

**ASPECTS OF THE KAM LANGUAGE, AS REVEALED IN ITS NARRATIVE
DISCOURSE**

by

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DEDICATION

To Angella, Tongnian, my family
and all Kam

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ABSTRACT

**ASPECTS OF THE KAM LANGUAGE, AS REVEALED IN ITS NARRATIVE
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Discourse analysis has long been understudied in Kam. This research aims to initiate the exploration of this new field by examining various aspects of Kam narrative discourse and reveal its structural properties through a functional approach within Schiffrin's discourse model.

A new found morpheme /ə/ leads to discussion of phonological and syntactic variations from discourse perspective. The reduction of components in rhymes in

directional verbs is related to not only semantic manifestation, but more importantly, to the building-up of narrative discourse. The classifier variants in the types CLSa and CLSb encode number difference, though not identical to numbers in Indo-European languages. The analysis of pronoun modifiers of kinship terms in discourse demonstrates how historical and cultural factors have been absorbed into and represented in language. The issue of word order variations is also considered within discourse.

The mysterious sentence-final particles (SFPs) in Kam and other Asian languages occupies a section in which their phonological and syntactic features are examined, and the inventory of collected SFPs in published Kam linguistic data emerges. After grouping them into three different categories, the study considers both semantic and discourse functions of each individual SFP.

The discussion of Kam narrative structure under Labov's model demonstrates that the storytelling setting influences the structure of the produced narration itself. The integration of the complication and evaluation is a result of storytelling being an act of public education as well as of entertainment. Furthermore, discourse grammatical characteristics of the narrative, such as repetition, are presented. The unique communicational aspect of Kam 'monologue' narrative leads to the discussion of social interaction, and social power in narrating. A prominent communication operator *liax* specifically showcases how a single linguistic unit functions at various levels of discourse structure.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1S	first person singular
2S	second person singular
3S	third person singular
1Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
AP	adjective phrase
AQ	asking question
Asp	aspect
Aux	auxiliary
CLS	classifier
CLSa	classifier with original initial
CLSb	classifier with changed initial
CM	commenting
Comm	common noun
Comp	complement
CV	consonant + vowel
CV(V)C	consonant + vowel (+ vowel) + consonant
DM	discourse marker
Dem	demonstrative
DV	directional verb
FT	free translation
GI	greeting and informational exchange
1Mkr	marker
N	noun
NEG	negation
NL	non-linguistic instant response and reactions
NR	necessary redundancy
Num	numeral
NumP	number phrase
NP	noun phrase
O	object
Part.	particle
PEN	personal experience narrative
PERF	perfective
1PP	prepositional phrase
1Pre	preposition

Pred	predicate
Pro	pronoun
ProP	pronoun phrase
RE	reasoning or extension
Rel	relative clause
RR	the rest of audience's response
S	sentence
SFP	sentence-final particle
Spec	specifier
SR	<i>Sky Repairing</i> , title of one of the two studied narratives
Subj.	subject
T	topic
TAM	tense, aspect, modality
TBU	tone-bearing-unit
TF	<i>Three Friend</i> , title of one of the two studied narratives
V	verb
YT	Yutou, village name

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aspects in discussion and their respective salience

Thanks to the increasing interest in the ethnic minorities of China and continuous efforts from scholars such as Yang Quan, Guoqiao Zheng, Minwen Deng, Yaohong Long, Norman Geary, and Jerold Edmondson, many aspects of Kam culture, including Kam language, history, social structure, architectural traditions, music, and oral literature have been revealed by a veritable explosion of new information.

The study of Kam language, as summarized by Tongyin Yang (1999: 6-9), has been very fruitful. A great many important works have been published. Yet there are still limited in the sense that so far the effort has been focused on phonological, phonetical, and syntactic aspects. This paper aims to broaden the spectrum and investigate the Kam language from a functionalist's perspective and examine the various aspects of Kam narrative discourse at various levels, including language variation, sentence-final particles (SFPs), structural properties of narrative, and communication in storytelling. More specifically, phonological, morphological, and syntactic variations discovered in narrative discourse will be discussed within Schiffrin's (1987) discourse model and to discover at what level(s) these variants function and how. Observed SFPs will be categorized and examined individually within context to detect their semantic, syntactic, discourse, and communication functions. This study will also address the structure of Kam

narrative and the dynamic communication between the speaker and the audience in storytelling.

These phenomena mentioned above are all salient. First of all, in an isolating language such as Kam, linguistic variations are relatively highly constrained by their lack of morphological markers. Deviation is considered 'unusual' and requires scrutiny. As will be reported in Chapter 4, variations at various levels have been detected. They carry high significance since they may manifest the interactive processes in the language system. Seeking linguistic interpretation in their discourse contexts will enhance one's understanding of the variational mechanisms and their roles on levels of the discourse structure. Secondly, SFPs occupy a special position in Asian languages (Matisoff 1973; Li and Thompson 1981; Person 2000). As demonstrated in Person's (2000) work, their mysterious/elusive roles in language can most efficiently be identified through examining data in a discourse context. Study will focus on functions of SFPs after a full directory of Kam SFPs is compiled. Storytelling narrative is not only the most well studied discourse genre, but also the one that integrates deeply with other aspects of community life. By exploring structural and communicational properties of storytelling narrative, one will achieve a better comprehension of the way a narrative is built up and its social and cultural functions are expected to emerge.

The motivation behind these efforts is, on the one hand, to reveal structural characteristics of Kam discourse through naturally occurring narrative data. On the other hand, it intends to identify the relation between the linguistic forms produced and their manifested functions at different levels of discourse structure. Some of that goes beyond the language itself and must be addressed as of a relation between the social system and linguistic representation. Another extra motivation of conducting research on relatively broader topics is that the current study is the first systematic and extensive effort in discovering discourse pattern in Kam

language. It is for the above mentioned purposes that two naturally occurred narratives were video taped and recorded. Full transcription of the narratives is provided and included in the body text in Chapter 3.

As detailed in 1.2, the rest of the current chapter introduces general information about the Kam people, its history, religion, the Kam language and orthography. Chapter 2 addresses research questions and the framework adopted. Chapter 3 deliberates on the nature of data, data sources, and a full version of the two narratives in LINGUALINKS format. Chapter 4 analyzes observed features in discourse within the chosen framework. Chapter 5 concludes the study, highlighting the contribution that it is making, along with its limitations and weaknesses.

1.2 The Kam people, language, and their homeland

As one of the fifty-five officially recognized ethnic minorities in China, where they are called *Dòng* or 侗族, the Kam are well known for their extensive music tradition, especially for their extraordinary choral singing. The Kam proverb says it all: *oux sangx nyenc, al sangx sail* 'Rice nurtures the body, but singing nurtures the soul'; *gaeml dos eis lieeux al, gax dos eis lieeux leec* 'Chinese books are countless, so are the Kam songs.' (Zhang, etc. 1996: 182). The Kam also possess spectacular wooden architectural accomplishments in the form of drum towers and wind-and-rain bridges and thus then have drawn tremendous interest from the outside world (Geary et al 2002).

According to the 1990 census, the population of the Kam was about 2.51 million, making it the fourteenth largest of China's ethnic groups. More than 90% of the Kam people are located in a large contiguous triangular territory overlapping the eastern Guizhou Province (1,410,000), the southwestern Hunan Province (750,000) and the northern Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous

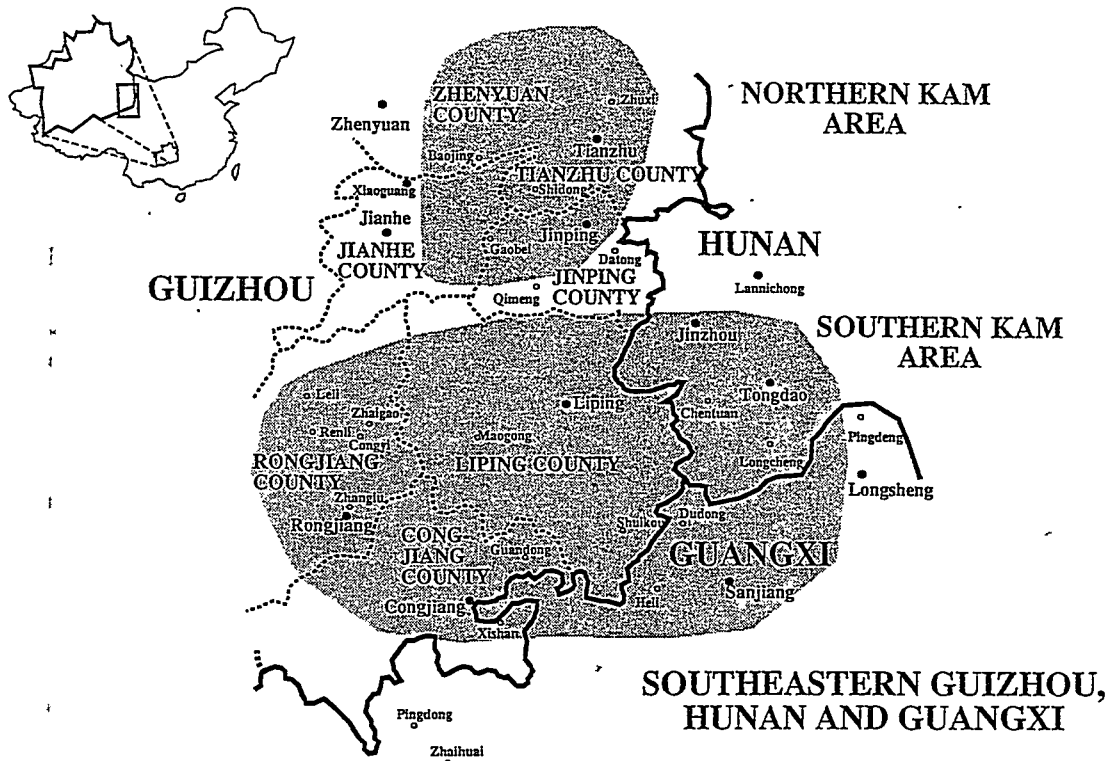


Figure 1.1 Geographical Distribution of Kam People

1.3 The Kam autonym and Kam history

Kam people refer to themselves as *lak31* (*nən11*) *kəm55*. *lak31* is a marker of animate things, while the optional *nən11* is a Chinese loan word 人, meaning 'people' or 'persons'. In this research [n] is used instead of IPA [ɲ] since that is the tradition used in Chinese materials. *kəm55* is the core of the autonym. There are some local variations on this name, mostly differing in the initial consonant. For example, in some villages in Tōngdào, Hunan, and in Sānjiāng, Guangxi, the autonym becomes *təkəm55*. In northern Kam area, *kəm35* is the most common

Region (290,000). There is also a small group living in a separate area in western Hubei Province (50,000) (Zheng & Long 1998 1:11-12). Figure 1 represents the geographical distribution of Kam in China. There is also one village in Vietnam in Tuyên Quang Province where a few people still speak the language (Edmondson 1998). The neighboring ethnic groups of the Kam include the Miao (Hmong), Yao (Mien), Shui (Sui), Mulao (Mulam), Zhuang, Buyi (Bouyei) people and the Han Chinese.

As this paper will discuss below, the linguistic boundaries between the southern regions of Jinping 锦屏 County in Guizhou where Kam, Hmong, and Han Chinese are interspersed. Kam living to the south of this area are called “the southern Kam,” while the ones living to the north are called “the northern Kam.” In general, the southern Kam preserves more of the traditional Kam culture, including the Kam language, architecture, music, and economy. The northern Kam have sustained a great deal of influence from the Chinese population and culture. For example, many of them are fluent in local Chinese vernacular; the daily costume is more like that of the Chinese. Yet, they nevertheless preserve clear Kam identity and practice many of the Kam customs in their daily life.

form. But the form of the autonym itself, whether it is in the south or in the north, is pretty consistent across all of the Kam areas.

