SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES IN BISU NARRATIVE

by

KIRK ROGER PERSON

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For Andrew and Emily

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ABSTRACT

SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES IN BISU NARRATIVE

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Particles are a vital component of many Asian languages. Nonetheless, they typically receive little treatment in grammatical studies. This may be due in part to the theoretical orientations of generative grammar which, intentionally or accidentally, can tend to skew data collection and analysis toward theory-predicted sentence alignments (Chu 1998, Chan 1999). In addition, the exact meaning and usage of many particles can be anything but obvious. Even educated native speakers often claim that particles are not "true words" and have no "real" meaning.

This dissertation seeks to understand the inner workings of sentence final particles in the Bisu language of Northern Thailand. Thirteen written folktales, six expository texts, and three life histories are examined in an effort to determine the factors influencing particle usage. Variables including place in the discourse, relative transitivity, sentence complexity, occurrence (or non-occurrence) in quotations, and

evidential perspective are addressed in the context of individual particles and their host sentences.

This dissertation draws from the general framework of discourse analysis espoused by Robert E. Longacre (1996). Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson's "transitivity hypothesis" (1980) is applied in an effort to quantitatively represent the different types of sentences in which the various particles occur. James A. Matisoff's work on Lahu grammar (1973) is used in conjunction with the author's research and the intuitions of Bisu native speakers in an effort to "triangulate" the semantic connotations of many particles.

The results of this investigation demonstrate the primacy of text type in Bisu particle usage: those particles that see abundant use in the folktales occur rarely in the expository text and the life stories. In addition, the point in the discourse at which a sentence is used influences particle distribution; certain particles are never used in the opening and closing portions of a story, while sentences in pre-peak episodes typically take many more particles than their counterparts in other points in the discourse. These findings highlight the importance of taking discourse features into account when constructing grammars of languages in Asia and elsewhere.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1ps	First person singular
2ps	Second person singular
3ps	Third person singular
3pp	Third person plural
ACC	Accusative marker
Asp	Aspirated
Clf	Classifier
expl	Expletive
IMP	Imperative
misc.	Miscellaneous
neg	Negative
npt	Noun particle
pt	Particle
pt–able	Ability indicating particle
pt–aff	Affirmative particle
pt–agreed!	Agreement confirming particle
pt–agreed?	Agreement seeking particle
pt–any	'Any more' particle
pt–ast	Assertative particle
pt–ben	Benefactive particle
pt–comp	Completive aspect particle

pt–comprehen	Comprehensive extent particle
pt–desire	Desiderative particle
pt–ndmot	Downward/southerly motion particle
pt–emph	Emphasis particle
pt–end_qt	End of quotation particle
pt–exis	Existential particle
pt–give	Causative/purposive/permissive 'give' particle
pt–hunger	Intensity of hunger particle
pt–imp	Positive imperative particle
pt–imp_req	Implied request particle
pt–invite	Invitation particle
pt–jnt	Joint action particle
pt–left	'Left in that state' particle
pt–many	Quantitative particle
pt–natdis	Natural disaster particle
pt–neg	Negation particle
pt–neg_agreed?	Negative agreement–seeking particle
pt–neg_emp	Negative emphasis particle
pt–neg_imp	Negative imperative particle
pt–negben	Negative benefit particle
pt–obv	Readily deduceable knowledge particle
pt–out	'Come out' quotation formula particle
pt–pol	Politeness particle
pt–pos	Ongoing positive process particle
pt–prefer	Preference–indicating particle

pt–quest	Question particle
pt–rep	Repeated action particle
pt–rep_ep	Repeated episode particle
pt–report	Reported event particle
pt–result	Result particle
pt–st	Stative particle
pt–st/abl	Permanent state/ability particle
pt–unable	Inability indicating particle
Vd	Voiced
Vl	Voiceless

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Linguistic classification

1.0.1 Genetic affiliation

Bisu is a member of the vast Tibeto–Burman family. More specifically, Bisu may be classified as Sino–Tibetan, Tibeto–Burman, Burmese–Yiphoish/Lolo,[1] Yiphoish/ Loloish, SouthernYiphoish/Loloish, Bisoid, as shown in figure 1.1:

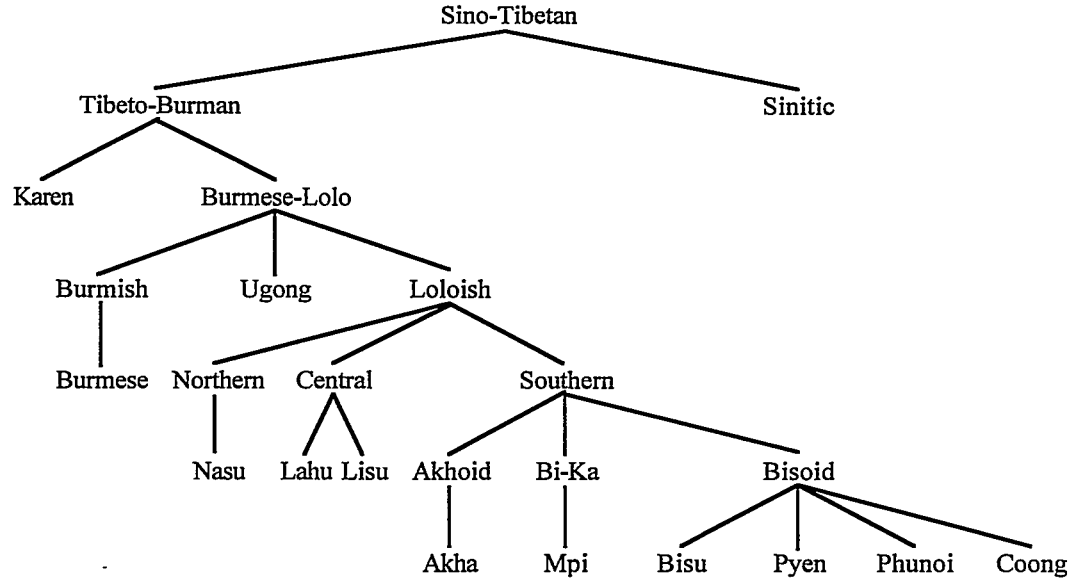

Figure 1.1. The position of Bisu in Southern Yiphoish/Loloish.
(adapted from Bradley 1981: 3 and 1994: 178)

[1] The term "Loloish" has been applied to this branch for many years, but has fallen out of favor recently because the word itself is Chinese in origin and has derogatory connotations. Yiphoish is a more acceptable alternative (Hale 1998).

1.0.2 Language names

"Bisu" is the autonym used by members of the community. The two syllables of the word "Bisu" are derived from two Tibeto–Burman roots, both of which mean 'people' (Matisoff 1999). The Bisu themselves are unaware of this derivation.

The Northern Thai call the Bisu "Lawa" or "Lua." This term is both derogatory and confusing, for there are at least seven ethnic groups "lumped" into this category. These include the true Lawaa (Mon–Khmer, found in Myanmar as well as Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Song Provinces in Thailand), Mal (Mon–Khmer, Nan Province), Khamet (Mon–Khmer, Chiang Rai Province), Palong (Mon–Khmer, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Provinces), Nyakur (Mon–Khmer, Korat Province), Ugong (Tibeto–Burman, Kanchanaburi, Suphanburi, and Uthaithani Provinces) (Nuamkaew 1987: 10). Apparently, "Lawa" and "Lua" have become catch–all categories for smaller ethnic groups that do not wear the distinctive dress of the larger, better known hilltribes such as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Karen, Hmong, and Yao.

1.1 Ethnography

1.1.1 Location

The Bisu population in Thailand is concentrated in two villages in Chiang Rai Province: Doi Chomphuu (Amphoe Mae Lao, Tambon Pong Phrae)[2] and Doi Pui (Amphoe Muang, Tǫ̀mbon Sa–a Dong Chai). The headmen of the respective villages report approximate populations of 200 and 500 persons. A handful of Bisu speakers, middle aged and older, live in Pha Daeng Village (Amphoe Phan, Tambon Doi

[2] While Doi Chompuu is the current official name of this village, emblazoned upon the village temple and the government sign at the entrance of the village, the local Northern Thai population usually refer to it as Baan Doi or Baan Lua. This has caused minor descriptive differences among linguists, with Nishida using Baan Lua (a designation considered derogatory by the Bisu)(1973: 56), Bradley Huai Chompuu (a name derived from the nearby stream) (1988: 1), and Beaudouin Baan Doi (1991b: 24). Residents refer to their village by any of the aforementioned names, with the exception of Baan Lua.

Ngam, Chiang Rai Province). In the mid 1970s, David Bradley (1988) found several Bisu speakers in Hui Chomphu Taka (Amphoe Mae Sui, Chiang Rai Province), although the language has since ceased to be spoken there. SIL's *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996) estimates that there are fewer than 1,000 Bisu speakers in Thailand, a figure the Bisu feel to be accurate.

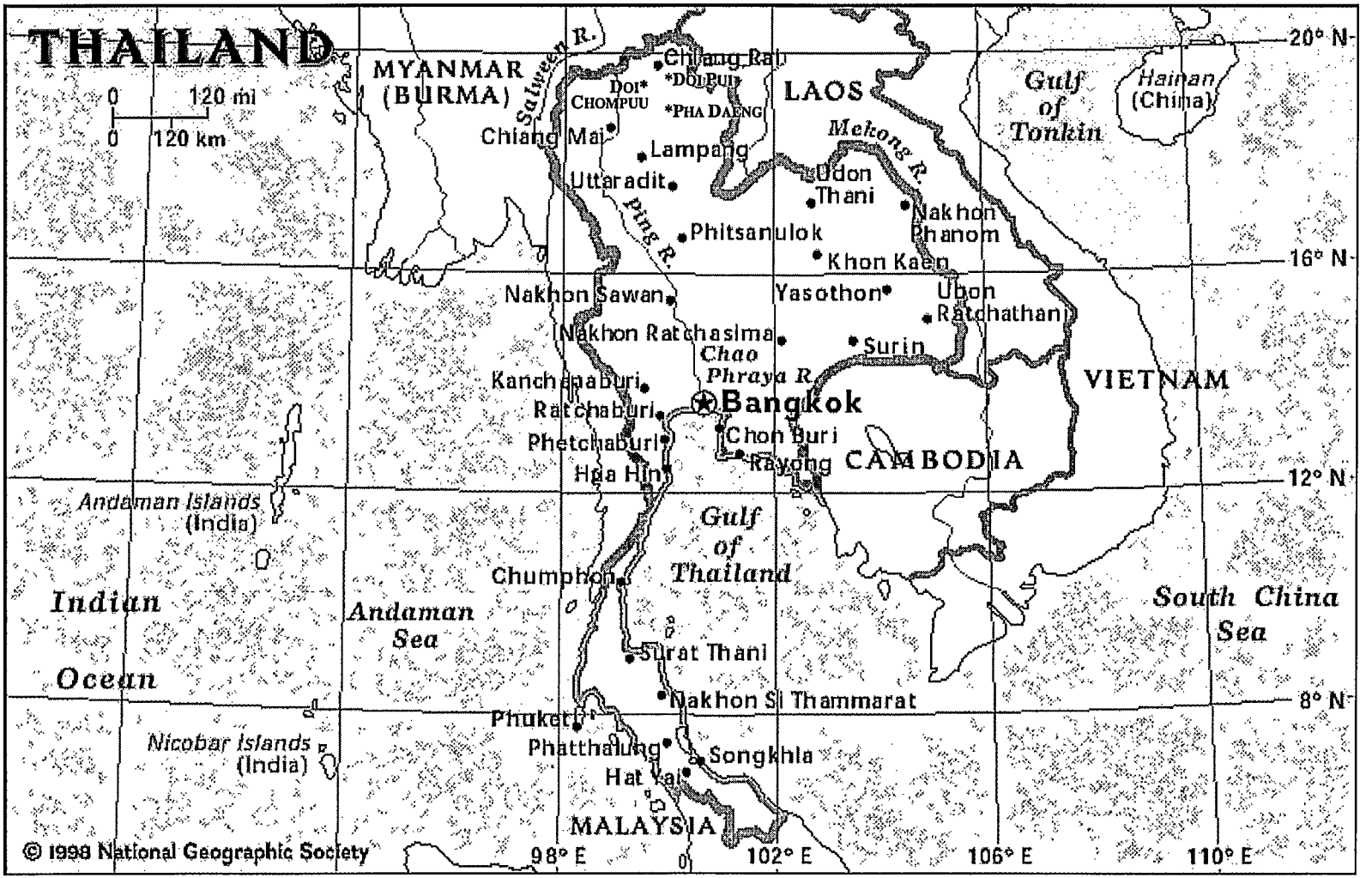

Figure 1.2. Location of Bisu villages in Northern Thailand.

The *Ethnologue* lists an additional 6,000 Bisu in China, where they are called Lao Mien, 'Old Burmese' in Yunnanese. From the viewpoint of the Chinese government, these are classified as Lahu because they live in close proximity to the Lahu and have Lahu–like dress (Bradley 1998). It was only in the late 1980s that Fu Maoji's theory on the existence of Bisu in China was confirmed, resulting in Li Yongsui's 1991 "Preliminary Investigations of the Bisu Language" (Shixuan forthcoming: 1). The Chinese Bisu are found in southwestern Yunnan Province, near the borders of Myanmar and Laos, in Lancang, Menghai, Ximent, and Menglian counties (Shixuan forthcoming: 1). Bisu speakers in Thailand were able to recognize a number of words recorded by David Bradley among the Chinese Bisu, although tonal and lexical differences, especially where functors are concerned, would probably hamper communication between the groups.

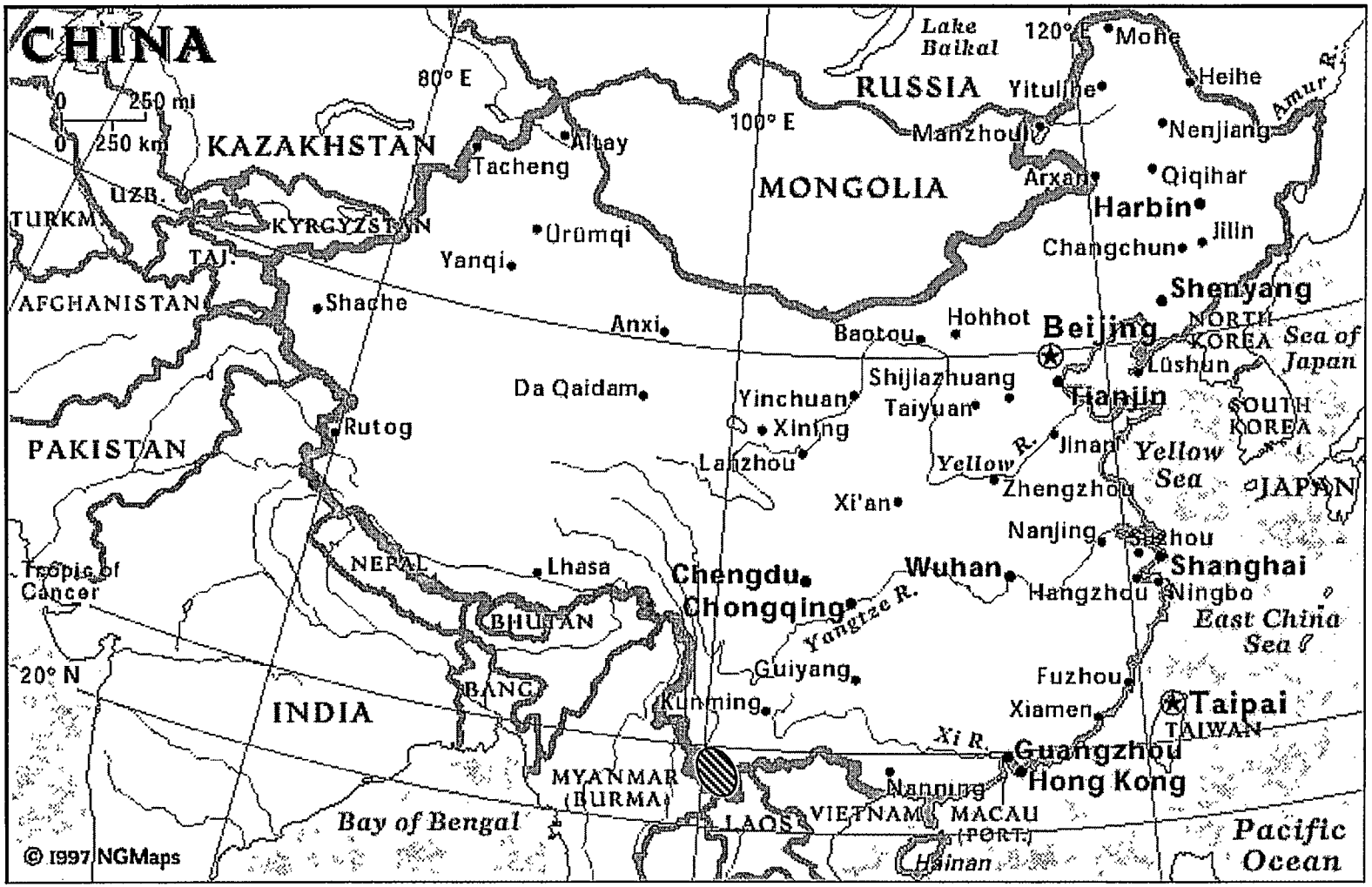

Figure 1.3. Bisu area in Yunnan Province, People's Republic of China.

While the Bisu in Thailand traditionally have had no knowledge of their relatives in China, the village elders tell of a related group in Myanmar. Some fifty years ago, a monk from Burma came into Thailand speaking what the Bisu refer to as "unclear Bisu" and saying he came from the "Pin" tribe. Despite dialect differences, the Thai Bisu were able to communicate with this monk. Not long thereafter, a Pin couple came to the Bisu village to elope; they were of the same clan, and therefore their marriage would have been taboo among the Pin. The young man's father pursued them, forcing their return. There has been no additional contact between the groups. It is probably that these "Pin" are the "Pyen" or "Pyin" mentioned in Scott and Hardiman's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (1900), a work that includes a list of approximately 250 Pyen words, many of which have close Bisu cognates.

Other related groups include the Phu Noi of Laos and the Coong of Vietnam. After listening to recorded word lists from one of the Phu Noi dialects, the Bisu of Thailand declared that they are "80% the same language." The immediate reaction to hearing the word lists was one of "We need to rent a taxi and go visit our relatives in Laos!" Recorded Phu Noi folktales, however, proved incomprehensible to the Thai Bisu.

1.1.2 Historical setting

1.1.2.1 The Bisu in China

Xu Shixuan traces the roots of the Bisu in China to the ancient Di and Qiang tribes. While acknowledging that accurate information is necessarily limited by the lack of written records, she connects a first wave of Bisu migration to an unsuccessful local rebellion incited by Lahu leaders Li Wenming and Li Xiaolao:

> After the rebellion was crushed in 1801 (6th year of Emperor Jia Qing), the Bisu migrated south taking with them nine horse–loads of cooking pots, cups and iron tripods. Following the Nanku River downstream, they lived for a while at Miema Miemeng (present location unclear), among a group of "big people" with yellow hair, high nose–bridges and long legs. However, the unsuitable climate led them to migrate back, passing through Chongnan Nanshu (which means "pond of hot water," i.e., hot springs) and arriving at Mengjiao Mengdong (present–day Cangyuan in Yunnan Province) to live among the Wa people for another period. Being such a small group, they could not resist harsh treatment and enslavement by tusi [hereditary headmen] from the other minority groups, and their headman, Ya Makan, led them in an overnight escape. Although the tusi managed to re–capture and enslave those who fled too late, a hundred household did arrive safely at Mug Mengnuo (present–day Muga Xiang in Lancang County), later moving to Dongzhu (in Zhutang Xiang, Lacang County), where they gradually increased to over 300 households (Shixuan forthcoming: 4).

A second rebellion, in the early twentieth century, led to a second wave of Bisu migration:

> In 1918 (Year of the Horse) Li Long and Li Hu led the peasants in an armed rebellion in the district of Lancang. With "Kill the Officials; Cancel our Debts" as their slogan, they launched a spirited attack on the *tusi* system. The Bisu also participated in this conflict. The peasant forces routed most of the armed *tusi* soldiers and besieged their district headquarters in Lancang. To protect their common interest, the Lahu *tusi*, Han landlords and local warlords formed an alliance, and, as a united front, finally defeated the peasants. For fear that their villages would be destroyed and their families killed, groups of Bisu decided to flee, moving to areas such as Menglian, Ximeng and Menghai (Shixuan forthcoming: 4–5).

Whether the Bisu entered Thailand as a result of either of these rebellions is difficult to ascertain; the Thai Bisu collective historical consciousness is quite limited. Nonetheless, it is entirely plausible to contend that the forebearers of the Thai Bisu left China under some sort of social distress, following the Mekong River south into Northern Thailand. It is also possible that the Bisu arrived in Thailand involuntarily;

the rulers of the *Lanna* kingdom, centered in Chiang Mai but with tributary city–states across contemporary northern Thailand, routinely enslaved occupants of rival city–states in present–day Yunnan Province (China) and the Shan States (Myanmar) in a series of small–scale wars (Wyatt 1984: 155).

1.1.2.2 The Bisu in Thailand

The Thai Bisu have preserved relatively little of their history. This, claims one elder, is because the lives of their forbearers were so difficult that they were ashamed to pass on their experiences.

What remains of the collective consciousness of the Thai Bisu tells of a time when they cared for large numbers of cattle and water buffalo. Wherever they settled, they soon encountered problems with the Northern Thai, who felt free to steal livestock and cheat the Bisu out of their land. Approximately eighty years ago, the entire group moved to the lower slopes of Doi Chompuu. As this area lacked land suitable for paddy (wet) rice cultivation, the Bisu felt that they would be left alone. Still, a bamboo palisade was erected around the village as protection against human, animal, and spiritual foes. The village became known in Bisu as k^hɔ̀ŋhlɔŋkɔŋ, a name still used among Bisu today.

Life at k^hɔ̀ŋhlɔŋkɔŋ was not all that the Bisu had anticipated. Thieves from other ethnic groups still occasionally victimized the village, as did a small contingent of Japanese soldiers during the Second World War. The Bisu planted dry (hill) rice, with little success. This may indicate that that dry rice cultivation was not traditionally practiced by the Bisu, inasmuch as other hilltribe groups in the area subsisted reasonably well on this crop through the 1990s. The Bisu thus spent a great deal of time and energy foraging for food in the nearby forest. They were able to trade some of these forest products with the Northern Thai for rice. Nonetheless,

many were reduced to begging for rice and clothing in Northern Thai villages, a situation that continued into the 1980s.

The population at $k^{h}ɔ̀ŋhlɔŋkɔŋ$ expanded to the point that, sometime in the 1940s, a large group of Bisu left and established the village of Doi Pui, some thirty miles to the northeast. Again, the main criterion for the choice of location was how undesirable the area would appear to the Northern Thai. The Bisu were able to plant some wet (paddy) rice here, although a lack of water limited their harvests. While the Bisu of Doi Chompuu gradually became more accepting of intermarriage with the Northern Thai, the people of Doi Pui came to the conclusion that they were the last outpost of "true Bisu" in the world, preferring to marry within the group and forcing mixed couples to live outside the village proper. This statute was tested as late as 1999, when an HIV positive Southern Thai man married to a Bisu woman attempted, unsuccessfully, to spend his final months in Doi Pui.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the overall situation for the Bisu improved somewhat. The Thai government worked to extend more educational opportunities to both villages, and the Bisu were able to take advantage of government clinics in neighboring Northern Thai villages. In addition, the Thai forestry department allowed the Bisu of Doi Chompuu to develop wet (paddy) rice terraces, providing heavy machinery to assist in the process. The Bisu received Thai citizenship cards, a vital prerequisite to meaningful educational and employment opportunities in Thailand. Electricity came to both villages in the 1990s, as well as rudimentary tap water systems drawing from mountainside springs.

With this progress, however, came difficulties. Probably the greatest source of continued frustration for the Bisu are the Northern Thai loan sharks upon whom the Bisu depend for short term capital for fertilizer and seed, as well as long–term capital

for motorcycles, televisions and refrigerators. Interest rates are extremely steep, revenge swift and harsh upon default. Consequently, many Bisu young women have been forced into prostitution, generally being sent to Bangkok under the guise of "working at a restaurant." The AIDS epidemic of the 1990s has significantly impacted the Bisu, as it has the entire country of Thailand.

1.1.3 Cultural features

1.1.3.1 Dwellings

Traditional Bisu houses were constructed of bamboo and thatch perched on stilts about a meter off the ground. The houses faced east, and were fronted by partially covered porches upon which various agricultural products could be processed and dried. At the foot of the stairway into the house stood a large mortar and pestle used for husking rice.[3] Traditional houses contained two doors, front and back, the latter being used only for the removal of corpses. The walls of the house were to slant outwards, a feature that is unique among Thai hilltribes. The house itself contained one large room, divided between food preparation and family sleeping areas. A meter square firebox made of wood and filled with dirt occupied a corner of the house. Drying racks were suspended over the firebox.

Current Bisu houses follow Northern Thai designs. Wood is preferred over bamboo, although a number of bamboo houses remain.

[3] Unlike other hilltribe groups in Thailand, who developed less labor–intensive methods of rice husking.

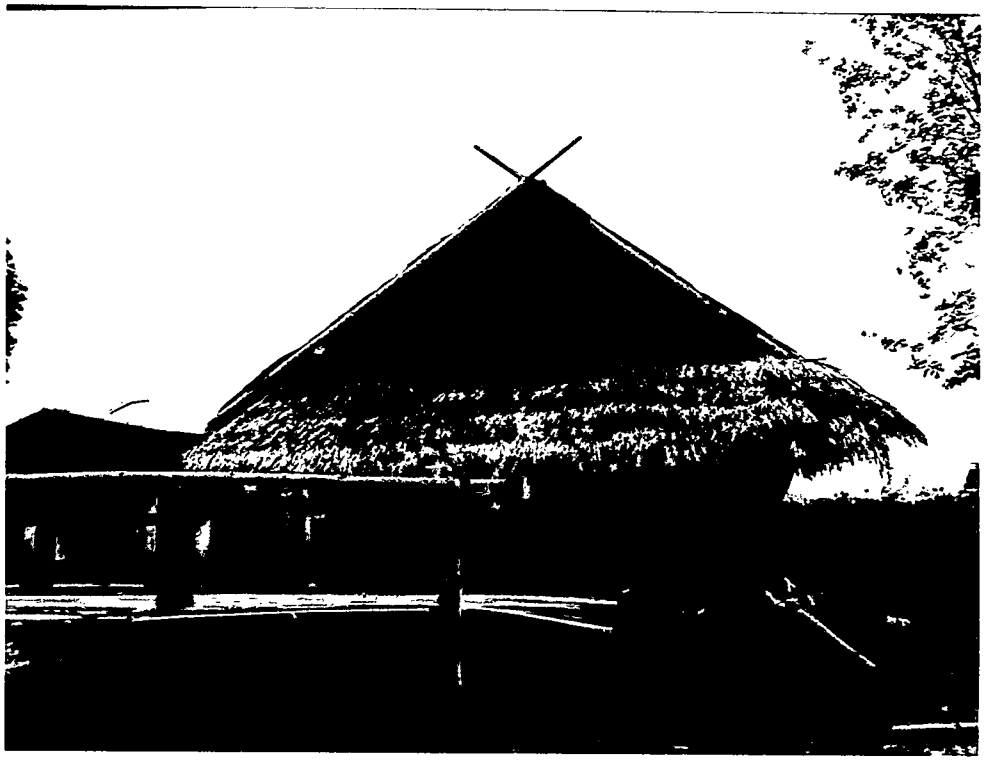

Figure 1.4. The *Baan Boran Bisu* 'ancient Bisu house,' erected in 1999 as a small museum.

Figure 1.5. Contemporary Northern Thai–style Bisu home.

1.1.3.2 Dress

The Bisu abandoned their traditional dress some fifty years ago. One Bisu elder claims that the elders of his father's generation were very ashamed to be Bisu, and thus tried to appear more "Thai–like." One elderly Bisu woman is still in possession of her mother's wedding clothes. The close–fitting, high–collared, blouse is dark blue (the dye of a local plant), with small rivulets of red thread adorning the edges of the garment, and bears some resemblance to Shan attire. The woven red skirt worn with the shirt is Northern Thai–like in weave. The Bisu abandoned weaving decades ago, and recent government efforts to revive this art have failed.

Contemporary Bisu dress follows rural Northern Thai norms, with men and women often wearing the dark blue *mahom* shirts favored by Thai farmers. Western style clothing is common, although many women wear Northern Thai *phasin* skirts when they are not laboring in the fields. For religious festivals and other special occasions, many Bisu wear the homespun cotton Northern Thai shirts and, for women, more elaborate *phasin* skirts that came into vogue in the mid 1990s as part of a Northern Thai cultural revival (Person and Person 1996).

There is some interest among the Bisu leadership in reviving the traditional clothing, in the hope of receiving more recognition from the Thai government and tourist organizations as a bona–fide hilltribe. In 1998, a Bisu woman in her thirties took the clothing mentioned above to a Northern Thai tailor, to have a contemporary replica made. Although this rendering lacks the detailed strands of color found in the originals, it was unique enough to garner questions from baffled Northern Thai and members of other hilltribes alike at a local cultural festival.

Figure 1.6. Pounding rice with old motar and pestle.

Figure 1.8. Fire box and drying rack, *Baan Boran Bisu.*

1.1.3.3 Occupation

Agriculture remains the primary occupation of contemporary Bisu, with rice, garlic, feed corn, peanuts, and green beans as cash crops. Unlike other hilltribes in the area, the Bisu do not cultivate opium. Chickens and pigs are raised by most Bisu households for consumption, sale, and sacrifices to the spirits (see 1.1.3.4). A number of Bisu raise cows, continuing a long tradition (see 1.1.2.2). Water buffalo, the traditional beast of agricultural burden in northern Thailand, has lost ground to gas–powered plows; the last water buffalo in Doi Chompuu village were sold in April 2000. During various points in the agricultural calendar, men and women alike hire themselves out to Northern Thai farmers as day laborers, usually for 100 baht (U.S. $2.50) per day.

The forest continues to supply the Bisu with additional food. During the rainy season, the Bisu collect bamboo shoots for their own consumption and for resale in nearby Northern Thai markets. Various other leaves, roots, and wild fruits are likewise collected, along with grass to be woven into roof panels. Various animals are hunted for consumption and sale; a small monitor lizard, for example can sell for as much as 1,000 baht (U.S. $25), half a month's income. Timber, usually logged illegally at the behest of wealthy Thais, is another source of cash.

Many Bisu young people spend at least several years working outside the village, usually in Bangkok or Chiang Mai. They typically fill less–skilled labor positions in factories. As mentioned earlier, many young women have become involved in the flesh trade.

It is not unusual for Bisu young men to spend several years in the Buddhist monkhood, often to take advantage of opportunities for social and educational advancement.

1.1.3.4 Religion

The Bisu are Buddhist in theory, animist in practice. There is one spirit, the *aŋcao* 'lord,' who is considered the main supernatural ruler of the village.[4] This deity has an assistant named *máa* 'horse' who, as the name implies, takes care of the head spirit's horses.[5] Two small open–air shelters outside the Southeast corner of the village mark the spot where these spirits receive sacrifices of chickens and whiskey three times per year. For the purposes of this sacrifice, the village is divided into three sections, each third responsible for providing chickens for sacrifice for one of the sacrificial days. The village spirit doctor presides over the ceremony, placing the slaughtered and boiled chickens on the altar and chanting in Northern Thai. He then draws bits of broken rice out of a small cup to discover the spirit's culinary desires: the number of grains indicates whether the spirit wants more whiskey, salt, broth, and so forth, as well as telling when it is full. All the villagers are forbidden to work the fields on sacrifice days; if they are caught doing so, they are fined 100 baht (a day's wage). Rather, everyone is to forage for "forest food."[6]

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[4] The Bisu believe that *aŋcao* is a loan word; in both Northern and Standard Thai *cao* means 'lord,' and can refer to supernatural beings or human authority figures.

[5] This despite the fact that the Bisu have not had any horses—at least in recent memory. *máa* is actually a Chinese word which has been borrowed by numerous languages throughout Southeast Asia.

[6] There is something of a similarity here to the ancient Hebrew "Feast of Booths," during which the faithful were to live in small shelters in commemoration of their nomadic past. Similarly, foraging on Bisu sacrifice days recalls the groups not–so–distant history as quasi hunter–gatherers.

Figure 1.09. Shrine of *aŋcao*.

Figure 1.10. Shaman presenting sacrifices to *aŋcao*, performing rice counting divination.

Additional spirits are thought to abound in the forest, in caves, in fields, and so forth. When offended, these spirits are thought to cause illness and, sometimes, death. The Bisu delineate between illnesses which respond to the modern medicines available at the nearby clinic (their first course of action) and those which do not and are thus attributed to spiritual forces. In the latter case, the sick person or a member of his or her family will consult the meter–long "spirit stick." Direct yes/no questions are addressed to the spirit stick: "Was it a spirit in the forest? Was it a spirit in the field?" To answer in the affirmative, the stick is said to become several inches longer. Next, questions about appropriate sacrifices are asked: "Should I sacrifice one chicken? Two chickens? A pig?" Again, the stick becomes longer when the correct offering is mentioned. The sacrifices will be performed by the sick person or a member of his or her family in the location revealed by the spirit stick.

The Bisu acknowledge that Buddhism is a relative newcomer to their religious world. Indeed, one young Bisu leader intimated that the Bisu built Buddhist temples in their villages in part to gain the respect of the Northern Thai. Most Bisu men have spent time in the Buddhist priesthood, either as adults making merit for their parents or as young boys in need of education. Even in the 1990s it was not uncommon for particularly destitute Bisu families to have their young sons ordained in Northern Thai temples, where they would be fed and educated by Buddhist priests. The handful of literate Bisu males over age thirty were all educated in temples.

Buddhist holidays are celebrated in the Bisu villages with the same ceremonies used by the Northern Thai. Traditional Bisu funeral customs, which involved burial in the forest at the spot where an egg thrown by the spirit doctor landed, have been replaced by Buddhist cremations.

1.1.3.5 Marriage and family

The Bisu are divided into four patrilineal clans: *tsalacəə* 'tiger,' *kɔŋkukcəə* 'owl,' *laŋʃjamcəə* 'otter,' and *senkentʰaacəə*.[7] The tiger clan is by far the largest group. Clan identification once played a role in settlement patterns. The two main Bisu villages can be divided into clan areas, although those areas are not formally marked nor do they play any administrative role in current village political life. As most people live in extended family compounds, these divisions go on more as a result of historical ownership/residence than any actively enforced rules. In the past, fields were also divided along clan lines—a phenomenon that ended with the coming of salable land deeds.

In theory, one is always supposed to marry outside one's clan, regardless of whether the person involved is from ego's village or another village. This rule can be circumvented, however, by having one of the individuals (usually the woman) spend a night or two in the home of someone from another clan. She is then considered a member of that clan, and the marriage can proceed immediately thereafter. Wives always take the clan identification of their husbands. Non–Bisu spouses, however, are not considered part of any clan, and Bisu women who have married outsiders retain their old clan membership.

In recent times, at least, Bisu young people have been permitted to choose their own spouses. The traditional marriage process as still practiced in the more conservative Doi Pui begins on an auspicious evening at the prospective groom's house, as the senior member of the groom's extended family is invited to share a meal and discuss the proposed engagement. After nightfall, the groom's family lights

[7] The village elders say that they do not know of any meaning for *senkentʰaacəə* beyond its use as a clan name. Some speculate that the clan may have been formed by a particularly wealthy Bisu man in commemoration of his own greatness. This individual is also said to have left a special silver object that is still secretly possessed and zealously guarded by his descendants.

torches (even in this age of battery powered flashlights) and processes to the prospective bride's home. The torches may be extinguished at the door or, if the bride's family is one of the few who still have fireboxes inside their houses, brought into the kitchen area. The elders of the respective families then begin light–hearted negotiations on the details of the arrangement, including bride price, although many of these matters have been determined beforehand. Once an agreement has been reached, the groom is summoned.

Before the marriage ceremony takes place, however, the prospective groom is expected to work for his fiancée's family for 1–3 years without compensation. He is to live in her parents' house, often sleeping on the front porch. Sexual relations are permitted during the engagement period, and it is not uncommon for a couple to have one or more children by the time they are finally wed. At the conclusion of this time, the bride's family still has the right to reject the groom, something that has happened in recent memory. Conversely, the prospective groom has the right to break the engagement, something which likewise has happened in recent memory, when the prospective father–in–law took extreme advantage of the younger man's slave–like status.

Once the couple has successfully completed their engagement period, an auspicious day is chosen for the wedding. Relatives gather at the family homes of bride and groom alike. In the groom's bedroom, a bamboo *linga* is erected. Cotton strings are attached to the *linga,* thence being tied to various points throughout the bedroom and around the house. Friends and family members file into the room to pour a small amount of lustral water into a basin in front of the *linga.* Nearby the *linga* is an antique sword.

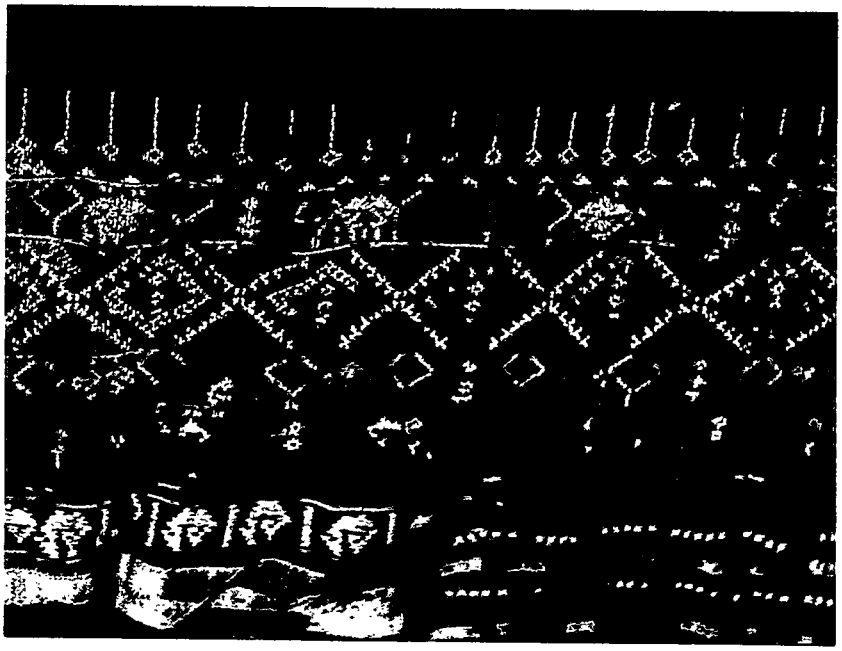

Figure 1.10. Detail, old Bisu wedding skirt.

Figure 1.11. Bisu headman with *linga* in groom's bedroom at outset of wedding.

When the time for the ceremony arrives, the groom and his party process to the bride's house. The procession is led by the village headman, carrying the sword. The groom is then escorted into the bride's bedroom, where her parents and other elderly relatives are waiting. The elders charge the couple to never divorce, and dispense a great deal of marital advice. One of the male elders then takes a lump of sticky rice and rolls it into small balls, claiming that his fingers are very dirty. He then places the rice in the mouths of bride and groom, then compels them to drink water from the same glass. The ceremony concludes with blessings from other elders.

The bride and groom then parade through the village en route to the house of the groom's family, the bride carrying basic household items in a bag hung from her forehead over her back. The newlyweds will usually move into their own house (even if it is only a small bamboo and thatch arrangement) soon after the ceremony; this contrasts with the Northern Thai custom of living with the bride's family for at least a year after the marriage (Suzanne Person 1998: 58).

In the distant past, marriage to non–Bisu individuals was forbidden. During the past thirty years, and especially the past ten years, more and more people have married outside of the tribe. This has been especially true in Pha Daeng Village; as this was always a mixed Northern Thai and Bisu village, a high rate of intermarriage has resulted in the young people speaking only Northern Thai, although some have a passive understanding of simple Bisu. All three villages have seen a number of young people, especially young women, seek employment on the outside, some going as far away as Bangkok. Many marry non–Bisu spouses. Doi Pui, the most aggressively conservative of the three villages, does not allow these mixed families to live within the village borders. This was tested as recently as 1999, when an HIV–positive

Southern Thai man and his Bisu wife were unsuccessful in their bid to spend their final months in Doi Pui.

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1 Multilingualism

In his 1994 study, *Linguistic diversity and national unity: language ecology in Thailand*, William Smalley groups the seventy languages spoken in Thailand into a hierarchy, as shown in figure 1.11:

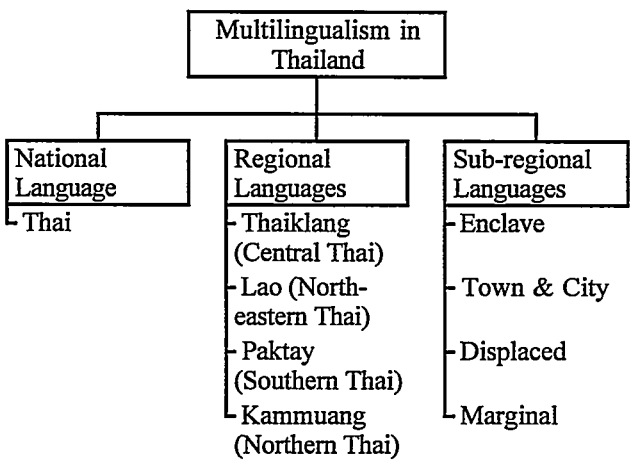

Figure 1.12. The linguistic hierarchy in Thailand.
(adapted from Smalley 1994: 69)

Standard Thai, the national language, occupies the highest level of the hierarchy. This is the language of education, government, and the media, reflecting Central Thai as spoken in Bangkok. It is second in prestige only to English, the global language whose mastery indicates a truly elite position in Thai society. On the next level are the four "regional" languages, Central, Northeastern, Northern, and Southern Thai. These all see vigorous oral use in their respective regions, on the village and

household level, and sometimes in the markets, with a small amount of use in the local media. The regional languages are less prestigious than Standard Thai, despite the fact that many speakers consider their regional tongues superior to the national language in expressing deep thoughts and emotions. The regional languages often serve as the language of wider communication for the sub–regional languages. Enclave languages include most of the northern hill tribes, which represent islands of Mon–Khmer and Tibeto–Burman speakers amidst a Thai sea. Town and city languages include several Chinese dialects and Vietnamese, while displaced languages include Phuan and Song, whose speakers were brought into Thailand during military campaigns. The marginal languages are those whose main population is located outside of Thailand, thus including groups like So and Northern Khmer.

Loan words and grammatical influences necessarily work their way down on the hierarchy. Thus, Standard Thai words are continually making inroads into the regional languages, while the sub–regional languages are impacted by both Standard Thai and their respective regional languages.

While Bisu could be considered a marginal language (since the majority of speakers are in China), Smalley classifies it as an enclave language. This is appropriate, given the fact that the Thai Bisu have no contact with their Chinese cousins who, in turn, live in a vastly different sociolinguistic context. Older Bisu people have a basic grasp of Northern Thai, but often speak with a noticeable accent—for which they were mocked in the "bad old days." Those in the 25–50 age bracket are bilingual in Northern Thai, fully able to pass themselves off as native speakers. Nonetheless, these individuals often do not have a very firm hold on Standard Thai, often using Northern Thai lexical items and tone patterns when trying to express themselves in Standard Thai. Most Bisu under twenty five have spent at

least six years in the Thai school system (which, in theory, uses only Standard Thai, although in practice teachers often lecture in the regional language) and have been impacted by radio and television. The younger generation is thus able to act with confidence in Standard Thai, Northern Thai, and Bisu.

1.3.2 Contexts of use

Bisu is used in the home, in the village community, and in the fields with other Bisu people. If Northern Thai people are present (such as those who have married Bisu), the group will often switch to Northern Thai. Village meetings in Doi Chompuu village are usually carried out in Northern Thai for the benefit of Northern Thai men married to Bisu women. Nonetheless, meeting participants have been observed to switch to Bisu when problems with Northern Thai people are discussed (land swindles, efforts by a Northern Thai temple to "steal" the village's sole adult Buddhist monk, etc.). Some Bisu switch to Northern Thai, even in speaking to other Bisu, in Northern Thai villages or cities, while others enjoy the puzzled expressions of Northern Thai passerbys trying to figure out what language they are speaking. The Bisu draw particular satisfaction from having Northern Thai guess they are speaking English or French!

Children are taught both Bisu and Northern Thai from birth. Children may be scolded in either language, although particularly harsh reprimands are often delivered in Northern Thai. It is not uncommon to hear children and parents discussing the day's events at school in Northern Thai (the most spoken language at school, despite government policy), then switching to Bisu to discuss non–school matters.

1.3.3 Language viability

The numerical weakness of the Bisu and the ongoing linguistic pressures of the larger Thai world place the language in a state of endangerment. The question thus becomes one of how long Bisu will remain viable.

Factors that would seem to mitigate against the long term viability of Bisu include the following (adapted from Suwilai 1995, as cited in Miglizza 1998: 22):

1. **Language policy of the Thai government:** The school curriculum is in standard Thai, and students are discouraged from using minority languages at school for fear of factionalism and general trouble making.

2. **Employment outside the language area:** Frustrated by the hard economic realities of village life, many Bisu young people spend at least several years in semi–skilled jobs in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, or other cities. Most hope to eventually return to the village, although it is difficult to guess how many actually will.

3. **Marriage outside their language community:** As mentioned earlier, intermarriage with non–Bisu speakers is increasing, especially as more young people seek educational and occupational opportunities outside of the village. It is nonetheless interesting to note that offspring of such unions are likely to learn Bisu *if* they spend the bulk of their childhood in a Bisu village.

4. **Pervasive influence of mass media:** Since the arrival of electricity in the Bisu villages in the mid–1990s, Standard Thai radio and television broadcasts have become quite influential.

Nonetheless, several other factors indicate that Bisu has a good chance of remaining viable for at least a few more generations. These include:

1. **Interest of the Thai Royal Family:** For many years, the Thai Royal Family has taken an active interest in enhancing the lives of various ethnic minorities, primarily through agricultural projects and the promotion of local crafts. During his younger days, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the "Lord of Life," frequently visited remote hilltribe villages, working with the villagers to solve local dilemmas. The Bisu had not been part of prior Royal Projects, primarily because of their small numbers and lack of readily identifiable ethnic dress. In 1999, however, a unit of Royal Project medical workers began visiting Doi Chompuu Village on a regular basis. In addition, the author and his wife had the honor of presenting the first Bisu books to Her Royal Highness Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, an event that was broadcast on Thai national news (figure 1.13). The Bisu enjoy telling their Northern Thai neighbors, "The Crown Princess has our words!" That one of the most beloved and revered figures in the kingdom values their language and culture has been a significant source of inspiration for the Bisu.

2. **Growing appreciation of ethnic diversity:** The Thai government has taken some steps toward encouraging the unique cultures of the ethnic minorities. Much of this began in the late 1980s, as Thailand became a popular tourist destination. The Tourism Authority of Thailand has sponsored a number of hilltribe fairs, festivals, and sporting events, some of which have been covered on national television. The Bisu would like to become involved in these activities, and there has been discussion of reviving their ethnic dress to draw the attention of Thai officials.

3. **Language attitude:** Although there is some individual variation, most Bisu value their language. This is manifest by the fact that they still teach it to their

children, and that they have requested help from Thai government and the academic community to preserve their language and culture.

4. **Development of a written language:** In December 1998 some thirty Bisu of all ages gathered in the Doi Chompuu village temple to reach a consensus on how Bisu should be written using the Thai script (Person 1999). Since then, Bisu authors trained in joint Payap University–SIL International workshops have produced nearly forty short books, including folktales, a Bisu–Thai–English picture dictionary, and basic literacy materials.

Figure 1.13. Her Royal Highness Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn receives the first Bisu books from the author and his wife.

1.3 Motivation and scope of the study

1.3.1 Research problem

Particles are a vital component of many Asian languages. Nonetheless, they typically receive little treatment in grammatical studies (Chan 1999). This may be due in part to the theoretical orientations of generative grammar which, intentionally or accidentally, can tend to skew data collection and analysis toward theory–predicted sentence alignments. In addition, the exact meaning and usage of many particles can be anything but obvious. Even educated native speakers will often tell the analyst that particles are not "true words" and have no "real" meaning. The fact that particle use is more abundant in the spoken language than the written *language* also contributes to this neglect; many native and non–native speakers of a language assume that the written form is somehow more "correct" than ordinary, sloppy speech.

Bisu is a case in point. As any cultural outsider who has ever attempted to learn Bisu can attest, it is quite easy to master the basic SOV sentence structure of the language. The greatest challenge comes sentence finally, where one to six syllables can be strung together in a way that profoundly impacts the meaning of the utterance. It is extremely difficult to discover the meaning of these particles, and otherwise identical sentences can take different particle sets in different situations.

In his 1976 paper on "Mystery Particles," Robert Longacre highlights the fact that many particles can only be understood from the discourse perspective. As all three published works on Bisu grammar are limited to discussions on the sentence level, where particle usage seems somewhat unpredictable, a discourse–minded approach is needed.

1.3.2 Research question

The basic question addressed in this dissertation is one of how particles function in Bisu discourse. The working hypothesis is that particle usage in Bisu discourse is affected by a number of factors, including text type, genre, place in the discourse, transitivity, and semantic connotations, and that once these factors are understood, particle usage will become somewhat more predictable.

1.3.3 Scope and limitations

This dissertation has as its primary concern an understanding of the meaning of individual particles and their usage in the context of written folktales. A secondary concern involves the uses of particles in life stories and expository texts. The folktales, life stories, and expository texts are monologues, although some conversation is embedded in the folktales. Thus, this work does not aspire to explain the use of particles in Bisu dialogue. In addition, while Bisu particles are occasionally compared to counterparts in other Asian languages, no attempt is made to formulate systematic cross–linguistic generalizations.

1.4 Outline of Bisu phonology

The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with a basic overview of Bisu phonology such that the examples cited throughout this text will be more readily comprehendible. This section will draw from the fieldwork of the author and other researchers, relying heavily upon the recently developed Bisu orthography (Person 1999).

1.4.1 Syllable structure

Native Bisu syllables (as opposed to Daic loan words) have the canonical form C1 (C2) V T (C3), where C1 represents an obligatory initial consonant, C2 and optional second element in a consonant cluster, V an obligatory vowel, T an obligatory tone, and C3 an optional final consonant. Stress, a relatively minor component of Bisu phonology, does not affect syllable structure. Bisu syllables follow the sonority sequencing principal in featuring a rise in sonority from onset to nucleus, as illustrated in the following words:

Phonetic transcription	English gloss	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
ŋè	to be struck by a falling tree	kɔ̀ŋkúp	owl
naŋ	you (sg)	pʰælɔ̀ŋ	bag
pʰlúp	to expectorate	kʰwáat	water channel

1.4.2 Initial consonants

Bisu has 30 initial consonants, as shown in figure 1.14. Nine of these, /*p*, *t*, *k*, *ʔ*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *w*, *j*/, also serve as final consonants.[8]

[8] The presense of these final consonants is notable; many other languages of the Southern Yiphoish/Loloish branch no longer have final consonants (Edmonsdon 2000).

			Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops	Vl		p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Vl	Asp	p^h	t^h		k^h	
	Vd		b	d		g	
fricatives	Vl			s	ʃ		h
affricates	Vl			ts			
	Vl	Asp		ts^h	$tʃ^h$		
laterals	Vd				l		
	Vl				hl		
nasals	Vd		m	n	ɳ	ŋ	
	Vl		hm	hn	hɳ	hŋ	
approximants	Vd				j	w	
	Vl				hj		

Figure 1.14. Initial consonants.

The following words illustrate each of the initial consonants:

Initial Cons.	Phonetic transcription	English gloss	Initial Cons.	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
p	pɔŋ ^{h}naa	water buffalo	n	naŋ	2ps
t	tɔɔlɔɔ	butterfly	ɳ	ɳàmpàj	grasshopper
c	cók cók	lizard	ŋ	ŋè	to be struck by a falling tree
k	kòŋkúp	owl	hm	hmjaa	knife
ʔ	ʔùuhlòŋ	pot	hn	hnàw	mucus
p^h	p^hælòŋ	bag	hɳ	hɳaaŋ	fishing pole
t^h	t^hàaŋ	sword	hŋ	hŋèe	leech
$tʃ^h$	$tʃ^h$ɔɔhmaasæ̀	yawn	s	sɨ̀k^hɔ̀ɔ	cucumber
k^h	k^hàlaw	shirt	j	jàabì̀i	young woman
b	bæ̀	to lick	h	hɔɔtàm	rat
d	dæjàa	ghost	ʃ	ʃì	blood

g	gaa	lps	w	wàa	pig
ts	tsàa	to eat	l	lɔɔbaa	stone
ts^h	ts^halàa	tiger	hl	ʔùuhlòŋ	pot
m	mòŋ mòŋ	mango	hj	hjaa	chicken

1.4.3 Consonant clusters

Various researchers have come to different conclusions as to the exact number of consonant clusters in Bisu.[9] The Bisu orthography currently recognizes fourteen, as shown in figure 1.15.[10]

C1 \ C2	l	j	w
p	x	x	
p^h	x	x	
b	x	x	
k	x	x	x
k^h	x	x	x
hm	x	x	

Figure 1.15. Consonant clusters.

Consonant clusters only occur in syllable initial position. The following words illustrate each of the consonant clusters:

Cons. cluster	Phonetic transcription	English gloss	Cons. cluster	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
pl	nàmpla?	round cucumber	p^hj	p^hjaa	to tear down

[9] Efforts to elicit words for some of the other clusters described by other researchers failed. Most of the sounds concerned were reported to occur very rarely.

[10] Nishida and Beaudouin describe some of these as labialized or palatalized sounds, while Nuamkaew terms them clusters. In terms of the Bisu orthography, all are interpreted as clusters.

pʰl	pʰlúp	expectorate	bj	bjáa	to clear a field
bl	blàa	arrow	hmj	lɔŋ hmjaa	shrimp
kl	klaa	to fall	kj	ʔùukjaŋ	tree–dwelling ant
kʰl	kʰəək	to be broken	kʰj	ʔùukʰjàa	field crab
kw	kwàa	°to hunt	kʰw	kʰwáat	water channel
pj	pjàa	bee	hml	hmlàaŋ	long time

1.4.4 Vowels and diphthongs

Like Thai, Bisu has nine vowels, as shown in figure 1.16:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ʉ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	æ	a	ɔ

Figure 1.16. Bisu vowels.

Unlike Thai, Bisu vowels do not have phonemic length contrast. Length is an issue phonetically, however, and the Bisu have insisted in indicating length in their orthography (Person forthcoming).

Two diphthongs, /*aw* / and /*aj* / occur frequently in Bisu, and are also found in Thai.[11] The following words illustrate each of the vowels and diphthongs:

Vowel	Phonetic transcription	English gloss	Vowel	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
i	ciŋkoŋmàa làaŋ	praying mantis	ii	ʃiì	blood

[11] Additional diphthongs are mentioned by Beaudouin in STEDT (Namkung 1996). These would seem to be very rare, sometimes the result of borrowing. Only two diphthongs are recognized in the current Bisu orthography.

e	lékkòn	nail	ee	ŋèe	to be struck by a falling tree
æ	pʰæ̀ræ̀ʔ	goat	ææ	bæ̀æ	to lick
ʉ	nàaʃʉ̀ŋ	ear	ʉʉ	sʉ̀ʉkʰɔ̀ɔ	cucumber
ə	kʰəʔ	to, toward	əə	tsàakə̀əŋ	dish eaten with rice
a	naŋ	you (sg)	aa	wàa	pig
u	pʰlúp	expectorate	uu	ʔùuhlɔ̀ŋ	pot
o	joʔ	yonder (intermediate distance)	oo	rakòoŋ	bracelet
ɔ	cók cók	lizard	ɔɔ	tɔɔlɔɔ	butterfly
aw	hnàw	mucus	aj	ŋàmpàj	grasshopper

1.4.5 Tone

Bisu has three contrastive tones, low, mid, and high, as illustrated in the following words (Vatcharee 1987: 110):

Phonetic transcription	English gloss	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
hjàa	to itch	lùm	Clf of misc. objects
hjaa	chicken	lum	to forget
hjáa	field	lúm	to be hot

All initial consonants are attested in low–tone syllables, with the exception of *hɳ* and *hŋ* (which occur rather infrequently on the whole). Similarly, all initial consonants may begin mid–tone syllables. All initial consonants save *n*, *ŋ*, *hn*, *d*, *tʃʰ*, and *ts* may begin high–tone syllables (Vatcharee 1987: 114).

