar sketch on Pacoh (2006).

1.4.3 Literature on Grammar

Timothy Shopen's volumes on language typology and syntactic description give many articles relating to basic grammar concepts. The first volume with its focus on clause structure was used extensively (2007a). The second volume, complex constructions, was used for the later portion of this thesis (2007b). In addition, Paul Kroeger's *Analyzing Grammar* book was helpful with basic definitions (2005).

1.5 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is an analysis of the grammar of the Bru language as spoken in Khok Sa-at in Sakon Nakhorn province, Thailand. The analysis is based on five narrative texts. All five texts are third-person narratives. The focus of this grammar is on syntax, clause, and sentence structure. Subtopics are based on data of interest. Chapter 2 examines major word classes. Chapter 3 examines minor word classes. Chapter 4 describes phrases. Chapter 5 describes clauses. Chapter 6 describes complex sentences. Finally, Chapter 7 provides a conclusion and gives suggestions for further research.

⁵ Also spelled Kuay and Kui.

Chapter 2

Major Word Classes

2.1 Introduction

Major word classes, often called open classes, are generally nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Open classes are grammatical categories that are in principle open to additions (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 3). No attempt has been made here to definitively distinguish between an open class and a closed class given the limited data.

2.2 Nouns

A noun is often described as a person, place or thing (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 4). However, this is only a rough description. A noun is the head of a noun phrase (Talmy 2003: 201). Noun phrases will be discussed in 4.3 Noun Phrases.

Example (1) shows a noun as the head of a noun phrase.

Grandfather Ghost 2

(1) *vɨl* *ku:ɨʔ* *ku:ɨʔ*

N Adj Adj

village small small

a very small village

In Bru Khok Sa-at, nouns are almost never morphologically marked for number, case, class or definiteness. One exception is the prefix *ra-* which may mark plurals or recipients. While this merits further research, it will not be explored in this thesis. Number is marked by a number or quantifier often followed by a classifier (see 3.6 Numerals). Case is marked by the location of the noun within the clause (see 4.3 Noun Phrases). Class will be explored under classifiers (see 3.7 Classifiers). Definiteness is marked by the use of demonstratives (see 3.4 Demonstratives). Subclassifications of nouns are also possible, including proper nouns, count nouns, mass nouns, and other parts of speech nominalized. No examples of proper nouns were found in the five narratives. However, proper nouns are analyzed relating to discourse in Tebow's thesis (2010a).

Table 3: Noun Types

Gloss	Word	Type of Noun
child	<i>ntʃum</i>	count
house	<i>doŋ</i>	count
water	<i>dɔʔ</i>	mass
rice	<i>doj</i>	mass
idea (NMLZ-think)	<i>k^hwam-kuut</i>	nominalization

2.2.1 Compound Nouns

It can be argued that Bru Khok Sa-at has compound nouns, but no attempt is made to definitely decide the matter here.

Example (2) to (4) show possible compound nouns.

Seven Orphans 121

- (2) *sɛ:m* *ɑ:j*
 N N
 younger.sibling older.brother
 brothers

Buyeang Fish 28

- (3) *t^hrɛ:* *alɑ:j*
 N N
 shirt pants
 clothing

Grandfather Ghost 4

- (4) *mpɛ?* *mpoa*
 N N
 mother father
 parents

Example (5) shows a possible compound split in a possessive construction.

Big Snake Son-in-law 159

- (5) *tɔʔ* *doŋ* *mpɛ?* *doŋ* *mpoa*
 Vt N N N N
 come house **mother** house **father**
 ...[it] came to the house of her mother and father.

Example (6) shows the same two nouns joined by a conjunction.

Big Snake Son-in-law 118

(6) *mpoa kap mpe? lɣːj pɬ? nɔm kɔ:n*
N Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt N

father and mother so go follow child

So the father and mother went and followed [their] child.

2.2.2 Noun Modifiers

When two nouns follow one another and refer to the same item the second noun modifies the first. No attempt is made to determine if this is one word or two.

Example (7) shows the second noun modifying the first.

Seven Orphans 41

(7) *kal ta:n*

N N

tree taan

...'dtaan' tree.

In example (8) it shows a noun modified by two following nouns.

Big Snake Son-in-law 11

(8) *kutʃʰan paŋɛa oŋin*

N N N

snake king god

...snake god king...

2.3 Verbs

Verbs generally express actions or processes (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9). A verb is the head of a verb phrase (Lunaghi & Parodi 2008: 152).

Example (9) shows a verb phrase.

Buyeang Fish 15

(9) *tɬ? jɣːŋ tɣːp*

Vt Adv Adv

come far quite

...[they] had gone quite far...

Verbs are usually combined with some form of tense, aspect, mood, modality, voice and polarity. Tense gives the time of the action relative to the time of the utterance (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9-10). Aspect looks at the distribution of an event

over time. Mood indicates the speaker’s reason for speaking. Modality shows “...either the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition expressed...or the actor’s relationship to the described situation...” (Kroeger 2005: 347). Aspect, mood, and modality will be discussed primarily in 4.5.2 Auxiliaries. Aspect will be further discussed in 5.5.1.4 Aspect. Voice indicates the role of the subject in the action (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 10). The texts did not provide a clear example of passive versus active voice. Polarity marks positive from negative and will be discussed in 3.12 Negators.

2.3.1 Reduplication

Example (10) shows that verbs are occasionally repeated for emphasis. However, no attempt will be made in this thesis to determine if this is one word or two.

Seven Orphans 153

(10) *bu:n bu:n atʃu: ku:ʃ? mɔaj nam*

Vt Vt N Adj Num Clf

have have knife small one Clf_thing

"[Yes we] have, [we] have a small knife."

2.3.2 Copulas

Copulas are verbs that link a subject and a complement (Crystal 1992: 85). Bru Khok Sa-at also has a few copulas that are used for existential or equative clauses. These will be discussed more in 4.6.5 Copula Phrase. More research on these words would be helpful.

EXIST *bu:n*

equal *mah*

be *pen*

equal *sam*

Example (11) shows a copula used with a predicate nominative.

Big Snake Son-in-law 11

(11) *kutʃʰan pɔ:t kɔ: pen kutʃʰan paŋɛa oŋin plɛŋ tʃak tɔ?*

N Adj Det Cop N N N Vt N Vt

snake big that **be** snake king god change body come

That big snake was the snake god king which had transformed itself into a body and come [down to earth].

Example (12) shows a copula used for an existential clause.

Seven Orphans 181

(12) *ta: bu:n dɔ? ta? nea*
Neg Cop N Vt N

NEG EXIST water make/do field

"There is not enough water to make the fields."

Example (13) shows a copula used in an equative clause.

Seven Orphans 37

(13) *mah ηkɔŋ*
Cop N

equal arm

"[It] is as big as my arm."

2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are notionally identified as “denoting qualities or attributes”. Generally, they modify a noun (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 13). Adjectives are also the head of adjective phrases (Trask 1993: 8). In some languages, including Bru Khok Sa-at, adjectives are very similar to verbs.

Adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify.

Example (14) shows an adjective following the head noun.

Big Snake Son-in-law 131

(14) *ka? hu:m k^han ku:j?*
Coordcomm Vt N Adj

then see bowl small

...then [they] saw a small bowl.

Example (15) shows the only example of an adjective used with a copula independently.

Big Snake Son-in-law 73

(15) *pɛn mac paɭɛaj?*
Cop Adj Adv

be beautiful very

...[he] was very handsome.

However, it is possible that the noun is simply elided before the adjective.

Example (16) shows a similar sentence with a noun before the adjective.

Buyeang Fish 4

(16) *sɛ:m* *pɛn kuaj* *ɔ:*
N Cop N Adj

younger.sibling **be** **person** **good**

...the younger brother was a good person.

2.4.1 Reduplication

Example (17) shows how adjectives can be reduplicated for emphasis. No attempt will be made in this thesis to determine if this is one word or two.

Grandfather Ghost 2

(17) *bu:n* *vɨl* *ku:j?* *ku:j?* *mɯaj* *vɨl*
Cop N Adj Adj Num Clf

EXIST **village** **small** **small** one Clf_village

...there was a very small village.

2.4.2 Adjectives as Verbs

In some languages, adjectival meanings are expressed primarily by verbs (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 16). Bru Khok Sa-at appears to have adjectives that act as verbs.

2.4.2.1 Negation

Example (18) shows how adjectives can be negated like verbs.

Seven Orphans 72

(18) *ŋpoa* *tɔ:* *ŋɛam*
N Neg Adj

father NEG **sweet**

Father - [It's] not sweet.

Example (19) shows how verbs are negated in this manner.

Seven Orphans 81

(19) *p^hɔ:* *kal* *aluaj* *dom* *ka?* *tɔ:* *saj* *siaŋ* *ranɛ:m* *naŋ*
Subordconn N N Vi Coordconn Neg Vt N N Prt

when tree stem fall so **NEG** **hear** noise child Prt_intensifier

When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.

2.4.2.2 Particles

Example (20) shows how adjectives also take verbal particles.

Wild Buffalo Ear 80

(20) *mase:m kuaj k̄iː l̄ɣːj w̄aw paj mɛ:m tʃ̄aː*
 N N Det Coordconn Vt Subordconn Adj Prt
 woman person that so speak COMP true **Prt_seq_completive**

ŋkoʌ? pɛn katur siŋur

Pro Cop N N

1S be ear buffalo.wild

So that woman said, "Correct, I am the wild buffalo ear."

Example (21) shows how verbs also take verbal particles.

Seven Orphans 82

(21) *kɔ:n nɛ? tapu:l na? kutʃ̄it nɛ?*
 N Prt Num Clf Vi Prt
 child Prt_completive seven Clf_person die **Prt_completive**

tʃ̄aː

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

...all of the seven children were completely dead.

2.4.2.3 Predicate

Example (22) shows how an adjective can act as a predicate, like a verb.

Seven Orphans 18

(22) *aja:k siɔm mi:t paleaj?*
 N Adj Adv
 husband **happy very**

The husband was very happy.

Example (23) shows how verbs are also predicates.

Big Snake Son-in-law 17

(23) *alaj tamuj də:*
 Pro Vi Prt
 3P **listen Prt_command**

"...they will understand."

2.4.2.4 Auxiliaries

There are no examples of auxiliaries with adjectives in these Bru Khok Sa-at narratives.

Example (24) shows how auxiliaries are used with verbs.

(24)	<i>m̄pai</i>	<i>m̄pɛ?</i>	<i>ja?</i>	<i>a-t̄l̄t</i>	<i>ŋkoa?</i>
	Pro	Pro	Vaux	Vt	Pro
	2P	why	want	CAUS-die	1S

"Why do you want to kill me?"

2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are usually described functionally as words that modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. However, some adverbs modify entire phrases or even sentences (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 20). Adverbs are the head of adverb phrases (Trask 1993: 10). Adverbs as modifiers may precede what they modify, follow after what they modify, or come at the beginning or end of a clause.

Table 4: Adverb Types

Gloss	Word	Type of Adverb
very	<i>alɔ:</i>	degree
even	<i>ha:t</i>	degree
very	<i>hɯ?</i>	degree
so.much	<i>malɛ?</i>	degree
almost	<i>mɔŋ</i>	degree
deep	<i>ŋtru:</i>	degree
very	<i>paɭɛaj?</i>	degree
enough	<i>pɔa:</i>	degree
and some	<i>tɔ:p</i>	degree
often	<i>du</i>	frequency
again	<i>ɛ:n</i>	frequency
really	<i>akan</i>	manner
sure	<i>kɔk</i>	manner
enough	<i>kom</i>	manner
half	<i>kɔŋ</i>	manner
together	<i>manɔ:j</i>	manner
sure	<i>nɛ:</i>	manner
clever	<i>pɔŋ</i>	manner

Gloss	Word	Type of Adverb
also	<i>pruam</i>	manner
only	<i>tɛ:</i>	manner
far	<i>jɣ:ŋ</i>	place
after	<i>kli:</i>	place
close	<i>tʃe?</i>	place
still	<i>ɣ:t</i>	time
not.yet	<i>ha:</i>	time
ever	<i>kɣ:j</i>	time
still	<i>naŋ</i>	time
formerly	<i>pa:t</i>	time
just.then	<i>padi:</i>	time
yet	<i>tɔn</i>	time
now	<i>tʃinɔ:</i>	time
yet	<i>wɛaj</i>	time
now	<i>wɛaj</i>	time

2.5.1 Degree

Example (25) shows an adverb of degree modifying an adjective.

Wild Buffalo Ear 121

(25) *v?* *rɛaj* *paɭaj?*
 N Adj Adv

grandfather angry **very**

The grandfather became very angry.

2.5.2 Place

Example (26) shows an adverb of place modifying a verb.

Seven Orphans 68

(26) *mpoa* *aje?* *atʃet* *tajah* *ɲaŋ* *kɔm* *mpɛ:k* *ajaŋ* *naŋ* *kli:*
 N Vt N Vi Adv N Vt N Vt Adv

father hold axe walk before child carry.pole basket follow **after**

The father held the axe and walked ahead while the children carrying a big basket on a pole followed behind.

2.5.3 Frequency

Example (27) shows an adverb of frequency modifying a verb.

Seven Orphans 195

(27) *paŋəjʔ t̃fuː du pʌʔ*

Quant Clf Adv Vi

many Clf_time **often** go

[The daughters] went [to get rice] many times and often.

2.5.4 Manner

Example (28) shows an adverb of manner modifying a verb.

Buyeang Fish 5

(28) *liːan pɔːŋ*

Vi Adv

study **clever**

[He] was clever in his studies...

2.5.5 Time

Example (29) shows an adverb of time modifying a verb.

Grandfather Ghost 106

(29) *t̃fom karoʔ pʌt pɛn nɛaj amɸɻː*

N N Adv Cop N N

bird owl **formerly** be lord district

The owl had been the district ruler.

2.5.6 Reduplication

Example (30) shows an adverb reduplicated for emphasis.

Grandfather Ghost 7

(30) *doŋ suː ɻt ʃɻːŋ ʃɻːŋ kan*

N N Vi Adv Adv Pro

house shelter live **far far** RECIP

The houses were located far from each other.

2.5.7 Word Classes Modified

Adverbs can modify many word classes.

Example (31) shows an adverb modifying a verb.

Big Snake Son-in-law 180

(31) *alaj nɛam palɛajʔ*

Pro Vi Adv

3P cry **very**

They cried a lot.

Example (32) shows an adverb modifying an adjective.

Big Snake Son-in-law 38

(32) *an pɛn kuaj mac palɛajʔ*

Pro Cop N Adj Adv

3S be person beautiful **very**

He was a very handsome person.

Example (33) shows an adverb modifying a negator.

Wild Buffalo Ear 90

(33) *tɛː tɔn tʃɛː wɛaj*

Neg Adv Vi Adv

NEG **yet** finish yet

..."We haven't finished yet."

In many languages there are alternative ways of expressing adverbial meanings (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 21). Adverbial clauses will be discussed in 5.2.2.1 Adjectival Predicates.

2.6 Conclusion

Major word classes consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Bru Khok Sa-at shares many features with other MSEA languages. Manson defines MSEA as consisting of present day Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, and southern Chinese provinces. Languages spoken there include the Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic, Daic and Hmong-Mien language families (2009: 1).

Nouns in MSEA languages are not inflected for number, gender or case.

Compounding is the most common way of deriving nouns (Enfield 2005: 189). Bru Khok Sa-at follows this pattern. This corpus did not include any proper nouns in Bru, but Tebow collected other texts in Bru Khok Sa-at that included proper nouns

(2010a: 7). These are also attested to Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 114), So (Miglizza 1998: 80), Kuy (Bos 2009: 40), and Pacoh (Alves 2006: 57).

Verbs are combined with free morphemes to indicate aspect, mood and modality. Miller in Eastern Bru identifies these as preverbals and postverbals (1964: 49-50). Tebow also uses the term preverbals and postverbals (2010a: 26), as does Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek (1998: 143). This thesis uses the terms auxiliaries and particles for the same types of morphemes. Further discussion of this topic may be found in section 4.5 Verb Phrase and 4.6 Verb Phrase.

Mann, et. al. remark that “Austronesian languages commonly use reduplication to express syntactic and semantic functions,” (2009: 9). This can be seen in Bru Khok Sa-at with both adjectives and adverbs.

Adjectives function as stative verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at according to this corpus. Tebow also identifies adjectives as having properties of verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at (2010a: 31). Pattiya reports them in Bru Woen Buek (1998: 156-157). Miglizza also attests to this phenomenon in So (1998: 75). Kuy behaves in the same way (Bos 2009: 15). However, John Miller describes Eastern Bru as having adjectives that modify both nouns and verbs (i.e. they function like adverbs). He does not mention the concept of adjectives acting alone as stative verbs (1964: 47-48).

Different grammar descriptions have different listings of adverbs. This thesis mentions degree, frequency, manner, place, and time. John Miller only mentions temporal adverbs and something he calls indefinite adverbs (1964: 48-49). Miglizza mentions manner and time in So (1998: 74). Bos in his Kuy grammar mentions direction, time and manner (2009: 17-18). Alves mentions manner adverbs in Pacoh along with numerous other categories not used in other grammars (2006: 46-50). However, this may be due to different grammatical theories rather than significant differences in word categories.

Chapter 3

Minor Word Classes

3.1 Introduction

Minor word classes are generally closed classes. Closed classes are word classes that are usually made up of a smaller, limited set of words (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 3). No attempt has been made here to definitively distinguish between an open class and a closed class given the limited data.

3.2 Pronouns

Schachter and Shopen define a pronoun as “a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase” (2007: 24).

3.2.1 Personal

Personal pronouns refer to the speaker, listener, or other person or things assumed to be clear within context (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24).

Table 5: Personal Pronouns

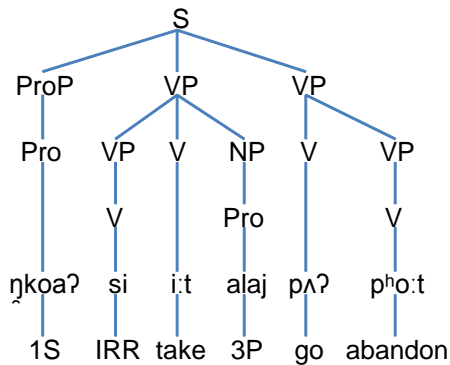
Singular		Plural	
1S	<i>ŋkoʔ</i>	1P_inc	<i>haj</i>
		1P_exc	<i>hiʔ</i>
2S	<i>māi</i>	2P	<i>mpāi</i>
3S	<i>an</i>	3P	<i>alaj</i>
3S_polite	<i>naw</i>		

Sometimes personal pronoun distributions are different from common nouns. In Bru Khok Sa-at pronouns can be used in both the object and subject position. It is also very common to find zero anaphora.

In example (34) we can see *ŋkoa?* ‘1S’ as the subject, *alaj* ‘3S’ as the object of the first clause and zero anaphora of *alaj* ‘3S’ as the object of the second clause.

Seven Orphans 25

(34) *ŋkoa?* *si* *it* *alaj* *pʌ?* *pʰo:t*
 Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Vt
 1S IRR take 3P go abandon
 "...I will take them and go abandon [them]."



Example (35) shows *haj* ‘1P_inc’ as the object of a preposition.

Seven Orphans 97

(35) *alaj* *si* *tʃa:* *nʌŋ* *haj* *tʃa:* *la?*
 Pro Vaux Vt Prep Pro Prt Prt
 3P IRR eat with 1P_inc Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential
 "...they would surely have been eating with us."

3.2.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal pronouns refer to another noun within the sentence, but refer to a mutual action (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 28).

each other *anɣ:j*
 RECIP *kan*
 one another *nʌŋnʌ?*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *anɣ:j* ‘each other’ is used for a group to refer to themselves.

Example (36) shows *anɣ:j* ‘each other’ as a direct object.

Seven Orphans 131

(36) *haj* *tʃ:* *it* *pre:* *tʃp?* *a-tet* *anɣ:j*
 Pro Vt Vt N Vt Vt Pro
 1P_inc pull take loincloth tie CAUS-stick **each.other**
 ..."We will remove and take our loincloths and tie [ourselves] fast to each other."

Example (37) shows *anɣːj* ‘each other’ as the object of a preposition.

Seven Orphans 127

(37) *ka?* *pɛa* *kan* *nɛam* *tʃo?* *anɣːj* *nɔŋ* *kal* *aluaŋ*
 Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prep N N

so invite RECIP cry with **each.other** on tree stem

...and so encouraged each other to cry with one other in the tree.

In Bru Khok Sa-at *kan* ‘RECIP’ is used frequently. It includes groups of two and groups much larger than two.

Example (38) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as a direct object and later an indirect object.

Wild Buffalo Ear 7

(38) *ntʃum* *alaj* *lɣːj* *pɛa* *kan* *takro:* *nɲɛ?* *tʃʰac* *kan*
 N Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Pro

group 3P so invite **RECIP** cut.meat divide meat **RECIP**

So their group helped each other to cut up and then divide the meat with each other.

Contrast example (39) with example (38).

Grandfather Ghost 84

(39) *alaj* *lɣːj* *pɛa* *kan* *takro:* *nɲɛ?* *tʃʰac* *ɔ:m* *kɯ:* *na?*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Vt Quant Clf

3P so invite **RECIP** cut.meat divide meat allow every Clf_person

So they all helped each other to cut up and divide the meat and gave every person [his share].

Example (40) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as modifying a noun.

(40) *haj* *tapu:l* *na?* *tʃʰh* *takɔ:ŋ* *kan* *tʃo:n*
 Pro Num Clf Vt N Pro Vt

1P_inc seven Clf_person ride neck **RECIP** go.up

"We seven will go up by sitting on each other's necks."

Example (41) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as the object of a preposition.

Big Snake Son-in-law 178

(41) *lɣːj* *nɛam* *tʃo?* *kan*
 Coordconn Vi Prep Pro

so cry with **RECIP**

...they cried with each other.

Example (42) shows that antecedents of *kan* ‘RECIP’ do not have to be animate.
Grandfather Ghost 7

(42) *doŋ suː ʋ:t jɣ:ŋ jɣ:ŋ kan*
 N N Vi Adv Adv Pro
 house shelter live far far **RECIP**

The houses were located far from each other.

The data only contained one instance of *naŋnaʔ* ‘one another’. Example (43) includes *naŋnaʔ* ‘one another’ as the object of a preposition.

Seven Orphans 49

(43) *kɔm tapuɪl naʔ pɛa kan ɲɛam tʃoʔ naŋnaʔ*
 N Num Clf Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro
 child seven Clf_person invite RECIP cry with **one.another**

The seven children encouraged each other to cry with one another.

3.2.3 Indefinite

Indefinite pronouns “...represent a person or thing without specifying gender...or number...” (Bussmann 1996: 223). In Bru Khok Sa-at, indefinite pronouns are identical to interrogative pronouns. See section 3.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns.

anyone *amɔʔ*

anything *ɲtraw*

In Bru Khok Sa-at, *amɔʔ* ‘anyone’ refers to people.

In example (44), *amɔʔ* ‘anyone’ is the subject of a clause.

Buyeang Fish 61

(44) *amɔʔ taʔ ɲtraw an kaʔ hu:m*
 Pro Vt Pro Pro Coordconn Vt
 anyone make/do anything 3S so see

"[If] anyone did anything, she could see [it]."

In example (45), *amɔʔ* ‘anyone’ is the object of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 113

(45) *tɔː hu:m amɔʔ*
 Neg Vt Pro
 NEG see **anyone**

...[she] did not see anyone.

In Bru Khok Sa-at, *ɲtraw* ‘anything’ refers to any other noun.

In example (46) *ntraw* ‘anything’ is the object of a clause.

Seven Orphans 20

(46) *tʃuaj?* *ntraw* *ka?* *kɔ:n* *tʃa:* *nɛ?*
 Vt Pro Coordconn N Vt Prt

search **anything** so child eat Prt_completive

Anything they found the children would eat all up.

In example (47), *ntraw* ‘anything’ is the object of an equative clause.

Seven Orphans 24

(47) *ajak* *waw* *ta:* *pen* *ntraw*
 N Vt Neg Cop Pro

husband speak NEG be **anything**

The husband said, "No problem."

In example (48), *ntraw* ‘anything’ modifies a noun.

Big Snake Son-in-law 108

(48) *tri:* *ta:* *saj* *siaŋ* *ntraw*
 Adj Neg Vt N Pro

quiet NEG hear noise **anything**

[It was] quiet, [they] did not hear any noise.

The text did not contain examples showing if *ntraw* ‘anything’ can function as the subject of a clause or the object of a preposition.

3.3 Interrogative Proforms

Interrogative proforms substitute for various parts of speech (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33).

3.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns take the place of a noun in a question (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33). In Bru Khok Sa-at, interrogative pronouns are identical to indefinite pronouns.

who *amɔ?*

what *ntraw*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *amɔ?* ‘who’ and *ntraw* ‘what’ function as pronouns.

In example (49), *amɔ?* ‘who’ functions as the subject of a clause
Big Snake Son-in-law 145

(49) *amɔ?* *si* *pɛn* *kuaj* *tɛ:ŋ* *dɔ:ŋ* *kap* *an*
 Pro Vaux Cop N Vi Prep Pro
who IRR be person marry with 3S
 ..."Who will be the person to marry her?"

In example (50), *amɔ?* ‘who’ functions as a possessive.
Big Snake Son-in-law 172

(50) *an* *pɛn* *kɔ:n* *amɔ?*
 Pro Cop N Pro
 3S be child **who**
 ..."Whose child are you?"

In example (51), *amɔ?* ‘who’ functions as the object of a preposition.
Grandfather Ghost 16

(51) *ŋkɔa?* *si* *ɣt* *nɔŋ* *amɔ?*
 Pro Vaux Vi Prep Pro
 1S IRR live with **who**

"Who will I live with?" [Lit. "I will live with whom?"]

In example (52), *ŋtraw* ‘what’ functions as the object of a clause.
Big Snake Son-in-law 129

(52) *sɛm* *wɔw* *pa:j* *kutʰan* *nai* *tʃa:* *ŋtraw*
 N Vt Subordconn N Det Vt Pro
 younger.sibling speak COMP snake this eat **what**

The younger brother said, "What did this snake eat?"

3.3.2 Interrogative Proadverbs

Interrogative proadverbs take the place of an adverb (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33).

where *lɛ?*

how *nɛ:w lɛ?*

how *sa: lɛ?*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *lɛ?* ‘where’, *nɛ:w lɛ?* ‘how’, and *sa: lɛ?* ‘how’ function as proadverbs.

In example (53), *lɛ?* ‘where’ functions after a verb.

Seven Orphans 26

(53) *pɬ? p^ho:t pɬ? lɛ?*
 Vi Vt Vi Pro
 go abandon go **where**

..."Where will you go abandon [them]?"

In example (54), *nɛ:w lɛ?* ‘how’ functions after a verb.

Seven Orphans 129

(54) *haj si ta? nɛ:w lɛ?*
 Pro Vaux Vt Pro
 1P_inc IRR make/do **how**

..."What will we do?"

In example (55), *nɛ:w lɛ?* ‘how’ functions after an equative.

Grandfather Ghost 70

(55) *pɛn nɛ:w lɛ?*
 Cop Pro
 be **how**

..."How was it?..."

In Bru Khok Sa-at *sa: lɛ?* ‘how’ functions after a verb.

Example (56) shows the one example of *sa: lɛ?*.

Seven Orphans 130

(56) *si bec sa: lɛ? haj ranɛ:t tʃɛ: ta: n̄trɯh bɔ:*
 Vaux Vi Pro Pro Vi Coordconn Neg Vt Prt
 IRR lie **how** 1P_inc sleep then NEG fall Prt_question

How will [we] lie down so that when we sleep [we] won't fall [out of the tree]?"

3.3.3 Interrogative Proclause

Interrogative proclauses take the place of a clause (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 32).

why *n̄pɛ?*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *n̄pɛ?* ‘why’ functions as an interrogative proclause. It appears second in the clause after the subject and before the verb and object.

Example (57) shows *m̥pɛʔ* ‘why’.

Buyeang Fish 18

(57) *m̥paĩ m̥pɛʔ jɬʔ a-tʃiːt ŋkoɑʔ*
Pro Pro Vaux Vt Pro
2P **why** want CAUS-die 1S

"Why do you want to kill me?"

3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns indicate distance from the speaker (Kroeger 2005: 89). Demonstratives are unique, in that they can be both a modifier in a noun phrase, and a noun phrase head. Demonstratives as part of a noun phrase will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.3.1 Simple Noun Phrases. The only time demonstratives act independently are as part of a prepositional phrase.

this *naĩ*
that *kɨː*
there *tɛh*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *naĩ* ‘this’ indicates nouns that are nearer to the speaker (Tebow 2010a: 23).

Example (58) shows *naĩ* ‘this’ as part of a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 3

(58) *baː naʔ naĩ*
Num Clf Det
two Clf_person **this**

These two...

In Bru Khok Sa-at *kɨː* ‘that’ indicates nouns that are further away from the speaker and closer to the addressee (Tebow 2010a: 23).

Example (59) shows *kɨː* ‘that’ as part of a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 52

(59) *doːj kɨː*
N Det
rice.cooked that

...that rice...

In Bru Khok Sa-at, *tɛh* ‘there’ indicates nouns that are far away from both the speaker and the addressee (Tebow 2010a: 23).

Example (60) shows *tɛh* ‘there’ as part of a noun phrase.

Seven Orphans 190

(60) *ɣt nɔŋ koh tɛh*
Vi Prep N N
live in mountain **there.far**

...who live in those far mountains."

The only time *nai* ‘this’ and *ki:* ‘that’ replace the noun phrase is in a comparative prepositional phrase.

Example (61) shows *nai* ‘this’ acting as a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase.

Seven Orphans 22

(61) *kɔn palɛaj? sa: nai*
N Quant Prep Det
child many like **this**

...since we have so many children...

Example (62) shows *ki:* ‘that’ as a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase.

Seven Orphans 149

(62) *k^han wɔw nɛ:w ki:*
Subordconn Vt Prep Det
if speak like **that**

...If that's what you have to say...

3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers modify nouns in terms of quantity or scope (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 37).

every *ku:*
many *palɛaj?*

Example (63) shows a quantifier. Quantifiers will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.2.1 Quantifiers.

Seven Orphans 9

(63) *kɔn ariɔŋ palɛaj?*
N N Quant
child crab **many**

...many baby crabs...

A quantifier may be repeated for emphasis. This may be a repeated word or a compound word. The distinction is not attempted here.

Example (64) shows a reduplicated quantifier.

Seven Orphans 202

(64) *bum te: rua? kɯ: kɯ: siŋai*

Cop Prep Adj Quant Quant Clf

EXIST from happy **every every** Clf_day

They had only happiness all of their days.

3.6 Numerals

There two kinds of numeral words found in the Bru Khok Sa-at data used in this thesis: cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers.

3.6.1 Cardinals

Cardinal numbers are “words that indicate how many referents the noun phrase denotes” (Dryer 2007a: 164).

one mɯqj

two ba:

three p̄ai

four po:n

five sɣ:ŋ

six tapɔt

seven tapu:l

ten t̄ʃit

ten mat̄ʃit

The two different variations of ten may be phonologically conditioned.

Cardinal numbers do not appear outside of the noun phrase, and will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.2.2.1 Cardinals.

Example (65) shows a numeral.

Seven Orphans 69

(65) *tɰ? sɰk kɔ:n ba: na? hu:m kapɛh ŋɛam*

Vt N N Num Clf Vt N Adj

come forest child **two** Clf_person see gabeh.fruit sweet

[When] they came to the forest, two of the children saw some sweet gabeh fruit.

3.6.2 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers “identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents” (Dryer 2007a: 164). Most ordinals are created through a periphrastic construction using ordinal numbers, and the discussion on ordinals will follow in 3.6.2 Ordinals. There is one ordinal that is an independent word.

first *ɲuɑŋ*

Example (66) shows an ordinal.

Wild Buffalo Ear 11

(66) *prəan kuaj ɲuɑŋ wɑw*

N N Num Vt

hunter person **first** speak

The first hunter said.

3.7 Classifiers

Classifiers are words that “partition the set of nouns into subsets”. They are generally used with numbers or quantifiers (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 7). The head noun chooses the classifier. In some languages the classifier can appear before or after the head noun.

Table 6: Classifiers

Meaning	Classifier	Classifies
Clf_basket	<i>buj</i>	no example; used independently of head noun
Clf_fruit	<i>ɔk</i>	mango
Clf_house	<i>doŋ</i>	house
Clf_tree	<i>kal</i>	tree
Clf_year	<i>kamɔ</i>	no example; used independently of head noun
Clf_mountain	<i>koh</i>	mountain
Clf_city	<i>krɯaŋ</i>	city
Clf_shed	<i>lɔw</i>	shed
Clf_thing	<i>nam</i>	knife, magic mirror, wild buffalo ear, bow, root
Clf_person	<i>naʔ</i>	child, wife & husband, young man, grandfather/man, younger & older, mother & child, soldier, person, man, grandfather & grandchild, woman, friend, monk
Clf_month	<i>ntʰaī</i>	no example; used independently of head noun
Clf_day	<i>siŋaī</i>	possibly adverbial
Clf_animal	<i>to:</i>	wild buffalo, dog, grasshopper, deer, mouse deer, owl
Clf_time	<i>tʃu:</i>	possibly adverbial
Clf_village	<i>vɨl</i>	village

Example (67) shows a classifier, which is typically part of a noun phrase.

Buyeang Fish 2

(67) *dun* *tɔʔ* *tʃɔ:* *bu:n* *krɯaŋ* *mɯaj* *krɯaŋ*
 N Vt Prt Cop N Num Clf
 time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST city one Clf_city

A long time ago, there was a city.

Example (68) shows that classifiers may occasionally be used in the place of nouns.

Seven Orphans 104

(68) *tʃuajʔ* *to:* *huk* *huk*
 Vt Clf Adj Adj
 search Clf_animal big big

"[We] will search for a very large one."

This requires further research and no explanation is attempted here.

3.8 Prepositions

Adpositions form phrasal constituents with nouns (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 34-35). Prepositions are words that come before the noun phrase in contrast with postpositions which follow after.

Bru Khok Sa-at employs prepositions. Prepositions are the head of prepositional phrases.

around	<i>ɔ:m</i>
for	<i>ɔ:n</i>
across	<i>jaŋ</i>
with	<i>kap</i>
same	<i>kɯ:</i>
than	<i>kua</i>
like	<i>ŋpleʔ</i>
like	<i>nɛ:w</i>
from, in, on, with	<i>nɔŋ</i>
over	<i>pɣ:ŋ</i>
under	<i>pɯ:n</i>
like	<i>sa:</i>
since	<i>taŋ tɛ:</i>
from	<i>tɛ:</i>
before	<i>tʃjaʔ</i>
at, for, in, on, to, with	<i>tʃoʔ</i>
all around	<i>tɯa</i>

Example (69) shows two prepositions.

Seven Orphans 10

(69) *lɣ:j kakuh tʃoʔ malɔŋ sɛ:k kɔ:n kap tʰɛ:wda:*

Coordconn Vi Prep N Vt N Prep N

so pray.kneel to sky request child with god

So [she] knelt to the sky and requested children from the gods.

3.9 Verb Adjuncts

Verb adjuncts form phrasal constituents with verbs (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 40).

3.9.1 Auxiliaries

“Auxiliaries are words that express the tense, aspect, mood, voice, or polarity of the verb with which they are associated,” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 41). In Bru Khok Sa-at auxiliaries normally precede the verb. Auxiliaries and their place in a verb phrase will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.5.2 Auxiliaries.

PROG	<i>ɲto:m</i>
dare	<i>ka:</i>
must	<i>tɔŋ</i>
IRR	<i>si</i>
want	<i>jaʔ</i>

Example (70) shows an auxiliary verb preceding the verb.

Seven Orphans 9

(70)	<i>kaʔ</i>	<i>lɔːj</i>	<i>kɯt</i>	<i>jaʔ</i>	<i>bɯ:n</i>	<i>kɔ:n</i>	<i>ɲpɛʔ</i>	<i>aɾiːŋ</i>
	Coordconn	Coordconn	Vi	Vaux	Vt	N	Prep	N
	then	so	think	want	have	child	like	crab

...and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

3.10 Conjunctions

“Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45).

3.10.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions connect two elements as equal elements (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). In Bru Khok Sa-at the coordinating conjunctions can be used to connect nouns, verbs, clauses, etc. Many coordinating conjunctions function on the paragraph level as a discourse feature, but this will not be explored in this thesis.

Table 7: Coordinating Conjunctions

Gloss	Conjunction	Location in Clause
and	<i>kap</i>	between NP constituents
so	<i>kaʔ</i>	after NPsubj
then	<i>kaʔ</i>	after NPsubj
and	<i>laʔ</i>	between number constituents
then	<i>le:w</i>	beginning
so	<i>lɣ:j</i>	after NPsubj
but	<i>tɛ:</i>	usually beginning
both	<i>tʰʌŋ</i>	before NP constituents
resulting from	<i>tʰʌŋ</i>	beginning
then	<i>tʃaŋ</i>	beginning
then	<i>tʃɛ:</i>	beginning

Example (71) shows a conjunctive coordinator between two numerals.

Big Snake Son-in-law 158

(71) *pʰɔ:* *tʌʔ* *mɯaj* *tʃit* *laʔ* *sɣŋ* *siŋai* *maʔuʔ* *kaʔ* *huk*
 Subordconn Vt Num Num Coordconn Num Clf N Coordconn Adj
 when come one ten CONJ five Clf_day pumpkin then big
a-tʃo:n
 Vi

CAUS-go.up

After fifteen days, the pumpkin plant grew up.

Example (72) shows an adversative coordinator between two clauses.

Big Snake Son-in-law 45

(72) *ŋkoaʔ* *si* *tʃɯaj* *tɛ:* *mɑi* *tɔŋ* *tʃɛ:m* *ŋkoaʔ* *ɔ:m* *pasai*
 Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn Vi
 1S IRR help but 2S must feed 1S for satisfy

"I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."

Example (73) shows emphatic coordination of two nouns.

(73) *tʰaŋ kuaj tʰaŋ tran pen kɔ:l ɲɛʔ ki:*
 Coordconn N Coordconn N Cop N Prt Quant
both person **both** animal be stone Prt_completive every
naʔ
 Clf
 Clf_person

Both the people and the animals, all of them, were stone.

Both *kap* ‘and’ and *tɛ:* ‘but’ are also prepositions ‘with’ and ‘from’.

Example (74) shows how *kap* ‘and’ generally appears between two noun phrases.

Big Snake Son-in-law 22

(74) *mpɛʔ kap mpoa*
 N Coordconn N
 mother **and** father

...the mother and father...

Example (75) shows how *kap* ‘with’ generally appears after a verb.

Seven Orphans 7

(75) *mɯaj sidaw ajeaʔ tʰaw waw kap ajak*
 Num N N Adj Vt Prep N
 one night grandmother old speak **with** husband

One night, the old grandmother said to her husband...

Example (76) shows how *tɛ:* ‘but’ generally appears between two clauses.

Big Snake Son-in-law 45

(76) *ŋkoaʔ si tʃuaj tɛ: maɪ tɔŋ tʃɛm ŋkoaʔ ɔ:m pasai*
 Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn Vi
 1S IRR help **but** 2S must feed 1S for satisfy

"I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."

Example (77) shows how *tɛ:* ‘from’ generally appears after a verb and before a noun phrase.

Big Snake Son-in-law 27

(77) *kutʃan huk kaʔ sɛ:ŋ tɛ: koh*
 N Adj Coordconn Vi Prep N
 snake big so descend **from** mountain

...the big snake came down from the mountain...

3.10.2 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions connect two elements as unequal and one is subordinated to the other (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). For further analysis of subordinated clauses see 6.3 Subordinate Clauses.

Table 8: Subordinating Conjunctions

Gloss	Conjunction	Location in Clause	Type
who	<i>alɛʔ</i>	beginning	relativizer
for	<i>ɔ:n</i>	beginning	adverbializer
if	<i>kʰan</i>	beginning	adverbializer
because	<i>ɲuɑ:n</i>	beginning	adverbializer
before	<i>ɲuɑ:ŋ</i>	beginning	adverbializer
COMP	<i>pɑ:j</i>	end	complementizer
when	<i>pʰɔ:</i>	beginning	adverbializer
REL	<i>tʰi:</i>	beginning	relativizer
until	<i>tʃon</i>	beginning	adverbializer

3.10.2.1 Complementizers

Subordinating conjunctions that are complementizers indicate that the clause is a complement to the verb (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 49).

Examples (78) and (79) show a subordinating conjunction marking a complement clause which is the object of a verb. This subordinating conjunction is only used with verbs of speaking or thinking.

Big Snake Son-in-law 92

(78) *alɔŋ pɑ:j ɲpɛʔ kutʃʰan lɯ:n lɔ:ŋ ŋkoaʔ tʃɑ:*
 Vt Subordconn N N Vt N Pro Prt

call COMP mother snake swallow leg 1S Prt_seq_completive

[She] called, "Mother, the snake has swallowed my leg!"

Wild Buffalo Ear 107

(79) *pʰɔ: an daŋ pɑ:j asɑʔ ɲɛʔ an kaʔ*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Subordconn N Prt Pro Coordconn

when 3S know COMP rice.uncooked Prt_completive 3S then

tɯh mɨt paɭɑ:jʔ

Adj N Adv

poor heart very

When she found out that the shelled rice was all gone, she was very sad.

3.10.2.2 Relativizers

Subordinating conjunctions that are relativizers indicate relative clauses. These are different from relative pronouns in that they cannot function as the subject or object of a relative clause. They simply mark that the clause is relative (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 50).

Example (80) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 10

(80) *tah* *ɔm* *tʃaw* *tʰi:* *ɣt* *kuɔj?* *ɣt* *mɯaj* *na?*
 Vt Vt N Subordconn Adv Adj Vi Num Clf
 leave cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf_person
 [His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.

Example (81) show another subordinating conjunction marking a relative clause.

This subordinating conjunction seems to be used to distinguish one of many.

Big Snake Son-in-law 16

(81) *kʰan* *nɔw* *alɛ?* *tʃa: jw?* *ŋkoa?* *nɔw* *a-ki:* *tɔŋ* *pɛn*
 Subordconn Pro Subordconn Vt N Pro Pro Pro Vaux Cop
 if 3S which eat mango 1S 3S INTENS-that must be
m̄paɪ *ŋkoa?*
 N Pro
 wife 1S

"She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."

3.10.2.3 Adverbializers

Subordinating conjunctions that are adverbializers indicate clauses that have an adverbial function (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 50).

Example (82) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a purpose clause

Big Snake Son-in-law 34

(82) *tɛ:* *tɔŋ* *mɯt* *ɲu:an* *tʃa: jw?* *tʃi:n* *kutʃʰan* *ɲɛ?*
 Prep Vaux Vt Subordconn Vt N Adj N Prt
 from must enter because eat mango ripe snake Prt_completive
tʃa:
 Prt

Prt_seq_completive

But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.

Example (83) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a time clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 5

(83) *p^hɔ:* *pɿʔ tɿʔ* *sɿk* *kaʔ* *hu:m kal* *ɲɔʔ* *pələjʔ kal*
 Subordconn Vi Vt N Coordconn Vt N N Quant Clf
when go come forest so see tree mango many Clf_tree

When they had gone and came to the forest, [they] saw many mango trees.

Example (84) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a conditional clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 86

(84) *ɲpɛʔ* *wəw* *paj* *k^han* *tɿ:* *mɿt* *ŋkoʔ* *si* *a-tʃi:t* *māi*
 N Vt Subordconn Subordconn Neg Vt Pro Vaux Vt Pro
 mother speak COMP **if** NEG enter 1S IRR CAUS-die 2S

The mother said, "If you don't enter, I will kill you."

Example (85) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a purpose clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 80

(85) *ba:* *naʔ* *ɲpāi* *aja:k* *lɿ:j* *pɛa* *kan* *pɿʔ* *tʃuajʔ* *kuʃ^han*
 Num Clf N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Vt N
 two Clf_person wife husband so invite RECIP go search snake
hu:k *ɿt* *naŋ* *koh* *ɔ:n* *pɛn* *aja:k* *kɔ:n* *kamu:l*
 Adj Vi Prep N Subordconn Cop N N N

big LOC in mountain **for** be husband child female.unmarried
 So both the wife and husband helped each other to go search for a big snake living
 in the mountains for [it] to be a husband for their daughter.

3.11 Interjections

Interjections are words that can be an utterance by themselves. They are usually grammatically independent, and have little to no syntactic connection to other words within a clause (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 57). Interjections in Bru Khok Sa-at usually appear at the beginning of a clause and occasionally at the end of a clause.

okay	<i>awh</i>
wrong	<i>lɔʝh</i>
crash boom	<i>ukkaʔtuuk</i>
oh	<i>o:</i>
hey	<i>oʝ</i>
shoo	<i>sa:h</i>
yes	<i>ɛ:</i>
whispering	<i>wal wal</i>

Example (86) shows an interjection at the beginning of a clause.