There are various explanations of the meaning of the word *kɔm55*. In addition to its sense as the autonym for the Kam people, *kɔm55* can also function as a common verb, as in: a) *kɔm55 pa55* (fish) ‘to build a home for the fish in a pond or river’; b) *kɔm55 khwən35* (road) ‘to set up a road barrier with branches and trees to keep away intrusion’. Long and Zheng (1998: 3) summarize this in the best way: “As a verb, it usually means to use branches or sticks to fence off, cover, isolate, keep free from intruders.” The relation between the verb(s) and the autonym *kɔm55* “is thus probably associated with the idea of ‘surrounding and protection’.” That ‘surrounding and protection’ then is derived from the living environment in which mountains and trees are used to surround, isolate, and protect.

The history of the Kam people can be tracked back to the ancient Bǎiyuè (百越) ‘hundred Viets’ tribe spreading from the east coast of China to the western part of southeast Asia around 200 AD. Many contemporary Kam-Tai ethnic groups are also descendants of the ancient Bǎiyuè. But the Kam were not explicitly mentioned among the Bǎiyuè (百越) or recorded in Chinese literature until the early twelfth century of the common era. Lu You, a prominent writer in the Song Dynasty (960-1279AD), noted in his famous travellog *Diary of the Old Hut Study* 老学庵笔记: “There are Geling 伧伶 and Gelan 伧兰 in Chenzhou 辰州, Yuanzhou 沅州, and Jingzhou 靖州”, which currently is a part of the Kam living area in southwest Hunan and eastern Guizhou. He also observed that “if a man has not yet taken a wife, he sticks a pheasant’s feather in his hair”. These quotations evidently refer to the Kam people since most of what he saw and recorded is still being practiced in the Kam community (Zhang 1983). After that, historical records in

Chinese, both in official annals and vernacular writings, bear witness to more and more explicit observations and notations of the *Dongman* 峒蛮, the Chinese name of Kam people at the beginning. In 1950's, this 峒蛮, which means 'unrefined cave-dwellers' in Chinese, was replaced by the official 侗族, a term intended to acknowledge that respect and legal status of equality among all other ethnic groups in China by the government, including the Han Chinese 汉族.

1.4 Religion

Though organized religion is not a primary feature of Kam society in either the North or in the South, private religious beliefs are still strongly held. Originally, pantheism was practiced. The Chinese immigration throughout history brought Daosim and Buddhism to the area and these beliefs were mingled in such a way that it becomes difficult to assign the religion of Kam into any single tradition. There is no doubt that the Kam have their own distinctive features of faith, ranging from worship of nature, ancestors, spiritual gods and goddesses, Shamanism, sorcery and magic, to taboos.

An American missionary and a German missionary established churches in Rongjiang, Guangxi Province (according to maps of this time) and Liping, Guizhou in 1920 and 1929, respectively. The first recorded Kam Christian was Huang Kefu 黄克夫. He later attended a Bible College in Wuzhou 梧州 and became a pastor in Guangxi. Four village churches were built in Rongjiang by a Chinese Christian couple, Su Daoping 苏道平 and Su Ailian 苏爱莲. In total, around a hundred people professed faith in Christianity and most of them were Kam. (Geary, etc. 2003: 182-183). After 1949, public religious practice was prohibited. Today, there are a few urban Christian churches in Kam communities such as Huaihua 怀化 and Jingzhou 靖州, but none in villages. In general, Christian influence among the Kam remains negligible. Thus the vast

majority continues the Kam traditional religion of spirit worship, with the goddess *Sax Mags* 萨玛 the highest.

1.5 Kam language and orthography

Kam is known as the language with fifteen tones, the most so far in all the languages. It is a subject that has drawn noticeable interest from linguists around the world. Some very interesting Kam linguistic features, especially in tonal phonology, phrase structure, and language variation that resulted from language contact with Chinese, have been well explored in the past thirty years (Edmondson and Solnit 1988; Yang and Zheng 1988; Schack 2003). In the following section the Kam genetic affiliation, a brief introduction to dialectology in Kam, its phonology, phrase structure, and syntax will be illustrated.

1.5.1 Genetic affiliation

The Kam language belongs to the Kam-Tai language family which spreads across south China and south Asia, with about one million Kam speakers (Zheng & Long 1998; TY Yang 1999). For more details on this subject, readers are advised to refer to Yang 1999. The genetic relationship among the Kam and their relatives is illustrated in Figure 1.2:

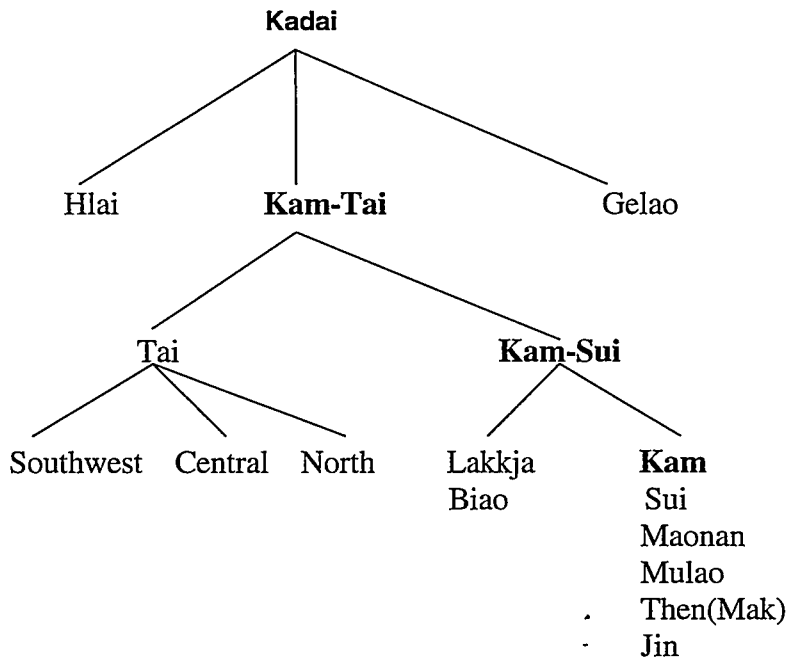


Figure 1.2 Genetic Affiliation of Kam Language

The origin of this KADAI hypothesis can be found in Benedict's early work (1942) and his *Austro-Thai: Language and Culture* (1975), which has today many adherents. However linguists in China prefer to use the name DONG-TAI or ZHUANG-DONG to represent this language family. Many of them, such as Gongwan Xin, have been working on reconstructing the genetic relationship between Kam-Tai languages and Chinese.

1.5.2 Dialectology

As noted above, there are two Kam vernacular areas, i.e., southern and northern. The classifying of Kam into the southern and the northern varieties is one of the major achievements of the then famous Kam Language Survey taken between 1956 and 1958. This survey was

organized by the central government of China to promote equality and respect among different ethnic nationalities in China. Based on extensive fieldwork, investigators were able to draw isoglosses lines along the southern border of Jinping 锦屏 through Jingzhou 靖州. All locals to the south of the line belong to the southern variety, and all locals to the north belong to the northern variety. Each variety can further be grouped into three subdialects or local vernaculars as follows:

The Southern

- 1st Subvariety - Rongjiang, and Qimeng of Jinping in Guizhou, Tongdao in Hunan, Longsheng, and Dudong of Sanjiang in Guangxi
- 2nd Subvariety – Liping, Congjiang of Guizhou, Heli of Sanjiang in Guangxi
- 3rd Subvariety – Rongshui in Guangxi and Zhenyuan in Guizhou

The Northern

- 1st Subvariety – Shidong of Tianzhu, sansui, and Jianhe in Guizhou
- 2nd Subvariety – Zhuxi of Tianzhu in Guizhou and Xinhuang in Hunan
- 3rd Subvariety – Datong of Jinping in Guizhou and Jingzhou in Hunan

These classifications have sustained challenge successfully. Only some minor revisions have been recommended as a result of new field studies. Shi (1990) proposes that the status of preserving final stop $-k$ should be applied as a major criterion for an isogloss boundary, and tonal splitting is also an indicator. He moves the Qiming of Jinping and Baojing of Zhenyuan out of the Southern and puts them into the Northern as an independent fourth and fifth variety respectively. Also, vernaculars in Rongshui are relocated into the second subdialect of the

southern dialect next to Darong. Other scholars (Geary et al 2003: 35) have also recommended similar but not identical ideas in which each dialect has four subdialects. All these recommended adjustments are considered minor.

1.5.3 Phonology

For the current study, variety at the Yutou of Tongdao, Hunan has been chosen to represent Kam phonology in this paper since: a). the discourse data is from Yutou, and some phonological and syntactic variations in discourse will also be included in later discussions. So, it is more efficient to describe Yutou phonology early on rather than later. Also, phonology is not the focus in the present study; b). Yutou belongs to the same variety as Zhanglu of Rongjiang, Guizhou, the standard on which the Kam orthography is based. The difference between them is minor. Its initials, rhymes, and tones are listed as follows, which is a common practice for a phonological analysis of an analytical, tonal, monosyllabic language.

1.5.3.1 Initials

There are nineteen consonants:

p ph t th tɕ tɕh k kh m n ɲ ŋ s ʃ h ʔh w l j

When these consonants appear in the syllable, some other secondary features (i.e., labialization, palatalization) are added to them to make up the Kam initial phoneme system as shown in the following Figure 1.3:

	labial	alveolar	coronal	velar	glottal	palatali	labiali
stop, unaspirated	p	t	tɕ	k	ʔ	pj	kw
stop, aspirated	ph	th	tɕh	kh		phj	khw
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		mj	ŋw
fricative		s	ɕ	h			hw
	w		j			wj	
lateral		l		ʔj		lj	
lateral, aspirated				ʔhj			

Figure 1.3 Inventory of Yutou Kam Initials

1.5.3.2 Rhymes

Yutou Kam has seven vowel phonemes: / a e i o u a ɪ /. Among them, /a/ co-occurs with codas (i.e., either another vowel or a consonant only). / a e i o u/ can occur in rhymes either with codas or by themselves. When these seven vowels combine with the possible vowel codas /i u/, three nasal codas /m n ŋ/, and three stop codas /p t k/, the fifty-seven rhymes are produced as illustrated in Figure 1.4.

a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	əi	əu	əm	ən	əŋ	əp	ət	ək
e		eu	em	en	eŋ	ep	et	ek
i		iu	im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
o	oi		om	on	oŋ	op	ot	ok
u	ui		um	un	uŋ	up	ut	uk

Figure 1.4 Inventory of Yutou Kam Rhymes

1.5.3.3 Tones

Yutou Kam has eight contrastive tones in unchecked syllables. If tones in checked syllables are treated as a different category according to their historical origins, a common practice in the study of Asian tonal languages, then the number of tones is thirteen. For convenience, each tone is assigned a number to be referred to, and its value and a corresponding sample word are also provided here. The ones in parenthesis are Zhanglu of Rongjiang. Displaying them will help maintain the consistency of discussion with other types and keep readers away from potential confusion with missing numbers.

a. Nine tones in unchecked CV syllables:

<u>Category</u>	1	1'	2	3	(3')	4	5	5'	6
<u>Value</u>	55	35	11	323	(13)	31	53	453	33
<u>Word Sample</u>	ma55	ma35	ma11	ma323	(phja13)	mja31	mja53	ma453	mja33
<u>Gloss</u>	'vegetable'	'to come'	'tongue'	'soft'	('to turn')	'knife'	'sad'	'to soak'	'dumbstruck'

b. Six tones in checked syllables:

Category	7	7'	8	9	(9')	10
Value	55	35	21	323	(13)	31
Word Sample	mak55	mat35	sak21	mak323	(phat13)	mak31
Gloss	'to chop	'bend'	'thief'	'big'	'blood'	'ink'

1.5.4 Phrase structure and syntax

As demonstrated in the author's previous study (TY Yang 1999), Kam is a head-first language both in its phrase structure, i.e., the head of the phrase precedes other components. Here is a summary of the X-bar schemes of Kam NP and VP:

X-bar scheme in NP:	(a) NP \Rightarrow N', Determiner
	(b) N' \Rightarrow N', Adjunct
	(c) N' \Rightarrow N, Complement
X-bar scheme in VP:	(a) VP \Rightarrow V', XP
	(b) V' \Rightarrow V'; YP{PP, AP, AdvP}
	(c) V' \Rightarrow V, ZP(NP, PP)

The head-first scheme is not necessarily consistent throughout, as variations exist in both NP and VP, such as in quantifier NP and some PP and AdvP in VP. These in all likelihood are the products of contact with Chinese, a head-last language, which has tremendous influence not only on Kam but also many others in the area. Research in Kam syntax is very limited so far.