Vacharee's analysis of 1,512 major syllables found 422 low–tone syllables, 1,008 mid–tone syllables, and a mere 82 high–tone syllables (1987: 115). This

dramatic distribution curve accounts for the relatively few examples of three–way tonal contrast in identical environments.

1.4.6 Other phonological processes

1.4.6.1 Tone sandhi

There is a limited amount of tone sandhi in Bisu, particularly in the verb phrase and in particle clusters. The low tone preverbal negation marker *bà*, for example, typically lowers the tone of the immediately following word. Similarly, the mid–toned *tʃʰii*, one of the most frequently occurring sentence final particles, often becomes low–toned under the influence of the preceding word or particle, as shown in example 1.1:

(1.1) cáa aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lùu tʃʰìi jèe
then child Clf. release go pt pt

Then the child released him to go. (CK 35)

1.4.6.2 The mysterious floating nasals

One of the greatest challenges for outsiders learning Bisu is determining whether or not a word ends in a nasal. This is due to the fact that nasals (usually [n] or [ŋ]) seem to "pop–up" between many words. This phenomenon has not been documented in any published research, something which Makkio Katsura relates to the fact that it is very difficult to understand. In his ten years of thinking seriously about the Bisu language, he has yet to discover any systematic phonological process at work here. Thus, Katsura has dubbed the floating nasals, "One of the two greatest mysteries about Bisu" (Katsura 2000).[12] Most Bisu seem unconscious of most of

[12] The second "great mystery," claims Katsura, is the sentence final particle system.

these nasals, and rarely attempt to transcribe them. This is definitely an area where further research is needed.

(1.2) kwaat
sweep

juum kwaat n bèən ja
house sweep finished pt–aff

[I've] finished sweeping the house.

1.4.6.3 Assimilation of initial /j/

When a word ending with a vowel is followed by a word beginning with /j/, a process of assimilation often occurs.

(1.3) tsàa
eat
hàaŋ tsàaj ja
rice eat pt–quest

Have you eaten?

Again, as with the mysterious floating nasals, the Bisu seem largely unconscious of this process; the floating /j/s are rarely written. This is yet another area for further research.

1.5 Outline of Bisu syntax

The purpose of this section is to provide a basic syntactic sketch of Bisu. This in no way attempts to be a complete grammar of the language; rather, the ensuing pages will provide the syntactic background necessary for the reader to more clearly understand the particle–related discussions to follow.

1.5.1 Areal features

Bisu grammar is typical of Tibeto–Burman languages on a number of points. Morphemes correlate closely to syllables. An extensive system of classifiers modify nouns. Serial verbs are often used to encode sucessive events. Nouns do not take any sort of case or gender markers, nor are verbs inflected for voice, tense, gender, or number. There is no subject–verb agreement system. The handful of affixes present in the language have a low functional load, with their utilization being determined more by syntactic contexts than morphological word building. Semantically, there are a large number of distinct lexical items showing various shades of carrying and cutting words (Solnit 1997: 7). Zero anaphora is used extensively in discourse.

1.5.2 The noun phrase

Bisu noun phrases are typically ordered possessor, head, adjective, determiner, numeral, classifier, as shown in the following examples:

(1.4) laŋʃjaam tʰɯ̀ɯ maŋ
otter one Clf

one otter (AK 3)[13]

[13] Text abbreviations may be found in sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3. Sentences elicited from the grammatical questionnaire are designated GQS.

(1.5) man ʔaŋʔuʔaŋhɨ̀ɨ saam ʔaŋ
tuber large three Clf

three large tubers (GQS 55)

(1.6) gaa aŋjàa aŋlak maŋ
1ps child beloved Clf

my beloved child (CW 16)

(1.7) aŋbooŋ tukʰjàam
father skull

father's skull (FS 1)

(1.8) gaa aŋblɔɔŋ naamaa
1ps husband this_one

this my husband (CK 25)

(1.9) aŋbaa aŋʃɨ̀ɨ máa
mother new Clf

the new mother (OR 6)

(1.10) aŋbooŋ póɔ́maaj nɯŋbaa bàa mæ̀æn
father widower heart neg. good

bad hearted widower–father (CW 1)

(1.11) laŋʃjaam pùu namàa
otter rotten this

this rotten otter (AK 32)

1.5.3 The verb phrase

The verb phrase is composed of the head verb and any adverbs or sentence final particles (the function of which will be discussed later in this dissertation) which may

accompany it. Adverbs are often non–adjacent to the head verb, as shown in examples 1.12–1.15 (verb phrases underlined):

(1.12) jaaŋ juum həə ææn tʃʰii jèe kjàap jèe
3ps house at ascend pt pt quiet pt

She thus returned home quietly. (CO 23)

(1.13) jaaŋ àŋwàaj kʰjaaŋ jèe hùun luun tʃʰii
3ps quickly quickly pt run pt pt

The child ran away quickly. (MB 25)

(1.14) cáa aŋbaa aŋʃùu máa hæmæ hmjaaŋ jao aŋwàj jèe
then mother new Clf like that see then quickly pt
juum ʔɔɔk həə pləək klaan luu tʃʰìi
house exit at jump fall pt pt

Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground. (OR 33)

(1.15) hææŋ aŋbooŋ maŋ kùt gaa làæjao aŋwàj aŋkʰjaaŋ
after father Clf think pt then quickly quickly
ʃòoŋkŏoŋ jóo hùun lææn tʃʰii
forest at run pt pt

After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest. (CW 21)

1.5.3.3 Verbal adjectives

Like many languages in Southeast Asia, Bisu makes abundant use of verbal adjectives.[14] These are morphologically identical to adjectives found in noun phrases, but function as the predicate of the sentence, as shown in examples 1.16–1.18:

[14] In discussing Lahu, another Tibeto–Burman language, Matisoff (1973: 195) points out:

> The fact that Lahu adjectives are simply a subclass of the verbs is a point that Lahu shares with her Sino–Tibetan sisters, as well as with Thai, Cambodian, Japanese, and many other genetically unrelated languages. From a general typological viewpoint, Indo–European seems to be

(1.16) aŋtùk jèe
poor pt

(He) was poor. (PB 2)

(1.17) aŋkʰlɯ̀ jèe
lazy pt

(He) was lazy. (MB 3)

(1.18) baa nój ʔaŋtùŋ
Mr. Noi fat

Noi is fat. (GQS 15)

1.5.3.4 Serial verbs

Like many languages in Southeast Asia, Bisu makes abundant use of serial verbs. Series of actions which would be handled as separate clauses in English are thus handled as single clauses. In the written folktale corpus, a maximum of four serial verbs are used, as shown in the following examples:

(1.19) aŋjàa màaŋ naa hɯ̀ɯn dùuj ʔɔɔk pooj lɯ̀ɯ
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay out pt

He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (CW 22)

(1.20) kamlaŋ həə ʔùuhooŋ maŋ pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa maŋ
momentarily at turtle Clf water buffalo Clf
naatúu mànpɔɔŋ cóot klaaj tɯ̀ɯj paanɔ̀ɔ
upper lip mouth enter quickly fall strike pt

Momentarily, the turtle fell down into the mouth of the water buffalo. (ST 15)

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idiosyncratic in having separate adjective–classes that show, if anything, greater affinity for the nouns than for the verbs.

1.5.4 The clause

Like most Tibeto–Burman languages, the basic clausal order of Bisu is SOV. This is true of all text types.

1.5.4.1 Clauses which may involve the accusative-like *naa* (*naa~na?*)

Typical western grammar paradigms make a systematic distinction between direct and indirect objects, transitive and intransitive clauses. Such distinctions are less useful in Bisu, as they are in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 157).

In the Bisu context, it is useful to discuss the role of *naa*, which carries something of an accusative-like function. Nonetheless, it is hazardous to try to describe the full functions of *naa* with a single designation.[15] James Matisoff's comments on the Lahu equivalent, *tʰà?~à?~hà*, are relevant here:

> Note that we do not assign any very precise meaning to the term 'object' in Lahu grammar. It is merely a convenient intuitive label for any NP whose last element is *tʰà?*, or wherein *tʰà?* may grammatically be inserted with no effect on the meaning beyond a certain change of emphasis. *tʰà?* by no means occurs mechanically after every noun that is the 'recipient of the action of the verb.' It is, rather, used quite sparingly, only where clarity demands or when special emphasis is desired (1973: 155).

In this spirit, then, the remainder of this section will examine a number of sentences where *naa* is or could be used.

The following examples show *naa* following the direct object:

[15] Throughout this dissertation, *ná?* is glossed as "ACC" as a matter of convenience, despite the fact that its exact role is somewhat ambiguous.

(1.21) ʔiinææ náʔ laŋklao pii ŋææ
baby ACC bath cause pt

(I) bathe the baby (daily). (E 7)

(1.22) aŋjàa màaŋ naa hʉ̀ʉn dùuj ʔɔɔk pooj lʉ̀ʉ
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay out pt

He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (CW 22)

(1.23) cáa aŋbaa aŋʃʉ̀ʉ máa aŋjàa màŋ jèet naa
then mother new Clf child Clf both ACC
bàa sɔɔ jèe
neg like pt

And the new mother did not like the two children. (OR 6)

(1.24) naaŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa sʉʉŋ jâo naaŋ aŋjàa
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child
maŋ naʔ sæ̀æ pèe
Clf ACC kill IMP

"If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 11)

Examples 1.25–1.26 illustrate how, in discourse, *naa~naʔ* is frequently absent.

(1.25) hikʰàm laŋʃjaam maŋ kaʔtaj maŋ ʔæ̀æŋkʰàa
that time otter Clf rabbit Clf fart
buum tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ
suck pt pt

At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit. (AK 22)

(1.26) hæ̀æŋ jèe mɔɔjoŋ làaj ʔæ̀æ tʃʰii
after pt gong get ascend pt

After that (she) went to get a gong. (CK 33)

Sentences 1.27–1.28 illustrate how *naa* may follow the entire "object complex," a designation which includes direct and indirect objects:

(1.27) kirk makʰaam suzie naa pii
(name) tamarind (name) ACC give

Kirk gave Suzie a tamarind. (F 11)

(1.28) baa suk man jàaŋ ga náʔ pii láʔ ŋææ
Mr. Suk Clf 3ps 1ps ACC give pt pt

Suk gave me a tuber. (GQS 56)

"Intransitive" sentences that do not contain anything that could be construed as an object do not take *naa*, as shown in examples 1.29 and 1.30:

(1.29) aŋbìi aŋblɔɔŋ tʰɯ̀ɯ kùu caaŋ jèe
wife husband one couple have pt

There was a husband and wife. (CK 1)

(1.30) jaaŋ àŋwàaj kʰjaaŋ jèe hɯ̀ɯn lɯɯn tʃʰii
3ps quickly quickly pt run pt pt

He (the child) ran away quickly. (MB 25)

1.5.5 Time and location

The time and location of events typically is stated at the onset of the clause, usually followed by *həə*, *wəʔ*, *jèe*, or *jóo*, as shown in examples 1.35 and 1.36 (time and location phrases underlined):

(1.31) <u>mùŋkʰìi jàamlæ̀æŋ həə lánhúaj wəʔ</u> laŋʃjaam
dark evening at stream at otter
tʰɯ̀ɯ maŋ cáa kʰaalaj
one Clf have pt

When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter. (AK 3)

(1.32) kalɔ̀ɔkkalìik həə tʃʰáp lææ̀jáo kiibaa tʰaaŋ
underarm at insert and_then path beside
həə cɔɔn tʃʰii jèe
at hide pt pt

(The rabbit) inserted (the stick) under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path. (AK 24)

(1.33) hææ̀ŋjèe tʃʰææŋkɔ̆ɔjkɔ̆ɔj maŋ bææn jao hʉ̀ʉn
after_that Chengkoikoi Clf know then run
kʰèe lææn tʃʰii
follow pt pt

After that, when Chengkoikoi realized what had happened, she ran after him. (CK 23)

(1.34) sʉ̀ʉkʰajlɔ̀ɔk pǎŋ jóo kap jàaŋ kʰɔ̀ɔj tʃʰiitʃʰajao
(type of tree) Clf. at trap that set leave in place

She set the trap at the suukhajlook tree and left it there. (TS 29)

Movement of a time phrase to a later point in a sentence may serve to emphasize a point, as in example 1.35, wherein an evil father repeatedly tries to abandon his children in the forest:

(1.35) cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuu tʰəə jèe juum
then child Clf both well every occurrence pt house
aŋlʉʉ lææ̀ gaa kaa
return pt pt pt

Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. (OR 9)

1.5.6 Zero anaphora

Like many Asian languages, Bisu makes abundant use of zero anaphora in discourses. Typically, a participant's identity will be stated only in the first sentence in a series where the referent is unambiguous, as shown in the first episode of Ai Kham:

(1.36) mùŋkʰìi jàamlæ̀æŋ həə lánhúaj wə? laŋʃjaam
dark evening at stream at otter
tʰù̀ɯ maŋ cáa kʰaalaj
one Clf have pt

When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter. (AK 3)

Ø naasóon na? hmjaaŋ tʃʰii jèe
Ø fish trap ACC see pt pt

(He) saw the fish trap. (AK 4)

Ø jào naasóon həə ɔɔŋ læ̀æn tʃʰii jèe
Ø then fish trap at enter pt pt pt

And then (he) went into the fish trap. (AK 5)

Ø lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ ʔɔɔŋ tsàa kʰoo pìi tʃʰi jee
Ø fish enter eat completely pt pt pt

(He) ate all the fish completely. (AK 6)

Ø cáa kʰoon jáo bàa ʔɔɔk lù̀ɯ tɔɔ ka? jèe
Ø then completely then neg. exit pt pt pt pt

Then after the (fish) were all gone, (he) could not get out. (AK 7)

1.5.7 Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses have been observed in a number of positions, as shown in examples 1.37–1.39:

(1.37) gaa wàa naaŋ máa làa tʃʰii mæ̀æ haaj jàa
1ps this 2ps tell pt pt same do pt

"I did what you told me to do." (CW 15)

(1.38) kʰàatɔɔŋ ææn ŋææ nè? àahaa tsàa lææ coo
self clever pt pt IMP think pt IMP

"I'm clever"—don't think that! (CO 1)

(1.39) ʔùuhooŋ aŋjàa ʔúu aŋbaa maŋ luu na?
turtle child group mother Clf return ACC
hmjaaŋ klæækklææk ˌjèe
see call out pt

The turtle kids saw that their mother was returning and called out. (TS 23)

Relative clauses do not receive any distinctive markers, but are rather inserted immediately after the nouns they modify, as shown in examples 1.40–1.41:

(1.40) ʔacăm kʰùu aŋbaa kuu tʰəə nææ kʰèe
in addition dog mother every occurrence npt follow
plɔ̀ɔŋ maŋ bàa caa láʔwaa
help Clf neg have pt

In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there. (OR 17)

(1.41) níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋ jâo cìikùu gaa
this 2ps 1ps ACC eat pt then thorn 1ps
lakʰŭu tʃʰao lælatʃʰinín tsʰææ cák ʔɔɔk
foot pierce at_that_place bite pull exit
luu laa poonoo
pt pt pt

"If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please!" (TD 17)

1.5.8 Compound sentences

A number of relationships, including condition, causality, and sequence, are not encoded lexically with words such as 'if', 'because', and 'when', but are rather

indicated through the position of two adjacent clauses within the same sentence or across sentence boundaries, as shown in examples 1.42–1.45:

(1.42) níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋ jao cìikùu gaa
this 2ps 1ps ACC eat pt then thorn 1ps
lakʰɤ̆ɯ tʃʰao lælatʃʰinín tsʰææ cák ʔɔɔk
foot pierce at_that_place bite pull exit
lɯɯ laa poonoo
pt pt pt

"If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please!" (TD 17)

(1.43) naaŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa sɯɯŋ jao naaŋ aŋjàa
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child
maŋ naʔ sæ̀æ pèe
Clf ACC kill IMP

"If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 11)

(1.44) pʰìi kʰàm laʔkáa lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ kɔɔŋ jàaŋ kɔɔj
grandmother Kham in_front_of fish pile that gather
jao juum həə ææn læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
then house at ascend pt pt pt

[Previous sentence= 'she knew the technique'] [So], she took those fish that were piled up in front of Grandmother Kham and then went home. (CO 18)

(1.45) hæmæ kjàaj jao aŋbooŋ máa namlæ̀æw jèe
like_that hear then father Clf finally pt
nɯɯŋbaa plaak ʃiin tʃʰii
heart break die pt

When he heard that, the father's heart broke and he immediately died. (OR 32)

1.5.9 Changes in constituent order (right–dislocation)

Right–dislocation may be utilized for emphasis or clarification, as shown in examples 1.46–1.59. It should be noted that the sentence final particles in these sentences remain adjacent to the verb, rather than following the dislocated element.

(1.46) cáa naan laŋkaa naowaa kasəəj ʔɯɯ
then ask pt pt monkey group

Then they asked each other—the monkeys. (PB 34)

(1.47) jɔɔ naŋ kʰaʔkɔɔ ʔɯɯkɔɔj pao baacɛ̌ə laʔmaŋmiʔ
well, 2ps take pile gather IMP what which one

"Well, take a pile—whichever one (you want)."(CO 16)

(1.48) pɔɔ cǎj tʃʰii jaaŋ tùɯ kʰùn
care_for pt pt 3ps one Clf

(She) raised (just) one (of the two children). (FM 8)

(1.49) wàt dɯŋ lææ pii tʃʰii maaŋpʰææ maaŋ jèe
temple live pt pt pt younger_brother Clf pt

The one caused to live at the temple was the younger brother.(FM 10)

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT INFLUENCES

2.0 Introduction

Any research project begins with certain presuppositions about the nature of the to be studied. These sometimes masked postulates profoundly impact both the questions asked by the researcher and the ways in which answers and explanations are sought.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to lay bare the presuppostions of this researcher. In doing so, a riverine metaphor will be employed in an effort to demonstrate how the work of several individuals and their respective theoretical approaches (streams and tributaries) have, in confluence, affected the course of this research.

2.1 Longacre and the discourse stream

In his 1978 paper, "Why we need a vertical revolution in linguistics," Robert E. Longacre calls for a "radical reorientation" in how linguists think about language. After praising some of the positive outcomes of the dominant Chomskyian approach to grammar, Longacre addresses what he perceived as the "blind spots that [Chomsky] inherited from Bloomfield and never challenged." He elaborates:

> The greatest of these hangups inherited from Bloomfield was inherent in the definition of grammar as a device for generating sentences. This perpetuated the Bloomfieldian blindspot in which the independence of the sentence from its context was over emphasized....This definition effectively ruled out the possibility of grammar beyond the sentence (1978: 248).

Longacre goes on to mention some of the "voices raised against this Bloomfieldian–Chomskyian restriction": various members of the Prague school, Louis Hjelmslev, Rupert Frith, Zellig Harris, Kenneth Pike, Joseph Grimes, and Teun van Dijk, among others (1978: 248). Longacre states that these individuals fired the "opening guns" of a "revolution" based on the following proposition:

> It is not simply that systematic analysis and study of units larger than the sentence is possible, nor even that such analysis is desirable, but rather that discourse analysis is a rock bottom necessity, i.e, all linguistic structure must ultimately be related to the structure of context (1978: 249).

In support of his thesis, Longacre discusses several specific grammatical phenomena which he claims cannot find explanatory sufficiency in a sentence–based approach: definitivization and the use of deictics, pronominalization, use of tense, aspect, mode, and voice, word order phenomena, use of location and temporal expressions, uses of adverbial clauses, sequence signals and conjunctions, nominalization and topicalization, variation in reported speech, variation in length of syntactic units, and "mystery particles" and affixes. A full understanding of these and other grammatical concepts can only be understood through examination of the larger context—the discourse context.

The years since Longacre's call for a "vertical revolution" have seen the field of discourse studies expand in a number of ways. As Longacre predicted, linguists from a variety of theoretical backgrounds have made unique contributions. Longacre's vision that discourse analysis would "take us beyond the frontiers of linguistics itself and land us at the crossroads of linguistics, sociology, psychology, and perhaps several other disciplines" (1978: 267) has also been borne out. Still, Longacre's basic thesis remains the central tenet of the field (and, by implication, this dissertation):

many sentence–level phenomena can only be understood in their discourse environment. Or, as Longacre himself put it, "language is language only in context" (1996: 1).

2.1.1 Discourse tributaries

This section comprises an overview of four doctoral dissertations, all within the general stream of discourse theory, which have impacted the present research.

2.1.1.1 Hwang and "structural importance"

Shin Ja Joo Hwang's 1981 Ph.D. dissertation, *Aspects of Korean narration*, represents a thorough analysis of eight Korean folktales and short stories.[16] Hwang begins by defending the study of discourse in general, marshalling evidence from phonology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and even philosophy (1981: 14). After discussing the structure of the texts to be analyzed, Hwang discusses the "structural importance of information"—what Longacre would later term "salience" (Longacre 1996: 7). The levels of importance are encoded through a number of surface structure phenomena.

Unlike Tibeto–Burman languages, Korean encodes for tense. Hwang identifies the past tense as the main indicator of mainline (important) material, with present + *kos i–ta* construction, present + activitive, and present representing successive departures from the mainline (decreasing in importance) (1981: 138). Korean grammar also utilizes aspectual suffixes. Hwang thus identifies completive aspect as being high in importance, while inchoative, inceptive, repetitive, continuative, progressive, resultative, and incompletive indicate sucessively less–salient material (1981: 148).

[16] This dissertation was later recast as a book (Hwang 1987).

Drawing from Nida (1949), Hwang discusses one prefix and several suffixes which are used to indicate mode in Korean. Declarative mode indicates mainline, while activitive, quotative, experimentative, retrospective, desiderative, intentive, conjecture, question, and negation all represent decreasing degrees of textual importance (1981: 156). Hwang ranks transitivity in terms of clause types, with ditransitive clauses leading the way, with transitive, passive, intransitive, existential, and equative clauses indicating decreasing transitivity.

Closely related to transitivity is the notion of verb type, which Hwang also analyzes as part of the "importance" schema. She categorizes verbs according to case frames, beginning with action–process followed by action, process, state, existential, and equative (1981: 165).

Hwang's final factor is sentence structure, with independent clauses at the top of the salience ranking, followed by coordinate clauses + *nun*, coordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, and modifying clauses (1981: 171).

These six factors, then, interact with one another to indicate importance in Korean narrative. The net effect can be best grasped through a circular chart in which overall sentence importance increases as one moves along the individual spokes toward the center:

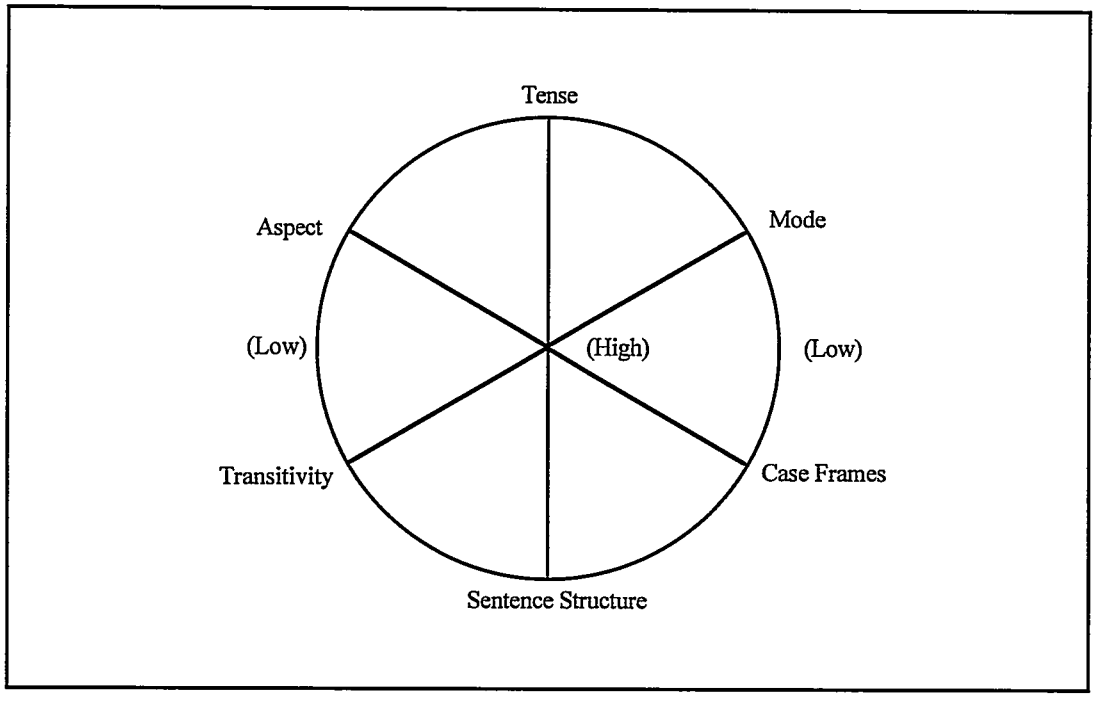

Figure 2.1. Continua of relative importance of information represented as a circle graph. (Hwang 1981: 172)

This balancing of multiple factors has influenced the course of the present research by pressing the need to think in non–linear terms. That is, factors such as salience should not be construed in terms of one or two features only, but in the confluence of a number of structural phenomena.

2.1.1.2 Burusphat and discourse without tense

While Longacre and Hwang worked primarily with inflectional, agglutinative languages, Burusphat's dissertation and subsequent book *The structure of Thai narrative* (1991) represented the first attempt to apply Longacre's theoretical approach to an isolating language that does not mark tense. Burusphat's work is thus significant in demonstrating how the Longacrean theory can be applied in the Southeast Asian typological context.

Working from a series of Thai folktales, Burusphat claims that such phenomena as salience, which, for many Asian languages, cannot be understood in terms of verb tense, can be observed in the form of sequential markers, temporal adverbs, time phrases, verb type, relative clauses, and so forth. (Burusphat 1991: 113).

The way in which Burusphat thinks through discourse issues in Thai has impacted the present research in a number of ways. Perhaps the prime moral that this researcher has drawn from her work is "To thine own Southeast Asian typology be true," with the addendum, "Just because you don't have tense, don't assume that your life is going to be any easier; dig deeper!"

2.1.1.3 Herring and the quantification of tense and aspect

While Hwang and Burusphat wrote as students of Longacre, Susan Herring's 1991 "Functions of the verb in Tamil narration" reflects a number of influences, demonstrating an appreciation for Longacre's emphasis on text type and schema, Paul Hopper's work on grounding, and Talmy Givón's concern for supporting discourse generalizations quantitatively.

Unlike Thai, Tamil has a well developed tense–aspect system. Nonetheless, traditional grammars of the language had failed to fully explain the "exceptions"—times when the "textbook" stance on how sentences should be structured was not followed. Herring tackles this problem by looking at the distribution of various verb–related phenomena, including tense, aspect, compound verbs, and modals, in different text types. In doing so, she relies heavily on frequency counts, numerically demonstrating the grammatical trends exhibited by sentences found in different text types.

This correlation of text type to grammatical phenomena, supported by freqency counts, has greatly influenced the approach of the present work. Given the large quantity of Bisu particles and the wide range of contexts in which they occur, some sort of numerical approach was needed to separate trends from exceptions, the intuition of the researcher (and, sometimes, that of native speakers) from the abundance of data.

2.1.1.4 McClelland and the correspondence of prosody and discourse features

Clive McClelland's 1996 dissertation "Interrelations of prosody, clause structure, and discourse pragmatics in Tarifit Berber" examines the connections between prosody, clause structure, and discourse pragmatics. Although such interrelations had long been discussed and even taken for granted by a number of discourse–minded linguists, McClelland endeavored to support theoretical assumption with empirical validation.

To carry this out, McClelland developed a statistical model wherein various discourse factors were correlated with prosodic measurements. Each of the 211 clauses in his corpus of four Tarifit Berber oral texts received codings for a number of variables, including place in the discourse (orientation, inciting incident, mounting tension, climax, lessening tension, denoument, coda), role in the discourse (episode juncture, storyline, topic, focus), clause structure (word order variation, use of clause adverbials, presence of preceding dependent clauses, use of case nouns). These were then correlated with various prosodic characteristics, including clause duration (in milliseconds), amplitude levels, relative width of fundamental frequency contours, rate of delivery (morphemes per second), and duration of pauses. Under statistical analysis, significant correlations between these variables were revealed.

The present work involves neither prosody nor formal statistical analysis. Nevertheless, McClelland's overall approach, especially in relation to the coding of clauses for discourse properties, has significantly impacted the methodology of this dissertation. McClelland's influence is clear in the structure of the Excel database (see 3.2) from which many of the conclusions of this dissertation were derived.

2.2 On the banks of the Yangzhe: particles in Chinese

As a world–class language with a long written tradition, Mandarin Chinese has often served as the lens through which the other Asian languages have been viewed. Indeed, ancient Chinese scholars are still frequently cited in discussions of tone, grammar, and historical reconstruction with regard to both Chinese and "barbarian" tongues. Nonetheless, there has been relatively little serious linguistic research into the use of Chinese particles (Chan 1999).

2.2.1 Li and Thompson: auxiliary markers and "mood words"

Li and Thompson's (1981) reference grammar of Mandarin Chinese represents a common stream of thought that divides what Matisoff (1973) groups as "verbal particles" into discrete categories: auxiliary verbs, aspect markers, and sentence final particles. These groupings are made of the basis of whether the forms at hand "share a set of distributional properties not possessed by any other set of forms" (1981: 172).

As defined by Li and Thompson, auxiliary verbs occur in prepredicate position. Among other limitations, auxiliary verbs cannot be used without a main verb (stated or implied from context), be nominalized, or be modified by intensifiers. They are distinct from adverbs, in that adverbs require stated (not just implied) main verbs. Li and Thompson's list of auxiliary verbs include the following English glosses: 'ought

to, should,' 'be able to,' 'has permission to,' 'dare,' 'be willing to,' must, ought to,' and 'will, know how' (1981: 183).

In the absence of tense markers, aspect markers play a vital, albeit difficult to comprehend, role in Mandarin. Four types of aspect are utilized. Perfective is indicated by the suffix *–le*, while imperfective (durative) may be indicated by either the suffix *–zhe* or the word *zài* in pre–predicate position. Experiential is indicated by the suffix *–guo*, while delimitative is shown through verb reduplication (1981: 185).

Li and Thompson identify six sentence final particles in Chinese, indicating 'currently relevant state,' 'response to expectation,' 'solicitation of agreement,' 'friendly warning,' 'reduction of forcefulness,' and 'question' (1981: 238). Again, these differ in sentence position from auxiliary verbs and aspects markers, and form a vital component of social interaction. As Li and Thompson explain (1981:317):

> Traditional Chinese grammar refers to the sentence–final particles as yǔdqì cí 'mood words'; this term aptly suggest that the function of these sentence–final particles is to relate to the conversational contexts in various ways the utterance to which they are attached and to indicate how this utterance is to be taken by the hearer.

Li and Thompson's analysis has been helpful to this dissertation in several ways. The object of their study is not Chinese grammar in the abstract, but as it is actually used in everyday life. Most of their examples reflect conversational, rather than standardized written usage. As such, they are careful to explain the situational conditions under which a given sentence would be uttered. Thus, while they do not address discourse level issues per se, they open the door to discourse–related issues. Indeed, many other contemporary books and articles on Chinese grammar refer to Li and Thompson in some way, often amplifying, modifying or even challenging Li and Thompson's interpretations.

2.2.2 Marjorie Chan and the sociolinguistic back–door into discourse

One contemporary Chinese scholar who has been particularly vocal about the necessity of taking particles seriously is Marjorie K.M. Chan of Ohio State University. In several recent conference papers, as well as a graduate seminar syllabus posted on the world wide web, she has expressed amazement at how sentence final particles have been the victims of neglect:

> As to the study of sentence–final particles, they never play a prominent role in sentence–based, formal grammar, and those that appear typically serve grammatical functions, such as [those] occurring at the end of yes–no questions....Publications on the semantics and pragmatics of those sentence–final particles that are "optional" (i.e., they are not obligatory for grammatical function), do exist, but they remain relatively rare (Chan 1999).

Chan's interest in particles stems from sociolinguistic concerns. Her current research project involves analyzing video tapes of a popular Cantonese soap opera seeking clues as to the relationship between particle usage and gender. Among other things, she has discovered that certain particles are more likely to be used by females than males. Thus, particles offer insight into how societal roles are played out.

Chan's work was helpful to the present author in underlining the importance of particles on every level of linguistic analysis. Although the scope of this dissertation is limited to monologues, Chan's insistence that particles receive full and fair treatment in grammars has helped maintain the focus of this dissertation.

2.2.3 Chauncy Chu and the "core functions" of particles

One of the most ambitious works on Chinese syntax in recent years is Chauncy Chu's *A Discourse Grammar of Mandarin Chinese*.

Like many scholars of Asian languages, Chu finds "the Western theoretical framework that has been imposed on the study of Chinese grammar since...the end of the nineteenth century" unsatisfactory (1998: 1). He protests:

> When the criteria of such a sentence grammar is applied to a language like Chinese, it is immediately obvious that the model is far from being adequate for describing the structure of a linguistic system that lacks an elaborate formal apparatus of tense–aspect, case marking, voice, modal auxiliaries, etc., in terms of the familiar structural signals that prevail in Indo–European languages. Chinese, in particular, relies heavily on relative ordering of constituents, inter–clausal coreference, particles, and semantic correlates, among many others, to signal syntactic structure as well as discourse relations. It is therefore indispensable, on one hand, to account for the syntactic structure of Chinese in terms of signals different from the ones familiar to most Western grammarians and, on the other, to utilize discourse notions to uncover the inner workings of the clause/sentence structure of the language (1998: 2).

Chu's view of how discourse should be analyzed draws heavily from pragmatics and semantics. In approaching Mandarin sentence–final particles, for example, he searches for "core functions at one or more levels." These core functions, in turn, are used as the base from which the context–sensitive meaning and role of a particle are generated.

Although Chu's view of discourse is chiefly related to conversation, spending only a few pages discussing the "paragraph and beyond" and never mentioning text type issues, his pragmatically–sensitive approach is helpful in understanding Bisu particles. Most importantly, he recognizes that sentence final particles cannot be neatly and cleanly defined; rather, they are sensitive to contextual, syntactic, and attitudinal variables.

2.3 Following the Mekhong: particles in Southeast Asia

2.3.1 Joseph Cooke and Thai conversational particles

The most comprehensive work on particles in any Southeast Asian language to date is Joseph Cooke's 1989 *Thai sentence particles and other topics*. In his years as learner of Thai, teacher of Thai, and co–compiler of a Thai–English dictionary, Cooke became aware of the vast ocean of Thai particles. Many of these particles were very difficult for native speakers to define or explain. As Cooke (1989: 33) states:

> Sentence particles (many of them at least) have no unified, clearly focused meanings; they are so variable from context to context that they can only be explained by describing the range of contexts in which given sentence particles are used.

By analyzing Thai written dialogue as it appears in popular novels and covertly observing the conversations of Thai friends and colleagues, Cooke developed an overall "feeling" for the role of particles in different communicative contexts. Nonetheless, these "feelings" do not align neatly with concise dictionary entries. The following description of the Thai particle *naa* exemplifies the way in which Cooke was compelled to write not lexical definitions, but context–sensitive descriptions of particles:

> These are utterances in which the speaker states a fact, expresses an opinion, tells about his expectations, provides an explanation, or whatever, and then (by his use of naa) conveys his expectation or request for agreement or acquiescence. The net result is a question much like English questions ending with "huh?", "isn't it?", and "right?", "don't you think so?", "okay?", "are you with me?", "did you get what I'm saying?" and so forth. Such utterances are usually relaxed and friendly, with the speaker fully expecting (though not demanding) the response he seeks.

> When the *naa* occurs following or bracketed by names, nouns, and pronouns that are used as vocatives...it is used to call the addressee's attention, to render the speaker's message more intimate and personal, or to highlight the speaker's baffled complaint (1989: 131, 134).

Cooke's work has impacted dissertation work on several levels. First, it has affected this researcher's expectations of the behavior of Bisu particles, as well as the ability of native speakers to explain how the particles work. Without Cooke, this researcher would have probably become extremely frustrated in an attempt to wrench out concise particle definitions from hapless Bisu language assistants. Second, Cooke's work has proven to be an invaluable resource in understanding Northern Thai particles. As Northern Thai is the language of wider communication in the Bisu region, Bisu language assistants often explained Bisu particles relative to their Northern Thai counterparts. Indeed, some Bisu speakers have incorporated Northern Thai particles into their own speech—loan particles, as it were.

2.3.2 James Matisoff and Lahu particles

Nearly 700 pages in length, James Matisoff's *The grammar of Lahu* (Sino–Tibetan, Tibeto–Burman, Yi–Burmese) is one of the most extensive descriptions of any language in Southeast Asia. Part of this work's appeal is that it is not bound by any one syntactic theory; rather than seeking to find evidence of allegedly "universal" grammar, Matisoff takes the language as it is, describing in minute detail both "normal" paradigms and "unusual" permutations. In addition, although *The grammar of Lahu* is not written from a "discourse perspective" (something which was just developing when Matisoff was collecting his data in the mid 1960s and early 1970s), the majority of Matisoff's example sentences are garnered from a large corpus of oral texts representing a variety of text types.

Matisoff dedicates over two hundred pages to the Lahu verb phrase. Some eighty of those pages, in turn, discuss what Matisoff terms "verb particles," "universal unrestricted particles," and "final unrestricted particles," all of which are considered part of the verb phrase in this SOV language. The following explanation of "verbal particles" gives a sense of the great diversity of attributes which these tiny words may contain:

> A verb–particle (Pv) is a word which cannot constitute an utterance by itself and which occurs always and only after members of the class of verbs (or after other verb–particles). Semantically, they serve to elucidate the meaning of the verb in a variety of ways, conveying notions of aspect, directionality, subjective attitudes toward the verbal event, etc. Conspicuously absent are any Pv's referring to tense. Tense–concepts are foreign to the Lahu verb, as they are for the Sino–Tibetan languages in general. (1973: 315)

Matisoff goes on to classify Lahu particles into four divisions, indicating directionality, subjective attitudes/nature of one's own experience, aspect, and imperatives/interjectives. At the same time, he concedes that there can be significant variation in both the phonetic realization of particles and their semantic role in different contexts. The particle *è*, for example, can have an interjectory, interrogative, or imperative sense, depending on context, and is easily confused with the particle *è?* 'only/just/even' and the "adverbializing particle" *è* (1973: 382). As designations like "adverbializing particle" illustrate, many aspects of Lahu grammar demand the creation of new English terms.

The grammar of Lahu has been invaluable to the dissertation at hand. First, the freedom with which Matisoff coins new terms and the vivid explanations he gives of his nomenclature encouraged the present researcher to explain Bisu on its own terms, rather than trying to fit it into Indo–European descriptive forms. Second, because of

the close genetic affiliation between Bisu and Lahu, learning about Lahu grammar has yielded insight into Bisu grammar. This has been particularly helpful where the particles are concerned. At least fourteen Bisu particles appear to have Lahu cognates, while a number of others are phonologically distinct but functionally similar to Lahu particles.

2.3.3 David Solnit and Eastern Kayah Li

David Solnit's *Eastern Kayah Li: grammar, texts, glossary* provides a thorough overview of a language that, while related to Bisu, is genetically more distant than Lahu. Eastern Kayah Li is a member of the Karen sub–group of Tibeto–Burman.

Like all Karenic languages, Eastern Kayah Li is SVO. This fact has caused a minority of linguists to expel Karennic languages from Tibeto–Burman, inasmuch as the rest of the family is SOV (Solnit 1997: xiv). Nonetheless, this different word order has implications for the interpretation of particles. Whereas Matisoff considers all sentence final particles under the rubric of the verb phrase, Solnit, is compelled to distinguish several particle categories, based on position. Kayah Li's "Pre–verbal particles," include aspect markers, modals, and a few attitudinal markers, while the post–verbal particles include markers of repetition, addition, temporary state, emphatic or unexpected negative, comitative participant involvement, excess, new participant, and benefit. Interrogative, imperative, and assertive particles also occur sentence finally (1997: 102ff, 226ff).

Curiously, some of the particles which occur sentence finally in Kayah Li (and therefore after both verb and object) carry seemingly similar connotations to some of the sentence medial particles. These include particles of negation, past or perfective irrealis, and "possible undesirable event" (1997: 231).

Solnit's work has been helpful to this dissertation in confirming the "difficult to generalize" nature of some particles. In addition, Solnit acknowledges that the boundaries between particles and other grammatical classes are often fuzzy. For example, some Kayah Li particles under some circumstances behave more like verbs than particles (1997: 100). This is also the case in Bisu.

2.3.4 Inga–Lill Hansson and Akha evidentiality

Swedish linguist Inga–Lill Hansson's study of Akha (Tibeto–Burman, Yi–Burmese) has resulted in one very concise paper on evidentiality particles (Hansson 1996). Based on over one thousand pages of interlinearized texts, Hansson posits sixteen such particles, with English glosses such as 'know for sure,' 'infer from seeing,' 'infer from hearing', 'infer from feeling,' 'doubt,' and so forth.

Unlike Lahu particles, none of the Akha evidential particles have apparent cognates in Bisu. Nonetheless, the fact that a related language has such rich evidential resources has affected the course of this research.

2.4 Overlooking Chompuu Creek: previous work on Bisu

2.4.1 Tatsuo Nishida and the first analysis

Nishida's "discovery" of the Bisu resulted in a basic profile of the language, published first in Japanese (1966) and later in English (1973). Nishida's suggestion that Bisu be assigned to the Loloish/Yiphoish subgroup of Tibeto–Burman continues to be widely accepted.

Given the relatively short amount of time Nishida spent with the Bisu, his sketch of Bisu phonology, word formation, and incorporation of Thai loan words is accurate and insightful. His treatment of Bisu grammar is, by his own admission, somewhat sparse. He nonetheless recognizes thirteen "verb forms," composed of a

verb plus what later linguists would consider particles. These "verb form" combinations are give such labels as "progressiveness," "mutualness," "question," "causation," "perfect tense," and "experience of the past" (1973: 72–74).

2.4.2 David Bradley and James Matisoff on Bisu historical development

The bulk of the previous work on Bisu has dealt with issues of basic phonology and historical development. David Bradley's *Proto–Loloish* (1979) discusses Bisu in relation to other languages in the family, using Bisu as a conservative exemplar of some of the family traits. Bradley has also examined nasality in Bisu (1985) and Bisu dialects within Thailand (1988). Drawing on data collected by Nishida and Bradley, James Matisoff (1976) carried out "microlinguistic" comparisons between Bisu and the closely–related Mpi. Matisoff coined the term "Bisoid" to encompass such South–Loloish languages as Pyen, Phu Noi, and Coong, and frequently refers to Bisu in articles and presentations on Sino–Tibetan history.

2.4.3 Vacharee Nuamkaew on Bisu phonology

Vacharee Nuamkaew's 1987 Mahidol University thesis represents the first full–scale phonological analysis of Bisu. Basing her work on the Bisu dialect spoken at Pha Daeng Village (Amphoe Phan, Tambon Doi Ngam, Chiang Rai Province), Nuamkaew presents helpful information about syllable type, stress patterns, and phoneme distribution. Her findings provided the linguistic basis for the development of a Thai–based Bisu orthography (Person, in press).

2.4.4 Patrick Beaudouin on Bisu grammar

During the late 1980s, French linguist Patrick Beaudouin studied Bisu, resulting in several conference papers and his 1991 dissertation, *Une monographie du Bisu.*

This work contains an outline of Bisu phonology, as well as sections on morphology, phrase structure, classifiers, and syntax.

Beaudouin's description of Bisu particles in a 1991 Sino–Tibetan Conference presentation features the following list of thirty sentence final particles (1991a: 6–10):

Table 2.1. Bisu particles
(adapted from Beaudouin 1991a)

Function/meaning	particle	Function/meaning	particle
Exclamative	pe ja	'from'	tʃʰaj
	pəjjɛ de	'similarity'	hmʉ
Interrogative	la		mʉ
	ɸa	'wish'	sʉ
Present aspective	ŋɛ	must'	aŋga
	Ø	'may'	aŋ+V+tɔg
			a
Past aspective	ja	'go up (or North)'	lɛ
	tsha	'go down (or South)'	ɛ́
	tʃʰi	'come from up (or North)'	lʉ
Negative past aspective	sʉ	'come from down (or South)'	lá
	sʉŋ	'give'/causative	pì
Future aspective	na	totality	kʰɔ
	naje	'only'	kan
Imperative	wo	repetition of action	lɛ̀
'with' or 'at'	kɔŋ	end of action	pən

Nonetheless, Beaudouin readily reveals some of the questions that remain as to actual particle usage, pointing out several particle–containing sentences of his own construction which Bisu language assistants reluctantly reported as being grammatically acceptable but somewhat different from normal native speaker patterns (1991a: 10). Beaudouin's dissertation contains six expository texts but, again, they are not analyzed from the discourse perspective, and some of the most frequently

occurring particles found in Bisu narratives are altogether absent from his otherwise thorough analysis.

Beaudouin's work has proven invaluable to this dissertation. While his work does not incorporate a discourse perspective, his documentation of sentence level grammar and at least most of the particles he describes is accurate. Beadouin's work thus provides a springboard for the present work.

2.4.5 Xu Shixuan on Bisu in China

The discovery of Bisu in China resulted in the most thorough description of the language to date, Xu Shixuan's *The Bisu language* (forthcoming). Shixuan includes an overview of Bisu culture, detailed discussion of Bisu phonology, extensive analysis of Bisu sentence–level grammar and comparison of Bisu dialects and related languages. Shixuan treats Bisu particles as "markers" or "auxiliaries" attached to the verb phrase, limiting her analysis to their use at the sentence level. Many of the "markers" discussed by Shixuan are not present in Bisu as spoken in Thailand, one indication of the seemingly significant differences between the Chinese and Thai dialects.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and methodology used in this investigation. Section 3.1 describes the texts examined in this research, including information on how those texts were collected and prepared for analysis. Brief summaries of each text are included to provide a context for the example sentences used throughout the dissertation. Section 3.2 discusses the analytical procedures to which the written folktales were subjected in an effort to "tease out" discourse and sentence level features which could provide insight into particle meaning usage.

3.1 Corpus

While the focus of the dissertation is written folktales, several expository texts and life histories were included in the corpus to provide additional insight into Bisu sentence final particles.

3.1.1 Written folktales

The thirteen Bisu folktales examined in this study were all written in March, 1999, at a literacy materials workshop held at the Applied Linguistics Training Center, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand. As a Thai–based orthography for the language had been adopted in December, 1999, this workshop represented the first attempt to actively use the orthography on a wide scale. Workshop participants received instruction in a variety of basic writing concepts, including readability,

naturalness, and vividness. Each text was drafted by an individual author, with other workshop participants reading and commenting upon the drafts. While some of the texts represent age–old Bisu folklore, others were original creations or Bisu renditions of familiar folktales which may have originated with other ethnic groups.[17] Text names, length, and author information follow:

Table 3.1. Written folktales studied

Narrative and Abbreviation		Number of Sentences	Author(s)	Gender	Age	Occupation
Ai Kham Goes Fishing	AK	34	Kongkham Wonglua	male	50+	farmer
Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man: a Story of Two Chicken Thieves	DB	25	Kongkham Wonglua	male	50+	farmer
The Swans and the Turtle	ST	19	Kongkham Wonglua	male	50+	farmer
Turtle and Squirrel	TS	38	Moon Tajan	male	47	farmer
Tiger and Deer	TD	26	Surasak Puikham	male	30	farmer
The Mischievous Boy	MB	32	Surasak Puikham	male	30	farmer
Lessons from Mother and Father	FM	18	Nikorn Buasuwan	male	23	farmer
The Cruel Widower	CW	23	Nikorn Buasuwan	male	23	farmer
Orphan Children	OR	35	Nongnuch Jassadakrysri and Nawalas Tajan	females	17	students
Chengkoikoi, the Female Spirit	CK	43	Somchai Kaewkhamnoi	male	17	student
Don't Dare Think You're Clever!	CO	27	Somchai Kaewkhamnoi	male	17	student
Poor Boy	PB	47	Somchai Kaewkhamnoi	male	17	student
Father's Skull	FS	17	Somchai Kaewkhamnoi	male	17	student
	Total	384				

The two older men had learned to read and write Thai while serving as Buddhist monks. They are among the minority of Bisu speakers aged thirty and above who are literate. Both of these men are well–known for their storytelling prowess. The two

[17] There are a number of essentially similar folktales which are found throughout Southeast Asia. Each ethnic group seems to have a certain local "spin" to these common stories (Gregerson et.al. 1987: xiii).

younger men had been educated through the sixth grade in the Thai school system, and had also taken adult education courses. Two of the teenagers were students at in the agricultural program of a local vocational school (tenth grade equivalent). The third teenaged participant was a secondary school student at the Chiang Mai Blind School, where she had mastered touch typing!

All of the manuscripts were input into Microsoft Word by the Bisu teenagers, none of whom had prior computer experience. The texts were formatted as books, using SIL's *Bookmaker* program, while the original rich text format (.rtf) files were saved for this analysis.

To facilitate interlinearization and translation, a teenaged Bisu male, Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, was employed to mark word and sentence breaks in the texts. This proved to be a major undertaking since Bisu, like Thai, does not contain orthographic indications of word and sentence boundaries. A degree of ambiguity remains on some of these divisions, a number of which have been revised as the author's understanding of the Bisu language has expanded. Somchai also prepared Thai free translations of each sentence. The texts were then imported into *Shoebox*, a program developed by SIL for text glossing and lexicon construction. Somchai assisted the author in preparing phonetic transcriptions and English glosses for each Bisu word. This resulted in a 1,500 word Bisu–English–Thai lexicon.[18]

3.1.1.1 Folktale summaries

To enable readers to relate example sentences to their contexts, this section contains brief summaries of each of the folktales studied.

[18] Most of the Bisu particles were not included in this lexicon, inasmuch as Somchai was often unable to suggest any Thai equivalents. Therein lay the genesis of this dissertation!

3.1.1.1.1 "Ai Kham goes fishing"(AK)

Ai Kham places a fish trap in the stream. That evening, an otter climbs into the trap and eats all the fish. He is unable to get back out of the trap. Early the next morning, a rabbit comes hopping along and informs the otter that the trap's owner will certainly kill him. The otter begs for help, and the rabbit obliges by releasing gas into the otter's mouth. Later that morning Ai Kham returns and assumes, based on the odor, that the otter is dead. He throws the otter out of the trap then spies the rabbit, who is acting as though he has been impaled on a stick. Ai Kham pursues the rabbit, who throws down the stick and flees. Meanwhile, the otter has escaped.

3.1.1.1.2 "Mr Kiew the deaf man and Mr. Paw the blind man: a story of two chicken thieves" (DB)

Two deaf and blind friends attempt to steal Grandpa Kaew's chickens. Kiew was to grab the chickens as instructed by Paw. Of course, Kiew cannot hear Paw's instructions as to which type of chickens to grab, and a great deal of shouting ensues. Grandpa Kaew hears the commotion, and storms onto the scene. Kiew escapes, while Paw, running underneath Grandpa Kaew's house, steps on a farm implement which flips upward, striking him in the forehead. Thinking he is being beaten by a stick–wielding assailant, Paw confesses all.

3.1.1.1.3 "The Swans and the Turtle" (ST)

A turtle wants to cross a valley to forage for food on another mountain. Two swans agree to help, holding a stick which the turtle grasps with his mouth. Some boys herding water buffalo see the unlikely flying trio, and shout out "The swans are carrying the turtle!" The turtle replies, "No, I'm carrying the swans!" While speaking, he loses his grip on the stick and plunges into the mouth of a startled water buffalo. His shell is shattered, and his internal organs splash onto the arm of a nearby

buffalo boy. This is why water buffalo do not have hard upper lips, and also why human armpits smell bad to this day.

3.1.1.1.4 "Turtle and Squirrel" (TS)

Two friends head out into the forest to collect firewood. Instead, they end up enjoying the small, red fruit of the *sukhajlok* tree. The squirrel eats carelessly from the upper branches, while the turtle diligently collects fallen fruit, putting them in her shoulder bag. On the way home, the squirrel claims to have a stomachache, and the kindly turtle offers to carry her friend home in her shoulder bag. Once in the bag, the squirrel feasts and, upon reaching the village, declares that her stomach ache has been cured. The turtle returns home to her excited children, telling them about the wonderful fruit they are about to enjoy. The shoulder bag is now empty, however, and the turtle realizes the squirrel's deceit. Early the next morning, the turtle returns to the *sukhajlok* tree, setting a trap at its base. She then returns to the village and invites the squirrel to come walking in the forest. The squirrel walks into the trap and is killed. Thereafter, the turtle skins and minces her friend, feeding her to the squirrel's children. The squirrel children munch happily until one recognizes the hand of their mother in the stew.

3.1.1.1.5 "Tiger and Deer" (TD)

A tiger lies in wait beside a stream. A deer comes along, limping. Perplexed, the tiger asks what the deer did to his foot. The deer replies that he stepped on a thorn, which is still embedded in his foot. The tiger realizes that eating the deer could be hazardous—the thorn could become stuck in his throat. The deer suggests that the tiger take out the thorn in exchange for the deer's willingness to be eaten afterwards. As the tiger extracts the thorn by holding it between his teeth, the deer kicks him in

the mouth, shattering all his teeth and causing the tiger to faint with pain. The deer escapes.

3.1.1.1.6 "The Mischevious Boy" (MB)

A hopelessly lazy boy runs off to the forest to escape his parent's constant scolding. As evening comes, he begins missing his home, and starts to return. In the shadow of a tree blocking his path, he sees a huge, blood–covered spirit with a long tongue and bulging eyes. The spirit chases the boy through the forest until he collides with his father. The spirit disappears, and the boy becomes a model of diligence and obedience.

3.1.1.1.7 "Lessons from Mother and Father" (FM)

A family is shattered by the death of the father. Thereafter, the mother must care for both children. Eventually, her poverty forces her to send one of her sons to live in a Buddhist temple (something which Bisu families have often had to do). She cares for the remaining son until he grows up, at which time he cares for his aged mother. An ancient proverb says that a son who becomes a Buddhist novice repays the merciful grace of his mother (by "making merit" for her future reincarnations), while a son who becomes a full Buddhist priest repays the merciful grace of his father. The hearers must teach this to their children.

3.1.1.1.8 "The Cruel Widower" (CW)

A father, mother, and child live in harmony for many years. Then the mother dies. Several years thereafter, the father wants to remarry. The object of his affection declares, "If you want me, kill your child." He thus takes the child into the forest and buries it alive. The cruel widower returns to the woman, explaining how he carried out her wishes and proposing that they wed immediately. The woman, however,

terminates the relationship, thinking "If he'd kill his own child, what might he do to me?" The father realizes his error, rushes to the forest, and digs up his child. He is too late; the child is dead.

3.1.1.1.9 "Orphan Children" (OR)

A family of four is traumatized by the mother's death. Thereafter, the father remarries. The stepmother hates the children, and orders her husband to kill the children. He attempts this by abandoning them in the forest. Time after time, they are able to return home, assisted by a mother dog. The stepmother orders the father to kill the dog and make the children eat its steamed flesh.[19] Thereafter, she commands that the father take the children deep into the forest. He complies, and the children wander, hopelessly lost. They eventually come upon a wealthy, childless couple who adopt them as their own. Years later, the stepmother tells the father about news of a wealthy family who help poor people. They arrive at the rich family's house, but do not recognize the children. The children invite them up into the house to eat specially prepared food. As the dish is set before them, the children say, "Father dear, Mother dear, eat! Steamed dog flesh, like you once gave us!" Upon realizing what has happened, the father immediately dies of a heart attack. The stepmother jumps from the stilt–house and is swallowed up by the earth.

3.1.1.1.10 "Chengkoikoi, the Female Spirit" (CK)

A married couple are fishing together when Chengkoikoi appears and kidnaps the husband. She forces him to become her mate, resulting in the birth of one child. Every day the spirit locks the husband in the house while she goes about her business

[19] The Bisu as a group claim to have never consumed dog meat, although other hilltribes in the immediate vicinity do.

outside. When she says she'll be gone only briefly, she stays away for a long time, and vice versa. The child takes after its spirit mother. One day, after Chengkoikoi has left the house, the father convinces the child to unlock the door so that he can go outside to relieve himself. He runs until he collapses with exhaustion in a rice field. He shakes heads of rice over his body, to create the illusion that he has been dead for some time and is now covered in fly eggs. Chengkoikoi returns home to find him missing, and sets out in hot pursuit. She finds her husband lying the field, and thinks that he has indeed died—although she tickles him, just to be sure. She then brings a special gong to the alledged corpse, instructing her husband that, in his next reincarnation, he should beat the gong in order to become wealthy. After she leaves, the man runs home to his wife. Thereafter, whenever he beats the gong, silver and gold appear, and he becomes more and more wealthy.