Grandfather Ghost 38

(86)	<i>ɛ:</i>	<i>pɔʔ</i>	<i>lɔ:t</i>	<i>tʃaw</i>
	Interj	Vi	Prt	N
	yes	go	Prt_command	grandchild

..."Yes, go ahead, grandchild."

Example (87) shows an interjection at the end of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 27

(87)	<i>kutʰan</i>	<i>huuk</i>	<i>kaʔ</i>	<i>sɛ:ŋ</i>	<i>tɛ:</i>	<i>koh</i>	<i>siaŋ</i>	<i>ŋtra:ŋ</i>	<i>ukkaʔtuuk</i>
	N	Adj	Coordconn	Vi	Prep	N	N	Adj	Interj
	snake	big	so	descend	from	mountain	noise	loud	crash.boom

...the big snake came down from the mountain with a loud crashing noise.

3.12 Negators

Negators negate words, clauses or phrases (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 58).

NEG *tɛ:*

Example (88) shows a negated verb.

Seven Orphans 81

(88)	<i>pʰɔ:</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>aluəŋ</i>	<i>dom</i>	<i>kaʔ</i>	<i>tɛ:</i>	<i>sɔŋ</i>	<i>siaŋ</i>	<i>ranɛ:n</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>
	Subordconn	N	N	Vi	Coordconn	Neg	Vt	N	N	Prt
	when	tree	stem	fall	so	NEG	hear	noise	child	Prt_intensifier

When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.

Example (89) shows a negated existential.

Seven Orphans 92

(89) *tɬ: bu:n amɬ? pɛn n̄traw*

Neg Cop Pro Cop Pro

NEG EXIST anyone be anything

Nothing had happened to any of them.

Example (90) shows a negated adjective.

Seven Orphans 6

(90) *tɛ: ba: na? tɬ: rua? le:w*

Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt

but two Clf_person **NEG happy** Prt_seq_completive

But they were not happy.

Example (91) show a negated adverb.

Seven Orphans 19

(91) *p^hɔ: tɬ: du:n t̄fuaɟ? t̄fɛ: nɛ:w lɛ? ka? tɬ: kom*

Subordconn Neg N Vt Vt Pro Coordconn Neg Adv

when **NEG** time.long search eat how so **NEG enough**

Not long after that, no matter what they found to eat, it was not enough.

3.13 Clausal Constituents

Certain parts of speech seem to act at the clausal level rather than the phrase level.

In Bru Khok Sa-at, particles and topic markers seem to operate at a clausal level.

3.13.1 Particles

Particles in Bru Khok Sa-at are used to mark aspect, mood, modality, and speech acts. This will be discussed further in 5.5 Particles.

Prt_completive	<i>adv?</i>
Prt_question	<i>bo:</i>
Prt_evidential	<i>dajh</i>
Prt_completive	<i>dv?</i>
Prt_contradiction	<i>do:k</i>
Prt_conclusion	<i>do:k</i>
Prt_soft_command	<i>də:</i>
Prt_informative	<i>də:</i>
Prt_evidential	<i>e: la?</i>
Prt_evidential	<i>la?</i>
Prt_UNK	<i>le:w</i>
Prt_intensifier	<i>lɔ:j</i>
Prt_command	<i>lo:t</i>
Prt_soft_command	<i>mɛ?</i>
Prt_consider	<i>na:</i>
Prt_consider	<i>nv?</i>
Prt_completive	<i>ne?</i>
Prt_intensifier	<i>naŋ</i>
Prt_completive	<i>sot</i>
Prt_sympathy	<i>tʃam</i>
Prt_command	<i>tʃi?</i>
Prt_seq_completive	<i>tʃu:</i>

Example (92) shows a particle at the end of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 17

(92) *māi wəw ɔ:n alaj tamuŋ də:*

Pro Vt Vt Pro Vi Prt

2S speak allow 3P listen **Prt_soft_command**

"You tell them so that they will understand."

Example (93) shows a clause with two particles.

Seven Orphans 90

(93) *alaj kutʃit tʃaː laʔ*
 Pro Vi Prt Prt
 3P die **Prt_seq_completive** **Prt_evidential**

"They have really died."

3.13.2 Discourse Markers

A discourse marker “indicate the discourse role...of the associated noun phrase” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 35). The only discourse marker identified in the Bru Khok Sa-at narratives is a topic marker.

meanwhile *jah*

The topic marker usually appears at the front of a sentence.

Example (94) shows *jah* ‘meanwhile’ sentence initial.

Seven Orphans 188

(94) *jah panəa*

N N

side ruler

As for the ruler...

Example (95) shows *jah* ‘meanwhile’ in the only example where it does not appear sentence initial.

Seven Orphans 171

(95) *wəw tʃaʔ jah panəa mpoa vil tʃeʔ kiː*

Vt Vt N N N N Adv N

speak come **side** ruler father village close there

[Now we will] talk about a village ruler [who lived] close to there.

3.14 Conclusion

Minor word classes in Bru Khok Sa-at include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, classifiers, prepositions, auxiliaries, particles, conjunctions, interjections, negators, particles, and topic markers.

MSEA pronoun systems often have different pronouns for different levels of politeness (Enfield 2005: 189). Tebow includes one more pronoun with a politeness distinction than were found in the corpus for this thesis (2010a: 20). Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek records pronouns that include distinctions in gender and politeness

(1981: 119-120). John Miller, however, does not include politeness in his remarks about Eastern Bru (1964: 44). Bos in Kuy records three politeness forms in the first person singular (Bos 2009: 34). Pacoh does not include politeness either and also has morphological marking (Watson 1964: 81-97).

Bru Khok Sa-at has three distinct demonstratives. Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek records only two distinct demonstratives (1981: 113). John Miller records three distinctions in some demonstratives in Eastern Bru (1964: 59) as does Bos in Kuy (2009: 18-19). Pacoh has three distinct demonstrative distances along with three distinct locations (Alves 2006: 61).

MSEA languages generally use classifiers (Enfield 2005: 189). Bru Khok Sa-at is no exception.

It is likely that all languages have some interjections, but not all grammars record this. John Miller includes interjections in his article on Eastern Bru word classes (1964: 62).

John Miller records that Eastern Bru has final particles, but these are only with negated sentences for emphasis (1964: 61). Pattiya in her analysis of Bru Wyn Buek (1981) and Chollada in her analysis of So (1986) also include particles. Bos analyzes Kuy as having both preverbal and postverbal particles (2009: 45-57). Alves reports that Pacoh has sentence particles that indicate aspect, interrogatives, clause-linking, comment, imperative, and mood (2006: 85-90).

Chapter 4

Phrases

4.1 Introduction

This chapter utilizes the word classes discussed in Chapter 2

Major Word Classes and Chapter 3

Minor Word Classes. However, the focus is now on phrases. A phrase is “a group of words which can function as a constituent within a simple clause” (Kroeger 2005: 35), though one word can often function as an entire phrase. The constituent structure and order of constituents are examined here. In addition, the function of noun phrases and verb phrases will be discussed specifically.

4.2 Noun Phrase Constituents

Certain words modify the head noun in noun phrases. These will be examined, followed by a more detailed look at noun phrases and their functions. Noun phrases generally serve as arguments for verbs (Dryer 2007a).

4.2.1 Quantifiers

A quantifier phrase is made up of one or more quantifiers often coupled with an adverb. For more on quantifiers see section 3.5 Quantifiers.

Quant P = Quant (+ Quant) (+ Adv)

Quantifiers are generally used with classifiers, but not always.

Example (96) shows a quantifier as part of a classifier phrase which, in this case, is the entire noun phrase.

Seven Orphans 136

(96)	<i>pea</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>jiṛ</i>	<i>neʔ</i>	<i>ku:</i>	<i>naʔ</i>
	Vt	Pro	Vi	Prt	Quant	Clf

invite RECIP shake Prt_completive **every** Clf_person

[They] encouraged each other to shake [with fright] every last person.

Example (97) shows a quantifier phrase without a classifier.

Seven Orphans 12

(97) *ɔ:n ηkoa? bu:n kɔ:n paləaj?*

Vt Pro Vt N Quant

allow 1S have **child many**

"Please let me have many children..."

Sometimes quantifiers can modify coordinated verb phrases.

Example (98) shows a quantifier modifying a coordinated verb phrase.

Seven Orphans 199

(98) *it t^{hr}ɔ: it do:j paləaj? lu?*

Vt N Vt N Quant Adv

take rice take rice.cooked **many very**

...[he] then took a large amount of rice and cooked rice...

4.2.2 Numerals

There are two types of numerals in Bru Khok Sa-at. For more specifics on numerals see section 3.6 Numerals.

4.2.2.1 Cardinals

A number phrase is made up of more than one number, which may be coordinated by a conjunction. Numbers are often used with classifiers. This is discussed further in 4.2.3 Classifiers.

NumP = Num (+ Num) (+ Coord) (+ Num)

Numbers generally follow the noun head it modifies.

Example (99) shows a quantifier following the noun.

Seven Orphans 69

(99) *kɔ:n ba: na?*

N Num Clf

child two Clf_person

..two of the children...

The noun head the numeral modifies does not need to be explicitly present.

Example (100) shows an elided noun head.

Seven Orphans 6

(100) *tɛ:* *bɑ:* *naʔ* *tɑ:* *ruaʔ* *lew*
 Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt
 but **two Clf_person** NEG happy Prt_seq_completive

But they were not happy.

Numbers greater than ten are compounded.

Example (101) shows a compounded number.

The Big Snake Son-in-Law 158

(101) *pʰɔ:* *tʰɑʔ* *mɯaj* *tʃit* *laʔ* *sɻŋ* *siŋai*
 Subordconn Vt Num Num Coordconn Num Clf
 when come **one ten** CONJ **five** Clf_day

After fifteen days...

A non-specific number may be made by putting two numbers in succession.

Example (102) and (103) show non-specific numbers.

The Big Snake Son-in-Law 141

(102) *pʰɔ:* *po:n* *siŋai* *sɻŋ* *siŋai*
 Subordconn Num Clf Num Clf
 when **four** Clf_day **five** Clf_day

After four or five days...

Seven Orphans 192

(103) *bɑ:* *pai* *siŋai* *tɔ:pʌʔ*
 Num Num Clf Adj
 two three Clf_day next

A few days later...

Numbers are generally followed by classifiers, but not always. When not followed by a classifier, the number seems to precede the head noun of the noun phrase.

Example (104) shows a number preceding the head noun without a classifier.

Seven Orphans 176

(104) *tapu:l* *kɔ:n* *kamɯ:t*
 Num N N
 seven child orphan

...the seven orphans.

Example (105) shows a number preceding a noun that is used as an indefinite number and may have a discourse function.

Seven Orphans 7

(105) *muj sidaw*

Num N

one night

One night...

Sometimes the head noun precedes the number and still no classifier is used.

Example (106) shows a number with no classifier.

Seven Orphans 186

(106) *kamu:l tapu:l*

N Num

female.unmarried seven

...the seven young women...

4.2.2.2 Ordinals

Ordinals are usually created with a periphrastic construction by using a relativizer, and they are not used with a classifier except when a classifier is used in the place of a noun head.

OrdinalP = NP (+Relativizer) + Num

Examples (107) and (108) show ordinal numbers.

Seven Orphans 197

(107) *sem kuaj t^{hi} ba: kuaj t^{hi} paⁱ*

N N Subordconn Num N Subordconn Num

younger.sibling person REL two person REL three

...the second oldest sister and the third oldest...

Buyeang Fish 101

(108) *t^{fu}: t^{hi} paⁱ*

Clf Subordconn Num

Clf_time REL three

"On the third time..."

Example (109) shows an ordinal with the relativizer elided.

(109) *nt^hai mat^hit la? muj*

Clf Num Coordconn Num

Clf_month ten and one

...the eleventh month...

4.2.3 Classifiers

A classifier phrase is typically a number or quantifier with a classifier modifying a head noun. See 3.7 Classifiers for a representative list of classifiers.

ClfP = Num/Quant + Clf

Example (110) shows the most basic form of classifier phrase, which is preceded by a noun head.

Buyeang Fish 2

(110) *kr̥uɑŋ m̥uaj kr̥uɑŋ*

N Num Clf

city one Clf_city

a city.

Example (111) shows that classifier phrases may be repeated for emphasis.

Big Snake Son-in-Law 13

(111) *kɔ:n kamu:l m̥ai̯ m̥uaj na? m̥uaj na?*

N N Pro Num Clf Num Clf

child female.unmarried 2S one Clf_person one Clf_person

...one of your daughters...

Occasionally, classifier phrases may precede the noun head. This may place them in juxtaposition with the classifier phrase or be a topic-comment structure. More data and further analysis of this structure is needed.

Examples (112) and (113) show classifier phrases preceding the head noun.

Seven Orphans 56

(112) *ba: na? m̥pai̯ aja:k*

Num Clf N N

two Clf_person wife husband

Both the husband and wife...

Wild Buffalo Ear 79

(113) *m̥uaj nam katur̥ siju:r*

Num Clf N N

one Clf_thing ear buffalo.wild

...one more thing, the wild buffalo ear."

Classifiers are occasionally used along with determiners.

Example (114) shows a classifier used along with a determiner in a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 49

(114) *atʃɔː toː kiː*
 N Clf Det

dog Clf_animal that

...that dog.

Further research is needed to explain the use of classifiers for purposes other than quantifying, and an explanation will not be attempted here.

4.3 Noun Phrases

“A Noun Phrase...is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun,” (Kroeger 2005: 87).

In this data set from Bru Khok Sa-at, a noun phrase can be the subject, object, indirect object, object of a preposition, or speech referant (vocative).

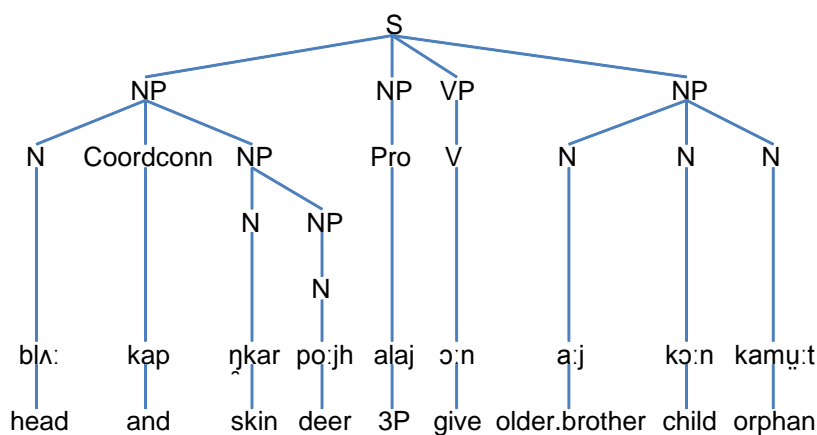
Example (115) shows a noun phrase as a subject, object (fronted) and indirect object. Examples (116) through (118) identify each noun phrase.

Grandfather Ghost 85

(115) *blɔː kap ŋkar poːjh alaj ɔːn aːj kɔːn kamɯːt*
 N Coordconn N N Pro Vd N N N

head and skin deer 3P give older.brother child orphan

They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.



Example (116) shows a noun phrase (pronoun) subject. In Bru Khok Sa-at, a subject is the noun phrase that typically precedes the verb phrase.

(116) *alaj*

Pro

3P

They...

Example (117) shows a noun phrase object. In Bru Khok Sa-at, the object normally follows the verb phrase. However, in example (117) the object is fronted. See 5.4.2 Fronted Object Clauses for more on this topic.

(117) *blɔː kap ŋkar po:ʒh*
 N Coordconn N N
head and skin deer

...the head and skin of the deer...

Example (118) shows a noun phrase indirect object. In Bru Khok Sa-at, the indirect object normally follows the verb phrase and precedes the direct object.

(118) *ɑ:ʒ kɔ:n kamɯ:t*
 N N N
older.brother child orphan

...older orphan child.

Example (119) shows a noun phrase as a predicate nominative.

Big Snake Son-in-law 177

(119) *ɑ:ʒaʔ tʰaw a-naĩ pen ŋpeʔ an*
 N Adj Pro Cop N Pro
grandmother old INTENS-this be mother 3S

...this old grandmother was her mother.

Example (120) shows a noun phrase as the object of a preposition.

Wild Buffalo Ear 70

(120) *nɔ:ŋ doŋ hiʔ*
 Prep N Pro
in house 1P_exc

...in our house?"

Example (121) shows a noun phrase as a speech referent (vocative).

Buyeang Fish 69

(121) *vʔ kaʔ tʃuaj maĩ tɔː bu:n tʃaw ɾ:ʒ*
 N Coordconn Vt Pro Neg Vi N Adj
grandmother so help 2S NEG able grandchild dear

"I can not help you, dear grandson."

4.3.1 Simple Noun Phrases

The following section analyzes simple noun phrases. Possessive noun phrases and relative clauses will be discussed in sections 4.3.2 Possessive Noun Phrases and 4.3.3 Relative Clauses afterwards.

NP = N (+ Det) (+ AP) (+ ClfP)

Example (122) shows a noun phrase consisting of an adjective phrase and an adverb phrase.

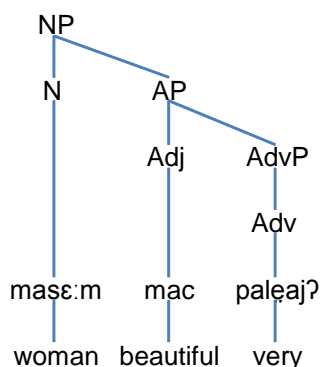
Wild Buffalo Ear 32

(122) *masɛ:m mac paleaj?*

N Adj Adv

woman beautiful very

...a very beautiful woman.



Example (123) shows a noun phrase made up of an adjective phrase and a classifier phrase.

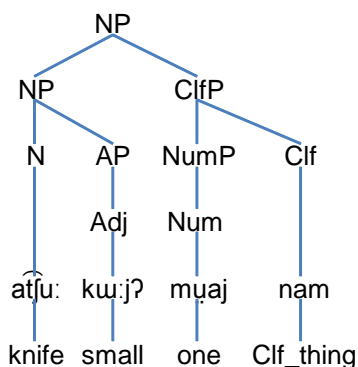
Seven Orphans 153

(123) *atʃu: kw:j? muaj nam*

N Adj Num Clf

knife small one Clf_thing

...a small knife.



4.3.2 Possessive Noun Phrases

In Bru Khok Sa-at, possessive markers are identical in form to personal pronouns (examples of 1S, 2S, 3S, 1P_inc, 1P_exc). See section 3.2.1 Personal Pronouns for further discussion on personal pronouns. Possession is normally marked by simple juxtaposition. The possessive marker *kʰɔ:ŋ* is normally used for noun phrases and occasionally with pronouns.

NP_{poss} = NP_{possessed} (+ possessive marker) + NP_{possessor}.

POSS *kʰɔ:ŋ*

Possessive markers indicate possession.

Example (124) shows a possessive marker indicating possession.

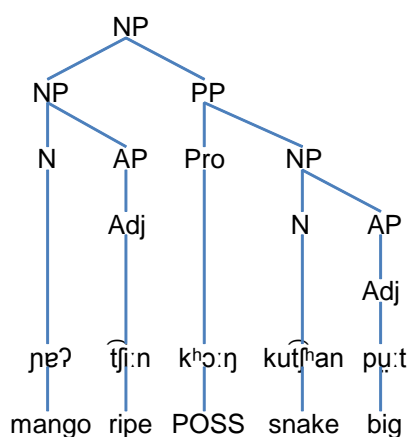
Big Snake Son-in-law 23

(124) *ŋe? tʃi:n kʰɔ:ŋ kutʰan pu:t*

N Adj Poss N Adj

mango ripe POSS snake big

...the big snake's ripe mangoes...



Possessive markers also indicate kinship relations.

Example (125) shows a possessive marker indicating kinship relations.

Wild Buffalo Ear 94

(125) *ŋpaī kʰɔ:ŋ tʃaw*

N Poss N

wife POSS grandchild

...the grandson's wife...

Example (126) shows a kinship relation by simple juxtaposition without using the possessive marker.

Wild Buffalo Ear 18

(126) $\widehat{t\acute{f}aw}$ $v?$
 N N

grandchild grandfather

... the grandfather's grandson...

Generally, pronouns in simple juxtaposition follow the noun they possess or relate to indicate possession.

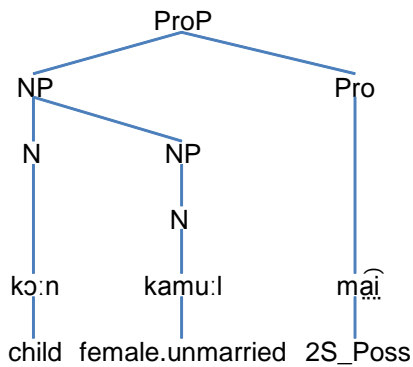
Example (127) shows a singular possessive pronoun.

Big Snake Son-in-law 13

(127) $k\acute{o}n$ $kamu:l$ $\widehat{m\acute{a}i}$
 N N Pro

child female.unmarried 2S

...your daughters...



Examples (128) and (129) show a plural possessive pronoun.

Seven Orphans 132

(128) $\widehat{t\acute{f}ak}$ haj
 N Pro

body 1P_inc

...our bodies...

Seven Orphans 141

(129) $\acute{m}poa$ $hi?$
 N Pro

father 1P_exc

...our father...

Example (130) shows one possessive with a compound noun phrase.

Big Snake Son-in-law 156

(130) *doŋ* *mpeʔ* *doŋ* *m̥poa* *ŋkoʔ*

N N N N Pro

house mother house father 1S

...my mother and father's house...

Occasionally, the possessive marker is also used with pronouns.

Example (131) shows a possessive marker used with a singular pronoun.

Wild Buffalo Ear 82

(131) *tʃaw* *kʰɔ:ŋ* *ŋkoʔ*

N Poss Pro

grandchild POSS 1S

...my grandson."

Examples (132) shows a possessive marker used with a plural pronoun.

Wild Buffalo Ear 104

(132) *lɔw* *kʰɔ:ŋ* *alaj*

N Poss Pro

shed POSS 3P

...their storage shed...

4.3.3 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a clause "...which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase," (Kroeger 2005: 230). Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses will be examined here as they impact the noun phrase. Further information on the structure of relative clauses, which are externally headed, is discussed in 6.3.4 Relative Clauses.

NPreI = NP + Rel + C

4.3.3.1 Restrictive Relative Clauses

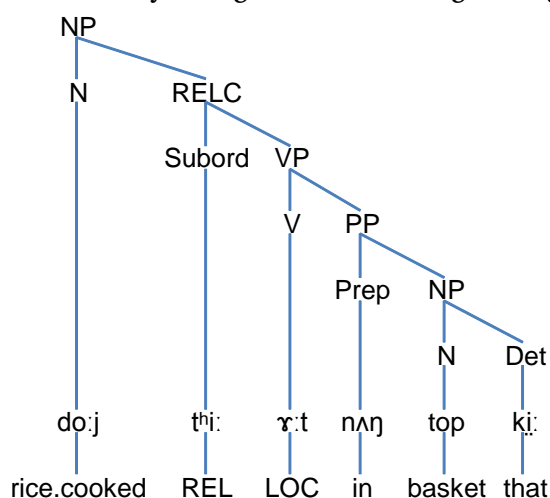
Restrictive relative clauses restrict the head noun phrase's reference (Kroeger 2005: 231).

Example (133) is a restrictive relative clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 44

(133)	<i>ta:</i>	<i>bu:n</i>	<i>amə?</i>	<i>ka:</i>	<i>tʃa:</i>	<i>do:j</i>		<i>tʰi:</i>	<i>ɾt</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>top</i>
	Neg	Cop	Pro	Vaux	Vt	N		Subordconn	Vi	Prep	N
	NEG	EXIST	who	dare	eat	rice.cooked		REL	located	in	basket
	<i>ki:</i>	<i>nu:an</i>	<i>alaj</i>	<i>ku:t</i>	<i>pa:j</i>	<i>aneə</i>	<i>vi:l</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ku:ə</i>	<i>alaj</i>	
	Det	Subordconn	Pro	Vi	Subordconn	N	N	Vaux	N	Pro	
	that	because	3P	think	COMP	people	village	IRR	poison	3P	

...neither of who dared to eat the rice which was located in that basket there, because they thought that the villagers might have been trying to poison them.



4.3.3.2 Non-Restrictive Relative Clause

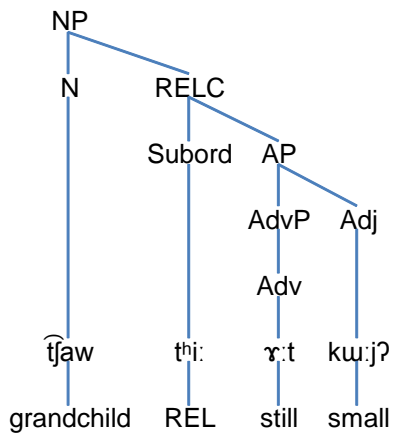
Non-Restrictive relative clauses give more information about the head noun phrase's reference, but do not restrict it (Kroeger 2005: 231). In the Bru Khok Sa-at texts this is often new information.

Example (134) is a non-restrictive relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 10

(134)	<i>tah</i>	<i>ɔ:n</i>	<i>tʃaw</i>		<i>tʰi:</i>	<i>ɾt</i>	<i>ku:ɟ?</i>	<i>ɾt</i>	<i>mɯaj</i>	<i>na?</i>
	Vt	Vt	N		Subordconn	Adv	Adj	Vi	Num	Clf
	leave	cause	grandchild		REL	still	small	live	one	Clf_person

[His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.



4.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases are headed by a preposition (Nichols 1986: 57) and take a noun phrase object. See 3.8 Prepositions for a list of prepositions.

PrepP = Prep + NP

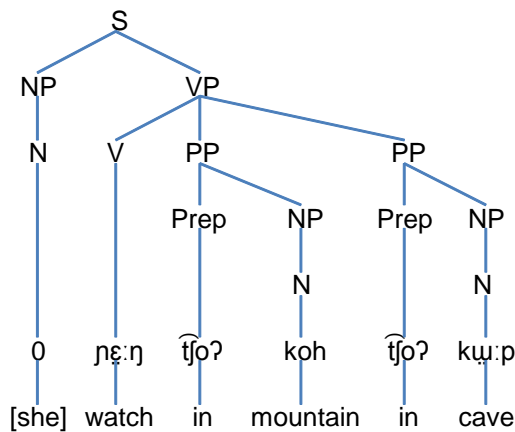
Example (135) shows a preposition phrase.

Buyeang Fish 90

(135) *nɛ:ŋ tʃoʔ koh tʃoʔ ku:p*
 Vt Prep N Prep N

watch **in** **mountain** **in** **cave**

[She] looked in the mountains and in the cave...



Example (136) shows how prepositional phrases can also take pronouns as objects.

Grandfather Ghost 53

(136) *an pɬʔ tʃoʔ maɪ tʃɬ:* *də:*
 Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt Prt

3S go **to** 2S Prt_seq_completive Prt_informative

"It has gone towards you!"

4.5 Verb Phrase Constituents

Certain words and phrases modify the head verb in verb phrases. These are examined below, followed by a more detailed look at verb phrases and serial verbs.

4.5.1 Adverbs

Adverb phrases consist of more than one adverb or negator. See section 2.5 Adverbs for further discussion on adverbs or section 3.12 Negators for further discussion on negators.

AdvP = (Neg +) (Adv +) Adv

Example (137) shows an adverb modifying another adverb.

Buyeang Fish 15

(137) *p^{hɔ:} t_ʌ? jɣ:ŋ tɣ:p*
Subordconn Vt Adv Adv
when come **far quite**

When they had gone quite far...

Example (138) shows a negator with an adverb.

Seven Orphans 4

(138) *t_ʌ kɣ:j bu:n kɔ:n*
Neg Adv Vt N
NEG ever have child

[They] never had children...

4.5.2 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries add further context to verbs including aspect, mood and modality. For further discussion on auxiliaries see section 3.9.1 Auxiliaries.⁶ For definitions of aspect and modality see section 2.3 Verbs.

AuxP = (Neg +) (Aux +) Aux

Example (139) shows a negator and auxiliary before a verb.

Seven Orphans 138

(139) *ŋp^{ai} t_ʌ tɔŋ ŋkɔh ŋkoa? dɔ:k*
Pro Neg Vaux Vt Pro Prt
2P **NEG must fear** 1S Prt_contradiction

..."Actually, you all do not have to fear me."

⁶ PROG, *ŋtom*; dare, *ka*; must, *tɔŋ*; IRR, *si*; want, *ja?*

Example (140) shows two auxiliaries with one verb.

Wild Buffalo Ear 69

(140) *an n̄to:m si k^ho:j doj*

Pro Vaux Vaux Vt N

3S PROG IRR steam rice.cooked

...she was preparing to steam rice.

4.5.2.1 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is an event that shows continuing progress of the event over time (Kroeger 2005: 348). In Bru Khok Sa-at it is marked by an auxiliary verb.

Example (141) shows a clause with progressive aspect.

Wild Buffalo Ear 3

(141) *ba: na? nai n̄to:m ta? t^hɔ: t^hrai*

Num Clf Det Vaux Vt N N

two Clf_person this PROG make/do rice field

These two were working in the rice fields.

Example (142) shows an extremely rare construction for this corpus of progressive with irrealis.

Wild Buffalo Ear 69

(142) *an n̄to:m si k^ho:j doj*

Pro Vaux Vaux Vt N

3S PROG IRR steam rice.cooked

...she was preparing to steam rice.

4.5.2.2 Irrealis Mood

Irrealis mood is used for a range of situations to lessen the certainty of the reported event (Timberlake 2007: 326).

Examples (143) and (144) show two clauses that use irrealis mood.

Seven Orphans 30

(143) *ŋkoa? si tah alaj naŋ prɯŋ*

Pro Vaux Vt Pro Prep N

1S IRR leave 3P in hole

"I will leave them in the hole."

Wild Buffalo Ear 44

(144) *aneə vɨl si kuwa alaj*
N N Vaux N Pro

people village IRR poison 3P

...the villagers might have been trying to poison them.

4.5.2.3 Optative Modality

Optative indicates realizable wishes or desires (Trask 1993: 195).

Example (145) shows an optative clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 76

(145) *hi? jɬ? bu:n*
Pro Vaux Vt

1P_exc want have

We want to have [a husband]...

4.5.2.4 Desiderative Modality

Desiderative modality indicates wishes or desires that are not realizable (Trask 1993: 80).

Example (146) shows a clause with desiderative.

Big Snake Son-in-law 85

(146) *ŋkoa? tɔ: kɔ: mɨ:t*
Pro Neg Vaux Vt

1S NEG dare enter

...I do not dare to enter [the house]."

4.5.2.5 Deontic Modality

Deontic modality indicates permission, obligation, or prohibition (Trask 1993: 76).

Example (147) shows deontic modality.

Big Snake Son-in-law 13

(147) *tɛ: kɔ:n kamu:l mɑ̃i mɨaj na? mɨaj na?*
Coordconn N N Pro Num Clf Num Clf
but child female.unmarried 2S one Clf_person one Clf_person

tɔŋ pɛn ŋpãi ŋkoa?
Vaux Cop N Pro

must be wife 1S

But one of your daughters must become my wife.

4.6 Verb Phrase

A verb is the head of a verb phrase (Lunaghi & Parodi 2008: 152).

4.6.1 Simple Verb Phrases

The following section analyzes simple verb phrases. Coordinated verb phrases and serial verbs will be analyzed in sections 4.6.2 Coordinated Verb Phrases and 4.6.3 Serial Verbs respectively.

VP = (Neg +) (AdvP +) (AuxP +) V (+ AdvP)

Example (148) shows a verb phrase consisting of a verb followed by an adverb phrase.

Seven Orphans 45

(148) *n̄poa it simu: a-tʃo:n pruam*
 N Vt N Vi Adv

father take vine CAUS-go.up also

The father pulled up the vine also.

Example (149) shows two verb phrases in two separate clauses of a complex sentence. One verb phrase consists of a negative with a verb and the other is made up of an auxiliary phrase with a verb.

Big Snake Son-in-law 86

(149) *k^han ta: mu:t ŋkoa? si a-tʃi:t ma:i*
 Subordconn Neg Vt Pro Vaux Vt Pro

if NEG enter 1S IRR CAUS-die 2S

..."If you don't enter, I will kill you."

4.6.2 Coordinated Verb Phrases

In Bru Khok Sa-at, verbs are only coordinated by coordinating conjunctions as part of two coordinated clauses. When verbs are in juxtaposition to one another, they are serial verbs.

Example (150) shows verbs coordinated by a coordinating conjunction as part of two coordinated clauses.

Grandfather Ghost 34

(150) *o: hi? si pe:a an pa? ho: kap ŋkrɔaŋ tran*
 Interj Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Vi Coordconn Vt N

oh 1P_exc IRR invite 3S go make.noise and flush animal

"Oh, we will invite him to go make noise and flush out animals."

4.6.3 Serial Verbs

In a serial verb construction, other clausal constituents may not come between the two verbs (Dryer 2007c: 126). In Bru Khok Sa-at, this includes elided clausal arguments.

Example (151) shows a combination of verbs that use one verb for the English gloss see + come = find.

Buyeang Fish 74

(151)	<i>kʰan</i>	<i>tʰiləŋ</i>	<i>wisət</i>	<i>māi</i>	<i>tʰuajʔ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>hu:m</i>	<i>tʰəʔ</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>tʰu:</i>
	Subordconn	N	N	Pro	Vt	Pro	Vt	Vt	Num	Clf
	if	mirror	magic	2S	search	3S	see	come	three	Clf_time

"If your magic mirror searches for him and finds him three times..."

4.6.3.1 Sequential

Examples (152) and (153) shows two verbs whose actions that follow one another sequentially.

Seven Orphans 27

(152)	<i>pəa</i>	<i>alaj</i>	<i>pʌʔ</i>	<i>p̄iç</i>	<i>pəŋ</i>
	Vt	Pro	Vi	Vt	N
	invite	3P	go	dig	bawng.root

"[I] will ask them to go dig bawng roots."

Seven Orphans 193

(153)	<i>m̄ut</i>	<i>sək</i>	<i>tʰrɔ:</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>baw</i>	<i>tapu:l</i>	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>m̄plɛʔ</i>	<i>t̄jjaʔ</i>
	Vt	Vt	N	Prep	N	Num	Clf	Prep	Prep

enter request rice from young.man seven Clf_person like before
 [They] went and requested rice from the seven young men just like before.

4.6.3.2 Result

Example (154) shows how the second verb shows the result of the first.

Seven Orphans 62

(154)	<i>kal</i>	<i>kapəh</i>	<i>dom</i>	<i>atət</i>	<i>alaj</i>
	N	N	Vi	Vt	Pro
	tree	gabeh.fruit	fall	cover	3P

"The gabeh tree will fall on top of them."

4.6.3.3 Direction

Examples (155) and (156) show how one verb may express action while the second verb may indicate the direction of the action.

Seven Orphans 14

(155)	<i>nəw</i>	<i>lɔːj</i>	<i>asuaj</i>	<i>kuaj</i>	<i>buːn</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>tɔː?</i>	<i>sɛːŋ</i>	<i>kɔːt</i>	<i>tapuːl</i>
	Pro	Coordconn	Vt	N	Vt	N	Vt	Vi	Vt	Num
	3S	so	send	person	have	merit	come	descend	birth	seven

na?

clf

Clf_person

And so He sent seven unborn children who had merit to go down to be born.

Seven Orphans 86

(156)	<i>atʃujh</i>	<i>tʰaw</i>	<i>lɔːj</i>	<i>tajah</i>	<i>tʃuː</i>	<i>doŋ</i>
	N	Adj	Coordconn	Vi	Vt	N
	grandfather	old	so	walk	return	house

And so the old grandfather walked back home.

Unlike auxiliaries which appear before the main verb and do not serve as a full verb form, verbs indicating direction appear after the verb as in the case of serial verbs. They also generally function as independent verbs in other contexts.

4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases

Adjectives function as stative verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at.

AP = (Neg +) (AdvP +) Adj (+ AdvP)

Example (157) shows an adverb phrase after an adjective.

Seven Orphans 39

(157)	<i>mpoa</i>	<i>mpoa</i>	<i>pɔːŋ</i>	<i>simuː</i>	<i>huuk</i>	<i>luː?</i>
	N	N	N	N	Adj	Adv
	father	father	bawng.root	vine	big	very

..."Father, Father, [here is] a very big root."

Example (158) shows a negative in front of an adjective.

Seven Orphans 38

(158)	<i>tɔː</i>	<i>huuk</i>
	Neg	Adj
	NEG	big

"[It's] not big..."

Example (159) shows an adverb phrase on either side of the adjective.

Seven Orphans 38

(159) *ɣrt ku:ɟ? naŋ*

Adv Adj Adv

still small still

...[it's] still too small."

4.6.5 Copula Phrase

Copulas are verbs that link a subject and a complement (Crystal 1992: 85). Unlike other verb phrases, copulas require a noun phrase complement.

CopP = (Neg +) (AdvP +) (AuxP +) Cop + NP

Example Buyeang Fish 76

(160) shows a copula with a negator and adverb.

Buyeang Fish 76

(160) *taː kɣːɟ bu:n amʌʔ tɔː tɛː tʃilʌŋ wisɛt ŋkoʌʔ bu:n*

Neg Adv Cop Pro Vi Prep N N Pro Vi

NEG ever EXIST who hide from mirror magic 1S able

..."There has never been [anyone] who could hide from my magic mirror."

Example (161) shows a copula with an auxiliary.

Big Snake Son-in-law 21

(161) *tʃiː tɔŋ pɛn ŋpaiː kutʃʌn hu:k dɔː*

Coordconn Vaux Cop N N Adj Prt

then **must be wife** snake big Prt_informative

...then [that person] must become the wife of a big snake."

4.7 Conclusion

Enfield cites that MSEA languages are not morphologically marked for head-dependent structure relations. Constituent order helps determine phrasal heads (2005: 186). Bru Khok Sa-at holds to this pattern.

In Bru Khok Sa-at the noun head is generally initial. Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 111), So (Migliazza 1998: 96-98) and Kuy (Bos 2009: 9) also have the noun head initially. Pacoh has the noun head initial in simple noun phrases, but the classifier phrase may precede it (Alves 2006: 43-45).

Possessive noun phrases in Bru are head initial and then show the noun phrase possessor. There is a possessive marker that may or may not be used either a pronoun or a simple noun phrase is used for the noun phrase possessor. A similar pattern is seen in Eastern Bru (Carolyn Miller 1964: 74). Kuy also has head initial possessive phrases; however there is no possessive marker. Possession is indicated by simple juxtaposition (Bos 2009: 31).

Like simple noun phrases, the noun head in a relative clause is initial. This agrees with Pattiya's analysis of Bru Woen Buek (1981: 109). So (Migliazza 1998: 96), Kuy (Bos 2009: 9), and Pacoh (Watson 1976: 227) also have this order.

Numeral phrases in Bru Khok Sa-at are frequently used with classifiers, but not always. Carolyn Miller shows that numbers are also used with nouns without classifiers in Eastern Bru. In this case, the number precedes the noun head, but the classifier phrase also usually precedes the noun head (1964: 70).

Classifiers phrases in Bru Khok Sa-at generally follow the head noun and include a number or quantifier. However, occasionally classifiers can be used without quantifiers. Carolyn Miller demonstrates this as occurring in Eastern Bru as well (1964: 69-70).

Bru Khok Sa-at uses prepositions versus postpositions. Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 131), Eastern Bru (John Miller 1964: 55), So (Migliazza 1998: 72), Kuy (Bos 2009: 25-26) and Pacoh (Alves 2006: 79-84) also have prepositions.

Verb heads are generally toward the end of a verb phrase in Bru Khok Sa-at. There are three different elements that may precede the head verb and only one that follows. However, some other verbal modifiers are being analyzed as particles in section 5.5 Particles. Pattiya in her tagmemic analysis of Bru Woen Buek reports two preverbal slots and one post verbal slot (1981: 143-144). Migliazza reports that in So, verbs are usually initial, but he may be referring more specifically to serial verbs (1998: 92).

Bru Khok Sa-at has serial verbs that include purpose, sequential action, direction, and result. Bru Woen Buek also has serial verbs, which Pattiya calls verb concatenation. She makes a distinction between main verb concatenation and main verbs with directional verbs (1981: 161-164). So also has serial verbs. Migliazza

does not mention specific semantic types, but he does mention directionals as auxiliaries. However, he does not define auxiliaries or defend his choice of term (1998: 92-96). Bos in Kuy also comments on directionals, but also tentatively includes them in serial verb constructions. Other serial verb types include instrumental, causative, resultative, benefactive, and motion (2009: 43-45, 60-62). Alves argues that Pacoh has verbs that take other verbs as compliments rather than using the term serial verbs. However, they cover many of the same semantic functions (2006: 106-112).

Chapter 5

Clause Types

5.1 Introduction

A clause is “...a unit consisting of a predicate and nouns related to it...” (Longacre 2007: 372).

5.2 Predicate Types

A predicate “...defines the type situation and the roles...” while arguments are the grammatical category, generally noun phrases, that fulfill the roles (Andrews 2007: 135). The predicate in Bru Khok Sa-at, may contain either a verb phrase, adjective (stative verb) phrase, or copula phrase. For more on these phrases see sections 4.6 Verb Phrase, 4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases, or 4.6.5 Copula Phrase.

5.2.1 Verbal Predicates

A verbal predicate contains a verb. Verbs are often lexically grouped by valence. Valence “refers to the number of dependents that a head may take,” (Van Valin 2001: 92).

5.2.1.1 Intransitive

Intransitive clauses are indicated by an intransitive verb which has only one argument, the subject (Dryer 2007b: 250). A subject is “the most prominent of the grammatical relations which a noun phrase may bear in a clause,” (Trask 1993: 266).

C = NP + VP

Example (162) shows an intransitive clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 180

(162) *alaj n̄eam paleaj?*

Pro Vi Adv

3P cry very

They cried a lot.

5.2.1.2 Transitive

Transitive clauses are indicated by a transitive verb which has two arguments, the subject and an object (Dryer 2007b: 250). An object is “a generic term for any noun phrase occupying an argument position other than the subject,” (Trask 1993: 193).

C = NP + VP + NP

Example (163) shows a transitive clause.

Seven Orphans 73

(163) *kɔ:n mɔ:aj naʔ hu:m kal kapɕh ɛ:n*
N Num Clf Vt N N Adj
child one Clf_person see tree gabeh.fruit another

One of the children saw another gabeh tree.

5.2.1.3 Ditransitive

Ditransitive clauses are indicated by a ditransitive verb and contain at least two non-subject arguments (Dryer 2007b: 253).

C = NP + VP + NP + NP

Example (164) shows a ditransitive clause (with a fronted object).

Grandfather Ghost 85

(164) *blɔ: kap ŋkar po:ʒh alaj ɔ:n a:ʒ kɔ:n kamɔ:ʔt*
N Coordconn N N Pro Vd N N
head and skin deer 3P give older.brother child orphan

They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.

5.2.2 Non-Verbal Predicates

Non-verbal predicate clauses do not include a verb in the predicate and often employ a copula or no verb at all (Dryer 2007b: 224-225).

5.2.2.1 Adjectival Predicates

Adjectival predicate refers to a property of the subject (Stassen 2006: 693). Bru Khok Sa-at does not normally use non-verbal adjectival predicates because adjectives are most likely a form of stative verb (see 2.4.2 Adjectives as Verbs and 4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases).

Example (165) shows a stative verb.

Seven Orphans 6

(165)	<i>tɛː</i>	<i>baː</i>	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>tɛː</i>	<i>ruaʔ</i>	<i>leːw</i>
	Coordconn	Num	Clf	Neg	Adj	Prt
	but	two	Clf_person	NEG	happy	Prt_UNK

But they were not happy.

Example (166) shows the only example of a possible adjectival predicate. However, it may also be a nominal predicate with the noun elided.

Big Snake Son-in-law 73

(166)	<i>pɛn</i>	<i>mac</i>	<i>pələajʔ</i>
	Cop	Adj	Adv
	be	beautiful	very

...[he] was very handsome.

5.2.2.2 Nominal Predicates

Nominal predicates refer to a noun class (Stassen 2006: 693). Bru Khok Sa-at uses a copula. For more on copulas see 2.3.2 Copulas and 4.6.5 Copula Phrase.

C = NP + Cop + NP

Example (167) shows a nominal predicate clause with a copula.

Buyeang Fish 5

(167)	<i>sɛːm</i>	<i>pɛn</i>	<i>kuaj</i>	<i>ɔː</i>
	N	Cop	N	Adj
	younger.sibling	be	person	good

...the younger brother was a good person.

5.2.2.3 Existential Predicates

Existential clauses state the existence of something or introduce a new character or location to the reader (Dryer 2007b: 241).