1.5.5 Kam orthography

It is worthwhile to point out early that since the focus of the present paper is on discovering the discourse patterns and linguistic issues related to discourse in Kam narratives rather than on the phonological or morphological features, this study will use the Latin-based Kam orthography over IPA to represent the data. One of the most obvious advantages of this practice is the easing of otherwise very time-consuming data inputting and difficulties of interpreting a pure phonetic orthography. Another blessing is that scholars in non-linguistic areas, along with common Kam people, can potentially have easier and better access to the data of this study. Reading through lines of data in IPAs requires a fair amount of training in phonetics. For detailed information about this subject, please refer to other published sources (Liang 1984, Zheng 1988, Long & Zheng 1998, and Xiguang Yang 1998).

The Latin-based Kam orthography is another major achievement of the Kam Language Survey of the late 1950's. After extensive fieldwork and study, not only did the scholars gain good knowledge of Kam phonology, phrase structure, some aspects of its grammar, and dialect as reported in *Fieldwork Report on the Kam language* drafted in 1957, but also they designed an Latin-based Kam orthography. Zhanglu of Rojiang was taken as the standard. The reason is obvious as Geary et al summarize: "It (Zhanglu) is from the first subdialect of the southern dialect, but has pronunciation and vocabulary similar to the second southern subdialect. It has nine tones, like the first and second northern subdialects. Taking Zhanglu speech as standard in creating an orthography was intended to maximize the ease with which both southern and northern Kam people could learn to read and write". The Central Nationality Affairs Commission (CNAC) of the P. R. China approved the experimental implementation of the drafted Kam orthography on December 31, 1958. CNAC also completed its own evaluation of

the implementation of Kam orthography (Chen 1995), but the official approval of the orthography has yet been given.

There are thirty-two initials, sixty-four syllable rhymes, and nine tonal marks in the draft orthography as shown in Figure 1.5. The phonemes in corresponding IPA are also presented in parenthesis if different from the Latin letters here. The ones with asterisks are used only with modern Chinese loan words.

b (p)	p (ph)	m	f*	w
d (t)	t (th)	n	s	l
j (tɕ)	q (tɕh)	ny (ŋ)	x (ɕ)	y (j)
g (k)	k (kh)	ng (ŋ)	h	
bi (pj)	pi (phj)	mi (mj)	li (lj)	
gu (kw)	ku (khw)	ngu (ŋw)		
zh *(tʂ)	ch *(tʂh)	sh *(ʂ)	r	
z *(ts)	c *(tsh)			

Figure 1.5 Inventory of Initials in Kam Orthography

The inventory of rhymes in Kam orthography is also provided on next page in Figure 1.6:

a	ai	ao	am	an	ang	ab	ad	ag
		(au)			(aŋ)	(ap)	(at)	(ak)
	aei		aem	aen	aeng			
	(æi)		(æm)	(æn)	(æŋ)			
e	ei		em	en	eng	eb	ed	eg
(ə)	(əi)				(əŋ)	(əp)	(ət)	(ək)
ee	eea	eeu	eem	een	eeng	eb	ed	eg
(e)		(eu)	(em)	(en)	(eŋ)	(ep)	(et)	(ek)
i		iu	im	in	ing	ib	id	ig
					(iŋ)	(ip)	(it)	(ik)
o	oi	ou	om	on	ong	ob	od	og
					(oŋ)	(op)	(ot)	(ok)
u	ui		um	un	ung	ub	ud	ug
ü*	(y)				(uŋ)	(up)	(ut)	(uk)
ia*	ie*	iao*	ian*	iang*	iong*			
	*(iau)		*(iaŋ)	*(ioŋ)				
ua*	ue*	uai*	uan*	uang*	uo*			
			*(uaŋ)					

Figure 1.6 Inventory of Rhymes in Kam Orthography

For space and formatting reason, the corresponding IPA of each rhyme differing from its Latin form in Kam orthography it is listed in parenthesis below it. Vowel /e/ and /ə/ with stop codas /p t k/ are identical in representation but are distinguished by the different assigned tone categories.

The intention of adopting so many phonemes for Chinese loan words is designed to smooth the transition from Kam orthography to Chinese *Pinyin* of *Putonghua* for Kam students. But that has never been materialized in the experimental implementation since learners tend to write in a way that is similar to the spoken vernacular in their area, i.e., the local Chinese rather than the *Putonghua*.

Some minor adjustments are made to acknowledge the minor difference between Zhanglu and Yutou: a). a new rhyme *eea* /ea/ has been added, as in *heeak* 'red', and *eeav* 'rice paddy'. b). Rhyme *e* /ə/ is found in native words, mostly in sentence final particles, such as *yev* /jə53/ 'stop! (warning)'. See section 4.1 for further discussion.

1.6 Summary

This introduction provides a brief description of Kam people, its history, religion, Kam language and Kam orthography, along with intended goals in the present research.

The next chapter will discuss research scope, literature review and adopted framework in the current project.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FRAMEWORK

2.1 Scope of this present research

There is very little work on Kam syntax and none on discourse study. Since this work is basically the first attempt in this area, this researcher will try to cover as many aspects of Kam discourse as possible, including topics from phonological variation to the communication between the narrator and the audience/listeners. Needless to say, the main goal is still to discern the discourse patterns in Kam narratives within the selected framework detailed in section 2.3.

After the introduction to the Kam people, Kam language, and culture in the Chapter One, Chapter Two will present research questions that will be considered in current study, and identify the framework that the researcher will adopt. More specifically, after a brief summary of literature and related discourse analysis in the area, focus will shift to deliberate the discourse model Schiffrin (1987) proposes.

Chapter Three will identify the source of the data used, the nature of the narrative data, and the data-collecting process, including the equipment employed in field and the software used in processing. An independent section is contributed to the geographical, anthropological, and social features of the data source village--Yutou. A brief summary of characters and events in the two narratives from two individual narrators is also presented. The full version of the

narratives is incorporated in the text body here instead of an appendix, with intention of facilitating the reading and referring actions.

Chapter Four is the core of the research. It will discuss word order in discourse, and other phonological and syntactic variations found in data first. It will demonstrate that not only is word order more flexible in context, but also some phonological and syntactic processes are conditioned by constraints from higher level of linguistic structure in Kam. The goal is to observe how these linguistic variations at various levels can be interpreted within Schiffrin's model and see how well they fit into the adopted framework. The next section will examine sentence-final particles (SFPs) and other discourse markers, including the semantic, syntactic, and discourse functions of SFPs. Special attention will be paid to the SFP inventory in discourse and the summary of observed individual SFP manifestation. The boundary between the discourse markers and SFPs will also be explored. Since there are multi functions of SFPs, it will be an ideal area to specify exactly in what plane(s) an individual SFP in context operates. This chapter will also consider the communication between narrator and listeners further and see how see how this narrative action is developed and conditioned by all the participants and surrounding factors.

Chapter Five concludes the course of work of the present research, evaluating what has been achieved and what it may contribute to the further understanding of Kam narratives and discourse in general.

2.2 Literature review

Kam-Tai scholars have conducted much work in studying Kam phonology (Liang 1984, Edmondson and Yang 1988, Zheng 1988, Dewen Wang 1988, Schack 2003), its dialectology (Guizhou Committee of Minority Languages 1959; Shi 1990, Long and Zheng 1998), some

aspects of the syntax such as phrase structures (Shi 1986, Yang and Zhang 1993, TY Yang 1999), sentence patterns, and social linguistic issues (Long and Zheng 1996, Geary et al. 2003).

For many reasons, discourse structure of Kam has not been touched upon. Not only is it rare to find a published paper on this, but also almost all the discourse data collected is not related to or intended for linguistic analysis. For example, even though a lot of Kam folk stories have been published, they are to promote folklore or poetry study in general. Basically, what the scholars have done in the past is to record the narration first, either in a natural environment or inviting the narrator to a room to tell a story; then translate the Kam narration into Chinese. Some scholars with linguistic training such as Yang Xi and Mingyao Long have transcribed these in Kam orthography first; then make one-to-one gloss translation. A free translation then follows. But many others have simply rendered the Kam utterance into Chinese directly. For example, all the stories in the *Selected Kam Folktales* (TS Yang et al. 1982) are in elegant Chinese. One of the unfortunate results coming out of this practice is that all the linguistic features of the Kam are mostly lost during the process. The thematic components are preserved (even though how accurate they are is still in great doubt because there is no original record of the narration to compare against), but authentic clusters of Kam language are definitely missing.

Here are a few known published or unpublished works that can be used as example of naturally-generated spontaneous discourse: a). *Sanjiang Kam Language* (Gongwan Xing et al 1988). They are thirty-six recorded short folk stories. They are all transcribed in IPA, followed with one-to-one gloss translation and free translation. This is the most extensive, reliable recording of discourse data available before the current study. b). *A Brief Grammar of Kam*. (Yang and Zhang 1993). Four stories are recorded in Kam orthography originally, with one-to-one and free translation in text. c). *Magazine of Kam Orthography* 侗文专刊. This is the sole

magazine in Kam orthography published quarterly by the Sanjiang Minority Language Committee of Guangxi since 1980's. Articles are written in Kam only, with Chinese free translation sometimes. Thus there has been very little work to date in gathering authentic material and no analysis of it.

The definition of discourse analysis can vary drastically, depending on what academic disciplines and departments the researcher is from. The variation is so drastic that Tannen (1989:6) concludes that "the name for the field 'discourse analysis' ... says nothing more or other than the term 'linguistic': the study of language". The analysis of Kam narrative will focus on studying the discourse structure both from a descriptive and critical perspective.

The Kam discourse structure remains much less well-studied considering scholars have gained an extensive understanding of its phonology and other aspects of the syntax. At the same time, the available frameworks in general and practices in other languages are abundant. It is undeniable that along the way the studies of so many pioneers have inspired and shaped the author's view regarding how actual instances of communication in the medium of language can be systematically examined, yet still coordinate inherently and function as a whole in the fulfilling of its linguistic mission. Here is a brief summary of how the works of several individuals and their respective theoretical approaches have, in confluence, affected the course of this research.

Chu (1998), in his pioneering investigation of Mandarin Chinese discourse, lays out a systematic approach within functional frameworks. What he does is truly inspiring to the present study, especially his treatment of Chinese sentence-final particles (SFPs hereafter) and the concept of topic chain. "For those who share the same conviction as the author and myself that Chinese is a discourse-oriented language where grammatical phenomena will have to go beyond

sentence-level for explanation, this book demonstrates an appropriate way of doing grammatical analysis in a language like Mandarin Chinese” (Tsao 1979). To reveal the hidden functional patterns in a language with extremely limited inventory of tense, aspect, and modality such as Chinese and Kam requires extra creative effort to achieve. This paper intends to follow Chu’s approach, while related issues not studied by Chu will also be examined, such as word order and communication scenario.

Law (1990) conducts a thorough study of Cantonese sentence-final particles in his dissertation *The Syntax and Phonology of Cantonese Sentence-Final Particles*. Even though his focus was more on the phonological and syntactic properties, his work does lead to not only a better understanding of Cantonese SFPs in words and sentences, but also to the speech action information they convey.

Person (2000), in his dissertation titled as *Sentence-Final Particles in Bisu Narrative*, examines the factors influencing Bisu SFPs usage, including place in discourse, relative transitivity, sentence complexity, and occurrence in quotations. He concludes that “the primacy of text type in Bisu particle usage: those particles that see abundant in folktales occur rarely in the expository text and 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.” All these contribute to the discussion of Kam SFPs in chapter three.

Toolan (2001) critical work is specifically concerned with language-oriented or linguistically-minded perspectives on narrative and narratology: ways of looking at narrative that attend systematically to the languages of stories and models of narrative-analysis that focus on

the linguistic form of narratives or their linguistically-descriptive structure. His approach is especially helpful in the study of the communication between the narrator and the hearers in Kam narrative in Chapter Four. Abbot's (2002) analysis of the subject of narration, and particularly of the narrator, is central to the problem in the interpretation of Kam narrative.