3.1.1.1.11 "Don't Dare Think You're Clever!" (CO)

Grandmother Kham and Grandmother Up go fishing together. They do quite well and, upon returning to the village, begin sorting the fish. But Grandmother Kham becomes greedy, piling the larger fish in front of herself and the smaller ones in front of Grandmother Up. She then tells Grandmother Up to choose whichever pile she wants. Realizing what Grandmother Kham is up to, Up grabs the larger pile and runs home. Grandma Kham runs after her, shouting, "Wait! I didn't divide those right! Let's do it again!" The moral of the story: people should live together in harmony and not be greedy. Do good, receive good. Do evil, receive evil.

3.1.1.1.12 "Poor Boy" (PB)

A poor boy plants a hill field in order to ease his poverty. His melons and cucumbers are doing well—such that they attract the attention of a group of monkeys.

Afraid that they will eat all his profits, the poor boy lies down in the field and plays dead. Fearing that his rotting corpse will ruin the melons and cucumbers, the monkeys decide to take him and throw him down a mine shaft filled with treasure. After the monkeys leave, the poor boy helps himself to the treasure and returns home. Later, a friend asks him how he became so wealthy. The formerly poor boy truthfully relates the story. Enthused, the friend attempts to follow in his footsteps. He plants a field, plays dead, and is taken by the monkeys to a mine shaft. The monkeys throw him into the shaft, where he dies on impact.

3.1.1.1.13 "Father's Skull" (FS)

A poverty–stricken family of three is traumatized by the death of the mother and the decline of the father. Finally, on his deathbed, the father tells his son: "When I die, tie a rope to my skull, drag it along the ground, and wherever it gets stuck, work that hillfield." The son follows these instructions, and the skull becomes wedged alongside a stone. All efforts to dislodge the skull prove futile. Thus, the boy works that hillfield and becomes richer and richer.

3.1.2 Expository texts

Although the emphasis of this dissertation is upon Bisu narrative discourse, several expository texts were examined. These shed additional light upon the meaning and usage of several of the particles.

All of the expository texts analyzed were published in Patrick Beaudouin's 1991 dissertation, *Une monographie du Bisu.* The six texts are:

Table 3.2. Expository texts
(Beaudouin 1991b)

Title and Abbreviation		# sentences
Death rituals	DR	34
Birth rituals	BR	5
Lineage of the Bisu	LB	10
Village construction	BV	8
The spirit posts	SP	10
Sacrifices to the village spirit	SS	29
	Total	96

Beaudouin identifies Moon Tajan as the author of "Sacrifices to the village spirit," but does not indicate whether the other texts were written by Moon or other authors.

Beaudouin transcribed these texts using the international phonetic alphabet and provided word–by–word and sentence–by–sentence translation into French. Margaret Spielmann, an SIL member who has served in Francophone Africa and French Polynesia, assisted in the translation of these texts into English. To facilitate easier discussion of the texts with Bisu language informants, the author worked with Somchai Kaewkhamnoi to transcribe the texts in the new Thai–based Bisu script, and provide Thai sentence glosses (since less is lost in Bisu–Thai translation than Bisu–English or, one suspects, Bisu–French).

3.1.3 Life stories

For additional cross–genre comparison, three life stories were incorporated into the corpus. Told by elderly Bisu women, these stories were recorded, transcribed, and manually interlinearized with Thai glosses and free translations by a group of Bisu teenagers, most of whom had attended the workshop mentioned in 3.1.1. Somchai Kaewkhamnoi re–checked the transcriptions and prepared the manuscripts for Shoebox.

Table 3.3. Life stories

Speaker and Abbreviation		# sentences
Ui Daa Wonglua	UD	171
Ui Duang Wonglua	UDG	464
Ui Haa Wonglua[20]	UH	230
	Total	865

The content of all three life stories is somewhat similar. Two of the three women had been orphaned at an early age; their childhood recollections are thus of being passed from relative to relative as all struggled to survive. Childhood games are recalled only by the speaker who was not an orphan. All three speakers discuss at length the terrible hardships that reduced the Bisu to begging for rice and clothing in Northern Thai villages. The theme of begging is not limited to any one episode in these discourses, but is often revisited in the course of the stories. All likewise discuss their marriages and children, a number of whom died in infancy, and speak of how, when little food was available, the children would be allowed to eat before the adults. Two opaquely deny selling their daughters into prostitution, claiming they intended to send them away to work in other professions. All three agree that life is much easier now.

3.2 Coding of folktale sentences

Each folktale was subjected to a series of analytical procedures, the overall goal being to "tease out" discourse and sentence level features which could provide insight into particle usage.

A coding scheme was established in which each sentence of each folktale received binary ratings based on a series of variables that could potentially impact

[20] "Wonglua" is the surname that the Thai government assigned to all the Bisu of Doi Chompuu village. As this name has derogatory connotations, many younger Bisu have had their surnames legally changed.

particle useage. These included place in the discourse, transitivity, sentence complexity, and whether the sentence contained direct or indirect quotations.

The coding process was carried out with *Excel*, a computer program ideally suited to the configuration and sorting of large amounts of numeric and alphabetical data. *Excel's* charting capabilities facilitated visual confirmation of correlations between some particles and the variables mentioned above.

3.2.1 Discourse profile analysis

Fundamental to what Longacre (1996:2) terms "grammatical profile" is the idea that texts do not have a uniform "texture." Rather, texts can be divided into various macro–segments, each representing a different stage in the text's development, as shown in figure 3.1. Evidence from a wide variety of languages strongly supports the notion that each stage of a text's development will manifest stage–specific grammatical phenomena. This is particularly true of the "peak" of a text, an area Longacre (1996: 38) denotes a "zone of turbulence" inasmuch as dramatic shifts in verb tense, verb density, pronominal reference, quotation formula, and so forth often occur here.

For this reason, each sentence in the written folktales was coded according to the stage of the discourse in which it was found. Those sentences involving a change in place, time, or participant–in–focus were also noted as boundaries between episodes or stages.

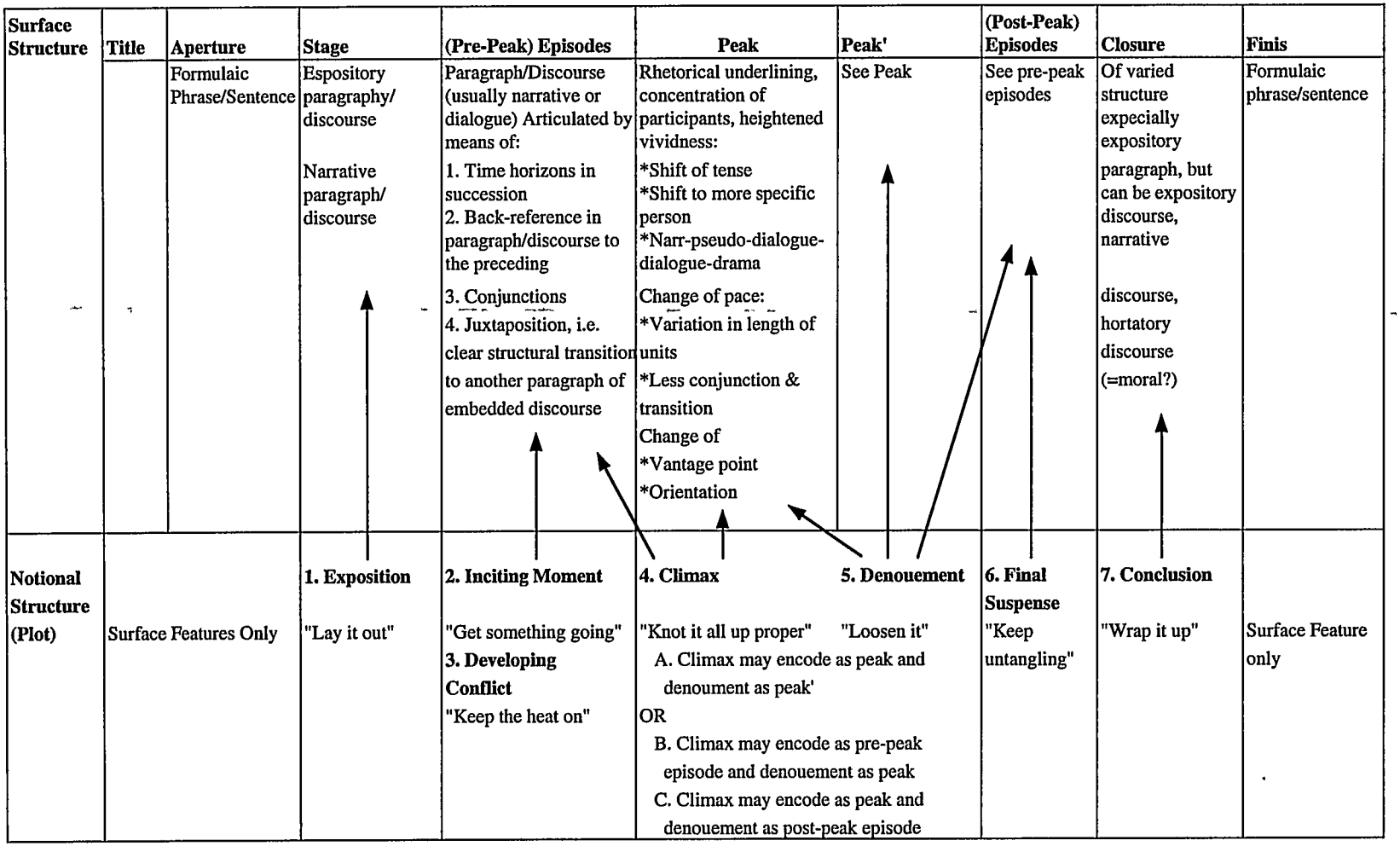

Figure 3.1. Narrative discourse schema.
(Longacre 1996: 36)

3.2.1.1 Orientation

The orientation stage of a discourse typically introduces the audience to the time, location, and participants of a narrative.[21]

The folktale orientations examined in this study begin with a formulatic schema—somewhat like the "once upon a time" opening of English folk tales—with the main verb being *caj* or *caaŋ* 'have' The orientation may be realized by a single sentence, as in example 3.1, or several sentences, as in example 3.2:

(3.1)

tùu núuŋ caa kʰaalai ʔaj kʰàm naasóon kʰam càj tʃʰii
day one have pt Ai Kham fish_trap trap do pt

One day Ai Kham went to trap fish. (AK 3)

(3.2)

kʰaatææ tsʰaaŋ caaŋ jèe
long_ago people have pt

kʰaatææ məʔ saam kʰùn aŋbaa aŋbooŋ aŋjàa nææ duŋ jèe
long_ago when three Clf mother father child npt live pt

tʰùugaa laagaanææ duŋ bàa sii bàa lææ kaa jèe
together together live neg quarrel neg fight pt pt

A long time ago there were these people. In the past there were three people—mother, father, and child—living together. They lived together without quarrelling or fighting.
(CW 2–4)

[21] "Orientation," as used here, corresponds to the "Aperture" and "Stage" portions of Longacre's narrative schema (1996: 36).

3.2.1.2 Inciting moment

Following the orientation, a single sentence comprises the "inciting moment." This is the point at which the action of the story truly begins. The participants mentioned in the orientation do something which, in comparison to the orientation, is not routine, and that singular action sets off the chain of events which is the story.

Example 3.3 follows the orientation stage of "The Cruel Widower." It is the pivotal event which makes the husband a widower and, in turn, a cruel person:

(3.3)

jào	bàa	mlàaŋ	sɯɯmə	cáa	aŋbaa	maŋ	ʃiin	pìi	tʃʰiijèe
then	neg	long_time	when	then	mother	Clf	die	pt	pt	pt

And then, not long thereafter, the mother died. (CW 5)

Similarly, example 3.4 follows the description of how the squirrel and turtle are good friends of the same age, and begins the chain of events which leads to the dissolution of the friendship and the death of the squirrel:

(3.4)

tɯ̀ɯ	nɯŋ	caalùŋ	hɔɔtʃʰén	maŋ	ʔùuhooŋ	maŋ	naʔ	tʃʰàaŋ
day	one	have	squirrel	Clf	turtle	Clf	ACC	invite
ʔææ	tʃʰii	jèe						
ascend	pt	pt						

One day the squirrel invited the turtle: (TS 3)

Inciting moments comprise the first sentence of pre–peak episodes (3.2.1.4), and serve, by definition, as episode boundaries (3.2.1.3). Thus, sentences containing inciting moments are coded under three categories.

3.2.1.3 Episode juncture

Sentences marking the juncture between one macrosection and another often have unique linguistic features (Longacre 1996: 37). Although any given episode juncture sentence would naturally be classified as part of the episode it initializes, an additional variable category was established to specifically mark these potentially unique clauses. Episode junctures typically involve any one of the following: change in time, change in location, change in participants.

Example 3.5 marks a juncture between the second and third pre–peak episode of "The Cruel Widower." The second episode describes the interaction between the widower and a potential new spouse, while the third episode involves the widower and his child, the next day, in the forest:

(3.5)

jào	tʰɯ̀ɯ	wàn	máa	aŋbooŋ	maŋ	aŋjàa	màaŋ	na?
then	one	day	after that	father	Clf	child	Clf	ACC
ʃòoŋkǒoŋ	sɯ̀ɯj		lææn	tʃʰii	jèe			
forest	go_together		pt	pt	pt			

One day after that the father took the child to the forest. (CW 12)

Similarly, in example 3.6, the focus of the story turns from the disappointment of turtle's children the previous evening to the turtle's solitary early–morning mission of revenge:

(3.6)

sootʰáa	bàa	plæ̌æn	húu	kap	haan	kʰam	lææ
early_morning	neg	light	before	trap	wrap and take	trap	pt
tʃʰii	jèe						
pt	pt						

The next morning before it was light (she) took a trap to trap. (TS 28)

As they begin new episodes or stages of their respective discourses, episode juncture sentences are coded under several categories, often including time, location, and place in the discourse.

3.2.1.4 Pre–Peak episodes

Pre–Peak episodes typically follow the orientation clause, and highlight the mounting tension of the story as the peak is approached. Pre–peak episodes typically display what could be termed the "normative" conventions of storytelling prior to the "turbulence" of the peak (Longacre 1996: 38).

In Bisu written folktales, pre–peak episodes are typically two to four sentences long, corresponding to pararagraphs.

The following example constitutes the second pre–peak episode of "The Cruel Widower." Whereas the first and third pre–peak episodes focus on the widower and his child, the second pre–peak episode features a conversation with a prospective spouse:

(3.7)

nikʰàm wàa aŋbooŋ maŋ kʰàabaa aŋsʉ̀ʉ gaa làæ siŋ jèe
this time this father Clf wife new pt pt pt pt

jào kʰàabaajàa tʰʉ̀ʉ maŋ na? hmjaaŋ caaj tʃʰii jèe
then female one Clf ACC see have pt pt

jào kʰàabaajàa màaŋ mâaj tʃʰii jèe jàakee maŋ aŋbooŋ
then female Clf telll pt pt child Clf father
maŋ na?
Clf ACC

naaŋ gaa na? gaa làa sʉʉŋ jâo naaŋ aŋjàa maŋ na? sæ̀æ
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child Clf ACC kill
pèe
IMP

> At this time, the father wanted a new wife. He met a woman. And then the woman told him—that person the father of the child: "If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 8–11)

3.2.1.5 Peak

Peak represents the climax of a story. Longacre (1996: 38) characterizes peak as a "zone of turbulence" in which many of the "normative" grammatical features seen in the pre–peak episodes suddenly seem to go awry. Longacre elaborates:

> Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at peak. Thus, the characteristic storyline tense/aspect may be substituted for by another tense/aspect. Alternately, the characteristic tense/aspect of the mainline of a discourse may be extended to unexpected uses at peak. Particles which elsewhere mark rather faithfully the storyline of a story may suddenly be absent. Routine participant reference may be disturbed. In brief, peak has features peculiar to itself and the marking of such features takes precedence over the marking of mainline, so that the absence of certain features or even analytical difficultires can be a clue that we are at the peak of a discourse (1996: 38).

Peak may be marked by rhetorical underlining, concentration of participants, heightened vividness (including a higher concentration of action verbs or a shift to dialogue), change of pace, change of vantage point and/or orientation, and incidence of particles and onomatopoeia (Longacre 1996: 39–48).

Example 3.8 comprises the peak of "Turtle and Squirrel." Aside from the climactic nature of the squirrel's death (resolving, from the standpoint of the turtle, a grave injustice), the sentences are quite long; indeed TS 67 represents something of a run–on–sentence. A great number of action verbs are piled one upon another, compressing a series of events that, in reality, would have taken several hours to accomplish. The squirrel is not mentioned in TS 67; rather, zero anaphora streamlines the sentence from unnecessary mention of the obvious patient.

(3.8)

ʔaŋʔan jóo kʰəə kan lææ cáŋ hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ kap
previous_place at arrive pt pt have squirrel Clf trap
jàaŋ gàaŋ sæ̀æ̀ læ̀æ̀ naowaa
that be afflicted die pt pt

ʔùuhooŋ maŋ pìitʰɔ̀ɔ cɯŋ aŋmúɯ pʰii kʰút jao juum
squirrel Clf fire_wood kindle body_hair burn scrape then house
kʰəə lɯ̀ɯ̀ jao tʰɔɔ bɯɯn tsèəŋ hmíiŋ jao kʰèəj ʃaaj
arrive return then chop fine cook finish then dish_out give
ʔæ̀æ̀ tʃʰii jèe
pt pt pt

At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died. The turtle set (the squirrel) on fire, then burnt and scraped off the body hair, then went back to the house, then chopped (the squirrel) up finely, then cooked it until it was done, then put it in a dish to give. (TS 33–34)

Example 3.9 contains the peak of "Orphan Children." Years earlier, the father, at the insistence of the evil stepmother, had abandoned his children in the forest. Unbeknownst to the parents, the children were taken in by a good–hearted rich couple. The parents eventually show up at the home of the rich couple, begging for rice. The children treat them kindly before revealing their identities. The overall pace of this peak is relatively slow, but the use of quotations heightens the vividness of the moment:

(3.9)

juum tʰàa həə háw taaj laa pìi jao hàaŋpʰəən
house upstairs at call ascend come pt then tray
caan lɯ̀ɯ̀ pìi tʃʰìi
prepare prepare pt pt

jao jèet mi haaŋ jèe
then both well, tell pt

baa wɛ̌ə booŋ wɛ̌ə tsàaj pao
mother pt father pt eat IMP

kʰɯ̀ɯ hɔ̀ɔnɯɯŋ jàaŋ náj hɛ́ɛməʔ tʰaw
dog steam in leaves this you_two in_past wrap
pì̀i laʔ tʃʰì̀i jàaŋ
pt pt pt pt

After that they called them to come up into the house, then they prepared a tray of food and took it out (to them). Then both of them said:"Mother dear, father dear, eat!" "Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us." (OR 28–31)

3.2.1.6 Peak′

Some texts contain an additional zone of peak–like features in post–peak position. The use of peak′ seems to be quite popular among Bisu storytellers, tying up loose ends of the discourse and bringing the narrative to a dramatic end. In some cases, peak′ has attributes of a denouement (lessening of tension), while in others the peak′ involves a sudden, final action or result.

Example 3.10 continues the story of the "Orphan Children," bringing the tale to a sudden, dramatic conclusion:

(3.10)

hæmæ kjàaj jao aŋbooŋ máa namlɛ́ɛw jèe nɯɯŋbaa
like that hear then father Clf finally pt heart
plaak ʃiin tʃʰii
break die pt

cáa aŋbaa aŋʃɯ̀ɯ máa hæmæ hmjaaŋ jao aŋwàj jèe
then mother new Clf like that see then quickly pt
juum ʔɔɔk həə pləək klaan lɯɯ tʃʰì̀i
house go out at jump fall pt pt

nɯɯŋtʃʰàa həə kʰəə kancàŋ nɯɯŋtʃʰàa jàaŋ plaak
earth at arrive that_time earth that break

la tʃʰii jèe
pt pt pt

cúut jèe aŋbaa aŋʃùu maŋ kaaj ææn tʃʰii
enter pt mother new Clf fall go pt

When he heard that, their father's heart broke and he immediately died. Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground. When she hit the ground the earth opened. The new mother fell into (the chasm). (OR 32–35)

Similarly, example 3.11, comprises the peak′ stage of "The Cruel Widower." At the story's peak, the widower's marriage proposal had been rejected. Coming to his senses, he attempts to save his child, an event related with a concentrated series of verbs in CW 43. The resulting unhappy ending is not uncommon in Bisu folktales.

(3.11)
hææŋ aŋboon maŋ kùt gaa làæ jao aŋwàj aŋkʰjaaŋ
after_that father Clf think pt pt then quickly quickly
ʃòoŋkŏoŋ jóo hùun lææn tʃʰii
forest at run pt pt

aŋjàa màaŋ naa hùun dùuj ʔook pooj lùu.
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay_out pt

jàaŋ aŋjàa màaŋ ʃiin tʃʰa jèe
that chld Clf die pt pt

After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest. He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (But) his child was already dead. (CW 21–23)

3.2.1.7 Post–Peak episodes

In those narratives not containing peak′, a more gradual descent from the climax is utilized, which, like peak′, represents something of a denouement.

In "Chengkoikoi," a man escapes from his spirit–captor (peak) and returns home to his wife, where, in a final episode, we learn of the magical powers of the spirit's gong. In the absence of this post–peak episode, the audience would be left wondering whether the instrument was truly capable of doing all that the spirit claimed:

(3.12)

jɔɔŋ juum wəə kʰàabaa maaŋ kɔɔŋ dɯŋ ʔææ tʃʰii
3ps house at wife Clf one live pt pt

cáa mɔɔjoŋ tʃʰék jèe
then gong strike pt

tʰɯ̀ɯkàm tʃʰék kʰàm ʔɔɔk
one time strike gold exit

tʰɯ̀ɯkàm tʃʰék pʰluu ʔɔɔk
one time strike silver exit

hæ̀æŋjèe caan laa tʃʰii
after that have pt pt

He went to his house he lived with his wife. Then he struck the gong. He struck it and gold came out. He struck it (the second time) and silver came out. After that, he was rich. (CK 39–43)

In "The Mischievous Boy," the main character is chased by a spirit (peak), which disappears when the boy runs (literally) into his father. Thereafter, in a post-peak episode, the boy is described as a changed person:

(3.13)

juum wəə kʰəə ʔææ jao jaaŋ miimæ̀æn laa tʃʰii jèe
house at arrive ascend then 3ps good pt pt pt

làaakaan plòoŋ bŭu jao jèe
work help do pt pt

When they returned to the house, then he was good. He helped with the work. (MB 30–31)

3.1.1.8 Conclusion

The conclusion in some way "wraps up" the discourse. This may be done in a number of ways. Example 3.14 is structurally similar to sentences in the orientation in describing the ongoing state of the reformed boy. Example 3.15 follows the peak of "The Swans and the Turtle," wherein the turtle falls from the sky and crashes into the face of a water buffalo with a great splat that splashes onto the arm of a herdsman, relating that event to the current human situation. Example 3.16 contains a typical moral.

(3.14)
hææŋ caajlaa pìi jao aŋbaa næ̀ʔ aŋbooŋ ʔɯɯm bàa
that_time since pt then mother and father group neg
ʔíi kaŋ jèe
scold pt pt

Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again. (MB 32)

(3.15)
jao kòopæætpææt nam ʔaamɯɯkʰéə
then armpit stinky up_to_this_time

Thus (our) armpits smell bad to this day. (ST 19)

(3.16)
kʰaatǽæ tsʰaaŋ wàa ʔup kaa ŋææ
long_ago people this speak pt pt

praa nîi wàa aŋbaa kùn naa tæ̀æn jèe
novice monk this this mother meritful_grace ACC repay pt

jào saatu nîi wàa aŋbooŋ kùn naa tæ̀æn jèe
then ordained_monk this this father merciful_grace ACC repay pt

hææŋjèe bìit^{h}àan kàmsɔɔn tæ̀æŋ
after_that fable teachings repay

ʔaŋluukʔ aŋlaan naʔ sɔɔn ŋææ
children grandchildren ACC teach pt

In the past, people said: The novice monk repays the meritful grace of his mother. And the ordained monk repays the meritful grace of his father. From this, repay the fable. Teach (your) children and grandchildren. (FM 14–18)

3.2.2 Transitivity

In their 1980 article, "Transitivity in grammar and discourse," Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson set out to expand and quantify the definition of transitivity. Underlying their "Transitivity Hypothesis" is the idea that some grammatical phenomena can be better explained by taking relative transitivity into account. This is especially the case with discourse, where various transitivity factors figure prominently in marking foreground and background material.

For Hopper and Thompson, transitivity can be empirically determined through examining the presence or absence of ten parameters, as shown in table 3.4:

Table 3.4. Categories of transitivity
(Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 252)

	High	Low
Participants	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
Kinesis	Action	Non–Action
Aspect	Telic	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	Non–punctual
Volitionality	Volitional	Non–volitional
Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
Mode	Realis	Irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non–individuated

These ten parameters enable researchers to evaluate degrees of transitivity, as opposed categorically stating that a sentence is transitive if it involves an affected object, intransitive if it does not. As Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) state:

> It is easy to show that each component of Transitivity involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another.

Just as different levels of transitivity would be expected to frequently correspond to certain English verb tenses, connections between transitivity and Bisu particle choice may be present. The remainder of this section, then, will expand upon Hopper and Thompson's parameters and their realization in the Bisu texts at hand.[22]

3.2.2.1 Participants

"No transfer at all can take place unless at least two participants are involved" (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). Thus, the parameter of participants is set in

[22] In multiclausal sentences, only the final clause receives a transitivity score, simply because preposed clauses rarely contain particles.

binary terms, with a "high" reading for two or more participants, low for one participant. Example 3.17 thus illustrates what could be termed a "maximally marked" sentence, with explicit agent and patients, that would receive a score of 1, while example 3.18, with only one participant, would receive a score of 0 for this parameter:

(3.17)

cáa ni kâm máa aŋboon maŋ aŋjàa jèet naa
then this occurrence that father Clf child both ACC
còoŋkǒoŋ aŋwèe ʃùuj tooj lææ tʃʰii jèe
forest far go_together release pt pt pt

Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them. (OR 15)

(3.18)

cáa aŋbaa aŋʃùu maŋ bææn tʃʰii jèe
then mother new Clf know pt pt

Then the new mother realized it. (OR 11)

Zero anaphora, a phenomenon common in many Southeast Asian languages, presents something of a challenge to this parameter. Hopper and Thompson (1980: 284) acknowledge this, and indicate that implicit reference should be counted as participants, inasmuch as "missing arguments may be supplied with no change in grammaticality." Thus, example 3.19 would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, inasmuch as the agent, the otter (last mentioned in the previous sentence), is clear from the discourse context:

(3.19)
ka?taj maŋ na? màan pa?nóɔ
rabbit Clf ACC tell pt

(The otter) told the rabbit: (AK 16)

3.2.2.2 Kinesis

Hopper and Thompson use kinesis to indicate whether the action "can be transferred from one participant to another" (1980: 252). Thus, example 3.20 would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.21, carrying a more stative sense, would receive a score of 0:

(3.20)
cáa kɔɔwææ hææŋ ʔɯɯn pʰɔ̀ɔj làææ tʃʰii jèe
then rice_head that shake scatter pt pt pt

And then he shook the rice heads over his body. (CK 22)

(3.21)
naasɔ́ɔn na? hmjaaŋ tʃʰii jèe
fish trap ACC see pt pt

(He) saw the fish trap. (AK 4)

3.2.2.3 Aspect

Actions which are viewed as having been completed are designated "telic," while those which are only partially completed or are in the process of being completed are considered "atelic." These terms roughly correspond to the notions of perfective and imperfective aspect. Example 3.22 thus would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.23, which reflects an ongoing action, would receive a score of 0:

(3.22)

hææŋjèe tʃʰææŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maaŋ lææn jao hùun ææn tʃʰii
after_that Chengkoik Clf pt then run pt pt

After Chengkoikoi had left, he ran away. (CK 38)

(3.23)

hǽæŋjèe aŋbaa maŋ tùu kʰùn nææ pɔɔ tʃʰii aŋjàa
after_that mother Clf one Clf watch care_for pt child
sɔɔŋ kʰùn na?
two Clf ACC

After that, the mother cared for (them)—the two children. (FM 6)

3.2.2.4 Punctuality

In defining punctuality Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) point out: "Actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are inherently on–going; contrast *kick* (punctual) with *carry* (non–punctual)." Example 3.24 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.25 would receive a score of 0:

(3.24)

bàa mlàaŋ jào kʰabaa maŋ ʃiin tʃʰii jèe
neg long time then wife Clf die pt pt

Not long thereafter the wife died. (OR 4)

(3.25)

jao aŋjàa aŋbooŋ nè? dɯŋ mlàaŋ ka tʃʰa jèe
then child father npt live long_time pt pt pt

Then the child and father lived together for a long time. (CW 6)

3.2.2.5 Volitionality

This parameter addresses the question of whether the agent was acting of his or her own accord—whether there was purpose in the action. Example 3.26 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.27, wherein the agent is clearly not purposefully carrying out the action, would receive a score of 0:

(3.26)

cáa ni kâm máa aŋbooŋ maŋ aŋjàa jèet naa
then this occurrence that father Clf child both ACC
còoŋkŏoŋ aŋwèe ʃùuj tɔɔj lææ tʃʰii jèe
forest far go_together release pt pt pt

Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them. (OR 15)

(3.27)

càawàa aŋbooŋ máa ʃiin pìi tʃʰii jèe
then father Clf die pt pt pt

But (their) father died. (FM 9)

3.2.2.6 Affirmation

This parameter serves to distinguish affirmative from negative sentences. Example 3.28 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.29 would receive a score of 0:

(3.28)

hɔɔtʃʰén ʔɯɯ aŋjàa ʔŭɯ na jɔɔŋ sùɯŋ kaa tsàan
squirrel group child group ACC 3pp go_together pt eat
tʃʰii jèe
pt pt

That group of squirrel children, they ate together. (TS 35)

(3.29)

jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùʉj kaa lʉʉ lææ tɔɔ kaa jèe

child Clf both well, neg go_together pt pt pt pt pt pt

The two children were unable to return together. (OR 16)

3.2.2.7 Mode

This parameter distinguishes between realis and irrealis actions. The latter would seem to overlap with negative sentences (3.2.2.6 affirmation), but also include future projections. Example 3.30 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.31 would receive a score of 0.

(3.30)

tsʰalàa màaŋ hǽæŋjèe ŋææm lææ pìi tʃʰìi

tiger Clf after_that look_upwards pt pt pt

After that the tiger looked upwards. (TD 21)

(3.31)

cìikùu cák ʔɔɔk pìi jao saaŋ tsàa nææ

thorn pull exit pt then short_time eat pt

hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ máa joojjèe

"(I) will pull the thorn out and soon thereafter will eat." (But this intent was frustrated) (TD 22)

3.2.2.8 Agency

By agency, Hopper and Thompson mean the degree to which a participant is able to carry out an action. Thus, non–animate subjects would be considered low in agency. Example 3.32, containing an animate subject, would thus receive a score of 1, while example 3.33, containing an non–animate subject , would receive a score of zero:

(3.32)

cáa hǽæŋjèe hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ màaŋ mʉʉ lakʰʉ̆ʉ jàaŋ
then after_that deer Clf well, foot that
jóok lææ tʃʰii
lift pt pt

After that, the deer lifted his foot up. (TD 20)

(3.33)

jaaŋ laʔkáa həə aŋtoo aŋhʉ̀ʉ æ̀æn jaʔ jèe
3ps in_front_of at self large both pt pt

All the large (fish) were in front of her. (CO 12)

3.2.2.9 Affectedness of object

This parameter refers to the degree to which an action has been carried out on the object. It addresses the question of whether the object was totally or only partially affected by the actions of the agent. Example 3.34 would thus receive a score of 1, while example 3.35 would receive a score of 0:

(3.34)

lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ ɔɔŋ tsàa kʰoo pìi tʃʰii jèe
fish enter eat completely pt pt pt

(He) ate all the fish completely. (AK 6)

(3.35)

laŋʃjaam maŋ naasɔ́ɔn klaw hmjaaŋ lʉ̀ʉjào
otter Clf fish trap inside see and_then
laŋʃjaam maŋ naʔ naan tʃʰii jèe
otter Clf ACC ask pt pt

And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter: (AK 11)

3.2.2.10 Individuation of O

This parameter simultaneously refers to "both the distinctness of the patient from the A[gent]...and to it's distinctiveness from it's own background" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 253). The following characteristics clarify this concept:

Table 3.5. Components of individuation
(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253)

Individuated	Non–individuated
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non–referential

Under this criterion, example 3.36 would receive a score of 1, while example 3.37 would receive a score of 0:

(3.36)

hikʰàm ka?taj maŋ lamaaj tu lùm gaaj jào tɯ̀ɯ
that_time rabbit Clf stick one Clf get then one
sɔɔk jèe mɔɔŋ ŋææ
forearm pt length pt

At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a forearm's length. (AK 22)

(3.37)

laaŋ ʃaa taŋ lɯɯ jào
water search for drink pt pt

(He) came looking for water. (AK 10)

Bisu's abundant use of zero anaphora would seem to present something of a challenge to this parameter. Nonetheless, since the identification of the absent object is always clear from context, sentences like example 3.38, where the husband is the victim of both an evil spirit and zero anaphora, would receive a score of 1.

(3.38)

cáa	hææmææhaaj	lææ tamlææ		t^{h}àalææ
then	like_that	go	continue	and_then
$t\int^{h}$ææŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj	maŋ	$t\int^{h}$uu	buun	$t\int^{h}$ii jèe
Chengkoikoi	Clf	grab	take	pt pt

And as (they) were going along like that, then Chengkoikoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took (him) away. (CK 5)

3.2.3 Sentence complexity

Clive McClelland's 1996 dissertation on Tarifit oral discourse suggested possible correspondences between clause structure and various prosodic features. Similarly, sentence complexity could have an impact upon particle selection; more complex sentences might require more complex particle clusters.

For this reason, all the sentences in the Bisu folktale corpus were sorted according to the number of clauses contained in each sentence (excluding relative clauses). All the Bisu conjunctions (including zero) employed in joining the clauses were entered into the database in order to determine the frequency with which each conjunction was used. On this basis, further examination of the relationship between sentence complexity and particle usage was carried out.

3.2.4 Quote/non–quote material

Quoted material in Bisu narratives often behaves differently from non–quoted material in terms of particle usage. For this reason, a quote/non–quote category was established, likewise comprising a binary coding for each sentence.

3.2.5 Experiencer/non–experiencer

Bisu exhibits a basic evidential system, indicating whether the speaker was personally involved in the events being related. For this reason, an experiencer/non–experiencier category was established, comprising a binary coding for each particle. The elicited sentence in example 3.39 displays the speech of an experiencer (the speaker speaking about himself), while example 3.40 relates the same event from the vantage of a non–experiencer (speaker reporting information about someone else):

(3.39)

gaa	wit^{h}aajuu	jàaŋ	kàaŋ	tʃ^{h}ii
1ps	radio	it	break	pt

My radio, it broke.

(3.40)

somt^{h}ʃaj	wit^{h}aajuu	jàaŋ	kàaŋ	tʃ^{h}ii	jèe
Somchai	radio	it	break	pt	pt

Somchai's radio, it broke.

3.3 Cloze Exercise

As a further test of the degree to which language community consensus might exist on particle usage, a cloze exercise was developed. A total of 100 particle clusters were replaced with blank spaces in three folktales, "Ai Kham," "Poor Boy,"

and "Turtle and Squirrel." Literate Bisu volunteers were then asked to "fill in the blanks." Several volunteers did not completely fill out the instrument, while several others worked cooperatively on the project. Results from the remaining five valid cloze exercises were transferred to a spreadsheet and discussed at length with Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, the main language assistant for this project.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results drawn from application of the methodology outlined in chapter three, coupled with information gleaned from discussions with native speakers.

The first major portion of this chapter, section 4.1, presents an overview of particle usage in the written folktale corpus. Thereafter, 4.1.1 discusses the frequency with which particles occur in the corpus, while 4.1.2 provides an inventory of folktale particles. In 4.1.3, a degree of contrast is drawn between particles which appear only in isolation, those which only occur in particle clusters, and those which may appear in either context. 4.1.4 highlights the relatively few sentences which do not contain particles, seeking plausible reasons for their absence. 4.1.5 comprises an overview of transitivity rankings throughout the thirteen folktales, providing a framework for interpreting transitivity scores. Similarly, 4.1.6 takes a "big picture" perspective on multiclausal sentences and their particles.

The middle sections of this chapter feature profiles of individual particles, highlighting, among other things, their semantic connotations, discourse roles, and transitivity associations. For organizational ease, the particles which see the most frequent use and have the heaviest functional loads are profiled in 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, while less used particles are grouped in 4.5.

The final section of this chapter compares particle usage in the written folktales, the life stories, and the expository texts, demonstrating the co–dependent relationship between text type and particle usage.

A synthesis of these results is presented in chapter five, while a summary chart of the particles found in the folktales is provided as an appendix.

4.1 Overview of particle usage

4.1.1 Particle frequency

The vast majority of sentences in Bisu written folktales contain final particles. The thirteen folktales at hand contain 384 sentences, 338 (88.02%) of which contain particles.[23] This high proportion of particle-containing sentences is found throughout the data, whether one is examining quotation sentences, audience–directed sentences (commands and explicit story morals), or non–quotation sentences, as shown in table 4.1:

Table 4.1. Particle frequency in the 13 written folktales

Sentence contents	Number of sentences	Number of sentences containing particles	Percent of sentences containing particles
Quotation	85	73	85.88%
Audience–directed	6	5	83.33%
Non–quotation	293	260	88.74%
Total	384	338	88.02%

[23] For purposes of this dissertation, percentages are expressed as pure numerical values (rather than being rounded up)

Table 4.2. Number of particles contained in particle containing sentences

#particles/ sentence	Quote	%	Non–quote	%	Audience –directed	%	Total	%Total
0	12	14.12%	33	11.26%	1	16.67%	46	11.98%
1	31	36.47%	93	31.74%	1	16.67%	125	32.55%
2	32	37.65%	98	33.45%	3	50.00%	133	34.64%
3	8	9.41%	58	19.80%	1	16.67%	67	17.45%
4	2	2.35%	10	3.41%	0	0.00%	12	3.13%
5	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
6	0	0.00%	1	0.34%	0	0.00%	1	0.26%
Total	85	100.00%	293	100.00%	6	100.00%	384	100.00%

Examples 4.1–4.6 illustrate maximal and minimal particle configurations:

(4.1)

jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùuj kaa luu lææ
child Clf both well, neg go_together pt pt pt
tɔɔ kaa jèe
pt pt pt

The two children were unable to return together. (OR 16)

(4.2)

hææŋ aŋjàa tùu kʰùn màaŋ na? wàt duŋ
that child one Clf Clf ACC temple live
lææ pi tʃʰii jèe
pt pt pt pt

And caused the other child to live in the temple. (FM 9)

(4.3)

cáa aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lùu tʃʰii jèe
then child Clf release pt pt pt

Then the child released him to go. (CK 18)

(4.4)

ʔoo laŋʃjaam naʔ maa ʃiin tʃʰáʔ máʔ
Ooh! otter ACC Clf die pt pt

"Ooh—this otter is dead already!" (AK 27)

(4.5)

aŋjàa tʰɨ̀ɨ̀ màaŋ gá jèe
child one Clf get pt

They had one child (CK 8)

(4.6)

tʰɨ̀ɨ̀ kàm tʃʰə́k kʰàm ʔɔɔk
one time strike gold exit

(He) struck it and gold came out. (CK 41)

4.1.2 Particle distribution

As shown on table 4.3, the written Bisu folktales at hand contain seventy–five distinct sentence final particles, occurring a total of 624 times. In looking over the number of times that each particle is actually employed, however, it becomes readily apparent that only a small number of particles occur with great regularlity. Indeed, only nine particles are used more than ten times. These nine particles together are used 459 times, thus accounting for 73.56% of all particle occurrences.

Table 4.3. Particles contained in the thirteen written folktales

Particle	# Occurrences	% of total sent (384)	% sent w/part (338)	% of total particles (624)
jèe	171	44.53%	50.59%	27.40%
tʃʰii	148	38.54%	43.79%	23.72%
lææ	44	11.46%	13.02%	7.05%
ŋææ	22	5.73%	6.51%	3.53%
kaa1	18	4.69%	5.33%	2.88%
pìi	15	3.91%	4.44%	2.40%
làæ1	14	3.65%	4.14%	2.24%
paanɔ̀ɔ	14	3.65%	4.14%	2.24%
lùu1	13	3.39%	3.85%	2.08%
nææ	9	2.34%	2.66%	1.44%
naowaa	8	2.08%	2.37%	1.28%
kaa2	7	1.82%	2.07%	1.12%
tʃʰá?	7	1.82%	2.07%	1.12%
?ææ	6	1.56%	1.78%	0.96%
laa1	6	1.56%	1.78%	0.96%
laa4	6	1.56%	1.78%	0.96%
laŋkaa	6	1.56%	1.78%	0.96%
làæ2	6	1.56%	1.78%	0.96%
jàa1	5	1.30%	1.48%	0.80%
laa2	5	1.30%	1.48%	0.80%
laa3	5	1.30%	1.48%	0.80%
coo	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
jàa2	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
já?	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
jaa3	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
jóo	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
kʰaalaj	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
lùu2	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
má?	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
pèe	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
pjaadèe	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
tɔɔ	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
wa?	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
pao	3	0.78%	0.89%	0.48%
cáa	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
làw	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
nɔ̀ɔ	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
paanaa	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
poonoo	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
tʃʰii2	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
?àahaa	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
gaa1	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
jao	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
ŋá?	2	0.52%	0.59%	0.32%
?íi	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
càan	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
gaa2	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
hææ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
jào	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
kanna	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
kʰaa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
kʰu	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
kjàap	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
lá?	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
lá?	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
lá?waa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
láa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
laaj	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
laalá?	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
laalàæ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
laaŋ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
loo	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
làwlææ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
maamaa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
mææ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
náocá	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
naa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
pá?lææ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
paaná?	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
paaŋadèo	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
pláæ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
poj	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
siŋ	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%
ʃeewàa	1	0.26%	0.30%	0.16%

4.1.3 Particle cluster ordering

As mentioned in 4.1.1, any given Bisu sentence may contain up to six particles. The basic order of these clusters is illustrated in figure 4.1[23]:

[23] Additional information about each of the particles listed in figure 4.1 will be provided later in the dissertation.

Joint Action	Motion Component	Intensifi-cation	"give" construction	Ability	Aspectual Core (Declarative Sentences)		Evidential	Emphasis	Negative Benefit	End Quote Marker
kaa2	læ	læ1	pìi	kaa1	ŋææ	stative				nææ
"together"	downward/	repeated	causative/	state/ability	tʃʰii	completive	jèe	má?	jaa2	
	southernly	action	purposive/		tʃʰiijaa1	completive		mæ		
laŋka?	luu	læ2	permissive	gaa1kaa1	jaa1	completive		caa		
"together"	"come out"/	emphasis		ability	laa1	completive				
	quote form.				tʃʰá?	emphatic comp.				
		laa4		tɔɔkaa1	panɔɔ	completive				
		benefactive		inability	laa1panɔɔ	completive				
					naowaa	repeated episode				
					kʰaalaj	existential mkr				
					?æ	affirmative mkr				

Figure 4.1. Basic order of particle cluster components in the written folktales.

4.1.4 Particles in isolation

Relatively few particles may occur in isolation (that is, without any accompanying particles). Fewer still occur only in isolation. The particles which may occur in isolation, and the number of times in which they occur in isolation relative to their total number of occurrences, are listed in table 4.4:

Table 4.4. Particles which may occur in isolation

Particle	Isolated occurrences	Isolated occurrences in quotes	% Isolated occurrences in quotes	Total occurrences	% Occurrences in isolation
kanna	1	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
kʰaalaj	3	0	0.00%	3	100.00%
láʔwaa	1	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
láa	1	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
laaj	1	0	0.00%	1	100.00%
laaláʔ	1	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
nɔ̀ɔ	2	2	100.00%	2	100.00%
poj	1	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
ŋææ	17	8	47.06%	22	77.27%
pao	1	1	100.00%	2	50.00%
paanɔ̀ɔ	6	0	0.00%	14	42.86%
jàal	2	2	100.00%	5	40.00%
jèe	57	0	0.00%	171	33.33%
jóo	1	1	100.00%	3	33.33%
lɯ̀ɯ2	1	1	100.00%	3	33.33%
pèe	1	1	100.00%	3	33.33%
pjaadèe	1	1	100.00%	3	33.33%
waʔ	1	1	100.00%	3	33.33%
laal	1	1	100.00%	6	16.67%
tʃʰii	18	1	5.56%	148	12.16%
nææ	1	0	0.00%	9	11.11%
lɯ̀ɯl	1	0	0.00%	13	7.69%
kaal	1	0	0.00%	18	5.56%

Table 4.4 reveals that twenty–three particles occur in isolation a total of 121 times. Eight of these occur only in isolation, while the remaining fifteen may occur in isolation or as part of a particle cluster. Fourteen of the twenty–three particles occur in isolation only in quotations. Indeed, when *jèe* and *tʃʰii* are removed from consideration, the vast majority of particle–in–isolation–containing–sentences are seen to be quotations.

4.1.5 Sentences that do not contain particles

This corpus contains forty–six particle–less sentences. Eleven of these are titles. Twelve are quotations, with one mild audience–directed command to carry out the moral of the story, as shown in example group 4.7:

(4.7)

FM	17	From this, repay the fable.
AK	12	"You there—What are you doing in the trap?"
AK	13	"In a minute, the owner will come—then what will you do?"
AK	17	"Then what should I do?"
CK	27	"Why is it like this?"
PB	3	"Oh! I'm so poor——what am I going to do?"
FS	14	"What's happening?"
DB	16	"Who said Kajcong chicken and Puutshaa chicken?"
PB	19	"In the gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"
PB	43	"The gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"
PB	37	"This (will) rot."
TD	13	"This thorn—It's been here about a year"
TD	18	"Then, if you are going to eat me, you're welcome to do so."

The lack of final particles in the remaining twenty–two sentences (example 4.8) can be explained on the basis of discourse features. Twelve of the particle–less sentences (CK 41, CK 42, CO 24, CW 20, PB 47, DB 18, DB 19, ST 12, ST 13, ST 14, ST 17, ST 18, ST 19) occur in the last few lines of their respective discourses, often reflecting a final suspense. Five of the particle–less sentences (AK 10, DB 2,

DB 3, DB 4, DB 5, DB 7, DB 8) involve introductions (although all of the other folktales utilized particles of some sort in the orientation section). PB 31 may lack a particle because of its context in a familiar series of agricultural actions; that is, the story might have been slowed down had the author "cluttered" the series with particles. Similarly, DB 12 repeats the action of a previous sentence and leads into the peak of the story.

One sentence, OR 25, may lack a particle for cultural reasons. The verb meaning 'beg for rice' is packed with strong emotion. Many Bisu, age twenty–five and older, have told terrible stories of routinely wandering from village to village begging for rice, inasmuch as they themselves had little arable land, subsisting primarily on what they could forage from the nearby jungle. They were often subjected to much verbal abuse while begging, being taunted as "filthy mountain people." All of the Bisu life histories collected to this point have included extensive, shame–filled descriptions of this aspect of the group's history. Perhaps, then, this is a case of "Isn't a word enough?'; that is, the mere mention of this word draws forth such strong emotion that no additional amplification or clarification of the type usually supplied by particles is needed.

(4.8)

AK 10 (He) came looking for water
CK 6 Then that woman was afraid and went back to the village
CK 41 He struck it and gold came out.
CK 42 He struck it (the second time) and silver came out.
CO 24 The moral of this story:
CW 20 The woman, well, after that did not take him.
DB 4 Mr. Kiew was deaf.
DB 5 Mr. Paw was blind.
DB 7 At Uncle Kaew's house, Mr. Khiew was the one responsible for grabbing the chicken.
DB 8 Mr. Paw was the one responsible for telling (him where to grab).
DB 12 Then he went back and asked again.

DB 18 Mr. Khiew ran away.
DB 19 Mr. Paw fled underneath the house
OR 25 After that, she took her husband to go beg for rice to eat.
PB 31 Truly (he) cleared a hillfield.
PB 47 Dead.
ST 12 When he opened his mouth, he fell down
ST 13 The the buffalo looked upwards.
ST 14 All the buffalo in the herd lifted their heads and looked
ST 17 To this day, water buffalo don't have upper teeth.
ST 18 The turtle's shell was completely crushed and excrement of the turtle fell on the upper arm of that person
ST 19 Thus (our armpits) smell bad to this day.

4.1.6 Transitivity ranking: a framework for interpretation

As discussed in chapter three, transitivity ranking has been adopted as one method for "teasing out" the meaning of particles in context. Sentences receive transitivity scores ranging from 0–10, depending on the transitivity factors discussed in 3.2.2. On that basis, an effort is made to associate certain particles with different levels of transitivity.

The purpose of this section, then, is to provide an overview of transitivity scores in the written folktales such that the significance of the transitivity discussions relative to each individual particle will be more readily apparent.

Of the 384 sentences in the written folktale corpus, 288 (75%) received transitivity rankings. Those not ranked include quotations and title sentences, neither of which actually involve action and are thus, by definition, low in transitivity.

The average transitivity score for all 288 sentences is 5.839, with the median score standing at 6.0. Nonetheless, the individual sentence scores do not arrange themselves into a neat bell curve; rather, a two–peaked form emerges as sentences garnering scores of 3 and 6 occur forty–one and forty–nine times, respectively (figure 4.2):

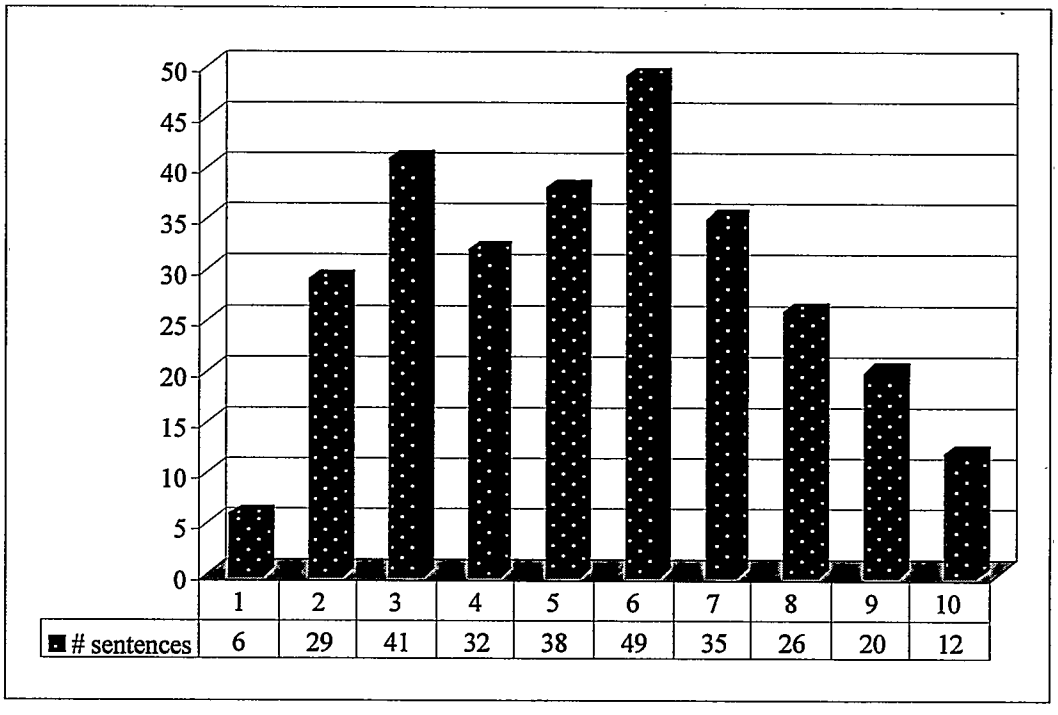

Figure 4.2. Overview of transitivity scores in the written folktales.

Ensuing sections will reveal which particles are most likely to occur at the 6 and 3 junctures. Until then, figure 4.2 will serve as a guideline for characterizing the average transitivity scores of individual particles as high (6 and above), mid (4–5), or low (1–3).

4.1.7 Multiple clauses and particles: a framework for interpretation

Sentences containing more than one clause pose something of a challenge for the interpretation of sentence final particles. Only rarely does a sentence final particle occur at the conclusion of preposed clause. Does the sentence final particle cluster then modify the entire sentence, or only the most recent of the clauses?

To address this question, all of the sentences in the written folktale corpus were coded for the number of clauses which they contain. Multiclausal sentences were further categorized on the basis of how the respective clauses are joined.

Out of a total of 384 sentences, seventy–two contained multiple clauses (18.75%). The distribution of multiple clauses in quote and non–quote sentences, as well as the instruments used to join the clauses, are displayed in table 4.5.[24]

[24] The shades of meaning of the conjunctions in figure 4.5 have not yet been determined. Bisu language assistants consistently glossed all of these conjunctions with the same Thai word.

		jao	zero	luu jao	caa	lae jao	laa jao	jao hlao jao	jao jaa	kan lææ cáŋ	làaŋj ao	laa jee	lææw	Total
Non-Quotes	# occurrences	27	5	6	4	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	50
	% occurrences	54.00%	10.00%	12.00%	8.00%	6.00%	4.00%	2.00%	2.00%	2.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Quotes	# occurrences	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	21
	% occurrences	66.67%	19.05%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.76%	4.76%	4.76%	100.00%
Total	# occurrences	41	9	6	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	71
	% occurrences	57.75%	12.68%	8.45%	5.63%	4.23%	2.82%	1.41%	1.41%	1.41%	1.41%	1.41%	1.41%	100.00%

Figure 4.5. Breakdown of multiple clause occurrence and conjunction usage

As shown in table 4.5, the vast majority of multi–clausal sentences utilize *jao* 'and then' to join clauses. *jao*–containing sentences usually involve temporal succession (examples 4.9, 4.10), although conditionality may also be implied (examples 4.11, 4.12).[25]

(4.9)

kasəəj	ʔɯɯ	ləək	kʰoo	jào	pʰluu	jàaŋ	han
monkey	group	finish	completely	then	silver	that	take
ææn	tʃʰii						
ascend	pt						

When the group of monkeys had all left, then he took the silver and left. (PB 22)

(4.10)

hǽʔmǽʔ	mâaj	jao	aŋbooŋ	maŋ	ʃiin	tʃʰii	jèe
like_that	tell	then	father	Clf	die	pt	pt

When he told (him) that, then the father died. (FS 10)

(4.11)

naaŋ	gaa	naʔ	gaa	làa	sɯɯŋ	jâo	naaŋ	aŋjàa	maŋ	naʔ	sæ̀æ
2ps	1ps	ACC	pt	pt	pt	then	2ps	child	Clf	ACC	kill
pèe											
IMP											

"If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 11)

[25] When pressed to include some sort of overt 'if' word in a sentence, Bisu language assistants invariably borrow the Thai/Northern Thai equivalent, *tʰaa*. Bisu language assistants consistently included *tʰaa* in their written Thai translations of sentences such as TD 15.

(4.12)

gá hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ nii màŋ na? tsàaj jao cìikùu ní? tʃʰa
1ps deer this Clf ACC eat then thorn this this
maa gaa mànpɔɔŋ næ? núɯŋtʃûɯ nú tʃʰao laaŋ jáaŋ
lf 1ps mouth and neck this pierce pt pt

"If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck." (TD 15)

The second most used joining device is no device; the lack of any conjunction generally indicates temporal succession (much as was the case with like *jao*–containing sentences) as shown in examples 4.13 and 4.14:

(4.13)

jàojàa juum pʰàolɯɯj kʰàabaajàa màaŋ na?
and_then house return female Clf ACC
mâaj lɯɯ tʃʰii
tell pt pt

And then (he) returned home and told the woman. (CW 14)

(4.14)

ʃii kææ̀kæ̀æ kasəəj muulɔŋ jàaŋ lɯ̀ɯn tʃʰii jèe cáa
die act monkey group that come pt pt pt

(When he) went and acted like he had died, that group of monkeys indeed came. (PB 11)

The question as to whether sentence final particles related to all or only one of the clauses in a multiclausal sentence will be addressed in the context of the particle profiles, and summarized in chapter 5.

4.1.8 Place in the discourse

As mentioned in chapter three, all the sentences in the written folktales were coded for the point in the discourse in which they occurred. The purpose of this

section is to provide an overview of how transitivity, the use of multiple clauses, and the use of quotations relate to each stage of discourse development.