C = (NP) + Cop + NP

Example (168) shows an existential clause indicated by the copula *buːn* 'EXIST'.

Buyeang Fish 2

(168)	<i>buːn</i>	<i>krɯaŋ</i>	<i>mɯaj</i>	<i>krɯaŋ</i>
	Cop	N	Num	Clf
	EXIST	city	one	Clf_city

...there was a city.

Example (169) shows a negative existential clause.

Buyeang Fish 52

(169) *tran ka? ta: bu:n*
N Coordconn Neg Cop
animal so NEG EXIST

"And there aren't any animals either."

5.3 Speech Acts

In speaking we not only describe situations but also perform actions. In certain circumstances and ceremonies, the very act of speaking is the action. Different types of sentences identify different purposes for speaking. However, context and other factors, such as intonation, may help to distinguish between speech acts more specifically (König and Siemund 2007: 276-277).

5.3.1 Declarative

Declarative sentences assert or deny the truth of a proposition (Kroeger 2005: 196).

Examples (170) and (171) show declarative sentences. In Bru Khok Sa-at, declaratives are unmarked, not requiring either a particle or an auxiliary.

Big Snake Son-in-law 180

(170) *alaj neam paleaj?*
Pro Vi Adv
3P cry very

They cried a lot.

Grandfather Ghost 4

(171) *mpɛ? n̄poa kutʃit̄ tah nɛ?*
N N Vi Vt Prt
mother father die leave Prt_completive

[His] father and mother had died and left [him with no family] at all.

5.3.2 Interrogative

Interrogative sentences question the truth of a proposition or request more information about it (Kroeger 2005: 196).

5.3.2.1 Open Questions

Open questions, also called content questions, have an unlimited number of possible answers at least in theory. They generally contain a question word (Kroeger 2005: 203).⁷

Example (172) shows an open question using *sa: lɛ?* ‘how’ and the interrogative particle *bɔ:*.

Seven Orphans 130

(172)	<i>si</i>	<i>bec</i>	<i>sa: lɛ?</i>	<i>haj</i>	<i>raŋɛ:t</i>	<i>tʃɑ:</i>	<i>tɑ:</i>	<i>ɲtrɯh</i>	<i>bɔ:</i>
	Vaux	Vi	Pro	Pro	Vi	Coordconn	Neg	Vt	Prt
	IRR	lie	how	1P_inc	sleep	then	NEG	fall	Prt_question

How will [we] lie down so that when we sleep [we] won't fall [out of the tree]?"

Open questions do not always require particles.

Example (173) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *lɛ?* ‘where’.

Seven Orphans 70

(173)	<i>ɲpoa</i>	<i>abluh</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>huuk</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>lɛ?</i>
	N	Vt	N	Adj	Cop	Pro
	father	ask	tree	big	equal	where

The father asked, "How big is the tree?" [Lit. The big tree equals where?]

Example (174) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *ɲtraw* ‘what’.

Seven Orphans 177

(174)	<i>ɑj</i>	<i>huuk</i>	<i>kɨ:</i>	<i>hu:m</i>	<i>ɣɔj</i>	<i>abluh</i>	<i>pɑj</i>	<i>sɛ:m</i>
	N	Adj	Det	Vt	Coordconn	Vt	Subordconn	N
	older.brother	big	that	see	so	ask	COMP	younger.sibling

ɲpaɪ̃ pɑ? tʃuaj? ɲtraw

Pro Vi Vt Pro

2P go search what

The eldest brother saw them and so asked, "Sisters, what are you looking for?"

⁷ who, *amɑ?*; what, *ɲtraw*; where, *lɛ?*; how, *nɛ:w lɛ?*; how, *sa: lɛ?*; why, *ɲpɛ?*

Example (175) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *amΛ?* ‘who’ and *mpε?* ‘why’.

Wild Buffalo Ear 70

(175)	<i>tʃaw</i>	<i>lɣj</i>	<i>tʃo:n</i>	<i>abluh</i>	<i>pa:j</i>	<i>māi</i>	<i>pεn</i>	<i>amΛ?</i>	<i>māi</i>	<i>mpε?</i>
	N	Coordconn	Vt	Vt	Subordconn	Pro	Cop	Pro	Pro	Pro
	grandchild	so	go.up	ask	COMP	2S	be	who	2S	why
	<i>tΛ?</i>	<i>k^ho:j</i>	<i>do:j</i>	<i>ɣt</i>	<i>nΛŋ</i>	<i>doŋ</i>	<i>hi?</i>			
	Vt	Vt	N	Vi	Prep	N	Pro			

come steam rice.cooked live in house 1P_exc

So the grandchild went up and asked [her], "Who are you? Why have you come to steam rice and live in our house?"

Example (176) shows a content question without a particle or using the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’ in the quote margin. However, it does contain the interrogative pro-form *le?* ‘where’ and the context makes the question clear.

Seven Orphans 26

(176)	<i>mpai</i>	<i>pΛ?</i>	<i>p^ho:t</i>	<i>pΛ?</i>	<i>le?</i>
	N	Vi	Vt	Vi	Pro
	wife	go	abandon	go	where

Wife - "Where will you go abandon [them]?"

5.3.2.2 Closed Questions

Closed questions only have a limited set of responses. They typically do not contain a question word (Kroeger 2005: 203). Closed questions include polar interrogative questions and alternating questions.

Polar interrogative questions ask about the truth of a proposition and usually are answered by words indicating ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (König & Siemund 2007: 291).

Examples (177) and (178) show polar interrogative questions indicated by a question particle.

Grandfather Ghost 32

(177) *p^hɔ:* *tɿ?* *doŋ* *v?* *alaj ka?* *wəw* *paj*
 Subordconn Vt N N Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn
 when come house grandfather 3P so speak COMP
v? *ɑj* *kɔ:n* *kamɯ:t* *ɾt* *bɔ:*
 N N N N Vi Prt

grandfather **older.brother** **child** **orphan** **LOC** **Prt_question**

When they arrived at the grandfather's house, they said, "Grandfather, is the older orphan child here?"

Seven Orphans 87

(178) *tɿ?* *doŋ* *tʃɿ:* *mpai lɿj* *abluh* *maɿ* *p^ho:t*
 Vt N Prt N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt
 come house Prt_seq_completive wife so ask **2S** **abandon**
tʃɿ: *bɔ:* *t^haw*
 Prt Prt Adj

Prt_seq_completive **Prt_question** **old**

[When he] had arrived at the house, the wife asked [him], "Have you abandoned [them], old one?"

Example (179) shows how the question asked in example (178) is answered with a repetition of the verb phrase.

Seven Orphans 88

(179) *p^ho:t* *tʃɿ:*
 Vt Prt
 abandon **Prt_seq_completive**

"[I] have abandoned [them]."

Example (183) shows how the question is answered with a negative coupled with a repetition of the verb and then further explanation.

Grandfather Ghost 61

(183) *an wəw pa:j ta: hu:m ta: hu:m tran n̄traw loah t̄fo?*
 Pro Vt Subordconn Neg Vt Neg Vt N Pro Vi Prep
 3S speak COMP NEG see NEG see animal anything go.out to

ŋkoə? l̄x̄j

Pro Prt

1S Prt_intensifier

He said, "[I] did not see [it]; [I] did not see any animals or anything else at all come out of the jungle to me."

5.3.3 Imperative

Imperative sentences are “attempts to get or advise the hearer to do something” (König and Siemund 2007: 277). In Bru Khok Sa-at, imperatives are marked by the particles *t̄fi?*, *də:*, *mɛ?* or *l̄o:t* at the end of the clause. Strong commands are marked by *t̄fi?* and *l̄o:t*. Softened commands are marked by *də:* and *mɛ?*.

Example (184) shows a command with *t̄fi?*.

Buyeang Fish 13

(184) *pʌ? a-t̄f̄it t̄fi?*
 Vi Vt Prt

go CAUS-die Prt_command

..."Go kill [him]!"

Example (185) shows a command with *də:*, which is by far the most common imperative particle used in the texts.

Seven Orphans 46

(185) *ŋpaī x̄:t n̄ai də:*
 Pro Vi N Prt

2P stay here Prt_soft_command

"You stay here!"

Example (186) shows a command with *mɛ?*.

(186) *haj p̄əa kan pʌ? ŋɛ:ŋ mɛ?*
 Pro Vt Pro Vi Vt Prt

1P_inc invite RECIP go watch Prt_soft_command

"We will help each other to go and look [at it], OK."

Example (187) shows a command with *lɔ:t*.

Seven Orphans 31

(187) *ɛː klap klap pɿ? lɔ:t tʰaw*
 Interj Adj Adj Vi Prt Adj
 yes correct correct go Prt_command old

"Yes, that's right, go do it, old man!"

5.4 Variation in Clausal Structure

This thesis has examined typical clausal structure, but many variations in clauses exist. Further research on clausal variation would be helpful. However a preliminary analysis is offered.

5.4.1 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is the “omission of an element which is understood from the context, often because it has been previously mentioned,” (Kroeger 2005: 344). Bru Khok Sa-at regularly elides elements. Subject elision is especially common. For other possible examples of elided elements, see sections 2.4 Adjectives, 3.10.1 Coordinating Conjunctions, 4.2.2.1 Cardinals, 4.2.2.2 Ordinals, and 4.6.3 Serial Verbs.

Example (188) shows that the only thing necessary for a clause is a verb phrase. All other components may be elided.

Seven Orphans 147

(188) *atɿŋ*
 Vt
 say

"[You] tell [me]."

Example (189) shows that with a ditransitive verb both the objects can be elided.

Big Snake Son-in-law 12

(189) *kʰan mpaɪː jɿ? bu:n ɲɔ? tʃi:n ŋkoa? si ɔ:n*
 Subordconn Pro Vaux Vt N Adj Pro Vaux Vd
 if 2P want have mango ripe **1S** **IRR** give

"If you want to have my ripe mangoes, [I] will give [them to you]."

5.4.2 Fronted Object Clauses

In Bru Khok Sa-at, objects are often fronted for topic prominence. Topicalization is a discourse feature that draws attention to the element, usually by moving it around within the clause (Keenan and Dryer 2007: 325). This is in contrast to topic markers, which usually operate on a larger discourse level. For more on topic markers, see section 3.13.2 Discourse Markers.

Example (190) shows a clause where the subject is elided and the object is fronted. Grandfather Ghost 52

(190) *tran ka? tɛ hu:m n̄traw ka? tɛ hu:m*

N Coordconn Neg Vt Pro Coordconn Neg Vt

animal then NEG see anything then NEG see

[He] did not see any animals nor anything else.

Example (191) shows an entire noun phrase fronted with the subject still present.

Big Snake Son-in-law 167

(191) *i dah ma?u? nai māi pɛn kuaj tʃoh bɔ:*

N N Det Pro Cop N Vt Prt

HON.female **pumpkin this** 2S be person plant Prt_question

..."Madam, about this pumpkin, were you the person who planted [it]?"

5.4.3 Cataphoric References

A cataphoric reference is "...a word or phrase which will be used later in the text..." (Richards et.al. 1985: 36).

Example (192) shows a generic subject later specified at the end of the clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 18

(192) *alaj ɔ:m tʃʰac haj paleaj? na? tʃʰɛ:*

Pro Vd N Pro Quant Clf Prt

3P give meat 1P_inc **many Clf_person** Prt_seq_completive

...they have given us meat, many [hunters]."

5.5 Particles

Particles by their nature are used in a variety of ways and in a variety of positions within the clause. Particles in Bru Khok Sa-at are used to mark many different types of clauses. Particles can be classed into four categories: adverbial, modality, speech acts and aspect. Table 9 shows the type of particles as well as where the verbal particles typically appear within a clause. It also shows the number of examples that appear within the texts for this thesis. Due to the very limited number of instances for most particles, a detailed analysis of particles is not attempted here.

Table 9: Particles

Meaning	Particle	Type	Location	Num of Examples
Completive	<i>adb?</i>	Adverbial	follows what modifies	11
Completive	<i>db?</i>	Adverbial	end	2
Completive 'all', 'finish', 'completely'	<i>ɲɛ?</i>	Adverbial	end, precedes what modifies	35
Completive	<i>sot</i>	Adverbial	end	8
Intensifier 'really', 'at all'	<i>lɣj</i>	Adverbial	end	16
Intensifier 'any more'	<i>naŋ</i>	Adverbial	end	5
Conclusion	<i>dɔ:k</i>	Modality	end	3
Consider	<i>na:</i>	Modality	end	4
Consider	<i>nv?</i>	Modality	end	4
Contradiction	<i>dɔ:k</i>	Modality	end	7
Evidential	<i>dajh</i>	Modality	end	1
Evidential	<i>e: la?</i>	Modality	end	3
Evidential 'like that'	<i>la?</i>	Modality	end	4
Sympathy	<i>tʃam</i>	Modality	end	1
Command	<i>lɔ:t</i>	Speech Act	end	2
Command 'sure'	<i>tʃi?</i>	Speech Act	end	1
Informative	<i>də:</i>	Speech Act	end	8
Question	<i>bɔ:</i>	Speech Act	end	12

5.5.1.2 Modality

Eight particles out of twenty-two (36%) seem to indicate modality.

Example (196) shows the most common particle indicating a type of modality.

Seven Orphans 138

(196) *mpaī ta: tɔŋ ŋkɔh ŋkoa? dɔ:k*
 Pro Neg Vaux Vt Pro Prt
 2P NEG must fear 1S Prt_contradiction
 ...you all do not have to fear me."

5.5.1.3 Speech Acts

Six particles out of twenty-two (27%) seem to indicate speech acts. For more on speech act particles see the section 5.3 Speech Acts.

Example (197) shows the most common speech act particle in the corpus.

Seven Orphans 12

(197) *ɔn ŋkoa? bu:n kɔ:n paleaj? mple? kɔ:n arɪaŋ dɔ:*
 Vt Pro Vt N Quant Prep N N Prt
 allow 1S have child many like child crab Prt_soft_command
 "Please let me have many children just like the baby crabs."

5.5.1.4 Aspect

One particle out of twenty two (5%) is used to show a sequential completive aspect.

Example (198) shows a clause with a sequential completive particle.

Seven Orphans 54

(198) *ajea? t^haw ta? tʃa: k^ho:j pɔŋ tʃi:n*
 N Adj Vt Vt Vt N Adj
 grandmother old make/do eat steam bawng.root ripe
 tʃa:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

...the old grandmother had made food and steamed the bawng root until it was ready.

5.5.2 Co-occurrences

Some particles are located near what they modify in the clause. However, most appear at the end of a clause. When more than one particle is used, there is some variation to which comes first. Given the limited data, no attempt is made to establish an order for most of the particles in Bru Khok Sa-at. However, Table 10 shows which particles co-occur in the data. The column at the left shows which particle occurs first, and the row across the top shows which appears second. There are no examples of three different particles co-occurring in the data.

Table 10: Particle Co-occurrences

1/2	adeʔ	bo:	də:	laʔ	le:w	lo:t	na:	neʔ	tʃʌ:
adeʔ			x						
bo:									
də:									
laʔ									
le:w									
lo:t			x				x		
na:									
neʔ									x
tʃʌ:		x	x	x	x				

Examples (199) through (201) show different combinations of particles.

Seven Orphans 80

(199) *kɔm rap adɔʔ də:*
 N Vt Prt Prt
 child receive **Prt_completive Prt_soft_command**
 "Children, make sure you catch all of [the fruit]!"

Grandfather Ghost 48

(200) *tɛ: tɔŋ ŋkɔh tʃʌa lo:t na:*
 Neg Vaux Vt Vt Prt Prt
 NEG must fear believe **Prt_command Prt_consider**
 "Don't be afraid. You can depend on me for sure."

Seven Orphans 90

(201) *alaj kutʃit tʃaː laʔ*
Pro Vi Prt Prt
3P die Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential

"They have really died."

5.6 Conclusion

Clauses in Bru Khok Sa-at show SVO ordering, with the subject or object often elided within the discourse. Enfield remarks that verb-object order is common in MSEA languages (2005: 189). Bru Wyn Buek has the same order, and also has subject and object deletion (1981: 62-64). So is SVO as well with subject, object, and verb deletion within the discourse context (Migliazza 1998: 88-90). Kuy is SVO. However, it only has subject and object deletion (Bos 2009: 6-7). Pacoh is SVO, but only has subject deletion (Alves 2006: 39-40).

Bru Khok Sa-at was analyzed as having intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek also found these clause types along with several other clause types used in tagmemic analysis (1981: 30-41). Chollada in her description of So also records transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive clauses along with many other clause types in her tagmemic analysis (1986: 30-102).

Pattiya also analyzes adjectival predicates, by considering the adjectives themselves as predicates without using a copula (1981: 55-56). Chollada terms them descriptive clauses and classifies the adjective as the predicate (1986: 79-85). Bos considers that adjectival predicates are juxtaposed; however, they look identical in form to considering adjectives as stative verbs (2009: 10-11).

Bru Woen Buek also has nominal predicates using a copula (Pattiya 1981: 56-57). Chollada terms these as equational clauses in So and they may or may not include a copula (1986: 78-79). However, in Kuy copulas are not normally used for nominal predicates unless other tense, aspect, and modality markers are used (Bos 2009: 10). Pattiya analyzed Bru Woen Buek as having an existential clause without using a copula (1981: 57-58), in contrast to Bru Khok Sa-at. So also has an existential clause with one specific verb used to indicate this *bəm* 'have, there is' (Chollada 1986: 85-89) which is probably the same verb used in Bru Khok Sa-at. Kuy does have a verb marking existential clauses, but it acts as a standard verb, not a copula (Bos 2009: 12-13).

Pattiya reported the Bru Wyn Buek also considers declarative as the basic mood. Closed questions are indicated by a clause final question particle. Open questions are indicated by question words without any particles. In contrast, imperative is marked by intonation without a particle or any other grammatical feature, unless it's a softened command or an urgent imperative when a particle may be used (1981: 87-99). So has question particles that indicate closed questions as well. Intonation may also be used to indicate closed questions. Open questions are indicated by question words and intonation (Chollada 1986: 109-120). Imperatives can be marked by both intonation and a variety of final particles. These particles can indicate whether the imperative clause is a request, a command, or a polite command (Chollada 1986: 103-109). Pacoh has question words that indicate open questions, while closed questions, imperatives, and mood are indicated by sentence-final particles (Alves 2006: 42) as in Bru Khok Sa-at. Kuy declaratives also have no specific grammatical marking or intonational emphasis. Closed questions are marked by intonation or clause-final particles. Open questions are indicated by question words and rising intonation. Imperatives are marked by a clause final particle, which can also be used clause initially for emphasis (Bos 2009: 66-74). Given the textual basis of this thesis, intonation was not studied or considered.

Sentence-final particles are common in MSEA language (Enfield 2005: 190). The Bru Khok Sa-at corpus was analyzed as having twenty-two particles, twenty-one of which appear clause final. They indicate adverbial properties, aspect, and modality.

Chapter 6

Complex Sentences

6.1 Introduction

A clause is the combination of a predicate and the nouns related to it. A sentence may be a clause, or it may be a combination of clauses related to one another (Longacre 2007: 372). This chapter focuses on complex sentences that involve more than one clause.

6.2 Coordinate Clauses

Coordinate clauses are clauses that were joined as co-heads to form another clause (Kroeger 2005: 219).

S = S + Coordconn + S

Bru Khok Sa-at has a number of coordinating conjunctions. Most connect not only clauses within a sentence, but connected sentences within a larger discourse context.

6.2.1 Intersentential Coordinating Conjunctions

The following section gives examples for the top three coordinating conjunctions that are used within complex sentences $\widehat{tʃaŋ}$ ‘then’, $tɛ:$ ‘but’, and $\widehat{tʃa}$ ‘then’.

Table 11: Intersentential Coordinating Conjunctions

Gloss	Conjunction	Inter	Total	Percent
then	$\widehat{tʃaŋ}$	9	10	90%
but	$tɛ:$	9	21	43%
then	$\widehat{tʃa}$	11	39	28%
then	$kaʔ$	5	22	23%
so	$lɣ:j$	23	124	19%
so	$kaʔ$	3	17	18%
resulting from	$t^h\lambdaŋ$	1	1	--
then	$le:w$	0	1	--

Example (202) shows *tʃaŋ* ‘then’ the only coordinating conjunction that is used most commonly inside of a sentence.

Seven Orphans 124

(202) *tʃuaj kan it atʃu: tʃat takɔ:ŋ rakɔ:t tʃaŋ take:l a-sɛŋ*
 Vt Pro Vt N Vt N N Coordconn Vt Vi
 help RECIP take knife stab neck squirrel **then** throw CAUS-down
ɔ:n ŋpoa

Prep N

for father

[They] helped each other take a knife and stab the squirrel's neck and then throw down [the squirrel] for the father.

Example (203) shows an adversative conjunction coordinating a coordinate clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 52

(203) *tʃaw lɔ:j tʃa: do:j ki: tɛ: vʔ ɣt ta:*
 N Coordconn Vt N Det Coordconn N Adv Neg
 grandchild so eat rice.cooked that **but** grandfather still NEG

ka: tʃa:

Vaux Vt

dare eat

And so the grandchild ate that rice, but the grandfather still did not dare to eat.

Example (204) shows a *tʃa:* ‘then’ which is used intersententially 28% of the time in the corpus.

Grandfather Ghost 100

(204) *tɛ: a:j kɔ:n kamɯ:t ɲɛ:ŋ vʔ tʃa: ka?*
 Coordconn N N N Vt N Coordconn Coordconn
 but older.brother child orphan watch grandfather **then** so

klak

Vi

confuse

But the older orphan child looked at the grandfather and was confused.

Big Snake Son-in-law 139

(207) *it doj it da? it rahaw a-tʃɛ:m an paɪ siŋaɪ*
 Vt N Vt N Vt N Vd Pro Num Clf
 take rice.cooked take water take medicine CAUS-feed 3S three Clf_day
 [They] took rice, water, and medicine and fed her for three days.

Big Snake Son-in-law 140

(208) *an ka? ratʃaw bu:n*
 Pro Coordconn Vi Vi
 3S then wiggle able
 Then she was able to move a little bit.

Big Snake Son-in-law 141

(209) *pʰɔ: po:n siŋaɪ sɔ:ŋ siŋaɪ an ka? wɔw bu:n*
 Subordconn Num Clf Num Clf Pro Coordconn Vt Vi
 when four Clf_day five Clf_day 3S then speak able
 After four or five days, she was able to speak.

Big Snake Son-in-law 142

(210) *ta: dun an ka? wa?*
 Neg N Pro Coordconn Vi
 NEG time.long 3S so heal
 Not long after that, she was healed.

6.2.3 Position in the Clause

There are two main positions for coordinating conjunctions in Bru Khok Sa-at. The first is clause initial. The second position is the coordinating conjunction after the subject.

Example (211) shows *tʃa:* ‘then’ appearing first in a clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 84

(211) *tʃa: mase:m kuaj ki: kap tʃaw kʰɔ:ŋ v?*
 Coordconn N N Det Coordconn N Pro N
 then woman person that and grandchild POSS grandfather
ka? tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ
 Coordconn Vi
 so marry
 Then that woman and the grandfather's grandson were married.

Example (212) shows how *lɔːj* ‘so’ appears second in the clause after the subject.

Big Snake Son-in-law 87

(212) *kɔːn kamuːl lɔːj mɯːt*
 N N Coordconn Vt
 child female.unmarried **so** enter

So the daughter entered [into the house].

Example (213) shows how *lɔːj* ‘so’ appears first in the clause when there is no explicit subject.

Big Snake Son-in-law 106

(213) *lɔːj it kʰan kruap mɛaŋ atɕaw duːm*
 Coordconn Vt N Vt N Pro
so take bowl cover face REFLEX

So [she] took a bowl and covered her own face.

Example (214) shows how *lɔːj* ‘so’ appears second in the clause after a coordinated noun phrase subject.

Buyeang Fish 14

(214) *an kap tʰahan lɔːj pɿ? pʰuː la? ranaː kap aːj*
 Pro Coordconn N Coordconn Vi N N Prep N
 3S and soldier **so** go each road with older.brother

The younger brother with the soldiers went a different way from the older brother.

Example (215) shows how *ka?* ‘then’ appears second in the clause after the subject, which includes a relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 117

(215) *mɔŋ tʰiː kɔːj pɛn vɨl kuaj tɕinɔː ka? pɛn sɿk pɛn*
 N Subordconn Adv Cop N N Adv Coordconn Cop N Cop
 place REL ever be village person now **then** be forest be
truŋ pɛn ranɯp tɕon ɲɛ?
 N Cop N Subordconn Prt

jungle be cemetery until Prt_completive

The place which used to be a village of people was now just jungle and a cemetery.

Example (216) shows how *lɔːj* ‘so’ appears third in the clause after a noun phrase and prepositional phrase. However, if the prepositional phrase is analyzed as a part of the noun phrase, then the coordinating conjunction still appears second.

Buyeang Fish 66

(216) *kuaj kɯː naʔ nɔŋ kɯaŋ ŋkoʔ lɔːj pɛn kɔːl kɯː maɪ*
 N Quant Clf Prep N Pro **Coordconn** Cop N Prep Pro
 person every Clf_person in city 1S **so** be stone same 2S

hu:m eː laʔ

Vt Prt

see Prt_evidential

"So every person in my city was turned into stone, just as you have surely seen."

Example (217) shows how *lɔːj* ‘so’ appears third in the clause after an adverbial clause and the subject.

Wild Buffalo Ear 28

(217) *pʰɔː paŋ aɾu:p muː tamai ɔʔ lɔːj pɛa*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj N **Coordconn** Vt
 when shine morning day new grandfather **so** bring

tʃaw paʔ lɯh bat tʰrai

N Vi Vt N N

grandchild go pull.up grass field

The next morning, the grandfather brought the grandson to go and weed the rice field [with him].

6.2.4 Combinations

Some coordinating conjunctions may be used together in a clause. In this case, they will both follow their individual placement rules.

Example (218) shows both *tʃaː* ‘then’ and *kaʔ* ‘so’ appearing together in one clause, where *kaʔ* ‘so’ appears after the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 115

(218) *maɪ tʃaː kalɔŋ nai tʃaː maɪ kaʔ tʃuː dɔː*
 Pro Vt N Det **Coordconn** Pro **Coordconn** Vt Prt

2S eat bulb this **then** 2S **so** return Prt_soft_command

...you eat this [plant] bulb, and then you will return [to the land of the living]."

Example (219) shows both *tʃaː* ‘then’ and *kaʔ* ‘so’ appearing together with no overt subject.

Grandfather Ghost 96

(219) *tʃaː* *kaʔ* *si* *a-duŋ* *taʔ* *tʃaː*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vaux Vi Vt Vt
 then **so** IRR CAUS-bring/take make/do eat

Then he was going to take the birds to make food.

Example (220) shows *kaʔ* ‘then’ and *lɔːj* ‘so’ used together.

Seven Orphans 9

(220) *hu:m* *kɔ:n* *aɾi:ŋ* *paɭejʔ* *kaʔ* *lɔːj* *kut* *jaʔ* *bu:n* *kɔ:n* *ŋplɛʔ*
 Vt N N Quant Coordconn Coordconn Vi Vaux Vt N Prep
 see child crab many **then** **so** think want have child like

aɾi:ŋ

N

crab

[The grandmother] saw many little crabs and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

6.3 Subordinate Clauses

“Subordinate clauses are clauses which function as noun phrases, as modifiers of nouns, and as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions,” (Longacre 2007: 374).

S = S + Subordconn + S

6.3.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are clauses that function as a noun phrase in the subject or object slot of another clause (Longacre 2007: 374). In Bru Khok Sa-at, complement clauses are generally signaled by the complementizer *pa:j*.

Example (221) shows an object complement clause.

Seven Orphans 82

(221)	<i>m̥poa</i>	<i>kum̥t</i>	<i>pa:j</i>	<i>kɔ:n</i>	<i>ɲɛ?</i>	<i>tapu:l</i>	<i>na?</i>	<i>kutʃi:t</i>
	N	Vi	Subordconn	N	Prt	Num	Clf	Vi
	father	think	COMP	child	Prt_completive	seven	Clf_person	die
	<i>ɲɛ?</i>	<i>tʃi:t</i>						
	Prt	Prt						

Prt_completive Prt_seq_completive

The father thought that all of the seven children were completely dead.

6.3.2 Quotations

Quotations are normally embedded clauses within another clause (Kroeger 2005: 224). In the Bru Khok Sa-at texts there were no grammatical distinctions noted between direct and indirect speech.

Example (222) shows an example of a quotation.

Grandfather Ghost 89

(222)	<i>an</i>	<i>atɻ:ŋ</i>	<i>v?</i>	<i>pa:j</i>	<i>ŋkoɑ?</i>	<i>pɻ?</i>	<i>paŋ</i>	<i>tʃom</i>	<i>naŋ</i>	<i>truŋ</i>	<i>naĩ</i>
	Pro	Vt	N	Subordconn	Pro	Vi	Vt	N	Prep	N	Det
	3S	say	grandfather	COMP	1S	go	shoot	bird	in	jungle	this
	<i>wɛaj</i>	<i>də:</i>									
	Adv	Prt									

now Prt_informative

He told the grandfather, "I am going to shoot birds in the jungle now."

Example (223) shows an example of a quotation with just a speech verb and no complementizer.

Big Snake Son-in-law 152

(223)	<i>aj</i>	<i>atɻ:ŋ</i>	<i>mɑĩ</i>	<i>waw</i>	<i>mɛ:n</i>	<i>tʃi:t</i>
	N	Vt	Pro	Vt	Adj	Prt
	older.brother	say	2S	speak	true	Prt_seq_completive

The older brother said, "You have spoken correctly."

Example (224) shows an example of a quotation without a complementizer or a speech verb.

Seven Orphans 35

(224) *kɔ:n mɔaj na? m̥poa m̥poa naī simu: huuk ala:*
 N Num Clf N N N N Adj Adv
 child one Clf_person father father here vine big very

One child - "Father, Father, here is a root that is very big."

Example (225) shows that in dialogue, even the person can be omitted and the quotation just directly transcribed.

Seven Orphans 36

(225) *mah le?*
 Cop Pro
 equal where

"How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

6.3.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses modify verbs or prepositions (Longacre 2007: 374).

6.3.3.1 Time

Time adverbial clauses are indicated by a variety of subordinating conjunctions in Bru Khok Sa-at.

Example (226) shows an adverbial time clause is usually signaled by *p^hɔ:* 'when'.

Big Snake Son-in-law 176

(226) *p^hɔ: ajea? t^haw tamɔŋ sot ka? daŋ*
 Subordconn N Adj Vi Prt Coordconn Vt
 when woman old listen Prt_completive so know
lɔ:ŋ pa:j an pɛn kɔ:n atɕaw du:m
 Prt Subordconn Pro Cop N Prt
 Prt_intensifier COMP 3S be child REFLEX

When the old woman had finished listening, she knew for sure that the young woman was her own child.

Example (227) shows the only component that can precede an adverbial time clause signaled by *p^hɔ:* ‘when’ is a topic marker.

Seven Orphans 91

(227) *jah kɔ:n p^hɔ: ɲpoa paʔ wet alaj pɛa kan ŋkɔ:ŋ*
 N N Subordconn N Vi N Pro Vt Pro Vi
 side child **when** father go **out.of.sight** 3P invite RECIP crawl

loah tɛ: kal aluaŋ

Vi Prep N N

go.out from tree stem

As for the children, when the father went out of sight, they helped each other crawl out from [under] the tree.

Example (228) shows how *tʃon* ‘until’ is used in a time adverbial clause that limits the duration of the action.

Wild Buffalo Ear 125

(228) *an tʃatip tʃon kumen an tʃi: tʃitɔ:m*
 Pro Vi Subordconn N Pro Vt Vt
 3S criticize **until** daughter-in-law 3S return reach

He kept on criticizing until his daughter-in-law returned [home] in time.

Example (229) shows how *ɲuaŋ* ‘before’ is a time adverb that indicates previous action.

Buyeang Fish 25

(229) *jah t^haha:n ɲuaŋ si paʔ sɛ:k kɔh it sɔk t^hrɛ: alaj*
 N N Subordconn Vaux Vi Vt Vt Vt N N N
 side soldier **before** IRR go request cut take hair shirt pants

a-du:ŋ ɔ:n a:j ɲɛ:ŋ

Vi Subordconn N Vt

CAUS-bring/take for older.brother watch

Meanwhile the soldiers, before [he] had gone, asked [him] to cut and take some of his hair and pieces of clothing [for them] to bring for the older brother to look at.

6.3.3.2 Manner

Example (230) shows how *tʃon* ‘until’ is used in an an adverbial clause of manner.

Big Snake Son-in-law 33

(230) *an ηkəh tʃon lɔ:ŋ jɪr nɛ?*

Pro Vt Subordconn N Vi Prt

3S fear until leg shake Prt_completive

She was so afraid that her legs were shaking completely.

6.3.3.3 Purpose

Purpose clauses are indicated by the subordinating conjunction *ɔ:n* ‘for’.

Example (231) shows a purpose clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 70

(231) *sɛ:m alɬ lɣ:j wɔ:w ɔ:n npe? tamuŋ*

N Adj Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Vi

younger.sibling youngest so speak for mother listen

So the youngest sister spoke for [her] mother to understand.

6.3.3.4 Reason

Reason clauses are signaled by *nɪa:n* ‘because’ which may appear at the beginning or end of the main clause.

Example (232) shows a reason clause at the end of a sentence.

Big Snake Son-in-law 34

(232) *tɛ: tɔŋ mɪt nɪa:n tʃa: nɔ? tʃi:n kutʃʰan nɛ?*

Coord Vaux Vt Subordconn Vt N Adj N Prt

but must enter because eat mango ripe snake Prt_completive

tʃa:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.

Example (233) shows a reason clause at the beginning of a sentence.

Wild Buffalo Ear 83

(233) *ɲua:n* *ŋkoa? ka?* *t^haw tʃa:* *mpai si* *bun li:an* *ŋkoa?*
 Subordconn Pro Coordconn Adj Coordconn Pro Vaux Vi Vt Pro
because 1S so old then 2P IRR able raise 1S

Because I am now old, and you will be able to support me.

6.3.3.5 Conditional

Conditional clauses are signaled by *k^han* ‘if’ which may be used with different coordinate conjunctions, or none at all.

Example (234) shows a conditional clause used with *tʃa:* ‘then’.

Seven Orphans 120

(234) *k^han* *tʃi:ɾ:m tʃa:* *a-tʃi:t* *rakɔ:t* *ɔ:n* *mpoa* *də:*
 Subordconn Vt Coordconn Vt N Prep N Prt
if reach then CAUS-die squirrel for father Prt_soft_command

"If [you] catch [it] then kill the squirrel for [your] father."

Example (235) shows a conditional clause used with *t^han* ‘resulting from’.

Grandfather Ghost 21

(235) *k^han* *ma:i* *ntʃom* *ŋkoa? re:ŋ* *t^han* *ma:i* *ka?* *ta:*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Adj Coordconn Pro Coordconn Neg
if 2S miss 1S strong resulting from 2S so NEG
bun se:m *ɾ:j*
 Vt N N

have younger.sibling older.sister

...if you miss me so much because you don't have any family."

Example (236) shows a conditional clause used with *tʃan* ‘then’.

Wild Buffalo Ear 47

(236) *k^han* *atʃɔ: ta:* *kutʃi:t* *haj* *tʃan* *tʃa:*
 Subordconn N Neg Vi Pro Coordconn Vt
if dog NEG die 1P_inc then eat

"If the dog does not die, then we will eat."

Example (237) shows a conditional clause used with *ka?* ‘then’

Buyeang Fish 23

(237) *kʰan* *māi tʃy:* *ɑj* *ka?* *a-tʃūt* *māi ɛn*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Coordconn Vt Pro Adv
 if **2S** **return** **older.brother** then CAUS-die 2S again

"If you return [to the city], [your] older brother will try to kill you again."

Example (238) shows a conditional clause used with no coordinate conjunction.

Wild Buffalo Ear 82

(238) *kʰan* *pɛn sa:* *kɨ:* *ŋkoa?* *si* *ɔ:n* *māi tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ* *kap* *tʃaw*
 Subordconn Cop Cop Det Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Prep N
 if **be** **like** **that** 1S IRR allow 2S marry with grandchild

kʰɔ:ŋ *ŋkoa?*

Pro Pro

POSS 1S

"If it is like that, I will have you to marry my grandson."

6.3.4 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify noun phrases (Longacre 2007: 374). Relative clauses are generally signaled by the relativizer *tʰi:*.

Example (239) shows a relative clause, where the external head is the subject of the relative clause. No examples of relative clauses with internal heads were found.

Grandfather Ghost 31

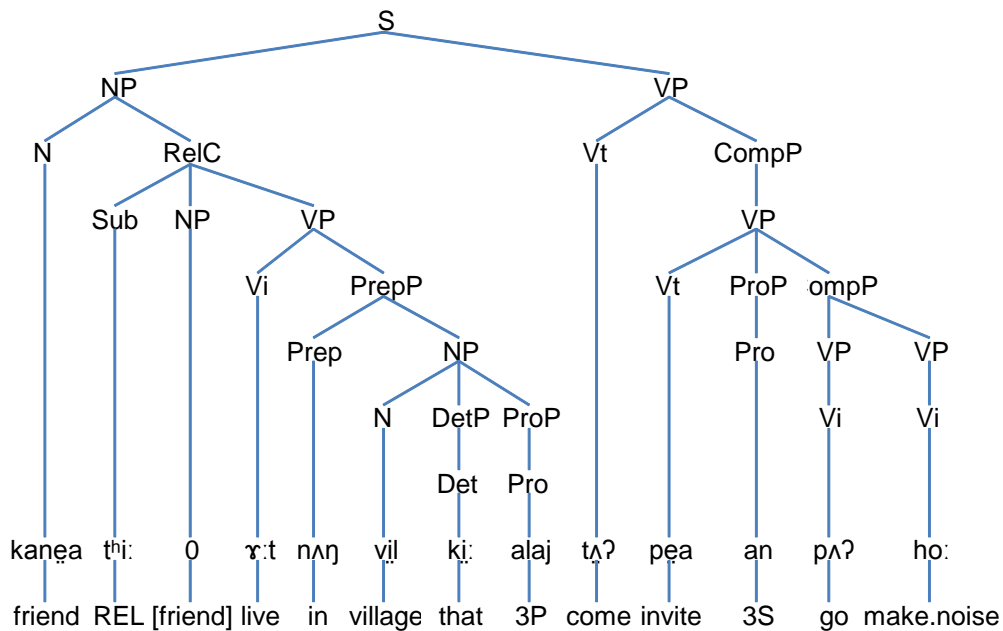
(239) *kanɛa tʰi:* *ɾt* *nɔŋ vɨl* *kɨ:* *alaj tɔ?* *pɛa* *an pɔ?*
 N Subordconn Vi Prep N Det Pro Vt Vt Pro Vi
 friend REL live in village that 3P come invite 3S go

ho:

Vi

make.noise

...the friends who lived in their village, they came and invited him to go make noise...



Example (240) shows a relative clause, involving a copula, where the external head is the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 19

(240) *an wəw tʃon v? kuaj tʰi: pen braw aɟə?*
 Pro Vt Subordconn N N Subordconn Cop N Vt
 3S speak until grandfather person REL be ghost pity
ta? an
 Vt Pro
 make/do 3S

He kept on saying [those things] until the grandfather, who was a ghost, pitied him.

Example (241) shows a relative clause, involving an adjective, where the external head is the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 10

(241) *tah əm tʃaw tʰi: ɣ:t kuɯj? ɣ:t mɯaj na?*
 Vt Vt N Subordconn Adv Adj Vi Num Clf
 leave cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf_person
 [His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.

Example (242) shows a relative clause, where the external head is the object of the relative clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 129

(242) *tʃaː an kaʔ tʃiː it aloaŋ tʰiː an tʃat raŋuːh bat*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Vt N Subordconn Pro Vt N N
 then 3S so pull take stem REL 3S stab breath grass
adbʔ

Prt

Prt_completive

Then she pulled out and took away the stakes which she had used to stab the breath out of all the grass.

Example (243) shows a relative clause, where the external head is an adjunct of the relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 42

(243) *pʰoː alaj pʌʔ tʃʌʔ truŋ tʰiː kaŋeːa wəw paːj huːm*
 Subordconn Pro Vi Vt N Subordconn N Vt Subordconn Vt
 when 3P go come jungle REL friend speak COMP see
lʊm poːjh alaj lʃːj atʃːŋ ɔːm an lət
 N N Pro Coordconn Vt Vt Pro Vt
mark deer 3P so say allow 3S ambush

When they went and came to the jungle where the friends said that they saw the deer tracks, they told him to wait in ambush.

Example (244) shows a relative clause using a different subordinating conjunction *alɛʔ* ‘who’ acting as a relativizer.

Big Snake Son-in-law 16

(244) *kʰan nəw alɛʔ tʃaː juʔ ŋkoaʔ nəw a-kiː tɔŋ pen*
 Subordconn Pro Subordconn Vt N Pro Pro Pro Vaux Cop
 if 3S **who** eat mango 1S 3S INTENS-that must be
m̄paɪ ŋkoaʔ

N Pro

wife 1S

"She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."

Example (245) shows a relative clause lacking an overt relativizer.

Seven Orphans 190

(245) *kɔn hi? it nɔŋ sɛm əj tapuɫ na?*
 N Pro Vt Prep N N Num Clf
 child 1P_exc take from younger.sibling older.brother seven Clf_person
ʔt nɔŋ koh tɛh
 Vi Prep N N
 live in mountain there.far

Children - "We took [it] from seven brothers who live in those far mountains."

6.4 Conclusion

Less is mentioned in the literature about related languages regarding complex sentences. The ones that do mention complex sentences as a combination of clauses seem to mention conditional clauses and relative clauses. Many sources do not focus on speech acts.

Bru Khok Sa-at has eight coordinating conjunctions. Pacoh does give one example of a coordinate clause using the connective *ma:* 'but' (Alves 2006: 43). Kuy has two examples of coordinating conjunctions: one glossed as 'and' and one glossed as 'but' (Bos 2009: 75).

Chollada does mention compliment clauses in So. This is often used with speech verbs or sensory verbs (1986: 39-42). However, she also highlights quotative clauses, where a separate quotative marker *paj* 'say' is used to indicate direct speech (Chollada 1986: 72-77). This is the same marker as used in Bru Khok Sa-at. Bos mentions Kuy speech acts, and indicates that direct speech and indirect speech are handled differently. Pronouns, demonstratives, and question words change between the two forms (2009: 82-84). This is in significant contrast to Bru Khok Sa-at, where no difference was found between the forms, though more research is necessary. Pattiya mentions conditional clauses, which is indicated by *khan* 'if' (1981: 101). So uses *k^hen* 'if' for conditional clauses (Migliazza 1998: 91). Pacoh indicates conditional clauses with the word *nam* 'if', though conditional clauses can also be formed through clause juxtaposition and context (Alves 2006: 42). Bos in his grammatical description of Kuy mentions several types of adverbial clauses including time, location, manner, reason and subtractive in addition to conditional clauses (2009: 79-82). In Bru Khok Sa-at, adverbial clauses indicating time, manner, purpose, reason and conditional clauses were found.

Bru Wyn Buek (Pattiya 1981: 103), and So (Migliazza 1998: 90-91), and Kuy (Bos 2009: 9) also have relative clauses.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings along with a conclusion and suggestions for further research.

7.2 Chapter 1

Chapter 1 gave a general background of Bru Khok Sa-at, including its location and relation to other languages. It gave a basic overview of the thesis and discussed the linguistic background of Bru Khok Sa-at. It looked at the history and current lifestyle of residents and gave a very basic overview of Bru Khok Sa-at phonology. It highlighted other literature written on Bru and related languages.

Bru Khok Sa-at is geographically close to So as well as being in the same linguistic subfamily. Other languages compared with Bru Khok Sa-at, include Eastern Bru, also in the same subfamily, and Kuy and Pacoh. According to the Ethnologue, Kuy is also in the West Katuic group (Lewis 2009). However, according to Miller and Miller, Kuy is in the West Katuic group, Bru and So are in the North Katuic group, and Pacoh is in the East Katuic group (1996).

7.3 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 focused on major word classes. Major classes were defined and subsets examined. Nouns included noun compounding and modifiers. There were a few examples of morphology including *ra-* that marks plurals or recipients and *k^hwa:m-* that is a nominalizer. Exploration of the limited morphology in Bru Khok Sa-at would be fruitful for further research. Elicitation and analysis of compound nouns, elaborated expressions, and noun modification would be interesting especially as related to other MSEA language. Despite initial appearances, word formation seems to be a complex and productive process in Bru Khok Sa-at.

Verbs looked at reduplication and copulas. As there were no clear examples of passive voice in the texts, elicitation is needed to clarify this area. There were a few examples glossed as passive, but these need to be checked with more examples and texts. Much further analysis into specific types of tense, aspect, mood, and modality is possible.