Discourse analysis, as an academic discipline, has been gaining more attention in the past decade. So many scholars have done extraordinary studies in their areas of expertise. This paper will also refer to Schiffrin's research in discourse markers.

2.3 Schiffrin's five-plane discourse model

In her then famous research on discourse marker, Schiffrin (1987: 21-29) proposes a five-plane model of coherence in talk and a model of discourse in general, as illustrated in Figure 2.1:

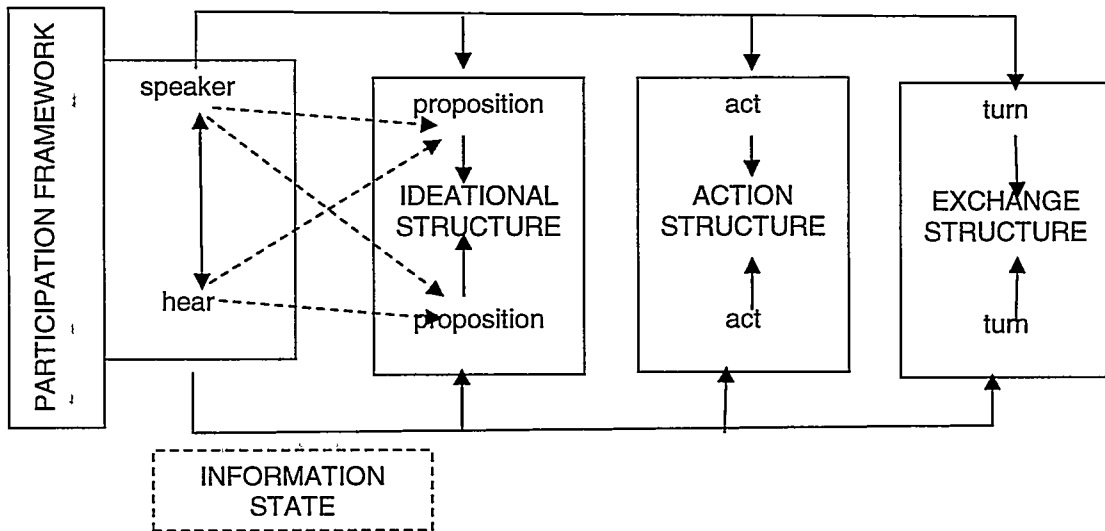


Figure 2.1 Schiffrin's Discourse Model

The EXCHANGE STRUCTURE and ACTION STRUCTURE are non-linguistic structures, while the remaining three structures, IDEATIONAL STRUCTURE, PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE, and INFORMATION STRUCTURE, are semantic. The top part of each structure is from the participant initiating the conversation and the bottom part is from the following speaker. More specifically:

A. EXCHANGE STRUCTURE reflects the mechanics of the conversational interchange such as contact signals, turnover signals, and rekeying signals, and shows the results of the participant turn-taking and how these alternations are related to each other.

B. ACTION STRUCTURE concerns the sequential, linear order of speech in the context of a discourse. Actions occur not randomly but are patterned and predictable, thus are interpreted as situated.

C. IDEATIONAL STRUCTURE represents different relations between propositions of the overall configuration of idea structure: cohesive, topic, and functional relations. EXCHANGE STRUCTURES emerge only in dialogue, and ACTION STRUCTURE can emerge in either dialogue or monologue. In contrast, IDEATIONAL STRUCTURES are clearly found in both genres.

D. PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK denotes the ways in which the speakers and hearers relate to one another as well as orientation toward utterances they produce.

E. INFORMATION STRUCTURE involves the organization and management of knowledge and meta-knowledge as it evolves over the course of discourse, a structure deals with the cognitive capacities of speakers/hearers. For example, what a speaker knows and what a hearer knows; what speaker and hearer know about their respective knowledge; and what parts of each knowledge base one knows the other to share. In a word, INFORMATION STRUCTURES

are dynamic interactive processes changing as their contributing factors develop during the course.

Observed discourse and other linguistic features will be examined within Schiffrin's model illustrated above.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, research scope has been deliberated. A literature of related studies in discourse analysis follows, but the spotlight shines on the Schiffrin's five-plane model, which will serve as to help the discussion in the coming analysis.

The next chapter will describe the source and nature of the data, including a detailed introduction of Yutou Kam community. The full version of the two collected narratives is placed as part of body text respectively to facilitate reading and referring of data samples through discussion.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND DATA COLLECTION

All narrative data used for current research is from Yutou, a Kam community in Hunan Province. The following sections will detail basic information of Yutou and some special statuses it possesses to initiate the discussion of narrative and discourse analysis.

3.1 Yutou Kam community

3.1.1 Geographical and administrative information

Yutou 芋头 (*tɕa:u323 ju31* in Kam, YT Kam hereafter) is a unique Kam community in Tongdao, Hunan, the second Kam Autonomous County in China established in 1957, with Kam making up more than seventy-eight percent of its 210,000 population (2003). It is located right on the border of Hunan, Liping County of Guizhou, and Sanjiang Kam Autonomous County of Guangxi, as shown in Figure 3.1. The longitude is 109.8° E and the latitude is 26.2° N.

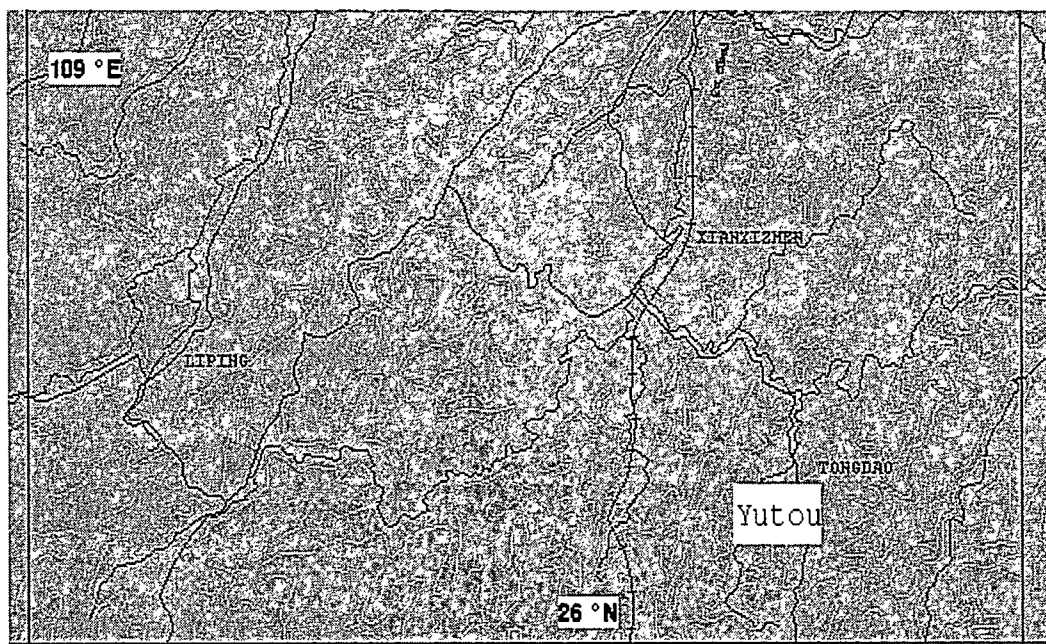


Figure 3.1 The location of Yutou on Map

There are four geographically contiguous villages in this community, i.e., ke11 ɕai33 (Geexaih) 芋头, ke11 ɕa:n323 (Geexans) 上团 hon11 jaŋ35 (Hongcyangp) 红香, and pji11 pa11 (Biicbac) 琵琶. The village ke11 ɕai33 芋头 is the original source out of which the other three ensued in the 1970's from the forces of the growing population and the government's *Transform Mountains and Tame Rivers Policy*. At that time the population reached around 1,500. The tɕau323 means 'head' in Kam, while the meaning of the second syllable jui31 is uncertain. People in these four villages still practice most of their social life in this tight circle known as 'folk group' locally, including marriage and religious ceremonies. If asked what village they are from outside of their local area, people will recognize themselves as a jən11 tɕau323 jui31 'Yutou people'. They speak a vernacular that demonstrates unique

differences in many ways to the surrounding villages that they even call themselves *haizu* 海族 because the marker of the negative *hai31* is so thoroughly different from *kwe11*, *me53*, *me33*, or *ŋwe33* used in the neighboring villages. So culturally and linguistically, these four villages represents an area of local difference within the larger Kam continuum. The Chinese name 芋头 is a bit misleading since the meaning in the Han language is 'taro' but, in fact, taro plays no role in this toponym. The previous more neutral name 玉头 served better for the purpose of translating the Kam.

The population in 2003 (Tongrong Yang 2003) was about 2,800. Of this population, there were about 750 in 芋头, 750 in 上团, 660 in 琵琶, and 770 in 红香. It is worthwhile to point out that administrative center at the Geecpus in Hongcyangp and the Wucgal in Biicbac are not considered to be a part of the Yutou community, even though administratively they are.

3.1.2 History and internal clan structure

According to oral traditions, the ancestors of the Yang family were originally from Taihe County, Jiangxi 江西府太和县. (Xiguang Yang, etc. 1988). To avoid internal and external conflicts, they departed from Taihe and went upstream, lived briefly in many places along the way, including Xenhjul 靖州, Biicbac and Geecxans, and finally settled in Geecxaih around the Hongwu period (1368-1398 AC) of the Ming dynasty. They were the last group who immigrated to the area, as recited in the now well-known archive song *Dongl Jil Buh* 'Genealogy of Our Ancestors' (Xiguang Yang, etc. 1988: 279-303). At that time, there were only two brothers along with their families. One had four sons, and the other had five. That was the root of the current two major clans in the community, i.e., the Home Mountain Clan (*Buclagx Jenceeanc*)

and the Wou Mountain Clan (*Buclagx Jencwous*). As time passed, the population increased. These two clans were split further, resulting in the current sixteen smaller clans, including clans that have immigrated recently such as the Su family 粟家, the Wu family 吴家 and the Long family 龙家. Some of them were originally Chinese, such as 熊家 and 丁家, but today all have been naturally incorporated into the Kam ethnicity and are considered as integral members of the community. Besides immigration through history and natural population growth, another major force behind the clan splitting was to bring in a more diverse genetic stock so that consanguineous links could be avoided as much as possible.

Yang is still the biggest clan among the six families. It makes up more than ninety percent of the population.

3.1.3 As a Major Historical and Cultural Sites under National Protection

In June 2001, the original Yutou Kam Village was branded a major historical and cultural site under state protection by the State Cultural Relics Bureau of China for its unique landscape, wood architecture, slabstone road, and ancient wells. The integrity of different architecture components stands out as a community and location that deserves to be placed under state protection. There are four drum towers, three wind-and-rain bridges, one village gate, two ancient water wells, and two altars for worshipping *Sax Mags*, the highest spiritual goddess in Kam society. Also, there are six ancient tribal cemeteries, one mile of ancient post road, and one hundred and thirteen three-story Ganlan houses. It has become an oft-visited tourist spot, especially to domestic tourists. Access to foreigners is limited to some extent for the presence of military base in Tongdao County, Cf the picture of Yutou on next page, a postcard published by the Chinese Postal Service in 2001. The series number of the card is *FP 16 (10-7) 2001 B*.



Figure 3.2 Overview of Yutou Village

3.1.4 Language use

The earliest private school was established in Yutou more than a century ago, and all school education is in Chinese. The majority of villagers over forty years of age have completed elementary education. It is estimated that 30% of them have either finished junior or senior high school and have the ability to speak and understand local Chinese. So far Yutou has produced more than twenty college students, including the author himself. Yet Kam is still the only language of daily use for the villagers. The only exception is when Chinese officials and other non-Kam outsiders come to visit, then the hosts will communicate with them in Chinese if they are able to. Speaking Chinese among villagers is still considered to be showing-off and ignorant behavior. It is also a disrespectful practice in the eyes of the older generations since most of them

do not speak Chinese at all. Nowadays, 30% of the young villagers are bilingual, yet the community is still basically monolingual for most purposes.