4.1.8.1 Particles per sentence

As mentioned in 4.1.1, Bisu sentences may take up to six sentence final particles. Nonetheless, the number of particles likely to be taken by any given sentence is somewhat constrained by place in the discourse. As shown in figure 4.3, sentences in pre–peak episodes are more likely to take a larger number of particles than are sentences at other stages. This is not surprising; the orientation and conclusion stages contain few actions, and thus few particles. Peak, peak′, and postpeak all are rather dramatic, and the tendency for fewer particles to occur in those places than are found in pre–peak episodes is consistent with the "variation in length of units" Longacre (1996: 36) links to peak. The prepeak episodes, by contrast, do not come under the same demand for dramatic energy, resulting in a more gradual building of the background from which the sudden energy of the peak is launched.

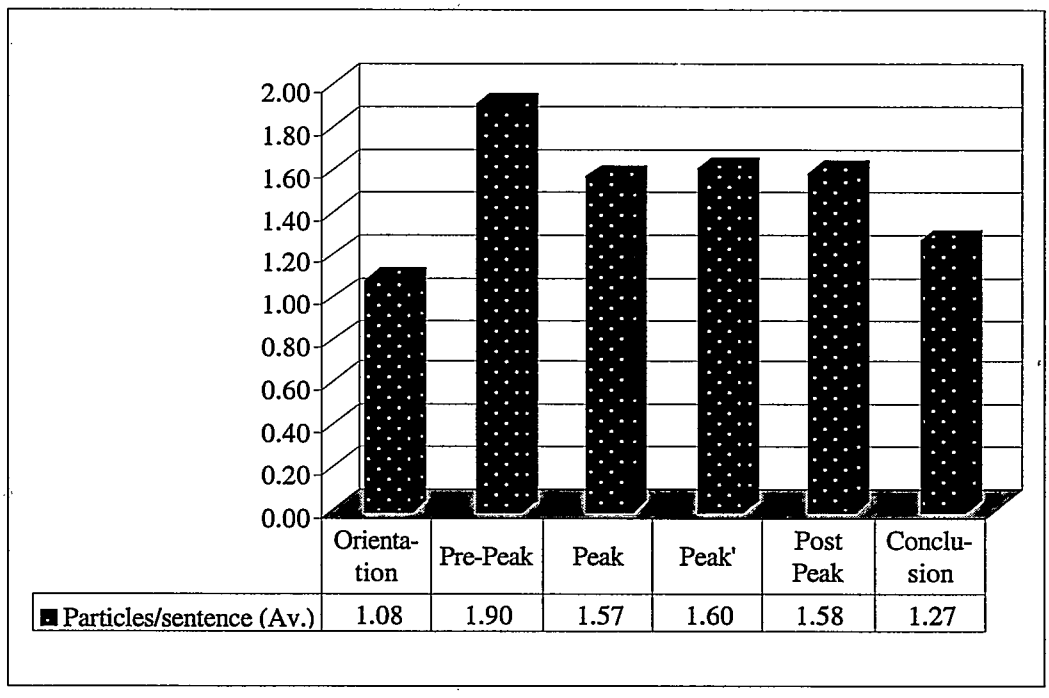

Figure 4.3. Average number of particles per sentence relative to place in the discourse.

4.1.8.2 Transitivity

In comparing the average transitivity of sentences at each point in the discourse, several patterns emerge (figure 4.4). Sentences in the orientation stage are the lowest in transitivity. This is not unexpected, given the fact that orientations usually involve a number of stative verbs, with no appreciable action. Transitivity scores are much higher, as the events of the story unfold. It is somewhat surprising to find peak transitivity scores just slightly higher than those of pre–peak episodes. Peak′, as expected, shows very high transitivity, something which definitely fits the tendency of peak and peak′ stages to contain much concentrated action. Post–peak episodes taper off to near peak levels, while conclusions, as expected, fall to near orientation levels.

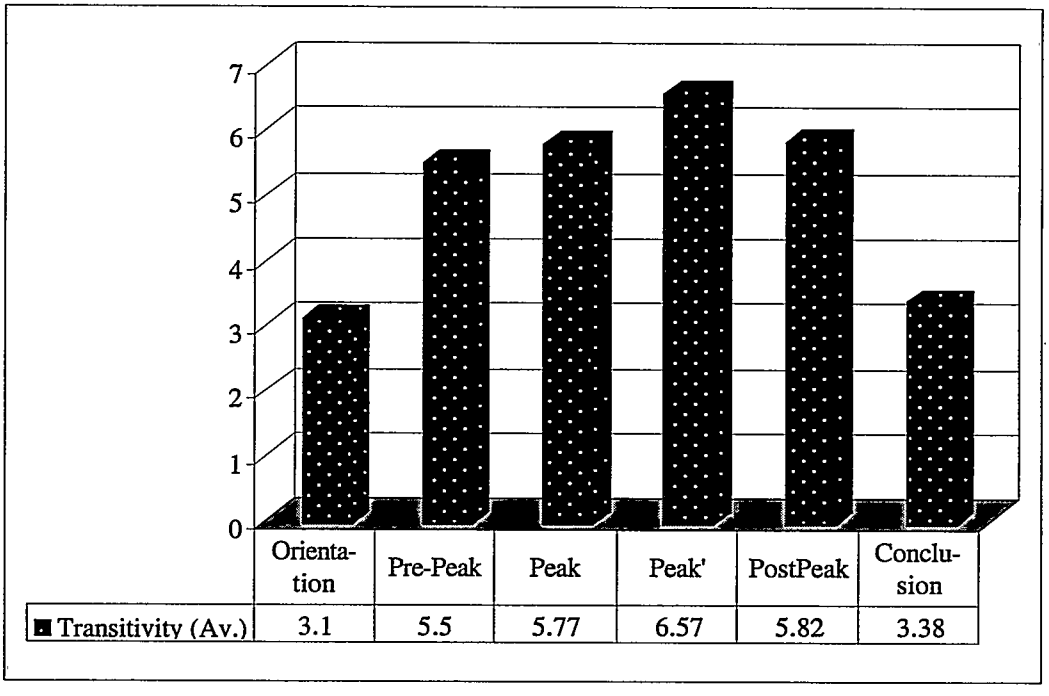

Figure 4.4. Transitivity scores relative to point in the discourse.

4.1.8.3 Multiple clauses

The use of multiple clauses in Bisu folktales would appear to correspond quite directly to the rate at which story's action is taking place. As seen in figure 4.5, the corpus contains no multiple clauses in the orientation stage. By contrast, nearly 15% of pre–peak episode sentences contain multiple clauses. At peak, that figure jumps to 20% of all sentences, with nearly half of all peak′ sentences containing multiple clauses.[26]

[26] For purposes of this dissertation, sentences containing serial verbs are not automatically considered "multiclausal." Multiclausal sentences must contain two distinct clauses, either in juxtaposition or connected by one of the devices mentioned in 4.1.6.

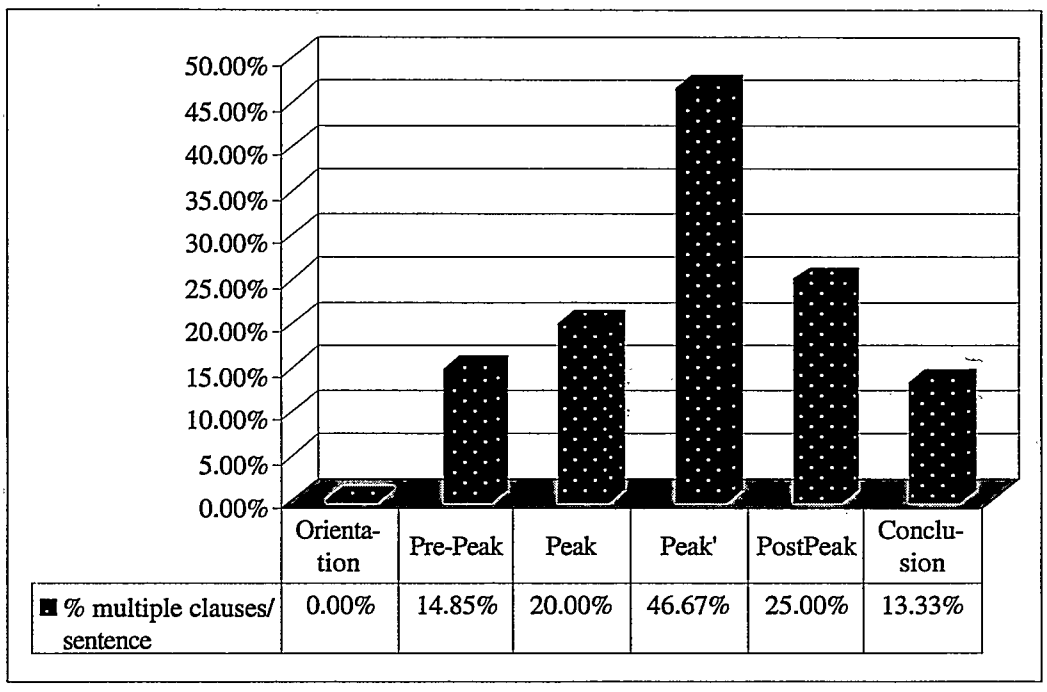

Figure 4.5. Multiple clauses relative to point in the discourse.

It is interesting to compare figures 4.5 and 4.3. While pre–peak episodes contain an average of 1.9 particles per sentence, the highest of all the discourse stages, they contain relatively few multiple clauses. The peak, peak′, and post peak stages, by contrast, contain an average of 1.57, 1.60, and 1.58 particles per sentence, but contain many multiclausal sentences.

The implication is that mere presence of more than one clause in a sentence does not indicate that the sentence is likely to have more particles than a monoclausal sentence. In addition, it would appear that Bisu prefers complex sentences in the especially dramatic points in a story. This corresponds to Longacre's contention that sentences may be either dramatically lengthened or shortened at peak and, by implication, peak′, which often displays peak–like features (1996: 38, 43).

4.1.8.4 Quote/non–quote material

As shown in figure 4.6, quotations make up a comparable portion of pre–peak episodes, peak, and peak′. This indicates that, while quotations may be utilized to heighten vividness in peak and peak′ with a shift to dialogue (Longacre 1996: 42), their mere presence does not indicate peak. It is nonetheless interesting to note quotation formulae are often absent at peak and peak′, as will be discussed further in 4.4.12 and 4.4.13.

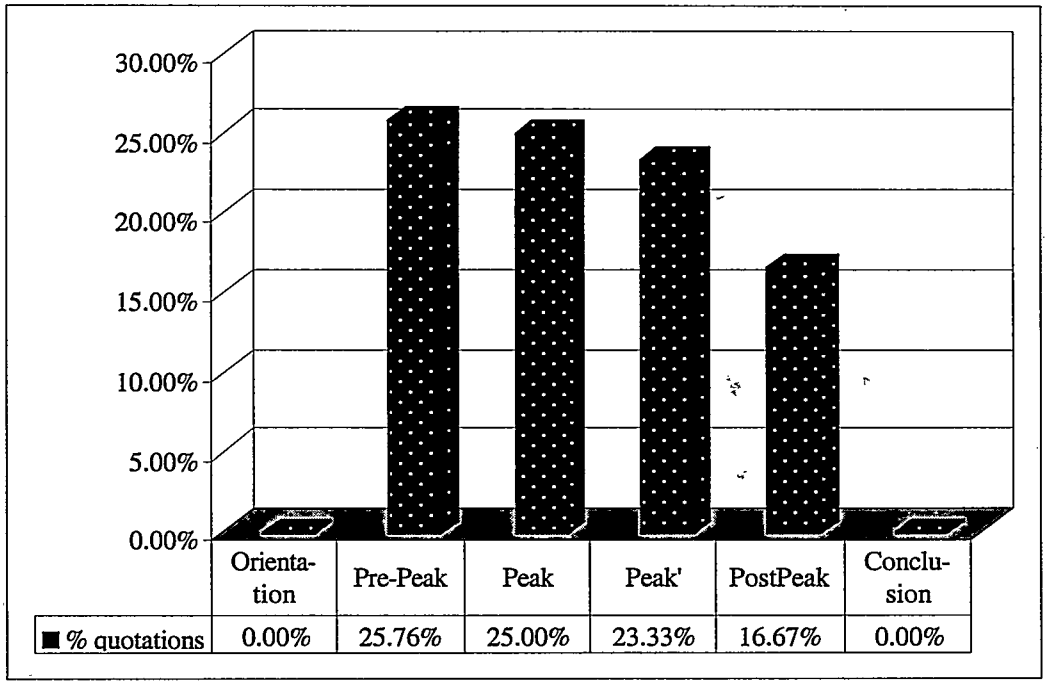

Figure 4.6. Occurrence of quotations relative to point in the discourse.

4.2 The principal particles: *tʃʰii* and *jèe*

The two most–frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales are *tʃʰii* (148 occurrences) and *jèe* (171 occurrences). One of these two particles is present

in 36.2% of all sentences in the corpus, 41.1% of all particle–containing sentences, and 49.2% of all particle–containing non–quotation sentences. These particles are often used together, co–occurring as *tʃʰiijèe* in 23.4% of all sentences, 26.6% of all particle–containing sentences, and 34.6% of all particle–containing non–quotation sentences in the corpus of written folktales.

These particles see much less use in everyday Bisu conversation than they do in written folktales, with *jèe* being used less frequently than *tʃʰii*. This is reflected in the quotation–containing sentences in the folktales; *tʃʰii* occurs eleven times in eighty–eight quotations (12.5%), while *jèe* never occurs in a quotation. In addition, on a forty–five sentence grammar questionnaire utilized early in this research, native speaker's usage of these particles differed greatly; one respondent wrote *tʃʰii* fourteen times and *jèe* seventeen times, while another used *tʃʰii* nine times and never used *jèe*. Beaudouin (1991a: 6), in his otherwise thorough work, classifies *tʃʰii* as an "aspective particle....for the past," but does not even mention *jèe*.[27]

These facts cry out for an intense investigation into *tʃʰii* and *jèe* in all their manifestations. The ensuing pages, then, will examine the overall nature of *tʃʰii* and *jèe*, as well as their functions in co–occurrence with one other, in co–occurrence with other particles, and in isolation.

4.2.1 *tʃʰii* (*tʃʰii* ~ *tʃʰìi* ~ *tʃʰi*) completive aspect (overall)

tʃʰii is one of the most frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales. Its 148 occurrences encompass 38.5% of all sentences in the corpus and 43.8% of all

[27] Similarly Xu (1998, 1999) does not list anything corresponding to *jèe* in her treatment of "auxiliary words." She does, however, list *tɕí* as a "sentential auxiliary word" indicating a declarative sentence (1999: 58), but does not include it in her list of aspectual markers (several of which have no equivalent in Thai Bisu). On the basis of Xu's analysis and examples, it is difficult to ascertain whether the Chinese Bisu *tɕí* and the Thai Bisu *tʃʰii* are related. This is not suprising; significant dialect differences are readily apparent, especially in the realm of particles and functors, between Chinese and Thai Bisu.

particle–containing sentences. Only *jèe* occurs more often (171 occurrences, 44.53% of total sentences, 50.6% of particle–containing sentences).

tʃʰii co–occurs with a vast array of other particles. As shown in table 4.6, it most commonly co–occurs with *jèe*. So important is *tʃʰii* to written folktale sentences that other particles can often be classified in terms of whether they precede or follow *tʃʰii* in the particle cluster.

Table 4.6 Particles co-occurring with $t\int^h ii$

pre-$t\int^h ii$		post-$t\int^h ii$	# occur-rences
	x	jèe	56
lææ	x	jèe	11
luu	x	jèe	4
làæpìi	x	jèe	2
ka?	x	jèe	2
laŋka?	x	jèe	1
laŋka?làæ	x	jèe	1
laalàæpii	x	jèe	1
lá?	x	jèe	1
lá?	x	jèe	1
caaj	x	jèe	1
	x		25
pìi	x		10
lææ	x		7
laa	x		4
	x	laa	2
lu	x		2
	x	$t\int^h$ajao	1
	x	maamaat$\int^h$á?	1
	x	laamá?	1
	x	jèecáa	1
	x	jàaŋ	1
	x	cáa	1
	x	$t\int^h$àŋjèe	1
	x	pannɔ̀ɔ	1
	x	laanæ̀?	1
luu	x	ŋææ	1
luu	x		1
laŋkaa	x		1
laa	x		1
k^hu	x		1
kanlææ	x	jàaŋ	1
ka?	x		1
càj	x		1

Beaudouin's (1991a: 6) suggestion that *tʃʰii* is an "aspective particle....for the past," is echoed in this dissertation's designation of *tʃʰii* as an indicator of "completive aspect" Nonetheless, it is important to stress that, in the Bisu aspectual system, it is not necessary to indicate completion on every sentence discussing past events. In fact, the tendency in Bisu conversation is to leave tense–like indications to time phrases (yesterday, tomorrow, next year, etc.). This is in keeping with the typology of many Southeast Asian languages, and Tibeto–Burman languages in particular (Matisoff 1973: 315).

This completive sense, combined with *tʃʰii*'s frequency, has caused this researcher to consider *tʃʰii* the mainline marker of Bisu written folktales, as discussed below.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As mentioned previously, any given sentence in a Bisu written folktale has nearly a 40% chance of containing *tʃʰii*. Nonetheless, the use of *tʃʰii* is somewhat constrained by the stage of the discourse in which the sentence occurs. That is, there are some points in the discourse in which *tʃʰii* is more likely to occur than others.

The distributional tendencies of *tʃʰii* are detailed on the "*tʃʰii* overall" row of table 4.7. The left portion of the chart indicates the overall number of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences that also contain indications of time and location. The episode juncture and inciting moment columns note the number of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences which occur at those noteworthy transitional points, while the remainder of the chart plots the occurrences of *tʃʰii* in the various stages of the folktales. The "total # of sentences" row indicates the sum of all

sentences in the written folktale corpus for each of the categories, while "% of total" indicates what percentage of all sentences in each category contain tʃʰii.

Table 4.7. Distribution of tʃʰii overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre– Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu– sion
tʃʰii overall	51	22	11	61	0	101	23	17	5	1
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
% of total	62.20%	62.86%	84.62%	66.30%	0.00%	44.49%	37.70%	56.67%	41.67%	6.67%

From table 4.7, several generalizations can be made. First, tʃʰii occurs in more than 60% of all sentences containing time indicators, location indicators, episode junctures, and inciting moments. Inasmuch as all of these elements are highly significant to the development of a discourse, we may conclude that tʃʰii is likewise functionally prominent. In addition, it is apparent that the initial and final stage of the discourse, the orientation and the conclusion, suffer from a tʃʰii shortage. This is not entirely unexpected, given the nature of these sections and the nature of tʃʰii; orientation stages tend to describe situations rather than chronicle events, while most events have been completed before a narrator begins his or her concluding remarks. That the pre–peak, peak, peak′, and post–peak sections contain a high number of tʃʰii–containing sentences is likewise expected.

Table 4.8 sheds additional light on tʃʰii usage by examining the number of tʃʰii–containing sentences at each stage in relation to the total number of tʃʰii occurrences (148). Here we see that the vast majority of actual tʃʰii occurrences

come in the pre–peak episodes—again, something that is not unexpected, given the fact that 227 of the 384 (59%) sentences the entire written corpus occur in pre–peak episodes. It is also interesting to again note the great frequency of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences at episode junctures.

Table 4.8. Distribution of *tʃʰii* overall relative to total occurrences of *tʃʰii*

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta-tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
tʃʰii overall	51	22	11	61	0	101	23	17	5	1
total # tʃʰii	148	148	148	148	148	148	148	148	148	148
%of total	34.46%	14.86%	7.43%	41.22%	0.00%	68.24%	15.54%	11.49%	3.38%	0.68%

tʃʰii's great frequency, coupled with the fact that it tends to occur at points which are highly significant to the overall development of the discourse, has led this researcher to conclude that *tʃʰii* functions as the mainline marker in Bisu written folktales. This contention is supported by example 4.15, which illustrates how a basic abstract of a story, an outline of a story's macrostructure, can be gained by reading all the *tʃʰii*–containing sentences.

(4.15)

AK	2 One day Ai Kham went to trap fish.	càjtʃʰii
AK	4 (The otter) saw the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	5 And then he went in to the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely.	pìi tʃʰiijèe
AK	11 And then (the rabbit) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter,	tʃʰiijèe
AK	22 At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth).	tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ
AK	24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path.	tʃʰiijèe

AK	26 Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter.	lææt∫ʰìijèe
AK	28 "It stinks and won't be delicious at all."	t∫ʰiilaa
AK	31 (The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) and then Ai Kham saw it (and thought that that rabbit was injured, pierced by the stick).	t∫ʰiijèe
AK	33 (Ai Kham) threw away the otter and then struck at the rabbit.	t∫ʰiijèe
AK	34 At that time the rabbit threw the stick and immediately ran away.	t∫ʰii

CK	2 They went out fishing.	lææt∫ʰii
CK	5 And as they were going along like that, then Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took him away.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	7 Chengkoi made him her husband.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	11 Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.	t∫ʰii t∫ʰàŋjèe
CK	15 After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child:	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	18 Then the child released him to go.	lùu t∫ʰiìjèe
CK	19 When the child released him he ran away.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	21 He went and lay down in a rice field.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	22 And then he shook the rice heads over his body.	lææt∫ʰìijèe
CK	23 After that, when Chengkoi realized what had happened, she ran after him.	t∫ʰii
CK	24 Then she saw him.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	25 "Ooh! When did my husband die?"	ká?t∫ʰii
CK	30 She tickled him and then ordered.	t∫ʰiiˊjèe
CK	31 "Well, my beloved one has really died."	t∫ʰiimaamaat ∫ʰá?
CK	33 After that, she went and got a gong.	t∫ʰii
CK	37 When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left.	t∫ʰiijèe
CK	38 After Chengkoi had left, he ran away.	t∫ʰii
CK	39 At his house he went and lived with his wife.	t∫ʰii
CK	43 After that, he was rich.	laat∫ʰii

Variable group 2: Transitivity

t∫ʰii–containing sentences in this corpus have garnered transitivity ratings ranging between 3 and 10, with an average transitivity score of 6.57. Thus,

$t\int^h ii$–containing sentences are seen to be high in transitivity. The fact that so many $t\int^h ii$–containing sentences rank so high on the transitivity scale is further indication of $t\int^h ii$'s completive sense; the ten transitivity factors are definitely weighted in favor of concluded actions.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Forty–three (29.05%) $t\int^h ii$–containing sentences are multiclausal, compared to seventy–two (18.75%) of all sentences in the folktales. Thus, $t\int^h ii$–containing sentences occur in multiclausal sentences with an above average frequency.

The majority of these involve the conjunction *jao*, as shown in table 4.9:

Table 4.9. Conjunctions utilized in $t\int^h ii$–containing multiclausal sentences

jao	luujao	zero	caa	laejao	hæŋjè e	jao jaa	laajao
22	6	6	3	3	1	1	1

It is interesting to note that $t\int^h ii$ occurs only sentence finally, never following non–final clauses in a multiclausal sentence. This lends additional credence to the contention that Bisu sentence final particles tend to modify the final clause in the sentence.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Some 92.67% of $t\int^h ii$–containing sentences are not in quotations, with nine direct and two indirect quotation–containing sentences comprising the 7.43% minority. $t\int^h ii$ does not occur in any morals.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As *tʃʰii* may occur in both quote and non–quote material, the experiencer/non–experiencer distinction does not apply. That is, *tʃʰii*–may be used by either event participants or non–participants. A superabundance of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences, however, is indicative of the folktale genre, as is discussed in section 4.4.1.3.4

Summary

This section has portrayed *tʃʰii* as a completive aspect marker that indicates the mainline of a folktale. *tʃʰii*–containing sentences are typically high in transitivity, reflecting the completive sense of the events described. While *tʃʰii* may be used by experiencers or non–experiencers, a large quantity of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences is indicative of the Bisu folktale genre.

Despite its great frequency, *tʃʰii* rarely occurs in isolation; in fact, *tʃʰii* co–occurs with other particles 83% of the time. It thus becomes necessary to evaluate these multi–faceted contexts to assess the validity of the claims made thus far for *tʃʰii*. This will be undertaken in sections 4.2.3, 4.2.4, and 4.2.5.

4.2.2 *jèe* reported event (overall)

jèe is the most frequently used particle in Bisu folktales, its 171 occurrences encompassing 44.5% of all sentences in the written folktale corpus and 50.6% of all particle–containing sentences.

Nonetheless, *jèe* occurs relatively infrequently in conversational Bisu, and is similarly rare in life histories and expository texts. This uneven distribution is perhaps the reason why Beaudouin, who does not indicate whether he analyzed any Bisu folktales, does not include *jèe* in his discussion of particles (1991a, 1991b).

Like *tʃʰii*, *jèe* occurs with a variety of particles. It is interesting to note that there is only one example in the written folktale corpus of a particle following *jèe*, as shown in table 4.10:

Table 4.10 Particles co-occurring with *jèe*

pre-jèe		post-jèe	# occur-rences
tʃʰii	x		42
læætʃʰii	x		21
jaa	x		6
kaa1	x		5
kaa2	x		5
pìi tʃʰii	x		5
laatʃʰii	x		4
lùu tʃʰii	x		3
ʔææ tʃʰii	x		2
káʔtʃʰii	x		2
lææpitʃʰii	x		2
ææn tʃʰii	x		2
caajtʃʰii	x		1
gaakaa	x		1
gaalææsiŋ	x		1
hæælɔɔ	x		1
jao	x		1
káʔtʃʰáʔ	x		1
kaalææn tʃʰii	x		1
kaaluulææ tɔɔkaa	x		1
kanlùutʃʰii jàaŋ	x		1
láʔtʃʰii	x		1
laa	x		1
laalææpii tʃʰìi	x		1
laŋkaʔlææ tʃʰii	x		1
laŋkaʔtʃʰii	x		1
lùutɔɔ kaʔ	x		1
luu tʃʰii	x		1
tʃʰáʔ	x		1
tʃʰii	x	cáa	1
tʃʰii tʃʰàŋ	x		1
ŋaʔ	x		1

Several Bisu language assistants have commented that *jèe* indicates that the text is a "retold" story—that is, the narrator was not personally involved in the events related. *jèe* thus reflects a basic evidentiality distinction, one of several Bisu particles which function in this way. The Bisu *jèe* is thus comparable to the Lahu *cê*, as described by Matisoff:

> This important [particle] is used to indicate that the preceding material is reported at second–hand. It is encounrtered especially often in stories or other extended narratives. Some story–tellers use it in almost every sentence....In connected narrative where *cê*, appears very frequently (even 'automatically'), it has low information value and is usually best left untranslated (1973: 377).

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Any given sentence in a Bisu written folktale has roughly a 50% chance of containing *jèe*. Nonetheless, the use of *jèe* is somewhat constrained by the stage of the discourse in which the *jèe*–containing sentence occurs.

Table 4.11 shows that *jèe* occurs with great frequency in sentences containing time and location indicators, or comprising episode junctures or inciting moments. The vast majority of orientation stage sentences contain *jèe*, while pre–peak, peak, and peak′ stages exhibit respective reductions in the number of *jèe*–containing sentences.

Table 4.11. Distribution of *jèe* overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe overall	43	20	10	46	18	110	26	8	6	3
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
% of total	52.44%	57.14%	76.92%	50.00%	69.23%	48.46%	42.62%	26.67%	50.00%	20.00%

Table 4.12 indicates that the majority of all *jèe*–containing sentences are found in pre–peak episodes. This is not surprising, given that 59% of all sentences in the folktales are in pre–peak episodes. Table 4.12 is nonetheless useful in providing balance to table 4.11. In table 4.11, for example, we learn that 76.92% of all inciting moment sentences contain *jèe*; in table 4.12, however, we learn that inciting moment sentences only involve 5.85% of the total occurrences of *jèe*. The significance of this distinction will become apparent in ensuing sections.

Table 4.12. Distribution of *jèe* overall relative to total occurrences of *jèe*

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe overall	43	20	10	46	18	110	26	8	6	3
all jèe particles	171	171	171	171	171	171	171	171	171	171
% of total	25.15%	11.70%	5.85%	26.90%	10.53%	64.33%	15.20%	4.68%	3.51%	1.75%

Were all the *jèe*–containing sentences to be extracted from a text, an outline of sort appears, as shown in example set 4.16. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the majority of *jèe*–containing sentences listed in example 4.16 co–occur with $t\int^h ii$,

a fact which necessitates the examinations of *jèe*–in–isolation and *jèe*–co–occuring with particles other than *tʃʰii* to be carried out in sections 4.2.6 and 4.2.7.

(4.16)

AK	4 (The otter) saw the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	5 And then he went in to the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely.	pìitʃʰiijèe
AK	7 Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out.	lùʉtɔɔka? jèe
AK	9 (The rabbit) (was) from the forest	jèe
AK	11 And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter,	tʃʰiijèe
AK	15 The otter was afraid.	jèe
AK	24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	26 Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter.	lææʧʰìijèe
AK	30 The rabbit hopped along.	jèe
AK	31 (The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) and then Ai Kham saw it (and thought that that rabbit was injured, pierced by the stick).	tʃʰiijèe
AK	33 (Ai Kham) threw away the otter and then struck at the rabbit.	tʃʰiijèe

CK	1 There was a husband and wife.	jèe
CK	3 When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was a catfish.	jèe
CK	4 And when they got a catfish, they said it was a punglung fish.	jèe
CK	5 And as they were going along like that, then Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took him away.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	7 Chengkoi made him her husband.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	8 They had one child.	jèe
CK	11 Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.	tʃʰii tʃʰàŋjèe
CK	12 After a while, his child did the same.	jèe
CK	15 After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child:	tʃʰiijèe
CK	18 Then the child released him to go.	lùʉ tʃʰiìjèe
CK	19 When the child released him he ran away.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	20 But he did not make it to his house.	jèe
CK	21 He went and lay down in a rice field.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	22 And then he shook the rice heads over his body.	lææʧʰìijèe

CK	24 Then she saw him.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	28 And then she tickled him.	jèe
CK	29 But he did not laugh.	laajèe
CK	30 She tickled him and then ordered.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	37 When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	40 Then he struck the gong.	jèe

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores for *jèe*–containing sentences range from 0 to 10, with an average of 5.5. This would seem to indicate a correlation between the use of *jèe* and relatively high transitivity. Nonetheless, some incongruities arise. Why, for example, would a particle with an allegedly high transitivity occur in 69.23% of all orientation stage sentences, given that orientations do not feature actions and are thus very low in transitivity? The question must also be asked of whether *jèe*'s high average transitivity is related to the particles with which it co–occurs—and to the highly transitive *tʃʰii* in particular. These issues will be addressed in sections 4.2.6 and 4.2.7.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only twenty–nine of the 171 (16.96%) *jèe*–containing sentences involve more than one clause, compared with seventy–two (18.75%) of sentences overall. These are generally linked with *jao*, as shown in table 4.13:

Table 4.13. Conjunctions utilized in *jèe*–containing multiclausal sentences

jao	luujao	caa	zero	laejao	laajao
14	4	4	4	2	1

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Throughout the corpus, *jèe* never occurs in direct quotations, although it occurs four times in sentences that might be considered indirect quotations. Two of these cases involve summaries of a language game, while the two others are involved in proverbs attributed to past generations of elders.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As mentioned previously, the presence of *jèe* indicates that the narrator was not involved in the events he or she is reporting. The lack of any *jèe*–containing sentences in quotations further underscores the fact that *jèe*–containing sentences reflect information that is not first hand to the speaker.

Summary

This section has yielded as many questions about *jèe* as it has answers. While the status of *jèe* as the most frequently–occurring particle in Bisu written folktales remains unchallenged, and the relation of *jèe* to information that is somewhat removed from the speaker's experience has been clearly established, any connection between *jèe* and transitivity is as yet unclear. This relates to a larger question, that of how *jèe* (and other particles) interact with other members of particular clusters. It thus becomes necessary to further dissect the co–occurrence of *jèe*, *tʃʰii*, and other particles, as is undertaken in the next several sections.

4.2.3 *tʃʰii* co–occurring with particles excluding *jèe*

tʃʰii occurs in combination with particles other than *jèe* some thirty–three times, accounting for 22.3% of the 148 *tʃʰii*–containing sentences.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As shown in table 4.14, non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters account for a relatively small number of occurrences. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that 22.86% of location–indicating sentences feature non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters.

Table 4.14. Distribution of non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing clusters

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
tʃʰii co w/o jèe	11	8	1	13	0	24	6	2	0	1
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
%of total	13.41%	22.86%	7.69%	14.13%	0.00%	10.57%	9.84%	6.67%	0.00%	6.67%

Table 4.15 demonstrates that non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters are most likely to make up a significant portion of the total *tʃʰii* inventory at episode junctures, as well as in pre–peak episodes and at peak. Thereafter, usage decreases dramatically, at the same time when *tʃʰii*–in–isolation occurrences increase (see section 4.24).

Table 4.15. Distribution of non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing clusters relative to *tʃʰii* overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
tʃʰii co w/o jèe	11	8	1	13	0	24	6	2	0	1
tʃʰii overall	51	22	10	61	0	100	23	17	5	1
%of total	21.57%	36.36%	10.00%	21.31%	0.00%	24.00%	26.09%	11.76%	0.00%	100%

Example 4.17 contains all the non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing particle clusters in two folktales. When compared with example 4.15, it becomes evident that non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing particle clusters occur relatively infrequently, and that no meaningful story abstract can be outlined through their extraction.

(4.17)

AK	2 One day Ai Kham went to trap fish.	càjtʃʰii
AK	22 At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth).	tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ
AK	28 "It stinks and won't be delicious at all."	tʃʰiilaa

CK	2 They went out fishing.	læætʃʰii
CK	25 "Ooh! When did my husband die?"	ká?tʃʰii
CK	31 "Well, my beloved one has really died."	tʃʰiimaamaa tʃʰá?
CK	43 After that, he was rich.	laatʃʰii

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores for non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing clusters range from 3 to 10, with an average of 6.77. In posting this relatively high average, non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters are comparable to other manifestations of *tʃʰii*.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Of the thirty–three non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters, eight (24.24%) involve more than one clause. Half of these are joined by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Eleven of the thirty–three (33.33%) non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing particle clusters occur in quotations. Of the eleven *tʃʰii*–containing direct quotations, nine (81.82%) do not involve *jèe*. From this, a generalization might be drawn to the effect that, in quotations, *tʃʰii* generally co–occurs with other particles. *tʃʰii*–in–isolation is found in only two quotations, while *tʃʰiijèe*, by definition, cannot occur in quotations.

Non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing particle clusters do not occur in morals.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As is the case with all manifestations of *tʃʰii*, all non–*jèe*–containing–*tʃʰii*–containing clusters may be used by either experiencers or non–experiencers.

Summary

When *tʃʰii* co–occurs with other particles, *jèe* is most often involved. The relatively few non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing particle clusters are most likely to occur in pre–peak episodes and at peak, often inside quotations. They pattern similarly to *tʃʰii*–overall in manifesting high transitivity and seeing relatively frequent use in multiclausal sentences.

4.2.4 *tʃʰii* in isolation

tʃʰii is found in isolation twenty–five times, accounting for 16.89% of all *tʃʰii*–containing sentences, 6.51% of all 384 sentences in the written corpus, and 7.40% of all 338 particle–containing sentences.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃʰii can occur in isolation in virtually the same situations and stages in which other manifestations of *tʃʰii* are found. Nonetheless, *tʃʰii* in isolation occurs with greatest frequency after peak, in 30% of peak′ sentences and 16.67% of post peak episode sentences, as shown in table 4.16:

Table 4.16. Distribution of *tʃʰii*–in–isolation

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
tʃʰii in isolation	12	2	1	12	0	10	4	9	2	0
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
%of total	14.63%	5.71%	7.69%	13.04%	0.00%	4.41%	6.56%	30.00%	16.67%	0.00%

The importance of this distribution is amplified in table 4.17, which demonstrates that 52.94% of all *tʃʰii*–containing sentences at peak′, and 40% of *tʃʰii*–containing sentences in post–peak episodes, feature *tʃʰii* in isolation. In addition, *tʃʰii*–in–isolation occurs in only 9% of all pre–peak *tʃʰii*–containing sentences, but in 17.39% of all peak *tʃʰii*–containing sentences. The implication is that, as the pace of action heightens at and following peak, *tʃʰii* becomes more apt to appear in isolation.

Table 4.17. Distribution of *tʃʰii*–in–isolation relative to *tʃʰii* overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
tʃʰii in isolation	12	2	1	12	0	10	4	9	2	0
tʃʰii overall	51	22	11	61	0	101	23	17	5	1
%of total tʃʰii	23.53%	9.09%	9.09%	19.67%	0.00%	9.90%	17.39%	52.94%	40.00%	0.00%

Example 4.18 extracts all the *tʃʰii*–in–isolation–containing sentences from two written folktales. As was the case with non–*jèe*–containing *tʃʰii*–containing sentences, the abstract of a story would not be recoverable from *tʃʰii*–in–isolation–containing sentences alone:

(4.18)

AK	34 At that time the rabbit threw the stick and immediately ran away.	tʃʰii

CK	23 After that, when Chengkoi realized what had happened, she ran after him.	tʃʰii
CK	33 After that, she went and got a gong.	tʃʰii

CK	38 After Chengkoi had left, he ran away.	tʃʰii
CK	39 At his house he went and lived with his wife.	tʃʰii

Variable group 2: Transitivity

tʃʰii–in–isolation–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 0 to 10, with an average of 6.16. This relatively high transitivity composite corresponds with the 6.57 average for tʃʰii overall.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Ten of the twenty–five (40%) tʃʰii–in–isolation–containing sentences involve more than one clause, typically joined by jao.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

An overwhelming twenty–three of twenty–five (92%) tʃʰii–in–isolation occurrences are found in non–quote material. The two occurrences within quotations are in keeping with the conversational usage of tʃʰii in explicitly indicating that the action has truly been completed.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As tʃʰii may occur in both quote and non–quote material, the experiencer/non–experiencer distinction does not apply. This contention is supported by language assistant intuition. Thus, tʃʰii may be used by both event participants and non–participants.

Summary

tʃʰii–in–isolation exhibits many features in common with other manifestations of tʃʰii, including high transitivity and quote/non–quote flexibility.

Nonetheless, *tʃʰii*–in–isolation is seen to occur most frequently following the peak of a discourse. This may be related to the phenomenon observed in many languages of shortening syntactic units to heighten drama (Longacre 1996: 43). *tʃʰii*–in–isolation may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.2.5 *tʃʰii jèe* co–occurrence

tʃʰii and *jèe* co–occur in 23.4% of all sentences, 26.6% of all particle–containing sentences in the folktale corpus. No other particles co–occur nearly as frequently. Indeed, no other single particle occurs nearly as often as *tʃʰii* and *jèe* co–occur. In addition, no other elements are permitted to come between *tʃʰii* and *jèe* in the particle cluster.

As detailed elsewhere, *tʃʰii* bears a sense of completion while *jèe* indicates that the narrator is reporting events in which he or she did not participate. Nonetheless, their consistent co–occurrence raises the question of whether the two together form a unit greater than the sum of its parts.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃʰiijèe is never found in the opening sentences of a discourse. As shown in table 4.18, the first occurrence of *tʃʰiijèe* in nine of the thirteen written folktales is in the inciting moment—that point of the discourse in which the action begins. Indeed, roughly 70% of all inciting moment sentences contain *tʃʰiijèe*. *tʃʰiijèe* is used in every third sentence throughout the pre–peak episodes, every fifth sentence through peak and peak′, and every fourth sentence through post–peak episodes. *tʃʰiijèe* occurs frequently at episode junctures, often adjacent to time and location indicators. Just as *tʃʰiijèe* never occurs in the orientation stage, it never occurs in a conclusion (a designation which includes story morals).

Table 4.18. Distribution of $t\int^h iijèe$

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
$t\int^h iijèe$	28	12	9	36	0	68	13	6	3	0
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
percent of total	34.15%	34.29%	69.23%	39.13%	0.00%	29.96%	21.31%	20.00%	25.00%	0.00%

Table 4.19 amplifies the generalizations of table 4.18 by comparing the number of $t\int^h iijèe$–containing sentences at each point in the discourse to the total number of $t\int^h iijèe$ occurrences. Some 40% of all $t\int^h iijèe$–containing sentences are seen to occur at episode junctures, most of these occurring in the 75% of $t\int^h iijèe$ –containing sentences that are found in pre–peak episodes. Only a small percentage of all $t\int^h iijèe$–containing sentences are found at and following peak.

Table 4.19. Distribution of $t\int^h iijèe$ relative to total occurrences of $t\int^h iijèe$

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta .–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
$t\int^h iijèe$	28	12	9	36	0	68	13	6	3	0
total #$t\int^h iijèe$	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90
% of $t\int^h ii$ overall	31.11%	13.33%	10.00%	40.00%	0.00%	75.56%	14.44%	6.67%	3.33%	0.00%

A reasonable abstract of a folktale may be extracted based on $t\int^h iijèe$–containing sentences. Nonetheless, upon comparing examples 4.15 and

4.19, it becomes evident that a compilation of all *tʃʰii*–containing sentences provides a clearer developmental skeleton of a story:

(4.19)

AK	4 (The otter) saw the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	5 And then he went in to the fish trap.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely.	pìitʃʰiijèe
AK	11 And then (the rabbit) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter,	tʃʰiijèe
AK	24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path.	tʃʰiijèe
AK	26 Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter.	lææ̀tʃʰìijèe
AK	31 (The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) and then Ai Kham saw it	tʃʰiijèe
AK	33 (Ai Kham) threw away the otter and then struck at the rabbit.	tʃʰiijèe

CK	5 And as they were going along like that, then Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took him away.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	7 Chengkoi made him her husband.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	11 Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.	tʃʰii tʃʰàŋjèe
CK	15 After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child:	tʃʰiijèe
CK	18 Then the child released him to go.	lùutʃʰiìjèe
CK	19 When the child released him he ran away.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	21 He went and lay down in a rice field.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	22 And then he shook the rice heads over his body.	lææ̀tʃʰìijèe
CK	24 Then she saw him.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	30 She tickled him and then ordered.	tʃʰiijèe
CK	37 When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left.	tʃʰiijèe

Variable group 2: Transitivity

tʃʰiijèe–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 2 to 10, with an average of 6.48. This is similar to the transitivity scores posted for *tʃʰii* overall and *tʃʰii*–in isolation: 6.57 and 6.16, respectively.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Twenty–five *tʃʰiijèe*–containing sentences (27.78%) involve more than one clause. These are generally joined by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

tʃʰiijèe–containing sentences never occur inside quotations, although there are two quotation–containing sentences which utilize *tʃʰiijèe* after the close of a quotation. Similarly, *tʃʰiijèe*–containing sentences are never found in morals. These limitations are related to *jèe*'s role as indicator of the narrator's non–participant status.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

While *tʃʰii* may be used by experiencers or non–experiencers, *jèe* cannot. *tʃʰiijèe*, then, may only be used by non–experiencers.

Summary

The co–occurrence of *tʃʰii* and *jèe* brings together a sense of completion and indication of the narrator's non–participant status. The great frequency with which the two co–occur is indicative of the Bisu folktale genre. That is, any Bisu text of even moderate length would immediately be judged a folktale if *tʃʰiijèe*–containing sentences were present. The fact that *tʃʰii* and *jèe* are most likely to co–occur in pre–peak episodes, and less likely to co–occur at and

following peak, is indicative of the way in which the notional structure of a discourse may affect sentence level usage.

4.2.6 *jèe* in isolation

Some fifty–six (32.75%) of the 171 occurrences (32.75%) of *jèe* in the folktale corpus are in isolation. Thus, *jèe* is twice more likely to be used in isolation than *tʃʰii*, which occurs in isolation 16.89% of the time.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

jèe–in–isolation–containing sentences may be found throughout any given folktale. *jèe*–in–isolation is particularly favored at orientation, present in more than half of the orientation sentences. *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences do not occur with much frequency elsewhere in the folktales.

Table 4.20. Distribution of *jèe*–in–isolation

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe in isolation	10	5	1	7	15	28	8	1	2	2
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
%of total	12.20%	14.29%	7.69%	7.61%	57.69%	12.33%	13.11%	3.33%	16.67%	13.33%

Table 4.21 further highlights the use of *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences in the orientation stage, where *jèe*–in–isolation appears much more frequently that any *jèe*–in–co–occurrence sentences. The remaining stages of the discourse reflect a substantial but by no means overwhelming use of *jèe*–in–isolation.

Table 4.21. Distribution of *jèe*–in–isolation relative to *jèe* overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe in isolation	10	5	1	7	15	28	8	1	2	2
jèe overall	43	20	10	46	18	110	26	8	6	3
% of total	23.26%	25.00%	10.00%	15.22%	83.33%	25.45%	30.77%	12.50%	33.33%	66.67%

jèe–in–isolation's distributional tendencies are evident in the extracted sentences in example 4.20. These sentences show that *jèe*–in–isolation is used primarily when describing characters and situations, and is not helpful in recovering the abstract of a story.

(4.20)

AK	9 (The rabbit) (was) from the forest	jèe
AK	15 The otter was afraid.	jèe
AK	30 The rabbit hopped along.	jèe

CK	1 There was a husband and wife.	jèe
CK	3 When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was a catfish.	jèe
CK	4 And when they got a catfish, they said it was a punglung fish.	jèe
CK	8 They had one child.	jèe
CK	12 After a while, his child did the same.	jèe
CK	20 But he did not make it to his house.	jèe
CK	28 And then she tickled him.	jèe
CK	40 Then he struck the gong.	jèe

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Whereas the overall transitivity scores for *jèe*–containing sentences ranged from 0 to 10 with an average of 5.15, scores for *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences range from 0 to 9 with an average of 3.57. This indicates that the high transitivity average stated in section 4.2.2 may be related more to the particles with

which *jèe* was co–occurring. Sections 4.2.7 and 4.2.8 will carry this line of investigation further.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Some fifty–four (96.43%) of all *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences are monoclausal, compared to 142 (83.04%) of all *jèe*–containing sentences and 312 (81.25%) of all sentences in the folktales.

The two multiclausal *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences, joined by *jao*, are somewhat unique in that they involve indirect quotations, as discussed in the quote/non–quote section below.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

jèe–in–isolation occurs four times in sentences that could be considered indirect quotations. Two of these cases involve summaries of a language game, while the two others contain proverbs attributed to past generations of elders.

The remaining *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences encompass strictly non–quote material. *jèe*–in–isolation is not found in any morals.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

The examination of *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences has not yielded any information that would modify or contradict earlier statements on the evidential nature of this particle.

Summary

This examination of jèe–in–isolation has yielded important information. First, it is quite apparent that the distributional patterns of jèe–in–isolation–containing sentences are different from those of jèe overall. jèe–in–isolation–containing

sentences occur most frequently in the orientation section, while the jèe overall displays limited use in orientation stages, and more frequent usage in pre–peak, peak, and postpeak sections. In addition, it is evident that the high transitivity scores for jèe overall were not reflective of the base implications of jèe usage. Additional work in teasing out the relationship between jèe and its co–occurring particles is thus required. This will be undertaken in section 4.2.7.

4.2.7 *jèe* co–occurring with particles excluding *tʃʰii*

jèe occurs in combination with particles other than *tʃʰii* twenty–four times, accounting for 14.03% of the 171 all *jèe*–containing sentences, 6.25% of all 384 sentences in the written corpus, 7.10% of all 338 particle–containing sentences.

The question to be posited in this section is one of whether non–*tʃʰii*–containinf–*jèe*–containing clusters behave differently than *tʃʰiijèe*.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃʰii–less occurrences of *jèe*–containing particle clusters are most likely to occur in the orientation stage, and to a lesser extent, at peak, as shown in table 4.22:

Table 4.22. Distribution of of $t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* particle clusters

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe w/o $t\int^h ii$ co	5	2	0	3	3	13	5	1	1	1
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
% of total	6.10%	5.71%	0.00%	3.26%	11.54%	5.73%	8.20%	3.33%	8.33%	6.67%

While the relatively small number of $t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* clusters makes reliable generalizations difficult, table 4.23 demonstrates that *jèe* is most likely to appear in $t\int^h ii$–less clusters in the orientation stage and at peak. That *jèe* appears without $t\int^h ii$ in the orientation stage is not surprising; $t\int^h ii$ never occurs in orientations. Nonetheless, the frequency of $t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* clusters at peak is interesting, given the fact that $t\int^h ii$ also appears quite frequently at peak. Further investigation of the context, however, reveals that two of those five $t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* clusters at peak refer to negative events (things which did not happen) that significantly affect the outcome of the story, while the remaining three describe states or attributes which are likewise key to textual development.

Table 4.23. Distribution of of *tʃʰii*–less *jèe* particle clusters relative to *jèe* overall

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta –tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
jèe w/o tʃʰii co	5	2	0	3	3	13	5	1	1	1
jèe overall	43	20	10	46	18	110	26	8	6	3
% of total	11.63%	10.00%	0.00%	6.52%	16.67%	11.82%	19.23%	12.50%	16.67%	33.33%

All *tʃʰii*–less *jèe* clusters in four folktales are extracted in example 4.21. Once again, the abstracts of the respective stories are not recoverable from this assortment of sentences. In addition, it is likely that *tʃʰii* would have been used in AK 14 and CK 58 had the events been actualized (i.e., the otter was able to get out, or the husband had laughed). The examples from "The Cruel Widower" and "The Mischievous Boy" highlight the usage of *tʃʰii*–less *jèe* clusters to describe durative states/attributes.

(4.21)

AK	7 Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out.	lɨɨutɔɔ ka?jèe
CK	29 But he did not laugh.	laajèe
CW	4 They lived together without quarrelling or fighting.	kaajèe
CW	6 Then the child and father lived together for a long time.	ká?tʃʰá?jèe
CW	7 The father and child lived together for many years.	já?jèe
CW	8 At this time, the father wanted a new wife.	gaalæ̀æsiŋ jèe
CW	23 (But) his child was already dead.	tʃʰá?jèe
MB	4 (The child) was not willing to do any work at all.	kaajèe

MB	23 It was completely covered in blood.	ŋa?jèe
MB	31 He helped with the work.	jaojèe
MB	32 Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again.	kanjèe

Variable group 2: Transitivity

$t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* cluster–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 0 to 6, with an average of 3.21. This is congruent with sentences containing *jèe* in isolation, which average 3.57. This also demonstrates that the average transitivity score of 5.15 for *jèe* overall is somewhat deceiving, doubtlessly skewed by the 6.48 transitivity average posted by $t\int^h iijèe$.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One $t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* cluster–containing sentence contains two clauses, these being joined by *caa* 'then'.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

In co–occurrence with particles excluding $t\int^h ii$, *jèe* occurs only in non–quotation sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

$t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* cluster–containing sentences may only be uttered by non–experiencers.

Summary

$t\int^h ii$–less *jèe* cluster–containing sentences exhibit many of the same characteristics as other manifestations of *jèe*, including low transitivity, a tendency to occur with greatest frequency in areas of little action (such as the orientation stage), and a prohibition against usage by experiencers.

4.2.8 The argument from absence: where and why do tʃʰii or jèe not occur?

The preceding sections have detailed how *tʃʰii* and *jèe* are used in Bisu written folktales. Nonetheless, the question remains of how they are not used; that is, why do only 41.12% of all particle–containing sentences involve either *tʃʰii* or *jèe*? What of the remaining sentences?

When quotations, story morals, and story titles are removed from consideration, there remain forty–one particle–containing sentences that involve neither *tʃʰii* nor *jèe*. These forty–one sentences involve a relatively small number of particles, as shown in example set 4.22:

(4.22)

AK	16	(The otter) told the rabbit:	pá?nóɔ
AK	19	The rabbit said:	lùu paanɔ̀ɔ
AK	21	The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit farted into the otter's mouth.	pìi paanɔ̀ɔ
AK	25	Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish trap	paanɔ̀ɔ
AK	29	After that the rabbit came walking out.	paanɔ̀ɔ
DB	13	Mr Paw shouted and said again:	lææpaanɔɔ
DB	15	At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house heard and suddenly yelled out:	laapaanɔ̀ɔ
DB	17	Mr. Khiew and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked and fled in different directions.	paanɔ̀ɔ
DB	20	Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an implement which flipped up and struck his forehead.	lææpaanɔɔ
ST	7	Immediately both swans flew across the field.	?ææ paanɔ̀ɔ
ST	10	Then the turtle heard it and said:	lùu paanɔ̀ɔ
ST	15	The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water buffalo.	paanɔ̀ɔ
ST	16	All the water buffalo's teeth fell out.	paanɔ̀ɔ
AK	23	At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a forearm's length.	ŋææ
CK	10	But really she would go for a very long time.	ŋææ
CK	14	and then went for a short time.	ŋææ
FM	12	Every single day, he would feed his mother rice and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her.	pìi ŋæ?

FM	13	This story tells the children causing (them) to know.	lææ piiŋ ŋææ
FM	14	In the past, people said:	ŋææ
OR	3	They had two children	ŋææ
FS	5	This caused (them) to become even poorer.	ŋææ
TD	3	Every time he would wait to eat the flock of deer.	laaŋŋææ
TS	27	The Mother Turtle was very angry.	ŋææ
MB	13	It was very large.	ŋǎǽ
PB	30	He took (some things) and went.	naowaa
PB	34	Then they asked each other—part.—the monkeys:	laŋkaa naowaa
PB	39	(They) carried (him) away.	naowaa
TS	6	(When) they finished speaking then they went off together.	naowaa
TS	13	When it was almost evening (they) went back together.	lææ̀naowaa
TS	32	(When) the squirrel heard, then they went together.	naowaa
TS	33	At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.	lææ̀naowaa
DB	3	A long time ago there were two people.	kʰaalaj
ST	2	A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans.	laaj
AK	3	When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter.	kʰaalaj
AK	8	Early it the morning, there was a rabbit.	kʰaalaj
OR	9	Then both children, well, every time were able to return home.	kaaluulæ̀æga akaa
TS	10	The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.	tɔɔ kaamææ
DB	11	Mr.Khiew didn't hear clearly.	kaa
OR	17	In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there.	lá?waa
CW	22	He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child	lùu
FS	17	After that he became very rich.	laa náocá

Thirteen (31.71%) of the sentence listed above involve the particle *pá?nɔ́ɔ*. As will be discussed in section 4.4.2, *pá?nɔ́ɔ* is a somewhat more stylized equivalent of *tʃʰiijèe*.; indeed, cloze exercise participants consistently wrote *tʃʰiijèe* where the original author had written *pá?nɔ́ɔ*.

The seven (17.07%) sentences involving *naowaa* likewise carry a completive sense. As with *pá?nóɔ*, most cloze exercise participants substituted *tʃʰiijèe* for *naowaa*. This is probably related to *naowaa*'s discourse function as a marker of past actions which are being repeated in the present—something of which a cloze exercise subject concentrating on single sentences would be likely to overlook (see section 4.4.3).

The remainder of the non–*tʃʰiijèe* containing sentences do not carry any sort of completive sense. A total of eleven (26.83%) of the sentences contain *ŋææ*, which is generally used in conjunction with attributes such as length and time duration (see section 4.4.1). Another four (9.76%) of the sentences contain *laaj* or *kʰaalaj*, which introduce new characters, while three (7.31%) of the sentences contain variations of *kaa*, a particle which indicates permanent state or ability (section 4.4.6). The remaining particles occur once each: *lá?waa* shows emphasis (section 4.5.32), *lɯɯ* is associated with motion verbs (section 4.4.13) and *laa náocá* is of as yet undetermined meaning.

4.2.9 Conclusions on *tʃʰii* and *jèe*

This section has examined the various manifestations of the two most frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales, *tʃʰii* and *jèe*.

tʃʰii has been shown to mark the mainline of the folktales, a role in keeping with its semantic connotations of completion. *tʃʰii*–containing sentence are typically high in transitivity, and, as such, are not often found in the orientation or conclusion stages of a folktale. *tʃʰii* may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike, although it occurs more frequently in written folktales than it does in everyday conversation (where it is used only when the speaker feels the need to make the completive nature of the action reported especially explicit). *tʃʰii* is

most likely to occur in isolation in post–peak material, and is most likely to occur in non–*jèe*–containing clusters in quotations or in non–quotations with the particles *lææ* or *pii*.

jèe serves first and foremost as an indicator that the narrator was not personally involved in the events related. Thus, *jèe* is a characteristic evidentiality marker in Bisu folktales. When not co–occurring with *tʃʰii*, *jèe*–containing sentences are typically low in transitivity, occurring in sentences that describe states or negative events (things which did not happen). In keeping with that role, *jèe* occurs most frequently without *tʃʰii* in the orientation and conclusion sections of folktales.

4.3 *lææ*, *lèæ*, and *léʔ*: cacophony of homophony

The particle *lææ* highlights some of the challenges involved in understanding Bisu particles. Occurring sixty–four times in both quote and non–quote material, *lææ* is one of the most frequently found particles in Bisu written folktales. Nonetheless, there remains a degree of ambiguity as to the particle's exact role. First and foremost is the question of whether all of the manifestations of *lææ* are created equal; that is, do all the occurrences of *lææ*, *lèæ*, or *léʔ* bear the same semantic connotations and discourse functions?