Adjectives were examined and considered to have strong verbal properties. The pragmatics of adjective reduplication would be rich for further study with added data from texts and elicitation. The texts seem to indicate that adjectives function as stative verbs, but further research involving more texts and grammatical theory could be done.

Adverbs were looked at as a whole and also divided to look at adverbs of degree, place, frequency, manner, and time. Further research on the pattern, function, and scope of adverbs would be helpful.

Major word classes in Katuic languages examined all appear to act the same way except Eastern Bru where adjectives seem to act more like adverbs, by modifying both nouns and verbs, than verbs able to stand alone as a predicate.

7.4 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 focused on minor word classes. These were also defined and subsets examined. Pronouns were examined including personal pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Further research is needed to determine the full scope and usage of the indefinite pronouns.

Other classes were examined including demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, classifiers, and prepositions. Reduplication of quantifiers could be studied with further texts and elicitation. The phonological variation in numbers would be an excellent study. Classifiers could be studied for their use in place of nouns. Minor classes of verb adjuncts included auxiliaries. Further research is needed on the distinction between the categories of auxiliaries. Conjunctions were examined for both type of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Mention was made of interjections and negators. Clausal constituents, namely particles and topic markers were remarked upon.

Minor word classes do show some differences among Katuic languages. While most examined include politeness distinctions in pronouns, Eastern Bru and Pacoh do not. All of the languages examined included classifiers and particles, as is typical for MSEA languages.

7.5 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 focused on phrases. It discussed the constituents of noun phrases including nouns, adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, and numbers. Generally numbers and quantifiers are used with classifiers, but further research is needed to determine when they are used independently of classifiers. Elicitation and further understanding of the surrounding languages would be helpful. It is possible the some constructions reflect the influence of Thai. Special attention was paid to classifier phrases. When classifiers precede noun phrases, further more data and further analysis is needed to determine if this is juxtaposition for emphasis or a topic-comment structure. Other uses of classifiers include their use with demonstratives. Further research on the overall usage and semantic properties of classifiers is needed. Noun phrases including basic noun phrases, possessive phrases, and relative clauses are also discussed. Noun adjuncts, namely prepositional phrases were examined.

This chapter also discussed constituents of verb phrases including adverbs, negators, and auxiliaries. Further research into the use of multiple auxiliaries is needed. It also discussed verb phrases including simple verb phrases, coordinated verb phrases, serial verb phrases, adjective (stative verb) phrases, and copula phrases. Bru Khok Sa-at has head-initial noun phrases along with the other languages examined. This was also true of relative clauses. Prepositions rather than postpositions are used in all languages examined. While Eastern Bru and Bru Khok Sa-at often differ in linguistic features, the use of classifiers as independent markers without numbers or quantifiers is also reflected in Eastern Bru. All of the languages examined seemed to have some type of serial verbs, but specific comparisons were difficult due to the different grammatical theories and terminology used.

7.6 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 focused on clauses. Verbal and non-verbal predicates were examined including intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, adjectival predicates, nominal predicates, existential predicates, and comparative clauses. Different speech acts were examined including declaratives, various types of interrogatives, and

imperatives. The role of intonation in speech acts needs further research with a language resource person. A few variations in clausal structure were also examined, though much more work could be done with more texts and elicitation. Particles as clausal constituents were also examined. Further research is needed to determine the semantic differences between these particles.

All of the Katuic languages examined were SVO. While many of the verbal predicates looked the same, some of the features of non-verbal predicates were handled differently especially whether a copula was used over juxtaposition. So and Bru deserve a closer look, as the So of Dong Luang researched by Chollada and Bru Khok Sa-at, not only used the same types of non-verbal predicates, but often the same or similar words. In all languages, particles were often used to indicate different moods. However, many grammars mentioned the use of intonation as well.

7.7 Chapter 6

Chapter 6 focused on various types of complex sentences. A complex sentence is formed by the conjoining of more than one clause. More research could be done in determining how a sentence is defined in Bru Khok Sa-at. Coordinating clauses were examined including simultaneous, sequential, and conditional coordination. Discourse conjunctions and combinations of conjunctions were also mentioned. Much research could be done in distinguishing between the two based on the definition of a sentence. Subordinating clauses were analyzed including complement clauses. Further elicitation and analysis is needed to determine if there is a distinction between direct and indirect speech. Adverbial clauses analyzed included time, manner, purpose, reason, result, and conditional. Relative clauses were also looked at and determined to have external heads. Further research is needed to determine if relative clauses with internal heads are possible.

Much less comparative information was found on complex sentences, though most grammars included a look at relative clauses and conditional clauses. Once again, the So of Dong Luang, and Bru Khok Sa-at, were using not only the same pattern but the same word to mark speech clauses.

7.8 Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to describe the basic syntax of phrases, clauses and sentences in Bru Khok Sa-at using narrative texts. From this thesis, it can be seen

that this is possible. Some of the limitations included having only a few examples of some particles, prepositions, and coordinators. It did show some excellent variation in sentence structure.

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⁸ Names from Southeast Asia are given first name and then last name, following standard Southeast Asian academic conventions.

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Appendix 1

The Seven Orphans

1. *tapu:l kɔ:n kamɯ:t*

Num N N

seven child orphan

The Seven Orphans

2. *tɛ: lɔ: du:n tɿ? tʃɿ: bu:n ajea? tʰaw*
Prep N N Vt Prt Cop N Adj

from past time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST grandmother old

atʃujh tʰaw mpe? kadeŋ mpoa kadeŋ

N Adj N Adj N Adj

grandfather old mother barren father barren

A long time ago there was an old grandmother and an old grandfather who were barren.

3. *ba: na? ta? doŋ katup ɣt him sak*
Num Clf Vt N N Vi Adj N

two Clf_person make/do house shack located edge forest

They made a little house located on the edge of a forest

4. *tɔ: kɣ:j bu:n kɔ:n tɔ: kɣ:j bu:n tʃaw tɛ: muaj na?*
Neg Adv Vt N Neg Adv Vt N Coordconn Num Clf

NEG ever have child NEG ever have grandchild but one Clf_person

They had never had children or grandchildren, not even one.

5. *ta? tʰraɪ ta? suan tʃa: doj tʃa: dɿ? ka? tʃa:*
Vt N Vt N Vt N Vt N Coordconn Vt

make/do field make/do garden eat rice eat water then eat

They worked in the fields and when they wanted to eat they had enough.

6. *tɛ: ba: na? tɔ: rua? lew*
Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt

but two Clf_person NEG happy Prt_UNK

But they were not happy.

7. *mɯaj sidaw aɣəʔ tʰaw wəw kap aja:k pa:j jʌʔ bu:n*
 Num N N Adj Vt Prep N Subordconn Vaux Vt

one night grandmother old speak with husband COMP want have

kɔ:n bu:n tʃaw ku: kanəa alaj
 N Vt N Prep N Pro

child have grandchild same friend 3P

One night, the old grandmother said to her husband, "I want to have children; I want to have grandchildren just like my friends."

8. *pʰɔ: tʌʔ aru:p pəa kan paʔ pi:c ari:əŋ*
 Subordconn Vt N Vt Pro Vi Vt N

when come morning bring RECIP go dig crab

When morning came, they brought each other to go dig up crabs.

9. *hu:m kɔ:n ari:əŋ paɣəjʔ kaʔ lɣ:j ku:t jʌʔ bu:n kɔ:n ŋplɛʔ*
 Vt N N Quant Coordconn Coordconn Vi Vaux Vt N Prep

see child crab many then so think want have child like

ari:əŋ

N

crab

[The grandmother] saw many baby crabs and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

10. *lɣ:j kakuh tʃoʔ malɔŋ sɛ:k kɔ:n kap tʰe:wda:*
 Coordconn Vi Prep N Vt N Prep N

so pray.kneel to sky request child with god

So [she] knelt to the sky and requested children from the gods.

11. *sətʰuʔ də:*
 N Prt

great.one Prt_soft_command

"Oh, great one."

12. *ɔ:n ŋkoʔ bu:n kɔ:n paɣəjʔ ŋplɛʔ kɔ:n ari:əŋ də:*
 Vt Pro Vt N Quant Prep N N Prt

allow 1S have child many like child crab Prt_soft_command

"Please let me have many children just like the baby crabs."

13. *kli: tɛ: kɨ: ka? lɣ:j kutaw tɔ? paŋɛa oŋin*

Adv Prep Det Coordconn Coordconn N Vt N N

after from that then so heat come king god

After that then heat (her prayer in the form of a heat sensation) came to the god king.

14. *naʷ lɣ:j asuaj kuaj bu:n bon tɔ? sɛ:ŋ kɣ:t tapu:l*

Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt N Vt Vi Vt Num

3S_polite so send person have merit come descend birth seven

na?

Clf

Clf_person

And so He sent seven unborn children who had merit to go down to be born.

15. *p^h: ajea? t^haw atɕujh t^haw tɕu: tɔ? doŋ kli: tɛ:*

Subordconn N Adj N Adj Vt Vt N Adv Prep

when grandmother old grandfather old return come house after from

kɨ: ba: nɕ^hai ajea? t^haw lɣ:j pu? kɔ:n

Det Num Clf N Adj Coordconn Adj N

that two Clf_month grandmother old so pregnant child

The old grandmother and the old grandfather returned and came to their house, after two months the old woman became pregnant with child.

16. *ta? ɔ:n aja:k siɔm mɨt palɛaj?*

Vt Vt N Adj Adv

make/do allow husband happy very

This made her husband very happy.

17. *tɔ? nɛa:m tɕih kɔ:n ajea? t^haw tɕih kɔ:n tapu:l na?*

Vt N Vt N N Adj Vt N Num Clf

come time birth child grandmother old birth child seven Clf_person

[When] the time came to give birth, the old woman gave birth to seven children.

18. *aja:k siɔm mɨt palɛaj?*

N Adj Adv

husband happy very

The husband was very happy.

19. *p^hɔː tɛː dʊn tʃuaj? tʃaː nɛw lɛ? ka? tɛː kom*
 Subordconn Neg N Vt Vt Pro Coordconn Neg Adv
 when NEG time.long search eat how so NEG enough
 Not long after that, no matter what they found to eat, it was not enough.

20. *tʃuaj? ntraw ka? kɔːn tʃaː nɛ?*
 Vt Pro Coordconn N Vt Prt
 search anything then child eat Prt_completive
 Anything they found the children would eat all up.

21. *p^hɔː kɔːn huuk buːn tapət tapuɪl kamɔ tʃaː lɛw*
 Subordconn N Adj Vt Num Num Clf Prt Prt
 when child big have six seven Clf_year Prt_seq_completive Prt_UNK
 When the children had grown for six or seven years.

22. *p^hɔː tɛ? sidaw t^haːŋ dɻk naŋ kɪː baː na? mpaɪ kap*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj N Det Num Clf N Coordconn
 when come night period dark day that two Clf_person wife and
ajak lɻj waw kan paːj kɔːn palɛj? saː nɑɪ ta?
 N Prt Vt Pro Subordconn N Quant Prep Det Vt
 husband Prt_intensifier speak RECIP COMP child many like this make/do
nɛw lɛ? haj tʃaŋ lɪːaŋ kom
 Pro Pro Coordconn Vt Adv
 how 1P_inc then raise enough
 When the dark of night came that day, both the wife and husband then said to each other, "Since we have so many children, what will we do so that we have enough to eat?"

23. *tʃuaj? ntraw a-tʃuː an ka? tʃaː nɛ?*
 Vt Pro Vt Pro Coordconn Vt Prt
 search anything CAUS-return 3S so eat Prt_completive
 Anything [we] find and bring back, it gets all eaten up.

24. *ajak waw tɛː pɛn ntraw*
 N Vt Neg Cop Pro
 husband speak NEG be anything
 The husband said, "No problem."

25. *manɣ:* *ŋkoɑʔ si it alaj pɑʔ pʰo:t*
 N Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Vt
 tomorrow 1S IRR take 3P go abandon
 "Tomorrow I will take them and go abandon [them]."
26. *mpaī pɑʔ pʰo:t pɑʔ lɛʔ*
 N Vi Vt Vi Pro
 wife go abandon go where
 Wife - "Where will you go abandon [them]?"
27. *pɛɑ alaj pɑʔ pi:c pɔŋ*
 Vt Pro Vi Vt N
 invite 3P go dig bawng.root
 "[I] will ask them to go dig bawng roots."
28. *tʃuajʔ simu: huuk huuk*
 Vt N Adj Adj
 search vine big big
 "[We] will search for a very big vine."
29. *alaj lɣ:j pi:c ntru: ntru:*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Adv Adv
 3P so dig deep deep
 "So they will dig very deep."
30. *ŋkoɑʔ si tah alaj naŋ prɪŋ*
 Pro Vaux Vt Pro Prep N
 1S IRR leave 3P in hole
 "I will leave them in the hole."
31. *ɛ klap klap pɑʔ lɔ:t tʰaw*
 Interj Adj Adj Vi Prt Adj
 yes correct correct go Prt_command old
 "Yes, that's right, go do it, old man!"
32. *pʰɔ: aru:p atʃiujh tʰaw alɔŋ kɔ:n*
 Subordconn N N Adj Vt N
 when morning grandfather old call child
 The next day, the old grandfather called the children.

33. *paŋ naī ŋpoa si pɛa kɔn paʔ piç pɔŋ*

N Det N Vaux Vt N Vi Vt N

day this father IRR invite child go dig bawng.root

"Today father will ask his children to go dig bawng roots."

34. *pʰɔ: tɿʔ sak ŋpoa atɿŋ kɔn paj tʃuaj? simu: huuk huuk*

Subordconn Vt N N Vt N Subordconn Vt N Adj Adj

when come forest father say child COMP search vine big big

də:

Prt

Prt_soft_command

When they came to the forest, the father said to the child, "Search for a very big vine."

35. *kɔn muaj na? ŋpoa ŋpoa naī simu: huuk alɿ*

N Num Clf N N N N Adj Adv

child one Clf_person father father here vine big very

One child - "Father, Father, here is a root that is very big."

36. *mah lɛʔ*

Cop Pro

equal where

"How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

37. *mah ŋkɔŋ*

Cop N

equal arm

"[It] equals my arm."

38. *ta: huuk ɿt ku:jʔ naŋ*

Neg Adj Adv Adj Adv

NEG big still small still

"It's not big, still too small."

39. *kɔn ɛn muaj na? ŋpoa ŋpoa pɔŋ simu: huuk luʔ*

N Adv Num Clf N N N N Adj Adv

child again one Clf_person father father bawng.root vine big very

Again one child said, "Father, Father, [here is] a very big root."

40. *mah lɛ?*

Cop Pro

equal where

"How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

41. *mah kal ta:n*

Cop N N

equal tree taan

"[It] equals a 'dtaan' tree.

42. *ɛ huuk tʃɛː pic lɔːj*

Interj Adj Coordconn Vt Prt

yes big then dig Prt_intensifier

"Yes, it's big. Dig it up!"

43. *kɔ:n tapu:l na? pic pɔːŋ tʃon tʃitɔ:m ntru: tʃon*

N Num Clf Vt N Subordconn Vt Adv Subordconn

child seven Clf_person dig bawng.root until reach deep until

mah nʃɔːŋ

Cop N

equal well

The seven children dug at the bawng root until they reached a depth equal to that of a well.

44. *npoa it simu: a-jɔ:n a-sɛ:ŋ ɔ:n dɛh pɔːŋ tʃɔ?*

N Vt N Vt Vi Prep Vt N Vt

father take vine CAUS-lower.rope CAUS-down for break bawng.root tie

a-tʃo:n ɔ:n

Vi Prep

CAUS-go.up for

The father took a vine and lowered [them] down in order to break off the root, tie [it to the vine], and raised it up for [the father].

45. *npoa it simu: a-tʃo:n prɔːm*

N Vt N Vi Adv

father take vine CAUS-go.up also

The father pulled up the vine also.

46. *mpai* *ɣt* *nai* *də:*

Pro Vi N Prt

2P stay here Prt_soft_command

"You stay here!"

47. *mpoa* *si* *pa?* *p^ho:t* *mpai* *te:* *dun* *tʃu:*

N Vaux Vi Vt Pro Prep N Prt

father IRR go abandon 2P from time.long Prt_seq_completive

"Father is going to abandon you forever!"

48. *waw* *tʃu:* *atʃujh* *t^haw* *ka?* *mpɾɛ:k* *pɔŋ* *tʃu:* *doŋ*

Vt Vi N Adj Coordconn Vt N Vt N

When [he] had finished speaking, the old grandfather carried the bawng root on a pole and returned home.

49. *kɔ:n* *tapu:l* *na?* *pɛa* *kan* *ɲɛam* *tʃo?* *naŋna?*

N Num Clf Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro

child seven Clf_person invite RECIP cry with one.another

The seven children encouraged each other to cry with one another.

50. *aj* *huuk* *waw* *kap* *ɛ:m* *pa:j* *ta:* *pɛn* *ɲtraw*

N Adj Vt Prep N Subordconn Neg Cop Pro

The oldest brother said to his brothers, "There's no problem."

51. *haj* *tapu:l* *na?* *tʃih* *takɔŋ* *kan* *tʃo:n*

Pro Num Clf Vt N Pro Vt

1P_inc seven Clf_person ride neck RECIP go.up

"We seven will go up by sitting on each other's necks."

52. *ɛ:m* *alɰh* *it* *simu:* *tʃi:* *haj* *a-tʃo:n*

N Adj Vt N Vt Pro Vi

"The youngest brother will take a vine and pull us up."

53. *pʰɔː taʔ saː kiː kuː naʔ lɔːj tʃoːn buːn lɔːj*
 Subordconn Vt Prep Det Quant Clf Coordconn Vt Vi Coordconn
 when make/do like that every Clf_person so go.up able so
pea kan tʃuː doŋ
 Vt Pro Vt N

invite RECIPIENT return house

When they did as he said, everybody was able to get out, and so [they] invited each other to return home.

54. *jah doŋ ajeaʔ tʰaw taʔ tʃaː kʰoːj pɔːŋ tʃiːn*
 Top N N Adj Vt Vt Vt N Adj
 meanwhile house grandmother old make/do eat steam bawang.root ripe
tʃiː
 Prt

Prt_seq_completive

Back at the house, the old grandmother had made food and steamed the bawang root until it was ready.

55. *a-tʃiːaʔ buaŋ kɔːn atɔːŋ paːj ɔːt naŋ tawɔːŋ*
 Vt N N Vt Subordconn Vi Prep N

CAUS-search spoon child say COMP located on tray

[She] was searching for a spoon when her child said, "It's on the tray."

56. *baː naʔ ŋpaːi ajaːk ŋtɔːh miːt huːm kɔːn tʃuː doŋ tʃaː*
 Num Clf N N Vt N Vt N Vt N Vt
 two Clf_person wife husband fall heart see child return house eat
pɔːŋ tʃoːn ɲɛʔ
 N Subordconn Prt

bawang.root until Prt_completive

Both the husband and wife were surprised to see that their children had returned home and had eaten the bawang root all up.

57. *kamɔːt ntʃiːm nai*
 N N Det

orphan group this

"Damned orphan children!"

58. *p^hɔː ranɛn bec ranɛt baː naʔ m̄paɪ aja:k kaʔ lɔːj*
 Subordconn N Vi Vi Num Clf N N Coordconn Coordconn

when child lie sleep two Clf_person wife husband so so

ra-waw kan ɛn

Vt Pro Adv

RECIP-say RECIP again

When the children lay down to sleep, both the wife and husband talked to each other again.

59. *manɔː si pɬʔ p^ho:t alaj pɬʔ lɛʔ nɬŋ*
 N Vaux Vi Vt Pro Vi Pro Prep

tomorrow IRR go abandon 3P go where on

"Tomorrow, where will you go abandon them?"

60. *aja:k si pɛa alaj pɬʔ tʃuajʔ kapeh*

N Vaux Vt Pro Vi Vt N

husband IRR invite 3P go search gabeh.fruit

"The husband will invite them to go and search for gabeh fruit."

61. *ŋkɔaʔ bak kɔ:n pɛn kuaj rɔp*

Pro Vt N Cop N Vt

1S chop child be person receive

"I will chop [the tree] and the children will be the ones to catch it."

62. *kal kapeh dom atɛt alaj*

N N Vi Vt Pro

tree gabeh.fruit fall cover 3P

"The gabeh tree will fall on top of them."

63. *alaj kutʃɪt dɔ:k*

Pro Vi Prt

3P die Prt_conclusion

"They will surely die."

64. *m̄paɪ manɔː m̄aɪ pɬʔ dɔː t^haw*

N N Pro Vi Prt Adj

wife tomorrow 2S go Prt_soft_command old

Wife - "Tomorrow you go then old [man]."

65. *pʰɔ: tɔ? aru:p alɔŋ kɔ:n ɛn*
 Subordconn Vt N Vt N Adv

when come morning call child again

When morning came, [the father] called the children again.

66. *kɔ:n kɔ:n ɲaŋ nāi ɲpoa pɛa ɲpaɪ pɔ? tʃuaj? kapɛh ɲɛam*
 N N N Det N Vt Pro Vi Vt N Adj

child child day this father invite 2P go search gabeh.fruit sweet
nb?

Prt

Prt_consider

"Children, children, today I will have you go search for sweet gabeh fruit.

67. *pɔ? pɔ? kɔ:n siχ:j*
 Vi Vi N Vi

go go child answer

"Let's go!" the children answered.

68. *ɲpoa aɲɛ? atʃɛt tajaɲ ɲuaj kɔ:n ɲprɛ:k ajaŋ ɲam kli:*
 N Vt N Vi Subordconn N Vt N Vt Adv

father hold axe walk before child carry.pole basket follow after

The father held the axe and walked ahead while the children carrying a big basket on a pole followed behind.

69. *tɔ? sɔk kɔ:n bɑ: na? hu:m kapɛh ɲɛam*
 Vt N N Num Clf Vt N Adj

come forest child two Clf_person see gabeh.fruit sweet

[When] they came to the forest, two of the children saw some sweet gabeh fruit.

70. *ɲpoa abluh kal huk mah lɛ?*
 N Vt N Adj Cop Pro

father ask tree big equal where

The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

71. *mah tanu:l nāi*
 Cop N Det

equal post this

"[It] equals the post [on our house]."

72. *ḡpoa ta: ḡeam*

N Neg Adj

father NEG sweet

Father - "[It's] not sweet."

73. *kən mɔaj na? hu:m kal kapɛh ɛn*

N Num Clf Vt N N Adj

child one Clf_person see tree gabeh.fruit another

One of the children saw another gabeh tree.

74. *ḡpoa abluh kal hu:k mah le?*

N Vt N Adj Cop Pro

father ask tree big equal where

The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

75. *mah kal ta:n*

Cop N N

equal tree taan

"[It] equals a taan tree."

76. *ɛ bak lɔ:j ḡeam*

Interj Vt Prt Adj

yes chop Prt_intensifier sweet

"Yes, let's chop [it down], [it's] sweet."

77. *ḡpoa bak ḡpaī rap palai kapɛh*

N Vt Pro Vt N N

father chop 2P receive fruit gabeh.fruit

"The father will chop down [the tree], and you will catch the gabeh fruit."

78. *sa? ɔ:n an ḡtrɔh kutɛ? dɔ:*

Vi Vt Pro Vt N Prt

don't allow 3S fall ground Prt_soft_command

"Don't allow them to fall to the ground."

79. *ḡpoa ka? bak le:w*

N Coordconn Vt Prt

father so chop Prt_UNK

And so the father started to chop down [the tree].

80. *kɔ:n rap adɔ? də:*
 N Vt Prt Prt

child receive Prt_completive Prt_soft_command

"Children, make sure you catch all of [the fruit]!"

81. *p^hɔ: kal aluaŋ dom ka? tɛ: saŋ siaŋ ranɛn naŋ*
 Subordconn N N Vi Coordconn Neg Vt N N Prt

when tree stem fall then NEG hear noise child Prt_intensifier

When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.

82. *ŋpoa kɔ:t pa:j kɔ:n ŋɛ? tapu:l na? kutʃut*
 N Vi Subordconn N Prt Num Clf Vi

father think COMP child Prt_completive seven Clf_person die

ŋɛ? tʃɛ:
 Prt Prt

Prt_completive Prt_seq_completive

The father thought that all of the seven children were completely dead.

83. *lɛ:j to:c kapɛh ŋɛam tʃo? ajaŋ tʃon paŋ*
 Coordconn Vt N Adj Vt N Subordconn Adj

so pick.up gabe.h.fruit sweet place basket until full

And so [he] picked up the sweet gabe.h.fruit and placed [them] in the basket until [it was] full.

84. *an wəw tʃo? kɔ:n pa:j ŋpaɪ ɣ:t naɪ də: kɔ:n*
 Pro Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Vi N Prt N

3S speak to child COMP 2P stay here Prt_soft_command child

He said to the children, "You stay here, children."

85. *ŋpoa ja? pa? p^ho:t ŋpaɪ tɛ: dɔ:n tʃɛ:*
 N Vaux Vi Vt Pro Prep N Prt

father want go abandon 2P from time.long Prt_seq_completive

"Father wants to go and abandon you forever and ever."

86. *atʃijh t^haw lɛ:j tajaŋ tʃi: doŋ*
 N Adj Coordconn Vi Vt N

grandfather old so walk return house

And so the old grandfather walked back home.

87. *tʰaʔ doŋ tʃaː m̄paɪ lɔːj abluh maɪ pʰoːt*
 Vt N Prt N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt
 come house Prt_seq_completive wife so ask 2S abandon

tʃaː boː tʰaw
 Prt Prt Adj

Prt_seq_completive Prt_question old

[When he] had arrived at the house, the wife asked [him], "Have you abandoned [them], old one?"

88. *pʰoːt tʃaː*
 Vt Prt

abandon Prt_seq_completive

"[I] have abandoned [them]."

89. *ŋkoʔ bak kal aluaŋ atət*
 Pro Vt N N Vt

1S chop tree stem cover

"I chopped the tree, and [it] fell [on them]."

90. *alaj kutʃit tʃaː laʔ*
 Pro Vi Prt Prt

3P die Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential

"They have really died."

91. *jah kɔːn pʰɔː m̄poa paʔ wet alaj pɛa kan ŋkɔːŋ*
 Top N Subordconn N Vi N Pro Vt Pro Vi

meanwhile child when father go out.of.sight 3P invite RECIP crawl

loah tɛː kal aluaŋ

Vi Prep N N

go.out from tree stem

As for the children, when the father went out of sight, they helped each other crawl out from [under] the tree.

92. *tʰaː buːn amʰaʔ pɛn ŋtraw*
 Neg Cop Pro Cop Pro

NEG EXIST anyone be anything

Nothing had happened to any of them.

93. *tʰɛwda: tʃuaj alaj adɔ?*

N Vt Pro Prt

god help 3P Prt_completive

The gods had helped them all.

94. *ɑj pu:t lɔ:j pɛa sɛm tajaʰ tʃu: doŋ*

N Adj Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt N

older.brother big so invite younger.sibling walk return house

And so the eldest brother helped his younger brothers to walk back home.

95. *jaʰ doŋ ajea? tʰaw atʃu:jh tʰaw kɛ? kapɛʰ*

Top N N Adj N Adj Vt N

meanwhile house grandmother old grandfather old peel gabeʰ.fruit

ŋɛam

Adj

sweet

Back at the house, the old grandmother and grandfather were peeling the sweet gabeʰ fruit.

96. *tʃa: si pɛa kan tʃa:*

Coordconn Vaux Vt Pro Vt

then IRR invite RECIP eat

Then [they] were going to help each other eat [the fruit].

97. *kut nʃom kɔ:n lɔ:j ra-waw pa:j kʰan alaj ɔ:t alaj*

Vi Vt N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Subordconn Pro Vi Pro

think miss child so RECIP-say COMP if 3P located 3P

si tʃa: naŋ haj tʃa: la?

Vaux Vt Prep Pro Prt Prt

IRR eat with 1P_inc Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential

[They] were thinking and missing the children, and so said to each other, "If they were here, they would surely have been eating with us."

98. *wəw tɑː tən sot kɔːn kaʔ taluːh mɯt tʃɑː sɛw*
 Vt Neg Adv Prt N Coordconn Vi Vt Vt N
 speak NEG yet Prt_completive child so run enter eat commotion
sɛw

N

commotion

[They] had not finished speaking when the children ran into the room eating and causing a commotion.

99. *mpɛʔ wəw paɯ tɑʔ tʃɑː tʰaw ɣj n̄tʃum kamɯt*
 N Vt Subordconn Vt Prt Adj Adj N N
 mother speak COMP come Prt_seq_completive old dear group orphan
nai

Det

this

The mother said, "They have come, dear old one, damned orphan children."

100. *pʰɔː tʃɑː pasai kɔːn kaʔ bec ranɛt*
 Subordconn Vt Vi N Coordconn Vi Vi
 when eat satisfy child then lie sleep

When they had eaten their fill, the children lay down to sleep.

101. *baː naʔ mpai ajak ra-wəw kan ɛn*
 Num Clf N N Vt Pro Adv
 two Clf_person wife husband RECIP-say RECIP again

Both the husband and wife discussed again [what to do].

102. *manɣː m̄ai si paʔ pʰoːt paʔ leʔ ɛn tʰaw*
 N Pro Vaux Vi Vt Vi Pro Adv Adj
 tomorrow 2S IRR go abandon go where again old
 "Tomorrow, where will you go abandon them again, old [man]."

103. *ŋkoaʔ si pɛa alaj tʃoːn it rakɔːt*
 Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vt Vt N
 1S IRR invite 3P go.up take squirrel

"I will have them go up and get a squirrel."

104. *tʃuajʔ toː huk huk*
 Vt Clf Adj Adj
 search Clf_animal big big

"[We] will search for a very large one."

105. *rakɔ:t kɨː kaʔ tʃon kal aluaŋ huuk pɹiam*
 N Det Coordconn Vt N N Adj Adv
 squirrel that then go.up tree stem big also

"The squirrel will go up a big tree also."

106. *alaj seŋ tɔː tɛʔ dɔ:k*
 Pro Vi Neg Vi Prt
 3P descend NEG able Prt_conclusion

"They will not be able to get down."

107. *ɔː ɔː mɛ:n naː tʰaw*
 Interj Interj Adj Prt Adj
 yes yes true Prt_consider old

"Yes, yes, that seems like it will work, old one."

108. *paŋ aru:p ŋpoa waw kap kɔ:n pa:j naŋ nai ʔpoa si*
 Vt N N Vt Prep N Subordconn N Det N Vaux
 shine morning father speak with child COMP day this father IRR

pea ŋpai paʔ tʃuaʔ rakɔ:t nɔʔ
 Vt Pro Vi Vt N Prt

invite 2P go search squirrel Prt_consider

When morning dawned, the father said to his children, "Today I will have you go search for squirrels, okay."

109. *kɔ:n paʔ paʔ*
 N Vi Vi
 child go go

Children - "Let's go!"

110. *pʰɔː tɔʔ sak kɔ:n muaj naʔ hu:m rakɔ:t taluh tʃon*
 Subordconn Vt N N Num Clf Vt N Vi Vt
 when come forest child one Clf_person see squirrel run go.up

kal aluaŋ

N N

tree stem

When they came to the forest, one child saw a squirrel running up a tree.

111. *an atɔːŋ ŋpoa*
 Pro Vt N
 3S say father

He told [his] father.

112. *mpoa abluh paj tʃo:n kal huuk mah lɛ?*
 N Vt Subordconn Vt N Adj Cop Pro
 father ask COMP go.up tree big equal where
 The father asked, "How big of a tree did it go up."

113. *kal mah tanu:l nāi*
 N Cop N Det
 tree equal post this
 "The tree is equal the post [on our house]."

114. *o: kal tɔ: huuk mah lɛ?*
 Interj N Neg Adj Cop Pro
 oh tree NEG big equal where
 "Oh, the tree is not very big."

115. *tʃuaj? tamāi*
 Vt Adj
 search new
 "Search some more."

116. *kɔ:n mɯaj na? hu:m ɛn*
 N Num Clf Vt Adj
 child one Clf_person see another
 Then one child saw another [squirrel].

117. *mpoa abluh kal huuk mah lɛ?*
 N Vt N Adj Cop Pro
 father ask tree big equal where
 The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

118. *mah doŋ nāi*
 Cop N Det
 equal house this
 "[It] equals our house."

119. *ɔ: ɔ: mpāi pɛa kan tʃo:n nəm pɔ?*
 Interj Interj Pro Vt Pro Vt Vt Vi
 yes yes 2P invite RECIP go.up follow go
 "Yes, yes, you all help each other go up and keep following [it]."

120. *kʰan tʃitɣ:m tʃɿ: a-tʃit rakɔ:t ɔ:n mpoa də:*
 Subordconn Vt Coordconn Vt N Prep N Prt
 if reach then CAUS-die squirrel for father Prt_soft_command
 "If [you] catch [it] then kill the squirrel for [your] father."

121. *tapu:l sɛ:m əj lɣj tʃo:n nam rakɔ:t pɣ:ŋ*
 Num N N Coordconn Vt Vt N Adj
 seven younger.sibling older.brother so go.up follow squirrel high
hu?

Adv

very

So the seven brothers went very high [up the tree] following the squirrel.

122. *poj kal a-kɿ: tʃo:n tet amil*
 N N Pro Vt Vt N

point tree INTENS-that go.up stuck cloud

The tip of that tree went up and stuck in the clouds.

123. *tʃom əj tʃaŋ tʃitɣ:m rakɔ:t kɿ:*
 <Not Sure> N Coordconn Vt N Det

UNK older.brother then reach squirrel that

Finally, the older brother caught the squirrel.

124. *tʃuaj kan it atʃu: tʃat takɔ:ŋ rakɔ:t tʃaŋ take:l a-sɛ:ŋ*
 Vt Pro Vt N Vt N N Coordconn Vt Vi

help RECIP take knife stab neck squirrel then throw CAUS-down

ɔ:n mpoa

Prep N

for father

[They] helped each other take a knife and stab the squirrel's neck and then throw down [the squirrel] for the father.

125. *pʰɔ: mpoa tʃɔ? rakɔ:t tʃo? mprɛ:k tʃɿ: ka?*
 Subordconn N Vt N Prep Vt Prt Coordconn

when father tie squirrel to carry.pole Prt_seq_completive then

tah kɔ:m adɔ? naŋ kal aluaŋ kɿ:

Vt N Prt Prep N N Det

leave child Prt_completive on tree stem that

When the father had tied the squirrel to a pole, he then left all the children in that tree.

126. *tɔː lɔp nɛːŋ kɔːn ɛːn lɔːj*

Neg Vi Vt N Adv Prt

NEG return watch child again Prt_intensifier

[He] did not return or look back at the children at all.

127. *kɔːn huːm nɛːw kiː kaː? pɛːa kan nɛːam tʃoː? anɔːj naŋ*

N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prep

child see like that then invite RECIPIENT cry with each.other on

kal aluaŋ

N N

tree stem

The children saw what was happening, and so encouraged each other to cry with one other in the tree.

128. *aːj wɔːw mpoa tah haj tʃɔːː sɛːm*

N Vt N Vt Pro Prt N

older.brother speak father leave 1P_inc Prt_seq_completive younger.sibling

ɔːj

Adj

dear

The oldest brother said, "Father has left us, dearest brothers."

129. *sɛːm haj si taː? nɛːw lɛː?*

N Pro Vaux Vt Pro

younger.sibling 1P_inc IRR make/do how

A younger brother - "What will we do?"

130. *si bec saː lɛː? haj ranɛːt tʃɔːː tɔː ntruːh bɔː*

Vaux Vi Pro Pro Vi Coordconn Neg Vt Prt

IRR lie how 1P_inc sleep then NEG fall Prt_question

How will [we] lie down so that when we sleep [we] won't fall [out of the tree]?"

131. *sɛːm alah haj tʃiː it preː tʃɔːː a-tet*

N Adj Pro Vt Vt N Vt Vt

younger.sibling youngest 1P_inc pull take loincloth tie CAUS-stick

anɔːj

Pro

each.other

The youngest brother - "We will remove and take our loincloths and tie [ourselves] fast to each other.

132. *tʃaː tʃvʔ tʃak haj tʃoʔ kal aluaŋ*

Coordconn Vt N Pro Prep N N

then tie body 1P_inc to tree stem

Then we will tie our bodies to the tree.

133. *pʰɔː tʃʌʔ sidaw tʌː tʃn bec raŋɛːt sɛːm aʃ*

Subordconn Vt N Neg Adv Vi Vi N N

when come night NEG yet lie sleep younger.sibling older.brother

pɛa kan ntruːh miːt

Vt Pro Vt N

invite RECIPIENT fall heart

When the evening came and they had not yet lay down to sleep, the brothers encouraged one another to be frightened.

134. *alaj huːm tʃom huuk par tʃʌʔ pɔk kal aluaŋ kiː*

Pro Vt N Adj Vi Vt Vt N N Det

3P see bird big fly come perch tree stem that

[Because] they saw a large bird flying to come and perch on that tree branch.

135. *sɛːm aʃ haj si taʔ nɛːw lɛʔ an tʌː tʃaː*

N N Pro Vaux Vt Pro Pro Neg Vt

younger.sibling older.brother 1P_inc IRR make/do how 3S NEG eat

haj bɔː

Pro Prt

1P_inc Prt_question

A brother - "What will we do so that it does not eat us?"

136. *pɛa kan jɪr jɛʔ kuː naʔ*

Vt Pro Vi Prt Quant Clf

invite RECIPIENT shake Prt_completive every Clf_person

[They] encouraged each other to shake [with fright] every last person.

137. *tɛː tʃom huuk saŋ ranɛːn kiː ra-waŋ kan*

Coordconn N Adj Vt N Det Vt Pro

but bird big hear child that RECIPIENT-say RECIPIENT

But the big bird heard what those children were saying to each other.

138. *an lɔːj ra-wəw kap ranɛn paːj mpai̯ taː tɔŋ ŋkɔh ŋkoa?*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Neg Vaux Vt Pro
 3S so RECIP-say with child COMP 2P NEG must fear 1S

dɔːk

Prt

Prt_contradiction

So it said to the children, "Actually, you all do not have to fear me."

139. *mpai̯ tɔː tɛː lɛ?*
 Pro Vt Prep Pro
 2P come from where

"Where do you come from?"

140. *mpɛ? pa? ɣt nɔŋ kal aluaŋ nai̯*
 Pro Vi Vi Prep N N Det
 why go located on tree stem this

"Why are you staying in this tree?"

141. *aːj huuk atɣŋ paːj ŋpoa hi? tɔː pʰoːt hi?*
 N Adj Vt Subordconn N Pro Vt Vt Pro
 older.brother big say COMP father 1P_exc come abandon 1P_exc

The oldest brother said, "Our father had [us] come [here], and then abandoned us."

142. *aːj hi? taː buɛn mɔŋ pa? tʃiɛː*
 N Pro Neg Vt N Vi Adv
 older.brother 1P_exc NEG have place go now

The older brother - "We don't have a place to go now."

143. *tʃom huuk it saː nai̯*
 N Adj Vt Prep Det
 bird big take like this

The big bird - "You can do something like this."

144. *kʰan mpai̯ poːc palai̯ aluaŋ ɔn ŋkoa? tʃaː tʃon pasai̯*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N N Subordconn Pro Vt Subordconn Vi
 if 2P pick fruit stem for 1S eat until satisfy

ŋkoa? si pa? asuaj mpai̯
 Pro Vaux Vi Vt Pro

1S IRR go send 2P

"If you pick fruit for me to eat until [I] am satisfied, then I will go and take you all [to a new place]."

151. *p^hɔː tʃiːh klɔŋ tʃom tʃɔː tʃom ka? pɛa par pa?*
 Subordconn Vt N N Prt N Coordconn Vt Vi Vi
 when ride back bird Prt_seq_completive bird then invite fly go
tʃɔː lew jaŋ koh tapuːl koh tʃaŋ tʃɔ?
 Prt Prt Prep N Num Clf Coordconn Vt
 Prt_seq_completive Prt_UNK across mountain seven Clf_mountain then come
 When [they] were sitting on the bird's back, the bird invited [them] to fly and go
 across the seven mountains until [they] arrived.

152. *p^hɔː tʃɔ? mɔŋ tʃom abluh alaj paj ŋpaɪ buːn ntraw tet*
 Subordconn Vt N N Vt Pro Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Vt
 when come place bird ask 3P COMP 2P have anything stuck
tʃak tʃɔ? bɔː
 N Vt Prt
 body come Prt_question
 When they arrived at that place, the bird asked them, "Do you have anything on you
 that [you] brought?"

153. *buːn buːn atʃuː kuːj? muaj nam*
 Vt Vt N Adj Num Clf
 have have knife small one Clf_thing
 "[Yes we] have, [we] have a small knife."

154. *ɛː ɔː ɔː k^han ŋpaɪ buːn luːaŋ ntraw ɔːn ŋpaɪ alɔŋ*
 Interj Adj Adj Subordconn Pro Vt N Pro Vt Pro Vt
 yes good good if 2P have story anything allow 2P call
ŋkoa? tʃo? malɔŋ dɔː
 Pro Prep N Prt
 1S in sky Prt_soft_command
 "Yes, good, good, if you have any problems, you must call for me in the sky."

155. *lew ŋkoa? si tʃɔ? tʃuaj ŋpaɪ*
 Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Vt Pro
 then 1S IRR come help 2P
 "Then I will come to help you."

156. *wəw tʃɔː tʃom huuk ka? par tʃoːn malɔŋ pa?*
 Vt Prt N Adj Coordconn Vi Vt N Vi
 speak Prt_seq_completive bird big then fly go.up sky go
 When he had spoken, the big bird flew up into the sky and left.

157. *ranɛn kɨː naʔ lɨːj pɛa kan taʔ katup ɣt*
 N Quant Clf Coordconn Vt Pro Vt N Vi
 child every Clf_person so invite RECIP make/do shack located
 So each of the children helped each other to make a little house there.

158. *taʔ rɛw tʃoʔ tʃom prɯam*
 Vt N Prep N Adv
 make/do snare for bird also

[They] made snares for birds also.

159. *tɔŋ kɨː buːn tʃom tʃipal buːn tʃom bring ntruajʔ sak kap tʃom*
 N Det Vt N N Vt N N N N Coordconn N
 field that have bird dove have bird bring chicken forest and bird
ɛn paleajʔ nɛːw
 Adj Quant Adj

another many kind

The meadows there had doves, 'Bring' birds, wild chickens, and many other kinds of birds.

160. *tran sak kaʔ paleajʔ prɯam*
 N N Coordconn Quant Adv
 animal forest then many also

[There were] many kinds of wild animals also.

161. *mɯaj siŋaiː sɛm aʃ si koɔp tʃom buːn paleajʔ*
 Num Clf N N Vaux Vt N Vi Quant
 one Clf_day younger.sibling older.brother IRR grab bird able many
hɯʔ

Adv

very

One day, the brothers were able to catch many, many birds.

162. *pʰɔː takroː sɛm aʃ kaʔ pah plium an*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt N Pro
 when cut.meat younger.sibling older.brother then chop crop 3S
a-loah kɨː toː
 Vi Quant Clf

CAUS-go.out every Clf_animal

As they were cleaning the birds, the brothers chopped the crops out of every animal.

163. *bu:n t^hrɔ: ɾ:t naŋ plium t̄fom prɯam*

Cop N Vi Prep N N Adv

EXIST rice located in crop bird also

There was rice located in the crops of the birds.

164. *sɛm a:j t̄i:an t^hrɔ: t̄fɔn six:t t̄faŋ*

N N Vt N Subordconn Adj Coordconn

younger.sibling older.brother dry.sun rice until dry then

a-du:ŋ t̄fɔh

Vi Vt

CAUS-bring/take plant

The brothers sun-dried the rice until [it] was dry and then took [it] to plant.

165. *p^hɔ: t̄ɿ? ɳtu: mɛa sɛm a:j pɛa kan*

Subordconn Vt N N N N N Vt Pro

when come season rain younger.sibling older.brother invite RECIP

t̄fɔh t^hrɔ: naŋ t^hraī t̄fɔn ɳɛ? muaj buŋ

Vt N Prep N Subordconn Prt Num Clf

plant rice in field until Prt_completive one Clf_basket

When the rainy season came, the brothers helped each other to plant rice in the fields until they used up one large basket [of seeds].

166. *p^hɔ: t̄ɿ? ɳtu: rac t^hrɔ: ɳt̄f̄ai mat̄fit la? muaj bu:n*

Subordconn Vt N Vt N Clf Num Coordconn Num Cop

when come season harvest rice Clf_month ten and one EXIST

t^hrɔ: paŋaj? ɾ:t

N Quant Vi

rice many located

When the season to harvest rice came in the eleventh month, there was a great abundance of rice located [there].

167. *p^hɔ: kamɔ tɔ: pa? ka? tɿ: t̄ɿh tɿ: maŋɛajh ɛn*

Subordconn Clf Adj Coordconn Neg Adj Neg Vi Adv

when Clf_year next then NEG poor NEG lack again

The next year [they] were not poor and not lacking anymore.