Classes in elementary school are conducted mostly in Kam in the first two grades while the teachers introduce Chinese *Pinyin* and characters. As the students' levels in Chinese improve the teaching language used in class switches from Kam to Chinese gradually. But outside the classrooms, all communication is still in Kam. That is part of the reason why students still cannot or do not want to speak Chinese until they move to Shuangjiang, the county seat, for their sixth grade and high school education.

3.1.5 Spoken literature

Except some *Kam in Chinese* 汉字记侗音 song books, all literature is transmitted on through oral tradition. There are three kinds of spoken literature practice: a). Women are the main repositories of songs, hymns, and other melodic types of literature. b). *Kuant* recitement. *Kuant* is the customary law to regulate all activities in society (Deng 1995) and is recited by elders in an annual public ceremony. Only males are allowed to participate in such recitation. c). Folk storytelling. Everyone can attend but only males can be narrators.

The current study will investigate only the natural, spontaneous narrating of folk stories. There are some non-linguistic characteristics of such narrative activity that may closely relate to discourse study and need to be pointed out in advance. First of all, as was mentioned above, only males are eligible for the narrating role. The ideal male narrator would be a grandfather or someone who belongs to an even higher generation within the family, even though any married male with his own child(ren), of age of fifty or over would also qualify. Secondly, it can take place only after midnight in the winter season. During summer and daytime in winter, other more

crucial work pre-empts storytelling. And the residents of Yutou believe that narrating is a very sacred occasion and should occur only at tranquil and peaceful times of the day, as will be discussed in 3.6. Thirdly, it must occur in an indoor setting, under the roof gathering. Participants sit around a glowing fire whether or not it is in a private house or the drum tower, which is the public venue for major social events and daily social activities. It usually stands in the center of the village.

3.2 Storytelling events

To obtain a better and more accurate picture of what takes place in the narrating, it is vital to provide as complete a description of the whole narrating process as possible. For that purpose, the setting of folktale narratives is described in this section to answer the *Where, When, Who, Why, and How* questions of the Kam folktale narrating.

3.2.1 Location and time --- the *Where* and *When*

Kam folktale narrating is an in-door activity only. It can happen either in one's private home or in the drum tower, the most outstanding architectural landmarks of Kam villages. With a conical shape on top covered by tiles and an odd-number of roofed tiers, the drum tower is a public place that houses most of the major community events such as welcoming and taking leave of important guests of the village, and celebrating festivals with singing and dancing. There are written records from the period A.D. 581-907 (Zhang and Yang 1992: 86) referring to drum towers in Chinese settlements, built to sound the alarm against outside intruders. The drum tower is always taller than the surrounding village houses. Moreover, outdoor venues are completely

prohibited for folktale narrating. The stage of this activity is then strictly limited to under-roof areas. This indoor feature holds a clue to what folktale narrating is and the roles it plays in society: narrating is a very serious, significant public event, and must be held indoors so the event and all the participants can get sufficient protection from harm, be it physical, weather-related or spiritual.

The legitimate times of narrating are also highly restricted. Though no specific rule exists, it is understood that narrating can only take place in winter or early spring. This is because in summer and fall, everyone works in the fields and no one has the luxury of entertaining or being entertained. After the harvest in the fall, everyone is free and has the time and mood to celebrate and ready to take some rest and have fun. After dinner, when all the household chores--dish washing and animal feeding--are finished, the narrating is set to occur. Across the Kam community, dinner hours vary based on locations and family tradition extending from as early as 7p.m. to as late as 11p.m. Since the narrating usually takes place after a formal party at which alcohol is served, it is common that the narrating that cap the party will not start until 11p.m or even after midnight, but it must be completed before sunrise. This ensures that no daylight shines when narrating. The time period restriction also indicates that this social event is taken very seriously. The Kam believe that some types of utterances such as the narrating of folktale, the reciting of epic songs and the religious memorial verses are all formal public activities because they involve super-natural, spiritual elements. That means people either communicate with sacred ancestors or non-human spiritual beings, who are accessible only during the dark hours. Beings in the nether world are vulnerable to sunlight. A well-known saying is that only after midnight can the mysterious and spectacular *nyap paop sul paop heak* 'river full of green and red bubbles' flow in heaven. Thus narration activities have somewhat the

character of a sermon, and resembles the practices of Zhuang who use nearly identical gatherings during the Mid-Autumn festival to invite the Lady of the Moon to descend and dwell for the among the attendees.

It was not until late the 1980's that electricity came into use in Yutou. Before that, pine torch and kerosene oil were the main light sources. To save on fuel, these sources were usually not used. Fireplaces provided the only lighting. Facial expression and body movements were and still are not considered prominent in the stories. Some facial gestures were captured on tape during recording since there is built-in-infrared light on the SONY Digital 8 DVR-TRV140 NTSC video camera recorder.

3.2.2 Participants: the narrators and the hearers ---the *Who*

Everyone can tell a story but not every one is qualified to narrate a story in front of the public. After all, narrating is an art of eloquence. Those who are eligible narrators are named as *xiangh* (master) *guh* (story) 'master of stories', an equivalent to Abrahams' 'man-of-words' (Abrahams 1983: xv). This is very true among the Kam since there are quite a few unstated requirements for a narrator as listed below:

First of all, to be qualified as a narrator, or more precisely a 'story-teller', one needs to be male. Females are not allowed to tell a story in a formal setting as described above. This is reflective of the fact that in rural areas, many social functions are still gender specific. It is worthwhile to point out as well though that females traditionally hold high social status among the Kam. Not only is the goddess *Sax Suis* the most celebrated and widely-worshipped, sharing similar holy status as that of the Virgin Mary among Roman Catholics, but women also have great control in domestic affairs. Due to marriage practices, the maternal relatives (especially the

brothers of one's mother) actually have final say on many family issues of their sisters, as an old Kam proverb summarizes it: *wul* (above) *menl* (sky) *pias* (thunder) *mags* (big, powerful), *dah* (below) *leih* (ground) *jucliongh* (mother's brothers) 'The God of thunder governs the sky; maternal uncles (mother's brothers) rule the earth.'

The narrator must be married and fertile. Bachelors and sterile or divorced males are disqualified. The last category requires further explanation for it looks as if that is an unusually strict requirement. Not among the Kam. Divorce was not an issue until the late 1990's Yutou Kam community. The total number of divorce cases to date is still less than 10 among the 1,000 couples or so.

The narrator needs to be well-respected in the community to fit the serious or authoritative nature of the activity. In other words, he must be a suitable person to reflect the positive and/or authoritative nature of narrative practice. In the end, it is who the speaker is that matters the most.

Last but not the least, he must be at least 50 years of age. In a society still very much dependent on agricultural and forestry products as among the Kam, it is not surprising that respect comes with age. Since people of the older generations have more life experience than the younger generations, they have more authority in what they speak about. More importantly, the elders also have contributed the longest to the well-being of the community as a group. In a community with an estimated life span around 60 years nowadays, members over 50 are treated as seniors. This does not mean that all males over 50 are qualified automatically. So much else also depends on the individual's talent, reputation, and family status. Age definitely is a necessary but not sufficient condition.

Narrators are all amateurs. No training is available as in Caribbean black community (Abrahams 1983). A person develops and refines skills through practice to become a storyteller. This is different from other types of situations in oral literature. For instance, the *xiangh gal* 'master of singing' usually received formal or informal training and will accept some kind of payment such as food and other gifts.

On the other hand, there is no specific qualifying requirement for the audience in general. Everyone is welcome to attend and participate, from babies to the elderly, male and female, even outsiders. In fact, narrating is often an opportunity for Kam people to show hospitality to guest and establish solidarity with the host's community. If the guest happens to be a good narrator, he would be wholeheartedly invited to present stories. Nevertheless, younger generations are especially encouraged to participate. The elders also enjoy their presence. The only age group that tends to be self-excluded from the scene is male members between 18 and 40. They concentrate on finding partners if unmarried, or preparing in evenings for labor for the next day.

3.2.3 Stages of folktale narrating --- the *How* and *What*

Once a social gathering occurs in the village, people will sit on benches and stools around the fireplace after dinner. No invitation is sent off but the custom is that all are welcomed to join. There is no requirement whatsoever on who sits where. Seats are picked randomly and may be swapped during the process even though naturally women will gather on one side along with their children, while men sit next to one another. This is for the purpose of maintaining better order. Women will attend to their children and ensure proper social behavior. Men can pass around cigarettes or tea among themselves and keep the smoke away from youngsters.

The selection of a narrator may be premeditated or opportunistic. Since each knows the other so well in the tight-knit Kam community, it is safe to shorten the list of expected candidates to a few old men. There will be open discussion on the spot about who in the crowd will narrate that night. Normally multiple narrators will perform each night. This helps to take pressure off the narrators for they are aware of the presence of peers or teammates. Once one finishes, he will overtly signal the ending or coda of his narrative and turn the narrator's role over to his successor. This is exactly the situation from which data was collected for the current study. Actually, each narrator produced two stories alternatively. Song singing also was performed but not selected for analysis here.

The stage is open to all. In a sense it is not only the narrator who performs but each and all audience members do so as well according to their separate roles in the setting. The narrator has total control of the unfolding of the story, but the audience can jump into and respond to what the narrator utters, including acknowledging one's understanding of the situation in the story, asking questions about characters or details of the event, commenting on story development, distributing foods and drinks, and other reactions to the story. So audience input is part of Kam narrating events and is actually invited to create an easy, friendly environment in which every one contributes something to the gathering. Audience involvement is necessary for a narrating to be considered 'good' or even 'great'. A complete monologue with a quiet audience is a flop as a communication event. A sense of involvement is critical to the maintaining and developing of this important social event. As recorded in the data, there are a lot of interacting and communication among all participants. This is quite different from monologue talk shows on TV, since all participants share the exact stage and are equal in expressing themselves at the

proper moment. So a complete illustration and analysis of narrating should include everything that takes place at the scene.

3.2.4 The social and cultural functions of folktale narrating --- the *Why*

Based on the above discussion on who may be a legitimate narrator and who are allowed to be present, it is obvious that one of the primary purposes of narrating is passing knowledge on from the elders to the youngsters, including Kam historical events, the creation and forming of the world, life survival skills, and moral ethics. For instance, as will be summarized later in this chapter, the first studied narrative in this research, *Three Friends (TF)*, is a real life folk story. It is about how knowledge and education can save one, how people will change through time, and the struggle between the greedy rich and the honest poor. The second narrative, titled as *Sky Repairing (SR)*, is a myth. On the one hand, it shows how God blesses righteous people with what they deserve; the boy's determination and will to help from others beat the odds and he prevails. On the other hand, it explains how the stars in the sky came into being, i.e., it is about creation or origin of things.

There was no school education in Kam area until early 1400 (Geary etc.: 12). Schools were mainly established in urban towns and therefore these were not accessible to common Kam villagers at all. Formal school education became available only after 1949. So traditionally knowledge transferring among generations had to rely on oral social events in daily life such as storytelling and song recitation, with storytelling filling the greatest role.

Even though folktale storytelling is primarily a reciting or recounting of experience, there is no doubt that personal creative input is encouraged in the process at the same time. This is different from other types of narrating of written or fixed literature such as epic and love songs

or reciting of *kuans*, the Kam customary laws. As a result, it becomes a major source of folk literature. Good telling will be imitated and copied by others.

Another important nature of folktale narrating is entertainment. A great storyteller can surely excite his audience in a very positive way. For a free admission occasion, it is critical that the narrator must not only be respected but also have the charm and talent to attract the youngsters and his contemporaries as well. It is much easier to learn knowledge and principles in a fun, relaxed environment. So folktale narrating in Kam is always supposed to be edifying as well as delighting. In many places storytelling is an integral part of festivities. This explains why there is no such activity during certain major solemn occasions such as funeral services. The entertainment value of narrative conflicts with and is offensive to mourning. Narrating practice is also a means of maintaining power and social control, including gender roles, age as credit, family core values, and community unity, as will be outlined in 4.3.

3.2.5 The decoys on scene

Other than narrators and audience, there are a few participants with special intention or purpose on the scene called *yenc* (person) *naemv* (to respond in word) *guh* (story) in Kam. Their main role is to encourage the audience to get more involved in the story. They will respond to whatever the narrator says in a positive way and be present at the narrating scene from the very beginning to the last moment. In a sense, their role is similar to that of decoys in hunting: a living or artificial bird or other animal used to entice game into a trap or within shooting range. Here they act to lead, 'lure', or even 'incite' the audience into narrating and keep them in it as long as is needed.