The answer, according to several native Bisu speakers, is no. Although *lææ* occupies the same position in the particle cluster throughout the corpus, in some cases language assistants glossed it as 'go,' while in other places it is rendered 'again.' Although the relative newness of the Bisu orthography lends itself to considerable spelling variation, thirty–five out of forty–four *lææ* occurrences related to motion

(79.55%) are written as mid tone, while twelve out of fourteen *lææ* occurrences related to repetition (85.71%) are written as low tone.[28]

A third, less–frequent category of other *lææ*–like particles involves emphasis. In these six sentences, *lææ* indicates that the event truly did happen. Nonetheless, in most of these sentences, *lææ* could be deleted without any loss of meaning or grammaticality. The emphasis *lææ* is written as a low tone in five of these sentences, and as a mid tone in the remaining sentence.

The ensuing sections, then, will examine the motion *lææ*, the repeated action *lèæ*, and the emphasis *lèæ* in their respective contexts.

4.3.1 *lææ* (*lææ ~lææn~ lèæ ~ lé?*) downward/southerly motion

With forty–four occurrences in both quote and non–quote material, *lææ* is the third most frequently used particle in written Bisu folktales.[29] Nonetheless, the exact grammatical category of *lææ* is somewhat ambiguous. In everyday Bisu conversation, *lææ* frequently appears as the main verb of a sentence in its primary meaning of 'go downward/south.' In this, it works as the opposite of the verb *?ææ* 'go upward/northward.'

In forty–two of the forty–four occurrences, however, *lææ* is used in conjunction with other motion verbs, such as run, search, and release as shown in the select examples listed in 4.23. Only once, in a very short sentence (CK 37), is *lææ* the sole verb in a clause.

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[28] Of the remaining motion related particles, 8 were written as low tones, 1 as a high tone. The 2 remaining repetitive action particles were written as high tones.

[29] The final nasal in *lææn*, the most frequent variant of *lææ*, is probably the result of phonological processes. Nonetheless, in example 4.23, it becomes apparent that not all of the Bisu authors were aware of or saw the necessity of adding the nasal in identical phonological contexts. This may be related to the newness of the Bisu orthography.

(4.23)

AK 5 jào naasóon həə ɔoŋ lææn tʃʰiijèe .
And then he went into the fish trap. lææn tʃʰiijèe

AK 34 hikʰáam ka?taj maŋ lamaj jàaŋ wíi lùɯjào ʃóok jèe hùun lææn tʃʰii .
At that time the rabbit threw the stick and immediately ran away. lææn tʃʰii

CK 2 lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ sɯɯŋ kà?ʃaa læætʃʰii .
They went out fishing. læætʃʰii

CK 19 aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lùɯjao hùun lææn tʃʰiijèe .
When the child released him he ran away. lææn tʃʰiijèe

CK 23 hæ̀æŋjèe tʃʰææŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maŋ bæænjao hùun kʰèe lææn tʃʰii .
After that, when Chengkoi realized what had happened, she ran after him. lææn tʃʰii

CK 37 mâaj na?waa cǎŋwá?ɳâaŋ máa kʰoo?ùpkʰoojao ɳaaŋ lææn tʃʰiijèe .
When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left. lææn tʃʰiijèe

CO 3 lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ sɯɯŋka? ʃaa læætʃʰijèe .
They went out looking for fish together. læætʃʰiijèe

CW 12 jào tʰùɯwàn máa aŋbooŋ maŋ aŋjàa màaŋ na? ʃɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̌ɔŋ sɯ̀ɯj lææn tʃʰiijèe .
One day after that the father took the child to the forest. lææn tʃʰiijèe

CW 21 hææŋ aŋbooŋ maŋ kùt gaa læ̀æjao aŋwàj aŋkʰjaaŋ ʃɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̌ɔŋ jóo hùun lææn tʃʰii .
After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest. lææn tʃʰii

OR 8 kʰabaa maŋ na? kʰææ aŋbooŋ maŋ héæŋ jèe cɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̌ɔŋ ʃɯ̀ɯj tɔɔj læætʃʰii .
Out of fear of his wife, the father took the children to the forest and let them go. læætʃʰii

OR 14 nikâm wèənææ tʃʰi?úkóoŋ tɔɔj læw bàa pìi lɯɯ læætɔɔ coo nææ .
"This time take them to a far place to release them and then don't let them be able to come back!" lææ tɔɔ coo nææ

OR 15 cáa nikâm máa aŋbooŋ maŋ aŋjàa .
jèet naa cɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̃ɔŋ aŋwèə ʃùuj tɔɔj
læætʃʰijèe
Then this time their father took both children far læætʃʰiijèe into the forest together and released them.

lææ co–occurs with a number of particles, many of which are associated with high transitivity. As shown in table 4.24, *lææ* co–occurs twenty–nine times with *tʃʰii* (65.9% of total *lææ* occurrences), a sum which includes fifteen occurrences with *tʃʰiijèe*. In this corpus, *lææ* never occurs in isolation, and never co–occurs with *jèe* in the absence of some other particle.

Table 4.24. Particles co–occurring with *lææ*

preceding particle	lææ	suceeding particle	# occurrences
	X	tʃʰiijèe	15
	X	tʃʰii	10
	X	pìi tʃʰii	2
	X	pii tʃʰiijèe	1
kan	X	tʃʰiijàaŋ	1
	X	ʔææ	3
kaa	X	naowaa	3
	X	naowaa	1
lææm	X	naowaa	1
	X	paanaa	1
	X	paanáʔ	1
	X	paaŋadèo	1
	X	pjaadèe	1
	X	tɔɔ coo nææ	1
	X	wáʔnàʔ	1

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As shown in table 4.25, *lææ*–containing sentences are found throughout their respective discourses. That one–third of *lææ*–containing sentences also indicate location is not surprising, given the semantic connotations of *lææ*. *lææ* –containing

sentences also occur in a significant number of inciting moments and episode junctures—again, something that is not surprising, inasmuch as inciting moments 'get something going' (Longacre 1996: 36), often with a motion or activity, while many episode junctures contain changes in location accomplished by motion verbs. *lææ* is most likely to occur in pre–peak episodes, although a handful of occurrences are found at peak and thereafter. The fact that *lææ* occurs less frequently at peak may be related to the overall tendency to shorten sentences and particle clusters to heighten vividness; as mentioned earlier, *lææ* almost always co–occurs with some other motion verb, making its existence in the sentence somewhat superfluous.

Table 4.25. Distribution of *lææ*

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
lææ	11	12	3	15	0	37	3	3	1	0
total # of sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
percent of total	13.41%	34.29%	23.08%	16.30%	0.00%	16.30%	4.92%	10.00%	8.33%	0.00%

Table 4.26 lends additional light by comparing the number of *lææ*–containing sentences at each stage to the total number of *lææ*–containing sentences. It may thus be observed that a significant percentage of *lææ* occurrences accompany time and location indicators, as well as episode junctures. That 84.09% of all *lææ* occurrences are found in pre–peak episodes, while only 2–6% occur thereafter, underlines *lææ*'s somewhat superfluous nature, as mentioned earlier.

Table 4.26. Distribution of *lææ* relative to total occurrences

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
læ	11	12	3	15	0	37	3	3	1	0
total #læ	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
% of læ overall	25.00%	27.27%	6.82%	34.09%	0.00%	84.09%	6.82%	6.82%	2.27%	0.00%

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *lææ*–containing sentences range from 2 to 10, with an average of 7.12. Thus, *lææ*–containing sentences rank as some of the most highly transitive sentences in the folktale corpus.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Fifteen of the forty–four (34.09%) *lææ*–containing sentences involve multiple clauses, making *lææ* one of the particles most likely to be utilized in a multiclausal sentence. In such cases, the clauses are generally joined by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Ten of the forty–four (22.72%) occurrences of *lææ* are found in quotations. Few other particles in this corpus occur with such frequency in both quote and non–quote situations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

lææ may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.3.2 *lææ*1 (*lææ ~ lǽʔ ~lææŋ*) repeated action

With fourteen occurrences, *lææ*1 boasts relatively frequent use in the folktale corpus. Although an analyst might be tempted to consider many *lææ*1 occurrences to be variations of *læ*æ, especially when motion verbs are involved (e.g., CO 27, CW 8, CW 13, PB 41, TS 13, TS 33, MB 11), native speakers are able to clearly and quickly distinguish the two. While *læ*æ often seems somewhat redundant in that it consistently co–occurs with other motion verbs, *lææ*1 is the sole indicator of repeated action in all save one (CO 20) of the sentences listed in example 4.24:

(4.24)

CO	20	aŋʃùu pèəŋ lǽʔbannoo	.
		"Let's divide those again."	lǽʔpannoo
CO	27	háakna? bàa màæn næ? haaj jào .	
		k^{h}àatɔɔŋ na?mææ gaaj k^{h}ùn lææŋŋææ	
		Do bad to others and it will return to you.	lææŋŋææ
OR	5	cáa aŋbooŋ maŋ hǽæŋ jèe k^{h}abaa .	
		aŋʃùu jùun lææt$ʃ^{h}$ii	
		Then their father married a new wife.	lææt$ʃ^{h}$ìi
OR	9	cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuut^{h}əə jèe .	
		juum aŋluu læægaakaa	
		Then both children, well, every time were able to return home.	kaaluulææ gaakaa
OR	18	hǽæŋ jèe kææba ʃùuj kaajluŋ .	
		lǽʔt?$ʃ^{h}$i	
		After that, they were lost together again.	lǽʔt$ʃ^{h}$i
CW	8	nik^{h}àm wàa aŋbooŋ maŋ k^{h}àabaa .	
		aŋsùu gaalææsiŋjèe	
		At this time, the father wanted a new wife.	gaalææsiŋ jèe
CW	13	jào aŋjàa màaŋ na? dùuj p^{h}ùum .	
		lææt$ʃ^{h}$iijèe	
		And (he) dug a hole and buried (the child).	lææt$ʃ^{h}$ìijèe
CW	18	nik^{h}àm k^{h}àabaajàa màaŋ muu kùt .	
		lææt$ʃ^{h}$iijèe	
		Now this woman, well, thought (again):	lææt$ʃ^{h}$ìijèe

CW 19 kʰanaat aŋjàa maŋnámmɯɯ sæ̀æ .
tʰɔɔna?tʰào gá ?àasǎaŋ næ̀æ kɯ̀t
læ̀æt∫ʰiijèe
"He'd go so far as to kill his own child–and who am I?" she thought (again). læ̀æt∫ʰiijèe

PB 41 lam ka? læ̀æ cáa naan .
laŋka?læ̀æt∫ʰiijèe
(When they) carried him then they asked each other again. laŋka?læ̀æ t∫ʰiijèe

TS 13 mù̀ŋkʰî̀i baataŋ sɯ̀ɯŋkaaluun .
læ̀ænaowaa
When it was almost evening (they) went back together. læ̀ænaowaa

TS 33 ?aŋ?an jóo kʰəə kanlæ̀æcáŋ hɔɔt∫ʰén .
maŋ kap jàaŋ gàaŋ sæ̀æ læ̀ænaowaa
At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died. læ̀ænaowaa

MB 11 jaŋ jɔ̀ɔj pì̀k luun læ̀æt∫ʰiijèe .
He (started) to walk back again. læ̀æt∫ʰì̀ijèe

DB 13 bàapóɔ háw màaj læ̀æpaanɔɔ .
Mr Paw shouted and said again: læ̀æpaanɔɔ

It is nonetheless somewhat difficult to understand exactly how the designation "repeated action" applies in a number of the sentences in example 4.24. In these cases, both discourse factors and cultural elements must be taken into consideration. In CW 18 and 19, for example, the woman is said to have thought again about something. The first act of thinking actually occurs many sentences earlier, when she first receives the proposal of the cruel widower and demands that he kill his child. Thus, she is thinking twice about the action she proposed. Similarly, the use of *læ̀æ*l in TS 33 appears problematic if *læ̀æ*l is assumed to be connected only to the verb *sæ̀æ* 'die.' In this case, the language assistant claimed that the repetitive element of the sentence is in the arriving at the previous place. Again, this is somewhat unusual in terms of the normal adjacency patterns of Bisu particles. CW 13 reaches to the previous sentence, in which the cruel widower takes his child into the forest. The act

of taking the child into the forest is itself a bad thing, indicating either that the father intended to abandon his son (as in "Orphans") or, at least that he had no regard for the son's well being. This stems from the Bisu belief that young children should not be allowed to journey into the forest, even when accompanied by an adult, out of concern that a child's *kʰwaan* 'life force' is weaker than an adult's, making the child easy prey for forest–dwelling spirits. Thus, the use of *làæ*1 in CW 13 in essence is saying, "He did [a bad thing] in taking the child to the forest and then, again, on top of that, did a bad thing by burying the child alive." In this regard, *làæ*1 is used in a way similar to the Northern Thai particle *sam*, which likewise carries the sense of "on top of all that, he went and did X, too."

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As shown in table 4.27, *làæ*1–containing sentences do not make up any appreciable sum of the overall quantity of sentences in a discourse:

Table 4.27. Distribution of *làæ*1

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
làæ1	5	0	0	5	0	9	4	0	0	1
total # sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
%of total	6.10%	0.00%	0.00%	5.43%	0.00%	3.96%	6.56%	0.00%	0.00%	6.67%

Table 4.28 demonstrates that roughly two–thirds of *làæ*1–containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes. Roughly half of those pre–peak occurrences come at

episode junctures, all of which indicate time—unsurprising, given *lææ*1's semantic connotations.

Table 4.28. Distribution of *lææ*1 relative to total occurrences

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
lææ	5	0	0	5	0	9	4	0	0	1
lææ overall	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
%of lææ overall	35.71%	0.00%	0.00%	35.71%	0.00%	64.29%	28.57%	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *lææ*1–containing sentences range from 4 to 10, with an average of 6.25. Thus, *lææ*1 is associated with sentences of relatively high transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Four of the fourteen *lææ*1–containing sentences (28.57%) involve more than one clause, these being connected by *jao*, *caa*, *kanlæækáŋ*, and juxtaposition, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

The corpus at hand contains one occurrence of *lææ*1 in a direct quotation, as well as one occurrence of *lææ*1 in a story moral. The remaining occurrences are in non–quotation sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As evidenced by its use in both quote and non–quote material, *lææ*1 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.3.3 *lææ*2 (*lææ ~lææ*) emphasis

The six *lææ*2–containing sentences in this corpus are reported by native speakers to reflect emphasis, underlining the fact that the event related really did occur. This emphasis is not regarded as entirely necessary to the host sentence; of the examples listed in 4.25, *lææ*2 could be deleted from sentences AK 26, FM 13, TD 7, and CK 22 without a loss of meaning or grammaticality.

(4.25)

AK 26 ʔaj kʰàm naasóon jok lɨ̀ɯjao .
laŋʃjaam maaŋ naʔ ŋaaŋ lææ̀tʃʰiijèe
Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter. lææ̀tʃʰɨ̀ijèe

CO 1 kʰàatɔɔŋ ææn ŋææ nàʔ ʔàahaa .
tsàalæ̀æ coo
Don't think you are clever. ʔàahaa...
lææ coo

FM 13 lèəŋ níimaajàakee naamâaj bææ .
læ̀æpɨ̀ŋŋææ
This story tells the children causing (them) to know. læ̀æ piiŋ ŋææ

TD 7 hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ hǽæmáŋ tsʰalàa maaŋnaʔ .
hmjaaŋ jao bàa hɨ̀ɯn naʔ lakʰɨ̌ɯ dáa tæ̀æŋ læætʃʰijèe
The deer saw that tiger and then didn't run because his foot hurt. læætʃʰiijèe

DB 20 bàapóɔ ʔæ̀æŋkɔ̀ɔlɔɔk wəə tàmtàalàak .
jàaŋ nàŋ kʰɔɔn mæækʰɔɔŋ kʰɔɔk læ̀æpaanɔɔ
Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an implement which flipped up and struck his forehead. læ̀æpaanɔɔ

CK 22 cáa kɔɔwææ hææŋ ʔɯɯn pʰɔ̀ɔj .
læ̀æt ʃʰiijèe
And then he shook the rice heads over his body. læ̀æt ʃʰɨ̀ijèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

lææ2 occurs twice in pre–peak episodes, once at peak, once at peak′, once in a conclusion, and once in a title. Only one occurrence is at an episode boundary. Given the semantic connotations of *lææ2*, this particle would appear to have a primarily sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *lææ2*–containing sentences range from 2 to 8, with an average of 6. Thus, *lææ2* is associated with sentences of relatively high average transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the six *lææ2*–containing sentences are multiclausal, joined by *jao* and *luujao*, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

The one occurrence of *lææ2* in a quotation actually occurs in the title of "Don't Dare Think You're Clever!" That particular usage highlights the emphatic nature of the particle, inasmuch as it co–occurs with two strong imperatives.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

lææ2 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4 Other frequently occurring particles

This section contains entries for particles from two overlapping categories: those which are used frequently and those which carry a heavy functional load in Bisu folktales.

4.4.1 *ŋææ* (*ŋææ* ~ *ŋéʔ*) stative

There are twenty–two occurrences of *ŋææ* in the written folktale corpus. As shown in example 4.26, *ŋææ* is used in sentences describing physical or emotional states. *ŋææ* is also used quite frequently in everyday conversation. Indeed, during wordlist elicitation, Bisu speakers often attach *ŋææ* to adjectives.

The states described in *ŋææ*–containing sentences may be sudden and temporary, such as the squirrel's feigned stomachache in TS 16, or more durative, such as the fact that the family has two children in OR 3. *ŋææ* can also be used in describing routine events, as in FM 12 when the dutiful son's daily actions are recorded, and CK 35 and 36 when instructions for getting money at will are given. Perhaps the most culturally potent use of *ŋææ* comes in the moral of "Don't Dare Think You're Clever!"; CO 27 essentially restates the eternally fixed law of karma, a fundamental assumption of Buddhism which Konrad Kingshill (1991:10) considers a major "cultural theme" in Northern Thai life.

(4.26)

MB	13	kʰanaat jèe hùu ŋǎǽ	.
		It was very large.	ŋǎǽ
TS	27	naammaatáa jèe ʔùuhooŋ aŋbaa maŋ . nuŋbaa kʰàa ŋææ	
		The Mother Turtle was very angry.	ŋææ
PB	13	ʔasáa naamaŋ pùun jào mæʔtsàabùu . nææ	
		"In a moment this (thing) will be rotten and (make the cucumbers) not be delicious."	nææ
FS	5	kʰaacææ kaajèe cáa tùuk lùuŋ ŋææ	.
		This caused (them) to become even poorer.	ŋææ
TS	16	ʔòoj pòoŋboo ŋ daa ŋæʔ	.
		"Oh! My stomach hurts!"	ŋéʔ
OR	3	aŋjàa soo ŋ kʰùn caaŋ ŋææ	.
		They had two children	ŋææ

FM 12 kuwàn juwàn ja?jèe aŋbaa .
maaŋna?hàaŋ tsàalaaŋ taŋ?èæŋ?ìiʃǐi
$t\int^{h}$ìi pìŋŋæ?
Every single day, he would feed his mother rice and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her. pìi ŋæ?

CK 35 moŋ jào k^{h}àm ?ɔɔk ŋæææ .
"Beat it (the first time) and gold will come out." ŋæææ

CK 36 moŋ nè? jào p^{h}luu ?ɔɔk ŋæææ .
"Beat it (the second time) and silver will come out." ŋæææ

CO 27 háakna? bàa mèæn næ? haaj jào .
k^{h}àatɔɔŋ na?mææ gaaj k^{h}ùn lèæŋŋèæ
Do bad to others and it will return to you. lèæŋŋèæ

In these folktales, *ŋæææ* occurs in isolation seventeen out of twenty–two times (77.27%). As shown in table 4.29, it may co–occur with a handful of other particles. When it does co–occur with other particles, *ŋæææ* is the last element of the cluster. The one apparent exception, where *ŋæææ* and *næææ* co–occur, is not truly exceptional in that *næææ* merely signals that the quotation, which included *ŋæææ*, is finished (see section 4.4.12).

Table 4.29. *ŋæææ* co–occurrences

Preceding Particle	ŋæææ	Succeeding Particle	# occurr–ences
pìi	X		1
luut$\int^{h}$ii	X		1
lèæŋ	X		1
lèæ piiŋ	X		1
laaŋ	X		1
	X	næææ	1
	X		17

It is interesting to note that *ŋæææ* does not co–occur with *jèe*, the most frequently used particle in Bisu written folktales. Possible reasons for this will emerge below.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As shown in table 4.30, *ŋææ* does not occur in any truly significant proportion of sentences at any place in the discourse except the conclusion, where it is usually associated with the moral of the story. This fits well with its stative sense, inasmuch as story morals often deal with long–held behavioral norms.

Table 4.30. Distribution of *ŋææ*

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
ŋææ	4	1	1	2	2	13	1	2	0	4
total # sentences	82	35	13	92	26	227	61	30	12	15
%of total	4.88%	2.86%	7.69%	2.17%	7.69%	5.73%	1.64%	6.67%	0.00%	26.67%

Still, as shown in table 4.31 nearly 60% of all occurrences of *ŋææ* are found in pre–peak episodes. The fact that *ŋææ* occurs so infrequently in the peak, peak′, and post peak stages reflects the fact that those places in the discourse typically involve action, rather than explanations of states.

Table 4.31. Distribution of *ŋææ* relative to total occurrences

	Sentence Contents		Discourse Roles		Place in the Discourse					
	Time	Loc	Inciting mom	Episode junct	Orienta–tion	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclu–sion
ŋææ	4	1	1	2	2	13	1	2	0	4
ŋææ overall	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
% of ŋææ overall	18.18%	4.55%	4.55%	9.09%	9.09%	59.09%	4.55%	9.09%	0.00%	18.18%

It is nonetheless interesting to note that *ŋææ* does not occur often in discourse orientations, where one would expect statives to be found. This may somehow be related to the fact that *ŋææ* does not co–occur with *jèe*, which is found in 69.23% of all orientation sentences, generally in isolation. Indeed, many of the *jèe*–in–isolation–containing sentences in example 4.20 (section 4.2.6) and elsewhere would seem to involve the same type of attributes to which *ŋææ* can be attached.

Results from the cloze exercise only add mystery. Only two of the ninety slots which originally held *jèe*–containing particle clusters were filled with *ŋææ*. Similarly, *jèe*–in–isolation was substituted for *ŋææ* in only two of ten slots. Thus, *jèe*–in–isolation and *ŋææ* are anything but freely interchangeable!

A partial answer to this problem may lie with text type. As will be discussed in 4.6.1.2, *ŋææ* is the most frequently used particle in both the life stories and the expository texts, occurring in 15.26% and 32.29%, respectively, of all sentences. By contrast, *ŋææ* occurs in a mere 5.73% of written folktale sentences. For its part, the reported speech marker *jèe* occurs in 44.53% of all written folktale sentences, but a mere 0.35% of life story sentences. The discourse parameters of written folktales thus

prefer *jèe* over *ŋææ* in situations where either particle would be grammatically possible.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

ŋææ–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 3 to 8, with an average of 4.9. Thus, *ŋææ* is most often associated with sentences of mid–level transitivity, something that is not unexpected for a stative marker.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

A total of six of the twenty–two *ŋææ*–containing sentences (27.27%) involve more than one clause. Some five of these are joined by *jao*, one by *laajèe*. In everyday Bisu conversation, *ŋææ* often occurs in very short sentences; indeed, sentences containing only a verbal adjective plus *ŋææ* are common in daily interaction.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote materials

ŋææ occurs in nine quotations, two morals, and fourteen non–quotations. It is thus the only particle that occurs with near even frequency in both quote and non–quote sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

ŋææ may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.2 *paanɔ̀ɔ* (*paanɔɔ~pá?nɔ́ɔ*) **enhanced completive**

With fourteen occurrences in the folktale corpus, *paanɔ̀ɔ* occurs relatively frequently. According to the main language assistant for this project, *tʃʰiijèe* may be substituted for all of the *paanɔ̀ɔ* occurrences displayed in example 4.27. This

contention is supported by the results of the cloze test on "Ai Kham"; the respondants consistently used *tʃʰiijèe* in place of *paanɔ̀ɔ* in sixteen of twenty slots, never resorting to *paanɔ̀ɔ*. Thus, *paanɔ̀ɔ* would appear to carry some of the completive sense of *tʃʰiijèe*.

Why, then, would an author choose to use *paanɔ̀ɔ* instead of *tʃʰiijèe*? According to the main language assistant for this project, *paanɔ̀ɔ* seems to add emphasis to a sentence. If the sentence is funny, *paanɔ̀ɔ* makes it funnier. If one character is saying something to another character, *paanɔ̀ɔ* adds a "he really did say that" element. The particle seems to make the narration more colorful.

It is also interesting to note that all of the *paanɔ̀ɔ*–containing sentences in this corpus occur in stories authored by Kongkham Wonglua, a former Buddhist monk who is known as a particularly accomplished and humorous storyteller.

(4.27)

AK 16 ka?taj maŋ na? màan pa?nɔ́ɔ .
(The otter) told the rabbit: pá?nɔ́ɔ

AK 19 ka?taj maŋ cìi lɯ̀ɯ paanɔ́ɔ .
The rabbit said: lɯ̀ɯ paanɔ̀ɔ

AK 21 laŋʃjaam maŋ màanpɔ̀ɔŋ ?áaj jào .
ka?taj maŋ ?æ̀æŋkʰàa tɔɔj kaan
pìipaanɔ̀ɔ
The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit farted into the otter's mouth. pìi paanɔ̀ɔ

AK 22 hikʰàm laŋʃjaam maŋ ka?taj maŋ .
?æ̀æŋkʰàa buum tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ
At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth). tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ

AK 25 ?aj kʰàm jùu tʰaa laajao naasɔ́ɔn .
?ææ praacàan paanɔ̀ɔ
Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish trap. paanɔ̀ɔ

AK 29 hikʰàm ka?taj maŋ jɔ̀ɔj ?ɔɔk lɯɯn .
paanɔ̀ɔ
After that the rabbit came walking out. paanɔ̀ɔ

DB 13 bàapɔ́ɔ háw màaj lææpaanɔɔ .
Mr Paw shouted and said again: lææpaanɔɔ

DB 15 hik^{h}ám puukaew juum sʉ́ʉŋ maŋ kjàan .
jáo cìi hàwháw laapaanɔ̀ɔ
At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house heard and suddenly yelled out: laapaanɔ̀ɔ

DB 17 baak^{h}aew nɛ̀? bàapɔ́ɔ jèet kjàan jáo .
k^{h}ææ lææjáo sʉ̀ʉŋ kaa hʉ̀ʉn paanɔ̀ɔ
t^{h}ʉ̀ʉtɔ̀ɔŋt^{h}ʉ̀ʉmaŋ
Mr. Khiew and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked and fled in different directions. paanɔ̀ɔ

DB 20 bàapɔ́ɔ ʔæ̀æŋkɔ̀ɔlɔɔk wəə tàmtàalàak .
jàaŋ nàŋ k^{h}ɔɔn mæ̀æk^{h}ɔɔŋ k^{h}ɔɔk
lææpaanɔɔ
Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an implement which flipped up and struck his forehead. lææpaanɔɔ

ST 7 hik^{h}àm nukhuuŋ maŋ jèet pjaam .
nàatuŋ k^{h}am ʔææ paanɔ̀ɔ
And both swans flew across the field. ʔææ paanɔ̀ɔ

ST 10 hik^{h}àm ʔùuhooŋ maŋ kjàan jao cìin .
lʉ̀ʉ paanɔ̀ɔ
Then the turtle heard it and said: lʉ̀ʉ paanɔ̀ɔ

ST 15 kaᷛm laŋ həə ʔùuhooŋ maŋ pɔ̀ɔŋ^{h}naa .
maŋ naatúu mànpɔɔŋ cɔ́ɔt klaaj tʉ̀ʉj
paanɔ̀ɔ
The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water buffalo. paanɔ̀ɔ

ST 16 pɔ̀ɔŋ^{h}naa sɔ̀ɔp^{h}ee pjáa klaa k^{h}oo .
paanɔ̀ɔ
All the water buffalo's teeth fell out. paanɔ̀ɔ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

paanɔ̀ɔ is most frequent in pre–peak episodes, with eight occurrences, two of which are found at episode boundaries. There are four occurrences of *paanɔ̀ɔ* at peak, two of which are found at episode boundaries. The remaining two occurrences, one of which is found at an episode boundary, are found at peak′.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *paanɔ̀ɔ* range from 4 to 10, with an average of 6.0. Thus, *paanɔ̀ɔ*–containing sentences boast relatively high transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Five of the fourteen *paanɔ̀ɔ*–containing sentences (35.71%) contain more than one clause. Four of these are joined by *jao* , one by *laajao*. *paanɔ̀ɔ*'s relatively high rate of occurrence in multiclausal situations is similar to that of *tʃʰii*, which occurs in multi–clausal sentences roughly 30% of the time.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

paanɔ̀ɔ does not appear in quotations, although it may introduce a quotation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

Like *tʃʰiijèe*, *paanɔ̀ɔ* is used only by narrators.

4.4.3 *naowaa* repeated episode marker

The particle *naowaa* occurs a total of eight times, but is found only in two of the folktales, "Poor Boy" and "Turtle and Squirrel." Although written by different individuals, these two stories are similar in that they are the only members of the corpus which have two distinct story cycles. These cycles are somewhat parallel.

In "Poor Boy," for example, the first cycle tells how a destitute young man becomes wealthy by planting a hillfield and tricking some monkeys. In the second cycle, the first character's friend tries to do the same thing—albeit with a different final outcome. The three *naowaa*–containing sentences in this folktale all come in the second cycle, being attached to sentences which mirror events of the first cycle.

"Turtle and Squirrel" likewise contains two cycles, both involving two friends going to the forest together. Here, however, *naowaa* appears in both first and second cycles, thus seeming to provide contradictory evidence to the "*naowaa* as repeated episode" hypothesis. This seeming contradiction is eased, however, by a knowledge of Bisu culture. In the opening paragraph of this story, Turtle and Squirrel are described as being "friends of the same age." As such, they would be considered equals in a society where relative age is encoded in all forms of address. Furthermore, the Bisu gather "forest food" almost daily in small groups that tend to be divided along age and gender lines. Thus, the use of *naowaa* in the first cycle of this story merely indicates that the Turtle and Squirrel had been doing this type of thing before—that this was just another typical day, just another trip to gather things in the forest. Thus, the first cycle of this story refers back to identical actions in assumed pre–story episodes.[30]

This contention draws support from responses to the cloze exercise. In seventeen of twenty slots, respondents substituted *tʃʰiijèe* or *tʃʰiijèe*–containing clusters for *naowaa*. This is not unexpected, given that *naowaa*–containing sentences often involve actions similar to those that often precede *tʃʰiijèe*. In addition, the respondents were more likely concentrating on sentence–level matters than wider discourse concerns such as cyclicity as they answered. The three times in which respondents correctly guessed *naowaa* all occurred in the first cycle of "Turtle and Squirrel," inasmuch as those sentences reflected the habitual actions of friends, as mentioned above.

(4.28)

PB	30 jaaŋ haan læ̀ naowaa	.
	He took (some things) and went.	naowaa

[30] This hypothesis was accepted by Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, the author of "Poor Boy."

PB	34	cáa naan laŋkaanaowaa kasəəj ʔɯɯ Then they asked each other—part.—the monkeys:	. laŋkaa naowaa
PB	39	lam kaalææn naowaa (They) carried (him) away.	. naowaa
TS	5	ʔùuhooŋ maŋ ʔòoj lææmlææ naowaa The turtle said, "O.K., I'll go."	. naowaa
TS	6	jîiŋ ʔuu pəən jao sùuŋ kaalææn naowaa (When) they finished speaking then they went off together.	. naowaa
TS	13	mùŋkʰîi baataŋ sùuŋkaalɯɯn lææ̀naowaa When it was almost evening (they) went back together.	. lææ̀naowaa
TS	32	hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ kjàan jao sùuŋ kaalææn naowaa (When) the squirrel heard, then they went together.	. naowaa
TS	33	ʔaŋʔan jóo kʰəə kanlæ̀æcáŋ hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ kap jàaŋ gàaŋ sæ̀æ lææ̀naowaa At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.	. lææ̀naowaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Seven of the eight occurrences of *naowaa* are found in pre–peak episodes, with the remaining occurrence being at peak. Seven of the occurrences are found at episode boundaries (the single exception being during a pre–peak episode). This strengthens the case for *naowaa*'s discourse–level function, marking not only repeated actions, but repeated episodes. This episode–boundary link also explains why *naowaa* does not occur in every sentence containing a repeated action; the presence of *naowaa* in the first sentence of an episode indicates that the events to follow are all somewhat repetitive. All the episode boundaries in the second cycle of "Poor Boy," for example, are marked with *naowaa*, save the final episode, which ends very dramatically and much differently than the first cycle. Similarly, in "Turtle

and Squirrel," *naowaa* occurs twice at episode boundaries in the second cycle. Again, in those two episodes the characters repeat the events of the previous day. Those second–cycle episodes which contain novel events do not contain *naowaa*.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores for *naowaa*–containing sentences range from 4 to 9, with an average of 6.1. Thus, *naowaa*–containing sentences boast relatively high transitivity scores—something that is not unexpected, given the "repeated action" aspect of the particle.

The transitivity scores for *naowaa*–containing sentences are similar to those posted for *tʃʰii*–containing sentences. It thus is not surprising that the cloze exercise respondants consistently substituted *tʃʰiijèe* for *naowaa*.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Three of the eight *naowaa*–containing sentences (37.50%) involve more than one clause. Two of these utilize the conjoiner *jao*, while the third uses the much rarer *kanlææcáŋ*. Again, *naowaa* is comparable to *tʃʰii*, which likewise occurs in multiclausal sentences roughly one–third of the time.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

naowaa does not occur in quotations.[31]

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As *naowaa* may be used only by a narrator, it is a non–experiencer marker.

[31] *naowaa* is employed in one quotation–containing sentence (TS 10), but acutally occurs outside of the quotation proper (see section 4.4.12 on *nææ*, which co–occurs with quotations but is considered outside of the quotation proper).

4.4.4 *tʃʰáʔ* emphatic completion

tʃʰáʔ occurs seven times in the written folktales, and consistently carries a sense of emphatic completion. In six of the seven occurrences, the emphasized event or state is an undesirable one. The single case (CW 6) in which a positive situation is described underscores the tragedy about to ensue, as the father and child's longstanding placid existence is about to be torn apart. That completion is a component of the particle is manifest by one language assistant's contention that the completive aspect marker *tʃʰii* can often be substituted for *tʃʰáʔ*. This claim is supported by the cloze exercises, in which the respondents substituted *tʃʰii* for *tʃʰáʔ* in four of ten slots. Beauduoin (1991a: 6) presents *tʃʰii* and *tʃʰáʔ* side by side as "aspective particles....for the past," but does not discuss the emphatic connotations of *tʃʰáʔ*.

(4.29)

AK	27	ʔoo laŋʃjaam naʔ maa ʃiin tʃʰáʔmáʔ . "Ooh—this otter is dead already!"	tʃʰáʔmáʔ
CK	31	joo aŋʃuŋjaowə̆ə naʔ ʃiin . maamaatʃʰaa "Well, my beloved one has really died."	maamaatʃʰáʔ
PB	12	ʔəənææhaaŋjèe naʔmaŋ ʃiin tʃʰáʔmáʔ . "Uuuh! This (thing) has died already!"	tʃʰáʔmáʔ
TS	24	ʔàabaa sùukʰajlɔ̀ok gaaj luun . tʃʰánéʔ "Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit."	tʃʰáʔnéʔ
TS	38	ʔàabaa ʃii kaatʃanèʔ . "Mother is dead!"	kaatʃʰáʔnèʔ
CW	6	jao aŋjàa aŋbooŋ nèʔ duŋ mlàaŋ . katʃʰajèe Then the child and father lived together for a long time.	káʔtʃʰáʔjèe
CW	23	jàaŋ aŋjàa màaŋ ʃiin tʃʰajèe . (But) his child was already dead.	tʃʰáʔjèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

$t\int^h\acute{a}?$–containing sentences occur in three pre–peak episodes, including one pre–peak episode junction. The two peak occurrences (AK 27, CK 31) are found in quotations, wherein a main character makes a realization that significantly impacts the outcome of the story. Similarly, the two peak′ occurrences (TS 38, CW 23) are both the final sentences of their respective stories, and constitute dramatic, tragic endings.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The majority of $t\int^h\acute{a}?$–containing sentences are quotations, and thus do not receive transitivity scores. The two $t\int^h\acute{a}?$–containing sentences that are not quotations have scores of 3 and 5, respectively, for an average of 4. This relatively low average is not surprising, given the fact that these two sentences emphasize accomplished states.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All $t\int^h\acute{a}?$–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote

Five of the seven $t\int^h\acute{a}?$–containing sentences (71.43%) are quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

$t\int^h\acute{a}?$ may be employed by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.5 *pìi* (*pìi ~ piiŋ ~ pi~ piŋ*) 'give' causative/purposive/permissive

With fifteen occurrences in the folktale corpus, *pìi* ranks as the sixth most frequently used Bisu particle. When used as a verb, *pìi* literally means 'give.'

When used as a particle, however, *pìi* indicates causality, purpose, or permission, as seen in example set 4.30:[32]

(4.30)

AK	6	lòoŋtææ ʔooŋ tsàa kʰoo pìisijee (He) ate all the fish completely.	. pìi tʃʰiijèe
AK	21	laŋʃjaam maŋ màanpòoŋ ʔáaj jào kaʔtaj maŋ ʔææŋkʰàa tɔɔj kaan pìipaanòɔ The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit farted into the otter's mouth.	. pìi paanòɔ
FM	5	càawàaaŋbooŋ máa ʃiin pìi tʃʰiijèe But their father died.	. pìi tʃʰiijèe
FM	9	nææ hææŋ aŋjàa tùu kʰùnmàaŋnaʔwàt duŋ lææpitʃʰiijèe And caused the other child to live in the temple.	. lææpi tʃʰiijèe
FM	12	kuwàn juwàn jaʔjèe aŋbaa maaŋnaʔhàaŋ tsàalaaŋ taŋʔææŋʔìiʃǐi tʃʰìi pìŋŋæʔ Every single day, he would feed his mother rice and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her.	. piŋ ŋæʔ
FM	13	lèeŋ níimaajàakee naamâaj bææ lææpìŋŋææ This story tells the children causing (them) to know.	. lèæ piiŋ ŋææ
OR	7	héæŋ jèe aŋbloɔŋ maŋ naʔ ma^aj sææ pìitʃʰìi After that, she told her husband to kill both of the children.	. pìi tʃʰii
OR	12	héæŋ jèe aŋbloɔŋ maŋ naʔ mâaj sææ hoonúuŋ tʰaw jàakee maŋ jèet naa tʰaw haan càj pìi tʃʰìi After that, she thus told her husband to kill that dog and put it in a steamed leaf bundle and give itto both children to eat.	. pìi tʃʰìi

[32]Many Asian languages use of 'give' constructions to indicate causality and purpose, causing Randy LaPolla to consider such usage an areal feature (1984: 70).

OR	21	hǽæŋ jèe jàakee maŋ jèet naa aŋjàa pʰèəj pìitʃʰii After that, they made the two children their children.	. pìi tʃʰii
OR	28	juum tʰàa həə háw taaj laa pìi jao hàaŋpʰəən caam lʉ̀ʉ pìitʃʰìi After that they called them to come up into the house and then prepared a tray of food for them.	. lʉ̀ʉ pì̂i tʃʰii
CW	5	jào bàa mlàaŋ sɯɯmə cáa aŋbaa maŋ ʃiin pìi tʃʰiijèe And then, not long thereafter, the mother died.	. pìi tʃʰiijèe
PB	6	cáa míin laa jao kasəəj ɔɔŋ tsàan pitʃʰĭijèe (When) they had sprouted, the monkeys came and ate them	. pìi tʃʰiijèe
TD	21	tsʰalàa màaŋ hǽæŋ jèe ŋæ̀æm læ̀æ pìtʃʰii After that the tiger looked upwards.	. læ̀æ pì̀ tʃʰii
TS	14	luutaamluu hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk bæ̀æn laalæ̀æpitʃʰiijée Not long thereafter, the squirrel got hungry for the suukhajlook fruit.	. laalæ̀æpi tʃʰìijée
TS	18	jaŋ pʰælɔɔŋ jóo mâaj ɔɔŋ duŋ pìitʃʰiijée She had/allowed (the squirrel) to get in her shoulder bag.	. pìi tʃʰiijèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Twelve of the fifteen *pìi*–containing sentences are found in pre–peak episodes. Eight of those occur at episode junctures, six with time indicators, two with location indicators, and two at inciting moments. Two *pìi*–containing sentences are found at peak; one occurs at an episode juncture with time and location indicator, while the other contains a time indicator. One *pî i*–containing sentence is found in a conclusion. Given the semantic connotations of *pìi*, this particle probably plays more of a sentence level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *pìi*–containing sentences range from a low of 4 to a high of 10, with an average of 7.7. As such, *pìi*–containing sentences boast some of the highest transitivity rankings. This is not surprising, given that *pìi*, by its semantic nature, demands some sort of a transfer of action. In addition, *pìi* usually co–occurs with other highly–transitive particles such as *tʃʰii* (twelve occurrences) and paanɔ̀ɔ (one occurrence); *pìi* occurs only twice with the lower–transitive particle *ŋææ~ŋǽʔ*.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only three of the fifteen *pìi*–containing sentences (20%) involve more than one clause. Two of these are joined by *jao*, with the remaining sentence utilizing *laajao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

In the folktales corpus, *pìi* is found only in non–quote material. Nonetheless, it can occur in quotations, and is used quite often in everyday conversation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

pìi may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.6 *kaa*1 (*kaa~kaaŋ́ʔ~káʔ~kan*) permanent state/ability

*kaa*1 primarily relates to the ability or, when preceded by *baa* Verb *tɔɔ* (see section 4.5.24), inablity of a referent to carry out a task. The domain of this particle's meaning, however, would seem to extend to the description of a durative, if not permanent, state, as demonstrated in example set 4.31:

(4.31)[33]

OR 9 cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuut^{h}əə jèe .
juum aŋlɯɯ læægaakaa
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. kaalɯɯlææ gaakaa

OR 16 jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùɯj .
kaalɯɯlææɔokaajèe
The two children were unable to return together. kaalɯɯlææ ɔokaajèe

AK 7 cáa k^{h}oon jáo bàa ʔɔɔk lùɯɔɔ .
kaʔjèe
Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out. kaajèe

AK 14 náa ʃii kaʔnaaʔíi .
You will die for sure. káʔnaaʔíi

CK 25 ʔiinèʔhaaŋjèe gaa aŋblɔɔŋ naamâa .
ʔaalɔ̀ɔm ʃii kaʔtʃ^{h}ii
Ooh! When did my husband die? káʔtʃ^{h}ii

CO 8 lɔ̀ɔŋtææ gaaj bjàa kaʔtʃ^{h}ijèe .
They got a lot of fish. káʔtʃ^{h}iijèe

CO 17 cáa p^{h}ìi ùp aŋbææ k^{h}éət kaʔjèe .
But Grandmother Up knew/realized the technique. kaajèe

CW 4 t^{h}ùɯgaa laagaanææ dɯŋ bàa sii bàa .
lææ kaʔjèe
They lived together without quarrelling or fighting. kaajèe

CW 6 jao aŋjàa aŋbooŋ nèʔ dɯŋ mlàaŋ .
katʃ^{h}ajèe
Then the child and father lived together for a long time. káʔtʃ^{h}áʔjèe

FS 15 càk bàa càk laa kaajèe .
The more he pulled, the less it would come loose. kaajèe

TS 2 ʔùuhooŋ nææ hɔɔtʃ^{h}én jàak^{h}àa .
kaajèe
The turtle and the squirrel were friends of the same age. kaajèe

TS 10 ʔaŋt^{h}àa pùɯkjàa ʔùuhooŋ máa cɯŋcɯŋ .
bàa p^{h}jàa tɔɔ kaamææ
The turtle was unable to climb to that top area. kaamææ

TS 22 pɔ̀ɔŋbɔɔŋ daa jàaŋ pjòow k^{h}aaŋjá .
(My) stomach ache has been cured. kaaŋja

[33] In OR 9 and OR 16, *kaa*1 is the final *kaa*; the *kaa* earlier in the sentence is *kaa*2 'together.'

TS	38	ʔàabaa ʃii kaatʃanæ̀ʔ	.
		Mother is dead!	kaatʃáʔnæ̀ʔ
MB	4	lakaan bàa tùu wàa kaajèe	.
		(He) was not willing to do any work at all.	kaajèe
MB	28	jào dæ̀æjàa màaŋ pjóʔ kaʔtʃʰii.. jèe	.
		And then the spirit disappeared.	káʔtʃʰiijèe
MB	32	hæ̀æŋ caajlaa pîijao aŋbaa næ̀ʔ	.
		aŋbooŋ ʔuum bàa ʔíi kaŋjèe	
		Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again.	kanjèe
DB	11	baakʰaew bàa kjàa cèeŋ káa	.
		Mr.Khiew didn't hear clearly.	kaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The eighteen occurrences of *kaa*1 are spread throughout their respective discourses. The majority (9 out of 18) occur in pre–peak episodes, but there are also instances of *kaa*1 in the orientation (3 occurrences), peak (3 occurrences), peak′ (1 occurrence) post peak episode (1 occurrence), and conclusion (1 occurrence) slots. There is a single instance of *kaa*1 being found in an episode juncture. This distribution, coupled with *kaa*1's semantic domain, indicates that *kaa*1 operates more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity rankings for the non–quotation *kaa*1 sentences range from 7 (two occurrences) to 1 (two occurrences), with an average of 3.36. These relatively low transitivity scores are not surprising, given the stative nature of *kaa*1–containing sentences—i.e., very few actions are taking place.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

It is interesting to note that, despite the relative high frequency with which this particle occurs in the folktale corpus, there are no instances of its use in a multi–clausal sentence.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

*kaa*1 is found in both quote (4 occurrences) and non–quote (14 occurrences) sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*kaa*1 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.7 *kaa*2 (kaa ~kaaŋ ~kan ~ká?) joint action

*kaa*2 is distinct from *kaa*1 on several points. Semantically, it indicates that the action was carried out by two or more participants—even if those participants are not explicit in the sentence. In terms of constituent ordering, *kaa*2 occurs earlier in the particle cluster than *kaa*1, as evidenced in OR 9 and OR 16, where the two co–occur.

(4.32)

CO 26 tsʰaaŋ nîi tʰɯŋgăa næ? dɯŋ jào lák .
huum ka?joo
We people live together and need to love each other, you know. ká?joo

OR 9 cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuutʰəə jèe .
juum aŋlɯɯ læægaakaa
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. kaalɯɯlææ gaakaa

OR 16 jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùuj .
kaalɯɯlææɔɔkaajèe
The two children were unable to return together. kaalɯɯlææ ɔɔkaajèe

OR 26 cáa ?ææ kʰən ?ææ jào tsʰaaŋ aŋcaa .

aŋpaaŋ maŋ jèet mi aŋcam gaakaajèe
When they arrived, the two rich people were able to remember. gaakaajèe

PB 17 joɔŋ hææŋ naaŋ kaaŋjèe
They were asking each other, .
kaaŋjèe

PB 39 lam kaalææn naowaa
(They) carried (him) away. .
kaalææn
naowaa

TS 7 mî it^{h}ɔ̀ɔ təə hjà a k^{h}əə .
kanlæætʃ^{h}ijáaŋ
They arrived at the place to cut firewood. kanlæætʃ^{h}iij
àaŋ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Six out of seven *kaa2*–containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with two of those occurrences coming at episode junctures. There is one instance of *kaa2* occurring in a conclusion. This distribution, coupled with *kaa2*'s semantic domain, indicates that *kaa2* operates more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for the *kaa2* sentences range from 2 to 7, with an average transitivity of 4.83. Removing OR 32 from the calculations (as it is a sentence of negation) would raise the transitivity average to 5.4. In any event, most *kaa2* sentences are mid–range in transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one of the seven *kaa2* sentences contain more than one clause. CO 52, which comprises an audience–directed command at the conclusion of a story, contains two clauses separated by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All seven *kaa2* occurrences are found in non–quote material. The main language assitant for this project contends that it is not "popular" to use *kaa2* in quotations or everyday conversation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

The evidence from the quote/non–quote variable suggests that *kaa2* represents something of a non–experiencer statement. That is, the individual telling the story does not include him/herself in its telling. By contrast, the particle *kʰuu*, which occurs in a first person narration of a near–collision with a drunk walking on the road, is used when the narrator is speaking as a member of the group which was involved in the original event.[34]

4.4.7.1 *laŋka?* (*laŋka?* ~ *laŋkaa*) joint action

Like *kaa2*, *laŋka?* indicates joint action. According to one language assistant, *laŋka?* works as an indivisible unit. Nonetheless, it is not readily apparent why *kaa2* would be used in any given sentence instead of *laŋka?*, and vice–versa. Indeed, in the one cloze exercise sentence involving *laŋka?*, only one respondant guessed *laŋka?*, while two others wrote *kaŋjèe* (which, presumably, carries the joint action sense of *kaa2*).

(4.33)

CO 5 aŋdàa mæ̀æn ja?jèa plɔ̀ɔŋ ʃăan .
laŋka?tʃʰi?
At first they helped each other find fish diligently. laŋka?tʃʰii

CO 9 wàŋ jào jètmi? pèəŋ laŋka?tʃʰi? .
jèe

[34] "The Drunk," written by Moon Puikham, is not included in the folktale corpus.

When they had quit, then those two divided [the fish]. laŋka? tʃʰii jèe .

CW 17 nikʰàm gaaj nîi juun . laŋká?pá?já?dèe
So now let's get married! laŋka? pá?já?dèe

PB 34 cáa naan laŋkaanaowaa kasəəj ?ɯɯ .
Then they asked each other–part.–the monkeys: laŋkaa naowaa

PB 41 lam ka? lææ cáa naan . laŋka?lææt ʃʰiijèe
(When they) carried him then they asked each other again. laŋka?lææ tʃʰiijèe

ST 8 jàakee pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa pɔɔpàa ?ɯ̆ɯ huu . hmjaaŋ lùɯjao háw laŋkaatʃʰii
The buffalo boys saw it and they shouted out together, laŋkaatʃʰii

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Five of the six *laŋka?*–containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with three of those occurrences coming at episode junctures. The remaining occurrence is at peak.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

laŋka?–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 4 to 8, with an mid–range average of 4.6.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two of the six *laŋka?*–containing sentences are multiclausal, with *luujao* and *caa* serving as conjunctions.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

One of the six occurrences is in a quotation; the remainder are non–quote sentences. This is the only observable difference between *laŋka?* and *kaa2*; the latter only occurs in non–quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

laŋka? may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.8 *laa1* completion

Like *lææ*, the particle *laa* illustrates some of the challenges involved in understanding Bisu particles. Throughout the thirteen folktales, there are thirty–four instances of particles involving the basic phonemes of *laa*. Nonetheless, in discussions with native speakers, it has become apparent that not all *laa* are created equal. In fact, in this corpus there are eleven subgroups of *laa*–like particles, encompassing a wide range of connotations, including negation, completion, and benefactive, among others.

The most frequent of the *laa* particles, *laa1* occurs in six sentences. The main language assistant for this research contends that *laa1* carries a sense of completion, as manifest in example set 4.34:

(4.34)

DB 15 hik^{h}ám puukaew juum súuŋ maŋ kjàan .
jáo cìi hàwháw laapaanɔ̀ɔ
At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house heard and suddenly yelled out: laapaanɔ̀ɔ

DB 21 bàa caaŋ laa .
It's over! laa

MB 30 juum wəə k^{h}əə ?ææ jao jaaŋ miimæ̀æn .
laa tʃ^{h}iijèe
When they returned to the house, then he was good. laatʃ^{h}iijèe

PB 5 hææŋjéecáa màamàamáamáa sùuk^{h}ɔ̀ɔ .

námpla? kʰlaaj jào sùukʰòɔ jàaŋ
mæ̀æn laatʃʰii.. jèe
After that, he truly planted cucumbers and melons and then those cucumbers were good. laatʃʰiijèe

PB 23 jòɔcáa tʰùu màaŋ hmjaaŋ laatsʰijèe .
And then one person saw him. laatʃʰiijèe

CO 10 cáa pʰì kʰàm næ?tʃʰiimâa taŋhaa .
tsan laatsʰijèe
Then Grandmother Kham got greedy. laatʃʰiijèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Five of the six incidences (the quotation is the single exception) of *laa* cited above occur at episode boundaries. The significance of this discourse role is augmented by one language assistant's contention that, in every place where *laa* and *tʃʰiijèe* co–occur, *laa* could be deleted without affecting sentence grammaticality. This claim is substantiated by the cloze exercise, in which respondents substituted non–*laa*–containing particle clusters in seven of ten slots. One would suspect that *laa* could also be deleted in the single sentence where it co–occurs with *paanɔ̀ɔ*, inasmuch as *paanɔ̀ɔ* and *tʃʰiijèe* are somewhat interchangeable (see section 4.4.2).

Thus, *laa* would appear to have something of a redundant function in sentences containing other completive markers. This apparent redundancy, coupled with the frequent use of *laa* at episode boundaries, may point to a discourse level function, although additional data would be required to confirm this.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The five non–quotation sentences above have an average transitivity of 3.75. This relativly low transitivity rank is not surprising, given the nature of the verbs contained in these sentences. Additional data would be required to determine whether

there is a consistent correlation between the use of *laa* and low sentence transitivity. Nonetheless, on the basis of the data at hand, it is plausible to suggest that *laa* is used to indicate completion in low–transitivity situations, while *tʃʰii* is used ith sentences of higher transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Three of the six *laa*1 sentences contain more than one clause. The conjunction *jao* 'then' appears between the first and second clause of all three sentences. There is no apparent correlation between the use of *laa*1 and sentence complexity.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Only one out of the six *laa*1 sentences contains a quotation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*laa*1 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.9 *laa*2 negation

*laa*2 is distinct from *laa*1 on several points. First, *laa*2 is connected with negation, consistently co–occurring with the pre–verbal negator *bàa*, while *laa*1 never co–occurs with negative elements. Second, *laa*1 consistently occurs pre–*tʃʰii*, while *laa*2 is one of the few particles which occurs post–*tʃʰii*. Third, while *laa*1 has only been found once in quotations, four out of the five occurrences of *laa*2 are within quotations. Finally, the same language assistant who claimed that *laa*1 could be deleted from a sentence without affecting grammaticality said that the absence of *laa*2 from the sentences in example set 4.35 would damage grammaticality.

(4.35)

AK	28	namʃaa bàa tʃàa bʉ̀ʉ tʃʰilá	.
		"It stinks and won't be delicious at all."	tʃʰiilaa
CK	29	cáa bàa ʔʉ̌ʉ laajèe	.
		But he did not laugh.	laajèe
PB	8	ʔəə gaa sʉ̀ʉkʰòo námpla? nîi bàa gaa kòoŋ càa tʃʰiilaa	.
		"Oh! I won't be able to sell these cucumbers and melons!"	tʃʰiilaa
PB	36	bàa tsàa bàa tăŋ bʉ̀ʉ tʃʰiilaamá?	.
		"(The cucumbers and melons) won't be delicious!"	tʃʰiilaamá?
FS	7	bàa tææ tʃʰiilaanè?	.
		"I'm not going to live much longer."	tʃʰìilaanè?

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Three of the five *laa2* sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with the remaining two occurring at peak. The *laa2* containing sentences do not occur at episode junctures, nor do they contain any other elements that would indicate prominence. *laa2* thus seems to operate more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The one occurrence of *laa2* which is not in a quotation has a transitivity sum of 2, a low number which is not unexpected, given the negative sense of the particle.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one of the five *laa2*–containing sentences contains more than one clause. The two clauses both contain negated verbal adjectives, and do not contain any intervening conjunctions (such as *jao*). There is no apparent correlation between the use of *laa2* and sentence complexity.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Four of the five *laa2* occurrences are within quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*laa*2 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers, although it is more likely to be used by non–experiencers.

4.4.10 *laa*3 ongoing positive process

*laa*3 reflects neither completion nor negation. Rather, it indicates an ongoing positive process. All of the examples of this particle in the folktales relate to a character becoming wealthy. A more dynamic translation of these sentences might be "he became rich and then continued getting richer." This definitely reflects the Bisu view on wealth, living as they do in a cultural setting where it often seems that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." The removal of *laa*3 from any of the sentences in example 4.36 would result in a change of meaning—from increasing in wealth to merely being wealthy—but would not adversely affect grammaticality.