168. *ta? laŋ t̄fo? t^hrɔ: tapu:l laŋ*

Vt N Vt N Num Clf

make/do shed place rice seven Clf_shed

[They] made seven storage sheds to store their rice.

169. *tə: pʌʔ tʌ: dʊn sɛ:m əj kʌʔ hu:k pɛn*
 Adj Neg N N N Coordconn Adj Cop
 next NEG time.long younger.sibling older.brother then big be

ba:w

N

young.man

Not long after that, the brothers grew and became young men.

170. *kɪ: naʔ bu:n tʰrɔ: bu:n doj tʃa: kom kamɔ*
 Quant Clf Vt N Vt N Vt Adv Clf
 every Clf_person have rice have rice.cooked eat enough Clf_year

Everyone had enough seed rice and cooked rice to eat for the year.

171. *wəw tʌʔ jah panɛa ŋpoa vɪl tʃeʔ ki:*
 Vt Vt Top N N N Adv N

speak come meanwhile ruler father village close there

[Now we will] talk about a village ruler [who lived] close to there.

172. *mɔaj kamɔ kɻ:t lɛ:ŋ ʌʔ doj ʌʔ dʌʔ*
 Num Clf Vt Adj Adj N Adj N

one Clf_year birth dry barren rice barren water

One year, there happened to be a drought, and the rice lacked water.

173. *tɛ: an bu:n kɔ:n kamu:l tapu:l naʔ*
 Coordconn Pro Vt N N Num Clf

but 3S have child female.unmarried seven Clf_person

But he had seven daughters.

174. *tɛ: kamɔ ki: an tʌ: bu:n doj tʃa: lɻ:ʃ*
 Coordconn Clf Det Pro Neg Vt N Vt Prt

but Clf_year that 3S NEG have rice eat Prt_intensifier

But that year, he did not have any cooked rice to eat at all.

175. *ɔ:n kɔ:n kamu:l pʌʔ tʃuajʔ aban pʌʔ tʃilɛh*
 Vt N N Vi Vt N Vi Vt

allow child female.unmarried go search bamboo.shoot go trade

doj

N

rice.cooked

[He] had the daughters go search for bamboo shoots to go and trade for rice.

176. *tajah pʌʔ tʃuajʔ tʃon tʌʔ doŋ tapu:l kɔ:n kamɪt*
 Vi Vi Vt Subordconn Vt N Num N N

walk go search until come house seven child orphan

[They] were walking and went searching until they came to the house of the seven orphans.

177. *ɑ:j hu:k ki: hu:m lɔ:j abluh paj sɛm*
 N Adj Det Vt Coordconn Vt Subordconn N

older.brother big that see so ask COMP younger.sibling

mpai pʌʔ tʃuajʔ ntraw
 Pro Vi Vt Pro

2P go search what

The eldest brother saw them and so asked, "Sisters, what are you looking for?"

178. *mpɛʔ pʌʔ palɛajʔ naʔ alɔ:*
 Pro Vi Quant Clf Adv

why go many Clf_person very

"Why did so many of you come?"

179. *ɔ:j kɔ:n panɛa atɔ:ŋ paj hiʔ pʌʔ tʃuajʔ aban*
 N N N Vt Subordconn Pro Vi Vt N

older.sister child ruler say COMP 1P_exc go search bamboo.shoot

pʌʔ tʃilɛh ɑ:j ɔ:j
 Vi Vt N Adj

go trade older.brother dear

The eldest daughter of the ruler said, "We are going and searching for bamboo shoots to go and trade [for rice], dear older brother."

180. *vil hiʔ lɛ:ŋ*
 N Pro Adj

village 1P_exc dry

"Our village is dry."

181. *tɔ: bu:n dʌʔ taʔ nɛa*
 Neg Cop N Vt N

NEG EXIST water make/do field

"There is not enough water to make the fields."

182. *doj* *tʃaː tɬː buːn*
 N Vt Neg Cop
 rice.cooked eat NEG EXIST

"There is no rice to eat."

183. *mpoa lɣːj ɔn hiʔ tɬʔ tʃuajʔ aban paʔ tʃilɛh nai*
 N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Vi Vt Det
 father so allow 1P_exc come search bamboo.shoot go trade this

laʔ

Prt

Prt_evidential

"So our father had us come search for bamboo shoots to go and trade, that's the reason."

184. *aj wɔw kʰan nɛːw kiː mpai it aban*
 N Vt Subordconn Prep Det Pro Vt N
 older.brother speak if like that 2P take bamboo.shoot

advʔ nai laʔ

Prt Det Prt

Prt_completive this Prt_evidential

The older brother said, "If it's like that, you take all the bamboo shoots [and put] them [down]."

185. *aj si tʃɔk tʰrɔː ɔn mpai tʃiː tʃaː dɔːk*
 N Vaux Vt N Subordconn Pro Vt Vt Prt
 older.brother IRR take.out rice for 2P return eat Prt_conclusion

Older brother - "[I] will scoop rice [out of the bag] for you all to return [home] and eat."

186. *sem aj lɣːj pɛa kan tʃɔk tʰrɔː ɔn*
 N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt N Subordconn
 younger.sibling older.brother so invite RECIP take.out rice for

kamul tapul mprɛːk

N Num Vt

female.unmarried seven carry.pole

So the brothers helped each other scoop out rice for the seven young women to carry [the rice] on a pole.

187. *ɣʔj* *ɑj* *ntʃum* *hiʔ* *tʃu:* *wəaj* *də:*
 N N N Pro Vt Adv Prt
 older.sister older.brother group 1P_exc return now Prt_informative

The eldest daughter - "Older brother, our group will return home now."

188. *jah* *panəa* *pʰɔ:* *kɔ:n* *tʃu:* *tɔʔ* *doŋ* *abluh* *paj*
 Top N Subordconn N Vt Vt N Vt Subordconn
 meanwhile ruler when child return come house ask COMP

kɔ:n *ŋkoaʔ* *ɔ:n* *mpai* *pɔʔ* *tʃuajʔ* *abaŋ*
 N Pro Vt Pro Vi Vt N

child 1S allow 2P go search bamboo.shoot

As for the ruler, when the children returned and came to the house [he] asked [them], "Children, I asked you to go and search for bamboo shoots."

189. *mpai* *mpɛʔ* *bu:n* *tʰrɔ:* *a-tʃu:*
 Pro Pro Vt N Vt
 2P why have rice CAUS-return

"Why have you brought back rice?"

190. *kɔ:n* *hiʔ* *it* *nɔŋ* *sɛ:m* *ɑj* *tapu:l* *naʔ* *ɣt*
 N Pro Vt Prep N N Num Clf Vi

child 1P_exc take from younger.sibling older.brother seven Clf_person live

nɔŋ *koh* *tɛh*
 Prep N Det

in mountain there.far

Children - "We took [it] from seven brothers who live in those far mountains."

191. *kʰan* *nɛ:w* *ki:* *mu:* *tamai* *mpai* *pɔʔ* *it* *a-tʃu:* *ɛn*
 Subordconn Prep Det N Adj Pro Vi Vt Vt Adv

if like that day new 2P go take CAUS-return again
mɛʔ

Prt

Prt_soft_command

"If that is what happened, in a few days, you go taking [bamboo shoots] and bring back [rice] again."

192. *ba: p̄aī siŋaī tɔ: pɿ? sɛ:m* *ɣj* *ka?* *pɿ? t̄f̄uaj?*
 Num Num Clf Adj N N Coordconn Vi Vt
 two three Clf_day next younger.sibling older.sister then go search

abaŋ *ɛn*
 N Adv

bamboo.shoot again

A few days later, the sisters went searching for bamboo shoots again.

193. *m̄ɯt sɛ:k t̄hrɔ: nɿŋ baw tapu:l na? m̄plɛ? t̄jja?*
 Vt Vt N Prep N Num Clf Prep Prep
 enter request rice from young.man seven Clf_person like before
 [They] went and requested rice from the seven young men just like before.

194. *bu:n t̄hrɔ: a-t̄f̄u: paleaj? ku: t̄jja?*
 Cop N Vt Quant Prep Prep

EXIST rice CAUS-return many same before

There was plenty of rice for them to bring back the same as before.

195. *paleaj? t̄f̄u: du pɿ?*
 Quant Clf Adv Vi

many Clf_time often go

[The daughters] went [to get rice] many times and often.

196. *ɣj hu:k aka:c pɿ? t̄f̄ileh ka? l̄ɣj pɿ? ɣt nɿŋ*
 N Adj Adj Vi Vt Coordconn Coordconn Vi Vi Prep
 older.sister big lazy go trade then so go live with

aj hu:k kɔ:n kam̄ɯt l̄ɣj
 N Adj N N Prt

older.brother big child orphan Prt_intensifier

The eldest daughter got too lazy to go trade [for rice] and so went to live with the oldest orphan child.

197. *tɔ: pʌʔ sɛ:m kuaj tʰi: bə: kuaj tʰi: pʌi*
 Adj N N Subordconn Num N Subordconn Num
 next younger.sibling person REL two person REL three
tʃon tʌʔ sɛ:m alʌh kaʔ pʌʔ ɣt nʌŋ bəw
 Subordconn Vt N Adj Coordconn Vi Vi Prep N
 until come younger.sibling youngest then go live with young.man
kɥ: naʔ
 Quant Clf
 every Clf_person

Next, the second oldest sister and the third oldest until the last sister came and went to live with one of the young men.

198. *panəa daŋ kaʔ lɣj ɔn tʰaha:n pʌʔ atɣŋ tapu:l kɔ:n kamɥ:t*
 N Vt Coordconn Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt Num N N
 ruler know then so cause soldier go say seven child orphan
pa:j kʰan ma:k kɔ:n kamu:l ŋkoʌʔ ŋpʌi kɥ: naʔ
 Subordconn Subordconn Vt N N Pro Pro Quant Clf
 COMP if like child female.unmarried 1S 2P every Clf_person
tɔŋ pʌʔ sɛ:k
 Vaux Vi Vt
 must go request

[When] the ruler found out, then [he] had his soldiers go tell the seven orphans, "If you like my daughters, every one of you must come and ask [to marry her]."

199. *a:j hu:k daŋ nɛ:w ki: lɣj it tʰɔ: it do:j*
 N Adj Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vt N Vt N
 older.brother big know like that so take rice take rice.cooked
paləaj? lɥ? pʌʔ sɛ:k kɔ:n panəa
 Quant Adv Vi Vt N N
 many very go request child ruler

When the eldest brother learned of this, [he] then took a large amount of rice and cooked rice and went and asked to marry the ruler's child.

200. *kɥ: naʔ tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ ɣt tʃa: manɣj*
 Quant Clf Vi Vi Vt Adv
 every Clf_person marry live eat together
 Everyone got married, living and eating together.

201. *panə məpɛ? tʰraɪ̃ məpɛ? nə paləaj? tɔŋ ɔn*
N Vt N Vt N Quant N Prep

ruler divide field divide field many field for

The ruler divided many rice fields and dry fields for [the new couples].

202. *bu:n tɛ: rua? kɯ: kɯ: siŋaɪ̃*
Cop Prep Adj Quant Quant Clf

EXIST from happy every every Clf_day

They had only happiness all of their days.

203. *sot*

Prt

Prt_completive

The End.

Appendix 2

The Big Snake Son-in-Law

1. *pat̪iam* *kuɪtʰan* *huuk*

N N Adj

son-in-law snake big

The big snake son-in-law.

2. *tɛ:* *lɑ:* *du:n* *tʰɑ?* *tʃɑ:* *bu:n* *vɪl* *bu:n*

Prep N N Vt Prt Cop N Cop

from past time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST village EXIST

atʃujh *tʰaw* *ajea?* *tʰaw*

N Adj N Adj

grandfather old grandmother old

Once upon a time there was a village with an old grandfather and an old grandmother.

3. *ba:* *na?* *bu:n* *kɔ:n* *kamu:l* *tapət* *na?*

Num Clf Vt N N Num Clf

two Clf_person have child female.unmarried six Clf_person

They had six unmarried daughters.

4. *muj* *siŋai* *mpɛ?* *mpoa* *pʌ?* *tʃuaj?* *ɲw?* *tʃi:n*

Num Clf N N Vi Vt N Adj

one Clf_day mother father go search mango ripe

One day, the mother and father went to search for ripe mangoes.

5. *pʰɔ:* *pʌ?* *tʰɑ?* *sʌk* *ka?* *hu:m* *kal* *ɲw?* *paleaj?* *kal*

Subordconn Vi Vt N Coordconn Vt N N Quant Clf

when go come forest so see tree mango many Clf_tree

When they had gone and came to the forest, [they] saw many mango trees.

6. *tɛ:* *tɑ:* *hu:m* *ɲw?* *tʃi:n* *tɛ:* *muj* *ɔk*

Coordconn Neg Vt N Adj Coordconn Num Clf

but NEG see mango ripe but one Clf_fruit

But they did not see any ripe mangos, not even one.

7. atʃujh t^haw wəw kap m̄pai paj jw? tʃin pa? tʃo? lɛ?
 N Adj Vt Prep N Subordconn N Adj Vi Prep Pro
 grandfather old speak with wife COMP mango ripe go to where

jɛ?

Prt

Prt_completive

The old grandfather said to his wife, "Where have all the ripe mangoes gone?"

8. mahāi n̄trɛa ɣt hu:m paɭaj? naŋ
 N N Adv Vt Quant Adv
 yesterday two.days.ago still see many still

Two days ago I still saw many here.

9. tʃuaj? jw? tʃin tʃon pa? tɿ? kal jw? muaj kal
 Vt N Adj Subordconn Vi Vt N N Num Clf

search mango ripe until go come tree mango one Clf_tree

They searched for the ripe mangoes until they went and came to one particular mango tree.

10. hu:m kutʃ^han p̄ut a-kɔ:ŋ jw? kuaj? adv?
 Vt N Adj Vt N Vi Prt

see snake big CAUS-pile.up mango hug Prt_completive

[They] saw a big snake which had piled up mangoes and wrapped [itself] around all [of them].

11. kutʃ^han p̄ut ki: pɛn kutʃ^han paŋɛa oŋin plɛŋ tʃak tɿ?
 N Adj Det Cop N N N Vt N Vt

snake big that be snake king god change body come

That big snake was the snake god king which had transformed itself into a body and come [down to earth].

12. kutʃ^han abluh ba: t^haw paj k^han m̄pai ja? bu:n jw? tʃin
 N Vt Num Adj Subordconn Subordconn Pro Vaux Vt N Adj
 snake ask two old COMP if 2P want have mango ripe

ŋkoa? si ɔ:n

Pro Vaux Vd

1S IRR give

The snake asked the two old ones, "If you want to have my ripe mangoes, [I] will give [them to you]."

13. *tɛ: kɔ:n kamu:l ma:i mu:aj na? mu:aj na? tɔŋ*
 Coordconn N N Pro Num Clf Num Clf Vaux
 but child female.unmarried 2S one Clf_person one Clf_person must
pɛn mpa:i ŋkoa?
 Cop N Pro
 be wife 1S

But one of your daughters must become my wife.

14. *aɣɛa? t^haw lɣ:j abluh kut^han pa:j kɔ:n kamu:l*
 N Adj Coordconn Vt N Subordconn N N
 grandmother old so ask snake COMP child female.unmarried
ŋkoa? paɣaj? na? si it nɔw aɣɛ?
 Pro Quant Clf Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn

1S many Clf_person IRR take 3S_polite who
 So the old grandmother asked the snake, "I have many unmarried daughters, which one will [you] take?"

15. *kut^han wɔw pa:j k^han nɛ:w ki: it sa: nai*
 N Vt Subordconn Subordconn Prep Det Vt Prep Det
 snake speak COMP if like that take like this
 The snake said, "If it's like that, [I will] chose like this."

16. *k^han nɔw aɣɛ? t^hja: jw? ŋkoa? nɔw a-ki: tɔŋ*
 Subordconn Pro Subordconn Vt N Pro Pro Pro Vaux
 if 3S_polite who eat mango 1S 3S_polite INTENS-that must
pɛn mpa:i ŋkoa?
 Cop N Pro

be wife 1S
 "She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."

17. *ma:i wɔw ɔ:n alaj tamu:ŋ dɔ:*
 Pro Vt Vt Pro Vi Prt
 2S speak allow 3P listen Prt_soft_command

"You tell them so that they will understand."

18. *abu:di: ŋkoa? si mu:t t^ho? kut^han wɔw*
 N Pro Vaux Vt Prep N Vt
 evening.this 1S IRR enter in snake speak

"This evening, I will [come and] enter into [your house]," the snake said.

19. *tʃɿ:* *ajɛaʔ* *tʰaw atʃijh* *tʰaw kaʔ* *to:c* *ɲwʔ* *tʃi:n*
 Coordconn N Adj N Adj Coordconn Vt N Adj

then grandmother old grandfather old then pick.up mango ripe

tʃoʔ *ajan* *mpre:k* *tʃi:* *doŋ*
 Vt N Vt Vt N

place basket carry.pole return house

Then the old grandmother and the old grandfather picked up the ripe mangoes and put [them] in a basket which they tied to a pole and returned home.

20. *pʰɔ:* *tɿʔ* *doŋ* *kɔ:n* *kɿ:* *naʔ* *kaʔ* *taluh tɿʔ* *rap*
 Subordconn Vt N N Quant Clf Coordconn Vi Vt Vt

when come house child every Clf_person then run come receive

mpɛʔ

N

mother

When [they] came to the house, all of [their] children ran and came to greet [their] mother.

21. *pʰɔ:* *mpɛʔ* *atʃuh* *ajan* *kaʔ* *wɔw* *kap* *kɔ:n* *pa:j* *kɔ:n*
 Subordconn N Vt N Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn N

when mother set.down basket then speak with child COMP child

kʰan *amɿʔ* *tʃa: ɲwʔ* *tʃi:n* *nai* *tʃɿ:* *tɔŋ* *pɛn* *mpai* *kutʃʰan* *huuk*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Adj Det Coordconn Vaux Cop N N Adj

if anyone eat mango ripe this then must be wife snake big

dɿ:

Prt

Prt_informative

When the mother had set down the basket, [she] said to the children, "Children, if anyone eats these ripe mangoes, then [that person] must become the wife of a big snake."

22. *mpe?* *kap* *m̥poa* *lɔj* *waw* *lɔ:aj* *tʰi:* *ramoh* *ɔ:n*
 N Coordconn N Prt Vt N Subordconn Vt Vt
 mother and father Prt_intensifier speak story REL meet allow

kɔ:n *tamuj*

N Vi

child listen

So the mother and father told the story of what had happened and had the children listen.

23. *pʰɔ:* *kɔ:n* *day* *lɔ:aj* *ka?* *tɔ:* *bun* *amɔ?* *ka:* *tʃa:* *ɲɔ?*
 Subordconn N Vt N Coordconn Neg Cop Pro Vaux Vt N
 when child know story then NEG EXIST anyone dare eat mango

tʃin *kʰɔ:ŋ* *kutʃʰan* *pɔ:t* *lɔ:j*

Adj Poss N Adj Prt

ripe POSS snake big Prt_intensifier

After the children understood the story, no one dared to eat the big snake's ripe mangoes at all.

24. *bun* *kɔ:n* *alɔh* *mɔaj* *na?* *tʰi:* *ka:* *tʃa:*
 Cop N Adj Num Clf Subordconn Vaux Vt
 EXIST child youngest one Clf_person REL dare eat

The youngest daughter was the only one who dared to eat [the mangoes].

25. *sem* *waw* *pa:j* *ŋkoa?* *maha:ŋ* *ŋkoa?* *si* *tʃa:* *pɛn* *m̥pai*
 N Vt Subordconn Pro Adj Pro Vaux Vt Cop N
 younger.sibling speak COMP 1S hungry 1S IRR eat be wife

kutʃʰan *ka?* *pɛn*

N Coordconn Cop

snake then be

The younger daughter said, "I am hungry; I will eat [the mangoes], and if [I] become the snake's wife, so be [it]."

26. *sɛm* *alɔh* *lɣːj* *tʃaː ɲw?* *tʃiːn mɯaj na?*
 N Adj Prt Vt N Adj Num Clf
 younger.sibling youngest Prt_intensifier eat mango ripe one Clf_person

tʃon *ɲɛ?*
 Subordconn Prt

until Prt_completive

So the youngest daughter ate the ripe mangoes by herself until they were completely gone.

27. *pʰɔː* *tɰ?* *abuː* *kutʃʰan huuk ka?* *sɛŋ* *tɛː* *koh* *siaŋ*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vi Prep N N

when come evening snake big then descend from mountain noise
ɲtraːŋ ukka?tuuk
 Adj Interj

loud crash.boom

When evening came, the big snake came down from the mountain with a loud crashing noise.

28. *pʰɔː* *tɰ?* *doŋ* *aɣɛa?* *tʰaw an ka?* *loːj* *mɯt kloːŋ doŋ*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N N

when come house woman old 3S then slither enter inside house
 When it came to the old woman's house, [it] slithered and entered into the house.

29. *ɲpoa* *ɲpɛ?* *huːm saː kɨː ka?* *lɣːj* *atrːŋ kɔːn*
 N N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Prt Vt N

father mother see like that then Prt_intensifier say child

kamuːl *tɛŋ* *kʰan sɔːŋ* *pɰ? kakuh* *ajak* *tʰiː*
 N Vt N Vi Vi N Subordconn

female.unmarried prepare ceremony.five.pairs go pray.kneel husband REL
pɛn kutʃʰan

Cop N

be snake

The father and mother saw what was happening and so told [their] daughter to go and prepare the ceremony of the five pairs of candles and to go kneel before her husband who was a snake.

30. *sɛm* *alɬh* *ŋkɔh* *paɬaj?*
 N Adj Vt Adv

younger.sibling youngest fear very

The youngest sister was very afraid.

31. *tɛ:* *ta?* *ŋtraw* *tɔ:* *bu:n*
 Coordconn Vt Pro Neg Vi

but make/do anything NEG able

But she could not do anything about it.

32. *an* *lɣj* *mɯt* *tʃo?* *kutʃʰan* *pɯt* *tɛ:* *mɯaj* *na?*
 Pro Prt Vt Prep N Adj Prep Num Clf

3S Prt_intensifier enter to snake big from one Clf_person

So she went to the big snake all by herself.

33. *an* *ŋkɔh* *tʃon* *lɔŋ* *ji:* *ŋɛ?*
 Pro Vt Subordconn N Vi Prt

3S fear until leg shake Prt_completive

She was so afraid that her legs were shaking completely.

34. *tɛ:* *tɔŋ* *mɯt* *ŋu:n* *tʃa:* *ŋw?* *tʃi:n* *kutʃʰan* *ŋɛ?*
 Coordconn Vaux Vt Subordconn Vt N Adj N Prt

but must enter because eat mango ripe snake Prt_completive

tʃa:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.

35. *kutʃʰan* *hu:k* *hu:m* *an* *pɛn* *nɛ:w* *ki:* *lɣj* *wɔw* *kap* *an* *pa:j* *ma:*
 N Adj Vt Pro Cop Prep Det Coordconn Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Pro

snake big see 3S be like that so speak with 3S COMP 2S

pɛn *kuaj* *tanɔŋ*

Cop N Adj

be person honest

The big snake saw that she was like that and so said to her, "You are an honest person."

36. *ŋkʰoaʔ si tuajh ru:p ɔ:m ma: huum*

Pro Vaux Vt N Vt Pro Vt

1S IRR take.off form allow 2S see

"I will take off my form and allow you to see [me as I really am]."

37. *pʰɔ: waw tʃa: kutʃʰan hu:k ka? tuajh ŋkʰo:l*

Subordconn Vt Prt N Adj Coordconn Vt N

when speak Prt_seq_completive snake big then take.off skin

kutʃʰan loah

N Vi

snake go.out

When [he] finished speaking, the big snake took the snake skin off.

38. *an pen kuaj mac paleajʔ*

Pro Cop N Adj Adv

3S be person beautiful very

He was a very handsome person.

39. *se:m alah huum sa: ki: an ka? si:m mi:t paleajʔ*

N Adj Vt Prep Det Pro Coordconn Adj Adv

younger.sibling youngest see like that 3S then happy very

[When] the youngest sister saw what he was like, she was very happy.

40. *pʰɔ: paŋ aru:p se:m alah ka? pe:a aja:k*

Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vt N

when shine morning younger.sibling youngest then invite husband

tʰi: pen kutʃʰan pa? tʃita:l tʰrai

Subordconn Cop N Vi Vt N

REL be snake go clear.field field

When morning came, the youngest daughter invited [her] husband who was a snake to go clear the fields.

41. *pʰɔ: ta? tʰrai kutʃʰan hu:k ka? tuajh ŋkʰo:l kutʃʰan loah pen*

Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vt N N Vi Cop

when come field snake big then take.off skin snake go.out be

kuaj tʃita:l tʰrai tʃon tʃa:

N Vt N Subordconn Vi

person clear.field field until finish

When they arrived at the field, the big snake took his snake skin off and became a person for clearing the fields until [they] finished.

42. *sɛm* *alɰh* *kɯt* *nɰŋ* *m̩t* *paj* *ta?* *nɛw* *lɛ?*
 N Adj Vi Prep N Subordconn Vt Pro
 younger.sibling youngest think in heart COMP make/do how
aja:k *haj* *tʃaŋ* *si* *pɛn* *kuaj* *sa:* *nai* *kɯ:* *kɯ:* *siŋai* *pɰ?*
 N Pro Coordconn Vaux Cop N Prep Det Quant Quant Clf Vi
 husband 1P_inc then IRR be person like this every every Clf_day go
 The youngest daughter thought in her heart what she could do so that our husband
 would be a person like this all the time.

43. *p^hɔ:* *tɰ?* *mu:* *tamai* *an* *ka?* *wɰw* *mɯaj* *na?* *sa:* *kɯ:*
 Subordconn Vt N Adj Pro Coordconn Vt Num Clf Prep Det
 when come day new 3S then speak one Clf_person like that
ɛn *tʃon* *tʃom* *sia:k* *nɰŋ* *kal* *aluaj* *sɰŋ*
 Adv Subordconn N N Prep N N Vt
 again until bird crow on tree stem hear
 The next day, she kept saying the same thing to herself out loud until a crow up in
 the tree heard [her].

44. *sia:k* *lɰ:j* *wɰw* *kap* *sɛm* *alɰh* *paj* *tɰ:* *ŋɛa?*
 N Coordconn Vt Prep N Adj Subordconn Neg Adj
 crow so speak with younger.sibling youngest COMP NEG difficult
ŋkoa? *si* *tʃɯaj*
 Pro Vaux Vt

1S IRR help

So the crow spoke with the youngest daughter, "It's not difficult. I will help [you]."

45. *ŋkoa?* *si* *tʃɯaj* *tɰ:* *mai* *tɰŋ* *tʃɛ:m* *ŋkoa?* *ɔ:n* *pasai*
 Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn Vi
 1S IRR help but 2S must feed 1S for satisfy

"I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."

46. *tʃɰ:* *ŋkoa?* *si* *atɰ:ŋ* *k^hwam-kɯt* *ŋkoa?* *ɔ:n* *tamɯŋ*
 Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt N Pro Subordconn Vi
 then 1S IRR say NMLZ-think 1S for listen

"Then I will tell my idea for [you] to understand."

47. *p^hɔ:* *sɛ:m* *alɰh* *tʃɛ:m* *tʃom* *sia:k* *tʃon* *pasai*
 Subordconn N Adj Vt N N Subordconn Vi

when younger.sibling youngest feed bird crow until satisfy

tʃɰ: *an ka?* *atɰŋ paj* *ma:i ta?* *sa: nai*
 Prt Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Pro Vt Prep Det

Prt_seq_completive 3S then say COMP 2S make/do like this

də:

Prt

Prt_soft_command

When the youngest daughter had fed the crow until [it] was satisfied, it then told her, "You will do something like this."

48. *tʃom wəw* *ŋkoa?* *si* *ŋkɛ:m* *it* *ŋk^ho:l* *kutʃ^han* *an a-du:ŋ*
 N Vt Pro Vaux Vt Vt N N Pro Vi

bird speak 1S IRR mouth.hold take skin snake 3S CAUS-bring/take

The bird said, "I will grab [it] in my beak and take his snake skin away."

49. *p^hɔ:* *ŋkoa?* *par* *ɰt* *pɰŋ kanɔ:ŋ* *ujh* *ma:i ka?* *ta?*
 Subordconn Pro Vi Vi Prep N N Pro Coordconn Vt

when 1S fly located over pile fire 2S then make/do

atujh *ŋkoa?*

Vt Pro

chase.away 1S

"When I fly and am located over the fire, you shoo me away."

50. *ŋkoa?* *si* *patah* *ŋk^ho:l* *kutʃ^han* *tʃo?* *ujh*
 Pro Vaux Vt N N Prep N

1S IRR free skin snake in fire

"I will drop the snake's skin into the fire."

51. *p^hɔ:* *ujh* *ka:t* *ŋk^ho:l* *kutʃ^han* *an* *ŋɛ?* *tʃɰ:* *an ka?*
 Subordconn N Vt N N Pro Prt Coordconn Pro Coordconn

when fire burn skin snake 3S Prt_completive then 3S then

pɛn kuaj *ku:* *ku:* *siŋai* *dɔ:k*
 Cop N Quant Quant Clf Prt

be person every every Clf_day Prt_conclusion

"When the fire burns up his snake skin completely, then he will be a person from then on for sure."

52. *sɛ:m* *alɬ* *pɑj* *mɛ:n* *kʰɔ:ŋ* *mɑi* *wɑw*
 N Adj Subordconn Adj Poss Pro Vt

younger.sibling youngest COMP true POSS 2S speak

The youngest sister said, "What you say is true."

53. *pʰɔ:* *daŋ* *nɛ:w* *kɿ:* *sɛ:m* *alɬ* *ka?* *ɔn* *tʃom*
 Subordconn Vt Prep Det N Adj Coordconn Vt N

when know like that younger.sibling youngest then allow bird

ŋkɛ:m *ŋkʰo:l* *kutʃʰan* *pɬ?*
 Vt N N Vi

mouth.hold skin snake go

When they knew the plan, the youngest sister had the bird pick up the snake skin in its mouth and go.

54. *pʰɔ:* *tʃom* *par* *pɣ:ŋ* *kanɔ:ŋ* *ujh* *sɛ:m* *ka?* *ta?*
 Subordconn N Vi Prep N N N Coordconn Vt

when bird fly over pile fire younger.sibling then make/do

atujh *sɑ:h* *sɑ:h*
 Vt Interj Interj

chase.away shoo shoo

When the bird flew over the fire, the younger sister pretended to chase [it] away, "Shoo, shoo!"

55. *tʃom* *siak* *it* *ŋkʰo:l* *mɑi* *a-du:ŋ* *tʃɑ:* *tʰaw* *ɣ:j*
 N N Vt N Pro Vi Prt Adj Adj

bird crow take skin 2S CAUS-bring/take Prt_seq_completive old dear

"The crow has taken your skin away, dear old [one]!"

56. *ajak* *sɑŋ* *nɛ:w* *kɿ:* *ka?* *talujh* *tɬ?* *tʃuaj*
 N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vi Vt Vt

husband hear like that then run come help

The husband heard what was going on and so ran and came to help.

57. *tɛ:* *tɬ:* *tʃitɣ:m*
 Prep Neg Vt

from NEG reach

[But he] did not reach [it].

58. *tʃom siak patah ŋkʰo:l sɛ:ŋ tʃoʔ ujh*
 N N Vt N Vi Prep N

bird crow free skin descend in fire

The crow dropped the skin down into the fire.

59. *ujh kat tʃon ɲɛʔ*
 N Vt Subordconn Prt

fire burn until Prt_completive

The fire burned [it] up completely.

60. *ajak hu:m nɛ:w ki: kaʔ ɲɛam*
 N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vi

husband see like that then cry

The husband saw what happened and cried.

61. *sɛm alɰ wəw kap ajak paj an kat*
 N Adj Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Vt

younger.sibling youngest speak with husband COMP 3S burn

tʃɰ: kaʔ tʃɰ: do:k
 Prt Coordconn Vi Prt

Prt_seq_completive then finish Prt_conclusion

The youngest sister said to her husband, "It has been burned up and is finished for sure."

62. *mɑi kaʔ tɰ: tɔŋ tʃoʔ ŋkʰo:l kutʃʰan nɰŋ*
 Pro Coordconn Neg Vaux Vt N N Prt

2S then NEG must wear skin snake Prt_intensifier

"You do not have to wear the snake skin any more."

63. *pɛn kuaj kaʔ ɔ: paleajʔ ɣ:t*
 Cop N Coordconn Adj Adv Adv

be person then good very still

"Being a person is still very good."

64. *pʰɔ: sɰŋ ɲpɑi wəw nɛ:w ki: an kaʔ pɛʔ ɲɛam*
 Subordconn Vt N Vt Prep Det Pro Coordconn Vi Vi

when hear wife speak like that 3S then stop cry

When he heard [his] wife was saying these things, he stopped crying.

65. *mpaī lɣj it kum kutʃah tɛaː mɛaŋ ɔn aja:k*
 N Coordconn Vt N N Vt N Prep N
 wife so take black charcoal spread face for husband
 So the wife took black charcoal to spread on her husband's face.

66. *ŋkɔh sɛm ɣj hu:m si ɳtruh mɪt*
 Vt N N Vt Vaux Vt N
 fear younger.sibling older.sister see IRR fall heart
 [She] feared her sisters would see and be surprised.

67. *tʃiː tɛː tʰraī ka? tʃiː sidaw sidaw*
 Vt Prep N Coordconn Vt N N
 return from field then return night night
 [They] returned from the fields late at night.

68. *pʰɔː paŋ aru:p ɳpe? ka? alɔŋ kɔn pa? tʰraī*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt N Vi N
 when shine morning mother then call child go field
 The next morning [the mother] called [her] child to go to the fields.

69. *pʰɔː hu:m patɪ:am juar a-tʃo:n ɳpe? tʰaw ka? ɳtruh*
 Subordconn Vt N Vi Vi N Adj Coordconn Vt
 when see son-in-law stand CAUS-go.up mother old then fall

mɪt hu:m patɪ:am pɛn kuaj
 N Vt N Cop N
 heart see son-in-law be person

When she saw her son-in-law stand up, the old mother was surprised to see that he was a person.

70. *sɛm alah lɣj wɔw ɔn ɳpe? tamuŋ*
 N Adj Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Vi
 younger.sibling youngest so speak for mother listen
 So the youngest sister spoke for [her] mother to understand.

71. *pʰɔ:* *tʃilɪa?* *patɪam* *ka?* *pah* *ujh* *pum*
 Subordconn N N Coordconn Vt N Prep

when mid-morning son-in-law then chop firewood under

karum *mpai ka?* *it* *da?* *tʃon* *doŋ*
 N N Coordconn Vt N Vt N

area.under.house wife then take water go.up house

Around mid-morning, the son-in-law chopped firewood under the house and [his] wife took water up into the house.

72. *kru* *tʃipɔt* *da?* *hɔk* *tʃo?* *ajak* *ne?*
 N Vi N Vi Prep N Prt

bucket slip.off water spill on husband Prt_completive

The bucket tipped over and water spilled all over the husband.

73. *pʰɔ:* *da?* *krɪn* *kum* *naŋ* *mɛaŋ* *ka?* *loah* *tʃon*
 Subordconn N Vt N Prep N Coordconn Vi Subordconn

when water touch black on face then go.out until

ne? *pen* *mac* *paleaj?*
 Prt Cop Adj Adv

Prt_completive be beautiful very

When the water touched the black [charcoal] on his face, it came off completely, and [he] was very handsome.

74. *pʰɔ:* *sem* *ɻj* *hu:m* *sa:* *ki:* *ka?* *ntruh* *mit*
 Subordconn N N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vt N

when younger.sibling older.sister see like that then fall heart

When the sisters saw him like that, they were surprised.

75. *waw* *tʃo?* *sem* *paj* *mai* *mpɛ?* *bu:n* *ajak* *mac* *alɔ:*
 Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Pro Vt N Adj Adv

speak to younger.sibling COMP 2S why have husband beautiful very

They said to the younger sister, "Why do you have such a beautiful husband?"

76. *hi?* *ja?* *bu:n* *sa:* *mai* *kɪ:* *kan*
 Pro Vaux Vt Prep Pro Prep Pro

1P_exc want have like 2S same RECIP

We want to have [a husband] just like you the same for each one of us.

77. *taŋ tɛː kɨː sɛm* *alah* *kaʔ* *ɣt* *kap* *aja:k* *manɣj*
 Prep Det N Adj Coordconn Vi Prep N Adv

since that younger.sibling youngest then live with husband together

ruaʔ *ɔː*

Adj Adj

happy good

Since that time, the youngest sister lived happily together with her husband.

78. *wəw* *tɔʔ* *ajeaʔ* *tʰaw* *atʃuɰh* *tʰaw* *ɛ:n* *mɯaj* *doŋ* *bu:n*
 Vt Vt N Adj N Adj Adv Num Clf Vt

speak come grandmother old grandfather old again one Clf_house have

kɔ:n *kamu:l* *mɯaj* *naʔ*

N N Num Clf

child female.unmarried one Clf_person

Now we will talk about an old man and old woman of another family who had one unmarried daughter.

79. *alaj* *jaʔ* *bu:n* *paɰam* *pɛn* *kuɰʰan* *hu:k* *kɯː* *kan*
 Pro Vaux Vt N Cop N Adj Prep Pro

3P want have son-in-law be snake big same RECIP

They wanted to have a son-in-law who was a big snake just the same as the other family.

80. *baː* *naʔ* *ŋpaɰi* *aja:k* *lɣj* *pɛa* *kan* *pɔʔ* *tʃuajʔ* *kuɰʰan*
 Num Clf N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Vt N

two Clf_person wife husband so invite RECIP go search snake

hu:k *ɣt* *naŋ* *koh* *ɔ:n* *pɛn* *aja:k* *kɔ:n* *kamu:l*

Adj Vi Prep N Subordconn Cop N N N

big located in mountain for be husband child female.unmarried

So both the wife and husband helped each other to go search for a big snake living in the mountains for [it] to be a husband for their daughter.

81. *p^hɔ:* *tɿ?* *koh* *ka?* *pɿ?* *kuac* *it* *kutʃ^han* *talɛn*
 Subordconn Vt N Coordconn Vi Vt Vt N N
 when come mountain then go lasso take snake constrictor.snake
a-du:ŋ *pɛn patɿ:am*
 Vi Cop N

CAUS-bring/take be son-in-law

When they arrived in the mountains, they went and snared a constrictor snake to take back to be their son-in-law.

82. *ba:* *na?* *mpai* *ajak* *pɛa* *kan* *lɛak* *tɿ:* *kutʃ^han*
 Num Clf Pro N Vt Pro Vt Vt N
 two Clf_person 2P husband invite RECIPIENT drag pull snake
talɛn *sɛŋ* *tɛ:* *koh*
 N Vi Prep N

constrictor.snake descend from mountain

Both the wife and husband helped each other to drag and pull the constrictor snake down from the mountain.

83. *p^hɔ:* *tɿ?* *doŋ* *ka?* *it* *kutʃ^han* *a-dɔ?* *naŋ* *klo:ŋ* *doŋ*
 Subordconn Vt N Coordconn Vt N Vi Prep N N

when come house then take snake CAUS-place in inside house
 When they arrived home, they took the snake and placed [it] inside the house.

84. *p^hɔ:* *abu:* *ka?* *ɔ:n* *kɔ:n* *kamuɿl* *tɛ:ŋ*
 Subordconn N Coordconn Vt N N Vt

when evening then cause child female.unmarried prepare
k^han sɿ:ŋ *mɿ:t* *tʃo?*
 N Vt Prep

ceremony.five.pairs enter to

During the evening, [they] made [their] daughter prepare the ceremony of the five pairs of candles to enter into [the house].

85. *kɔ:n* *kamuɿl* *wəw* *paj* *ŋkoɑ?* *ŋkɔh* *ŋkoɑ?* *tɿ:* *ka:* *mɿ:t*
 N N Vt Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Neg Vaux Vt

child female.unmarried speak COMP 1S fear 1S NEG dare enter
 The daughter said, "I am afraid; I do not dare to enter [the house]."

86. *m̥pɛ?* *wəw* *paj* *kʰan* *tɬ* *m̥t* *ŋkoa?* *si* *a-tʃit* *m̥i*
 N Vt Subordconn Subordconn Neg Vt Pro Vaux Vt Pro
 mother speak COMP if NEG enter 1S IRR CAUS-die 2S

The mother said, "If you don't enter, I will kill you."

87. *kɔ:n* *kamuɬ* *lɣj* *m̥t*
 N N Coordconn Vt
 child female.unmarried so enter

So the daughter entered [into the house].

88. *pʰɔ:* *sidaw* *mahɔj?* *kutʃʰan* *huuk* *ka?* *hat* *an*
 Subordconn N N N Adj Coordconn Vt Pro
 when night moment snake big then wrap.around 3S

The moment night fell, the big snake wrapped [itself] around her.

89. *tʃɬ:* *ka?* *tʃa:* *an*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vt Pro
 then then eat 3S

And then [it] started to eat her.

90. *l̥m:n* *lɔ:ŋ* *an* *ŋuaj*
 Vt N Pro Num
 swallow leg 3S first

[It] swallowed her lower leg first.

91. *an* *lɣj* *alɔŋ* *ɔ:n* *m̥pɛ?* *tʃuaj*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Vt
 3S so call for mother help

So she called for her mother to help.

92. *alɔŋ* *paj* *m̥pɛ?* *kutʃʰan* *l̥m:n* *lɔ:ŋ* *ŋkoa?* *tʃɬ:*
 Vt Subordconn N N Vt N Pro Prt
 call COMP mother snake swallow leg 1S Prt_seq_completive

[She' called, "Mother, the snake has swallowed my leg!"

93. *m̥pɛ?* *ɣt* *jah* *noa?* *lɣj* *wəw* *kap* *ajak* *paj* *m̥i*
 N Vi N N Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro
 mother located side outside so speak with husband COMP 2S

ŋɛ:ŋ *mɛ?*
 Vt Prt

watch Prt_soft_command

So the mother, located outside, said to her husband, "Will you look at that!"

94. *ajak apɣr l:ŋ ka? atɣŋ mpe? mpoa*
 N Vt N Coordconn Vt N N

husband pet leg then say mother father

"[Her] husband is petting [her] leg and so [she] tells us."

95. *mpe? mpoa lɣj tɔ mɔt tʃuaj an*
 N N Coordconn Neg Vt Vt Pro

mother father so NEG enter help 3S

So the mother and father did not enter the house and help her.

96. *pʰɔ: ɛn mahɔj? kutʃʰan ka? lɔ:n tɔ? lu*
 Subordconn Adv N N Coordconn Vt Vt N

when again moment snake then swallow come thigh

In another moment, the snake swallowed up to her thigh.

97. *an ka? atɣŋ mpe? mpoa ɛn*
 Pro Coordconn Vt N N Adv

3S then say mother father again

Then she told her mother and father again.

98. *mpe? wɔw kap mpoa pa:j maɪ jɛ:ŋ mɛ?*
 N Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Vt Prt

mother speak with father COMP 2S watch Prt_soft_command

The mother said to the father, "Will you look at that!"

99. *ajak apɣr lu: ka? atɣŋ mpe? mpoa*
 N Vt N Coordconn Vt N N

husband pet thigh then say mother father

"[Her] husband pets [her] thigh and so [she] tells [her] mother and [her] father.

100. *pʰɔ: mahɔj? kutʃʰan hu:k ka? lɔ:n tɔ? ŋki:ŋ*
 Subordconn N N Adj Coordconn Vt Vt N

when moment snake big then swallow come waist

In a moment, the big snake swallowed up to her waist.

101. *an alɔŋ ɛn kutʃʰan lɔ:n ŋko:a? tɔ? ŋki:ŋ tʃɔ:*
 Pro Vt Adv N Vt Pro Vt N Prt

3S call again snake swallow 1S come waist Prt_seq_completive

She called out again, "The snake has swallowed me up to the waist!"

102. *m̥pɛʔ wəw kap m̥poa ɛ:n maᶞi nɛ:ŋ ajak atʃujʔ ŋkiŋ kaʔ*
 N Vt Prep N Adv Pro Vt N Vt N Coordconn

mother speak with father again 2S watch husband tickle waist then

atɻŋ haj

Vt Pro

say 1P_inc

The mother said to her husband again, "Will you look at that: [her] husband is tickling [her] waist, and she tells us."

103. *akan taː daŋ n̥traw l̥uʔ kɔ:n haj naᶞi*
 Adv Neg Vt Pro Adv N Pro Det

really NEG know anything very child 1P_inc this

"She really does not know anything at all, this child of ours."

104. *mahjʔ kaʔ l̥u:n tʌʔ mahɻ:m l̥u:n tʌʔ takɔ:ŋ*
 N Coordconn Vt Vt N Vt Vt N

moment then swallow come chest swallow come neck

The next moment, the snake swallowed up to her chest and up to her neck.