Decoys are different from participants in the way that they have a task or 'burden' to carry. They are there for the fun of narrating too, but they also have special responsibility on the scene as shown in Chapter 4.

3.2.5.1 Who could be a decoy?

Theoretically any adult could be a decoy on scene. Their role is multi-faceted, but what they need to do is limited. There is no physical or talent requirement. All that is required is to have a good reading on narrating, react on the spot in a proper, positive way and be very patient throughout the evening, which could last from three to seven hours. A significant amount of observed reaction or performance from decoys can be seen as simply as acknowledging narrators' stories such as *ox, hic* "I see", *hox* "Wow", *hoxhop* "I got it now" or *yav jagx hoc* "I gotta you". When necessary, they can also perform one of the common assignments the decoys has, raising questions.

Different from the somewhat strict requirements for narratorship, the criteria for decoy is relatively loose among adults. Women are, for example, welcome to participate. Young people are acceptable, but a non-adult will not be considered as a decoy even if s/he does comment on and react to the narrating. Every participant reacts or performs in one way or the other, but decoys are the ones that will make an appearance on every narrating occasion and stay for as long as possible. Because of the simple, sometimes 'boring' nature of decoy work, it is common to see that in the majority of cases they are old people. Rarely does one see a young adult acting as a decoy. Not only this, the decoy is considered as not-so-respectable in the community. They are usually simple minded, obedient, and not highly talented persons. The only exception to this generalization occurs when one narrator turns into a 'part-time' decoy after he finishes his and

other narrators take turn in a multiple narrator setting. It is regarded as respect-showing and natural to cheer one's colleagues on when the time comes, needless to say that one returns the favor and show encouragement and cooperation.

Not everyone is qualified to be a decoy and not everyone is willing to be a decoy. That role demands tremendous dedication, patience, obedience, and cooperation for little reward. In some cases that role even draws unfavorable perception/impression from fellow villagers. Just as narrators are naturally chosen for their skills acquired from daily life, decoys emerge through ordinary life as time goes by. Only a few of them exist in a community. In the case of Yutou, the estimated number will be less than ten in each of the four villages.

3.2.5.2 The functions of decoys

Folktale narrative itself is a form of entertainment as mentioned in 4.1.4: This genre of narrative is an entertaining activity in the community. Not only are the stories fun to be in and the telling enjoyable, but also the decoys enjoy themselves. As vaguely unfavorable members, the decoys themselves are easy targets for teasing by fellow participants in daily life. On the narrating scene, this does not change, especially when they make unwise comments. The audience enjoy that as part of the fun on the scene. So decoys are an integral component of the narrating.

The submissiveness of decoys also influences other participants in a covert way. Considering that that the floor is open to all, their model behavior smoothes and lubricates the relationship between the narrator and other audience. Otherwise, either the narrator would dominate the scene which leads to a boring, sometimes 'intimidating', no-fun-at-all monologue; or everyone interrupts and speaks his/her mind, which inevitably would lead to chaos and no

formal narrating would be possible at all. Decoys themselves alone do not achieve that balance, but they are a very important part of it.

Decoys are also partners with the narrators. Remember that they belong to same age group of elders in general. In real life, narrators and decoys are pals. Common social life experiences mean they may very possibly know the story just as well as the narrators. There are cases in which the narrator struggles to bring up exact details of the events and the decoys come to his rescue. Narrating is a good occasion for them to show how they can cooperate and achieve the goal collaboratively.

3.3 Data collecting and processing

The majority of the data for the present work were collected in January 2002 on a field trip to Yutou. The texts are narrative only. Some conversation between the narrator and the audience scattered over the course of the story is one of the distinctive features of Kam narrative. As “the central function or instance of the human mind” (Jameson 1981: 13), narrative is considered as “the quintessential form of customary knowledge” (Lyotard 1984: 19), the analysis of Kam narrative will reveal its distinctive features and enrich the understanding of this international, transcultural, and universal type of linguistic and communicational phenomenon. This does not mean non-narrative data is unworthy of study, but this study has been simply limited to some extent to better serve the goal of discovering systematic discourse patterns, one of the rationales behind data selection in the current research.

All narrative data were generated in a natural-environment, i.e., around midnight, with about twenty persons presented. There were some teenagers, and fifteen adults, with the eldest

being sixty-five years of age. My material consists of two stories narrated by two Kam male speakers:

---Zhenglu Yang 杨正陆, the narrator of *Three Friends* ('TF' hereafter), is sixty-two years old, and a former official village head of the Geecxans 上团. He also is one of a few headmen in the Yutou community. He studied in school for only a few days, and dropped out for family financial reasons. Due to his contact with outsiders as head of the village, he learned some Chinese and can understand simple conversations in Chinese. He even can speak a bit of Chinese. He has four children, including the author of this work himself, and five grandchildren.

---Zaiwei Yang 杨再位, the narrator of *Sky Repairing* ('SR' hereafter). He is sixty-four, and a former member of the Villagers Autonomous Administration Committee at Geecxans 上团. He received some elementary school education but he didn't graduate. He can understand simple conversations in Chinese. He can read, speak and write some Chinese also. He has four children, and five grandchildren as well.

Each story lasts about 20 minutes, with 368 sentences in TF and 468 in SR. The estimated amount of words in each story is between 4,200 and 4,600. The complete texts are presented here so the reader can check the validity in the sources in discussion and to provide first-hand spoken data for further study of Kam discourse, considering that the availability of naturally occurring Kam discourse data is extremely limited. The inclusion of data in the body the text is also intended to facilitate the readers' locating sample references through the discussion later on.

The narration of the folk stories was digitally recorded on videotapes by means of SONY Digital 8 DVR-TRV520 NTSC video camera recorder. Later, all were transcribed into Kam orthography and databased in LINGUALINKS ®, an electronic text analysis tool developed by

the Summer Institute of Linguistics (cf.<http://www.sil.org> for details about LINGUALINKS ®).

As mentioned in 1.5.5, Kam orthography will be used over IPA in data processing and discourse analysis to represent Kam words. This practice is mostly for convenience without having to compromise accuracy. When phonetic precision is regarded, a few new lectal rhymes are added to the system.

After the sometimes intimidating language project setting up procedures as required in the LINGUALINKS, the full transcription in Kam orthography of the two recorded stories is typed into program-created windows. Each word is coded as 'Wordform' in the program, followed by its corresponding glossary 'WfGloss' and part of speech 'WfPOS' in a tabulated representation. To obtain an instant picture of the data anatomy in LINGUALINKS ®, readers are recommended to take a glance at the appendix. Sentence boundaries are drawn or defined to break the utterance into sentences. The intonation of the utterance, including pitch, length, and loudness, are applied to parse sentences, along with linguistic components. Each sentence is numbered after the abbreviation of the respective story title 'TF' and 'SR', such as TF169, TF244, and SR18. A free translation of each sentence initiated by 'FT', a label chosen by the author, is then provided.

3.4 The salience of the two selected narratives

As stated in 2.2., published discourse data of Kam is almost non-existent. For the purpose of conducting current research, the author collected a fairly significant amount of various discourse data, including eight folk stories from four narrators, lasting about five hours. Not all of them were adopted for discussion here. Some of them are too long to treat in a single project such as this one and are excluded simply because of the space limitation posed on the current

study. Some are disqualified because they were recorded in private for other research purposes, thus falling out of the territory of spontaneously told narratives. Some are not well developed in the sense that they are too short in length.

The two selected narratives from two speakers are salient data for the following reasons:

a) Both occurred in and were collected from a natural, typical Kam storytelling setting, thus carry validity of manifesting the features of targeted genre. The first reported digitally video-taping of storytelling also gives some assurance to this quality; b) the two speakers are headmen in the community and are considered as to be capable narrators of stories, thus carrying authority and are highly accepted; c) they are full-fledged structurally after initial examination within Labov's (1967) six-part anatomy of narrative structure; d) the inclusion of data from two different speakers is a quality control action, intending to maximize the available discussion space while balancing the source of data.

3.5 Full version of the recorded narrative data in LINGUALINKS

As mentioned above, two stories narrated by Mr. Jinlu Yang and Mr. Zaiwei Yang are chosen to represent the Kam narrative in Yutou Kam community. A brief summary of each story is provided before displaying of the full version of narrative data in LINGUALINKS.

3.5.1 Three Friends (TF)

3.5.1.1 Summary of TF

There were three best friends in the nether world and they agreed that when they came into this world, they would share their fortunes and help each other out through their lives. Two of them were born in rich families, while the third one was born in a poor family.

The original promise was well kept until they reached their twenties because the two rich ones got tired of a poor man being with them all the time. They became stingy and greedy toward the poor one. So the pair set a plan and left secretly for a picnic in a boat downstream. The uninformed poor friend was so upset to see promise being broken that he wanted to end his life by jumping into the river. He hid in a wooden box and lured the innocent school children to push it down into the stream.

The pair was almost ready to have their picnic feast when they saw a magnificent wooden box floating toward them from upstream. They assumed that there must be something valuable inside so they intercepted and lifted that out of water. It turned out that it was the poor left-behind friend was in there. To avoid admitting the poor one into the picnic, the rich two proposed to have a Chinese couplet composing competition among them. Whoever could not make a couplet successfully would be kept out of the feast. It was an obvious trap since the poor friend was the only uneducated one even though he did follow them to school and sat outside beneath the classroom window. The fact was that the poor one studied harder by himself. He performed well and defeated the other two in a surprising way. He not only was 'rescued' by the two, but had a free picnic which the two tried so hard to keep him from having any knowledge of it.

3.5.1.2 TF in LINGUALINKS format

/TF/

Three Friends

Narrator: Jinlu Yang

TF1

Wordform:	danglxul	xic	jav,	meeç,	yaoh	yaoh	naengl	yaoh	wangv
WfGloss:	long ago	time, season	that	have	in, at, on	in, at, on	still	in, at, on	side
WfPOS:	adv	comm	dem	v	prep	prep	adv	prep	comm

yeml	juc,	liax,		meeç	meeç	yingc	doc	hoh	hangc
shady	as you know	asking for response		have	have	several	animate	group	kind; type
adj int	part	part		v	v	num	CLS	CLS	CLS

lagx	nuns	map	douc	guangl	jac,	hov
child	tender, young	come	come in	bright	there	you are right, exactly
comm	adj	v	v	adj int	prop	adv

FT: A long time ago, there were several children in the nether world who were going to come into this world (to be born).

TF2

Wordform:	keep	xis	wanc	dah	geec	teip	jas	xis	xis	meeç
WfGloss:	they	be	already	from	place, location	afterlife	there	be	be	have
WfPOS:	comm	aux	adv	conj	comm	comm	adv	aux	aux	v

naenl	xeengl	yeeul		daeux,	liax.
large, bulky things	RECIP	make an appointment		PERF, already	asking for response
CLS	part	v		part	part

FT: They reached an agreement from the very beginning.

TF3

Wordform:	baov	jav	laol	bonc	naih	nuv	baov	bail	wangv	yangc	jas	bail	douc
WfGloss:	tell	then	we	times	this	if	tell	go	part, half	present	there	go	come in
WfPOS:	v	adv	pro	CLS	dem	conj	v	v	CLS	adj	adv	v	v

guangl	xis	laol	weex	weex	xus	laos	saml	eanc	wuc,
bright	be	we	make, do	make, do	then	enter	three	house	listen!
adj int	aux	pro	v	v	adv	v	num	comm	part

FT: "This time when we go to that world to be born, let's go to three (different) families."

TF4

Wordform: laol xus nyenh weex hohjih huc, liax.
 WfGloss: we then still make, do friend, pal, fellow suggesting asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v comm part part

FT: "We will still be friends. Right, we will still be friends."

TF5

Wordform: xus aol eac lagx dil xus laos hangc eanc meec jas beel
 WfGloss: then take, bring two child pause then enter kind; type house have that go
 WfPOS: adv v num comm part adv v CLS comm v mkr v

FT: "Let two of us to be born into rich families."