According to the main language assistant for this project, *laa*3 can also be used for an increase in height. Ongoing negative processes, such as becoming poorer and poorer, or thinner and thinner, cannot take *laa*3.

(4.36)

CK	43	hææŋjèe caanlaatʃʰii	.
		After that, he was rich.	laatʃʰii
PB	25	náa baacɛ̆ə mææhaaj caalaa?ææ	.
		"How did you get rich?"	laa ?ææ
PB	26	?oo nɛ̀? gaa hjaa bjàaj caalaa?ææ	.
		"Ohh--I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!"	laa ?ææ
PB	27	hjaa bjàaj sʉ̀ukʰòo námpla? kʰlaaj caalaa?ææ	.
		"After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers and melons--got rich."	laa ?ææ
FS	17	nɔ̀ɔŋ həə caapáaŋ lanáocá	.
		After that he became very rich.	laa náocá

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two non–quotation *laa*3 sentences occur as the concluding sentence of their respective folktales. The three quotation–containing *laa*3 sentences occur during the transition between the first and second cycles of "Poor Boy." This, coupled with *laa*3's close semantic connection to an increase in a given attribute, would argue for *laa*3 playing more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two non–quotation *laa*3 sentences each have a transitivity score of 3. This low reading is not surprising, given the fact that the predicate of all of these sentences is *caa* 'to have,' a word which, in idiomatic Bisu (and Thai), serves as a verbal adjective meaning 'wealthy.'

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one *laa*3–containing sentence, PB 54, involves multiple clauses. Both of the clauses in that sentence feature action verbs, but do not contain intervening conjunctions (such as *jao*). Thus, there is no apparent correlation between the use of *laa*3 and sentence complexity.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

*laa*3 is used in both quote containing and non–quote containing sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*laa*3 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.11 *laa4* (*làa~lá?~laaŋ~laa~làaŋ*) **benefactive**[35]

There are six incidences of *laa4* in the folktales at hand. In all of these sentences, a completed or contemplated action has or will have impacted one of the interlocutors. That impact is assumed to be beneficial unless *laa4* is followed in the particle cluster by *jàa2* (section 4.5.1), as in three of the six sentences in example 4.37 which indicates a negative impact.[36] *laa4* is one of the few particles that may occur both sentence finally and between the clauses of a multi–clausal sentence (section 4.1.7.3).

(4.37)

CK	16 ʔàabooŋ naʔ tɔɔj làapao "Release your father, o.k.?"	. làapao
CK	32 gaa kʰàm ʃăaj làapaanaʔ "I will go search for gold, o.k.?"	. làapaaná?
OR	31 kʰùu hɔ̀onuuŋ jàaŋ náj hææməʔ tʰaw pìi laʔtʃʰìi jàaŋ "Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us."	. láʔtʃʰìi jàaŋ
TD	15 gá hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ niimàŋ naʔ tsàaj jao cìikùu níʔtʃʰamaa gaa mànpɔɔŋ næʔ núuŋtʃûu nú tʃʰao laaŋjáaŋ "If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck."	. laaŋjàaŋ
TD	17 níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋjâo cî ikùu gaa lakʰŭu tʃʰao lælatʃʰiníŋ tsʰæ̀æ cák ʔɔɔk luulaapoonoo "If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please."	. luulaa poonoo

[35] Although there are several variants of the benefactive *laa*, the most common of these containing a low tone (three out of six occurrences), the designation "*laa4*" is employed here for greater referential ease in comparative discussions.

[36] Bedouin (1991a: 9) says *laa4* "is obligatory to express a relation between 'direct' persons (1st and 2nd) excluding from the speech the 'indirect' person (3rd)." In other words, one of the interlocutors. He does not mention the beneficial connotations of this relationship.

DB 22 tɯ̀ɯj làaŋjaa .
"I've been hit!" làaŋjaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Three of the six *laa4* sentences occur pre–peak, two at peak, and one post–peak. The *laa4*–containing sentences do not occur at episode junctures, nor do they contain any other elements that would indicate prominence. *laa4* thus seems to operate more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As all of the *laa4* sentences are contained in quotations, they were not scored for transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the six *laa4* sentences contain more than one clause. TD 15 and TD 17 are typical Bisu if–then clauses, in that no lexical equivalent of 'if' is specified. Instead, the relationship is implied by clausal context.[37] The two clauses in TD 15 are separated by the conjunction *jao*, while TD 17 employs *làaŋjao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All of the *laa4* containing sentences occur in quotations. One language assistant asserted that *laa4* cannot occur outside of a quotation, inasmuch as one of the interlocutors must benefit from the stated action.

[37] When pressed to include some sort of overt 'if' word in a sentence, Bisu language assistants invariably borrow the Thai/Northern Thai equivalent, *tʰaa*. Bisu language assistants consistently included *tʰaa* in their written Thai translations of sentences such as TD 30.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

This particle may only be used when one of the interlocutors is the beneficiary. As an example, one language assistant drew from the recent visit of an American educator interested in sponsoring Bisu youth through high school and college. Were this educator able to speak Bisu, she would have said to the youth, "I will seek scholarship help for Bisu young people *laa4 pananaa*." Were she to inform a non–potential beneficiary of the project, she would not use *laa4*.

This type of particle is not unique to Bisu. Lahu (Tibeto–Burman, Yi–Burmese) features a particle of similar structure, *lâ*, which likewise is used only when a "non–3rd person" (i.e., an interlocutor) benefits (Matisoff 1973: 325).

4.4.12 *nææ* (*nææ ~ nè? ~ né?*) end of quotation marker

nææ occurs nine times in the folktales at hand, making it one of the most frequently used particles. Although *nææ* occurs only at the end of quotations, the particle itself is considered to be outside of the quotation proper. As such, it is a signal from the narrator that the quotation has ended. Thus, in all the sentences in example set 4.38, all of the words and particles preceding *nææ* are part of the quotation.

(4.38)

PB	18	joo kəəŋ wii ʔææ waa né?	.
		"Well, where are we going to throw (him)?"	wa? nè?
PB	42	cə̌əkəəŋ wii læ̀æ wa?nè?	.
		"Where should (we) throw (him)?"	wa? nè?
FS	7	bàa tæ̀æ tʃʰiilaanè?	.
		"I'm not going to live much longer."	tʃʰìilaa nè?
OR	14	nikâm wèənæ̀æ tʃʰiʔúkóoŋ toɔj læ̀w	.
		bàa pìi lɯɯ læ̀ætɔo coo nææ	
		"This time take them to a far place to release them	coo nææ

and then don't let them be able to come back!"

CK	17	ʔìiʃǐi tʃʰæ̀æ kʰaanǽʔ	.
		"(I) really have to urinate."	kʰaa nǽʔ
TD	22	cìikùu cák ʔɔɔk pìi jao saaŋ tsàa næ̀æ	.
		"(I will) pull the thorn out and then shortly eat that deer," (he thought).	næ̀æ
OR	24	tsʰaaŋ aŋtùuk naa plɔ̀ɔŋ ŋæ̀æ næ̀æ	.
		"(They) help poor people."	ŋæ̀æ næ̀æ
TS	24	ʔàabaa sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk gaaj luun tʃʰánǽʔ	.
		"Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit."	tʃʰáʔ nǽʔ
TS	38	ʔàabaa ʃii kaatʃanæ̀ʔ	.
		"Mother is dead!"	kaatʃáʔ næ̀ʔ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Eight out of nine occurrences of *næ̀æ* are found in pre–peak episodes. *næ̀æ* never occurs at peak, which may indicative of the trend toward shortening sentences at peak for dramatic effect. Indeed, the lack of *næ̀æ* at peak may make the quotations seem more vivid, the shift to drama discussed by Longacre (1996: 42). The remaining example of *næ̀æ* occurs at peak′, in the final, dramatic sentence (TS 76) of "Turtle and Squirrel." Its occurrence in that sentence seems to be the most efficient, dramatic way to make clear the fact that "Mother is dead!" is the shocked response of the squirrel children, not the words of the narrator.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in conjunction with quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the nine *næ̀æ*–containing sentences contain more than one clause. The two clauses in OR 28 are joined by *læ̀w*, while TD 44 utilizes *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

nææ is only found at the conclusion of quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

nææ is used only by narrators reporting the speech of a character.

4.4.13 *lɨ̀ʉ1* (*lɨ̀ʉ~lʉʉ ~lɨ́ʔ*) 'come out' (quotation formula)

With thirteen occurrences in the written folktales, *lɨ̀ʉ1* has a mid–range frequency. It is also the most common of the *lɨ̀ʉ* variations, which include *lɨ́ʔ*, *lɨ̀ʉ* and *lʉʉ*. Several Bisu language assistants describe *lɨ̀ʉ1* as being similar to the Thai *ʔɔɔk maa*, 'come out.'

Nearly half (6 of 13) of the *lɨ̀ʉ1*–containing sentences in the folktale corpus introduce quotations, and could be translated, "[The character] spoke out and said..." In such situations, *lɨ̀ʉ1* must be preceded by a verb such as *mâaj* 'speak' , *uuj* 'speak' or *cî i* 'tell.' As might be expected, *lɨ̀ʉ1* never co–occurs with *ŋææ* , which marks the conclusion of quotations.

The seven *lɨ̀ʉ1*–containing sentences which do not involve quotations generally have a component of motion. In non–quotation cases, verbs such as *tɔɔj* 'release' , *ʔɔɔk* 'remove', *klaan* 'fall' or *ʃaa tsàa* 'go scavenging' precede *lɨ̀ʉ1*.

It would thus appear that the 'come out' aspect of *lɨ̀ʉ1* is not independent; *lɨ̀ʉ1* amplifies verbs, but does not replace them. According to the main language assistant for this project, the deletion of *lɨ̀ʉ1* in many of these sentences would not affect sentence meaning but would leave the sentence somewhat "unbalanced" or "lacking in weight."

Although *lʉ̀ʉ*1 may be used in isolation, it is more often paired with the completive markers *tʃʰìi* (eight occurrences) or *paanɔ̀ɔ* (two occurrences).

(4.39)

AK 19 ka?taj maŋ cìi lʉ̀ʉ paanóo .
The rabbit said: . lʉ̀ʉ paanɔ̀ɔ

CK 18 cáa aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lʉ̀ʉtʃʰiijèe .
Then the child released him to go. lʉ̀ʉ tʃʰiìjèe

CO 15 pèəŋ pə̌ən jào pʰì.. kʰàm nè?tʃʰima? .
uuj lʉ̀ʉtʃʰìijèe
When they had finished dividing, Grandmother Kham spoke and said: lʉ̀ʉ tʃʰiìjèe

CW 14 jàojàa juum pʰàolʉʉj kʰàabaajàa .
màaŋ na? mâaj lʉʉtʃʰii
And then he returned home and told the woman. lʉʉtʃʰii

CW 22 aŋjàa màaŋ naa hʉ̀ʉn dùuj ?ɔɔk pooj .
lʉ̀ʉ
He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child lʉ̀ʉ

OR 9 cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuutʰəə jèe .
juum aŋlʉʉ làægaakaa
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. kaalʉʉlææ gaakaa

OR 16 jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃʉ̀uj .
kaalʉʉlæætɔɔkaajèe
The two children were unable to return together. kaalʉʉlææ tɔɔkaajèe

OR 33 cáa aŋbaa aŋʃʉ̀ʉ máa hæmæ .
hmjaaŋjao aŋwàj jèe juum ?ɔɔk həə pləək klaan lʉʉtʃʰìi
Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground. lʉtʃʰìi

ST 3 ?ùuhooŋ ta?sææ niitɔɔŋ ʃaa tsàa .
ʃàa taŋ mlàŋ jào nʉŋbaatɔ̀ɔŋ nàatuŋ niitɔɔŋ ʃaa tsàa lʉʉtʃʰii ŋææ
The turtle had looked for food and drink on one mountain for a long time and in his heart wanted to go look for food on another side (to go to another mountain across a field). lʉʉtʃʰii ŋææ

ST 5 hikʰàm nukhuuŋ sɔɔŋ too kjàan jào .
làamaj hɐɐ mâaj kaap pìijao ʔacǎm
màaj lɯ̀ɯtʃʰì
At that time two swans heard and had him grasp in his mouth a piece of wood held in their feet and another thing, they told him:

ST 10 hikʰàm ʔùuhooŋ maŋ kjàan jao cìin .
lɯ̀ɯ paanɔ̀ɔ
Then the turtle heard it and said:

TD 11 cáa hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ màaŋ mâaj lɯ̀ɯ tʃʰiijèe .
Then the deer told (him):

TS 21 kʰɔ̀ɔŋ kʰɐɐ lɯɯmaatʰàŋ pɐɐkklaan .
lɯ̀ɯtʃʰiijèe
(When they) almost arrived back at the village, (the squirrel) jumped out.

lɯ̀ɯtʃʰì

lɯ̀ɯ paanɔ̀ɔ

luu
tʃʰiijèe

lɯ̀ɯ
tʃʰiijèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Nine of the thirteen occurrences of *lɯ̀ɯ*1 (69.23%) are found in pre–peak episodes, with four of those occurrences coming at episode boundaries. There is one occurrence in the first sentence (episode boundary) of a peak, and two occurrences at peak′. In one example, ST 6, *lɯ̀ɯ*1 occurs in the orientation stage.[38]

*lɯ̀ɯ*1 is used in relation to quotations five times in pre–peak episodes, and only once at peak, following the pattern mentioned in 4.4.12 of quotation formula being mostly absent at peak to heighten the vividness of the drama.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for *lɯ̀ɯ*1–containing sentences range from 2 to 10 (the 2 stemming from an unrealized goal), with an average score of 6.3. *lɯ̀ɯ*1–containing sentences thus boast relatively high transitivity scores.

[38] ST3 is quite unique, inasmuch as *lɯ̀ɯ*1 is followed by the completive particle *tʃʰii* and the stative marker *ŋææ*, an unusual combination.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Seven of the *lɨ̀ʉ1*–containing sentences involve more than one clause. With the exception of CW 16, these are all linked by *jao*, the most common clausal conjoiner. CW 16 seems exceptional on other counts as well, inasmuch as *lɨ̀ʉ1* is used clause–finally on both clauses of the sentences, the first occurrence making the otherwise unattested phonological modification to *lɨ̀ʉj*.[39]

Variable group 4: Quote/nón–quote material

lɨ̀ʉ1 is not found in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

According to the main language assistant for this project, *lɨ̀ʉ1* can only be used by third–party narrators, an assertion which follows from the lack of *lɨ̀ʉ1* occurrences in quotations.

4.4.14 *ʔææ* affirmative marker

ʔææ occurs six times in the folktale corpus, always in quotations. According to several language assistants, *ʔææ* shows that the action described truly did take place. *ʔææ* cannot be used in irrealis sentences. Despite the seeming completive aspect of this particle, the more frequently found completive particle *tʃʰii* could not be substituted for *ʔææ*. Again, this type of particle is not unique to Bisu. Lahu displays two particles, *à* and *yò*, which have a similar role in asserting the truth of an event (Matisoff 1973: 333, 367).

[39] Perhaps the final *j* represents the remains of *jao*, compressed due to the drama of the moment; CW 28 marks the beginning of the peak of that story.

(4.40)

PB	25	náa baacɛ̌ə mææhaaj caa laa?ææ	.
		"How did you get rich?"	laa ?ææ
PB	26	ʔoo nɛ̀ʔ gaa hjaa bjàaj caa laa?ææ	.
		"Ohh—I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!"	laa ?ææ
PB	27	hjaa bjàaj sʉ̀ʉkʰɔ̀ɔ námplaʔ kʰlaaj caalaa?ææ	.
		"After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers and melons—got rich."	laa ?ææ
PB	28	caalaa?ææ kaasəəj uulooŋ ɔɔŋ jáo ʃii kææ̀kæ̀æ læ̀æ ?ææ	.
		"And a group of monkeys came in and I acted as if I was dead."	læ̀æ ?ææ
TD	10	baacɛ̌ə háj læ̀æ ?ææ	.
		"What have you gone and done?"	læ̀æ ?ææ
TD	12	cìikùu nàŋ læ̀æ ?æ̀æ	.
		"I went and stepped on a thorn"	læ̀æ ?æ̀æ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All six occurrences of *ʔææ* are found in pre–peak episodes. None occur at episode boundaries.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one multi–clausal sentence is found for *ʔææ*. As elsewhere, *jao* is used to join the clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

ʔææ occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

ʔææ is used only be experiencers, as evidenced by the fact that it occurs only in quotations in the folktale corpus and by the answers to the question "Where did Somchai go?"shown in 4.41 and 4.42:

(4.41) (Answered by Somchai's mother)
tʃʰeŋ maj ʔææn
Chiang Mai go
(He) went to Chiang Mai.

(4.42) (Answered by Somchai)
tʃʰeŋ maj ʔææn ʔææ
Chiang Mai go pt
(I) went to Chiang Mai.

4.4.15 *kʰaalaj* (*kʰaalaj* ~ *laj*) existential marker

kʰaalaj occurs three times in two folktales, while the derivative *laj* appears once in one folktale. In all of those instances, these particles occur when principal characters are being introduced. *kʰaalaj* is always preceded by the existential verb *caa* 'have':[40]

(4.43)
AK 3 mùŋkʰìi jàamlææŋ həə lánhúaj wəʔ.
laŋʃjaam tʰùu maŋ cáakʰaalaj
When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was kʰaalaj an otter.
AK 8 ʃaaplææn lajáo ʔacǎm kaʔtaj tʰùu.
maŋ cáakʰaalaj
Early it the morning, there was a rabbit. kʰaalaj
DB 3 kʰaatææ wəə tsʰaaŋ sɔɔŋ kʰùn.
caakʰaalaj

[40] Like many other Asian languages, Bisu utilizes 'have' at the outset of stories to mark existence, much as English uses phrases such as "There one was a ___."

A long time ago there were two people. kʰaalaj

ST 2 kʰatææ ʔùuhooŋ tʰɨ̀ɯ maŋ nàʔ.

nukhuuŋ sɔɔŋ too caa laaj

A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans. laaj

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The occurrences of *kʰaalaj* in DB 3 and ST 2 are found in the first sentence (aperture) after the title, and are thus part of the orientation section. The two occurrences in AK appear in the initial sentences of pre–peak episodes wherein major particpants are introduced for the first time.

Those folktales which do not use *kʰaalaj* to introduce main characters typically end introductory sentences with *caa* 'have' followed by the particle *jee*.

kʰaalaj and *jèe* never co–occur, evidence that there are two ways in which main characters may be introduced. The decision to utilize *kʰaalaj* instead of *caajee* seems to be primarily stylistic.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

All four *kʰaalaj*–containing sentences received transitivity scores of 3, a low mark which is not unexpected given the existential nature of the sentences involved.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All four *kʰaalaj*–containing sentences contain one sentence–initial temporal phrase and one clause. One *kʰaalaj* –containing sentence includes a locative phrase.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All of the occurrences of *kʰaalaj* are in non–quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

Additional data is required to confirm whether *kʰaalaj* may be used only by non–experiencers, the definite trend in the folktales at hand.

4.4.16 *jàa1* (*jàa ~ jàaŋ ~ ja*) completive

There are five occurrences of *jàa1* in the folktales at hand. *jàa1* may occur in isolation, or in conjunction with other particles. *jàa1* is somewhat unique in that it is among the nine particles which may follow *tʃʰii*. According to the main language assistant for this project, *jàa1* bears a completive sense, emphasizing that the action truly did take place.

(4.44)

CW	15	gaa wàa naaŋ máa làatʃʰiimææ haaj .	
		jàa	
		"I did what you told me to do."	jàa
CW	16	gaa aŋjàa aŋlak maŋ na? dùuj .	
		pʰuum jàa	
		"I've dug a hole and buried my beloved child."	jàa
TS	7	mì itʰɔ̀ɔ təə hjà a kʰəə .	
		kanlæætʃʰijáaŋ	
		They arrived at the place to cut firewood.	kanlæætʃʰii jàaŋ
TS	22	pɔ̀ɔŋbɔɔŋ daa jàaŋ pjòow kʰaaŋja .	
		"(My) stomach ache has been cured."	kaaŋja
TS	25	pʰæ lɔɔŋ jà aŋ tʰɔɔk .	
		kanlùutʃʰiijàaŋ	
		(They) watched as (she) dumped out her shoulder bag.	tʃʰiijàaŋ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Two occurrences of *jàa1* are pre–peak, with two coming at peak. *jàa1* occurs once at an episode boundary. Thus, *jàa1* would appear to function chiefly on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two *jàa*1 sentences which do not contain quotations post relatively high transitivity scores of 6 and 7, respectively. This is not unexpected, given the completive nature of the particle.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the occurences of *jàa*1 are found in single clause sentences, although CW 29 and TS 49 contain clauses embedded as noun phrases, while CW 31 contains serial verbs.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Three of the five occurrences of *jàa*1 are found in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*jàa*1 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.5 Less frequent particles

This section examines particles found 1–3 times in the foltale corpus.

4.5.1 *jàa*2 (*jaa* ~ *jàaŋ*) negative benefit

*jàa*2 occurs three times in the written folktales. Like *jàa*1, *jàa*2 is one of the few particles which may follow *tʃʰii*. Nonetheless, *jàa*2 carries a distinct semantic component, indicating real or potential negative benefit to one of the interlocutors. In all of the sentences in example 4.45, *jàa*2 is preceded either immediately or at a short distance by *laa*4, a particle which, in the absence of *jàa*2, indicates positive benefit (section 4.4.11).

(4.45)

OR 31 kʰùu hɔ̀ɔnuuŋ jàaŋ náj hǽæməʔ tʰaw .
pìi laʔtʃʰìi jàaŋ
"Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us." láʔtʃʰìijàaŋ

TD 15 gá hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ niimàŋ naʔ tsàaj jao .
cìikùu níʔtʃʰamaa gaa mànpɔɔŋ næʔ
núuŋtʃûu nú tʃʰao laaŋjáaŋ
"If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck." laaŋjàaŋ

DB 22 tùuj làaŋjaa .
"I've been hit!" làaŋjaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The three occurrences are found in peak, pre–peak, and peak′ positions, respectively. None occur at episode boundaries, something which is not unexpected, given that this particle occurs in conversational contexts.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One *jàa2*–containing sentence is biclausal, joined by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

jàa2 occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

jàa2 occurs only in quotations in which one of the interlocutors will receive negative benefit from the contemplated event.

4.5.2 *jaa*3 result of action

*jaa*3 co–occurs with *jèe* in all three of its occurrences. In this it contrasts with *jaa*1 and *jaa*2, which never co–occur with *jèe*. In addition, the semantic connotations of *jaa*3 indicate that the state described in the sentence is the result of the action carried out in the preceding sentence.

(4.46)

FM	7 aŋjàa ʔŭu kʰòɔ jaajèe	.
	(Until) the two children grew up.	jaajèe
TD	25 salop háa jaʔjèe	.
	(He) fainted.	jaajèe
TS	26 aŋkʰào æ̀æn jàajèe	.
	It was empty!	jaajèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

*jaa*3 occurs twice in pre–peak episodes and once at peak. It does not occur at any episode boundaries. All of the *jaa*3 sentences do entail some sort of state or event which is predicated in the preceding sentence. It thus serve to "tie together" two sentences, in the action–result relationship described earlier.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The three occurrences of *jaa*3 carry transitivity scores of 4, 6, and 2, respectively, for an average of 4. These low to mid range scores are not unexpected, given the fact that the preceding sentence usually contains a stronger action to which the *jaa*3 sentence alludes. The sentences preceding each of the *jaa*3 sentences above have transitivity scores of 8, 5, and 6, respectively. Indeed, TD 25 "He fainted" actually refers to a string of events initiated two sentences prior by a sentence with a transitivity score of 10.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All three occurences involve single clause sentences. As mentioned previously, the *jaa*3–containing sentences are all closely linked to their respective preceding sentences in an action–result relationship.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All three occurrences are in non–quote material. The main language assistant for this project maintains that *jaa*3 is not likely to occur in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

The main language assistant for this project claims that *jaa*3 occurs only in the words of a narrator, a conclusion which would be supported by the three non–quotation occurrences of *jaa*3 in the folktale corpus.

4.5.3 *já?* many

Like *jaa*3, *já?* always co–occurs with *jèe*. *já?* indicates that there are many of whatever is being described in the *já?*–containing sentence. The fact of this abundance may or may not be indicated elsewhere in the sentence. In CO 12 and CO 13, for example, there is no other lexical item indicating quantity, while in CW 7 the adjective *laajlàaj*, literally 'many, many,' clarifies the matter long before *já?* becomes involved.

(4.47)

CO 12 jaaŋ la?káa hɐɐ aŋtoo aŋhʉ̀ʉ æ̀æn .
ja?jèe
All the large ones were in front of her. já?jèe

CO 13 jào pʰì .. ùp la?káa hɐɐ lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ .
aŋ?ii æ̀æn ja?jèe
And then in front of Grandmother Up, there were only small fish. já?jèe

CW 7 soon kʰùn anjàa anboon nàʔ dun .
laajlàaj pii jaʔjèa
The father and child lived together for many years. já?jèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences of *já?* are found in pre–peak episodes, with no occurrences at episode junctures. These sentences all are somewhat stage–like, in that the overall situation is described. The semantic connotations of *já?* thus indicate more of a sentence–level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores of the three *já?*–containing sentences are quite low—2, 2, and 3, respectively, for an average of 2.33. This is not unexpected, given the fact that *já?* is associated with quantitative states rather than events.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the *já?*–containing sentences contain only one clause.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

None of the *já?*–containing sentences involve quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

The main language assistant for this project stated that "it is not popular" to use *já?* in everyday conversations, a contention supported by the fact that *já?* does not appear in any quotations in the folktale corpus. Thus, *já?* is linked to non–experiencer, "narrator" speech.

4.5.4 *paanaa* (*paanaa ~ paana?*) agreement seeker

Occuring twice in the folktale corpus, *paanaa* attempts to evoke agreement from the listener. The main language assistant for this project claims that its function is similar to the Northern Thai *nêə*, which, in turn, is somewhat like the English tag "o.k.?" The speaker assumes that the listener will indeed agree to the proposed course of action; if the speaker believes that the listener may not agree, a stronger form, such as a command, will likely be employed.

(4.48)

CK	32	gaa kʰàm ʃǎaj làapaana?	.
		"I will go search for gold, o.k.?"	làapaaná? .
PB	38	jáo dèw wii læ̀æ paanaa	.
		"Let's go throw it away, o.k.?"	paanaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two occurrences of *paanaa* are found at peak and pre–peak, respectively. Neither are found at episode boundaries. The semantic nature of this particle would argue for more of a sentence–level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both occurrences of *paanaa* are found in single clause sentences.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

paanaa occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As *paanaa* is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized only by interlocutors.

4.5.5 *poonoo* (*poonoo ~ paanoo*) agreement seeker

Like *paanaa*, *pooonoo* represents a mitigated positive command. It occurs twice in the written folktale corpus, as shown in example set 4.49:

(4.49)

CO	20	aŋʃùu pèəŋ læ̀ʔpannoo "Let's divide those again."	. læ̀ʔpannoo
TD	17	níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋjâo cìikùu gaa lak^{h}ŭu tʃ^{h}ao lælatʃ^{h}iníŋ ts^{h}æ̀æ cák ʔɔɔk luulaapoonoo "If you want to eat me, pull that thorn that pierced my foot, please."	. luulaapoo noo

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two sentences above occur at peak and pre–peak, respectively. The semantic connotations of this particle would argue for more of a sentence level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

CO 20 is monoclausal, while TD 17 features two clauses joined by *làaŋjao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

poonoo occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As *poonoo* is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized only by interlocutors.

4.5.6 *paanǽʔ* self–oriented agreement

paanǽʔ occurs only once in the corpus, but has a rather unique function. The one occurrence is found in a sentence wherein the main character is talking to himself, wondering what he should do next. He concludes that he should go clear a hillfield, utilizing *paanǽʔ* to show that he is, essentially, seeking agreement with himself! In this regard, *paanǽʔ* is similar to the Lahu particle *na*, which is used "merely in order to give expression to one's inner uncertainty or feeling of curiousity" (Matisoff 1973: 375).

(4.50)

PB	4 haajwaa hjaa bjàaj læ̀ paanǽʔ	.
	"Better to go clear a hillfield."	paanǽʔ

4.5.7 *paaŋadèo* group agreement seeker

Like *paanǽʔ*, *paaŋadèo* occurs only once in the corpus, and indicates that a group decision is being made. In example 4.51, the monkeys are all running around urging each other to throw away an undesirable object. A more idiomatic English translation might read, "Let's all go throw this thing away, o.k.?"

(4.51)

PB	14 wii læ̀ paaŋadèo	.
	"Go throw it away!"	paaŋadèo

4.5.8 *nɔ̀ɔ* negative agreement seeker

nɔ̀ɔ is similar to *paana* in that it seeks agreement from the listener. Nonetheless, it is only used in a negative sense. That is, the speaker is urging the hearer to accept the validity of a negative proposition. *nɔ̀ɔ* is thus similar to the English tag "you know" when used in a negative sense. *nɔ̀ɔ* must always be preceded by a verb which is in turn preceded by the negation marker *bàa*, as seen in example 4.52:

(4.52)

CO 21 gaa lɔ̀ɔŋtææ pèəŋ tʃʰinìi bàa gàa .
nɔ̀ɔ
"I divided them incorrectly, you know." nɔ̀ɔ

DB 24 cìi hàwháw gaa tʰɛ̀ɯ maŋ bàa? ăa .
nɔ̀ɔ
(He) blurted out, "It's not only me, you know!" nɔ̀ɔ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the examples cited here, *nɔ̀ɔ* is found at peak′ and in a pre–peak episode. Neither occurrences come at episode boundaries. The semantic connotations of *nɔ̀ɔ* would argue for more of a sentence–level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both *nɔ̀ɔ*–containing sentences are mono–clausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

nɔ̀ɔ is found only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As *nɔ̀ɔ* is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.9 laalá? agreement

In combination with *lá?*, *laa4* indicates that the speaker is agreeing to an action that will benefit the hearer. *lá?* may not occur in isolation, nor may it occur with other particles, making it something of a bound form here. The sole example of this particle in the folktale corpus follows:

(4.53)

TD 19 tsʰalàa màaŋ háaŋjeccáa ʔóojhəə .
ʔɔɔk laalá
The tiger then said, "O.K., I'll agree to take it out." laalá?

4.5.10 *kanna* preference

kanna is found once in the folktales, and generally shows preference for one of two options. In example 4.54, the main character declares his disgust with what he thinks is a dead, rotting otter, at the same time that he spies preferable game—a rabbit:

(4.54)

AK 32 laŋʃjaam pùu namàa bàa jŭu kanna .
(I) don't want this rotten otter! kanna

kanna can be used in either a positive or negative sense. The particle itself does not contain a sense of emphasis or strength of emotion, elements which could be conveyed through intonation. A common daily usage of *kanna* would be in response to a question such as "Do you want to work for wages or for rice?" to which a Bisu

would typically reply "I want to work for rice *kanna*." *kanna* must co–occur with a true verb of desire such as *juu* 'want.'

4.5.11 *kʰaa* implied request

Occurring only once in the folktales at hand, *kʰaa* is used with requests that are cloaked as statements. Were one to say, "I'm hungry *kʰaa*," for example, the implication would be that the speaker wants the hearer to do something to remedy the situation. In example 4.55, a father, imprisoned in the female spirit's house, makes a statement of biological necessity to his son. The implication is that the son (who is actually half–spirit) should temporarily release the father.

(4.55)

CK 17 ʔîiʃǐi tʃʰæ̀æ kʰaa nǽʔ
"(I) really have to urinate." kʰaa nǽʔ

4.5.12 *pjaadèe* (*pjaadèe ~ páʔjáʔdèe*) propositive

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, *pjaadèe* is an invitation that carries the sense of "Let's go do this together, o.k.?" Both speaker and listener are to be included in the proposed activity. In this sense, it is similar to the Thai particle *náʔ*, used by Bisu language assistants in glossing these texts.

(4.56)

CW 17 nikʰàm gaaj nîi juun laŋkáʔ.
páʔjáʔdèe
"So now let's get married!" laŋkáʔ
páʔjáʔdèe

TS 4 kʰàa ʔùuhooŋ wɐɐ miinɯɯŋ pîitʰɔ̀ɔ.
téɐ læ̀æ pjaadèe
"Friend—today let's go gather firewood." pjaadèe

TS 31 kʰàa hɔɔtʃʰén wəə sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk .
tʃʰuu læ̀æ pjaadèe
"Friend squirrel, let's go get some suukhajlook pjaadèe fruit."

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

pjaadèe occurs twice in pre–peak episodes and once at peak.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All *pjaadèe*–containing sentences involve single clauses, and may include a vocative.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

pjaadèe occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

This particle occurs only in quotations, and inevitably means that both speaker and hearer are to be involved in the proposed action. As such, it would seem to be experiencer–related.

4.5.13 *lùu*2 (*lùu*~*luu*) positive imperative

*lùu*2 occurs three times in the folktales at hand, always as a positive command. *lùu*2 is never used to forbid a stated action (negative imperative).

(4.57)
AK 20 tʰiimæ̀æjào naŋ mæ̀æŋpɔ̀ɔŋ ʔáaj luu .
"If it's like that, open your mouth." luu

TD 17 níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋjâo .
cìikùu gaa lak^{h}ɤ̆ɯ tʃ^{h}ao
lælatʃ^{h}iníŋ ts^{h}ææ cák ʔɔɔk
lɯɯlaapoonoo
"If you want to eat me, pull that thorn that pierced my foot, please." lɯɯlaapoonoo

DB 14 hjàa kajcóoŋ t^{h}íimaŋ tʃ^{h}ùu lɤ̀ɯ .
paʔlææ
"Grab that kajcong chicken." lɤ̀ɯ paʔlææ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences are found in pre–peak episodes. The semantic connotations of *lɤ̀ɯ*2 would indicate more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in only quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two of the three *lɤ̀ɯ*2 –containing sentences contain more than one clause. Both of these are conditional sentences, with the two clauses joined by *jao* and *làaŋjâo*, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All three occurrences are found in quotations—a fact which is not unexpected, given the semantic connotations of *lɤ̀ɯ*2.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

*lɤ̀ɯ*2 may only be used by experiencers, in the sense that the speaker is involved in the overall context of the proposed action.

4.5.14 *pao* mild positive imperative

pao occurs three times in the folktale corpus, but is heard quite regularly in everyday Bisu conversations. *pao* represents a generally polite way to urge an action, and sees significant use when visitors come ("Sit down, *pao*," "Have something to drink, *pao*," "Have something to eat, *pao*," etc.)

(4.58)

CK	16	ʔàabooŋ naʔ tɔɔj làapao	.
		"Release your father, o.k.?"	làapao
OR	30	baa wə̌ə booŋ wə̌ə tsàaj pao	.
		"Mother dear, father dear, eat!"	pao
CO	16	jɔɔ naŋ kʰaʔkɔɔʔɯɯkɔɔj pao baacə̌ə	.
		laʔmaŋmiʔ	
		"Well, take whichever pile you want."	pao

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

pao occurs once in a pre–peak episode and twice at peak. The semantic connotations of the particle would indicate more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the *pao*–containing sentences involve single clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

pao only occurs in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As an imperative, *pao*, by definition, is used by an interlocutor.

4.5.15 *jóo* positive command

Occuring three times in the folktale corpus, *jóo* is used to command a certain action.

(4.59)

CO 26 tsʰaaŋ nîi tʰuŋgăa næʔ duŋ jào lák.
huum kaʔjoo
We people live together and need to love each other, you know. káʔjoo

FS 8 càawàa nææ ʔaabooŋ ʃiin jào aŋtùu.
tukʰjàam ʃəəj kwàan jóo
"Suppose tht father dies, then walk around dragging my skull." jóo

FS 9 kéəŋ jóo tʰèəŋ ŋææ jóʔjaa nàa hjàa.
wàa càanjóo
"Wherever it gets stuck, work the hill field there." càanjóo

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Two of the three occurrences are found in pre–peak episodes, while the third occurs in a conclusion. Given *jóo*'s semantic connotations, this particle would appear to play more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two of the *jóo*–containing sentences contain two clauses joined with *jao*. The third contains a relative clause embedded in the subject.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

jóo occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

jóo is found only in quotations, and is necessarily utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.16 *læ̀w* positive command

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, *læ̀w* is used in making strong requests or commands. The impact of *læ̀w* can be mitigated by the use of the polite particle *pè e* (section 4.5.21), as shown in example set 4.60:

(4.60)

ST	4 gaa nammɯɯ tʰɨ̀ɯ maŋ sɨ̀ɯj ææn .	
	læ̀wlææ	
	"Anyone—someone take me there!"	læ̀wlææ
ST	6 naŋ mànpɔɔŋ haksaa haa læ̀wpèe	.
	"Take care of your mouth!"	læ̀wpèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

One occurrence is found in the orientation stage, while the other occurs in a pre–peak episode. Neither of the occurrences are found in episode boundaries or other particularly significant sentences.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both *læ̀w*–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

læ̀w occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

læ̀w is used only by experiencers.

4.5.17 *lá?* imperative

Occurring once in the folktale corpus, *lá?* is a fairly strong imperative which, in the absence of the politeness particle *pláæ* is somewhat rude.

(4.61)

AK 18 plòɔŋ lá?pláæ .
Help me. lá?pláæ

4.5.18 *làwlææ* imperative

Occurring once in the corpus, *làwlææ* is a mild imperative used in making requests.

(4.62)

ST 4 gaa nammɯɯ tʰùɯ maŋ sùɯj ææn .
làwlææ
"Anyone—someone take me there!" làwlææ

4.5.19 *coo* negative command

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, *coo* is used when forbidding a specific action.

(4.63)

CO 1 kʰàatɔɔŋ ææn ŋææ nè? ?àahaa .
tsàalææ coo
"I'm clever"—don't think that! ?àahaa..coo

CO 25 háakna? bàa sɯɯ bàa săj næ? ?àahaa .
coo
Don't think about being crooked with other people. ?àahaa coo

OR 14 nikâm wèənææ tʃʰi?úkɔ́ɔŋ tɔɔj læw .
bàa pìi lɯɯ lææɔɔ coo nææ
"This time take them to a far place to release them and then don't let them be able to come back!" coo nææ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the folktale corpus at hand, coo is found in both the title and the conclusion of one story, and in a pre–peak episode of another.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One of the three occurrences involves two clauses joined by *lææw*.[41]

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

coo is found only in quotations (including audience–directed elements, such as the moral of a story).

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

coo is found only in quotations, and is necessarily is utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.20 ʔàahaa negative command strengthener

ʔàahaa occurs twice in the folktale corpus, in the title and the conclusion of "Don't Dare Think You're Clever!" ʔàahaa is used only in forbidding specific actions. As such, it would appear to strengthen the command indicated by the ensuing coo, which may occur without ʔàahaa (see section 4.5.19). ʔàahaa may occur in the final particle cluster (CO 50), or preceding the verb (CO2).

[41] *laew* is a loan word of Daic origin. It fulfills an identical conjunctive function in both Northern and Central Thai.

(4.64)

CO 1 kʰàatɔɔŋ ææn ŋææ nè? ʔàahaa.
tsàalææ coo
"I'm clever"—don't think that! ʔàahaa..coo

CO 25 háakna? bàa suu bàa săj næ? ʔàahaa.
coo
Don't think about being crooked with other people. ʔàahaa coo

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The semantic connotations of this particle suggest a sentence–level role for *ʔàahaa*

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in the quotation–like title and moral, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both occurrences of *ʔàahaa* are in monoclausal sentences.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Both of the occurrences of *ʔàahaa* are quotation–like in nature. One would suspect that *ʔàahaa* is used only in quotations, as is the case with the other Bisu imperative particles.[42]

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

ʔàahaa is found only in quotations, and is necessarily is utilized by interlocutors.

[42] This, of course, relates to the very nature of imperatives as a form of me–you interaction. It is difficult to even imagine an imperative framed in any other sort of interaction.

4.5.21 *pèe* politeness marker

The particle *pèe* occurs three times in the folktale corpus. All of these occurrences involve some sort of command. Nonetheless, *pèe* itself is not an imperative form. Indeed, it is used in such distinctly non–imperative situations as leave taking, wherein the one who is departing announces, *ʔææ na pèe* 'I'm going.' In the sentences in example set 4.65, *pèe* is making the commands less harsh, putting them in a more polite light.

(4.65)

CK 34 naŋ kéeŋ kétkám ʔææ jào niŋ tʃʰək.
kannoo pèe
(And she said), "Wherever you're reincarnated, kannoo pèe
beat this gong."

CW 11 naaŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa sɯɯŋ jâo naaŋ.
aŋjàa maŋnaʔ sææ pèe
"If you love me, kill your child!" pèe

ST 6 naŋ mànpɔɔŋ haksaa haa làewpèe .
"Take care of your mouth!" làewpèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the folktale corpus, *pèe* occurs in twice in pre–peak episodes and once at peak. Given *pèe*'s semantic connotations, this particle would appear to play more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two *pèe*–containing sentences involve more than one clause. In both cases, the clauses are joined by *jao*.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

pèe occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

By definition, *pèe* is used only by experiencers.

4.5.22 *gaa*1 ability

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, *gaa*1 affirms the subjects' ability to carry out a certain action. Unless otherwise modified, *gaa*1 carries a perfective sense. Thus, it is not as much a matter of a potential ability as one that has been utilized.

As mentioned earlier, *kaa*1 carries a similar function, involving a 'permanent state or ability.' The main language assistant for this project claims that *gaa*1 and *kaa*1 are distinct particles, although they often co–occur. All the occurrences of *gaa*1 in this corpus are followed by *kaa*1, but there are many cases of *kaa*1 occurring without *gaa*1.

(4.66)

OR 9 cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuutʰəə jèe.
juum aŋluu læægaakaa
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. kaaluulæægaakaa

OR 26 cáa ʔææ kʰən ʔææ jào tsʰaaŋ aŋcaa.
aŋpaaŋ maŋ jèet mi aŋcam gaakaajèe
When they arrived, the two rich people were able to remember. gaakaajèe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Both occurrences of gaa1 are in pre–peak episodes. One gaa1–containing sentence comprises an episode boundary. Nonetheless, gaa1's semantic connotations would argue for more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two gaa1–containing sentences have transitivity scores of 7 and 4, respectively, for a mid–range average of 5.5.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both gaa1–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

In this corpus, gaa1 occurs only in non–quote sentences. The main language assistant for this project claims that gaa1 is not likely to be used in a quotation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

Given that gaa1 occurs only in non–quote sentences, it is a non–experiencer particle.

4.5.23 gaa2 + siŋ 'desire'

When used in conjunction with siŋ, 'want,' gaa2 indicates a desire. gaa2 is distinct from gaa1 in that the gaa2 precedes làæ 'again' in the particle cluster while gaa1 follows làæ. Moreover, the main language assistant for this project was very insistent on gaa2 being inherently different from gaa1—a proposition which this researcher found difficult to accept until the issue of particle cluster ordering surfaced. It is interesting to note that gaa2 and siŋ work in conjunction with one another despite being separate by làæ—one of the few particle pairs thus deployed.

*gaa*2 appears similar in structure and function to the Lahu *gâ*, which Matisoff labels "desiderative" (1973: 332).

(4.67)

CW 8 nikʰàm wàa aŋbooŋ maŋ kʰàabaa.
aŋsùu gaalæ̀æ̀siŋjèe
At this time, the father wanted a new wife. gaalæ̀æ̀siŋ jèe

4.5.24 *tɔɔ* inability

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, *tɔɔ* usually indicates that the actor is incapable of carrying out some action. *tɔɔ* always co–occurs with *kaa*1 'permanent state or ability', but *kaa*1 frequently occurs without *tɔɔ* (section 4.4.6). *tɔɔkaa* is generally used in conjunction with the preverbal negation marker *bàa* in describing inability (as is the case in all the sentences in example 4.68). *tɔɔ*1 can be used to indicate ability (rather than inability) by the addition of the prefix *aŋ*, yeilding *aŋtɔɔkaa*.[43]

(4.68)

AK 7 cáa kʰoon jáo bàa ʔɔɔk lùutɔɔ.
kaʔjèe
Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out. lùutɔɔ kaʔjèe

OR 16 jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùuj.
kaaluulæ̀æ̀tɔɔkaajèe
The two children were unable to return together. kaaluulæ̀æ̀ tɔɔkaajèe

TS 10 ʔaŋtʰàa pùukjàa ʔùuhooŋ máa cuŋcuŋ.
bàa pʰjàa tɔɔ kaamæ̀æ̀
The turtle was unable to climb to that top area. tɔɔ kaamæ̀æ̀

[43] This has not been observed in the corpus, but has been attested to by the main language assistant for this project.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences of *tɔɔ* are found in pre–peak espisodes. There are no occurrences at episode boundaries, nor are there any additional features of discourse significance. Given the semantic connotations of *tɔɔ*, this particle would appear to have more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The three *tɔɔ*–containing sentences bear transitivity scores of 2, 2, and 1, respectively, for an average of 1.67. This is not unexpected, given that the particle describes events or states that are not realized.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All three *tɔɔ*–containing sentences are monoclausal

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All of the *tɔɔ*–containing sentences in this corpus are in non–quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

tɔɔ may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike, although there is a marked tendency in conversational Bisu to use the phrase *bàa* (activity) *sʉ́ŋ* 'not yet (able) to (activity)' to express inability.

4.5.25 *wá?* content question

wá? occurs three times in the folktale corpus, always marking a content question. It would appear to be a Daic loan, inasmuch as both Northern and Central Thai utilize *wá?* in asking questions. The Bisu *wá?*, however, does not bear the connotations of informal or even insulting speech carried by the Thai *wá?*. All the

occurrences of *wá?* are found in a folktale written by a teenager; younger Bisu speakers resort to loans much more readily than their elders.

(4.69)

PB	9 gaa mææ haaj wá?	.
	"What should I do?"	wá?
PB	18 joɔ kəəŋ wii ʔææ wá?nè?	.
	"Well, where are we going to throw (him.)?"	wá?nè?
PB	42 cə̌əkəəŋ wii lǽæ wá?nè?	.
	"Where should (we) throw (him)?"	wá?nè?

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three *wá?*–containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes. None co–occur with episode boundaries or other prominent discourse features.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All three *wá?*–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

wá? occurs only in quotations, and may be followed by *nè?*, which marks the conclusion of a quotation (see section 4.4.12).

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

wá? is used only by experiencers.

4.5.26 *láa* interrogative marker

Although *láa* occurs only once in the folktale corpus, it is used with great frequency in everyday speech for non–wh questions. Example 4.70 is typical:

(4.70)

DB 10 hjáapʰàa kajcóoŋ nimaŋ tʃʰùu láa.
hjáapʰàa puutʃʰaa nimaŋ tʃʰuu láa
Shall we grab a Kaijcong chicken or a Puutshaa láa chicken?

4.5.27 *má?* negative emphatic

má? occurs three times in the folktale corpus, always in sentences containing declarations of undesirability. According to the main language assistant for this project, *má?* adds additional emphasis to the declaration. In addition, *má?* cannot occur in isolation; it must be accompanied by a particle such as *tʃʰii* or *tʃʰá*, as shown in examples set 4.71:

(4.71)

AK 27 ʔoo laŋʃjaam na? maa ʃiin tʃʰáʔmáʔ .
"Ooh—this otter is dead already!" tʃʰáʔmáʔ

PB 12 ʔəənææhaaŋjèe naʔmaŋ ʃiin tʃʰáʔmáʔ .
"Uuuh! This (thing) has died already!" tʃʰáʔmáʔ

PB 36 bàa tsàa bàa tăŋ bùu tʃʰiilaamáʔ .
"(The cucumbers and melons) won't be delicious!" tʃʰiilaamáʔ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

má? appears twice in pre–peak episodes, and once at peak. It does not co–occur with episode boundaries or other significant features. Given its semantic connotations, *má?* would appear to play more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle appears only in quotations in this corpus, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the *máʔ*–containing sentences involve single clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All the occurrences of this particle are in quotations. Nonetheless, a Bisu assistant claims that *máʔ* may be used in non–quotation sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

máʔ may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.5.28 *cáa* positive emphatic

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, *cáa* emphasizes the preceding verb. In the first sentence of example set 4.72, *cáa* emphasizes that the monkeys did indeed appear, while the use of *cáa* in the second sentence indicates that the poor boy indeed told the whole story to his friend:

(4.72)

PB 11 ʃii kææk̀æ̀æ kasəəj muuloŋ jàaŋ lʉ̀ʉn .
tʃʰijèecáa
(When he) went and acted like he had died, that tʃʰiijèecáa
group of monkeys indeed came.

PB 29 mâaj tʃʰiicáa .
(He) told (him) everything. tʃʰiicáa

cáa is the only particle that occurs after *tʃʰiijèe* —something which is all the more remarkable for *cáa*'s close association with the preceding verb.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Both occurrences of *cáa* are found in pre–peak episodes, with one of the *cáa* –containing sentences appearing at episode boundary.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two *cáa*–containing sentences hold transitivity scores of 6 and 7, respectively, for an average of 6.5. This relatively high transitivity ranking is not unexpected, given *cáa*'s role as lending emphasis to verbs, as well as *cáa*'s co–occurrence with *tʃʰii*.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One of the *cáa*–containing sentences has a clause embedded as a time phrase, while the other sentence is monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

All of the occurrences of *cáa* are found in non–quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

cáa may only be used in the speech of a narrator, immediately indicating that the speaker was not personally involved in the reported event. It is thus a feature of reported account. In this respect, *cáa* is similar to *jèe* , which likewise is an immediate indication of non–experiencer status.

4.5.29 *ʔii* readily deduceable knowledge

Occurring only once in the folktale corpus, *ʔii* is used in reply to questions. According to the main language assistant for this project, the use of *ʔii* indicates that the speaker thinks the person who asked the question should know at least something of the answer. It is not that the answer is totally obvious, but that it is logically deduceable, a sort of indirect evidentiality. For example, if someone, upon coming across an unfamiliar kind of fruit, asked, "What do you do with this?", a friend might reply, "Well, you eat it *ʔii*." Similarly, in example 4.73, the rabbit

employs *ʔii* in reply to his own rhetorical question regarding the fate of the slow–witted otter.

(4.73)

AK 14 náa ʃii kaʔnaaʔíi .
"You will die for sure." káʔnaaʔíi

In these functions, *ʔii* is similar to the *sìi* of Central Thai (Cooke 1989: 91), utilized by Bisu speakers in word–by–word glosses, and the *kāa* of Northern Thai (Suzanne Person 1998: 30).[44]

4.5.30 *ŋáʔ1* comprehensive extent

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, *ŋáʔ1* emphasizes the extent of a situation. In the first sentence of 4.74, *ŋáʔ1* indicates that the spirit was completely covered in blood; without *ŋáʔ1* the sentence would merely read "(It was) bloody." Similarly, in CO 6 *ŋáʔ1* emphasizes that they had a great number and variety of fish.

(4.74)

MB 23 ʃìi æ̀æn ŋaʔjèe .
It was completely covered in blood. ŋaʔjèe

CO 6 lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ aŋʔii aŋhù̱u aŋtsaa æ̀æn .
ŋaʔjèe
[They] had both large and small fish. ŋaʔjèe

[44] If the speaker is truly annoyed with the question, and wants to indicate that the answer is entirely obvious, the particle *ʔiimaj* is utilized. Thus, a normal question such as "What are you eating?", asked when the food is in plain view and, in the Bisu cultural context, indicating that the speaker would like to join in the meal, could be answered with *ʔii* if the person was welcome to eat or *ʔiimaj* if the diners definitely did not want company.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

One ŋáʔ1–containing sentence occurs at peak, the other in a pre–peak episode. Neither occurrences involve episode boundaries. This, coupled with the semantic connotations of ŋáʔ1, would argue for more of a sentence–level role for this particle.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two ŋáʔ1–containing sentences post transitivity scores of 2 and 5, respectively, for an average of 3.5. This relatively low average score is not unexpected, given ŋáʔ1's apparent role in describing situations or states.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both ŋáʔ1–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

The two ŋáʔ1–containing sentences in the folktale corpus are non–quote. There is no information on whether the particle may also appear in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

ŋáʔ1 may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.5.31 tʃʰii2 + tʃʰaʔ~tʃʰàŋ 'left in that state'

Occurring only twice in the folktale corpus, the combination of tʃʰii2 and tʃʰaʔ takes on semantic connotations larger than the sum of its parts. As revealed in written Thai glosses and conversations with language assistants, tʃʰii2+ tʃʰaʔ carries a sense of leaving something in a certain state. In CK 11, the spirit leaves her slave–husband locked in the house whenever she goes out, while in TS 29 the turtle leaves a set trap at the foot of a tree.

(4.75)

CK 11 tʃʰææŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maŋ laŋkóo pʰìi .
tʃʰii tʃʰàŋjèe
Chengkoi would lock the door as she left. tʃʰii
tʃʰàŋjèe

TS 29 sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk pǎŋ jóo kap jàaŋ kʰɔ̀ɔj .
tʃʰiitʃʰajao
(She) set the trap at the suukhajlook tree and left it there. tʃʰii
tʃʰajao

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two *tʃʰiitʃʰà*–containing sentences are found in pre–peak episodes. Neither of these constitute episode boundaries. It is perhaps significant that both of these sentences effectively set the stage for forthcoming peak events—the escape of the entrapped husband in "Chengkoikoi, The Female Spirit," and the death of the fruit–stealing squirrel in "Turtle and Squirrel." Additional examples are needed to determine whether this is a mere coincidence, as could be deduced from the seemingly sentence level semantic connotations of *tʃʰiitʃʰà*.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

These two sentences have transitivity scores of 9 and 8, respectively, for an extremely high average of 8.5. Additional examples would be needed to establish the consistency with which *tʃʰiitʃʰà*–containing sentences post such high scores.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Neither sentence contains more than one clause.[45]

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote

tʃʰiitʃʰà occurs only in non–quote sentences.

[45] TS 29 contains serial verbs, not multiple clauses.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

tʃʰiitʃʰà can only be used by narrators relating events in which they were not personally involved.

4.5.32 *lá?waa* 'any more'

Occurring only once in the folktale corpus, *lá?waa* indicates that a certain condition no longer exists. These two syllables function as one unit; the *waa* here is different from that discussed in section 4.5.25. *lá?waa* is only used in negative situations, following the negative marker *bàa*, as shown in example 4.76:

(4.76)

OR 17 ʔacǎm kʰùu aŋbaa kuutʰəə nææ kʰèe.
plòoŋ maŋ bàa caa lá?waa
In addition, the mother dog who always followed lá?waa
and helped them was not there any more.

4.5.33 *lá?* natural disaster

One of the more unique Bisu particles, *lá?* indicates that the tragic event recalled in the sentence was the result of natural forces, rather than the intentions of human beings. There is only one example of this particle in the thirteen folktales, OR 68, when the evil stepmother is swallowed into the earth:

(4.77)

OR 34 nuuŋtʃʰàa həə kʰəə kancàŋ .
nuuŋtʃʰàa jàaŋ plaak latʃʰiijèe
When she hit the ground the earth opened. lá?tʃʰiijèe

lá? is not a passive marker, in that it cannot be used with animate participants. An unsolved murder, for example, could not utilize *lá?*. *lá?* is not limited to

fictional accounts; it could, for example, be used in describing how a bamboo house was blown over by a fierce windstorm.

4.5.34 *laalææ* intensity of hunger

Occurring once in the corpus, *laalææ* idiomatically emphasizes the intensity of a character's hunger. It is not used in describing any other attributes.

(4.78)

TS 14 luutaamluu hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ.
sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk bæ̀æn laalæ̀æpitʃʰiijée laalæ̀æpii tʃʰìijée
Not long thereafter, the squirrel got hungry for the suukhajlook fruit.

4.6 Particle usage across genres

The purpose of this section is to compare particle usage in the written folktales with that of the life stories and expository texts.

4.6.1 Life stories

4.6.1.1 Particle frequency

The three oral life stories studied contain a total of 865 sentences, 489 of which (56.53%) contain particles. Thus, the overall frequency of particle usage in the life stories is less than that of the written folktales, wherein 86.2% of all sentences contain particles. This 30% difference may relate to the fact that the written folktales are written; that is, the authors wrote and then edited their texts to fit more "standardized" sentence patterns than might be found in spontaneous oral speech.

The life stories contain an average of one and no more than three particles per particle–containing sentence (table 4.32).

Table 4.32. Number of particles per sentence in life stories

# particles/ sentence	# sentences	% of total # sentences
0	367	42.43%
1	334	38.61%
2	147	16.99%
3	17	1.97%
Total	865	100.00%

The figures listed in table 4.32 are comparable to quotation–containing sentences in the written folktales, which likewise contain an average of one and no more than three sentence final particles (see table 4.2, section 4.1.1). This is

nonetheless different from non–quotation containing sentences in the written folktales, which average almost two and may contain up to six particles.