105. *an l̥ɻj tat m̥it paj taː bu:n amʌʔ tʌʔ tʃuaj tʃʌː kutʃit*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Neg Cop Pro Vt Vt Coordconn Vi

3S so decide COMP NEG EXIST who come help then die

kək kək

Adv Adv

sure sure

So she decided that [if] there was no one coming to help [her], then [she] would surely die.

106. *l̥ɻj it kʰan kruap m̥əŋ atʃaw du:m*
 Coordconn Vt N Vt N Pro

so take bowl cover face REFLEX

So [she] took a bowl and covered her own face.

107. *kutʃʰan huuk l̥ɻj l̥u:n an nɛʔ tʃak*
 N Adj Coordconn Vt Pro Prt N

snake big so swallow 3S Prt_completive body

So the big snake swallowed her whole body up.

108. *tri: ta: saŋ siaŋ ntraw*

Adj Neg Vt N Pro

quiet NEG hear noise anything

[It was] quiet, [they] did not hear any noise.

109. *mpe? mpoa ɣt jah noa? waw kan pa:j ne: aja:k*

N N Vi N N Vt Pro Subordconn Adv N

mother father located side outside speak RECIP COMP sure husband

atfoa? muaj tʃa: ka? bec na:

Vt Vi Coordconn Coordconn Vi Prt

pester tired then then lie Prt_consider

The mother and father, located outside, said to each other, "Surely the husband has pestered [her] and is tired and then went to sleep."

110. *pʰɔ: ta? paŋ aru:p pa? ameajh ko:n juar kʰoj do:j*

Subordconn Vt Vt N Vi Vt N Vi Vt N

when come shine morning go awaken child stand steam rice.cooked

ka? ta: saŋ siaŋ ntraw

Coordconn Neg Vt N Pro

then NEG hear noise anything

When the next morning came, [the mother] went to awaken her child to get up and steam the rice, [she] did not hear any noise.

111. *mpe? lɣ:j waw pa:j ne: bu:n aja:k tʃa:*

N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Adv Vt N Prt

mother so speak COMP sure have husband Prt_seq_completive

la? tamɑ: tʃilia?

Prt Vi N

Prt_evidential wake.up mid-morning

So the mother said, "Sure, [she] has a husband and so wakes up late."

112. *aka:c lu?*

Adj Adv

lazy very

"She is so lazy!"

113. *pʰɔ: puh patu: pa? nɛ:ŋ ka? ta: hu:m amɑ?*

Subordconn Vt N Vi Vt Coordconn Neg Vt Pro

when open door go watch then NEG see anyone

When [she] opened the door to go and look, [she] did not see anyone.

114. *hu:m tɛ: pɔ:ŋ jah kli: doŋ*

Vt Adv N N Adv N

see only hole side after house

[She] only saw a hole at the back of the house.

115. *mpɛ? nɛam talu:h pa? atɔ:ŋ ajak paj kutʃʰan tʃa: kɔ:m haj*

N Vi Vi Vi Vt N Subordconn N Vt N Pro

mother cry run go say husband COMP snake eat child 1P_inc

tʰaw ɔ:j

Adj Adj

old dear

The mother cried and ran to go say to [her] husband, "The snake ate our child, dearest."

116. *an pɛn kutʃʰan lu? tɔ: mɛ:m kutʃʰan baŋbot tɔ?*

Pro Cop N Adj Neg Adj N Vt Vt

3S be snake true NEG true snake transform come

It was a real snake; [it] is not true that [it was] a transformed snake come [down from the heavens].

117. *tɔ: ku: kʰɔ:ŋ alaj*

Neg Prep Poss Pro

NEG same POSS 3P

[It] was not the same as theirs [previous family].

118. *mpoa kap mpɛ? lɔ:j pa? nam kɔ:m*

N Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt N

father and mother so go follow child

So the father and mother went and followed [their] child.

119. *tɛ: ka? nam kutʃʰan hu:k tɔ: tʃitɔ:m*

Coordconn Coordconn Vt N Adj Neg Vt

but then follow snake big NEG reach

But though they followed the big snake, [they] did not reach [it].

120. *bu:n tɛ: nɛam tʃi: tʃo? doŋ*

Vi Adv Vi Vt Prep N

able only cry return to house

[They] could only cry and return to their house.

121. wəw tɔ? ba: na? sɛ:m a:j ʁ:t nɔŋ
 Vt Vt Num Clf N N Vi Prep

speak come two Clf_person younger.sibling older.brother live with

v? rakɔŋ mɔaj na?

N N Num Clf

grandfather man one Clf_person

Now we will talk about two brothers who lived with their grandfather.

122. ta? t^hraī ʁ:t nɔŋ koh

Vt N Vi Prep N

make/do field located in mountain

They farmed in the mountains.

123. mɔaj siŋai ba: na? sɛ:m a:j pɔ? mɛ? alb:
 Num Clf Num Clf N N Vi Vt N

one Clf_day two Clf_person younger.sibling older.brother go look trap

One day, the brothers went to look at [their] traps.

124. p^hɔ: pɔ? tɔ? hu:m alb: lai^h

Subordconn Vi Vt Vt N Vi

when go come see trap spring

When they went, they came and saw that a trap had been sprung.

125. p^hɔ: pɔ? nɛ:ŋ tʃɛ? tʃɛ? hu:m alb: tʃɔat kutʃ^han
 Subordconn Vi Vt Adv Adv Vt N Vt N

when go watch close close see trap caught snake

talɛn hu:k

N Adj

constrictor.snake big

When [they] went to look more closely, [they] saw that the trap had caught a big constrictor snake.

126. sɛ:m hu:m sa: ki: lɔ:ŋ a:j tɔ? nɛ:ŋ
 N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vt N Vt Vi

younger.sibling see like that so call older.brother come look

So when the younger brother had seen what had happened, he called the older brother to come and look.

127. *ba: na?* *se:m* *aj* *ly:j* *pea* *kan* *leak*
 Num Clf N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt
 two Clf_person younger.sibling older.brother so invite RECIP drag
kutʰan tʃu: *doŋ*
 N Vt N
 snake return house

So the two brothers helped each other to drag the snake back to the house.

128. *pʰɔ:* *tʰ?* *doŋ* *ba: na?* *se:m* *aj*
 Subordconn Vt N Num Clf N N
 when come house two Clf_person younger.sibling older.brother
ly:j *trɛ:h* *takro:*
 Coordconn Vi Vt
 so cut.open cut.meat

When the two brothers came to their house, [they] cut open [the snake] to get the meat.

129. *se:m* *waw* *pa:j* *kutʰan nai tʃa: ntraw*
 N Vt Subordconn N Det Vt Pro
 younger.sibling speak COMP snake this eat what

The younger brother said, "What did this snake eat?"

130. *mpɛ? puŋ* *huuk alɔ:*
 Pro N Adj Adv
 why stomach big very

"Why is it's stomach so big?"

131. *pʰɔ:* *trɛ:h* *pʌ? bi?* *bi?* *ka?* *hu:m kʰan ku:j?*
 Subordconn Vi Vi Adj Adj Coordconn Vt N Adj
 when cut.open go little little then see bowl small

When they had cut open [the snake] a little bit, they saw a small bowl.

132. *pʰɔ:* *puh* *kʰan loah* *ka?* *hu:m meŋ kuaj*
 Subordconn Vt N Vi Coordconn Vt N N
 when open bowl go.out then see face person

When they pulled off the bowl, [they] saw a person's face.

133. *sɛm* *wəw* *kap* *ɑj* *pɑj* *ɑj* *ɤj* *an*
 N Vt Prep N Subordconn N Adj Pro
 younger.sibling speak with older.brother COMP older.brother dear 3S

tʃaː kuaj

Vt N

eat person

The younger brother said to his older brother, "Dear brother, it has eaten a person!"

134. *ɑj* *hu:m* *lɤj* *wəw* *pɑj* *takɔːŋ* *an* *ɤt* *taŋuh* *nɔŋ*
 N Vt Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Pro Adv Vi Prep
 older.brother see so speak COMP neck 3S still pulse with

The elder brother saw [it] and so [he] said, "Her neck still has a pulse."

135. *an* *haː* *kutʃiːt* *wɛaj*

Pro Adv Vi Adv

3S not.yet die yet

She is not dead yet.

136. *koːaj* *koːaj* *trɛːh* *dəː*

Adj Adj Vi Prt

slow slow cut.open Prt_soft_command

"Slowly cut [the snake] open."

137. *padiː* *klap* *an*

Adv Vt Pro

just.then touch 3S

At that moment [they] touched her.

138. *pʰɔː* *trɛːh* *it* *an* *a-loah* *ka?* *tɪːaŋ* *an* *ɔb?* *nɔŋ*
 Subordconn Vi Vt Pro Vi Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Prep
 when cut.open take 3S CAUS-go.out then dry.sun 3S put on

rapaːŋ

N

rack.dry

When [they] had cut open [the snake] and taken her out, [they] then sun-dried her putting [her] on a drying rack.

139. *it* *doj* *it* *dɔ?* *it* *rahaw* *a-tʃɛm* *an* *pai* *siŋai*
 Vt N Vt N Vt N Vd Pro Num Clf

take rice.cooked take water take medicine CAUS-feed 3S three Clf_day

[They] took rice, water, and medicine and fed her for three days.

140. *an ka? ratʃaw bu:n*

Pro Coordconn Vi Vi

3S then wiggle able

Then she was able to move a little bit.

141. *p^hɔ: pɔ:n siŋai^h sɔ:ŋ siŋai^h an ka? wɔw bu:n*

Subordconn Num Clf Num Clf Pro Coordconn Vt Vi

when four Clf_day five Clf_day 3S then speak able

After four or five days, she was able to speak.

142. *tɔ: dɔ:n an ka? wa?*

Neg N Pro Coordconn Vi

NEG time.long 3S so heal

Not long after that, she was healed.

143. *tɛ: an tʃu: lɥ:ɑŋ tɥ:ja? tɔ: bu:n*

Prep Pro Vt N Prep Neg Vi

from 3S remember story before NEG able

But she could not remember what had happened to her before.

144. *p^hɔ: an wa? tʃɔ: an ka? wɔw pa:j amɔ?*

Subordconn Pro Vi Prt Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Pro

when 3S heal Prt_seq_completive 3S then speak COMP anyone

tʃɔ:aj an an si tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ kap nɔw a-kɥ:

Vt Pro Pro Vaux Vi Prep Pro Pro

help 3S 3S IRR marry with 3S_polite INTENS-that

When she had been healed she said that whoever had helped her, she would marry that person.

145. *p^hɔ: mu: tamai^h sɛ:m ka? wɔw kap a:j*

Subordconn N Adj N Coordconn Vt Prep N

when day new younger.sibling then speak with older.brother

pa:j amɔ? si pɛn kuaj tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ kap an

Subordconn Pro Vaux Cop N Vi Prep Pro

COMP who IRR be person marry with 3S

The next day, the younger brother said to his older brother, "Who will be the person to marry her?"

146. *ɑj wɑw pɑj mɑi̯ eː laʔ*

N Vt Subordconn Pro Prt

older.brother speak COMP 2S Prt_evidential

The older brother said, "You of course!"

147. *sɛm tɛːŋ kap an tɑː buːn dɑːk*

N Vt Prep Pro Neg Vi Prt

younger.sibling prepare with 3S NEG able Prt_conclusion

Younger - "No, I cannot marry her."

148. *kʰan ŋkoɑʔ tɛːŋ mɑi̯ si ranuːh miːt kʰan pɛn ŋpaɪ̯ ŋkoɑʔ*

Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Vaux Vi Subordconn Cop N Pro

if 1S prepare 2S IRR upset if be wife 1S

tʃɑː

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

"If I marry [her], you will be upset if [she] were to become my wife."

149. *kʰan an pɑʔ tʃuɑjʔ ntraw mɑi̯ si pɑʔ mɛʔ aʃɑŋ an kaʔ*

Subordconn Pro Vi Vt Pro Pro Vaux Vi Vt N Pro Coordconn

if 3S go search anything 2S IRR go look basket 3S then

tɑː kuː dɑjʰ

Neg Adj Prt

NEG appropriate Prt_evidential

"If she went out to go and gather something, you would go and look in her basket and that is really not appropriate."

150. *kʰan tɛːŋ dɑːŋ kap aʃ ŋkoɑʔ kaʔ si aɭŋ pɑj*

Subordconn Vi Prep N Pro Coordconn Vaux Vt Subordconn

if marry with older.brother 1S then IRR call COMP

sɑj

N

sister-in-law.older

"If she marries the older brother, then I will call [her my] older sister-in-law."

151. *an si kuː kua*

Pro Vaux Adj Prep

3S IRR appropriate than

"That would be more appropriate than [otherwise]."

152. *aj* *atx:ŋ m̄ai w̄aw mɛ:n tʃa:*
 N Vt Pro Vt Adj Prt
 older.brother say 2S speak true Prt_seq_completive

The older brother said, "You have spoken correctly."

153. *pʰɔ:* *daŋ nɛ:w ki: aj* *lɔ:ŋ tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ kap*
 Subordconn Vt Prep Det N Coordconn Vi Prep
 when know like that older.brother so marry with

kamu:l *mase:m alaj tʃi:aj*
 N N Pro Vt

female.unmarried woman 3P help

After coming to this understanding, the older brother married with the young woman they had helped.

154. *pʰɔ:* *tɛ:ŋ dɔ:ŋ x:t tʃa: manx:ŋ bu:n mu:aj kamɔ aj*
 Subordconn Vi Vi Vt Adv Vt Num Clf N
 when marry live eat together have one Clf_year older.brother

kap *ŋpa:i ka?* *pa? ta?* *tʰra:i*
 Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt N

and wife so go make/do field

After they had married and lived together for one year, the older brother and [his] wife went to work in the fields.

155. *ŋpa:i aj* *tʃoh ma?u?*
 N N Vt N

wife older.brother plant pumpkin

The older brother's wife planted a pumpkin.

156. *ŋpaĩ aʒ kakuh se:k kap tʰe:wda: pa:ʒ kʰan*
 N N Vi Vt Prep N Subordconn Subordconn

wife older.brother pray.kneel request with god COMP if

ŋkoa? tʃoh maʒu? ʒ:n koc maʒu? lɛam tʃon tʌ? doŋ
 Pro Vt N Vt N N Vi Subordconn Vt N

1S plant pumpkin allow tip pumpkin grow.spread until come house

ŋpe? doŋ ŋpoa ŋkoa? tɛh dæ:
 N N N Pro Det Prt

mother house father 1S there.far Prt_soft_command

The older brother's wife kneeled and made this request from the gods. "If I plant this pumpkin, allow the pumpkin vine to grow and spread until it comes to my mother and father's house far away."

157. *kʰit abu: bac aru:p kʰit aru:p bac abu:*
 Vi N Vi N Vi N Vi N

pick.off evening bud morning pick.off morning bud evening

dæ:

Prt

Prt_soft_command

"[Make it so that when, the tip of the vine] is picked off in the evening, [it] will bud again in the morning; and when [it] is picked off in the morning, [it] will bud again in the evening."

158. *pʰɔ: tʌ? mu:aj tʃit la? sɣ:ŋ siŋai maʒu? ka? hu:k*
 Subordconn Vt Num Num Coordconn Num Clf N Coordconn Adj

when come one ten and five Clf_day pumpkin then big

a-tʃo:n

Vi

CAUS-go.up

After fifteen days, the pumpkin plant grew up.

159. *simu: maʔu? ɣəm pɿʔ tapu:l koh tʃon tɿʔ doŋ*
 N N Vi Vi Num Clf Subordconn Vt N
 vine pumpkin grow.spread go seven Clf_mountain until come house
mpɛ? doŋ ŋpoa
 N N N

mother house father

The pumpkin vine spread and went from the seven mountains until [it] came to the house of her mother and father.

160. *an ɣəm tʃon laŋkʰa: doŋ tʃon paŋ laŋkʰa: ɲɛ?*
 Pro Vi Vt N N Subordconn Adj N Prt
 3S grow.spread go.up roof house until full roof Prt_completive
 It grew up onto the roof of their house and then covered the roof completely.

161. *ajɛa? tʰaw kɿt aru:p a-du:ŋ tʃa:*
 N Adj Vi N Vi Vt

grandmother old pick.off morning CAUS-bring/take eat

The old woman picked off [the tip of the vine] in the morning and brought it back to eat [it].

162. *pʰɔ: abu: tʃa: bac tamai*
 Subordconn N Prt Vi Adj

when evening Prt_seq_completive bud new

When evening had come, [the vine] had budded anew.

163. *pʰɔ: kɿt abu: aru:p tʃa: bac ɛn*
 Subordconn Vi N N Prt Vi Adv

when pick.off evening morning Prt_seq_completive bud again

When she picked [the tip of the vine] in the evening, when morning had come, [the vine] had bud again.

164. *an lɿ:ʝ kɿt naŋ mi:t pa:ʝ simu: maʔu? nai tɿʔ tɛ:*
 Pro Coordconn Vi Prep N Subordconn N N Det Vt Prep

3S so think in heart COMP vine pumpkin this come from

lɛ?

Pro

where

So she thought in her heart, "Where has this pumpkin vine come from?"

165. *an lɣj ɭoŋ nəm simu: maʔu? pɿ?*

Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N N Vi

3S so test follow vine pumpkin go

So she tried to follow the pumpkin vine, leaving [that place].

166. *nəm pɿ? tʃon tɿ? tapu:l koh tʃaŋ tʃi:ɿ:m kal klɿk*

Vt Vi Subordconn Vt Num Clf Coordconn Vt N N

follow go until come seven Clf_mountain then reach tree stem

maʔu?

N

pumpkin

[She] followed [the vine] and went until [she] came to the seven mountains with the result that [she] reached the base of the pumpkin vine.

167. *p^hɔ: ajea? nəm tɿ? t^hrai lɣj mu:t abluh*

Subordconn N Vt Vt N Coordconn Vt Vt

when grandmother follow come field so enter ask

aj kap ŋpai paj i: dah maʔu? nai mai pen

N Coordconn N Subordconn N N Det Pro Cop

older.brother and wife COMP HON.female pumpkin this 2S be

kuaj tʃoh bɔ:

N Vt Prt

person plant Prt_question

When the grandmother followed [the pumpkin vine] and came to the field, [she] entered and asked the older brother and [his] wife, "Madam, about this pumpkin, were you the person who planted [it]?"

168. *ŋpai aj lɣj atɿŋ paj mɛ:n tʃi:*

N N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Adj Prt

wife older.brother so say COMP true Prt_seq_completive

The older brother's wife told [her], "That is correct."

169. *ŋkoa? pen kuaj tʃoh a-tʃo:n*

Pro Cop N Vt Vi

1S be person plant CAUS-go.up

"I am the person who planted and raised [the pumpkin plant]."

170. *abluh ta? ntraw v?*

Vt Vt Pro N

ask make/do what grandmother

"Why do you ask, grandmother?"

171. *ajea? t^haw lɣj waw lɯ:aj maʔu? ɔn an tamɯŋ*

N Adj Coordconn Vt N N Subordconn Pro Vi

woman old so speak story pumpkin for 3S listen

So the old woman told the story of the pumpkin for her to understand.

172. *ajea? t^haw lɣj abluh an aʔ-lɔp paj an pen kɔ:n amɔ?*

N Adj Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Subordconn Pro Cop N Pro

woman old so ask 3S CAUS-return COMP 3S be child who

And so the old woman asked her more questions, "Whose child are you?"

173. *tɔ? tɛ: lɛ?*

Vt Prep Pro

come from where

"Where do [you] come from?"

174. *mpɛ? pɔ? ta? t^hraɪ ɣrt pɔ? naɪ*

Pro Vi Vt N Vi Vi Det

why go make/do field located go this

"Why are [you] working in the field in this place?"

175. *mpaɪ aɣj lɣj waw lɯ:aj kutʃ^han tʃa: an ɔn ajea?*

N N Coordconn Vt N N Vt Pro Subordconn N

wife older.brother so speak story snake eat 3S for woman

t^haw tamɯŋ

Adj Vi

old listen

So the older brothers wife told the story of how the snake had eaten her for the old woman to understand.

176. *p^hɔː ajea? t^haw tamɯŋ sot ka? daŋ lɣːj*
 Subordconn N Adj Vi Prt Coordconn Vt Prt
 when woman old listen Prt_completive so know Prt_intensifier

pa:j an pen kɔ:n atfaw du:m
 Subordconn Pro Cop N Pro

COMP 3S be child REFLEX

When the old woman had finished listening, she knew for sure that the young woman was her own child.

177. *ŋpaɪː aj ka? kɯt bu:n ku: kan pa:j*
 N N Coordconn Vi Vi Prep Pro Subordconn

wife older.brother so think able same RECIP COMP

ajea? t^haw a-naɪ pen ŋpe? an
 N Adj Pro Cop N Pro

grandmother old INTENS-this be mother 3S

The older brother's wife had been thinking the same [thing about] one another, that this old grandmother was her mother.

178. *baː na? daŋ lu:ay lɣːj ŋɛam tfo? kan*
 Num Clf Vt N Coordconn Vi Prep Pro

two Clf_person know story so cry with RECIP

When both of them understood the story, they cried with each other.

179. *baː na? ŋpe? kɔ:n lɣːj ramɔh kan*
 Num Clf N N Coordconn Vt Pro

two Clf_person mother child so meet RECIP

So both the mother and child met each other [again].

180. *alaj ŋɛam paleaj?*
 Pro Vi Adv

3P cry very

They cried a lot.

181. *ŋpaɪː aj lɣːj it ŋpe? kap ŋpoa pa? ɣt naŋ*
 N N Coordconn Vt N Coordconn N Vi Vi Prep

wife older.brother so take mother and father go live with

So the older brother's wife took [her] mother and father to go and live with [them].

182. *taŋ tɛ: kɨ: alaj lɤ:j ʁt manɤ:j rua? ɔ: kɥ: kɥ: siŋaī*
 Prep Det Pro Coordconn Vi Adv Adj Adj Quant Quant Clf
 since that 3P so live together happy good every every Clf_day
 Since then, they have lived together happily every day.

183. *sot*

Prt

Prt_completive

The End.

Appendix 3

The Buyeang Fish

1. *lɯ:ɑŋ sia? bu:ɛ:ŋ*

N N N

story fish buyeng.fish

The Buyeang fish story.

2. *dun tɿ? tʃɿ: bu:n krɯɑŋ mɯaj krɯɑŋ*

N Vt Prt Cop N Num Clf

time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST city one Clf_city

A long time ago, there was a city.

3. *ŋpoɑ krɯɑŋ bu:n kɔ:n ba:w ba: na? aʃ kap*

N N Vt N N Num Clf N Coordconn

father city have child young.man two Clf_person older.brother and

sɛ:m

N

younger.sibling

The ruler of the city had two sons who were young men, an older son and a younger son.

4. *tɛ: ŋpɛ? ŋpoɑ pɛ:ŋ tɛ: sɛ:m ɲuɑ:n sɛ:m pɛn*

Prep N N Vt Adv N Subordconn N Cop

from mother father love only younger.sibling because younger.sibling be

kuaj ɔ:

N Adj

person good

But the mother and father only loved the younger brother because the younger brother was a good person.

5. *li:ɑn pɔ:ŋ mək tʃɯaj kuaj kanɔ:h tʃɯaj tran prɯɑm*

Vi Adv Vt Vt N Adj Vt N Adv

study clever like help person another help animal also

[He] was clever in his studies, and he liked to help other people and help animals also.

6. *aj pen kuaj tɔː ɔː*
 N Cop N Neg Adj

older.brother be person NEG good
 The older brother was not a good person.

7. *kɯt tɔː ɔː kap an du du*
 Vi Neg Adj Prep Pro Adv Adv

think NEG good with 3S often often
 Often, he thought evil about his younger brother.

8. *ŋkɔh an bu:n lɯ:n*
 Vt Pro Vt N

fear 3S have inheritance
 [He] feared that he would receive the inheritance.

9. *ŋkɔh m̄poa ajɔ? krɯaŋ ɔ:n sɛ:m*
 Vt N Vt N Prep N

fear father offer.up city for younger.sibling
 [He] feared that [his] father would give this city to his younger brother.

10. *lɣːj kɯt a-tʃɪt sɛ:m*
 Prt Vi Vt N

Prt_intensifier think CAUS-die younger.sibling
 So [he] thought about killing the younger brother.

11. *mɯaj siŋai lɣːj pɛa sɛ:m pɔ? pɔŋ tran sɔk*
 Num Clf Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt N N

one Clf_day so invite younger.sibling go shoot animal forest
 So one day [he] invited the younger brother to go shoot wild animals.

12. *pɛa tʰaha:n pɔ? palɛaj? na? prɯam*
 Vt N Vi Quant Clf Adv

invite soldier go many Clf_person also
 [He] invited many of his soldiers to go also.

13. *p^hɔ:* *tɿ?* *sɿk* *pɿt ka?* *atɿŋ t^hahan aŋɿa?* *an pɿ?* *a-tɿt*
 Subordconn Vt N Adj Coordconn Vt N Vt Pro Vi Vt
 when come forest big so say soldier deceive 3S go CAUS-die
tɿ?

Prt

Prt_command

When they came to the big forest, [the elder] told the soldiers to trick him, "Go kill [him]!"

14. *an kap* *t^hahan lɿj* *pɿ?* *p^hu la?* *rana: kap a:*
 Pro Coordconn N Coordconn Vi N N Prep N

3S and soldier so go each road with older.brother

The younger brother with the soldiers went a different way from the older brother.

15. *p^hɔ:* *tɿ?* *jɿŋ tɿp* *t^hahan ka?* *kop an dɔ?*
 Subordconn Vt Adv Adv N Coordconn Vt Pro Prt

when come far quite soldier so grab 3S Prt_completive

When they had gone quite far, the soldiers grabbed him.

16. *tɿɔ?* *tɿo?* *kal aloaŋ kɿt* *paj* *si* *a-tɿt* *an*
 Vt Prep N N Vi Subordconn Vaux Vt Pro

tie to tree stem think COMP IRR CAUS-die 3S

[They] tied him to a tree and thought that they would kill him.

17. *an lɿj* *waw kap t^hahan paj* *tɔn* *ɿt* *kruaŋ ŋkoa?* *ɔ:*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn N Vi N Pro Adj

3S so speak with soldier COMP period live city 1S good

kap ŋpai

Prep Pro

with 2P

So he said to the soldiers, During the time I lived in the city, I was good to you."

18. *ŋpai* *ŋpe?* *ja?* *a-tɿt* *ŋkoa?*
 Pro Pro Vaux Vt Pro

2P why want CAUS-die 1S

"Why do you want to kill me?"

19. *tʰahɑn atx:ŋ an hi? ta? juɑ:n aj ma:i atx:ŋ*
 N Vt Pro Pro Vt Subordconn N Pro Vt
 soldier say 3S 1P_exc make/do because older.brother 2S say
 The soldiers said to him, "We are doing [this] because your older brother told [us to]."

20. *sɛm wɑw ɛn tɔ:n ɾt kruɑŋ tʃuɑj nʃu:m alaj palɛaj?*
 N Vt Adv N Vi N Vt N Pro Quant
 younger.sibling speak again period live city help group 3P many
sam lɛ?
 Cop Pro

equal where
 The younger brother said again, "During the time I lived in the city, I helped the people so very much."

21. *tʰahɑn kʉt ajɔ? lɾj patah an*
 N Vi Vt Coordconn Vt Pro
 soldier think pity so free 3S
 The soldiers thought [about it] and pitied [him], so [they] freed him.

22. *tʰahɑn wɑw kap an pa:j ma:i pa? kruɑŋ kanɔh lɔ:t*
 N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Pro Vi N Adj Prt
 soldier speak with 3S COMP 2S go city another Prt_command
 The soldiers said to him, "You need to go to another city."

23. *kʰan ma:i tʃu: aj ka? a-tʃʉt ma:i ɛn*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Coordconn Vt Pro Adv
 if 2S return older.brother then CAUS-die 2S again
 "If you return [to the city], [your] older brother will try to kill you again."

24. *an lɾj tajah kruɑŋ kanɔh*
 Pro Coordconn Vi N Adj
 3S so walk city another
 And so he walked to another city.

25. *jah* *t^haham juaŋ* *si* *paʔ* *ɛ:k* *kəh* *it* *sək* *t^hrɛ:* *alaj*
 Top N Subordconn Vaux Vi Vt Vt Vt N N N

meanwhile soldier before IRR go request cut take hair shirt pants

a-duwŋ *ɔ:n* *aj* *ɲɛ:ŋ*
 Vi Subordconn N Vt

CAUS-bring/take for older.brother watch

Meanwhile the soldiers, before [he] had gone, asked [him] to cut and take some of his hair and pieces of clothing [for them] to bring for the older brother to look at.

26. *p^hɔ:* *ɔ:n* *alaj* *tʃi:* *ɛ:m* *kaʔ* *tajah* *mɯt*
 Subordconn Vd Pro Prt N Coordconn Vi Vt

when give 3P Prt_seq_completive younger.sibling then walk enter

sək *paʔ* *krɯaŋ* *kanəh*
 N Vi N Adj

forest go city another

When he had given them [those things], the younger brother walked into the forest going to another city.

27. *jah* *t^haham p^hɔ:* *tʃi:* *tɔʔ* *aj* *atɣŋ* *aj*
 Top N Subordconn Vt Vt N Vt N

meanwhile soldier when return come older.brother say older.brother

pa:j *hiʔ* *a-tʃi:t* *an* *tʃi:*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Prt

COMP 1P_exc CAUS-die 3S Prt_seq_completive

Meanwhile the soldiers, when they had returned and came to the older brother, [they] told the older brother, "We have killed him."

28. *tɯp* *kɛ:m* *sək* *a-tʃi:* *sək* *kap* *t^hrɛ:* *alaj* *ɔ:n* *mɑi*
 Vt Adj N Vt N Coordconn N N Subordconn Pro

bury edge forest CAUS-return hair and shirt pants for 2S

ɲɛ:ŋ

Vt

watch

[We] buried [him] on the edge of the forest and brought back some hair and [pieces of his] clothing for you to see.

29. *aʝ* *tʃuɑ* *mɪt* *lɤʝ* *tɑː* *wɑw* *ntraw*
 N Vt N Coordconn Neg Vt Pro

older.brother believe heart so NEG speak anything

The older brother believed [them] and so he did not say anything.

30. *tʃuː* *tʃoʔ* *krɯɑŋ* *pɑʔ* *atɤŋ* *npeʔ* *npoɑ* *pɑʝ* *sɛm* *klɑp*
 Vt Prep N Vi Vt N N Subordconn N Vt

return to city go say mother father COMP younger.sibling PASS

kulaː *tʃɑː* *ɤt* *nɑŋ* *sɑk* *tʃɑː*
 N Vt Vi Prep N Prt

tiger eat located in forest Prt_seq_completive

When he returned to the city, [he] went and told [his] mother and father, "Younger brother has been eaten by a tiger living in the forest."

31. *hiʔ* *si* *tʃuɑʝ* *tɛː* *tʃuɑʝ* *tɑː* *buːn*
 Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Vt Neg Vi

1P_exc IRR help but help NEG able

"We tried to help but were not able to help."

32. *npeʔ* *npoɑ* *daŋ* *pɛɑ* *kan* *nɛɑm* *nʃom*
 N N Vt Vt Pro Vi Vt

mother father know invite RECIP cry miss

When the mother and father knew [what had happened], [they] encouraged each other to cry and mourn.

33. *jah* *sɛm* *tajah* *nɑŋ* *sɑk* *nɑŋ* *truŋ* *palɛʝʔ* *siŋɑi*
 Top N Vi Prep N Prep N Quant Clf

meanwhile younger.sibling walk in forest in jungle many Clf_day

Meanwhile, the younger brother walked in the forest for many days.

34. *tʃɑː* *palɑi* *aloɑŋ* *pɛn* *atʃiːn*
 Vt N N Cop N

eat fruit stem be food

[He] ate fruit for his food.

35. *tajah* *pɑʔ* *biʔ* *biʔ* *an* *pɑʔ* *huːm* *siaʔ* *buʝɛŋ* *dɑʔ* *trɛt* *tah*
 Vi Vi Adj Adj Pro Vi Vt N N N Vi Vt

walk go little little 3S go see fish buyeng.fish water dry.up leave

[He] walked and went a little further on and he went and saw a buyeng fish which a pool of water had dried up and left [stranded].

36. *an ajə? lɔːj tʃuaj it silaː bua ajom pɔ? patah ɾt npe?*
 Pro Vt Coordconn Vt Vt N N Vt Vi Vt Vi N
 3S pity so help take leaf lotus wrap go free located mother
dɔ? hu:k
 N Adj

water big

He pitied [the fish] and so helped [it] by taking a lotus leaf and wrapping [it] up and then going and setting [it] free in a large river.

37. *tajah pɔ? ɛn pɔ? ɛn ka? hu:m po:jh klap kuaj paŋ*
 Vi Vi Adv Vi Adv Coordconn Vt N Vt N Vt
 walk go again go again so see deer PASS person shoot
 [He] then kept on walking and walking and saw a deer that had been shot by a person.

38. *an ka? tʃuaj tʃo? rahaw tʃon wa?*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Vt N Subordconn Vi

3S then help place medicine until heal

So he helped [the deer] by giving [it] medicine until [it] was healed.

39. *po:jh wəw kap an paj tɔ: pɔ? bu:n lu:əŋ ntraw ɔ:n ŋkoə?*
 N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Adj Cop N Pro Vt Pro
 deer speak with 3S COMP next EXIST story anything allow 1S

tʃuaj ka? atɾ:ŋ də:
 Vt Coordconn Vt Prt

help then say Prt_soft_command

The deer said to him, "From now on, if you have any problem that I can help [you] with, just say so."

40. *wəw tʃu: ka? talu:h mɔ:t sak pɔ?*
 Vt Prt Coordconn Vi Vt N Vi

speak Prt_seq_completive then run enter forest go

After speaking he then ran off into the forest and left.

41. *an tajah pɔ? ɛn ka? hu:m atʃɔ: hu: tʃu:at mo:ŋ pre:an*
 Pro Vi Vi Adv Coordconn Vt N Vt N N

3S walk go again then see wolf caught snare hunter

He walked and went on again and saw a wolf caught in a hunter's trap.

42. *an ka? tʃuaj ɛn*

Pro Coordconn Vt Adv

3S then help again

And so he helped again.

43. *atʃɔ: hu: waw kap an paj kʰan maɪ bu:n lu:aj ntraw ŋkoa?*

N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Subordconn Pro Vt N Pro Pro

wolf speak with 3S COMP if 2S have story anything 1S

si pa? tʃuaj

Vaux Vi Vt

IRR go help

The wolf said to him, "If you have any problems, I will come and help you."

44. *waw tʃɔ: atʃɔ: hu: ka? taluh mu:t sak pa?*

Vt Prt N Coordconn Vi Vt N Vi

speak Prt_seq_completive wolf then run enter forest go

After speaking, the wolf ran off into the forest and left.

45. *an lɔ:ʃi tajah pa? ɛn tʃon tɔ? kruaj muaj kruaj*

Pro Coordconn Vi Vi Adv Subordconn Vt N Num Clf

3S so walk go again until come city one Clf_city

So the younger brother walked and went on again until he came to a city.

46. *kuaj naŋ kruaj ki: pen ko:l maŋ si nɛ? ku:*

N Prep N Det Cop N Adv Vaux Prt Quant

person in city that be stone almost IRR Prt_completive every

na?

Clf

Clf_person

Almost all of the people in the city had been turned to stone.

47. *tʰaŋ kuaj tʰaŋ tran pen ko:l nɛ? ku: na?*

Coordconn N Coordconn N Cop N Prt Quant Clf

both person both animal be stone Prt_completive every Clf_person

Both the people and the animals, all of them, were stone.

48. *an hu:m ntruh mi:t paleaj? hu:m te: ko:l*

Pro Vt Vt N Adv Vt Coordconn N

3S see fall heart very see but stone

He saw [this] and was very surprised to see only stone [people and animals].

49. *tɔː hu:m kuaj kɯː kɯː doŋ*

Neg Vt N Quant Quant Clf

NEG see person every every Clf_house

He did not see a person in any of the houses.

50. *ɤt tɛː ajea? t^haw muaj doŋ tɔː bu:n pɛn kɔ:l*

Vi Adv N Adj Num Clf Neg Vt Cop N

live only woman old one Clf_house NEG have be stone

[There] lived only one old woman in [her] house that had not been turned to stone.

51. *an lɤːj mu:t abluh paj v? v? vɨl maɨ̃*

Pro Coordconn Vt Vt Subordconn N N N Pro

3S so enter ask COMP grandmother grandmother village 2S

mpɛ? tɔː bu:n kuaj

Pro Neg Cop N

why NEG EXIST person

So he entered the house and asked, "Grandmother, grandmother, why aren't there any people in your village."

52. *tran ka? tɔː bu:n*

N Coordconn Neg Cop

animal then NEG EXIST

"And there aren't any animals either."

53. *alaj pa? tʃo? lɛ? nɛ?*

Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt

3P go to where Prt_completive

"Wherey did they all go?"

54. *v? atɤŋ paj vɨl ŋkoa? tɛː lɔː bu:n kuaj paleaj?*

N Vt Subordconn N Pro Prep N Cop N Quant

grandmother say COMP village 1S from past EXIST person many

The grandmother said, "In the past my village had many people."

55. *tʃinɔː kuaj vɨl ŋkoa? pɛn kɔ:l nɛ? tʃɔː*

Adv N N Pro Cop N Prt Prt

now person village 1S be stone Prt_completive Prt_seq_completive

"Now, all the people of my village have been turned to stone."

56. *kɯː mɑ̃i hu:m eː la?*

Prep Pro Vt Prt

same 2S see Prt_evidential

"Just as you have surely seen."

57. *vʔ vʔ ɲpɛʔ pɛn nɛw kiː*

N N Pro Cop Prep Det

grandmother grandmother why be like that

"Grandmother, grandmother, why has this happened?"

58. *vʔ lɣj waw ɔn an tamuŋ paj tɛː laː taː*

N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Pro Vi Subordconn Prep N Neg

grandmother so speak for 3S listen COMP from past NEG

pɛn saː nãi

Cop Prep Det

be like this

So the grandmother told [the story] for him to understand, "In the past, it was not like this."

59. *bu:n muaj kamɔ bu:n kuaj juh ɲpɛʔ simuɛt muɛt ɣt naŋ*

Cop Num Clf Cop N Adj N Vt Vi Prep

EXIST one Clf_year EXIST person crazy witch enter located in

krɯaŋ hi?

N Pro

city 1P_exc

"There was a year when an evil witch entered our city."

60. *an bu:n tʃiləŋ wisɛt muaj nam ta? ɔn hu:m ɲɛʔ*

Pro Vt N N Num Clf Vt Vt Vt Prt

3S have mirror magic one Clf_thing make/do cause see Prt_completive

kɯː mɔŋ

Quant N

every place

"She had a magic mirror that enabled her to see every single place."

61. *amɔʔ ta? ɲtraw an ka? hu:m*

Pro Vt Pro Pro Coordconn Vt

anyone make/do anything 3S then see

"[If] anyone did anything, she could see [it]."

62. *ɣʔt paʔ lɛʔ an kaʔ hu:m*

Vi Vi Pro Pro Coordconn Vt

located go where 3S then see

"Wherever they went, she could see them."

63. *an ko:p paŋəa kɾuaj kɔ:n ɱpaĩ paŋəa adɔʔ*

Pro Vt N N N N N Prt

3S grab ruler city child wife ruler Prt_completive

"She captured the king of the city along with all of the children and wife of the ruler."

64. *an atɣɿŋ anəa vɿl paj kʰan kuaj lɛʔ tɔʔ tɛ: tʃilaj*

Pro Vt N N Subordconn Subordconn N Pro Vi Prep N

3S say people village COMP if person where hide from mirror

wisɛt an bu:n an si patah paŋəa kap ɱpaĩ

N Pro Vi Pro Vaux Vt N Coordconn N

magic 3S able 3S IRR free ruler and wife

"She told the villagers that if anyone is able to hide from her magic mirror, she would free the king and [his] wife."

65. *kʰan an hu:m amɿʔ naŋ tʃilaj wisɛt an si it aloaŋ wisɛt*

Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Prep N N Pro Vaux Vt N N

if 3S see anyone in mirror magic 3S IRR take stem magic

sidɔj ɔm pɛn kɔ:l

Vi Vt Cop N

point allow be stone

"If she saw that person in her magic mirror, she would take [her] magic wand point [it at them] and turn them into stone."

66. *kuaj ku: naʔ naŋ kɾuaj ŋkoaʔ lɿj pɛn kɔ:l ku: maĩ*

N Quant Clf Prep N Pro Coordconn Cop N Prep Pro

person every Clf_person in city 1S so be stone same 2S

hu:m e: laʔ

Vt Prt

see Prt_evidential

"So every person in my city was turned into stone, just as you have surely seen."

67. *sɛm* *kʰan* *nɛːw* *kɨː* *ŋkoaʔ* *si* *tʃuaj* *panɛa* *kɔm* *kap*
 N Subordconn Prep Det Pro Vaux Vt N N Coordconn
 younger.sibling if like that 1S IRR help ruler child and
mpai an
 N Pro
 wife 3S

Younger brother: "If that's the situation, then I will help the king and his children and his wife."

68. *tɛː* *ŋkoaʔ* *tɔː* *daŋ* *paj* *taʔ* *nɛːw* *lɛʔ* *tʃaŋ* *tɔʔ* *tɛː*
 Coordconn Pro Neg Vt Subordconn Vt Pro Coordconn Vi Prep
 but 1S NEG know COMP make/do how then hide from
tʃilaŋ *wisɛːt* *ajɛaʔ* *mpɛʔ* *simuːt* *buːn*
 N N N N Vi
 mirror magic woman witch able

"But I do not know what to do so that I can hide from the witch's magic mirror."

69. *vʔ* *kaʔ* *tʃuaj* *mai* *tɔː* *buːn* *tʃaw* *ɾj*
 N Coordconn Vt Pro Neg Vi N Adj
 grandmother so help 2S NEG able grandchild dear
 Grandmother - "I can not help you dear grandson."

70. *ɔː* *ŋkoaʔ* *kɨt* *buːn* *tʃaː*
 Interj Pro Vi Vi Prt
 yes 1S think able Prt_seq_completive
 "Ahh, I've thought of something."

71. *ɔːn* *vʔ* *muːt* *atɾɿŋ* *mpɛʔ* *simuːt* *paj* *ŋkoaʔ* *si* *pɛn* *kuaj*
 Vt N Vt Vt N Subordconn Pro Vaux Cop N
 cause grandmother enter say witch COMP 1S IRR be person
tɔʔ *tɛː* *tʃilaŋ* *wisɛːt* *an* *buːn*
 Vi Prep N N Pro Vi
 hide from mirror magic 3S able

"[He] caused the grandmother to go and say to the witch that I will be the person [who] is able to hide from her magic mirror."

72. *p^hɔ:* *pəŋ* *arɯ:p* *v?* *ka?* *mɯ:t* *wəw* *aŋɯa?* *atɯŋ*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt Vt Vt Vt

when shine morning grandmother then enter speak deceive say

ŋpɛ? *simut* *pəj* *bɯ:n* *rakɔŋ* *mɯaj* *na?* *pɛn* *ba:w* *an* *wəw*
 N Subordconn Cop N Num Clf Cop N Pro Vt

witch COMP EXIST man one Clf_person be young.man 3S speak

pəj *tə?* *tɛ:* *tʃiləŋ* *wisɛ:t* *mɑi* *bɯ:n*
 Subordconn Vi Prep N N Pro Vi

COMP hide from mirror magic 2S able

So the next morning the grandmother went to trick [her] by saying to the witch, "[There] is a young man who says that [he] can hide from your magic mirror."

73. *an* *wəw* *pəj* *tɔ:* *ŋkɔh* *mɑi* *lɯ:j*
 Pro Vt Subordconn Neg Vt Pro Prt

3S speak COMP NEG fear 2S Prt_intensifier

"He said that [he] does not fear you at all."

74. *k^han* *tʃiləŋ* *wisɛ:t* *mɑi* *tʃuaj?* *an* *hu:m* *tɔ?* *pɑi* *tʃu:* *ɔ:n*
 Subordconn N N Pro Vt Pro Vt Vt Num Clf Vt

if mirror magic 2S search 3S see come three Clf_time allow

mɑi *sidɔj* *pɛn* *kɔ:l* *bɯ:n* *lɯ:j*
 Pro Vi Cop N Vi Prt

2S point be stone able Prt_intensifier

"If your magic mirror searches for him and finds him three times, then you will have the right turn him into stone."