TF6

Wordform: aol il lagx dil xus laos hangc eanc nyads
 WfGloss: take, bring one child pause then enter kind; type house poor
 WfPOS: v num comm part adv v CLS comm adj int

jas beel, liax
 that go asking for response
 mkr v part

FT: "Let the left one to be born to a poor family."

TF7

Wordform: touk xic xus jagx senlhoc jas ac xus nyenh
 WfGloss: to time, season then topic life that pause then still
 WfPOS: v comm adv mkr comm mkr part adv adv

yiuv dongc, liax
 PROG together asking for response
 aux adv part

FT: "Later (we) will still have the same (quality of) life."

TF8

Wordform: waoh nuv laos bail douc guangl laos jagx eanc lail bail dil xus
 WfGloss: person if enter go come in bright enter large stuff house good go pause then
 WfPOS: CLS conj v v v adj int v CLS comm adj v part adv

xus xus waoh laos eanc nyads jas xus nyenh il yangh dil
 then then person enter house poor that then still one form manner
 adv adv CLS v comm adj int mkr adv adv num adv part

FT: The one that went to the poor family would have the same lifestyle as the two rich ones.

TF9

Wordform: xus wanc dah xic geec teip jas dah wangv
 WfGloss: new information already from time, season place, location afterlife there from side
 WfPOS: mkr adv conj comm comm comm adv conj comm

yeml jas xis il yah hangc gangs daeux.
 shady there be one also, too kind; type speak, say PERF, already
 adj int adv aux num adv CLS v part

FT: so they reached this agreement in the other world.

TF10

Wordform: heek, jenxbill map douc guangl jas xus
 WfGloss: exactly prepare come come in bright there new information
 WfPOS: part v v v adj int adv mkr

FT: (When) they were preparing to come into this world.

TF11

Wordform: heek, xeengl yeedul map
 WfGloss: exactly RECIP make an appointment come
 WfPOS: part part v v

FT: Exactly right! They had an agreement.

TF12

Wordform: nyaengc touk xic map douc guangl jas xis xus nyaengc
 WfGloss: really to time, season come come in bright there be new information really
 WfPOS: adv v comm v v adj int adv aux mkr adv

lac xus meec eac lagx dil xus laos jagx eanc hangc douh xic jav
 PERF then have two child pause then enter topic house kind; type as time, season that
 asp adv v num comm part adv v mkr comm CLS adv comm dem

gangs jas hangc hangc hupyuil hup jas bail lac, liax.
 speak, say that kind; type kind; type rich family, household that go PERF asking for response
 v mkr CLS CLS adj int comm mkr v asp part

FT: When they finally came into this world, this was exactly what happened: two of them entered families that were 'the rich'.

TF13

Wordform: meec il lagx dil xus laos hangc hangc hangc
 WfGloss: have one child pause then enter kind; type kind; type kind; type
 WfPOS: v num comm part adv v CLS CLS CLS

nyads jas bail lac
 poor that go PERF
 adj int mkr v asp

FT: (the other) one then entered a poor family.

TF14

Wordform: jav xis xus nyaengc lac keep yah wanc dah geec teip
 WfGloss: that be then really PERF they also, too already from place, location afterlife
 WfPOS: dem aux adv adv asp comm adv adv conj comm comm

jas ganl gangs daeuh laoc xis map wangv yangc
 that so-called speak, say reached agreement, settled PERF be come classifier for parts present
 mkr adj v adj part aux v CLS adj

naih douc guangl xis.
 this come in bright be
 dem v adj int aux

FT: So what actually happened was just as they had agreed with in the nether world.

TF15

Wordform: lagx laos jagx eanc nyads naih dil xus naengx jinx jinx
 WfGloss: child enter topic house poor this pause then even tools tools
 WfPOS: comm v mkr comm adj int dem part adv adv CLS CLS

dul juml lac.
 even accumulate PERF
 adv v asp

FT: The one born in a poor family accumulated/stored everything he had.

TF16

Wordform: yuh bux naeix yah louv saeml huc, liax,
 WfGloss: also father mother also, too leave behind early supplementing asking for response
 WfPOS: adv comm comm adv v adv part part

FT: Also, his parents died while he was still young.

TF17

Wordform: xus nyaengx nyads nyaengc, jagx jas xic xic
 WfGloss: then very poor really abstract that time, season time, season
 WfPOS: adv adv adj int adv mkr mkr comm comm

bens, bens yenp eac lagx jav weex banx xus eac lagx jav eac
 only only with, and two child that make, do friend then two child that two
 adv adv prep num comm dem v comm adv num comm dem num

lagx jav weex banx xus bens eanc keep janl haeux
 child that make, do friend then only house they eat meal
 comm dem v comm comm adv adv comm comm v comm

FT: So he was very poor. All the time he always ate meals with his two friends at their houses.

TF18

Wordform: yuh keep yenc laox jagx louv saeml xus maoh
 WfGloss: also they people elder abstract leave behind early new information 3S
 WfPOS: adv comm comm adj mkr v adv mkr mkr pro

jagx eanc yuh nyenh naengl meec il jagx eanc liax,
 large stuff house also still still have one large stuff house asking for response
 CLS comm adv adv adv v num CLS comm part

FT: Although his parents had passed away early, he still had a house.

TF19

Wordform: bens ganl jagx jagx jas haeix naeuc bonc laeuc xus xus
 WfGloss: only name large stuff large stuff that not who nurture PERF then then
 WfPOS: adv comm CLS CLS mkr neg pro v part adv adv

jagx senhhoc jas nyads xus,
 large stuff life that poor then
 CLS comm mkr adj int adv

FT: But because no one had raised him, his life was very poor.

TF20

Wordform: weengc bens kaok eac jiclongx mags jas daengl aol
 WfGloss: always only depend on two siblings big that come take, bring
 WfPOS: adv adv v num comm adj int mkr v v

eac keep weex weex jiclongx, eac jagx baos jas xis eac jagx jav.
 two they make, do make, do siblings two people older brother that be two people that
 num comm v v comm num CLS comm mkr aux num CLS dem

FT: He, the poor guy, always depended on his two friends and considered them as his big brothers.

TF21

Wordform: waenl waenl yedk yedk dil, liax, maoh xus nyenh
 WfGloss: day day morning morning pause asking for response 3S then still
 WfPOS: comm comm comm comm part part pro adv adv

eanc maoh nagk xus, bens bail eanc keep bail janl xeec, liax,
 house 3S sleep then only go house they go eat tea asking for response
 comm pro v adv adv v comm comm v v comm part

FT: Everyday, he slept in his own house, but he went to their houses to have meals.

TF22

Wordform: keep xus bail dogx leec dil,
 WfGloss: they then go read book pause
 WfPOS: comm adv v v comm part

FT: They went to school.

TF23

Wordform: maoh jagx jas laeup meec jagx bail dogx leec
 WfGloss: 3S large stuff that where have large stuff go read book
 WfPOS: pro CLS mkr pro v CLS v v comm

leis ax,
 able confirming
 part part

FT: (But) he could not afford to go to.

TF24

Wordform: bens laeml keep bail dangc hagx jas bail nyaoh
 WfGloss: only follow they go place inform there go live
 WfPOS: adv v comm v comm v adv v v

FT: (He) only went there to spend time with them.

TF25

Wordform: deenh keep bail eanc janl haeux xus dongc bail,
 WfGloss: once they go house eat meal then together go
 WfPOS: adv comm v comm v comm adv adv v

FT: When they went home to have meals, he went with them.

TF26

Wordform: waenl naeup eanc lagx naeup jas.
 WfGloss: day what house child what there
 WfPOS: comm pro comm comm pro adv

FT: One day he went to one and the next day he went to the other's.

TF27

Wordform: jav jagx jas dil xis waenl liaengl daengl xis,
 WfGloss: so large stuff that pause be day long come be
 WfPOS: conj CLS mkr part aux comm adj v aux

jagx jas nyenh mags daeux lic, liax
 large stuff that also big PERF, already particle of confirming asking for response
 CLS mkr adv adj int part part part

FT: Well, as day went by (passed) and he also grew up.

TF28

Wordform: xebx tedk beds nyenh deml daengl laoc xis, jagx xis
 WfGloss: ten seven eight also mature come PERF be large stuff be
 WfPOS: num num num adv v v part aux CLS aux

haeux yah janl jungc daeux luh
 meal also, too eat plentiful PERF, already attention drawing
 comm adv v adj part part

FT: he was almost an adult and with a large appetite.

TF29

Wordform: yuh jagx jas douh xic naih yiuw weex xebx beds
 WfGloss: also large stuff that as time, season this PROG make, do ten eight
 WfPOS: adv CLS mkr adv comm dem aux v num num

jas xis, heak jaenv daeux xis,
 there be red coxcomb PERF, already be
 adv aux adj comm part aux

FT: Also like what we do nowadays, time came for him to be interested in girls.

TF30

Wordform: yuh weex nyix huc, liax,
 WfGloss: also make, do young supplementing asking for response
 WfPOS: adv v adj part part

FT: He acted like a real gentleman, right?

TF31

Wordform: yuh wanh hangc mientcangc yuh daengl laeuc lic, liax
 WfGloss: also change kind; type trick also come PERF confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: adv v CLS comm adv v part part part

FT: They do new things in their life.

TF32

Wordform: eac jagx jav dil, nyenh meec nyingl miav, liax,
 WfGloss: two large stuff that pause also have a bit sad asking for response
 WfPOS: num CLS dem part adv v comm adj part

FT: His two friends became dissatisfied.

TF33

Wordform: deeux sil, maoh baov jagx naih ngenl naengx nanc
 WfGloss: fuck euphemized 3S say large stuff this emphasizing even impossible
 WfPOS: v part pro v CLS dem mkr adv adj

boih maoh lagx nyingl leep,
 hide information 3S NEG a bit disappointed
 v pro part comm part

FT: "Shit! We cannot hide anything from him."

TF34

Wordform: denv denv dul dongc janl haeux.
 WfGloss: meal meal all together eat meal
 WfPOS: CLS CLS adv adv v comm

FT: "We always eat together."

TF35

Wordform: keep xis lienh eac lagx ganl laos eanc meec jas dil
 WfGloss: they be moment two man so-called enter house have that pause
 WfPOS: comm aux comm num CLS adj v comm v mkr part

xus	gaeis	liangs	baov	xus	haeix	daengl	janl
then	NEG	be	say	as for	not	come	eat
adv	adv	part	v	mkr	neg	v	v

FT: They were not upset because of him eating the food.

TF36

Wordform:	meec	jagx	yenc	nyads	yuh	xic	xic	laeml
WfGloss:	have	people	people	poor	again, then	time, season	time, season	follow
WfPOS:	v	CLS	comm	adj int	adv	comm	comm	v

dil	xus	waenl	liaengl	daengl	nyenh	liaengl	daengl	nyenh	miav,	liax,
pause	then	day	long	come	also	long	come	also	sad	asking for response
part	adv	comm	adj	v	adv	adj	v	adv	adj	part

FT: But since the poor guy with them all the time, they became upset.

TF37

Wordform:	waenl	waenl	bens	janl	eac	laol	leec
WfGloss:	day	day	only	eat	two	we	fact telling
WfPOS:	comm	comm	adv	v	num	pro	part

FT: "Every day he eats with us!"

TF38

Wordform:	pieenk	maoh	lagx	nyingl	dul	nanc,	boih	maoh
WfGloss:	cheat	3S	NEG	a bit	even	impossible	hide information	3S
WfPOS:	v	pro	part	comm	adv	adj	v	pro

lagx	denv	dul.
diminutive	meal	even
part	CLS	adv

FT: "We can not hide from him anything, keep anything away from him."

TF39

Wordform:	ac	keep	xus	meec	naenl	xeengl	liangc	lac
WfGloss:	two	they	then	have	large, bulky things	RECIP	discuss	PERF
WfPOS:	num	comm	adv	v	CLS	part	v	asp

FT: So they had a discussion (about what to do).

TF40

Wordform:	jagx	naih	nuv	jav	ac	laol	dah	liaems	bail	weex	lagx	denv,
WfGloss:	topic	this	if	that	two	we	from	back	go	make, do	diminutive	meal
WfPOS:	mkr	dem	conj	dem	num	pro	conj	comm	v	v	CLS	CLS

weex	lagx	lagx	denv,	pienc-hoc	nyingl,	liax,
make, do	diminutive	diminutive	meal	party	a bit	asking for response
v	CLS	CLS	CLS	comm	comm	part

FT: "How about we have a party secretly, a meal party?"