4.6.1.2 Particle distribution

The life stories at hand contain fifty–two distinct particles, occurring a total of 679 times in 498 of the 865 sentences, as shown in table 4.33.

Table 4.33. Life story texts particle inventory (Northern Thai/Thai loans in grey)

Particle	# Occurrences	% of total sent (865)	% sent w/part (498)	% of total particles (678)
ŋææ	132	15.26%	26.51%	19.47%
jaa	93	10.75%	18.67%	13.72%
ŋá?2	47	5.43%	9.44%	6.93%
?ææ	40	4.62%	8.03%	5.90%
laa1	40	4.62%	8.03%	5.90%
lææ	40	4.62%	8.03%	5.90%
pìi	33	3.82%	6.63%	4.87%
jao	32	3.70%	6.43%	4.72%
kaa2	32	3.70%	6.43%	4.72%
paanɔ̀ɔ	30	3.47%	6.02%	4.42%
gaa	17	1.97%	3.41%	2.51%
jaowəə	14	1.62%	2.81%	2.06%
làaj	8	0.92%	1.61%	1.18%
?àa	7	0.81%	1.41%	1.03%
làæ1	7	0.81%	1.41%	1.03%
tʃʰii	6	0.69%	1.20%	0.88%
wəə̆	8	0.92%	1.61%	1.18%
wà?	5	0.58%	1.00%	0.74%
?ɔɔŋ	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
haaŋ	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
laalææ	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
pèe	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
suuŋ	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
dèe	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
jèe	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
kaa1	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
nàa	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
tʃʰii2	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
màj	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
hææŋ	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
jàaŋ	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
lùu	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
nɔɔ	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
tɔɔ	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
tʃʰá?	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
kaanee	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
kʰaalææ	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
naa	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
nææ kʰee	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
ʃii	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
wàaj laaj	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
woo	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
næ?	7	0.81%	1.41%	1.03%
nææ	6	0.69%	1.20%	0.88%
ká?	5	0.58%	1.00%	0.74%
nɔɔ	4	0.46%	0.80%	0.59%
nà?	3	0.35%	0.60%	0.44%
là?	2	0.23%	0.40%	0.29%
já?	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
lá?	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
lææw	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%
ŋàaj	1	0.12%	0.20%	0.15%

In comparing table 4.33 with table 4.3, several differences between the life stories and the written folktales become immediately obvious. First, the written folktales exhibit a much greater variety of particles: Eighty–two in 384 sentences, as opposed to fifty–two in 865 sentences. Second, the life stories utilize more particles borrowed from Nothern Thai (grey area of table 4.33), than are found in the written folktales. This may be related to the editorial process; the authors of the written folktales read and commented upon each other's output, with occasional discussions about authentic Bisu words which were losing ground to Thai and Northern Thai loans, while the life stories were oral and spontaneous.

Third, the life stories manifest a more even distribution of frequently used particles, with *ŋææ*, *jaa*, and *ŋáʔ* occurring in 26.51%, 18.88%, and 13.84% of all particle–containing sentences. By contrast, *jèe* and *tʃʰii* are used in 50.59% and 43.79% of particle–containing sentences in the folktales, while the third most frequent particle, *lææ*, occurs in 13.02% of particle–containing sentences, a sharp decrease. Figure 4.7 chronicles the frequency with which the ten most used particles in each genre occur in particle–containing sentences, demonstrating how the life stories use several particles at similar frequency levels, while the written folktales use relatively few particles with any great frequency.

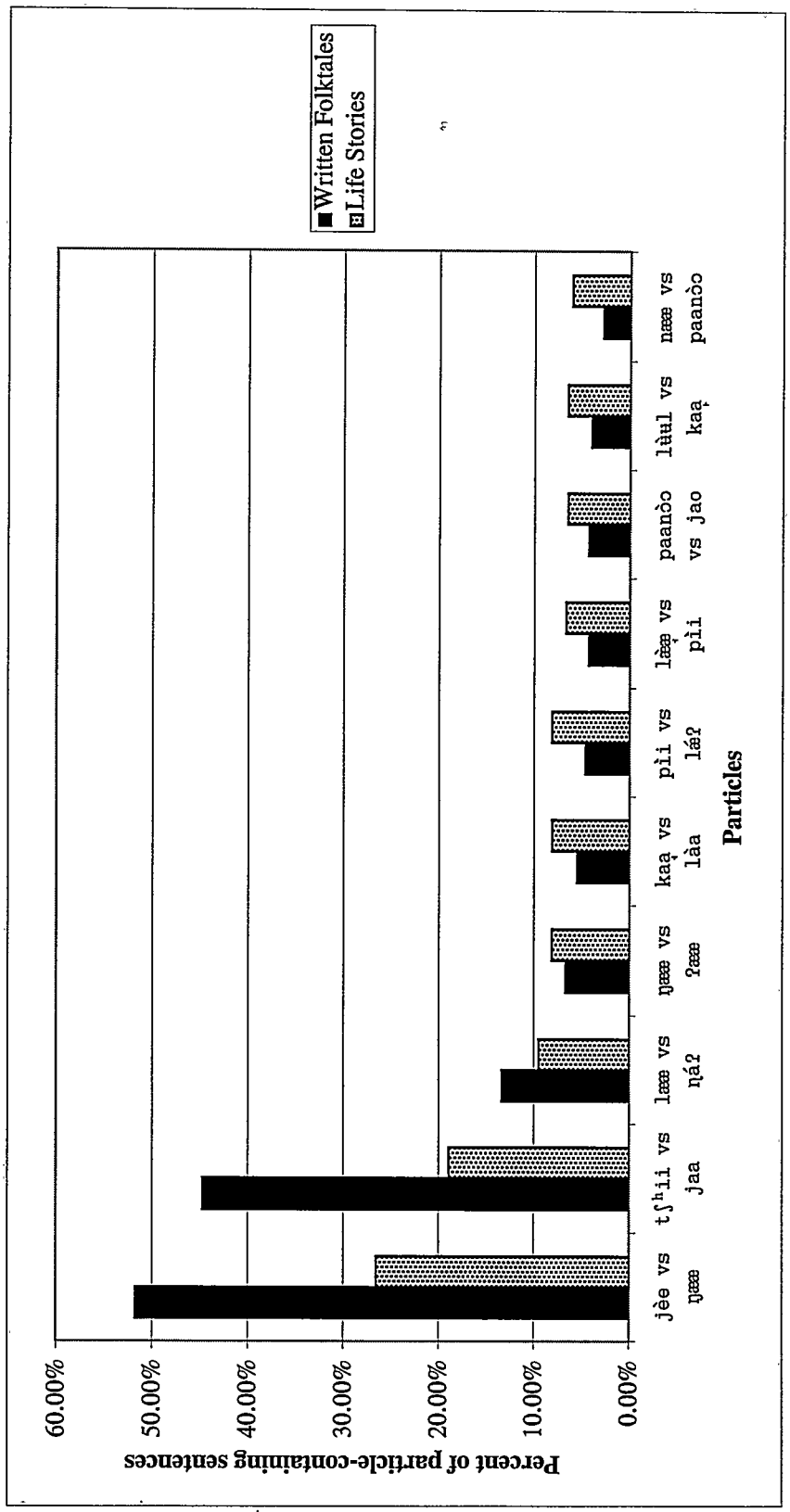

Figure 4.7. Percent of sentences containing the 10 most frequently used particles in written folktales and life stories.

Most significantly, the particles utilized vary significantly between the two genres. Among the written folktales, *jèe* and *tʃʰii* are used 171 and 148 times, respectively; those same particles are used only three and six times in the life stories. Conversely, *ŋææ*, *jaa*, and *ŋáʔ* are used 132, ninety–four, and forty–seven times in the life stories, while they garner a mere twenty–three, five, and two occurrences in the written folktales. Thus, without even discussing the semantic and discourse–related connotations of the individual particles, it becomes obvious that very different usage patterns are exhibited in the two genres, despite the fact that they both fall under the general "narrative" rubric. These differences in usage will be discussed in section 4.6.1.3.

4.6.1.3 Comparison of frequently used particles

4.6.1.3.1 *jèe*; the argument from absence

The most frequently used particle in the written folktales makes a mere three appearances in the life stories, as shown in example set 4.79:

(4.79)

UDG	215	nàa tùu càŋ ŋææ jèe (My husband) hired himself out to dig rice fields.	. ŋææ jèe
UDG	378	ʔiikee nii ʔɯɯm mìi hàaŋ pʰrææ jèe This group of children sometimes had only rice and water.	. jèe
UDG	379	hàaŋ bàa dáaj jèe (The children) sometimes just had plain rice.	. jèe

UDG 215 occurs in the midst of a discussion about the activities of her husband when the children were small. While many aspects of rice farming are carried out by men and women alike, the matter of clearing land and digging paddy fields is physically demanding, and would have been the work of males. Thus, *jèe* is being

used for an activity beyond the immediate experience of the speaker. Similarly, UDG 378 and 379 occur during a discussion of how the speaker's family had very little to eat when their children were young, to the point where parents often went hungry themselves so that the children would have something. But even that something was often very little, such as the plain rice and water described here.

The vast difference in the frequency of *jèe* usage in the third person accounts of the written folktales and the eyewitness accounts of the life stories underlines the evidential nature of *jèe*, as well as *jèe*'s discourse level association with the folktale genre.

4.6.1.3.2 *ŋææ* stative

Unlike *jèe*, *ŋææ* is used frequently in both folktales and life stories. Indeed, it is the most frequently used particle in the life stories, with 132 occurrences (15.26% of all sentences, 26.51% of particle–containing sentences). As mentioned in section 4.4.1, *ŋææ* is used to describe physical or emotional states, as well as routine activities. It is in the latter function that *ŋææ* sees a great deal of use in the life stories, often in describing daily activities and conditions, as shown in example set 4.80:

(4.80)

UDG	317	guu hææméæ jùŋ ŋææ	
		We had to sleep like that.	ŋææ
UDG	318	hàaŋ bèæ hææméæ ʔot ŋææ	
		(We slept) hungry and lacking, like that.	ŋææ
UDG	331	tsèəŋ haaj tsàa ŋææ	
		(We) boiled rice [to make it go further].	ŋææ
UDG	382	nìi méæ tsàa kan ŋææ	
		(They) lived and ate together like that.	ŋææ
UD	93	ʔàabaa ʔàaboŋ næ napt^{h}ɯɯhaaŋ ŋææ	
		(I did so because I) always showed respect to my father and mother.	ŋææ
UH	73	t^{h}ii toon k^{h}anaat tùk ŋææ	
		Back then (we) were very poor.	ŋææ

Although *ŋææ* is the most frequently used particle in the life stories, it is difficult to assign it any larger discourse role. While *tʃʰii* consistently marks the mainline of the written folktales, and the extraction of all *tʃʰii*–containing sentences provides an abstract of the story, for example, the extraction of all *ŋææ*–containing sentences from a life story would not provide a satisfactory outline of the discourse.

4.6.1.3.3 *jao*: cohesion, and completion

As mentioned in section 4.1.6, *jao* is used with great frequency in the written folktales to join two clauses. As such, it occurs sentence medially in the written folktales.

In the life stories, sentence boundaries are somewhat more difficult to determine. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the life stories represent spontaneous oral performances, rather than written texts which have undergone numerous revisions. Indeed, in the life histories it is not at all uncommon to go for a number of clauses before reaching what would appear to be a sentence final particle cluster. This contrasts with the written folktales, wherein it is extremely rare to observe more than two suceessive clauses without a sentence final particle cluster.

It is thus not surprising to find the conjunction *jao* used with much greater frequency in the oral life stories than it saw in the written folktales. Indeed, *jao* occurs thirty–two times in what language assistants deemed to be sentence final position, and many other times sentence medially.

In the context of the oral life stories, then, it would appear that *jao* is acting as a cohesive device, binding together a number of successive events, as demonstrated in example set 4.81:

(4.81)

UH	131	ʔaŋpʰan tʃʰiit tʃʰiit tʃhiit kaan jao	.
		(I'd) take the betel nut and sliver it.	jao
UH	132	burìi jɔɔj jao	.
		(I'd) roll the cigarettes.	jao
UH	133	kòɔ hoolok pluuŋ kaan jao	.
		(I'd) put it in the container for the betel nut	jao
UH	134	tʃʰii tʃʰàaŋ jáʔ	.
		(I'd) set it all aside	jáʔ

At the same time, *jao* carries a connotation to the effect that the previous action has been completed, setting the stage for the actions to come. In this sense, *jao* carries a completive sense, somewhat along the lines of *tʃʰii* (which never co–occurs with *jao*). The importance of this aspectual component of *jao* will become apparent in section 4.6.1.3.4.

4.6.1.3.4 *tʃʰii* and the completive complex

Like *jèe*, *tʃʰii* sees abundant use in the written folktales, and scant mention in the life stories (compare tables 4.3 and 4.33). When *tʃʰii* does occur in the life stories, it is usually in connection with decisive events, such as death, marriage, and divorce, as shown in example set 4.82:

(4.82)

UDG	5	ʔàabaa naa wàaŋ lèʔ tʃʰii	.
		(Father) separated from mother.	tʃʰii
UDG	13	pòɔŋhnaa ʔàahmjaaŋ pɔ tʃʰii jàaŋ	.
		(I) cared for buffalo and cows.	tʃʰii jàaŋ
UDG	417	ʃii tʃʰii	.
		(Mother and father) died (before I could care for them).	tʃʰii
UDG	432	kʰàabaa ʔɔɔŋ káʔ tʃʰii hææ taŋ mii	.
		(We) got married like that.	káʔ tʃʰii
UH	8	ʔàabaa ʃii tʃʰii	.

	(My) mother died.		tʃʰii
UH	71 ʔùubonŋ ʃii tʃʰii		.
	(My) husband died.		tʃʰii

The fact that *tʃʰii* is seldom used in the life stories does not mean that any significant sort of completive aspect is absent. As mentioned in 4.3.2.3, the life stories make abundant use of the conjunction *jao*, which bears connotations of completion, in both sentence medial and sentence final positions. Furthermore, the life stories fully utilize *jaa*1, *ŋáʔ*2[46], *laa*1, and *paanɔ̀ɔ* as completive markers. This represents a fascinating series of symmetrical relationships, for *jaa*1, *ŋáʔ*2, and *laa*1 are used sparingly in the folktales and abundantly in the life stories, as shown in figure 4.8:[47]

[46] *ŋáʔ*2 does not occur in the folktale corpus. In the life stories, it plays a role similar to that of *jaa*1 in assserting that the related event did indeed take place.

[47] *jao* is not included in this chart due to the ambiguity of its position in the sentence; whereas *jaa*1, *ŋáʔ*2, and *laa*1 clearly and consistently occur in sentence final particle clusters, *jao* is more apt to merely join clauses.

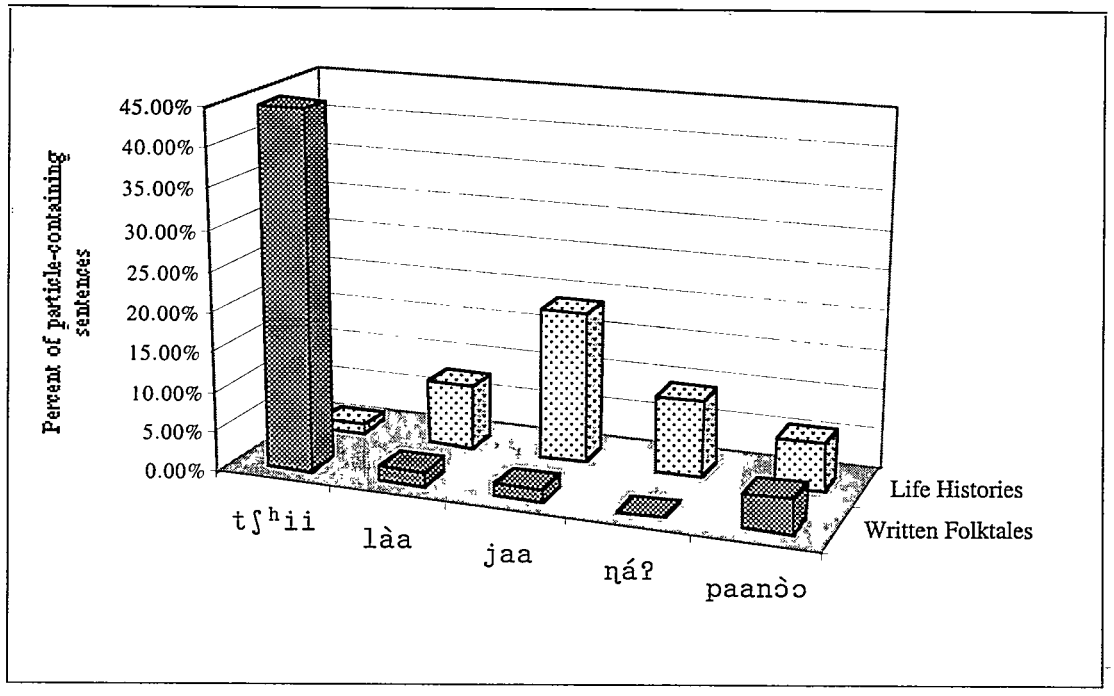

Figure 4.8. Comparison of frequency of select particles in life histories and written folktales.

A conclusion may thus be drawn to the effect that different types of completives are preferred in different genres.

4.6.2 Expository texts

4.6.2.1 Particle frequency

The six expository texts studied contain ninety–six sentences, sixty–four (66.66%) of which contain sentence final particles. Thus, the overall percentage of particle–containing sentences in the expository texts is slightly higher than that of the life stories (56.53%) and slightly lower than that of the written folktales (86.2%).

Expository text sentences contain up to three sentence final particles, but have fewer than two 75% of the time, as shown in table 4.34:

Table 4.34. Number of particles per sentence in expository texts

# particles/ sentence	# sentences	% of total # sentences
0	32	33.33%
1	40	41.67%
2	22	22.92%
3	2	2.08%
Total	96	100.00%

In this, then, the expository text sentences are similar to the life stories and quotation–containing written folktale sentences in containing relatively few particles in the particle cluster. This contrasts with non–quotation–containing written folktale sentences, which feature more than two particles roughly 70% of the time.

4.6.2.2 Particle distribution

The expository texts at hand contain fifteen distinct sentence final particles, occurring a total of eighty–nine times, as shown in table 4.35:

Table 4.35. Expository texts particle inventory

Particle	# Occurrences	% of total sent (96)	% sent w/part (64)	% of total particles (89)
ŋææ	31	32.29%	48.44%	34.83%
pii	16	16.67%	25.00%	17.98%
jao	9	9.38%	14.06%	10.11%
laa5	8	8.33%	12.50%	8.99%
ʔææ	8	8.33%	12.50%	8.99%
jaa1	3	3.13%	4.69%	3.37%
sɯɯŋ	3	3.13%	4.69%	3.37%
gaa	2	2.08%	3.13%	2.25%
lææ	2	2.08%	3.13%	2.25%
làæ1	2	2.08%	3.13%	2.25%
laa1	1	1.04%	1.56%	1.12%
lɯŋ	1	1.04%	1.56%	1.12%
ʃè	1	1.04%	1.56%	1.12%
tʃʰii1	1	1.04%	1.56%	1.12%
tʃʰii2	1	1.04%	1.56%	1.12%

4.6.2.3 Comparison of frequently used particles

The expository texts are similar to the life stories in featuring the particle *ŋææ* in a large percentage of sentences. Also like the life stories, the expository texts contain many clauses joined by *jao*. The fact that the stative *ŋææ* and the completive–scented *jao* never co–occur further emphasizes their distinct functions.

The most frequently found particle in the written folktales, *jèe*, is completely absent from the expository texts, while the second most frequent written folktale particle, *tʃʰii*, is found only once in the expository texts.

From the perspective of particle usage, then, the life stories and expository texts would appear to have more in common with one another than they do with the written folktales. These similarities stem from two sources. First, both life stories and expository texts are true. Indeed, the authors of the texts had been eyewitnesses to all that they said. Second, the life stories themselves have a significant expository component in that they are explaining life in the "(mostly bad) old days." Regular reference is made in the texts to the fact that life is no longer as miserable as it used to be, that modern children have not had to undergo the same privations, and so forth.

Once again, then, text type is seen to be a powerful force in predestining particle distribution in Bisu discourse.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The goal of this study, as stated in chapter one, was to address the function of Bisu particles in narrative discourse. The results show that particle usage in Bisu discourse is affected in varying degrees by a number of factors, including text type, place in the discourse, transitivity, sentence complexity, and the experiencer/non–experience distinction, as well as the semantic connotations of individual particles.

Discussions of the results pertaining to the goal of this study are presented in 5.1. Section 5.2 discusses the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the study, while section 5.3 discusses the implications of this study. Section 5.4 makes recommendations for further research.

5.1 Factors affecting particle usage

5.1.1 Impact of text type and genre

Different particles are found with different degrees of frequency in different text types and genres. Particles such as *tʃʰii*, *jèe*, and *lææ* are used extensively in the written folktales, but rarely in the life stories and expository texts. This illustrates one of the basic tenets of the Longacrean school: text type affects sentence level phenomena. So dramatic are these differing patterns of particle usage that a native speaker of Bisu can quickly ascertain text type based on two or three sentences.

5.1.2 Impact of place in the discourse

A second major factor in particle usage is the point in the discourse at which the sentence appears. Certain particles are never found in the orientation and conclusion stages, for example. In addition, pre–peak episode sentences typically take many more particles than their counterparts at other points in the discourse. Certain particle combinations are unlikely to be found at peak and peak′. This reflects another Longacrean maxim: the "zone of turbulence" that is the peak of a story often features changes in the length of syntactic units—in this case, the number of particles likely to be used in a given peak or peak′ sentence.

5.1.3 Impact of sentence complexity

Somewhat surprisingly, this study found no strong correlation between more complex sentence structures and particle usage. The final particles of multiclausal sentences typically relate only to the final clause, following a principle of adjacency. A very few particles may be used in both sentence final and sentence medial position (the latter always in tandem with a conjunction). The more robust, megastructure–defining particles, however, are never found sentence medially.

5.1.4 Impact of the experiencer/ non–experiencer distinction

Some Bisu particles reflect a basic experiencer/non–experiencer evidentiality distinction. If a Bisu storyteller is being honest, he or she will periodically, automatically utilize particles that reveal his or her relationship to the events being related. This is exhibited most clearly in the particle *jèe*, which clearly indicates speaker non–involvement in the story.

5.1.5 Impact of semantic connotations

While lexical meanings for some Bisu particles are difficult to ascertain, all bear some semantic connotations. These may vary widely in different contexts, around a central semantic core. Nonetheless, the fact that a given particle could be used in a given sentence does not necessarily mean that it will be used. For example, quotation formulae are not used with all quotation sentences, and are conspicuously rare at peak and peak′. Thus, other discourse–level considerations affect the decision of whether to employ a given particle in a given sentence.

5.2 Strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of this study

This study attempted to correlate a large number of factors in order to understand the behavior of individual particles. While a more strictly statistical approach to these correlations may have been helpful, the fact remains that structuring such an analysis would have been extremely complicated, given the number of variables involved. Indeed, such statistical programs as *Goldvarb* would not have been capable of simultaneously examining all the variables. Even then, there would be no guarantee that the results would have been statistically significant. Thus, this study had to rely partially on the intuition of the analyst, in conjunction with the opinions of native speaker assistants, to establish connections between different variables.

The *Excel* database utilized in this study proved to be both a boon and a bane. The database proved an excellent way to store a vast amount of information in one place. Similarly, it was relatively simple to modify the database as the research progressed, adding new variable categories and updating sentence level information. It also was quite easy to sort the data in accordance with one, two, or three keys. As

mentioned earlier, the challenge lay in situations where more than three variables could have been at work. A more sophisticated sorting system, such as that employed in the *Cellar* computing environment would have been helpful, although the different strengths and limitations of *Excel* and *Cellar* in their current versions would have necessitated constant manual maintenance of two large parallel databases—a daunting task.

The methodology employed in this research was detailed and time–consuming. It was often difficult to know whether a "guess" on the role of a given particle would "pan out" until several hours of sorting and re–sorting had been carried out. Nonetheless, even when walking in the shadow of "dead ends," new insights into Bisu constantly sprung up. Some of these realizations were incorporated into the present work, while others remain recorded in a 200 page dissertation–writing journal, seeds for future research.

5.3 Implications for linguistic theory and practice

The methodology utilized in this dissertation represents something of a different direction in the exploration of particles in Asian languages. Previous researchers, such as Cooke, Chan and Chu, have initiated examination into the pragmatics and sociolinguistics of particle usage in conversation. Others, such as Matisoff and Solnit, have looked at particles in the context of a descriptive sentence–level grammar. This represents the first study known to the author in which particles are approached from a text–based discourse perspective. That Bisu particle usage is impacted significantly by text type and point in the discourse underscores the validity of this approach and highlights the necessity of examining texts of a variety of types when writing the grammar of any Asian language.

5.4 Recommendations for further research

As is often the case with projects of this type, more questions were raised during the course of the research than could be properly addressed in a single dissertation.

The understanding of particle nature and usage gleaned from examining the written folktales, life stories, and expository texts has provided the researcher with a base from which to launch more detailed examinations of Bisu particles in conversational settings. Of particular interest is the vast number of imperative or imperative–like particles. What are the pragmatics involved in particle choice when one is trying to give a command? How does mitigation function in the Bisu context? How do the various gradations of Bisu commands correlate to other languages of the area, particularly Northern and Standard Thai?

In addition, the evidentiality system of Bisu is an area for further, deeper investigation. How does the Bisu inventory of evidentiality–indicating particles compare to that of the Akha language? What might this reveal about the Bisu world view?

Finally, it would be interesting to observe particles in additional text types and genres. This would "round out" the perspective on Bisu particles.

APPENDIX 1

FOLKTALE CORPUS

"AI KAM GOES FISHING" (AK)

Ai Kham 001
bìsuu bìit^{h}àan ʔaj k^{h}àm
Bisu fable Ai Kham
The Story of Ai Kham

Ai Kham 002
tɯ̀ɯ nɯ́ɯŋ caa k^{h}aalai ʔaj k^{h}àm naasɔ́ɔn k^{h}am càj tʃ^{h}ii
day one have pt-exis Ai Kham fish trap trap do pt-comp
One day Ai Kham went to trap fish.

Ai Kham 003
mùŋk^{h}ìi jàamlæ̀æŋ həə lánhúaj wəʔ laŋʃjaam t^{h}ɯ̀ɯ maŋ
night evening at stream at otter one Clf
cáa k^{h}aalaj
have pt-exis
When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter.

Ai Kham 004
naasɔ́ɔn naʔ hmjaaŋ tʃ^{h}ii jèe
fish trap ACC see pt-comp pt-report
(He) saw the fish trap.

Ai Kham 005
jào naasɔ́ɔn həə ʔɔɔŋ lææn tʃ^{h}ii jèe
then fish trap at enter descend pt-comp pt-report
And then he went into the fish trap.

Ai Kham 006
lɔ̀ɔŋtæ̆æ ʔɔɔŋ tsàa k^{h}oo pìi tʃ^{h}ii jèe
fish enter eat completely pt-give pt-comp pt-report
(He) ate all the fish completely.

Ai Kham 007
cáa k^{h}oon jáo bàa ʔɔɔk lɯ̀ɯ tɔɔ ka? jèe
have completely then neg exit pt-out pt-unable pt-st/abl pt-report
Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out.

Ai Kham 008
ʃaaplæ̀æn lajáo ʔacă̆m kaʔtaj t^{h}ɯ̀ɯ maŋ cáa k^{h}aalaj
early morning then then rabbit one Clf have pt-exis
Early it the morning, there was a rabbit.

Ai Kham 009
cǎŋkǒoŋ tsaajlɯɯ jèe
forest originate pt-report
(He) (was) from the forest

Ai Kham 010
laaŋ ʃaa taŋ lɯɯjào
water search drink and_then
(He) came looking for water

Ai Kham 011
laŋʃjaam maŋ naasóon klaw hmjaaŋ lùɯjào laŋʃjaam maŋ na?
otter Clf fish trap inside see and_then otter Clf ACC
naan tʃʰii jèe
ask pt-comp pt-report
And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter:

Ai Kham 012
náa tʰóo baacɛ̌ə háŋ naasóon klaw
2ps there what do fish_trap inside
"You there--What are you doing in the trap?"

Ai Kham 013
tʰóo ʔasáa ʔaŋsɯ́ɯŋ maaŋ lɯɯn jào naa mææhaaŋæ̀æwèə
there momentarily owner Clf return then 2ps what to do?
"In a minute, the owner will come--then what will you do?"

Ai Kham 014
náa ʃii ká? naa ʔíi
2ps die pt-st/abl pt-agreed? pt-obv
"You will die for sure."

Ai Kham 015
laŋʃjaam maŋ kʰææ jèe
otter Clf afraid pt-report
The otter was afraid.

Ai Kham 016
ka?taj maŋ na? màan pá?nóo
rabbit Clf ACC tell pt-comp
(The otter) told the rabbit:

Ai Kham 017
tʰáona?mææhaajwaa
What to do?
"Then what should I do?"

Ai Kham 018
plòoŋ lá? pléæ
help pt-imp pt-pol
"Help me." (Imperative marker)

Ai Kham 019

ka?taj maŋ cìi lùu paanɔ̀ɔ
rabbit Clf speak pt-out pt-comp
The rabbit said:

Ai Kham 020

tʰiiméé jào naŋ mééŋpɔ̀ɔŋ ?áaj luu
if like that then 2ps mouth open pt-imp
"If it's like that, open your mouth."

Ai Kham 021

laŋʃjaam maŋ màanpɔ̀ɔŋ ?áaj jào ka?taj maŋ ?èèŋkʰàa tɔɔj
otter Clf mouth open then rabbit Clf fart release
kaan pìi paanɔ̀ɔ
pt-st/abl pt-give pt-comp
The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit farted into the otter's mouth.

Ai Kham 022

hikʰàm laŋʃjaam maŋ ka?taj maŋ ?èèŋkʰàa buum tʃʰii pannɔ̀ɔ
that time otter Clf rabbit Clf fart suck pt-comp pt-comp
At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth).

Ai Kham 023

hikʰàm ka?taj maŋ lamaj tu lùm gaj jào tùu sɔɔk jèe
that time rabbit Clf stick one Clf get then one forearm pt-report
mɔɔŋ ŋéé
length pt-st
At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a forearm's length.

Ai Kham 024

kalɔ̀ɔkkalìik hee tʃʰáp lèèjáo kiibaa tʰaaŋ hee
underarm at insert and_then path beside at
coon tʃʰii jèe
hide pt-comp pt-report
(The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path.

Ai Kham 025

?aj kʰàm jùu tʰaa laajao naasɔ́ɔn ?éé praa càan paanɔ̀ɔ
Ai Kham sleep awake and_then fish trap ascend look have pt-comp
Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish trap

Ai Kham 026

?aj kʰàm naasɔ́ɔn jok lùujao laŋʃjaam maaŋ na? hmjaaŋ lèè
Ai Kham fish trap lift and_then otter Clf ACC see pt-emph
tʃʰii jèe
pt-comp pt-report
Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter.

Ai Kham 027

?oo laŋʃjaam na? maa ʃiin tʃʰá? má?
Ooh! otter ACC Clf die pt-comp pt-neg_emp

"Ooh--this otter is dead already!"

Ai Kham 028

namʃaa bàa tʃàabʉ̀ʉ tʃʰii laa
stinky neg delicious pt-comp pt-neg
"It stinks and won't be delicious at all."

Ai Kham 029

hikʰàm ka?taj maŋ jɔ̀ɔj ?ɔɔk lʉʉn paanɔ̀ɔ
that time rabbit Clf walk exit return pt-comp
After that the rabbit came walking out.

Ai Kham 030

kʰiitʰɔ́ɔk kʰiitʰɔ́ɔk jèe
hip-hop hip-hop pt-report
The rabbit hopped along.

Ai Kham 031

lamaj nìp lææjao ?aj kʰàm hmjaaŋ tʃʰii jèe
stick insert and_then Ai Kham see pt-comp pt-report
(The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) and then Aikham saw it (and thought that that rabbit was injured, pierced by the stick).

Ai Kham 032

laŋʃjaam pùu namàa bàa jùu kanna
otter rotten this neg want pt-prefer
"(I) don't want this rotten otter!"

Ai Kham 033

laŋʃjaam maŋ wíi lʉ̀ʉjào ka?taj maŋ na? tʉ̀ʉn tʃʰii jèe
otter Clf throw and_then rabbit Clf ACC hit pt-comp pt-report
(He) threw away the otter and then struck at the rabbit.

Ai Kham 034

hikʰàm ka?taj maŋ lamaj jàaŋ wíi lʉ̀ʉjào ʃɔ́ɔk jèe
that time rabbit Clf stick that throw and_then immediately pt-report
hʉ̀ʉn lææn tʃʰii
run pt-dnmot pt-comp
At that time the rabbit threw the stick and immediately ran away.

"CHENGKOIKOI, THE FEMALE SPIRIT" (CK)

Chengkoikoi 001
aŋbìi aŋbloɔŋ tʰùu kùu caaŋ jèe
wife husband one couple have pt-report
There was a husband and wife.

Chengkoikoi 002
lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ sɯɯŋ kà?ʃaa læ̀æ tʃʰii
fish go_together search pt-dnmot pt-comp
They went out fishing.

Chengkoikoi 003
pùuŋluŋ gaaj jào paadùk næ̀æ haaŋ jèe
punglung_fish get then catfish pt-end_qt tell pt-report
When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was a catfish.

Chengkoikoi 004
paadùk gaaj jào pùuŋluŋ næ̀æ haaŋ jèe
catfish get then punglung_fish pt-end_qt tell pt-report
And when they got a catfish, they said it was a punglung fish.

Chengkoikoi 005
cáa hæ̀æmæ̀æhaaj læ̀æ tamlæ̀æ tʰàalæ̀æ tʃʰæ̀æŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maŋ tʃʰuu
then like that go continue and_then Chengkoikoi Clf grab
buun tʃʰii jèe
take pt-comp pt-report
And as (they) were going along like that, then Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took (him) away.

Chengkoikoi 006
cáa kʰàabaa máa kʰæ̀æ kʰɔ̀ɔŋ æ̀æn
then wife Clf afraid village ascend
Then that wife was afraid and went back to the village.

Chengkoikoi 007
jaowàa tʃʰæ̀æŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maŋ aŋbloɔŋ tæ̀æn tʃʰii jèe
and_then Chengkoikoi Clf husband do pt-comp pt-report
Chengkoi made him her husband.

Chengkoikoi 008
aŋjàa tʰùu màaŋ gá jèe
child one Clf get pt-report
They had one child.

Chengkoikoi 009

cáa ææŋ laajèe miinɯŋ tʰútʃʰìt ŋá? ææŋ ŋææ
then ascend and_then today just_a_second pt-ast ascend pt-st
When she went out, she would say " I'm going out for just a little while."

Chengkoikoi 010

cáa mlàaŋ kaajèe ææ ŋææ
then long_time very ascend pt-st
But really she would go for a very long time.

Chengkoikoi 011

tʃʰæŋkɔ̌ojkɔ̌oj maŋ laŋkóo pʰìi tʃʰii tʃʰàŋ jèe
Chengkoikoi Clf door close pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.

Chengkoikoi 012

nɔ̀ɔŋtʰóo aŋjàa màaŋ kʰataa jèe
after_that child Clf together pt-report
After a while, his child did the same.

Chengkoikoi 013

miinɯŋ aŋmlàaŋ ka? ?ææ ŋææ
today long_time pt-st/abl ascend pt-st
"Today I'll go for a long time."

Chengkoikoi 014

jào ka?tʃʰìtkanŋa?jèe ææ ŋææ
then short_time ascend pt-st
and then went for a short time.

Chengkoikoi 015

cáa hææmææhaaj jao ?aŋbooŋ maŋ ?ɔ̀ɔk sɯ̆ɯ jao aŋjàa maaŋ na?
then like that then father Clf exit want then child Clf ACC
mâaj tʃʰii jèe
tell pt-comp pt-report
After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child:

Chengkoikoi 016

?àabooŋ na? tɔɔj làapao
father ACC release pt-imp
"Release your father, o.k.?"

Chengkoikoi 017

?ìiʃɨ̆i tʃʰææ kʰaa náa?
urine hurt pt-imp_req pt-end_qt
"(I) really have to urinate."

Chengkoikoi 018

cáa aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lɯ̀ɯ tʃʰii jèe
then child Clf release pt-out pt-comp pt-report
Then the child released him to go.

Chengkoikoi 019

aŋjàa màaŋ tɔɔj lùɯjao hùun læ̀æn tʃʰii jèe

child Clf release and_then run pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report

When the child released him, he ran away.

Chengkoikoi 020

jɔɔŋ juum bàa kʰəə lùɯkŭŋ jèe

3pp house neg arrive return pt-report

But he did not make it to his house.

Chengkoikoi 021

kɔɔtæ̀æ wəə jùun ʔæ̀æ tʃʰii jèe

rice_field at lie_down ascend pt-comp pt-report

He went and lay down in a rice field.

Chengkoikoi 022

cáa kɔɔwæ̀æ hæ̀æŋ ʔɯun pʰɔ̀ɔj læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe

then rice_head that shake scatter pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report

And then he shook the rice heads over his body.

Chengkoikoi 023

hæ̀æŋjèe tʃʰæ̀æŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maŋ bæ̀æn jao hùun kʰèe læ̀æn tʃʰii

after_that Chengkoikoi Clf know then run follow pt-dnmot pt-comp

After that, when Chengkoikoi realized what had happened, she ran after him.

Chengkoikoi 024

cáa hmjaaŋ tʃʰii jèe

then see pt-comp pt-report

Then she saw him.

Chengkoikoi 025

ʔiinæ̀ʔhaaŋjèe gaa aŋblɔɔŋ naamaa ʔaalɔ̀ɔm ʃii ka? tʃʰii

Oooh! Why? 1ps husband this_one when? die pt-st/abl pt-comp

"Ooh! When did my husband die?"

Chengkoikoi 026

mæ̀æŋʔuu ʔæ̀æ

fly_eggs pt-aff

"He's covered with fly eggs."

Chengkoikoi 027

naʔmæ̂nbaanæ̀ʔ

why_thus?

"Why is it like this?"

Chengkoikoi 028

jào kiilíkkʰèə jèe

then tickle pt-report

And then she tickled him.

Chengkoikoi 029

cáa bàa ʔŭu laa jèe
then neg laugh pt-neg pt-report
But he did not laugh.

Chengkoikoi 030

kiilíkk^{h}èə jao haaj màaj càa tʃ^{h}ii jèe
tickle then do tell have pt-comp pt-report
She tickled him and then ordered.

Chengkoikoi 031

jɔɔ aŋʃuŋjaowĕə naʔ ʃiin maamaa tʃ^{h}aa
well, beloved ACC die truly pt-comp
"Well, my beloved one has really died."

Chengkoikoi 032

gaa k^{h}àm ʃăaj làa paanaʔ
1ps gold search pt-ben pt-agreed?
"I will go search for gold, o.k.?"

Chengkoikoi 033

hææŋjèe mɔɔjoŋ làaj ʔææ tʃ^{h}ii
after_that gong get ascend pt-comp
After that, she went and got a gong.

Chengkoikoi 034

naŋ kéəŋ kétkám ʔææ jào hniŋ tʃ^{h}ək kannoo pèe
2nd person where? born pt-aff then strike strike pt-imp pt-pol
(And she said), "Wherever you're reincarnated, beat this gong."

Chengkoikoi 035

moŋ jào k^{h}àm ʔɔɔk ŋææ
sound then gold exit pt-st
"Beat it (the first time) and gold will come out."

Chengkoikoi 036

moŋ jào p^{h}luu ʔɔɔk ŋææ
sound then silver exit pt-st
"Beat it (the second time) and silver will come out."

Chengkoikoi 037

mâaj naʔwaa căŋwáʔŋâaŋ máa k^{h}ooʔùpk^{h}oo jao jaaŋ lææn tʃ^{h}ii jèe
tell pt-give rhythm Clf completely then 3ps pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left.

Chengkoikoi 038

hææŋjèe tʃ^{h}ææŋkɔ̌ɔjkɔ̌ɔj maaŋ lææn jao hùun ʔææn tʃ^{h}ii
after_that Chengkoikoi Clf pt-dnmot then run ascend pt-comp
After Chengkoikoi had left, he ran away.

Chengkoikoi 039

jɔɔŋ juum wəə kʰàabaa maaŋkɔɔŋ dɯŋ ʔææ tʃʰii
3pp house at wife that one live pt-aff pt-comp
At his house he went and lived with his wife.

Chengkoikoi 040

cáa mɔɔjoŋ tʃʰék jèe
then gong strike pt-report
Then he struck the gong.

Chengkoikoi 041

tʰɯ̀ɯ kàm tʃʰék kʰàm ʔɔɔk
one time strike gold exit
He struck it and gold came out.

Chengkoikoi 042

tʰɯ̀ɯ kàm tʃʰék pʰluu ʔɔɔk
one time strike silver exit
He struck it (the second time) and silver came out.

Chengkoikoi 043

hææŋjèe caan laa tʃʰii
after_that have pt-pos pt-comp
After that, he was rich.

"POOR BOY" (PB)

Poor Boy 001
ʔìikee aŋtùk jàakee tʰùu màaŋ cáaŋ jèe
child poor child one Clf have pt-report
There was a poor boy.

Poor Boy 002
aŋtùk jèe
poor pt-report
(He) was very poor.

Poor Boy 003
ʔoo nææ gá jàa tùk pʰàan baacɛ̌ə
Ooh! pt-end_qt 1ps like_this poor poor what
"Oh! I'm so poor---what am I going to do?"

Poor Boy 004
haajwaa hjaa bjàaj lǽæ paaná?
do hillfield clear pt-dnmot pt-agreed?
"Better to go clear a hillfield, right?"

Poor Boy 005
hǽæŋjéecáa màamàamáamáa sùukʰɔ̀ɔ námpla? kʰlaaj jào
after_that true ucumber melon plant then
sùukʰɔ̀ɔ jàaŋ mæ̀æn laa tʃʰii jèe
cucumber that good pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
After that, he truly planted cucumbers and melons and then those cucumbers were good.

Poor Boy 006
cáa míin laajao kasəəj ʔɔɔŋ tsàan pìi tʃʰii jèe
then sprout and_then monkey enter eat pt-give pt-comp pt-report
(When) they had sprouted, the monkeys came and ate them

Poor Boy 007
cáa haaŋ jèe
then tell pt-report
Then he said

Poor Boy 008
ʔəə gaa sùukʰɔ̀ɔ námpla? nîi bàa gaa kɔ̀ɔŋ càa tʃʰii laa
Ooh! 1ps cucumber melon this neg able sell have pt-comp pt-neg
"Oh! I won't be able to sell these cucumbers and melons!"

Poor Boy 009
gaa mææ haaj wá?
1ps what do pt-quest
"What should I do?"

Poor Boy 010
læ̀æ ʃii kæ̀ækæ̀æ læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
go die act pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(He) went and acted like he had died.

Poor Boy 011
ʃii kæ̀ækæ̀æ kasəəj muuloŋ jàaŋ lù̀un tʃʰii jèe cáa
die act monkey group that come pt-comp pt-report pt-emph
(When he) went and acted like he had died, that group of monkeys indeed came.

Poor Boy 012
ʔəənæ̀æhaaŋjèe naʔ maŋ ʃiin tʃʰáʔ máʔ
Uuuuuuuh! ACC Clf die pt-comp pt-neg_emp
"Uuuh! This (thing) has died already!"

Poor Boy 013
ʔasáa naa maŋ pù̀un jào mæʔ tsàabù̀u næ̀æ
momentarily ACC Clf rotten then neg delicious pt-end_qt
"In a moment this (thing) will be rotten and (make the cucumbers) not be delicious."

Poor Boy 014
wii læ̀æ paaɳadèo
throw pt-dnmot pt-imp
"Go throw it away!"

Poor Boy 015
cuŋcuŋ tʰàa lám kaa læ̀æn tʃʰii jèe
tree above carry pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(They) carried (him) up into a tree.

Poor Boy 016
aŋɳúuŋ jèe
slowly pt-report
(They went along) slowly.

Poor Boy 017
jɔɔŋ hæ̀æŋ naaŋ kaaŋ jèe
3pp that ask pt-jnt pt-report
They were asking each other,

Poor Boy 018
jɔɔ kəəŋ wii ʔæ̀æ wáʔ nè̀ʔ
well, where throw ascend pt-quest pt-end_qt
"Well, where are we going to throw (him.)?"

Poor Boy 019

kʰàm kɔ̀ɔŋkjaa láa ʔáo pʰluu kɔ̀ɔŋkjaa
gold shaft or that silver shaft
"In the gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"

Poor Boy 020

pʰluu kɔ̀ɔŋkjaa wii kan ʔææ ʃəəwàa
silver shaft throw pt-jnt ascend pt-better
"(Let' s) go throw him down the silver mine shaft."

Poor Boy 021

hæ̀æŋjèe cáa pʰluu kɔ̀ɔŋkjaa kɔɔjkɔ́ɔj nèʔ wii ʔææ tʃʰii
after_that then silver shaft slowly pt throw ascend pt-comp
After that they slowly went to the silver mine and threw (him) in.

Poor Boy 022

kasəəj ʔɯɯ ləək kʰoo jào pʰluu jàaŋ han ææn tʃʰii
monkey group finish completely then silver that take ascend pt-comp
When the group of monkeys had all left, then he took the silver and left.

Poor Boy 023

jɔ̀ɔcáa tʰɨ̀ɯ màaŋ hmjaaŋ laa tʃʰii jèe
then one Clf see pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
And then one person saw him.

Poor Boy 024

jaaŋ aŋtʃʰàŋ jèe
3ps friend pt-report
He was a friend.

Poor Boy 025

náa baacɛ̆ə mææ haaj caa laa ʔææ
2ps what what do have pt-pos pt-aff
"How did you get rich?"

Poor Boy 026

ʔoo nèʔ gaa hjaa bjàaj caa laa ʔææ
Ooh! pt-end_qt 1ps hillfield clear have pt-pos pt-aff
"Ohh--I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!"

Poor Boy 027

hjaa bjàaj sɨ̀ɯkʰɔ̀ɔ námplaʔ kʰlaaj caa laa ʔææ
hillfield clear cucumber melon plant have pt-pos pt-aff
"After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers and melons--got rich."

Poor Boy 028

kaasəəj muulooŋ ɔɔŋ jáo ʃii kææ̀kæ̀æ læ̀æ ʔææ
monkey group enter then die act pt-dnmot pt-aff
"And a group of monkeys came in and I acted as if I was dead."

Poor Boy 029
mâaj tʃʰii cáa
tell pt-comp pt-emph
(He) told (him) everything.

Poor Boy 030
jaaŋ haan læ̀æ naowaa
3ps wrap and_take_go pt-rep_ep
He took (some things) and went.

Poor Boy 031
màamàamáamáa hjaa buuj
true hillfield clear
Truly (he) cleared a hillfield.

Poor Boy 032
sʉ̀ʉkʰòo námpla? kʰlaaj cáa mæ̀æn hæ̀æloo jèe
cucumber melon plant then good same pt-report
(He) planted cucumbers and melons then they were as good as before.

Poor Boy 033
mǽæn jao haa jáo
good then do then
jaaŋ cáa màamàamáamáa ʃii kæ̀ækæ̀æ læ̀æ tʃʰii
3ps then true die act pt-dnmot pt-comp
When they were good, then he truly went and acted as if he had died.

Poor Boy 034
cáa naan laŋkaa naowaa kasəəj ?ʉʉ
then ask pt-jnt pt-rep_ep monkey group
Then they asked each other--part.--the monkeys:

Poor Boy 035
baacɛ̌əhaan tʃʰii ?àacǎn
What's that? pt-comp another
"What's that--another one!"

Poor Boy 036
bàa tsàa bàa tǎŋ bʉ̀ʉ tʃʰii laa má?
neg eat neg drink good pt-comp pt-neg pt-neg_emp
"(The cucumbers and melons) won't be delicious!"

Poor Boy 037
na? maŋ pùun
ACC Clf rotten
"This (will) rot."

Poor Boy 038
jáo dèw wii læ̀æ paanaa
then go throw pt-dnmot pt-agreed?
"Let's go throw it away, o.k.?"

Poor Boy 039
lam kaa lææn naowaa
carry pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(They) carried (him) away.

Poor Boy 040
cʉŋcʉŋ tʰàa han lææn tʃʰii jèe
tree above take pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(They) took (him) up into a tree.

Poor Boy 041
lam ka? lææ cáa naan laŋka? lææ tʃʰii jèe
carry pt-jnt pt-dnmot then ask pt-jnt pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
(When they) carried him then they asked each other again.

Poor Boy 042
cə̌əkəəŋ wii lææ wá? nè?
where throw pt-dnmot pt-quest pt-end_qt
"Where should (we) throw (him)?"

Poor Boy 043
kʰàm kòoŋkjaa làa ?ao pʰluu kòoŋkjaa
gold shaft or or silver shaft
"The gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"

Poor Boy 044
pʰluu kòoŋkjaa nè? mâaj tʃʰii jèe
silver shaft pt-end_qt tell pt-comp pt-report
"The silver mine shaft" (they) said.

Poor Boy 045
hææŋjèe wii lʉ̀ʉ tʃʰii
after_that throw pt-out pt-comp
After that (they) threw (him) away.

Poor Boy 046
bòom jèe
Boom! pt-report
Boom!

Poor Boy 047
ʃii
die
Dead.

"DON'T DARE THINK YOU'RE CLEVER!" (CO)

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 001

kʰàatɔɔŋ ææn ŋææ nàʔ ʔàahaa tsàalææ coo

self clever pt-st pt-end_qt pt-neg_imp think pt-neg_imp

Don't think you are clever.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 0 02

jàamàŋ kʰàabaajàa sɔɔŋ kʰùn caaŋ jèe

old_person female two Clf have pt-report

There were two old ladies.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 003

lɔ̀ɔŋtææ suuŋ ka? ʃaa lææ tʃʰii jèe

fish go_together pt search pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report

They went out looking for fish together.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 004

cǎŋkɔ̌ɔŋ laaŋhuaj hɐɐ jèet aŋméeŋ jàaŋ pʰìi kʰàm

forest stream at both name that grandmother Kham

næ? pʰìi ùp jèe

and grandmother Up pt-report

At the forest stream the two were named Grandmother Kham and Grandmother Up.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 005

aŋdàa mææn ja?jèa plɔ̀ɔŋ ʃǎan laŋ ká? tʃʰii

initially good that help search that pt-jnt pt

At first they helped each other find fish diligently.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 006

lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ aŋ?ii aŋhùu aŋtsaa æ̀æn ŋá? jèe

fish little large have both pt-ast pt-report

[They] had both large and small fish.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 007

tùutʃʰìt jáo jèetmii lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ ʃaa jàaŋ wàŋ tʃʰii

soon then both fish search that quit pt-comp

jèe

pt-report

Not long thereafter they both quit looking for fish.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 008

lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ gaaj bjàa ká? tʃʰii jèe

fish get many pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report

They got a lot of fish.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 009

wàŋ jào jèetmii pèəŋ laŋká? tʃʰii jèe

quit then both share pt-jnt pt-comp pt-report

When they had quit, then those two divided [the fish].

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 010

cáa pʰìi kʰàm næ?tʃʰii mâa taŋhaa tsan laa tʃʰii

then grandmother Kham that Clf greed have pt-comp pt-comp

jèe

pt-report

Then Grandmother Kham got greedy.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 011

jaaŋ kɔɔj pèəŋ tʃʰii jèe

3ps person share pt-comp pt-report

She thus was the divider.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 012

jaaŋ la?káa həə aŋtoo aŋhùu ææn já? jèe

3ps in_front_of at self large both pt-many pt-report

All the large ones were in front of her.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 013

jào pʰìi ùp la?káa həə lɔ̀ɔŋtǽæ aŋ?ii ææn

then grandmother Up in_front_of at fish little all

já? jèe

pt-mapt-report

And then in front of Grandmother Up, there were only small fish.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 014

tʃʰææ pìi tʃʰii jèe

choose pt-give pt-comp pt-report

(She) chose to give (her) those.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 015

pèəŋ pə̌ən jào pʰìi kʰàm næ?tʃʰii má? uuj lùu

share finish then grandmother Kham that Clf speak pt-out

tʃʰii jèe

pt-comp pt-report

When they had finished dividing, Grandmother Kham spoke and said:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 016

jɔɔ naŋ kʰa?kɔɔ ?uukɔɔj pao baacə̌ə la?maŋmi?

well, 2nd person pile gather pt-imp what alright

"Well, take whichever pile you want."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 017

cáa pʰìi ùp aŋbææ kʰə́ət kaa jèe

then grandmother Up know technique pt-st/abl pt-report

But Grandmother Up knew/realized the technique.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 018

pʰìi kʰàm la?káa lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ kɔɔŋ jàaŋ kɔɔj jáo
grandmother Kham in_front_of fish pile that person then
juum həə ææn làæ tʃʰii jèe
house at ascend pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
[So], she took those fish that were piled up in front of Grandmother Kham and thenwent home.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 019

pʰìi kʰàm hao kʰèen tʃʰii jèe
grandmother Kham call follow pt-comp pt-report
Grandmother Kham called out after her:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 020

aŋʃùu pèəŋ lǽ? pannoo
new share pt-rep pt-agreed?
"Let's divide those again."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 021

gaa lɔ̀ɔŋtǎæ pèəŋ tʃʰinìi bàa gàa nɔ̀ɔ
1ps fish share this neg correctly pt-neg_agreed?
"I divided them incorrectly, you know."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 022

pʰìi ùp mi bàa nǎa jèe jaaŋ tsii na?
grandmother Up well, neg hear pt-report 3ps speak ACC
Grandmother Up, well, did not hear what she had said.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 023

jaaŋ juum həə ææn tʃʰii jèe kjàap jèe
3ps house at ascend pt-comp pt-report quiet pt-report
She thus returned home quietly

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 024

bìitʰàan na? maŋ kàmsɔɔnjàaŋ
fable ACC Clf teaching
The moral of this story:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 025

háakna? bàa sɯɯ bàa săj næ? ?àahaa coo
other_people neg straight neg pure and pt-neg_imp pt-neg_imp
Don't think about being crooked with other people.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 026

tsʰaaŋ nîi tʰɯŋgǎa næ? dɯŋ jào lák huum ka? joo
people this together and live then love love pt-jnt pt-imp
We people live together and need to love each other, you know.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 027

háakna? bàa mæ̀æn næ? haaj jào kʰàatɔɔŋ na? mææ gaaj
other_people neg good and do then self ACC same get

kʰùn làæŋ ŋææ
return pt-dnmot pt-st
Do bad to others and it will return to you.

"LESSONS FROM MOTHER AND FATHER" (FM)

Lessons from Father and Mother 001
aŋbaa aŋbooŋ kàmsɔɔn
mother father teachings
Father and Mother's Teachings.

Lessons from Father and Mother 002
ʔiikʰaatææ tsʰaaŋ caaŋ jèe
long_ago people have pt-report
A long time ago there were people.

Lessons from Father and Mother 003
aŋbaa aŋbooŋ caaŋ jèe
mother father have pt-report
There were a mother and a father.

Lessons from Father and Mother 004
aŋjàa sɔɔŋ kʰùn jèe
child two Clf pt-report
(They had) two children.

Lessons from Father and Mother 005
càawàa aŋbooŋ máa ʃiin pìi tʃʰii jèe
then father Clf die pt-give pt-comp pt-report
But their father died.

Lessons from Father and Mother 006
hǽæŋjèe aŋbaa maŋ tùu kʰùn nææ pɔɔ tʃʰii aŋjàa sɔɔŋ
after_that mother Clf day Clf npt care_for pt-comp child two
kʰùn naʔ
Clf ACC
After that, the mother cared for (them)--the two children

Lessons from Father and Mother 007
aŋjàa ʔŭu kʰɔ̀ɔ jaa jèe
child 3pp grow_up pt-result pt-report
(Until) the two children grew up.

Lessons from Father and Mother 008
pɔɔ căj tʃʰii jaŋ tùu kʰùn
care_for watch pt-comp 3ps day Clf
(She) raised (just) one (of the two children).

Lessons from Father and Mother 009

næ̀æ hæ̀æŋ aŋjàa tɯ̀ɯ kʰùn màaŋ na? wàt duŋ làæ̀ pii
and that child one Clf Clf ACC temple live pt-upmo year
tʃʰii jèe
pt-comp pt-report
And caused the other child to live in the temple.