75. *tɛ:* *k^han* *tʃuaj?* *tɔ:* *hu:m* *ɔ:n* *mɑi* *patah* *panɛa* *kap* *kɔ:n*
 Coordconn Subordconn Vt Neg Vt Vt Pro Vt N Coordconn N

but if search NEG see allow 2S free ruler and child

kap *anɛa* *vil* *prɯam*
 Coordconn N N Adv

and people village also

"But if [you] do look [for him] not find [him], you must free the king, [his] children and the villagers also."

76. *mpɛʔ simuɾ atx:ŋ pa:j tɑ kx:j bu:n amɑʔ tɔʔ tɛ: tʃilɑŋ wise:t*
 N Vt Subordconn Neg Adv Cop Pro Vi Prep N N
 witch say COMP NEG ever EXIST who hide from mirror magic

ŋkoaʔ bu:n

Pro Vi

1S able

The witch said, "There has never been [anyone] who could hide from my magic mirror."

77. *mɑi pɑʔ atx:ŋ an pɑʔ*

Pro Vi Vt Pro Vi

2S go say 3S go

"You go and tell him to go."

78. *ŋkoaʔ ɔ:n tɔʔ pɑi tʃu: kʰɛ: ki:*

Pro Vt Vi Num Clf Adj Det

1S allow hide three Clf_time only that

"I will give him only three chances to hide."

79. *vʔ daŋ lɔ:j tʃu: atx:ŋ sɛ:m ɔ:n pɑʔ tɔʔ*

N Vt Coordconn Vt Vt N Vt Vi Vi

grandmother know so return say younger.sibling allow go hide

When the grandmother understood this [she] then returned to tell the younger brother so that he would go and hide.

80. *sɛ:m lɔ:j pɑʔ tʃoʔ siaʔ bu:jɛŋ ɔ:n tʃuaj*

N Coordconn Vi Prep N N Vt Vt

younger.sibling so go to fish buyeng.fish allow help

So the younger brother went to the buyeng fish so that it could help him.

81. *siaʔ bu:jɛŋ pɑʔ atx:ŋ mpɛʔ siaʔ hu:k ɔ:n an tɔʔ x:t naŋ*

N N Vi Vt N N Adj Vt Pro Vi Vi Prep

fish buyeng.fish go say mother fish big allow 3S hide located in

boʔ x:t pɯ:n dɑʔ ntru:

N Vi Prep N Adv

mouth located under water deep

The buyeng fish went and told the great mother fish to hide him in her mouth deep under the water.

82. jah n̄p̄e? simut it t̄fil̄aŋ wiset n̄e:ŋ
 Top N Vt N N Vt

meanwhile witch take mirror magic watch

Meanwhile, the witch took the magic mirror and looked [in it].

83. n̄e:ŋ t̄fo? koh ka? ta: hu:m
 Vt Prep N Coordconn Neg Vt

watch in mountain then NEG see

[She] looked in the mountains and did not see [him].

84. p^h: n̄e:ŋ t̄fo? d̄a? ka? hu:m s̄e:m ʔt n̄aŋ
 Subordconn Vt Prep N Coordconn Vt N Vi Prep

when watch in water then see younger.sibling located in

bo? sia? l̄ʔj ʔn t^haha:n p̄a? ko:p s̄e:m
 N N Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt N

mouth fish so allow soldier go grab younger.sibling

When [she] looked in the water, she saw the younger brother in the fish's mouth and so had her soldiers go to grab the younger brother.

85. n̄p̄e? simut w̄aw pa:j ŋko:a? hu:m ma:ī muaj t̄fu:
 N Vt Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Num Clf

witch speak COMP 1S see 2S one Clf_time

t̄fu:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

The witch said, "I have seen you one time."

86. s̄e:m p̄a? t̄o? ɛn
 N Vi Vi Adv

younger.sibling go hide again

The younger brother went to hide again.

87. tu:u t^hi: ba: p̄a? t̄fo? po:ʒh
 N Subordconn Num Vi Prep N

time REL two go to deer

For his second attempt, he went to the deer.

88. *po:ʒh lɿ:ʒ pɛa pɔʔ tɔʔ nɔŋ kɯ:p ɾ:t mɔŋ koh hu:k*
 N Coordconn Vt Vi Vi Prep N Vi N N Adj

deer so invite go hide in cave located place mountain big
 So the deer brought him to go hide in a cave located at a place deep in the mountains.

89. *ʒah ɲpɛʔ simu:t it tʃilɔŋ ʒɛ:ŋ tʃoʔ dɔʔ hu:k kaʔ tɔ:*
 Top N Vt N Vt Prep N Adj Coordconn Neg
 meanwhile witch take mirror watch in water big then NEG

hu:m

Vt

see

Meanwhile, the witch took her mirror and looked in the big water but did not see [him there].

90. *ʒɛ:ŋ tʃoʔ koh tʃoʔ kɯ:p lɿ:ʒ hu:m an ɾ:t nɔŋ klo:ŋ kɯ:p*
 Vt Prep N Prep N Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Prep N N

watch in mountain in cave so see 3S located in inside cave

kanam pale:ʒiʔ

Adj Adv

dark very

[She] looked in the mountains and in the cave, and so she saw him located inside the very dark cave.

91. *ɲpɛʔ simu:t ɔ:n tʰahan pɔʔ ko:p an ɛ:n*
 N Vt N Vi Vt Pro Adv

witch allow soldier go grab 3S again

The witch sent her soldiers to go and grab him again.

92. *ɲu:ʌŋ tʰahan si ko:p po:ʒh wɔw kap an pa:ʒ ŋkoʔ tʃu:ʌj mɔi*
 Subordconn N Vaux Vt N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Pro Vt Pro

before soldier IRR grab deer speak with 3S COMP 1S help 2S

bu:m kʰɛ: nɔi laʔ

Vi Adj Det Prt

able only this Prt_evidential

Before the soldiers could grab [him], the deer said to him, "I can help you only this much."

93. *an lɣːj paʔ tʃoʔ atʃoː huː*

Pro Coordconn Vi Prep N

3S so go to wolf

So he went to the wolf.

94. *atʃoː huː lɣːj wɔw kap an paːj ŋkoʔ si tʃuaj maɪ*

N Coordconn Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro

wolf so speak with 3S COMP 1S IRR help 2S

And so the wolf said to him, "I will help you."

95. *pɛa maɪ paʔ toʔ*

Vt Pro Vi Vi

bring 2S go hide

"[I] will bring you to go [to a place] to hide."

96. *wɔw tʃaː atʃoː huː kaʔ pɛa an muːt apuŋ kruaŋ*

Vt Prt N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Adj N

speak Prt_seq_completive wolf then invite 3S enter center city

tʃon taʔ doŋ huuk waŋ kʰoːŋ ŋpɛʔ simuːt ɣt

Subordconn Vt N Adj N Poss N Vi

until come house big palace POSS witch live

After saying this, the wolf then invited him to enter the center of the city until they came to a big house, the palace where the witch lived.

97. *atʃoː huː kaːj kutɛʔ taʔ kuːp puːn moŋ beː kʰoːŋ ŋpɛʔ simuːt*

N Vt N Vt N Prep N Vi Poss N

wolf dig.dog ground make/do cave under place lie POSS witch

The wolf dug into the ground and made a tunnel under the witch's bedroom.

98. *pʰoː kaːj tʃaː kaʔ pɛa sɛːm muːt toʔ ɣt*

Subordconn Vt Vi Coordconn Vt N Vt Vi Vi

when dig.dog finish then bring younger.sibling enter hide located

kloːŋ kuːp kiː

N N Det

inside cave that

When he was finished digging, he brought the younger brother to get in and hide located inside of that tunnel.

99. *jah n̄pɛʔ simuɬ siɔm m̄it paɭajʔ*

N N Adj Adv

side witch happy very

Meanwhile, the witch was very happy.

100. *t̄ʃuajʔ sɛm hu:m ba: t̄ʃu: t̄ʃʌ:*

Vt N Vt Num Clf Prt

search younger.sibling see two Clf_time Prt_seq_completive

[She] had searched for and found the younger brother two times [already].

101. *t̄ʃu: t̄ʰi: paī sɛm si kutʃit kək kək an k̄ut*

Clf Subordconn Num N Vaux Vi Adv Adv Pro Vi

Clf_time REL three younger.sibling IRR die sure sure 3S think

nɔŋ m̄it

Prep N

in heart

"On the third time the younger brother will die for sure," she thought in her heart.

102. *n̄pɛʔ simuɬ kaʔ it t̄ʃiləŋ loah n̄ɛ:ŋ t̄ʃuajʔ sɛm*

N Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt Vt N

witch then take mirror go.out watch search younger.sibling

So the witch took her magic mirror out and looked and searched for the younger brother.

103. *n̄ɛ:ŋ t̄ʃoʔ dɔʔ kaʔ tɔ: hu:m*

Vt Prep N Coordconn Neg Vt

watch in water then NEG see

[She] looked in the water but didn't see [him].

104. *n̄ɛ:ŋ t̄ʃo:n t̄ʃoʔ koh kaʔ tɔ: hu:m*

Vt Vt Prep N Coordconn Neg Vt

watch go.up in mountain then NEG see

[She] looked up into the mountains but did not see [him there].

105. *n̄ɛ:ŋ t̄ʃoʔ lɛʔ t̄ʃoʔ lɛʔ kaʔ tɔ: hu:m*

Vt N N Coordconn Neg Vt

watch everywhere everywhere then NEG see

[She] looked all over the place but could not find [him].

106. *mpɛʔ simuɾ rɛaj palɛajʔ*

N Adj Adv

witch angry very

The witch became very angry.

107. *an nɛ:ŋ tʃɹ:* *nɛ:ŋ ɛn nɛ:ŋ tʃɹ:* *nɛ:ŋ*

Pro Vt Prt Vt Adv Vt Prt Vt

3S watch Prt_seq_completive watch again watch Prt_seq_completive watch

ɛn kaʔ tɹ hu:m sɛm lɹ:j

Adv Coordconn Neg Vt N Prt

again then NEG see younger.sibling Prt_intensifier

She looked here and there and here and there but could no find the younger brother at all.

108. *an rɛaj palɛajʔ*

Pro Adj Adv

3S angry very

She became even more angry.

109. *kut paj tʃilɹɹ wisɛt kap aloaŋ wisɛt tɹ wisɛt nɹɹ*

Vi Subordconn N N Coordconn N N Neg N Adv

think COMP mirror magic and stem magic NEG magic still

[She] thought that the magic mirror and the magic wand were not magic any more.

110. *an lɹ:j takɛ:l tʃilɹɹ kap aloaŋ*

Pro Coordconn Vt N Coordconn N

3S so throw mirror and stem

So she threw the mirror and the wand.

111. *tʃilɹɹ plah nɛʔ*

N Vi Prt

mirror shatter Prt_completive

The mirror was completely shattered.

112. *alɔaŋ wisɛt takɹi:h kaŋ*

N N Vi Adv

stem magic break half

The magic wand broke in half.

113. *jah poj aloaŋ sidɔj tʃoʔ atʃaw du:m*

N N N Vi Prep Pro

side point stem point at REFLEX

The point of the wand pointed back at the witch herself.

114. *ŋpɛʔ simut lɔ:j pɛn ko:l tajɯŋ kaŋ ɣ:t mɔŋ ki:*

N Coordconn Cop N Vi Adj Vi N Det

witch so be stone stand hard located place that

And so the witch was turned into hard stone right where she stood.

115. *p^hɔ: ŋpɛʔ simut pɛn ko:l paŋə kap aŋə vɨl kaʔ*

Subordconn N Cop N N Coordconn N N Coordconn

when witch be stone ruler and people village then

waʔ tɛ: k^hat^ha: k^hɔ:ŋ ŋpɛʔ simut

Vi Prep N Poss N

heal from spell POSS witch

When the witch was turned into stone, the king and all the villagers were healed from the witch's spell.

116. *kaʔ lɔ:j pɛn kuaj ku: tɨjaʔ*

Coordconn Coordconn Cop N Prep Prep

then so be person same before

And were changed into people, the same as before.

117. *paŋə siɔm mɨt paləajʔ*

N Adj Adv

ruler happy very

The king was very happy.

118. *ajʌʔ kɔ:n kamu:l ɔ:n sɛ:m*

Vt N N Prep N

offer.up child female.unmarried for younger.sibling

[He] gave [his] daughter in marriage to the younger brother.

119. *ŋpɛʔ krɯaŋ ɔ:n prɯam*

Vt N Prep Adv

divide city for also

And divided a part of the city [for him] as well.

120. *tɛŋ dɔŋ ɣt tʃaː manɣj rua? ɔː kɥː kɥː siŋaɪ*
 Vi Vi Vt Adv Adj Adj Quant Quant Clf
 marry live eat together happy good every every Clf_day
 They were married and lived together happily ever after.

121. *sot*
 Prt
 Prt_completive
 The End.

Appendix 4

The Wild Buffalo Ear

1. *katu:r siŋu:r*

N N

ear buffalo.wild

The wild buffalo ear.

2. *du:n tʰʌ? tʃʌ:* *bu:n v?* *kap tʃaw*
 N Vt Prt Cop N Coordconn N

time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST grandfather and grandchild

ta? tʰrai ʔt tʃe? koh
 Vt N Vi Adv N

make/do field live close mountain

A long time ago, there was a grandfather and grandson who worked in the fields close to the mountains.

3. *ba: na? nai ɲto:m ta? tʰrɔ: tʰrai*
 Num Clf Det Vaux Vt N N

two Clf_person this PROG make/do rice field

These two were working in the rice fields.

4. *bu:n mu:aj siŋai bu:n pre:an ʔt vɪl manʔj pale:aj? na?*
 Cop Num Clf Cop N Vi N Adv Quant Clf

EXIST one Clf_day EXIST hunter live village together many Clf_person

One day there were many hunters who were living together in a village.

5. *alaj pʌ? paŋ tran sak ʔt naŋ koh*
 Pro Vi Vt N N Vi Prep N

3P go shoot animal forest located in mountain

They went to go and hunt wild animals in the forest located in the mountains.

6. *alaj paŋ bu:n siŋu:r mu:aj to:*
 Pro Vt Vi N Num Clf

3P shoot able buffalo.wild one Clf_animal

They were able to shoot a wild buffalo.

7. *ntʃum alaj lɣj pɛa kan takro: mpe? tʃʰac kan*
 N Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Pro

group 3P so invite RECIP cut.meat divide meat RECIP
 So their group helped each other to cut up and then divide the meat with each other.

8. *ntʃum prean lɣj tajah tʃu: doŋ klaj tʰrai kʰɔŋ v?*
 N N Coordconn Vi Vt N Vt N Poss N

group hunter so walk return house pass field POSS grandfather
kap tʃaw
 Coordconn N

and grandchild
 And so, when the hunters walked and returned home they passed by the old man and his grandson's field.

9. *ntʃum alaj lɣj sibaw tʃo? v? pa:j v? v?*
 N Pro Coordconn Vi Prep N Subordconn N N

group 3P so shout to grandfather COMP grandfather grandfather
ntʃum hi? it tʃʰac siɣur ɔn māi
 N Pro Vt N N Prep Pro

group 1P_exc take meat buffalo.wild for 2S
 So their group shouted from afar to the grandfather, "Grandfather, grandfather, our group has brought some wild buffalo meat for you."

10. *hi? a-dɔ? nɔŋ aŋil nai dɔ:*
 Pro Vi Prep N Det Prt

1P_exc CAUS-place on stump this Prt_informative
 "We put some on this stump, alright."

11. *prean kuaj nuan waw*
 N N Num Vt

hunter person first speak
 The first hunter said.

12. *vʔ* *lɣj* *atɣŋ alaj paj* *ɬ* *a-dvʔ* *kj:*
 N Coordconn Vt Pro Subordconn Interj Vi Det
 grandfather so say 3P COMP yes CAUS-place that

laʔ

Prt

Prt_evidential

So the old man said to them, "Yes, just put it there."

13. *pʰɔ:* *mahɔjʔ* *prean* *kuaj* *tʰi:* *ba:* *kaʔ* *tajah sɛŋ*
 Subordconn N N N Subordconn Num Coordconn Vi Vi
 when moment hunter person REL two then walk descend

tɛ: *koh* *ɛn*

Prep N Adv

from mountain again

A moment later, the second hunter walked down from the mountain also.

14. *an* *lɣj* *siba:w atɣŋ vʔ* *paj* *vʔ* *vʔ*
 Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N Subordconn N N
 3S so shout say grandfather COMP grandfather grandfather

ŋkoaʔ it *tʃʰac* *siŋur* *ɔn* *mɑi*

Pro Vt N N Prep Pro

1S take meat buffalo.wild for 2S

So he shouted from afar and told the grandfather, "Grandfather, grandfather, I have brought some wild buffalo meat for you."

15. *ŋkoaʔ a-dvʔ* *nɔŋ aŋil* *nai* *də:*
 Pro Vi Prep N Det Prt

1S CAUS-place on stump this Prt_informative

"I will place it on this stump, OK."

16. *vʔ* *lɣj* *waw paj* *ɬ* *a-dvʔ* *kj:* *laʔ*
 N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Interj Vi Det Prt
 grandfather so speak COMP yes CAUS-place that Prt_evidential

tʃaw

N

grandchild

So the old man said, "Yes, just place it there grandson."

17. *p^hɔː prɛ̃an kuaj t^hiː pāĩ tɿʔ an kaʔ wɔw kɯː*
 Subordconn N N Subordconn Num Vt Pro Coordconn Vt Prep
 when hunter person REL three come 3S then speak same
tɿjaʔ ɛn
 Prep Adv
 before again

When the third hunter arrived, he also said the same as the others.

18. *tɿʃaw vʔ lɿj wɔw kap vʔ paʃ*
 N N Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn
 grandchild grandfather so speak with grandfather COMP
vʔ alaj ɔːn tɿ^hac haj paleʔajʔ naʔ tɿʃɿː
 N Pro Vd N Pro Quant Clf Prt

grandfather 3P give meat 1P_inc many Clf_person Prt_seq_completive

So the grandfather's grandson said to the grandfather, "Grandfather, they have given us meat, many [hunters]."

19. *haj pɛa kan pɿʔ jɛːŋ mɛʔ*
 Pro Vt Pro Vi Vt Prt
 1P_inc invite RECIP go watch Prt_soft_command

"We will help each other to go and look [at it], OK."

20. *mah naĩ paleʔajʔ tɿʃɿː laʔ*
 Cop Det Quant Prt Prt
 equal this many Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential

"There must be a large amount."

21. *vʔ lɿj wɔw a-tɿʃoːn paʃ k^han paleʔajʔ haj*
 N Coordconn Vt Vi Subordconn Subordconn Quant Pro
 grandfather so speak CAUS-go.up COMP if many 1P_inc
si it tɿ^hac a-duːŋ tɿʃiːrɿŋ nɔʔ
 Vaux Vt N Vi Vt Prt

IRR take meat CAUS-bring/take smoke.preserve Prt_consider

The grandfather spoke up, "If there is a lot, we will take the meat and take [it] to smoke [it]."

22. *tʃɛː* *vʔ* *kap* *tʃaw* *kaʔ* *pɛa* *kan* *tajah* *pʌʔ*
 Coordconn N Coordconn N Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Vi
 then grandfather and grandchild then invite RECIP walk go
ɲɛːŋ *tʃʰac* *siɲur* *ɣt* *naŋ* *aŋil* *aloaŋ*
 Vt N N Vi Prep N N

watch meat buffalo.wild located on stump stem
 Then the grandfather and grandson invited one another to walk over to go and see the wild buffalo meat located on the tree stump.

23. *pʰɔː* *alaj* *pʌʔ* *ɲɛːŋ* *kaʔ* *huːm* *katur* *siɲur* *mɯaj* *nam*
 Subordconn Pro Vi Vt Coordconn Vt N N Num Clf
 when 3P go watch then see ear buffalo.wild one Clf_thing
kʰɛː *kɿː*
 Adj Det

only that
 When they went to look, [they] only saw one wild buffalo ear.

24. *vʔ* *lɿːj* *waw* *a-tʃom* *paːj* *katur* *siɲur* *mɯaj*
 N Coordconn Vt Vi Subordconn N N Num
 grandfather so speak CAUS-go.up COMP ear buffalo.wild one
nam *nai* *bɔː* *tʰiː* *alaj* *ntʃum* *prean* *atɣŋ* *haj*
 Clf Det Prt Subordconn Pro N N Vt Pro

Clf_thing this Prt_question REL 3P group hunter say 1P_inc
 The grandfather spoke up saying, "Is it this one wild buffalo ear which all those hunters were telling us about?"

25. *ɤː* *it* *lɔːt*
 Interj Vt Prt
 yes take Prt_command
 "Yes, [let's] take [it anyways]."

26. *vʔ* *a-tʃuː* *ɛr* *tʃoʔ* *araw*
 N Vt Vi Prep N
 grandfather CAUS-return curry with arau.plant
 Grandfather - "[I] will bring [it] back and make it into curry with an arau plant."

27. *ba: na? v? t̄faw l̄x̄j p̄ea kan t̄f̄u: t̄f̄o?*
 Num Clf N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Prep

two Clf_person grandfather grandchild so invite RECIP return to

doŋ

N

house

So then the two of them, grandfather and grandchild, invited each other to return to the house.

28. *p^hɔ: paŋ aru:p mu: tamai v? l̄x̄j p̄ea t̄faw*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj N Coordconn Vt N

when shine morning day new grandfather so bring grandchild

pʌ? l̄uh bat t^hrai

Vi Vt N N

go pull.up grass field

The next morning, the grandfather brought the grandson to go and weed the rice field [with him].

29. *alaj l̄uh jah m̄eaj bat ka? kɔ:t jah kli:*
 Pro Vt N N N Coordconn Vt N Adv

3P pull.up side face grass then birth side after

As they pulled up [the weeds] in the front part of the field, [the weeds] in the back [of the field] sprouted.

30. *p^hɔ: alaj l̄uh jah kli: bat ka? kɔ:t jah m̄eaj*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Adv N Coordconn Vt N N

when 3P pull.up side after time then birth side face

When they pulled up [the weeds] at the back of the field, [the weeds] sprouted at the front [of the field].

31. *p^hɔ: paləaj? nt̄f̄ai tɔ: pʌ? alaj ba: na? ka? l̄uh*
 Subordconn Quant Clf Adj Pro Num Clf Coordconn Vt

when many Clf_month next 3P two Clf_person then pull.up

bat tɔ: n̄ɛ?

N Neg Prt

grass NEG Prt_completive

After many months passed by, the two of them had not pulled up all the weeds.

32. *t^hewda: xɪt pɪ:ŋ malɔŋ lɪ:ɟ kɪt aɟo? alaj lɪ:ɟ baŋbot*
 N Vi Adj N Coordconn Vi Vt Pro Coordconn Vt
 god located high sky so think pity 3P so transform

ɔn katur siŋur pɛn masɛm mac paleaj?
 Vt N N Cop N Adj Adv

allow ear buffalo.wild be woman beautiful very
 So a god located in the sky thought to pity them and transformed the wild buffalo ear into a very beautiful woman.

33. *p^hɔ: v? kap tʃaw pa? tʃo? t^hraī masɛm kuaj kɪ:*
 Subordconn N Coordconn N Vi Prep N N N Det
 when grandfather and grandchild go to field woman person that
ka? sɛŋ tɛ: tawɪŋ
 Coordconn Vi Prep N

then descend from tray
 When the grandfather and grandchild went to the field, that woman got down from the tray.

34. *tʃɔ: an ka? pu:ɟh doŋ arɪ:ɟh kube? kubəŋ*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt N N

then 3S then sweep house wash bowl bowl
 Then she swept the house and washed the dishes.

35. *p^hɔ: tɔ? mət mana:ŋ awih an ka? k^ho:ɟ do:ɟ akən alaj*
 Subordconn Vt N Vi Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt Pro
 when come sun tilt 3S then steam rice.cooked wait 3P

In the afternoon, she steamed rice and had it waiting for them.

36. *p^hɔ: alaj tʃu: tɛ: t^hraī v? ka? tʃo:n tʃo? doŋ*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Prep N N Coordconn Vt Prep N

when 3P return from field grandfather then go.up in house
 When they returned home from the field, the grandfather went up into the house.

37. p^hɔ: an tʃo:n tɿ? doŋ an ka? hu:m do:j k^ho:j tʃi:n
 Subordconn Pro Vt Vt N Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt Adj
 when 3S go.up come house 3S then see rice.cooked steam ripe

tʃɿ:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

When he had gone up and entered the house, he saw rice steamed already.

38. aɖɛh nuŋ ɿt hu:l wal wal

N Vi Adv Vi Interj

pot steaming still emit whispering

The pot was still steaming and gave off a whispering noise.

39. an ka? ntru:h mɿt

Pro Coordconn Vt N

3S then fall heart

He was surprised.

40. an lɿ:j abluh tʃaw paj

Pro Coordconn Vt N Subordconn

3S so ask grandchild COMP

So he asked the grandchild,

41. tʃaw ɿ:j amɿ? tɿ? k^ho:j do:j ɔ:n haj nai

N Adj Pro Vt Vt N Vt Pro N

grandchild dear who come steam rice.cooked allow 1P_inc here

"Dear grandson, who came here and steamed rice for us?"

42. tʃaw lɿ:j atɿŋ paj

N Coordconn Vt Subordconn

grandchild so say COMP

And the grandchild said,

43. tɿ: daŋ le:w

Neg Vt Prt

NEG know Prt_UNK

"I do not know."

44. *v?* *kap* *tʃaw* *lɣj* *tɬ* *bu:n* *amɔ?* *ka:* *tʃa:*
 N Coordconn N Coordconn Neg Cop Pro Vaux Vt
 grandfather and grandchild so NEG EXIST who dare eat
doj *tʰi:* *ɣt* *naŋ top* *kɨ:* *ɲu:an* *alaj kɯt* *pa:j*
 N Subordconn Vi Prep N Det Subordconn Pro Vi Subordconn
 rice.cooked REL located in basket that because 3P think COMP
aneɣa *vɨl* *si* *kuua* *alaj*
 N N Vaux N Pro
 people village IRR poison 3P

And so of the grandfather and the grandchild, neither of who dared to eat the rice which was located in that basket there, because they thought that the villagers might have been trying to poison them.

45. *tʃaw* *lɣj* *waw kap v?* *pa:j* *haj* *ɨt*
 N Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Vt
 grandchild so speak with grandfather COMP 1P_inc take
doj *ɔ:n* *atʃɔ:* *tʃa:* *ɲɛ:ŋ* *wɛaj*
 N Vt N Vt Vt Adv
 rice.cooked allow dog eat watch now

Then the grandchild said to the grandfather, "We should take the rice and give [it] to the dog to eat and watch [him] first."

46. *kʰan* *atʃɔ:* *kutʃɨt* *haj* *ka?* *si* *tɬ* *tʃa:*
 Subordconn N Vi Pro Coordconn Vaux Neg Vt
 if dog die 1P_inc then IRR NEG eat

"If the dog dies, we will not eat [it]."

47. *kʰan* *atʃɔ:* *tɬ* *kutʃɨt* *haj* *tʃaŋ* *tʃa:*
 Subordconn N Neg Vi Pro Coordconn Vt
 if dog NEG die 1P_inc then eat

"If the dog does not die, then we will eat."

48. *v?* *lɣj* *ɨt* *doj* *ɔ:n* *atʃɔ:* *tʃa:*
 N Coordconn Vt N Vd N Vt
 grandfather so take rice.cooked give dog eat

So the grandfather took the rice and gave [it] to the dog to eat.

49. *p^hɔ:* *atʃɔ:* *tʃa:* *doj* *tʃa:* *atʃɔ:* *to:* *kɪ:*
 Subordconn N Vt N Prt N Clf Det

when dog eat rice.cooked Prt_seq_completive dog Clf_animal that

ka? *ta:* *pɛn* *ɲtraw*

Coordconn Neg Cop Pro

then NEG be anything

When the dog had eaten the rice, nothing happened to the dog.

50. *tʃaw* *lɔ:ɲ* *waw* *pa:j* *ɲɛ:ɲ* *mɛ?* *atʃɔ:* *ta:*
 N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Vt Prt N Neg

grandchild so speak COMP watch Prt_soft_command dog NEG

hu:m *pɛn* *ɲtraw*

Vt Cop Pro

see be anything

And so the grandchild said, "Look! [I] don't see anything happening to the dog!"

51. *k^han* *nɛ:w* *kɪ:* *ɲkoa?* *tʃa:* *də:*
 Subordconn Prep Det Pro Vt Prt

if like that 1S eat Prt_informative

"If that's the situation, I am going to eat!"

52. *tʃaw* *lɔ:ɲ* *tʃa:* *doj* *kɪ:* *tɛ:* *v?* *ɲt* *ta:*
 N Coordconn Vt N Det Coordconn N Adv Neg

grandchild so eat rice.cooked that but grandfather still NEG

ka: *tʃa:*

Vaux Vt

dare eat

And so the grandchild ate that rice, but the grandfather still did not dare to eat.

53. *p^hɔ:* *paŋ* *aru:p* *mu:* *tamāi* *v?* *ka?* *pɛa* *tʃaw*
 Subordconn Vt N N Adj N Coordconn Vt N

when shine morning day new grandfather then invite grandchild

pʌ? *tʃo?* *t^hrai* *ɛn*

Vi Prep N Adv

go to field again

The next morning, the grandfather requested that the grandchild go to the fields again.

54. *pʰɔ:* *alaj pʌ? wet* *katur siŋur* *ka?* *baŋbot* *pɛn*
 Subordconn Pro Vi N N N Coordconn Vt Cop
 when 3P go out.of.sight ear buffalo.wild then transform be
masɛm mac *ɛn*
 N Adj Adv

woman beautiful again

When they had gone out of sight, the wild buffalo ear was transformed into a beautiful woman again.

55. *tʃɛ:* *an ka?* *sɛŋ* *tɛ:* *tawɪŋ*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vi Prep N

then 3S then descend from tray

The she got down from the tray.

56. *tʃɛ:* *ka?* *pujɰ* *doŋ* *pujɰ* *doŋ* *su:* *ɔh* *dʌ?*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vt N Vt N N Vt N

then then sweep house sweep house shelter scoop water

a-dɔ?

Vi

CAUS-place

Then she swept the house and got water [from the well stored away].

57. *pʰɔ:* *tʌ?* *tɔ:m* *abu:* *an ka?* *kʰoj* *doj*
 Subordconn Vt N N Pro Coordconn Vt N

when come period evening 3S then steam rice.cooked

When the evening came, she steamed rice.

58. *tʃɛ:* *ka?* *ta?* *tʃa:* *akaŋ alaj prɪam*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vt Vt Vt Pro Adv

then then make/do eat wait 3P also

Then [she] made food so that it was waiting for them also.

59. *pʰɔ:* *tʃɛ?* *welɛ:a* *tʰi:* *v?* *kap* *tʃaw* *si* *tʃi:*
 Subordconn Adv N Subordconn N Coordconn N Vaux Vt

when close time REL grandfather and grandchild IRR return

doŋ an ka? *tʃo:m* *ɔ:t* *nʌŋ tawɪŋ ku:* *tɪ:ja?*
 N Pro Coordconn Vt Vi Prep N Prep Prep

house 3S then go.up located on tray same before

When it was close to the time when the grandfather and grandchild would return home, she went up and stayed on the tray the same as before.

60. *pʰɔː vʔ tʃoːm tʃoʔ doŋ kaʔ huːm buːn kuaj kʰoːj*
 Subordconn N Vt Prep N Coordconn Vt Vi N Vt
 when grandfather go.up in house then see able person steam
doj akʌn tʃaː
 N Vt Prt

rice.cooked wait Prt_seq_completive

When the grandfather had gone into the house, [he] was able to see that a person had steamed rice waiting [for them].

61. *adeh nuŋ ɣt huːl wal wal ɣt*
 N Vi Adv Vi Interj Adv

pot steaming still emit whispering still

The pot was still steaming and still gave off a wispering noise.

62. *an kaʔ ntruːh miːt en*
 Pro Coordconn Vt N Adv

3S then fall heart again

He was surprised again.

63. *pʰɔː paŋ aruːp vʔ kaʔ waw kap tʃaw*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt Prep N

when shine morning grandfather then speak with grandchild

paj

Subordconn

COMP

When morning came, the grandfather spoke with his grandchild.

64. *tʃaw maːi kukɔh kunaiː advʔ akʌn*
 N Pro Vt N Vi Vt

grandchild 2S chop mouse store wait

"Grandson, you chop up the mouse and put it away for later."

65. *ŋɛːŋ paj ŋɛaːm abuː si buːn kuaj tʃaʔ kʰoːj doj*
 Vt Subordconn N N Vaux Vt N Vt Vt N

watch COMP time evening IRR have person come steam rice.cooked

kap taʔ tʃaː akʌn haj ɣt bɔː
 Coordconn Vt Vt Vt Pro Vi Prt

and make/do eat wait 1P_inc located Prt_question

"[We] will see this evening if [we] will have a person to come to steam rice and make food so that [it] is waiting for us here."

66. *p^hɔ:* *alaj ta?* *nɛ:w kɪ:* *tʃɛ:* *alaj ba: na?*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Prep Det Prt Pro Num Clf
 when 3P make/do like that Prt_seq_completive 3P two Clf_person
lɔ:ɲ *loah tɛ:* *doŋ pa?* *tʃo?* *t^hraɪ*
 Coordconn Vi Prep N Vi Prep N
 so go.out from house go to field
 When they had done as they planned, then they both went out of the house and went to the field.

67. *p^hɔ:* *tɛ?* *t^hraɪ v?* *ka?* *wəw kap* *tʃaw* *pa:j*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn
 when come field grandfather then speak with grandchild COMP
mahɔ:j? *ŋkoa?* *si pɛa* *mɑɪ tʃu:* *tɔ?* *nɛ:ŋ* *pa:j* *amɛ? k^ho:j*
 N Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vt Vi Vt Subordconn Pro Vt
 moment 1S IRR invite 2S return hide watch COMP who steam
do:j *akən haj*
 N Vt Pro
 rice.cooked wait 1P_inc

When they arrived at the field, the grandfather said to the grandson, "In a moment I will ask you to return [home with me] and hide in order to watch who steams the rice and has [it] waiting for us."

68. *p^hɔ:* *mahɔ:j?* *v?* *ka?* *pɛa* *tʃaw* *tʃu:* *tʃɔ:p*
 Subordconn N N Coordconn Vt N Vt Vi
 when moment grandfather then bring grandchild return sneak
nɛ:ŋ
 Vt
 watch

After a few moments, the grandfather then brought the grandchild back [to the house] to sneak inside and spy out [who was coming].

69. *alaj ka?* *hu:m mase:m* *mɔaj na?* *an* *nto:m* *si* *k^ho:j*
 Pro Coordconn Vt N Num Clf Pro Vaux Vaux Vt
 3P then see woman one Clf_person 3S PROG IRR steam
do:j
 N
 rice.cooked

And so they saw a woman as she was preparing to steam rice.

70. *tʃaw lɣːj tʃon abluh paj maɪ pen amɔ? maɪ mpe? tɔ?*
 N Coordconn Vt Vt Subordconn Pro Cop Pro Pro Pro Vt
 grandchild so go.up ask COMP 2S be who 2S why come
kʰoːj doːj ɣt naŋ doŋ hi?
 Vt N Vi Prep N Pro
 steam rice.cooked live in house 1P_exc
 So the grandchild went up and asked [her], "Who are you? Why have you come to
 steam rice and live in our house?"

71. *maseːm kuaj kɪː lɣːj atɣːŋ an paj ŋkoːa? ɣt naŋ doŋ maɪ*
 N N Det Coordconn Vt Pro Subordconn Pro Vi Prep N Pro
 woman person that so say 3S COMP 1S live in house 2S
naɪ la?
 Det Prt
 this Prt_evidential

So that woman told him, "I live in your house, that's the reason."

72. *tʰerwdaː baŋbot ɔːn ŋkoːa? pen kuaj*
 N Vt Vt Pro Cop N
 god transform allow 1S be person
 "The gods transformed me to be a person."

73. *maɪ kɔt nɛːŋ mɛ? paj ŋkoːa? pen ntraw ɣt*
 Pro Vi Vt Prt Subordconn Pro Cop Pro Vi
 2S think watch Prt_soft_command COMP 1S be anything located
naŋ doŋ maɪ naɪ
 Prep N Pro Det

in house 2S this
 "You think and look around at what I am located in your house."

74. *tʃaw lɣːj tʃilaj ɔːn an tamuŋ tʃon nɛ?*
 N Coordconn Vi Vt Pro Vi Subordconn Prt
 grandchild so guess allow 3S listen until Prt_completive
 So the grandchild guessed for her to listen until [he ran out of ideas].

75. *u? kru top doːj*
 N N N N
 watertank bucket basket rice.cooked
 "The watertank? The bucket? The rice basket?"

76. *nəŋ* *kuaj* *kɿː* *kaʔ* *wəw* *a-tʃo:n* *loʝh* *tɬ* *kləp*
 N N Det Coordconn Vt Vi Interj Neg Adj
 woman.young person that then speak CAUS-go.up wrong NEG correct
 The woman spoke up each time saying, "Wrong! [That's] not right!"
77. *tʃaw* *tʃilaj* *tʃon* *ŋɛʔ* *kaʔ* *tɬ* *mɛ:n*
 N Vi Subordconn Prt Coordconn Neg Adj
 grandchild guess until Prt_completive then NEG true
 The grandchild guessed everything [he could think of] but [all of his guesses] were wrong.
78. *tʃaw* *lɿːj* *ɔ:n* *vʔ* *atɿːŋ*
 N Coordconn Vt N Vt
 grandchild so allow grandfather say
 So the grandchild had the grandfather tell [her guesses].
79. *pʰɔ:* *vʔ* *atɿːŋ* *kaʔ* *tɬ* *kləp* *vʔ* *lɿːj*
 Subordconn N Vt Coordconn Neg Adj N Coordconn
 when grandfather say then NEG correct grandfather so
wəw *paʝ* *ɿt* *ɛ:n* *mɯaj* *nam* *katur* *siŋur*
 Vt Subordconn Vi Adv Num Clf N N
 speak COMP located again one Clf_thing ear buffalo.wild
 When the grandfather had made a few wrong guesses, the grandfather then said,
 "[There is] one more thing, the wild buffalo ear."
80. *mase:m* *kuaj* *kɿː* *lɿːj* *wəw* *paʝ* *mɛ:n* *tʃɬ* *ŋkoaʔ* *pɛn*
 N N Det Coordconn Vt Subordconn Adj Coordconn Pro Cop
 woman person that so speak COMP true then 1S be
katur *siŋur*
 N N
 ear buffalo.wild
 So that woman said, "Correct, I am the wild buffalo ear."
81. *tʰe:wdɑ:* *ɔ:n* *ŋkoaʔ* *baŋbot* *pɛn* *kuaj*
 N Vt Pro Vt Cop N
 god cause 1S transform be person
 A god caused me to transform to be a person.

82. *pʰɔː vʔ daŋ nɛːw kiː kaʔ wɑw paːj kʰan*
 Subordconn N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Vt Subordconn Subordconn
 when grandfather know like that then speak COMP if
pɛn saː kiː ŋkoʔ si ɔn maːi tɛːŋ dɔːŋ kap tʃaw kʰɔːŋ ŋkoʔ
 Cop Prep Det Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Prep N Poss Pro
 be like that 1S IRR allow 2S marry with grandchild POSS 1S
 When the grandfather understood the situation, [he] said, "If it is like that, I will have you to marry my grandson."

83. *ŋuːan ŋkoʔ kaʔ tʰaw tʃɛː ɲpaːi si buːn liːaŋ ŋkoʔ*
 Subordconn Pro Coordconn Adj Coordconn Pro Vaux Vi Vt Pro
 because 1S then old then 2P IRR able raise 1S
 Because I am now old, and you will be able to support me.

84. *tʃɛː maseːm kuaj kiː kap tʃaw kʰɔːŋ vʔ*
 Coordconn N N Det Coordconn N Poss N
 then woman person that and grandchild POSS grandfather
kaʔ tɛːŋ dɔːŋ
 Coordconn Vi

then marry
 Then that woman and the grandfather's grandson were married.

85. *tʃɛː kaʔ ɣt manɣːj*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vi Adv
 then then live together
 And so they lived together.

86. *pʰɔː paŋ aruːp vʔ kap tʃaw kaʔ paʔ tʃoʔ*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Prep
 when shine morning grandfather and grandchild then go to
tʰraːi ɛn
 N Adv
 field again
 The next morning, the grandfather and grandson went to the fields again.

87. *alaj paʔ lɯh bat tʰrɔː tʰraːi*
 Pro Vi Vt N N N
 3P go pull.up grass rice field
 They went and pulled up grass in the rice fields.

88. p^hɔ: abur alaj ka? tʃi: tʃo? doŋ
 Subordconn N Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N

when evening 3P then return to house

When evening came, they returned to the house.

89. mpaɪ tʃaw ka? abluh paj luh bat tʃɔ:
 N N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Vt N Vi

wife grandchild then ask COMP pull.up grass finish

tʃɔ:
 Prt Prt

Prt_seq_completive Prt_question

The grandson's wife asked [them], "Have you finished pulling up the grass?"

90. v? lɔ:ɟ waw paj tɔ: tən tʃɔ: wɛaj
 N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Neg Adv Vi Adv

grandfather so speak COMP NEG yet finish yet

So the grandfather said, "We haven't finished yet."

91. luh jah mɛaŋ jah kli: pat kɔ:t
 Vt N N N Adv Vi Vt

pull.up side face side after PASS NEG birth

"[When we] pull up [the grass] in front [of us], [the grass] behind [us] grows up."

92. p^hɔ: luh jah kli: pat jah mɛaŋ kɔ:t
 Subordconn Vt N Adv Vi N N Vt

when pull.up side after PASS NEG side face birth

"When [we] pull up [the grass] behind us, [the grass] in front [of us] grows up."

93. muaj lu? tʃaw ɔ:ɟ
 Vi Adv N Adj

tired very grandchild dear

"[I] am very tired, dear granddaughter."

94. mpaɪ k^hɔ:ŋ tʃaw lɔ:ɟ waw paj manɔ: mpaɪ tɔ: tɔŋ
 N Poss N Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Pro Neg Vaux

wife POSS grandchild so speak COMP tomorrow 2P NEG must

pa? tʃo? t^hraɪ dɔ:k
 Vi Prep N Prt

go to field Prt_conclusion

So the grandson's wife said, "Tomorrow you don't have to go to the fields."

95. *ŋkoʔ si pɛn kuaj pʌʔ mɯaj naʔ*

Pro Vaux Cop N Vi Num Clf

1S IRR be person go one Clf_person

"I will be the person to go by myself."

96. *pʰɔː paŋ aruːp an kʰoːj doːj kap taʔ ratʃiːn*

Subordconn Vt N Pro Vt N Coordconn Vt N

when shine morning 3S steam rice.cooked and make/do food

When morning came, she steamed rice and made food.

97. *tʃiː an kaʔ ajom doːj*

Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N

then 3S then wrap rice.cooked

Then she wrapped up some rice.

98. *tʃiː kaʔ pʌʔ tʃoʔ tʰrai*

Coordconn Coordconn Vi Prep N

then then go to field

And then [she] went to the fields.

99. *pʰɔː tʰiʔ tʰrai an kaʔ tabaŋ neːŋ bat paleajʔ luːʔ*

Subordconn Vt N Pro Coordconn Vt N Quant Adv

when come field 3S then look around grass many very

When she came to the fields, she observed that there was really a lot of grass.

100. *tʃiː an kaʔ takɔːc aloaŋ it a-duːŋ tʃat ranuːh*

Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt Vi Vt N

then 3S then sharpen stem take CAUS-bring/take stab breath

bat a-dvʔ tʃon tʰa tʰrai

N Vi Subordconn Prep N

grass CAUS-place until all around field

Then she sharpened some sticks and took them and stabbed them into the breath of the grass, placing [them in the ground] until [they were] all around the field.

101. *tʃiː an kaʔ tʃiː doŋ*

Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N

then 3S then return house

Then she returned home.

102. p^hɔ: mu: tamaī bat ɣ:t nɔŋ t^hraī alaj ka? kutʃit̄ tʃon
 Subordconn N Adj N Vi Prep N Pro Coordconn Vi Subordconn
 when day new grass located in field 3P then die until

ŋɛ?

Prt

Prt_completive

When the next day came, the grass which was located in the fields died off completely.

103. t^hɔ: lɣ:j kɣ:t a-tʃom pɣ:ŋ paləaj?
 N Coordconn Vt Vi Adj Adv
 rice so birth CAUS-go.up high very

So the rice plants grew up very tall.

104. bu:n muaj kamɔ ɣ:t nɔŋ ŋtu: lɛŋ t^hɔ: ɣ:t nɔŋ laʷ k^hɔ:ŋ
 Cop Num Clf Vi Prep N Adj N Vi Prep N Poss
 EXIST one Clf_year located in season dry rice located in shed POSS

alaj ŋɛ?

Pro Prt

3P Prt_completive

One year during the dry season, the rice located in their storage shed was completely [used up].

105. tɔ: bu:n doj tʃa:
 Neg Cop N Vt
 NEG EXIST rice.cooked eat

There was no rice to eat.

106. kumɛn k^hɔ:ŋ v? an pɛn kuaj ɣ:t tɛ: doŋ
 N Poss N Pro Cop N Vi Coordconn N
 daughter-in-law POSS grandfather 3S be person stay but house

pu:jh doŋ pu:jh doŋ su: k^ho:j do:j ta? tʃa:
 Vt N Vt N N Vt N Vt Vt

sweep house sweep house shelter steam rice.cooked make/do eat

The grandfather's daughter-in-law, she was the person who stayed in the house, sweeping it and steaming the rice to make food.

107. *p^hɔ:* *an daŋ paj asa?* *ɲɛ?* *an ka?*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Subordconn N Prt Pro Coordconn

when 3S know COMP rice.uncooked Prt_completive 3S then

tɯh mɨt paleaj?

Adj N Adv

poor heart very

When she found out that the shelled rice was all gone, she was very sad.

108. *p^hɔ:* *mət manaŋ awih an ka?* *it li:am pɬ? rac sila: t^hrɔ:*
 Subordconn N Vi Pro Coordconn Vt N Vi Vt N N

when sun tilt 3S then take scythe go harvest leaf rice

kap sila: plaŋ

Coordconn N N

and leaf grass

When afternoon came, she took a scythe and went out to cut the leaves off of rice plants and grass.

109. *tʃɔ:* *an ka?* *tʃi:* *tʃo?* *doŋ it sila: t^hrɔ: kap sila: plaŋ*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N Vt N N Coordconn N N

then 3S so return to house take leaf rice and leaf grass

a-du:ŋ k^ho:j

Vi Vt

CAUS-bring/take steam

Then she returned to the house and took the rice leaves and grass and brought [them] to steam [them].

110. *p^hɔ:* *tʃi:n sila: t^hrɔ: kap sila: plaŋ ka?* *baŋbot pen*
 Subordconn Adj N N Coordconn N N Coordconn Vt Cop

when ripe leaf rice and leaf grass then transform be

do:j tʃon ɲɛ?

N Subordconn Prt

rice.cooked until Prt_completive

When the rice leaves and the grass were ready, all of it transformed to be cooked rice.

111. *pʰɔ:* *vʔ* *kap* *ajak* *tʃu:* *tɛ:* *tʰrai* *alaj* *kaʔ*
 Subordconn N Coordconn N Vt Prep N Pro Coordconn

when grandfather and husband return from field 3P then

hu:m an ɲto:m toh doj

Vt Pro Vaux Vt N

see 3S PROG cool rice.cooked

When the grandfather and [her] husband returned from the fields, they saw that she was cooling the rice.

112. *vʔ* *kut* *naŋ* *mɪt* *paʔ* *an* *it* *doj* *a-taʔ*
 N Vi Prep N Subordconn Pro Vt N Vi

grandfather think in heart COMP 3S take rice.cooked CAUS-bring

tɛ: *leʔ* *a-du:ŋ* *kʰoʔ*

Prep Pro Vi Vt

from where CAUS-bring/take steam

The grandfather thought in [his] heart, "She has taken cooked rice brought from where to take and steam."

113. *ɲu:an* *asaʔ* *kaʔ* *ɲɛʔ* *tʰrɔ:* *kaʔ*
 Subordconn N Coordconn Prt N Coordconn

because rice.uncooked then Prt_completive rice then

ɲɛʔ

Prt

Prt_completive

Because the shelled rice has been completely [used up] and the unshelled rice has been completely [used up].

114. *vʔ* *lɔ:ʔ* *kut* *jaʔ* *daŋ*
 N Coordconn Vi Vaux Vt

grandfather so think want know

So that grandfather thought that [he] wanted to know [how she got the rice].

115. *pʰɔ:* *mu:* *tamāi* *kumɛn* *an* *kʰoʔ* *doj* *adɔʔ*
 Subordconn N Adj N Pro Vt N Prt

when day new daughter-in-law 3S steam rice.cooked Prt_completive

When the next day came, the daughter-in-law was steaming all the rice.

116. *tʃaː an kaʔ atɻŋ ɔn vʔ kiaʔ adbʔ*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Vt N Vt Prt
 then 3S then say allow grandfather guard Prt_completive
 Then she asked the grandfather to watch all [the steaming rice].

117. *an atɻŋ vʔ paːj vʔ kiaʔ rai̯ doj*
 Pro Vt N Subordconn N Vt N N
 3S say grandfather COMP grandfather guard basket rice.cooked
ɔn naŋ
 Vt Prep
 allow on
 She told the grandfather, "Grandfather, watch the rice basket [for me]."

118. *an si paʔ toːc bat a-taʔ kluaʔ*
 Pro Vaux Vi Vt N Vi Vi
 3S IRR go pick.up grass CAUS-bring parboil
 She would go to go pick some grass to bring back and parboil.

119. *pʰɔː kumɛn tajaʔ paʔ wet vʔ kaʔ tʃoːn*
 Subordconn N Vi Vi N N Coordconn Vt
 when daughter-in-law walk go out.of.sight grandfather then go.up
puh nɛːŋ rai̯ doj
 Vt Vt N N
 open watch basket rice.cooked
 When the daughter-in-law had walked and gone out of sight, the grandfather got up
 and opened [it] to see what was inside the basket.

120. *pʰɔː an huːm tʰrɔː kap plaŋ ɻt naŋ rai̯ an kaʔ*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Coordconn N Vi Prep N Pro Coordconn
 when 3S see rice and grass located in basket 3S then
ntruh miːt paɭajʔ
 Vt N Adv
 fall heart very
 When he saw the rice leaves and the grass located in the steaming basket, he was
 very surprised.

121. *vʔ rɛːj paɭajʔ*
 N Adj Adv
 grandfather angry very
 The grandfather became very angry.

122. *jah pɔːŋ rai̯ pen tʰrɔː tɛː jah pɯːn pen doːj*
 N Prep N Cop N Prep N Prep Cop N
 side over basket be rice from side under be rice.cooked

tʃaː

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

The top of the steaming basket had rice leaves, but under that it was steamed rice.

123. *vʔ lɔːj rɛːj paːj kumɛn it tʰrɔː kap*
 N Coordconn Adj Subordconn N Vt N Coordconn
 grandfather so angry COMP daughter-in-law take rice and

plaŋ kʰoːj ɔːn an tʃaː

N Vt Vt Pro Vt

grass steam allow 3S eat

So the grandfather became angry that the daughter-in-law had taken rice [leaves] and [blades of] grass and steamed them for him to eat.

124. *an patʃua kumɛn*

Pro Vt N

3S criticize daughter-in-law

He criticized the daughter-in-law.

125. *an tuatip tʃon kumɛn an tʃuː tʃitɔːm*

Pro Vi Subordconn N Pro Vt Vt

3S criticize until daughter-in-law 3S return reach

He kept on criticizing until his daughter-in-law returned [home] in time.

126. *tʃaː an kaʔ saŋ vʔ patʃua*

Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt

then 3S then hear grandfather criticize

Then she heard the grandfather criticizing [her].

127. *an tɔː siɔm miːt palɛːjʔ*

Pro Neg Adj Adv

3S NEG happy very

She was very unhappy.

128. *an lɔːj tajaŋ loah tɛː doŋ paʔ tʃoʔ tʰrai̯*

Pro Coordconn Vi Vi Prep N Vi Prep N

3S so walk go.out from house go to field

So she walked away from the house and went to the field.

129. *tʃaː an kaʔ tʃiː it aloŋ tʰiː an tʃat raŋuʰ bat*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Vt N Subordconn Pro Vt N N
 then 3S then pull take stem REL 3S stab breath grass
adb?

Prt

Prt_completive

Then she pulled out and took away the stakes which she had used to stab the breath out of all the grass.

130. *pʰɔː an tʃiː a-loah tʃaː bat nʃum kiː*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Vi Prt N N Det
 when 3S pull CAUS-go.out Prt_seq_completive grass group that
kaʔ moːʒh a-tʃoːn kuː tʃjaʔ
 Coordconn Vi Vi Prep Prep

then resurrect CAUS-go.up same before

When she had pulled them out, the grass revived and grew just as before.

131. *an tuh miːt paləajʔ*
 Pro Adj N Adv

3S poor heart very

She was very sad.

132. *an lɔːj tɔː lɔp tʃoʔ doŋ vʔ kap tʃaw*
 Pro Coordconn Neg Vi Prep N N Coordconn N
 3S so NEG return to house grandfather and grandchild
nʃum kiː en lɔːj
 N Det Adv Prt

group that again Prt_intensifier

So she did not return to the grandfather and grandson's house ever again.

133. *an tajaʰ miːt tʃoʔ sak diʔ tɛː naŋ kiː pɔʔ lɔːj*
 Pro Vi Vt Prep N Vi Prep N Det Vi Prt

3S walk enter in forest flee from day that go Prt_intensifier

She walked into the forest to flee and was never seen again.

134. *sot*

Prt

Prt_completive

The End.

Appendix 5

The Grandfather Ghost

1. *vʔ* *braw*

N N

grandfather ghost

The grandfather ghost.

2. *dun* *tʰʔ* *tʃʰʰ* *bun* *vɿl* *ku:ʃʔ* *ku:ʃʔ* *mɯaj*

N Vt Prt Cop N Adj Adj Num

time.long come Prt_seq_completive EXIST village small small one

vɿl

clf

Clf_village

A long time ago there was a very small village.

3. *ʃt* *naŋ* *vɿl* *kɿ:* *bun* *kɔn* *kamɯt* *ʃt* *mɯaj* *naʔ*

Vi Prep N Det Cop N N Vi Num Clf

located in village that EXIST child orphan live one Clf_person

Located in that village there was an orphan child who lived all alone.

4. *mpeʔ* *mɯoa* *kutʃɿt* *tah* *neʔ*

N N Vi Vt Prt

mother father die leave Prt_completive

[His] father and mother had died and left [him with no family] at all.

5. *an* *lɿj* *ʃt* *naŋ* *vʔ* *t^haw*

Pro Prt Vi Prep N Adj

3S Prt_intensifier live with grandfather old

And so he lived with an old grandfather.

6. *tɛː lɑː vɨl ɔm ɔm nai pen sak pen truŋ tʃon*
 Prep N N Prep Prep Det Cop N Cop N Subordconn

from past village around around this be forest be jungle until
ɲɛʔ

Prt

Prt_completive

In the past, the villages around here were only forest and jungle.

7. *doŋ suː ɣt jɣːŋ jɣːŋ kan*
 N N Vi Adv Adv Pro

house shelter located far far RECIP

The houses were located far from each other.

8. *vʔ tʰaw kaʔ liːaŋ tʃaw ɣt paleajʔ kamɔ*
 N Adj Coordconn Vt N Vi Quant Clf

grandfather old then raise grandchild located many Clf_year

The old grandfather raised the grandchild for many years.

9. *buːn muaj siŋai vʔ aʔiː tʃiː an kaʔ kutʃiːt pɔʔ*
 Cop Num Clf N Adj Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vi Vi

EXIST one Clf_day grandfather sick then 3S then die go

tʃam

Prt

Prt_sympathy

One day the grandfather became sick, and then he died and left.

10. *tah ɔn tʃaw tʰiː ɣt kuːjʔ ɣt muaj naʔ*
 Vt Vt N Subordconn Adv Adj Vi Num Clf

leave cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf_person

[His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.

11. *ɲuaːn sɛm ɣj an pɔʔ lɛʔ kaʔ tɑː buːn*
 Subordconn N N Pro Vi Pro Coordconn Neg Vt

because younger.sibling older.sister 3S go where then NEG have

naŋ

Prt

Prt_intensifier

Because his family was gone, [he] did not have [anyone] at all.

12. *taʔ ɔ:n tʃaw an ntʃom vʔ paleʔajʔ*
 Vt Vt N Pro Vt N Adv

make/do cause grandchild 3S miss grandfather very
 [This] made the grandchild miss his grandfather very much.

13. *kɯː kɯː siŋai tʃaw si paʔ neʔam*
 Quant Quant Clf N Vaux Vi Vi

every every Clf_day grandchild IRR go cry
 Every day the grandchild would go cry.

14. *paʔ ranɯp mɔŋ prɯŋ tʰiː alaj tɯp vʔ kiː kɯː siŋai*
 Vi N N N Subordconn Pro Vt N Det Quant Clf
nuʔan an ntʃom paleʔajʔ
 Subordconn Pro Vt Adv

because 3S miss very
 [He] would go to cemetery to the place where they had buried [his] grandfather
 every day because he really missed [him].

15. *vʔ ɤj maɪ kuʔtʃit tʃɯː*
 N Adj Pro Vi Prt
 grandfather dear 2S die Prt_seq_completive

"Dear grandfather, you have died."

16. *ŋkoaʔ si ɤt naŋ amʔ*
 Pro Vaux Vi Prep Pro
 1S IRR live with who

"Who will I live with?"

17. *ŋkoaʔ taː bu:n amʔ tʃɯː maɪ it ŋkoaʔ paʔ ɤt naŋ*
 Pro Neg Vt Pro Coordconn Pro Vt Pro Vi Vi Prep
 1S NEG have anyone then 2S take 1S go live with

"I don't have anyone so will you take me to go and live with [you]."

18. *kɯː siŋai an si paʔ wəw kəm kiː*
 Quant Clf Pro Vaux Vi Vt N Det
 every Clf_day 3S IRR go speak word that
 Every day he would go and say the same thing.

19. *an wəw tʃon v? kuaj tʰi: pɛn braw aʃo? ta?*
 Pro Vt Subordconn N N Subordconn Cop N Vt Vt
 3S speak until grandfather person REL be ghost pity make/do

an

Pro

3S

He kept on saying [those things] until the grandfather, who was a ghost, pitied him.

20. *v? lɤj baŋbot tʃak ɔm an hu:m*
 N Prt Vt N Vt Pro Vt

grandfather Prt_intensifier transform body allow 3S see

So the grandfather transformed [his] body so that he could see [him].

21. *tʃa: ka? wəw pa:j tʃaw ɣj kʰan ma:i ntʃom*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Adj Subordconn Pro Vt

then then speak COMP grandchild dear if 2S miss

ŋkoa? rɛ:ŋ tʰaŋ ma:i ka? tɔ: bu:n sɛ:m ɣj
 Pro Adj Coordconn Pro Coordconn Neg Vt N N

1S strong resulting from 2S then NEG have younger.sibling older.sister

Then he said, "Dear grandson, if you miss me so much because you don't have any family."

22. *kʰan nɛ:w ki: ɔm ma:i tʃa: kaloŋ rahaw na:i dɔ:*
 Subordconn Prep Det Vt Pro Vt N N Det Prt

if like that allow 2S eat bulb medicine this Prt_soft_command

"If that's the situation, [I will] allow you to eat this medicinal bulb."

23. *tʃa: ma:i ka? si tɔ? ɣt naŋ v? bu:n*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vaux Vt Vi Prep N Vi

then 2S then IRR come live with grandfather able

"Then you will be able to come and live with [your] grandfather."

24. *pʰɔ: tʃaw kɔm kamɯ:t tʃa: kaloŋ rahaw ki:*
 Subordconn N N N Vt N N Det

when grandchild child orphan eat bulb medicine that

tʃa: an ka? hu:m braw hu:m bri:w
 Prt Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt N

Prt_seq_completive 3S then see ghost see spirit

When the orphaned grandchild had eaten the medicine plant, he saw the ghosts and spirits.

25. *məŋ tʰiː an kɔːj huːm pən ranɯp kaʔ pən vɨl kuaj*
 N Subordconn Pro Adv Vt Cop N Coordconn Cop N N
 place REL 3S ever see be cemetery then be village person
a-tʃoːn

Vi

CAUS-go.up

In the place which he always saw to be a cemetery, there appeared to be a village of people.

26. *buːn kuaj səw səw ɣt nɔŋ vɨl kiː*
 Cop N N N Vi Prep N Det

EXIST person commotion commotion located in village that
 There were people making all sorts of noise living in that village.

27. *pʰɔː mahɔːjʔ vʔ kaʔ pɛa an mɯt tʃoʔ vɨl*
 Subordconn N N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Prep N

when moment grandfather then invite 3S enter in village
 Just then, the grandfather invited him to enter into the village.

28. *pʰɔː tɔʔ doŋ vʔ kaʔ taʔ tamɯːaŋ ɔːn an*
 Subordconn Vt N N Coordconn Vt N Vt Pro

when come house grandfather then make/do bow allow 3S
mɯaj nam

Num Clf

one Clf_thing

When they arrived at the house, the grandfather made a bow for him.

29. *a-dvʔ pɔʔ paŋ tran dɔː vʔ wɔw*
 Vi Vi Vt N Prt N Vt

CAUS-place go shoot animal Prt_soft_command grandfather speak
 "Bring this to go shoot animals," grandfather said.

30. *aʃ kɔːn kamɯt kaʔ ɣt nɔŋ vʔ buːn paɭɛajʔ*
 N N N Coordconn Vi Prep N Vt Quant

older.brother child orphan then live with grandfather have many

ntʃʰai tɣp

Clf Adv

Clf_month and some

The older orphan child then lived with the grandfather for more than many months.

31. *bun mɔaj siŋai kanəa tʰi: ɣ:t naŋ vi:l ki: alaj tɔ? pəa*
 Cop Num Clf N Subordconn Vi Prep N Det Pro Vt Vt
 EXIST one Clf_day friend REL live in village that 3P come invite
an pɔ? ho: kap ŋkruaŋ tran
 Pro Vi Vi Coordconn Vt N
 3S go make.noise and flush animal
 There was one day, the friends who lived in their village, they came and invited him
 to go make noise and flush animals [out of the woods to hunt them].

32. *pʰɔ: tɔ? doŋ v? alaj ka? wəw paj v?*
 Subordconn Vt N N Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn N
 when come house grandfather 3P then speak COMP grandfather
aj kɔ:n kamɔ:t ɣ:t bɔ:
 N N N Vi Prt
 older.brother child orphan located Prt_question
 When they arrived at the grandfather's house, they said, "Grandfather, is the older
 orphan child here?"

33. *v? lɔ:j abluh alaj paj ŋpai si ta?*
 N Prt Vt Pro Subordconn Pro Vaux Vt
 grandfather Prt_intensifier ask 3P COMP 2P IRR make/do

ŋtraw

Pro

anything

So the grandfather asked them, "Will you do anything?"

34. *o: hi? si pəa an pɔ? ho: kap ŋkruaŋ tran*
 Interj Pro Vaux Vt Pro Vi Vi Coordconn Vt N
 oh 1P_exc IRR invite 3S go make.noise and flush animal
 "Oh, we will invite him to go make noise and flush out animals."

35. *ŋu:an mahai hi? hu:m lɔm pojh ɣ:t naŋ truŋ*
 Subordconn N Pro Vt N N Vi Prep N
 because yesterday 1P_exc see mark deer located in jungle
 "Because yesterday we saw deer tracks located in the jungle."

36. *truŋ ki: tɔ: hu:k dɔ:k truŋ ku:j? ku:j?*
 N Det Neg Adj Prt N Adj Adj
 jungle that NEG big Prt_contradiction jungle small small
 "Actually that jungle is not big but quite small."

37. *kanəa braw ntʃum ki: ra-wəw*

N N N Det Vt

friend ghost group that RECIP-say

That group of ghost friends all said.

38. *v? lɔ:ʃ wəw kap tʃaw pa:j ɽ pa?*

N Prt Vt Prep N Subordconn Interj Vi

grandfather Prt_intensifier speak with grandchild COMP yes go

lɔ:t tʃaw

Prt N

Prt_command grandchild

So the grandfather said to the grandchild, "Yes, go ahead, grandchild."

39. *laŋ tuə bu:n po:ʃh a-tɔ? tʃa: nɛ?*

N Cop N Vi Vt Vi

sometimes EXIST deer CAUS-bring eat consume

"Sometimes there is a deer which they bring back so that we can eat [it all]."

40. *an lɔ:ʃ pa? naŋ kanəa*

Pro Coordconn Vi Prep N

3S so go with friend

And so he went with his friends.

41. *an it tamɔ:ŋ tʰi: v? ta? ɔ:n a-du:ŋ*

Pro Vt N Subordconn N Vt Vt Vi

3S take bow REL grandfather make/do allow CAUS-bring/take

pruam

Adv

also

He brought the bow which the grandfather made [for him] to take also.

42. *pʰɔ: alaj pa? tɔ? truŋ tʰi: kanəa wəw pa:j hu:m lɔ:m*

Subordconn Pro Vi Vt N Subordconn N Vt Subordconn Vt N

when 3P go come jungle REL friend speak COMP see mark

po:ʃh alaj lɔ:ʃ atɔ:ŋ ɔ:n an la?

N Pro Coordconn Vt Vt Pro Vt

deer 3P so say allow 3S ambush

When they went and came to the jungle where the friends said that they saw the deer tracks, so they told him to wait in ambush.

43. *alaj wəw pa:j a:j kɔ:n kamɯ:t ma:i la:t mɔŋ nai*
 Pro Vt Subordconn N N N Pro Vt N Det
 3P speak COMP older.brother child orphan 2S ambush place this

də:

Prt

Prt_soft_command

They said, "Older orphan child, you will ambush this place."

44. *tʃa: alaj ka? tah kuaj dɔ? pɛn mɔŋ pɛn mɔŋ*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt N Vi Cop N Cop N
 then 3P then leave person put be place be place

Then they left a number of people in various places.

45. *tʃa: ntʃum alaj ka? wəw kap an pa:j ntʃum hi? si*
 Coordconn N Pro Coordconn Vt Prep Pro Subordconn N Pro Vaux
 then group 3P then speak with 3S COMP group 1P_exc IRR

mɯ:t ho:

Vt Vi

enter make.noise

Then their group said to him, "Our group will go into [the jungle] and make noise."

46. *kʰan hu:m an loah ɔ:n ma:i pa:n lɔ:t də:*
 Subordconn Vt Pro Vi Vt Pro Vt Prt Prt
 if see 3S go.out allow 2S shoot Prt_command Prt_soft_command

kaneə atɔŋ

N Vt

friend say

"If [you] see it come out, you must shoot [it], OK?" the friends said.

47. *a:j kɔ:n kamɯ:t ka? rap po? alaj pa:j ɛ kʰan*
 N N N Coordconn Vt Pro Subordconn Interj Subordconn
 older.brother child orphan then agree 3P COMP yes if

an loah ŋkoa? si pa:n lɔ:t

Pro Vi Pro Vaux Vt Prt

3S go.out 1S IRR shoot Prt_command

The older orphan child agreed with them, "Yes, if it comes out I will shoot it for sure."

48. *tɑː tɔŋ ŋkɔh tʃɪma lɔ:t naː*
 Neg Vaux Vt Vt Prt Prt

NEG must fear believe Prt_command Prt_consider

"Don't be afraid. You can depend on me for sure."

49. *pʰɔː an waw sot kanɛa nʃɪm tʰiː pen lɛŋ*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Prt N N Subordconn Cop N

when 3S speak Prt_completive friend group REL be assistants

kaʔ mɪt hoː ɣt apɪŋ sɔk
 Coordconn Vt Vi Vi Adj N

then enter make.noise located center forest

When he finished speaking, the friends which were helping entered making noise in the middle of the forest.

50. *jah aːj kamɪt an kaʔ akən ɣt kiː*
 Top N N Pro Coordconn Vt Vi Det

meanwhile older.brother orphan 3S then wait located that

As for the older orphan, he waited located in that place.

51. *tɑː hu:m nʃraw loah tʃoʔ an lɣːj*
 Neg Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt

NEG see anything go.out to 3S Prt_intensifier

He did not see anything come out to him at all.

52. *tran kaʔ tɑː hu:m nʃraw kaʔ tɑː hu:m*
 N Coordconn Neg Vt Pro Coordconn Neg Vt

animal then NEG see anything then NEG see

[He] did not see any animals nor anything else.

53. *sɔŋ tɛː kanɛa waw paːj an pɔʔ tʃoʔ maɪ tʃɪː*
 Vt Coordconn N Vt Subordconn Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt

hear but friend speak COMP 3S go to 2S Prt_seq_completive

dəː

Prt

Prt_informative

[He] only heard the friends saying, "It has gone towards you!"

54. *aːj kɔ:n kamɪt ŋɛːaŋ tamɪːaŋ dɔʔ*
 N N N Vt N Prt

older.brother child orphan bend bow Prt_completive

The older orphan child bent his bow [and held it ready].

55. *tɛ: an ka? tɛ: hu:m n̄traw loah t̄fo? an l̄xj*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Neg Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt
 but 3S then NEG see anything go.out to 3S Prt_intensifier
 But he did not see anything come out to him at all.

56. *hu:m tɛ: a:ka? mu:aj to: sidaih loah*
 Vt Coordconn N Num Clf Vi Vi
 see but grasshopper one Clf_animal jump go.out
 [He] saw only one grasshopper jump out [of the jungle].

57. *an l̄xj waw paj kup a-t̄f̄u: ɔ:n v?*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Vi Vt Subordconn N
 3S so speak COMP cup.hand CAUS-return for grandfather
buh t̄f̄a: wəaj na:
 Vi Vt Adv Prt
 roast eat now Prt_consider

So he said, "I think I will catch this grasshopper and bring [it] back for the grandfather to roast and eat now."

58. *an l̄xj kup it a:ka? t̄f̄a: ka? a-dv? nɔŋ*
 Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N Coordconn Coordconn Vi Prep
 3S so cup.hand take grasshopper then then CAUS-place in
at̄uŋ
 N

pocket
 And so he caught the grasshopper in his hand and then put it in his pocket.

59. *t̄f̄a: kanəa ka? ho: t̄ɬ? t̄fo? an*
 Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt Prep Pro
 then friend then make.noise come to 3S
 Then the friends made noise and came to him.

60. *t̄f̄a: alaj ka? abluh an paj a:j kɔ:n kamut hu:m*
 Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Subordconn N N N Vt
 then 3P then ask 3S COMP older.brother child orphan see
po:jh loah t̄fo? maī bɔ:
 N Vi Prep Pro Prt

deer go.out to 2S Prt_question
 Then they asked him, "Older orphan child, did [you] see the deer come out to you?"

61. *an waw paj tɔ̃ hu:m tɔ̃ hu:m tran ntraw loah tʃoʔ*
 Pro Vt Subordconn Neg Vt Neg Vt N Pro Vi Prep

3S speak COMP NEG see NEG see animal anything go.out to

ŋkoaʔ lɔ̃j

Pro Prt

1S Prt_intensifier

He said, "[I] did not see [it]; [I] did not see any animals or anything else at all come out of the jungle to me."

62. *aj kɔ:n kamɯt waw kanɛa tɔ̃ tʃu:a lɔ̃j abluh an*
 N N N Vt N Neg Vt Coordconn Vt Pro

older.brother child orphan speak friend NEG believe so ask 3S

ɛn paj tɔ̃ mɛ:n maɪ̃ bec ranɛt bɔ: maɪ̃ lɔ̃j tɔ̃ hu:m
 Adv Subordconn Neg Adj Pro Vi Vi Prt Pro Coordconn Neg Vt

again COMP NEG true 2S lie sleep Prt_question 2S so NEG see

an loah

Pro Vi

3S go.out

After the older orphan child had spoken, the friends did not believe [him] and so asked him again, "Isn't it true that you lay down and slept and so did not see it come out?"

63. *naɪ̃ de lum an loah mɔŋ maɪ̃ naɪ̃ kanɛa waw*
 Det Adj N Pro Vi N Pro Det N Vt

this right mark 3S go.out place 2S this friend speak

"Right here its footprints come out to your place," the friends said.

64. *o:j kanɛa ŋkoaʔ tɔ̃ hu:m po:jh tɛ: muaj to: lu?*
 Interj N Pro Neg Vt N Prep Num Clf Adj

hey friend 1S NEG see deer from one Clf_animal true

"Hey friends, I did not see any deer, not even one."

65. *tɔ̃ paj tɛ: po:jh kunaĩ muaj to: ŋkoaʔ kaʔ tɔ̃*
 Neg Subordconn Prep N N Num Clf Pro Coordconn Neg

NEG COMP from deer mouse one Clf_animal 1S then NEG

hu:m

Vt

see

"Even if [it] was only one mouse deer, I did not see [it]."

66. *p^hɔː an wɑw nɛːw kɪː kanɛa kaʔ lɤːj pɛa an tʃiː*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Prep Det N Coordconn Coordconn Vt Pro Vt
 when 3S speak like that friend then so invite 3S return
 When he had spoken those things, the friends suggested that he return [home].

67. *alaj kʉt paj an loah nɛam an bec ranɛt eː laʔ*
 Pro Vi Subordconn Pro Vi N Pro Vi Vi Prt
 3P think COMP 3S go.out time 3S lie sleep Prt_evidential
 They thought it was obvious that it had come out during the time he lay down and was sleeping.

68. *pʌʔ tʃiː muː tamai tʃan tʌʔ ɛn kanɛa miːaj naʔ wɑw*
 Vi Vt N Adj Coordconn Vt Adv N Num Clf Vt
 go return day new then come again friend one Clf_person speak
 "[Let's] go [home], another day [we'll] come again," one of the friends said.

69. *alaj lɤːj pɛa kan tʃiː doŋ*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt N
 3P so invite RECIPIENT return house
 So they all encouraged one another to return home.

70. *p^hɔː aːj kɔːn kamɪt tʌʔ doŋ kaʔ abluh paj*
 Subordconn N N N Vt N Coordconn Vt Subordconn
 when older.brother child orphan come house then ask COMP
pɛn nɛːw lɛʔ tʃaw buːn bɔː
 Cop Pro N Vt Prt
 be how grandchild have Prt_question
 When the older orphan child returned home, the grandfather asked, "How was it? Do you have [any deer]?"

71. *an lɤːj atɤːŋ paj tʌː buːn tʌː huːm ŋtraw*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Neg Vt Neg Vt Pro
 3S so say COMP NEG have NEG see anything
 So he said, "[I] don't have any; [I] didn't see anything."

72. *tɛː kanɛa paj huːm lɪm an loah mɔŋ ŋkoaʔ vʔ ɤːj*
 Prep N Subordconn Vt N Pro Vi N Pro N Adj
 from friend COMP see mark 3S go.out place 1S grandfather dear
 "But the friends say that [they] saw its prints come out in my place, dear grandfather."

73. *tɛ: ηkoʌ? tɔ: hu:m n̄traw l̄ɣ:j*
 Prep Pro Neg Vt Pro Prt
 from 1S NEG see anything Prt_intensifier

"But I did not see anything at all."

74. *ηkoʌ? hu:m tɛ: a:kʌ? m̄aj to: n̄i la?*
 Pro Vt Prep N Num Clf Det Prt
 1S see from grasshopper one Clf_animal this Prt_evidential

"I saw only this one grasshopper."

75. *v? n̄truh m̄it palɛaj?*
 N Vt N Adv
 grandfather fall heart very

The grandfather was very surprised.

76. *an l̄ɣ:j w̄aw kap t̄jaw paj m̄ai n̄pɛ? w̄aw paj*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N Subordconn Pro Pro Vt Subordconn
 3S so speak with grandchild COMP 2S why speak COMP

a:kʌ? n̄i la? po:jh
 N Det Prt N
 grasshopper this Prt_evidential deer

So he said to the grandchild, "Why do you say a grasshopper? It is the deer!"

77. *p^hɔ: v? ko:p a:kʌ? t̄ɣ: ka? no:n*
 Subordconn N Vt N Prt Coordconn Vt
 when grandfather grab grasshopper Prt_seq_completive then toss

a-sɛŋ doŋ
 Vi N

CAUS-down house

When the grandfather had grabbed the grasshopper, [he] then threw [it] down from the house.

78. *a:kʌ? k̄i: ka? baŋbot pɛn po:jh hu:k*
 N Det Coordconn Vt Cop N Adj
 grasshopper that so transform be deer big

The grasshopper transformed to be a big deer.

79. *a:j kɔ:n kam̄it n̄ɛ:ŋ ku: tɔ: t̄ɣua m̄at at̄jaw du:m*
 N N N Vt Prep Neg Vt N Pro

older.brother child orphan watch same NEG believe eye REFLEX

The older orphan child watched it as if he could not believe his own eyes.

80. *vʔ* *lɣj* *wəw* *paʔ* *ŋkoʔ* *pʌʔ* *naʔ* *alaj* *tʌʔ* *takro:*
 N Coordconn Vt Subordconn Pro Vi Vt Pro Vt Vt
 grandfather so speak COMP 1S go follow 3P come cut.meat

wəj də:

Adv Prt

now Prt_informative

So the grandfather said, "I will go follow them to come to cut the meat now."

81. *pʰɔ:* *vʔ* *pʌʔ* *naʔ* *kanəa* *tʰi:* *pʌʔ* *ho:* *manɣj*
 Subordconn N Vi Vt N Subordconn Vi Vi Adv
 when grandfather go follow friend REL go make.noise together

tʌʔ

Vt

come

When the grandfather went and followed the friends, who had gone and made noise together, they came [back to the house].

82. *alaj* *kaʔ* *wəw* *paʔ* *nɛ:* *hiʔ* *wəw* *tʃʌ:*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Adv Pro Vt Prt
 3P so speak COMP sure 1P_exc speak Prt_seq_completive

They said, "It is just as we said."

83. *hiʔ* *hu:m* *lɣm* *an* *loah* *jah* *nai*
 Pro Vt N Pro Vi N Det
 1P_exc see mark 3S go.out side this

"We saw its prints go out that side."

84. *alaj* *lɣj* *pəa* *kan* *takro:* *ŋpɛʔ* *tʃʰac* *ɔ:n* *kɯ:* *naʔ*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Vt Quant Clf
 3P so invite RECIPIENT cut.meat divide meat allow every Clf_person

So they helped each other to cut up and divide the meat and gave every person [his share].

85. *blɔ:* *kap* *ŋkar* *pojɰ* *alaj* *ɔ:n* *aʔ* *kɔ:n* *kamɯt*
 N Coordconn N N Pro Vd N N N

head and skin deer 3P give older.brother child orphan
 They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.

86. *n̄u:ən an pən kuaj pən bu:n*

Subordconn Pro Cop N Vt Vi

because 3S be person shoot able

Because he was the person who was able to shoot [the deer].

87. *t̄ʃa: alaj ka? p̄əa kan a-t̄ʃu: t̄ʃa:*

Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt

then 3P then invite RECIP CAUS-return eat

Then they invited each other to bring [it] back and eat.

88. *p̄h̄: paləaj? siŋaī t̄: p̄a? aj k̄:n kam̄ut ka? p̄a?*

Subordconn Quant Clf Adj N N N Coordconn Vi

when many Clf_day next older.brother child orphan then go

pən t̄ʃom

Vt N

shoot bird

After many days passed by, the older orphan child went to shoot birds.

89. *an atx̄ŋ v? pa:j ŋkoa? p̄a? pən t̄ʃom naŋ truŋ naī w̄əaj*

Pro Vt N Subordconn Pro Vi Vt N Prep N Det Adv

3S say grandfather COMP 1S go shoot bird in jungle this now

d̄a:

Prt

Prt_informative

He told the grandfather, "I am going to shoot birds in the jungle now."

90. *v? ka? t̄: w̄aw ŋtraw*

N Coordconn Neg Vt Pro

grandfather then NEG speak anything

The grandfather did not say anything.

91. *p̄h̄: an t̄a? truŋ an ka? p̄a? pən t̄ʃom*

Subordconn Pro Vt N Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N

when 3S come jungle 3S then go shoot bird

When he came to the jungle, he went and shot some birds.

92. *an bu:n tʃom karo? mɯaj to: kla:j kɨ: ka? pɛn tʃom awɛaŋ*
 Pro Vt N N Num Clf Vt Det Coordconn Cop N N

3S have bird owl one Clf_animal pass that then be bird aweang
tʃom sia:k tʃom tʃipal
 N N N N

bird crow bird dove

He got one owl, and after that an aweang bird, a crow, and a dove.

93. *an kɯt naŋ mɨt pa:j kʰɛ: naɪ ka? pɔa: tʃa: tʃa:*
 Pro Vi Prep N Subordconn Adj Det Coordconn Adv Vt Vi

3S think in heart COMP only this then enough eat finish
la?

Prt

Prt_evidential

He thought in [his] heart that this much would surely be enough to eat, and so [he] stopped.

94. *an lɔ:j tʃu: tʃo? doŋ*
 Pro Coordconn Vt Prep N

3S so return to house
 And so he returned to the house.

95. *pʰɔ: tɿ? doŋ an ka? lɯh sisɔk tʃom*
 Subordconn Vt N Pro Coordconn Vt N N

when come house 3S then pull.up hair bird
 When [he] came home, he pulled out the bird feathers.

96. *tʃa: ka? si a-du:ŋ ta? tʃa:*
 Coordconn Coordconn Vaux Vi Vt Vt

then then IRR CAUS-bring/take make/do eat
 Then he was going to take the birds to make food.

97. *pʰɔ: v? tɿ? hu:m v? ka? ntrɯh mɨt ɛ:n*
 Subordconn N Vt Vt N Coordconn Vt N Adv

when grandfather come see grandfather then fall heart again
mɯaj tʃu:
 Num Clf

one Clf_time

When the grandfather came and saw [what was happening], the grandfather was surprised yet again one more time.

98. *v?* *taluh tʌ?* *tʃo?* *an tʃʌ:* *ka?* *ra-wəw*
 N Vi Vt Prep Pro Prt Coordconn Vt
 grandfather run come to 3S Prt_seq_completive then RECIP-say
pa:j *tʃaw* *ma:i* *mpɛ?* *ka:* *a-tʃit* *hət* *tʃaw hət* *ne:j*
 Subordconn N Pro Pro Vaux Vt Adv N Adv N
 COMP grandchild 2S why dare CAUS-die even lord even lord
 The grandfather ran and came to him and said to [him], "Grandson, why have you
 dared to kill our rulers!"

99. *kɔ:n* *vɔj* *pɛn tɔ:t* *kək kək* *haj*
 N Adj Cop Vi Adv Adv Pro
 child dear be punish sure sure 1P_inc
 "Dear child, we will surely be punished!"

100. *tɛ:* *ɑj* *kɔ:n* *kamut* *ɲɛ:ŋ* *v?* *tʃʌ:* *ka?*
 Prep N N N Vt N Coordconn Coordconn
 from older.brother child orphan watch grandfather then then
klak

Vi
 confuse
 But the older orphan child looked at the grandfather and was confused.

101. *pa:n* *bu:n* *tʃom v?* *mpɛ?* *pa:j* *haj* *a-tʃit* *tʃaw ne:j*
 Vt Vt N N Pro Subordconn Pro Vt N N
 shoot have bird grandfather why COMP 1P_inc CAUS-die lord lord
 "I shot and have birds grandfather. Why [do you say] that we have killed [our]
 leaders?"

102. *pʰɔ:* *v?* *pʌ?* *ko:p* *tʃom kʰɛ:* *kɪ:* *la?* *tʃom ɲtʃum*
 Subordconn N Vi Vt N Adj Det Prt N N
 when grandfather go grab bird only that Prt_evidential bird group
kɪ: *ka?* *baŋbot* *pɛn kuaj* *a-tʃom*
 Det Coordconn Vt Cop N Vi
 that then transform be person CAUS-go.up
 When the grandfather went and grabbed the birds, just like that, those birds
 transformed to appear to be people.

103. *nɛːw tʰiː an huum pen sisɔk tʃom ka? pen tʰrɛː alaj*
 N Subordconn Pro Vt Cop N N Coordconn Cop N N
 thing REL 3S see be hair bird then be shirt pants

a-tʃoːn

Vi

CAUS-go.up

What he saw as feathers now appeared to be clothes.

104. *tʰrɛː alaj kɿː buɯn mator buɯn ŋɛːŋ ɣt naŋ tʰrɛː alaj bruŋ*
 N N Det Vt N Vt Adj Vi Prep N N Vi
 shirt pants that have star have stripe located on shirt pants glow

a-tʃoːn paŋ maːt

Vi Adj N

CAUS-go.up full eye

And those clothes had stars and stripes located on them which appeared to shine brightly.

105. *aːj kɔːn kamɯːt ntrɯh mɿt palɛːj? tʰiː huum saː kɿː*
 N N N Vt N Adv Subordconn Vt Prep Det
 older.brother child orphan fall heart very REL see like that

The older orphan child was very surprised to see what had happened.

106. *tʃom karo? paːt pen nɛːj ampɣː*

N N Adv Cop N N

bird owl formerly be lord district

The owl had been the district ruler.

107. *tʃom aweaŋ tʃom siak paːt pen palat*

N N N N Adv Cop N

bird aweang bird crow formerly be official

The aweang bird and the crow had been officials.

108. *pen ntraw pa? leːw*

Cop Pro Vi Prt

be what go Prt_UNK

What could they do?

109. *it a-duːŋ tɯp it a-duːŋ tɯp v? atɣːŋ*
 Vt Vi Vt Vt Vi Vt N Vt

take CAUS-bring/take bury take CAUS-bring/take bury grandfather say

"Take and bury them, take and bury them!" grandfather told [him].

110. *p^hɔː an tɪp tʃɛː vʔ wəw kap an paj*
 Subordconn Pro Vt Prt N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn
 when 3S bury Prt_seq_completive grandfather speak with 3S COMP
māi tɛː ʔt nɔŋ ŋkoəʔ tɛː buɾn nɔŋ dɔːk tʃaw ʔj
 Pro Vt Vi Prep Pro Neg Vi Adv Prt N Adj
 2S come live with 1S NEG able still Prt_contradiction grandchild dear
 When he had buried [them], the grandfather said to him, "You cannot come and live
 with me any longer, dear grandson."

111. *māi a-tʃɪt hart tʃaw hart nɛaj*
 Pro Vt Adv N Adv N
 2S CAUS-die even lord even lord
 "Since you have killed the rulers [of the village]."

112. *pɔʔ ŋkoəʔ si tʃɪː asuaj māi*
 Vi Pro Vaux Vt Vt Pro
 go 1S IRR return send 2S
 "Go! I will return and send you home [to the land of the living]."

113. *p^hɔː wəw tʃɛː vʔ kaʔ tajaŋ nəm mɛaŋ*
 Subordconn Vt Vi N Coordconn Vi Vt N
 when speak finish grandfather then walk follow face
 When he had finished speaking, the grandfather walked face forward.

114. *an loah tɛː vɪl*
 Pro Vi Prep N
 3S go.out from village
 He went out from the village.

115. *p^hɔː tɛː nʃɔh vɪl vʔ kaʔ wəw kap an paj*
 Subordconn Vt Adj N N Coordconn Vt Prep Pro Subordconn
 when come edge village grandfather then speak with 3S COMP
awh māi tʃaː kalɔŋ nāi tʃɛː māi kaʔ tʃɪː dɔː
 Interj Pro Vt N Det Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Prt
 okay 2S eat bulb this then 2S then return Prt_soft_command
 When [they] came to the edge of the village, the grandfather said to him, "OK, you
 eat this [plant] bulb, and then you will return [to the land of the living]."

116. *p^hɔː an tʃaː kaloŋ kiː tʃaː nɛːw t^hiː an kɔːj*
 Subordconn Pro Vt N Det Prt N Subordconn Pro Adv
 when 3S eat bulb that Prt_seq_completive thing REL 3S ever

huːm ka? taː huːm naŋ
 Vt Coordconn Neg Vt Prt
 see then NEG see Prt_intensifier

When he had eaten that bulb, the things which he used to see [he] did not see at all.

117. *mɔŋ t^hiː kɔːj pɛn viːl kuaj tʃinɔː ka? pɛn sak pɛn*
 N Subordconn Adv Cop N N Adv Coordconn Cop N Cop
 place REL ever be village person now then be forest be
truŋ pɛn ranɯp tʃon nɛ?
 N Cop N Subordconn Prt
 jungle be cemetery until Prt_completive

The place which used to be a village of people was now just jungle and a cemetery.

118. *v? kap kuaj kanɔh ka? pɨt pɔ? prɯam*
 N Coordconn N Adj Coordconn Vi Vi Adv
 grandfather and person another then disappear go also

The grandfather and all the other people disappeared and went away also.

119. *an nɛam aɔŋ v? maɛ?*
 Pro Vi Vt N Adv
 3S cry call grandfather so.much

He cried and called to his grandfather a lot.

120. *v? ka? taː loah tʃo? an naŋ bat nai*
 N Coordconn Neg Vi Prep Pro Prt N Det
 grandfather then NEG go.out to 3S Prt_intensifier time this

The grandfather did not come out to him at all during this time.

121. *an ka? lɔːj tʃiː tʃo? doŋ ɤt mɯaj na? tʃon*
 Pro Coordconn Coordconn Vt Prep N Vi Num Clf Subordconn
 3S then so return to house live one Clf_person until

kɯː siŋai
 Quant Clf
 every Clf_day

So he returned to the house and lived all alone for the rest of his life.

122. *sot*

Prt

Prt_completive

The End.

RESUME

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