Lessons from Father and Mother 010

wàt duŋ làæ̀ pii tʃʰii maaŋpʰæ̀æ maaŋ jèe
temple live pt-upmot pt-give pt-comp younger_brother Clf pt-report
The one caused to live at the temple was the younger brother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 011

jàocáajàa aŋ?áj maa wàa juum duŋ aŋbaa màaŋ na?
then older_brother Clf this house live mother Clf ACC
pɔɔj duŋ kaaŋ jèe
care_for live pt-st/abl pt-report
And his older brother stayed at home and took care of his mother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 012

ku wàn ju wàn ja? jèe aŋbaa maaŋ na? hàaŋ
every day each day pt-many pt-report mother Clf ACC rice
tsàa laaŋ taŋ? æ̀æŋ? ìiʃǐi tʃʰìi pìŋ ŋæ̀æ
eat water drink excrement urine clean pt-give pt-st
Every single day, he would feed his mother rice and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her.

Lessons from Father and Mother 013

lèəŋ níi maa jàakee naa mâaj bæ̀æ làæ̀ piiŋ ŋæ̀æ
story this Clf child ACC tell know pt-emp pt-give pt-st
This story tells the children causing (them) to know.

Lessons from Father and Mother 014

kʰaatáæ̀æ tsʰaaŋ wàa ?up kaa ŋæ̀æ
long_ago people this speak pt-jnt pt-st
In the past, people said:

Lessons from Father and Mother 015

praa nîi wàa aŋbaa kùn naa tæ̀æn jèe
novice_monk this this mother merciful_grace ACC repay pt-report
The novice monk repays the meritful grace of his mother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 016

jào saatu nîi wàa aŋboɔŋ kùn naa tæ̀æn jèe
then ordained_monk this this father merciful_grace ACC repay pt-report
And the ordained monk repays the meritful grace of his father.

Lessons from Father and Mother 017

hæ̀æŋjèe bìitʰàan kàmsɔɔn tæ̀æŋ
after_that fable teachings repay
From this, repay the fable.

Lessons from Father and Mother 018

ʔaŋluuk ʔaŋlaan naʔ sɔɔn ŋææ
children grandchildren ACC teach pt-st
Teach (your) children and grandchildren.

"ORPHAN CHILDREN" (OR)

Orphan Children 001
jàatʃʰàojàa
orphans
The orphans

Orphan Children 002
mlàaŋ ka?tʃʰajèe aŋbìi aŋblɔɔŋ tùu kùu caaŋ jèe
long_time long_ago wife husband one couple have pt-report
A long time ago, there was a husband and wife--one couple.

Orphan Children 003
aŋjàa sɔɔŋ kʰùn caaŋ ŋææ
child two Clf have pt-st
They had two children

Orphan Children 004
bàa mlàaŋ jào kʰabaa maŋ ʃiin tʃʰii jèe
neg long_time then wife Clf die pt-comp pt-report
Not long thereafter the wife died.

Orphan Children 005
cáa aŋbooŋ maŋ hǽæŋ jèe kʰabaa aŋʃùu jùun lææ tʃʰii
then father Clf that pt-report wife new want pt-rep pt-comp
Then their father married a new wife.

Orphan Children 006
cáa aŋbaa aŋʃùu máa aŋjàa màŋ jèet naa bàa sɔɔ jèe
then mother new Clf child Clf both ACC neg like pt-report
And the new mother did not like the two children.

Orphan Children 007
hǽæŋjèe aŋblɔɔŋ maŋ na? mâaj sææ pìi tʃʰii
after_that husband Clf ACC tell kill pt-give pt-comp
After that, she told her husband to kill both of the children.

Orphan Children 008
kʰabaa maŋ na? kʰææ aŋbooŋ maŋ hǽæŋjèe
wife Clf ACC afraid father Clf after_that
cɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̌ɔŋ ʃùuj tɔɔj lææ tʃʰii
forest go_together release pt-upmot pt-comp
Out of fear of his wife, the father took the children to the forest and let them go.

Orphan Children 009

cáa jàakee maŋ jèet mi kuu tʰəə jèe juum
then child Clf both well, every occurrence pt-report house
aŋlɯɯ làææ gaa kaa
return pt-rep pt-able pt-st/abl
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home.

Orphan Children 010

màj kʰùɯ aŋbaa tùɯ too kʰèe plòɔŋ jèe
because dog mother one Clf follow help pt-report
Because there was one mother dog that followed and helped them.

Orphan Children 011

cáa aŋbaa aŋʃùɯ maŋ bæ̀æn tʃʰii jèe
then mother new Clf know pt-comp pt-report
Then the new mother realized (it).

Orphan Children 012

héænjèe aŋblɔɔŋ maŋ naʔ mâaj sææ hɔɔ núɯŋ tʰaw jàakee maŋ
after_that husband Clf ACC tell kill wrap steam wrap child Clf
jèet naa tʰaw haan càj pìi tʃʰii
both ACC wrap wrap and take eat pt-give pt-comp
After that, she thus told her husband to kill that dog and put it in a steamed leaf bundle and give it to both children to eat.

Orphan Children 013

jao aŋblɔɔŋ maŋ naʔ mâaj tʃʰii jèe
then husband Clf ACC tell pt-comp pt-report
Then she told her husband:

Orphan Children 014

ni kâm wèənææ tʃʰiʔúkóɔŋ tɔɔj læw bàa pìi
this occurrence far far release then neg pt-give
lɯɯ læ̀æ tɔɔ coo nææ
return pt-upmot pt-unable pt-neg_imp pt-end_qt
"This time take them to a far place to release them and then don't let them be able to come back!"

Orphan Children 015

cáa ni kâm máa aŋbooŋ maŋ aŋjàa jèet naa
then this occurrence Clf father Clf child both ACC
cɔ̀ɔŋkɔ̌ɔŋ aŋwèə ʃùɯj tɔɔj læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
forest far go_together release pt-upmot pt-comp pt-report
Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them.

Orphan Children 016

jàakee maŋ jèet mi bàa ʃùɯj kaa lɯɯ
child Clf both well, neg go_together pt-st/abl return
læ̀æ tɔɔ kaa jèe
pt-upmot pt-unable pt-st/abl pt-report
The two children were unable to return together.

Orphan Children 017

ʔacăm kʰùu aŋbaa kuutʰəə nææ kʰèe plɔ̀ɔŋ maŋ bàa
then dog mother every occurrence npt follow help Clf neg
caa láʔwaa
have pt-any
In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there any more.

Orphan Children 018

hǽæŋjèe kǽæba ʃùuj kaajluŋ lǽʔ tʃʰii
after_that path go_together lost pt-rep pt-comp
After that, they were lost together.

Orphan Children 019

cáa tsʰaaŋ aŋcaa aŋpaaŋ aŋbìi aŋblɔɔŋ tùu kùu naa hmjaaŋ
then people have rich wife husband one couple ACC see
ʔǽæ tʃʰii jèe
pt-aff pt-comp pt-report
Then they met a rich, wealthy husband and wife.

Orphan Children 020

jèet mi aŋjàa bàa caa jèe
both well, child neg have pt-report
Both of them did not have children.

Orphan Children 021

hǽæŋjèe jàakee maŋ jèet naa aŋjàa pʰèəj pìi tʃʰii
after_that child Clf both ACC child to_be pt-give pt-comp
After that, they made the two children their children.

Orphan Children 022

cáa jàakee maŋ jèet kʰɔ̀ɔn lajào tùu nɯŋ máa aŋbaa aŋʃùu
then child Clf both grow_up then one day Clf mother new
maŋ kjàan tʃʰii jèe
Clf hear pt-comp pt-report
The two children both grew up and then one day the new mother heard

Orphan Children 023

tsʰaaŋ aŋcaa aŋpaaŋ sɔɔŋ kʰùn caaŋ ŋǽæ
people have rich two Clf have pt-st
"There were two rich people."

Orphan Children 024

tsʰaaŋ aŋtùuk naa plɔ̀ɔŋ ŋǽæ nǽæ
people poor ACC help pt-st pt-end_qt
"(They) help poor people."

Orphan Children 025

hǽæŋjèe aŋblɔɔŋ maŋ naʔ tʃʰàaŋ hàaŋ pàa tsàan
after_that husband Clf ACC invite rice ask eat
After that, she took her husband to go beg for rice to eat.

Orphan Children 026

cáa ʔææ kʰən ʔææ jào tsʰaaŋ aŋcaa aŋpaaŋ maŋ jèet
then ascend already ascend then people have rich Clf both
mi aŋcam gaa kaa jèe
well, remember pt-able pt-jnt pt-report
When they arrived, the two rich people were able to remember.

Orphan Children 027

jèet aŋbaa aŋbooŋ maŋ hǽæŋ jèe
both mother father Clf that pt-report
(that) they were the parents of both children.

Orphan Children 028

juum tʰàa həə háo taaj laa pìi jao hàaŋpʰəən caam
house above at call go come pt-give then tray have
lùu pìi tʃʰii
prepare pt-give pt-comp
After that they called them to come up into the house, then they prepared a tray of food food and took it out (to them).

Orphan Children 029

jao jèet mi haaŋ jèe
then both well, tell pt-report
Then both of them said:

Orphan Children 030

baa wə̌ə booŋ wə̌ə tsàaj pao
mother pt-pol father pt-pol eat pt-imp
"Mother dear, father dear, eat!"

Orphan Children 031

kʰùu hɔ̀ɔ nuuŋ jàaŋ náj hǽæməʔ tʰaw pìi
dog wrap steam that you_two in_past wrap pt-give
láʔ tʃʰii jàaŋ
pt-ben pt-comp pt-negben
"Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us."

Orphan Children 032

hæmæ kjàaj jao aŋbooŋ máa namlæ̀æw jèe nuuŋbaa plaak
like_that hear then father Clf finally pt-report heart break
ʃiin tʃʰii
die pt-comp
When he heard that, the father's heart broke and he immediately died.

Orphan Children 033

cáa aŋbaa aŋʃùu máa hæmæ hmjaaŋ jao aŋwàj jèe
then mother new Clf like_that see then quickly pt-report
juum ʔɔɔk həə pləək klaan lúʔ tʃʰii
house exit at jump fall pt-out pt-comp
Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground.

Orphan Children 034

nɯɯŋtʃʰàa həə kʰəə kancàŋ nɯɯŋtʃʰàa jàaŋ plaak
soil at arrive that_time soil that break
láʔ tʃʰii jèe
pt-natdis pt-comp pt-report
When she hit the ground the earth opened.

Orphan Children 035

cúut jèe aŋbaa aŋʃʉ̀ɯ maŋ kaaj ææn tʃʰii
enter pt-report mother new Clf fall go pt-comp
The new mother fell into (the chasm).

"THE CRUEL WIDOWER" (CW)

The Cruel Widower 001
aŋbooŋ pɔ́ɔmáaj nɯŋbaa bàa mæ̀æ̀n
father widower heart neg good
The bad hearted widower-father.

The Cruel Widower 002
$k^haatææ$ $ts^haaŋ$ caaŋ jèe
long_ago people have pt-report
A long time ago there were these people.

The Cruel Widower 003
$k^haatææ$ mə? saam $k^hùn$ aŋbaa aŋbooŋ aŋjàa nææ dɯŋ jèe
long_ago when three Clf mother father child npt live pt-report
In the past there were three people--mother, father, and child--living together.

The Cruel Widower 004
$t^hɯ̀ugaa$ laagaanææ dɯŋ bàa sii bàa læ̀æ kaa jèe
together together live neg quarrel neg fight pt-st/abl pt-report
They lived together without quarrelling or fighting.

The Cruel Widower 005
jào bàa mlàaŋ sɯɯmə cáa aŋbaa maŋ ʃiin pìi $tʃ^hii$ jèe
then neg long_time well, then mother Clf die pt-give pt-comp pt-report
And then, not long thereafter, the mother died.

The Cruel Widower 006
jao aŋjàa aŋbooŋ næ̀? dɯŋ mlàaŋ ká? $tʃ^há?$ jèe
then child father npt live long_time pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report
Then the child and father lived together for a long time.

The Cruel Widower 007
sooŋ $k^hùn$ aŋjàa aŋbooŋ næ̀? dɯŋ laajlàaj pii já? jèe
two Clf child father npt live many year pt-many pt-report
The father and child lived together for many years.

The Cruel Widower 008
ni $k^hàm$ wàa aŋbooŋ maŋ $k^hàabaa$ aŋsɯ̀ɯ gaa læ̀æ
this time this father Clf wife new pt-desire pt-rep
siŋ jèe
pt-desire pt-report
At this time, the father wanted a new wife.

The Cruel Widower 009

jào kʰàabaajàa tʰùu maŋ na? hmjaaŋ caaj tʃʰii jèe
then female one Clf ACC see have pt-comp pt-report
He met a woman.

The Cruel Widower 010

jào kʰàabaajàa màaŋ mâaj tʃʰii jèe jàakee maŋ
then female Clf tell pt-comp pt-report child Clf
aŋboon maŋ na?
father Clf ACC
And then the woman told him--that person the father of the child:

The Cruel Widower 011

naaŋ gaa na? gaa làa
ask 1ps ACC pt-desire pt-comp
sɯɯŋ jâo naaŋ aŋjàa maŋ na? sæ̀æ pèe
go_together then ask child Clf ACC kill IMP
"If you want me, kill your child!"

The Cruel Widower 012

jào tʰùu wàn máa aŋboon maŋ aŋjàa màaŋ
then one day Clf father Clf child Clf
na? ʃòoŋkǒoŋ sùuj læ̀æn tʃʰii jèe
ACC forest go_together pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
One day after that the father took the child to the forest.

The Cruel Widower 013

jào aŋjàa màaŋ na? dùuj pʰùum læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
then child Clf ACC dig bury pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
And (he) dug a hole and buried (the child).

The Cruel Widower 014

jàojàa
and_then
juum pʰàolɯɯj kʰàabaajàa màaŋ na? mâaj lɯɯ tʃʰii
house return female Clf ACC tell pt-imp pt-comp
And then (he) returned home and told the woman.

The Cruel Widower 015

gaa wàa naaŋ máa làa tʃʰii mæ̀æ haaj jàa
1ps this ask Clf pt-comp pt-comp same do like this
"I did what you told me to do."

The Cruel Widower 016

gaa aŋjàa aŋlak maŋ na? dùuj pʰuum jàa
1ps child prefix love Clf ACC dig bury pt-comp
"I've dug a hole and buried my beloved child."

The Cruel Widower 017

ni kʰàm gaaj nîi juun laŋká? pá?já?dèe
this time get this marry pt-jnt pt-imp

"So now let's get married!"

The Cruel Widower 018

ni kʰàm kʰàabaajàa màaŋ mɯɯ kɯ̀t lɛ̀ɛ̀ tʃʰii jèe
this time female Clf well, think pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
Now this woman, well, thought:

The Cruel Widower 019

kʰanaat aŋjàa maŋnám mɯɯ sɛ̀ɛ̀ tʰɔɔna?tʰào gá ʔàasǎaŋ
extent child his well, kill as_for_me 1ps who
nɛ̀ɛ̀ kɯ̀t lɛ̀ɛ̀ tʃʰii jèe
pt-end_qt think pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
"He'd go so far as to kill his own child--and who am I?" she thought.

The Cruel Widower 020

kʰàabaajàa màaŋ mɯɯ hæ̀æ̀ŋjèe bàa jŭu
female Clf well, after_that neg marry
The woman, well, after that did not take him.

The Cruel Widower 021

hæ̀æ̀ŋ aŋbooŋ maŋ kɯ̀t gaa lɛ̀ɛ̀ jao aŋwàj aŋkʰjaaŋ
that father Clf think pt-able pt-rep then quickly quickly
ʃòoŋkŏoŋ jóo hɯ̀ɯn læ̀æn tʃʰii
forest at run pt-dnmot pt-comp
After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest.

The Cruel Widower 022

aŋjàa màaŋ naa hɯ̀ɯn dùuj ʔɔɔk pooj lɯ̀ɯ
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay_out pt-out
He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child.

The Cruel Widower 023

jàaŋ aŋjàa màaŋ ʃiin tʃʰáʔ jèe
that child Clf die pt-comp pt-report
(But) his child was already dead.

"FATHER'S SKULL" (FS)

Father's Skull 001
aŋbooŋ tukʰjàam
father skull
Father's skull

Father's Skull 002
mlàaŋ kaʔtʃʰajèe aŋjàa aŋbooŋ tɯ̀ɯ kùu caaŋ
long_time long_ago child father one couple have
jèe
pt-report
Long ago there were two people, father and son, one couple.

Father's Skull 003
aŋtùuk jèe
poor pt-report
They were poor.

Father's Skull 004
cáa tɯ̀ɯ nɯŋ máa aŋbooŋ maŋ daa klaan tʃʰii jèe
then one day Clf father Clf pain become_ill pt-comp pt-report
One day the father became very sick.

Father's Skull 005
kʰaacææ kaajèe cáa tùuk lùuŋ ŋææ
intensify very then poor fall pt-st
This caused (them) to become even poorer.

Father's Skull 006
cáa tɯ̀ɯ nɯŋ máa jáŋ aŋjàa maŋ naʔ hao cìi tʃʰàŋ tʃʰii
then one day Clf 3ps child Clf ACC call speak together pt-comp
jèe
pt-report
Then one day (he) called that child and (they) spoke together.

Father's Skull 007
bàa tæ̀æ tʃʰii laa næ̀ʔ
neg survive pt-comp pt-neg pt-end_qt
"I'm not going to live much longer."

Father's Skull 008
càawàa nææ ʔaabooŋ ʃiin jào aŋtùu tukʰjàam ʃəəj kwàan jóo
suppose that npt father die then head skull drag walk pt-imp
"Suppose tht father dies, then walk around dragging my skull."

Father's Skull 009

kə́əŋ jóo tʰə̀əŋ ŋææ jó?jaa nàa hjàa wàa
where? at stuck pt-st that_place field hill_field work
càan jóo
in_order_to_eat pt-imp
"Wherever it gets stuck, work the hill field there."

Father's Skull 010

hǽ?mǽ? mâaj jao aŋbooŋ maŋ ʃiin tʃʰii jèe
like_that tell then father Clf die pt-comp pt-report
When he told (him) that then the father died.

Father's Skull 011

aŋjàa maŋ maamaa jèe
child Clf truly pt-report
That child truly (did that).

Father's Skull 012

aŋtùu tukʰjàam làatùu pluuj jao ʃəəj kwàan tʃʰii
head skull rope tie then drag walk pt-comp
(He) tied the skull to a rope and walked along dragging it.

Father's Skull 013

ʃəəj kwàa taamkwàa cáa lɔɔbaa jo? tʰə̀əŋ ʔææ
drag walk go_back_and_forth then stone at stuck pt-aff
tʃʰii jèe
pt-comp pt-report
He dragged it along (for a while) then it got stuck on a stone.

Father's Skull 014

ma?cə̌ə lá mǽ?
what? do pt-emp
"What's happening?"

Father's Skull 015

càk bàa càk laa kaa jèe
pull neg pull come pt-st/abl pt-report
The more he pulled, the less it would come loose.

Father's Skull 016

hǽæŋjèe jóo nàa hjàa wàa duuŋ tʃʰii
after_that at field hill_field work live pt-comp
After that he worked the hill field there.

Father's Skull 017

nɔ̀ɔŋhəə caa páaŋ la náocá
after_that have rich pt-pos pt-comp
After that he became very rich.

"TIGER AND DEER" (TD)

Tiger and Deer 001
tsʰalàa næʔ hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ
tiger and deer
The Tiger and the Deer

Tiger and Deer 002
tsʰalàa tʰù̀u màaŋ caaŋ jèe
tiger one Clf have pt-report
There was a tiger.

Tiger and Deer 003
kuu tʰəə ja jèe hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ
every occurrence pt-many pt-report deer
ʔu̇u naʔ lɔ̀ɔj tʃʰæ̀æ tsàa laaŋ ŋææ
group ACC wait bite eat wait pt-st
Every time he would wait to eat the flock of deer.

Tiger and Deer 004
cáa tʰù̀u nu̇ŋ caaŋ jèe
then one day have pt-report
Then there was one day.

Tiger and Deer 005
hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ aŋtùu waaj tʰù̀u toʔ klaan tsàa læ̀æ tʃʰii
deer head fast one Clf search_for eat pt-dnmot pt-comp
jèe
pt-report
One smart deer went to look for food.

Tiger and Deer 006
cáa tʰù̀u kàmʔú tsʰalàa màaŋ lu̇un jèe
then one short_time tiger Clf come pt-report
Soon the tiger came.

Tiger and Deer 007
hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ hǽæ máŋ tsʰalàa maaŋ naʔ hmjaaŋ jao bàa hù̀un
deer that Clf tiger Clf ACC see then neg run
næʔ lakʰŭu dáa tæ̀æŋ læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
and foot pain survive pt-emph pt-comp pt-report
The deer saw that tiger and then didn't run because his foot hurt.

Tiger and Deer 008

kʰɯɯtʰók kʰɯɯtʰók næʔ jɔɔj tʃʰii jèe

limp limp and walk pt-comp pt-report

(He) walked with a limp.

Tiger and Deer 009

tsʰalàa màaŋ hǽæmǽɑ hmjaaŋ jao hɔɔpòɔŋ maaŋ naʔ naan tʃʰii jèe

tiger Clf like_that see then deer Clf ACC ask pt-comp pt-report

When the tiger saw that, he asked the deer:

Tiger and Deer 010

baacə̌ə háj lææ ʔææ

what do pt-dnmot pt-aff

"What have you gone and done?"

Tiger and Deer 011

cáa hɔɔpòɔŋ màaŋ mâaj lɯɯ tʃʰii jèe

then deer Clf tell pt-out pt-comp pt-report

Then the deer told (him):

Tiger and Deer 012

cìikùu nàŋ lææ ʔææ

thorn step_on pt-dnmot pt-aff

"I went and stepped on a thorn" unsure if ae is particle--probably the motion deal

Tiger and Deer 013

cìikùu nîi màa tʰɯɯ waasáa naʔtú

thorn this Clf one year suppose

"This thorn--It's been here about a year"

Tiger and Deer 014

tsʰalàa màaŋ hǽæmǽæ kjàaj jao kùt tʃʰii

tiger Clf like_that hear then think pt-comp

jèe

pt-report

(When) the tiger heard that, he thought:

Tiger and Deer 015

gá hɔɔpòɔŋ nii màŋ naʔ tsàaj jao cìikùu níʔ tʃʰa maa gaa

1ps deer this Clf ACC eat then thorn this det. Clf 1ps

mànpɔɔŋ næʔ núɯŋtʃûɯ nú tʃʰao laaŋ jáaŋ

mouth and neck this pierce pt-ben pt-negben

"If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck."

Tiger and Deer 016

cáa hɔɔpòɔŋ màaŋ mâaj lɯɯ tʃʰii jèe

then deer Clf tell pt-out pt-comp pt-report

Then the deer told (him):

Tiger and Deer 017

níi naŋ gaa naa tsàa làaŋ jâo cìikùu gaa
this 2nd person 1ps ACC eat pt-ben then thorn 1ps
lak^{h}ŭu tʃ^{h}ao lælatʃ^{h}inínŋ ts^{h}ææ cák ʔɔɔk luu laa poonoo
foot pierce at_that_place bite pull exit pt-imp pt-ben pt-agreed?
"If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please."

Tiger and Deer 018

jao naŋ tsàa laam t^{h}ɔɔlóɔjàa
then 2nd person eat pt-ben invite
"Then, if you are going to eat me, you're welcome to do so."

Tiger and Deer 019

ts^{h}alàa màaŋ háaŋjee cáa ʔóojhəə ʔɔɔk laalá?
tiger Clf then then O.K. exit pt-agreed!
The tiger then said, "O.K., I'll agree to take it out."

Tiger and Deer 020

cáa hǽæŋjèe hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ màaŋ muu lak^{h}ŭu
then after_that deer Clf well, foot
jàaŋ jóok lææ tʃ^{h}ii
that lift pt-dnmot pt-comp
After that, the deer lifted his foot up.

Tiger and Deer 021

ts^{h}alàa màaŋ hǽæŋjèe ŋææm lææ pìi tʃ^{h}ìi
tiger Clf after_that pt-st pt-dnmot pt-give clean
After that the tiger looked upwards.

Tiger and Deer 022

cìikùu cák ʔɔɔk pìi jao saaŋ tsàa nææ
thorn pull exit pt-give then short_time eat pt-end_qt
"(I) will pull the thorn out and soon thereafter will eat."

Tiger and Deer 023

cáa hɔɔpɔ̀ɔŋ máa joojjèe jàaŋ mànpɔɔŋ wəə dét tʃ^{h}ii
then deer Clf that_time 3ps mouth at kick pt-comp
At that time, the deer kicked his mouth.

Tiger and Deer 024

sɔɔp^{h}ee ʔúumsùuŋjajèe làt pii k^{h}oo tʃ^{h}ii
teeth every_last_one fall_out pt-give completely pt-comp
It caused all (his) teeth to fall out.

Tiger and Deer 025

salop háa jaa jèe
faint do pt-result pt-report
(He) fainted.

Tiger and Deer 026

hǽæŋjèe hoopòoŋ màaŋ hùun tʃʰii

after_that deer Clf run pt-comp

After that that deer ran away.

"TURTLE AND SQUIRREL" (TS)

Turtle and Squirrel 001
ʔùuhooŋ næ̀ʔ hɔɔtʃʰén
turtle and squirrel
The turtle and the squirrel.

Turtle and Squirrel 002
ʔùuhooŋ næ̀ʔ hɔɔtʃʰén jàakʰàa kaa jèe
turtle and squirrel friend-same_age pt-st/abl pt-report
The turtle and the squirrel were friends of the same age.

Turtle and Squirrel 003
tùu
one
nuŋ caalùŋ hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ ʔùuhooŋ maŋ naʔ tʃʰàaŋ ʔææ tʃʰii jèe
day have squirrel Clf turtle Clf ACC invite ascend pt-comp pt-report
One day the squirrel invited the turtle:

Turtle and Squirrel 004
kʰàa ʔùuhooŋ wəə miinuuŋ pìitʰòo téə lææ pjaadèe
friend! turtle at today fire_wood kindling pt-dnmòt pt-invite
"Friend--today let's go cut firewood."

Turtle and Squirrel 005
ʔùuhooŋ maŋ ʔòoj lææmlææ naowaa
turtle Clf O.K. I'll_go_if_ you're_going pt-rep_ep
The turtle said, "O.K., I'll go."

Turtle and Squirrel 006
jìiŋ ʔuu pəən jao sùuŋ kaa lææn naowaa
speak talk finish then go-together pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(When) they finished speaking then they went off together.

Turtle and Squirrel 007
mìitʰòo təə hjàa kʰəə kan lææ tʃʰii jáaŋ
firewood kindling hill_field arrive pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-comp
They arrived at the place to cut firewood.

Turtle and Squirrel 008
sùukʰajlòok aŋmíiŋ tùu păŋ cáa jèe
small_red_sweet_fruit ripe one Clf have pt-report
There was a tree with ripe suukhajlook fruit.

Turtle and Squirrel 009

hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ hmjaaŋ pjàaj tsàan læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe

squirrel Clf see climb eat pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report

The squirrel saw it and climbed up and ate.

Turtle and Squirrel 010

ʔaŋtʰàa pùukjàa ʔùuhooŋ máa cuŋcuŋ bàa pʰjàa tɔɔ

top area turtle Clf tree neg climb pt-unable

kaa mæ̀æ

pt-st/abl pt-emph

The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.

Turtle and Squirrel 011

ʔaŋɔɔk joo tsàaj duŋ tʃʰii jèe

below pt-imp eat sit pt-comp pt-report

(So she) sat and ate down below.

Turtle and Squirrel 012

pʰælɔɔŋ plúŋ jèe tʃʰuuj kan læ̀ʔ tʃʰii

shoulder_bag full pt-report gather put_in pt-dnmot pt-comp

(The turtle) gathered (the fruits) and filled (her) shoulder bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 013

mùŋkʰìi baataŋ sùuŋ kaa luun læ̀æ naowaa

night almost go-together pt-jnt come pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep

When it was almost evening (they) went back together.

Turtle and Squirrel 014

luutaamluu hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ sùukʰajlɔ̀ɔk bæ̀æn laalæ̀æ

short_time squirrel Clf small_red_sweet_fruit hungry very_hungry

pii tʃʰii jèe

pt-give pt-comp pt-report

Not long thereafter, the squirrel got hungry for the suukhajlook fruit.

Turtle and Squirrel 015

pɔ̀ŋpɔɔŋ daa tsàa kæ̀ækæ̀æn tʃʰii jèe

stomach pain eat act pt-comp pt-report

(The squirrel) acted as if (her) stomach hurt.

Turtle and Squirrel 016

ʔɔ̀ɔj pɔ̀ŋpɔɔŋ daa ŋæ̀æ

Ooh! stomach pain pt-st

"Oh! My stomach hurts!"

Turtle and Squirrel 017

ʔùuhooŋ màamàaáamáa næ̀æ kùt jèe

turtle true npt think pt-report

The turtle thought it was true.

Turtle and Squirrel 018

jaŋ pʰælɔɔŋ jóo mâaj ɔɔŋ duŋ pìi tʃʰii jèe

3ps shoulder_bag at tell enter sit pt-give pt-comp pt-report

She had/allowed (the squirrel) to get in her shoulder bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 019

kææbaa lín jèe

road end pt-report

The road ended.

Turtle and Squirrel 020

sùukʰajlɔ̀ok hæ̀æŋ kʰào tsàaŋ jèe

small_red_sweet_fruit that secretly eat pt-report

(The squirrel) secretly ate the suukhajlook fruit.

Turtle and Squirrel 021

kʰɔ̀ɔŋ kʰəə luu maatʰàŋ pəək klaan lùu tʃʰii jèe

village arrive return almost jump fall pt-out pt-comp pt-report

(When they) almost arrived back at the village, (the squirrel) jumped out.

Turtle and Squirrel 022

pɔ̀ɔŋpɔɔŋ daa jàaŋ pjòow kʰaaŋ já?

stomach pain that cured pt-st/ab pt-comp

"(My) stomach ache has been cured."

Turtle and Squirrel 023

?ùuhooŋ aŋjàa ?úu aŋbaa maŋ luu na? hmjaaŋ klæ̀ækklæ̀æk jèe

turtle child group mother Clf return ACC see call_out pt-report

The turtle kids saw that their mother was returning and called out.

Turtle and Squirrel 024

?àabaa sùukʰajlɔ̀ok gaaj luun tʃʰá? nǽ?

mother small_red_sweet_fruit get come pt-comp pt-end_qt

"Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit."

Turtle and Squirrel 025

pʰælɔɔŋ jàaŋ tʰɔok kan lùu tʃʰii jàaŋ

shoulder_bag that dump_out watch pt-out pt-comp pt-comp

(They) watched as (she) dumped out her shoulder bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 026

aŋkʰào æ̀æn jaa jèe

empty all pt-result pt-report

It was empty!

Turtle and Squirrel 027

naammaatáa jèe ?ùuhooŋ aŋbaa maŋ nuŋbaa kʰàa ŋæ̀æ

extremely pt-report turtle mother Clf heart angry pt-st

The Mother Turtle was very angry.

Turtle and Squirrel 028

sɔɔtʰáa bàa plæ̌æn húu kap haan kʰam læ̀æ
early_morning neg light before trap wrap_and_take trap pt-dnmot
tʃʰii jèe
pt-comp pt-report
The next morning before it was light (she) took a trap to trap.

Turtle and Squirrel 029

sùukʰajlɔ̀ok pǎŋ jóo kap jàaŋ kʰɔ̀ɔj
small_red_sweet_fruit Clf at trap that set
tʃʰiitʃʰá? jao
pt-left then
(She) set the trap at the suukhajlook tree and left it there.)

Turtle and Squirrel 030

hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ naa tʃʰàŋ ææn tʃʰii jèe
squirrel Clf ACC invite ascend pt-comp pt-report
(She) went to invite the squirrel.

Turtle and Squirrel 031

kʰàa hɔɔtʃʰén wəə sùukʰajlɔ̀ok tʃʰuu læ̀æ
friend! squirrel at small_red_sweet_fruit grab pt-dnmot
pjaadèe
pt-invite
"Friend squirrel, let's go get some suukhajlook fruit."

Turtle and Squirrel 032

hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ kjàan jao sùuŋ kaa læ̀æn naowaa
squirrel Clf hear then go-together pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(When) the squirrel heard, then they went together.

Turtle and Squirrel 033

ʔaŋʔan jóo kʰəə kan læ̀æ cáŋ hɔɔtʃʰén maŋ
previous_place at arrive pt-jnt pt-dnmot have squirrel Clf
kap jàaŋ gàaŋ sæ̀æ læ̀æ naowaa
trap that be_afflicted kill pt-rep pt-rep_ep
At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.

Turtle and Squirrel 034

ʔùuhooŋ maŋ pìitʰɔ̀o cuŋ aŋmúu pʰii kʰút jao juum
turtle Clf fire_wood set_fire body_hair burn scrape then house
kʰəə luu jao tʰɔɔ buun
arrive return then chop finely
tsə̀əŋ hmíiŋ jao kʰə̀əj ʃaaj ʔææ tʃʰii jèe
cook well_cooked then dish_out give pt-aff pt-comp pt-report
The turtle set (the squirrel) on fire, then burnt and scraped off the body hair, then went back to the house, then chopped (the squirrel) up finely, then cooked it until it was done, then put it in a dish to give.

Turtle and Squirrel 035

hɔɔtʃʰén ʔɯɯ aŋjàa ʔɯ̌ɯ naa jɔɔŋ sɯ̀ɯŋ kaa
squirrel group child group ACC 3pp go-together pt-jnt
tsàan tʃʰii jèe
eat pt-comp pt-report
That group of squirrel children, they ate together.

Turtle and Squirrel 036

kʰoo lɯ̀ɯmaatʰaŋ aŋbaa maŋ làajɯ̌uŋ jàaŋ hmjaaŋ tʃʰii jèe
completely almost mother Clf finger that see pt-comp pt-report
(When) it was almost all gone, (they) saw their mother's finger.

Turtle and Squirrel 037

hiikàm jèe bææn kʰu tʃʰii
at_that_point pt-report know everything pt-comp
At that point, they knew everything.

Turtle and Squirrel 038

ʔàabaa ʃii kaa tʃáʔ nèʔ
mother die pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-end_qt
"Mother is dead!"

"THE MISCHIEVOUS BOY" (MB)

The Mischievous Boy 001
bìsuu bìit^{h}àan jàakee aŋlɯk
Bisu fable child mischievous
Bisu Fable: The Mischevious Child

The Mischievous Boy 002
mlàaŋ k^{h}aaŋjèe
long_time past_time
jàakee k^{h}àap^{h}àajàa t^{h}ɯ̀ɯ màaŋ caaŋ jèe
child male one Clf have pt-report
A long time ago there was a mischevious boy.

The Mischievous Boy 003
aŋk^{h}lɯ̀ɯ̀ jèe
lazy pt-report
(He) was lazy.

The Mischievous Boy 004
lakaan bàa tɯ̀ɯ wàa kaa jèe
work neg willing work pt-st/abl pt-report
(He) was not willing to do any work at all.

The Mischievous Boy 005
jào aŋbaa næ̀? aŋbooŋ maŋ jèet mii ʔíi tʃ^{h}ii jèe
then mother and father Clf both npt scold pt-comp pt-report
And then his mother and father both scolded him.

The Mischievous Boy 006
cáa nɯŋbaa k^{h}àa jèe
then heart angry pt-report
Then (he) was very angry.

The Mischievous Boy 007
cǎŋkɔ̌oŋ wəə hɯ̀ɯn læ̀æn tʃ^{h}ii jèe
forest at run pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(So) he ran into the forest.

The Mischievous Boy 008
cáa mɔ́oŋk^{h}ìik^{h}ìin tʃ^{h}ii jèe
then darkness pt-comp pt-report
Then it became dark.

The Mischievous Boy 009

wuuŋ kʰoo tʃʰii jèe

dark completely pt-comp pt-report

It became totally dark.

The Mischievous Boy 010

jaŋ mi aŋbaa aŋbooŋ nàʔ juum naʔ moŋ tʃʰii jèe

3ps well, mother father and house ACC miss pt-comp pt-report

He, well, missed his mother and father.

The Mischievous Boy 011

jaŋ jòoj pìk luun lææ tʃʰii jèe

3ps walk return come pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report

He (started) to walk back again.

The Mischievous Boy 012

cáa kiibaa tʰàaŋ cuŋcuŋ tʰùu păŋ caaŋ jèe

then path beside tree one Clf have pt-report

Then there was a tree across the path.

The Mischievous Boy 013

kʰanaat jèe hùu ŋææ

extent pt-report large pt-st

It was very large.

The Mischievous Boy 014

ʔàacăam kʰæækʰaamǽæ nææ caaŋ jèe

and then fearful npt have pt-report

It looked very scary.

The Mischievous Boy 015

cáa cuŋcuŋ wəə kéekéetʃʰàaŋ plaŋ nææ caaŋ jèe

then tree at shadow black npt have pt-report

Then there was a black shadow at the tree.

The Mischievous Boy 016

jàamàŋjàatuu jèe

very_large pt-report

(It was) very large.

The Mischievous Boy 017

cuuŋ tʃʰii

stand pt-comp

It was standing up.

The Mischievous Boy 018

jaaŋ tʰææ jèe ɔɔŋ huun lææ tʃʰii

3ps near pt-report enter watch pt-dnmot pt-comp

He got closer to look at it.

The Mischievous Boy 019

cáa huu kan lɨ̀ɨ tʃʰii jàaŋ dæ̀æjàa jèe
then watch watch pt-out pt-comp 3ps spirit pt-report
When he watched it, he realized it was a spirit.

The Mischievous Boy 020

camkʰɨɨŋ màmmuup jèe
hair disorderly pt-report
Its hair was very messy

The Mischievous Boy 021

bànlàa mɔɔŋ jèe
tongue long pt-report
Its tongue was long.

The Mischievous Boy 022

mæænɨɨ ʔuummii soot ʔɔɔk lɨɨn tʃʰii jèe
eyes completely fall exit pt-out pt-comp pt-report
The spirit's eyes popped out.

The Mischievous Boy 023

ʃìi æ̀æn ŋáʔ jèe
blood all pt-comprehen pt-report
It was completely covered in blood.

The Mischievous Boy 024

kʰæ̀ækʰaabɔɔlɔɔ jèe
extremely_frightening pt-report
Very scary!

The Mischievous Boy 025

jaaŋ àŋwàaj kʰjaaŋ jèe hɨ̀ɨn lɨɨn tʃʰii
3ps quickly quickly pt-report run pt-out pt-comp
The child ran away quickly.

The Mischievous Boy 026

dæ̀æjàa màaŋ hɨ̀ɨn kʰèen tʃʰii jèe
spirit Clf run follow pt-comp pt-report
The spirit ran after him.

The Mischievous Boy 027

cáa hɨ̀ɨn tam hɨ̀ɨn aŋbooŋ maŋ naʔ càɔ ʔæ̀æ læ̀æ tʃʰii jèe
then run crash run father Clf ACC crash ascend pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
Then as he was running around, he ran into his father.

The Mischievous Boy 028

jào dæ̀æjàa màaŋ pjóʔ káʔ tʃʰii jèe
then spirit Clf disappear pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report
And then the spirit disappeared.

The Mischievous Boy 029

ʔìikee maŋ kjàaŋ jèe
child Clf happy pt-report
The child was very glad.

The Mischievous Boy 030

juum wəə kʰəə ʔææ jao jaaŋ miimæ̀æn laa tʃʰii jèe
house at arrive ascend then 3ps good pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
When they returned to the house, then he was good.

The Mischievous Boy 031

làakaan plɔ̀ɔŋ bŭu jao jèe
work help do then pt-report
He helped with the work.

The Mischievous Boy 032

hæ̀æŋ caajlaa pìi jao aŋbaa næ̀ʔ aŋbooŋ ʔuum
that_time since pt-give then mother and father group
bàa ʔíi kaŋ jèe
neg scold together pt-report
Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again.

"MR. KIEW THE DEAF MAN AND MR. PAW THE BLIND MAN: A STORY OF TWO CHICKEN THIEVES" (DB)

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 001
baakʰaew nàapàŋ næʔ bàapóo mæ̀æwàa
Mr. Khaew deaf and Mr. Paw blind
Mr. Kiew the deaf man and Mr. Paw the blind man.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 002
jèt hjàa kʰào tsàa rəŋ
both chicken secretly eat story
A story of two chicken thieves.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 003
kʰaatææ wəə tsʰaaŋ sɔɔŋ kʰùn caa kʰaalaj
long_ago at people two Clf have pt-exis
A long time ago there were two people.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 004
tʰɯɯ maŋ ma aŋmeeŋ baakʰaew nàapàŋ
one Clf npt name Mr. Khaew deaf
Mr. Kiew was deaf.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 005
tʰɯɯ maŋ ma bàapóo mæ̀æwàa
one Clf tell Mr. Paw blind
Mr. Paw was blind.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 006
joʔ caajlaa jao jàa tʃʰàaŋ kaa jao hjaa
at come from then pt-comp invite pt-jnt then hillfield
suuŋ kaa kʰào lǽʔ tʃʰii
go_together pt-jnt secretly pt-dnmot pt-comp
Who knows were they were from--they invited each other to go steal chicken.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 007
jàamàaŋ puu kaew juum wəə baakʰaew hjàa
old_person grandfather Kaew house at Mr. Khaew chicken
kʰào tʃʰùu huumaŋ
secretly grab responsible
At Uncle Kaew's house, Mr. Khiew was the one responsible for grabbing the chicken.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 008

bàapóɔ màaj tʃʰùu pìi huumaŋ
Mr. Paw tell grab pt-give responsible
Mr. Paw was the one responsible for telling (him where to grab).

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 009

hikʰám baakʰaew bàapóɔ na? naa tʃʰii
at_that_time Mr. Khaew Mr. Paw ACC ask pt-comp
Then Mr. Khiew asked Mr. Paw.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 010

hjáa pʰàa kajcóoŋ ni maŋ tʃʰùu láa hjáa pʰàa puutʃʰaa
chicken breed Kaijong this Clf grab or chicken breed Puutshaa
ni maŋ tʃʰuu láa
this Clf grab pt-quest
"Shall we grab a Kaijcong chicken or a Puutshaa chicken?"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 011

baakʰaew bàa kjàa cèeŋ káa
Mr. Khaew neg hear clearly pt-st/abl
Mr.Khiew didn't hear clearly.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 012

?acăm pìk naaj
then return ask
Then he went back and asked again.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 013

bàapóɔ háw màaj lææ paanɔɔ
Mr. Paw call tell pt-rep pt-comp
Mr Paw shouted and said again:

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 014

hjàa kajcóoŋ tʰíi maŋ tʃʰùu lùu pá?lææ
chicken Kaijong that Clf grab pt-imp pt-imp
"Grab that kajcong chicken."

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 015

hikʰám puu kaew
at_that_time grandfather Kaew
juum súuŋ maŋ kjàan jáo cìi hàwháw laa paanɔ̀ɔ
house owner Clf hear then speak blurt_out_suddenly pt-comp pt-comp
At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house heard and suddenly yelled out:

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 016

?asaŋ hɛɛ hjàa kajcóoŋ næ? hjàa puutʃʰaa næ? haaŋ
who at chicken Kaijong and chicken Puutshaa and tell
ni máa
this Clf
"Who said Kajcong chicken and Puutshaa chicken?"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 017

baak^{h}aew næ̀ʔ bàapóɔ jèet kjàan jáo k^{h}ææ lææjáo
Mr. Khaew and Mr. Paw both hear then afraid and_then
sùuŋ kaa hùun paanɔ̀ɔ t^{h}ùutɔ̀ɔŋt^{h}ùumaŋ
go-together pt-jnt run pt-comp every_man_for_himself
Mr. Khiew and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked and fled in different directions.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 018

baak^{h}aew ʔæ̀æpláa
Mr. Khaew flee
Mr. Khiew ran away.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 019

bàapóɔ ʔæ̀æŋkɔ̀ɔlɔɔk pàakjàa cút
Mr. Paw area_under_stilt_house path enter_quickly
Mr. Paw fled underneath the house

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 020

bàapóɔ ʔæ̀æŋkɔ̀ɔlɔɔk wəə tàmtàalàak jàaŋ
Mr. Paw area_under_stilt_ house at implement 3ps
nàŋ k^{h}ɔɔn mææk^{h}ɔɔŋ
step_on spring_up forehead
k^{h}ɔɔk lææ paanɔɔ
strike pt-dnmot pt-comp
Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an implement which flipped up and struck his forehead.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 021

bàa caaŋ laa
neg have pt-comp
"It's over!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 022

tùuj làaŋ jaa
hit pt-comp pt-negben
"(I've) been hit!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 023

nææ kuut tʃ^{h}ii
npt think pt-comp
He thought.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 024

cìi hàwháw gaa t^{h}ùu maŋ bàa ʔằa nɔ̀ɔ
speak blurt_out_suddenly 1ps one Clf neg correct pt-neg_agreed?
(He) blurted out, "It's not only me, you know!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 025

baak^{h}aew nàapàŋ taatáa poj
Mr. Khaew deaf also pt-emph
"Deaf Mr. Khiew too!"

"THE SWANS AND THE TURTLE" (ST)

The Swans and the Turtle 001
nukhuuŋ nɛ̀ʔ ʔùuhooŋ aŋlèəŋ
swan and turtle story
The story of the swans and the turtle.

The Swans and the Turtle 002
kʰatææ ʔùuhooŋ tʰɨ̀ɯ maŋ nɛ̀ʔ nukhuuŋ sɔɔŋ too caa laaj
long_ago turtle one Clf and swan two Clf have pt-exis
A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans.

The Swans and the Turtle 003
ʔùuhooŋ taʔsææ nii tɔɔŋ ʃaa tsàa ʃaa taŋ
turtle mountain this mountain_side search eat search water
mlàŋ jào nɯŋbaatɔ̀ɔŋ nàa tuŋ nii tɔɔŋ
long_time then worry field one this mountain_side
ʃaa tsàa lɯɯ tʃʰii ŋææ
search eat return pt-comp pt-st
The turtle had looked for food and drink on one mountain for a long time and in his heart wanted to go look for food on another side (to go to another mountain across a field).

The Swans and the Turtle 004
gaa nammɯɯ tʰɨ̀ɯ maŋ sɨ̀ɯj ææn làwlææ
1ps self one Clf go_together go pt-imp
"Anyone--someone take me there!"

The Swans and the Turtle 005
hikʰàm nukhuuŋ sɔɔŋ too kjàan jào làamaj həə
that time swan two Clf hear then stick at
mâaj kaap pìi jao ʔacăm màaj lɨ̀ɯ tʃʰii
tell grasp_in_mouth pt-give then then tell pt-out pt-comp
At that time two swans heard and had him grasp in his mouth a piece of wood held in their feet and they told him:

The Swans and the Turtle 006
naŋ mànpɔɔŋ haksaa haa læ̀w pèe
2nd person mouth care for do pt-imp pt-imp
"Take care of your mouth!"

The Swans and the Turtle 007
hikʰàm nukhuuŋ maŋ jèet pjaam nàa tuŋ kʰam ʔææ
that time swan Clf both fly field one cross ascend
paanɔ̀ɔ
pt-comp

Immediately both swans flew across the field.

The Swans and the Turtle 008

jàakee pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa pɔɔpàa ʔɤ̆ɯ huu hmjaaŋ lɯ̀ɯjao háw
child water_buffalo caretaker group watch see and_then call
laŋkaa tʃʰii
pt-jnt pt-comp
The buffalo boys saw it and they shouted out together,

The Swans and the Turtle 009

nukhuuŋ ʔùuhooŋ maŋ naʔ hlàm tʃʰii
swan turtle Clf ACC lift pt-comp
"The swans are carrying the turtle"

The Swans and the Turtle 010

hikʰàm ʔùuhooŋ maŋ kjàan jao cìin lɯ̀ɯ paanɔ̀ɔ
that time turtle Clf hear then speak pt-out pt-comp
Then the turtle heard it and said:

The Swans and the Turtle 011

bàa ʔă̆a ʔùuhooŋ nukhuuŋ naʔ hlam ŋææ
neg correct turtle swan ACC lift pt-st
"No--it's the turtle who is carrying the swans."

The Swans and the Turtle 012

mànpɔɔŋ ʔàan jao klaaj lɯɯn
mouth open then fall come
When he opened his mouth, he fell down

The Swans and the Turtle 013

jào pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa ʔɯɯm ŋæ̀æn huuj
then water_buffalo group look upward look
Then the buffalo looked upwards.

The Swans and the Turtle 014

pʰlɔ̀ɔj pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa ʔɯɯ ŋæ̀æn caaj həə
everyone water_buffalo group look upward look_upward at
All the buffalo in the herd lifted their heads and looked.

The Swans and the Turtle 015

kamlaŋ həə ʔùuhooŋ maŋ pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa
momentarily at turtle Clf water_buffalo
maŋ naatúu mànpɔɔŋ cɔ́ɔt klaaj tɯ̀ɯj paanɔ̀ɔ
Clf upper_lip mouth enter_quickly fall hit pt-comp
The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water buffalo.

The Swans and the Turtle 016

pɔ̀ɔŋʰnaa sɔ̀ɔpʰee pjáa klaa kʰoo paanɔ̀ɔ
water_buffalo teeth scatter fall completely pt-comp
All the water buffalo's teeth fell out.

The Swans and the Turtle 017

ʔaamɯɯkʰəə pòoŋʰnaa sòopʰèe bàa caa
up_to_this_time water_buffalo teeth neg have
To this day, water buffalo don't have teeth.

The Swans and the Turtle 018

ʔùuhooŋ ʔaŋkʰjàam jàaŋ bɯɯn jaohlao jao ʔùuhooŋ
turtle shell that finely completely then turtle
ʔæ̀æŋ jàaŋ tsʰaaŋ kòolɔokkaʔlik wəə gaŋ
excrement 3ps people armpit at crash_against
The turtle's shell was completely crushed and excrement of the turtle fell on the upper arm of that person

The Swans and the Turtle 019

jao kòopæ̀ætpæ̀æt nam ʔaamɯɯkʰéə
then armpit stinky up_to_this_time
Thus (our armpits) smell bad to this day.

APPENDIX 2

PARTICLE PROFILE SUMMARY CHART

§	Particle	Meaning	Relation to tʃʰii,jèe		Isolation			Place in Discourse								Average Transitivity			Sentence Complexity		Quote/Non-Quote		Evidentiality			Functions														
			Precedes	Follows	In Isolation	Isolation Only	Never in Isolation	Inciting Moment	Episode Boundary	Orientation	Pre-Peak Ep	Peak	Peak'	Post Peak	Conclusion	High	Mid	Low	Mono-clausal	Multi-clausal	In Quote	In Non-Quote	Experiencer	Non-Experiencer	Interlocutor	Completive	Stative	Existential	On-going Process	Evidential	Modal	Quote Marker	Imperative	Imperative Strengthener	Agreement Confirmation	Interrogative	Preference	Politeness	Emphatic	Adverb-Like
4.2.1	tʃʰii	completive aspect	NA		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X														
4.4.2	paanɔɔ	enhanced completive	NA		X				X		X	X	X			X			X	X		X		X		X				X									X	
4.4.4	tʃʰáʔ	emphatic completion	NA				X		X		X	X	X				X		X		X	X	X	X		X														
4.4.8	laal	completion		(jèe X only)	X				X		X			X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X														
4.4.16	jàal	completive	NA		X				X		X	X				X			X		X	X	X	X		X														
4.2.2	jèe	reported event			X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X		X			X			X										
4.4.1	ŋææ	stative	NA		X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X													
4.5.31	tʃʰiiʔ	'left in that state'	NA				X				X					X			X			X		X			X			X										
4.4.15	kʰaalaj	existential marker	NA		X	X			X	X	X							X	X			X		X				X		X										
4.3.1	lææ	downward/southern motion	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.4.10	laa3	ongoing positive process	X				X				X				X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X											
4.3.2	lææl	repeated action	X				X				X	X			X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.3.3	lææ2	emphasis	X				X		X		X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.4.3	naowaa	repeated episode marker	NA		X				X		X	X				X			X	X		X		X						X										
4.4.5	pii	'give' causative/purposive/ permissive	X				X	X	X		X	X			X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.4.6	kaal	permanent state/ability	X		X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X			X	X	X							X									
4.4.7	kaa2	joint action	X				X		X		X				X		X		X	X		X		X						X										
4.4.7.1	laŋkaʔ	joint action	X				X		X		X	X					X		X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.4.9	laa2	negation		X			X				X	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X																
4.4.11	laa4	benefactive	X				X				X	X		X				NA	X	X	X				X															
4.4.12	nææ	end of quotation marker	NA				X				X		X					NA	X	X	X			X						X		X								
4.4.13	lùul	'come out' (quotation form)	X		X				X		X	X	X			X			X	X		X		X						X		X								
4.4.14	ʔææ	affirmative marker	NA				X				X							NA	X	X	X		X							X										
4.5.1	jaa2	negative benefit		(tʃʰii X only)			X				X	X	X					NA	X	X	X				X															
4.5.2	jaa3	result of action	(X jèe only)				X				X	X					X		X			X		X						X										
4.5.3	jáʔ	many	(X jèe only)				X				X							X	X			X		X						X										
4.5.4	paanaa	agreement seeker	NA		X						X	X						NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.5	poonoo	agreement seeker	NA				X				X	X						NA	X	X	X				X								X							
4.5.6	paanǽʔ	self-oriented agreement	NA		X						X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.7	paanadèo	group agreement seeker	NA		X						X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.8	nòo	negative agreement seeker	NA		X	X					X	X						NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.9	laaláʔ	agreement	NA			X	X				X							NA	X		X				X										X					
4.5.10	kanna	preference	NA		X	X						X						NA	X		X				X												X			
4.5.11	kʰaa	implied request	NA				X				X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.12	pjaadèe	propositive	NA		X						X	X						NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.13	lùuʔ	positive imperative	NA		X						X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.14	pao	mild positive imperative	NA		X						X	X						NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.15	jòo	positive command	NA		X						X				X			NA	X	X	X				X								X							
4.5.16	lǽw	positive command	NA				X			X	X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.17	láʔ	imperative	NA				X				X							NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.18	lǽwlææ	imperative	NA				X			X	X				X			NA	X		X				X								X							
4.5.19	coo	negative command	NA				X				X				X			NA	X	X	X				X								X							
4.5.20	ʔàahaa	negative comm. strengthener	NA				X								X			NA	X		X				X									X						
4.5.21	pee	politeness marker	NA		X						X	X						NA	X	X	X				X													X		
4.5.22	gaal	ability	X				X		X		X						X		X			X		X						X	X									
4.5.23	gaa2+siŋ	'desire'	X				X				X					X			X			X		X						X										
4.5.24	tɔɔ	inability	X				X				X							X	X			X	X	X							X									
4.5.25	waʔ	content question	NA		X						X							NA	X		X				X											X				
4.5.26	láa	interrogative marker	NA		X	X					X							NA		X	X				X											X				
4.5.27	máʔ	negative emphatic		X			X				X							NA	X		X	X	X	X															X	
4.5.28	cáa	positive emphatic		X			X		X		X					X			X			X		X						X									X	
4.5.29	ʔii	deduceable knowledge	NA				X				X							NA	X		X				X															
4.5.30	ɲáʔi	comprehensive extent	X				X				X	X						X	X			X	X	X																
4.5.32	láʔwaa	any more	NA		X	X					X						X			X		X		X																
4.5.33	láʔ	natural disaster	X				X						X			X				X		X																		
4.5.34	laalææ	intensity of hunger	X				X				X						X		X			X																		X

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Kirk Roger Person was born on June 22, 1967, in Loveland, Colorado. His interest in Asia began in childhood, when his parents adopted two Vietnamese orphans and organized an adoption agency, the Friends of Children of Viet Nam.

In 1987, he graduated from Baylor University with a major in history, an honors program thesis on the philosophy of Michelangelo, and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He dropped his sole undergraduate linguistics course after one week.

In 1988, he was selected as a Baylor–in–Thailand exchange student to teach English at Yonok College, Lampang. He stayed at Yonok for five years (a record for an exchange student), teaching English, history, and linguistics, as well as heading the English department (1989–93), assisting the college president, and marrying Baylor exchange student Suzanne Renee Anderson (1992). Simultaneously, he obtained an M.A. in linguistics from Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand (1993), with a thesis on the discourse style of Thailand's most popular Buddhist televangelist.

Kirk returned to the United States in 1993, and subsequently began Ph.D. studies at the University of Texas at Arlington. In 1995 he returned to Thailand as a member of SIL International to teach linguistics at Payap University and conduct research on Northern Thai and Bisu. He has presented papers at the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, the Pan–Asiatic Symposium on Languages and Linguistics, the International Thai Studies Conference, the Society for Endangered Languages, the Sino–Tibetan Conference, the Southwestern Social Science Association, and the UT Arlington Student Conference in Linguistics. He has given guest lectures at Chiang Mai University, Baylor University, and the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics.

After receiving his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington in December 2000, Kirk and his family returned to Thailand.