TF41

Wordform:	il	naeup	bail	bail	bail,	heek,	boih	maoh	nyingl,	liax,
WfGloss:	location	where	go	go	go	exactly	hide information	3S	a bit	asking for response
WfPOS:	n	pro	v	v	v	part	v	pro	comm	part

FT: "We will go somewhere else to avoid him," right.

TF42

Wordform:	weex	lagx	denv	huip-tanh
WfGloss:	make, do	diminutive	meal	party
WfPOS:	v	CLS	CLS	comm

FT: "We will have a meal party."

TF43

Wordform:	xiv	nuv	weex	leis	haeih,	liax,
WfGloss:	try	if	make, do	able	NEG	asking for response
WfPOS:	v	conj	v	part	adv	part

FT: "(Let's) See what happens," like that.

TF44

Wordform:	jav	waoh	waoh	meec	waoh,	meec	waoh	baos	mags
WfGloss:	topic	person	person	have	person	have	person	older brother	big
WfPOS:	mkr	CLS	CLS	v	CLS	v	CLS	comm	adj int

lus, meec waoh baos nyagl lus,
 particle of fact confirming have person older brother small particle of fact confirming
 part v CLS comm adj part
 FT: Well, one was older than the other.

TF45

Wordform: waoh baos nyagl maoh jas baov jav ac baos mags
 WfGloss: person older brother small 3S that say then HON older brother big
 WfPOS: CLS comm adj pro mkr v adv part comm adj int
 FT: The younger brother, he said: "My big brother!"

TF46

Wordform: jagx naih laeup laeup jagx weex leis ax,
 WfGloss: large stuff this how how large stuff make, do able confirming
 WfPOS: CLS dem pro pro CLS v part part
 FT: "As for this, how can we deal with it?" like this.

TF47

Wordform: maoh weengc seic qebk qebk jas, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S always be closely closely MAN asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv aux adv adv part part
 FT: "He always be (with us) all the time," like this.

TF48

Wordform: laol dul meix jenc maoh wanc taeuk eanc daeux
 WfGloss: we even yet get up 3S already arrive, reach house PERF, already
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v pro adv v comm part
 FT: "We have not got up, and he is at our house already."

TF49

Wordform: jagx jas meec jagx biih maoh leis eec, laix.
 WfGloss: large stuff that have large stuff avoid 3S able tell you the truth like this
 WfPOS: CLS mkr v CLS v pro part part part
 FT: "There is no way we can get away."

TF50

Wordform: jav xis jagx jas taeuk hangc nyinc-jis daeux dil eac
 WfGloss: topic be large stuff that to kind; type age PERF, already pause two
 WfPOS: mkr aux CLS mkr prep CLS comm part part num

maoh jav yah nyenh haeix dogx leec laeuc leec, liax,
 person that also, too also not read book PERF fact telling asking for response
 CLS dem adv adv neg v comm part part part
 FT: Well, they did not have school anymore, because they were too old then, OK?

TF51

Wordform: xis xeds gags yenc gags bail bail bail waoh naeup weex
 WfGloss: be all individually people individually go go go person who make, do
 WfPOS: aux num adv comm adv v v v CLS pro v

hangc naeup jas daeux leec, sangx loh daeux leec
 kind; type what MAN PERF, already fact telling feed voice, life PERF, already fact telling
 CLS pro part part part v comm part part
 FT: So each one (of them) did his own work.

TF52

Wordform: jagx jas deenh deml lagx yedl nyih xebx yenc daeux xis.
 WfGloss: topic that once reach man first second ten people PERF, already be
 WfPOS: mkr mkr adv v CLS num num num num comm part aux
 FT: Once they reached their twenties.

TF53

Wordform: waoh mags jas dil jav maoh xus xus xus xus weex jagx
 WfGloss: person big that pause so 3S then then then then make, do large stuff
 WfPOS: CLS adj int mkr part conj pro adv adv adv adv v CLS

menc daeuh xic naih weex laox-suh, liax, weex xeengl-senl geeus leec.
 kind like time, season this make, do teacher, asking for respon make, do teach teach book
 CLS adv comm dem v comm part v comm v comm
 FT: The oldest one was a teacher, right?

TF54

Wordform: waoh deis nyih jas dil maoh jagx jas yuh nyenh dogx leec
 WfGloss: person order second that pause 3S topic that also also read book
 WfPOS: CLS rank num mkr part pro mkr adv adv v v

dul maoh haeix, nyenh ganl haeix binc jagx kenp jas xus maoh xus
 even 3S not still name not love large stuff path that then 3S then
 adv pro neg adv comm neg v CLS comm mkr adv pro adv

wanh jagx, jagx gongl weex,
 change large stuff large stuff job make, do
 v CLS CLS comm v

FT: The second one, he also went to school (to get educated), but he didn't like teaching, so he found another job to do.

TF55

Wordform: maoh xus binc weex, weex, gaox laemx hux, xeengl lol, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S then love make, do make, do inside water do row boat asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv v v v adv comm v v comm part

FT: He loved work in water, (he loved) rowing a boat.

TF56

Wordform: ac keep xus waoh il menc
 WfGloss: two they then person one kind
 WfPOS: num comm adv CLS num CLS

FT: So these two each had a different kind (work).

TF57

Wordform: xus maoh waoh... waoh maoh xais baos mags keep nuv laeup hangc
 WfGloss: then 3S person person 3S ask older brother big they see where way
 WfPOS: adv pro CLS CLS pro v comm adj int comm v pro n

FT: So he (the second one) asked his old brother of what they could do.

TF58

Wordform: maoh baov nyac baov ac laol yuh nuv jav dogx ac laol bail bail
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S say two we also if then alone two we go go
 WfPOS: pro v pro v num pro adv conj adv adv num pro v v

geec laeup bail weex denv huip-tanh xis pieenk maoh nyingl xis nyac nuv
 place, location where go make, do meal party then cheat 3S a bit be 2S see
 comm pro v v CLS comm adv v pro comm aux pro v

laeup jagx weex ac
 where abstract make, do QUES
 pro mkr v part

FT: He asked: "You say that we two should go somewhere else to have a meal party without him, (but) how are we going to do it?"

TF59

Wordform: maoh weengc sic ac nyac nuv ac
 WfGloss: 3S always be pause 2S see pause
 WfPOS: pro adv aux part pro v part

FT: "He (the poor guy) is always around, as you will see."

TF60

Wordform: keep nyaemv jas xeengl liangc daeux lus,
 WfGloss: they night that RECIP discuss PERF, already particle of fact confirming
 WfPOS: comm comm mkr part v part part

FT: The other two were discussing what to do that night.

TF61

Wordform: yedk mos lienc bens meengv menl xus daengl aoc
 WfGloss: morning next even only open sky then come already
 WfPOS: comm adj adv adv v comm adv v part

lic, liax,
 particle of confirming asking for response
 part part

FT: "Tomorrow morning, as soon as the sunlight comes out, (he will) come to here," right?

TF62

Wordform: maoh jagx jas dogx maoh geec jas xis daeuh qiange
 WfGloss: 3S topic that alone 3S place, location there be like season
 WfPOS: pro mkr mkr adv pro comm adv aux adv comm

naih daengl gangs xis, liax,
 this come speak, say be asking for response
 dem v v aux part

FT: He was in his own house alone, and it was cold as today (01/09/02?).

TF63

Wordform: hiangh hiangh mangp xis jagx jas nagk liaengl leis eec, liax,
 WfGloss: quilt quilt thin be topic that sleep long able tell you the truth asking for response
 WfPOS: comm comm adj aux mkr mkr v adj part part part

FT: The quilt was thin, and he could not sleep long (so he woke up early).

TF64

Wordform: ix, xus ac keep xus baov jav xus yav hangc weex,
 WfGloss: yes, agreeing then two they then say then then that way make, do
 WfPOS: adv adv num comm adv v adv adv dem n v

FT: Yes(response to audience's comment), so they two then: "Let's do it this way..."

TF65

Wordform: ac laol waenl mos xus weex maoh laengx yaop geis bail
 WfGloss: two we day next then make, do 3S indeed look for unable go
 WfPOS: num pro comm adj adv v pro adv v part v

mac, liax,
 SUG asking for response
 part part

FT: "Tomorrow we will go where he cannot find us."

TF66

Wordform: nyac kongp yox xeengl lol eec, baos mags baov, liax,
 WfGloss: 2S tag question know row boat Truth telling older brother big say asking for response
 WfPOS: pro mkr v v comm part comm adj int v part

FT: "You know how to row a boat, come on, don't you ?", the oldest one said.

TF67

Wordform: ac laol maenv mal naih xeds aol qiak lol baox xus xeengl maoh
 WfGloss: two we those dish this all take, bring aboard boat PERF then row 3S
 WfPOS: num pro pro comm dem num v adv comm part adv v pro

geec lionx maengl lees bail,
 place, location riverband pool below go
 comm comm comm adv v

FT: "We will take these foods on board that boat and row the boat to that riverband pool in down stream."

TF68

Wordform: nyac nuv naeuc seml
 WfGloss: 2S see who look for
 WfPOS: pro v pro v

FT: "Let's see if anyone can find us."

TF69

Wordform: ac laol wanc meix guangl menl xus wanc ugs eanc laeuc
 WfGloss: two we already yet bright sky then already go out house PERF
 WfPOS: num pro adv adv adj int comm adv adv v comm part

FT: "we will leave the house when the sky is not light yet"

TF70

Wordform: yenc laox yah gox dah laeup
 WfGloss: people elder also, too do not know cross where
 WfPOS: comm adj adv v conj pro

FT: "We will not tell out parents where we are going."

TF71

Wordform: nyac yiuw laih jagx jingv weex leis lic, liax,
 WfGloss: 2S need, want this large stuff only make, do able confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: pro aux dem CLS adv v part part part

FT: "We need to do this, for it will work," you see?

TF72

Wordform:	hov,	maoh	baov	laenl	banl-huac	nyac	jas	jenl	lail	luh,
WfGloss:	right, exactly	3S	say	object	method	2S	that	very	good	attention drawing
WfPOS:	adv	pro	v	CLS	comm	pro	mkr	adv	adj	part

liax,
asking for response
part

FT: "Good, your idea is really good", he said.

TF73

Wordform:	nyac	yuh	yox	xeengl	lol,	liax,
WfGloss:	2S	also	know	row	boat	asking for response
WfPOS:	pro	adv	v	v	comm	part

FT: "You also know how to row a boat."

TF74

Wordform:	gaeis	xis	ac	keep	xus	bail	lac
WfGloss:	NEG	be	two	they	then	go	PERF
WfPOS:	adv	aux	num	comm	adv	v	asp

FT: That was it and they went on.

TF75

Wordform:	yedk	lenc	daengl	xus	wanc	waenl	jas,	nyaemv	jas
WfGloss:	morning	later	come	then	already	day	that	night	that
WfPOS:	comm	prep	v	adv	adv	comm	mkr	comm	mkr

beenh	mal	lail.	(interruption due to tape changing)
prepare	dish	ready	
v	comm	adj	

FT: During the night, the two prepared all kinds of food.

TF76

Wordform:	xus	ac	keep	xus	bail	lac,
WfGloss:	then	two	they	then	go	PERF
WfPOS:	adv	num	comm	adv	v	asp

FT: So, they went out.

TF77

Wordform:	yocyih	guangl	xus	maenv	mal	xeds	jenxbill	lail	laeuc,
WfGloss:	slightly	bright	then	those	vegetable	all	prepare	good	PERF
WfPOS:	adv	adj int	adv	pro	comm	num	v	adj	part

FT: All the food was ready at dawn.

TF78

Wordform:	kaos	yah	beenh	laoc	xus.
WfGloss:	alcohol	also, too	prepare	PERF	as for
WfPOS:	comm	adv	v	part	mkr

FT: (They) also prepared alcohol.

TF79

Wordform:	qiak	lol	xus,
WfGloss:	ascend, board	boat	then
WfPOS:	v	comm	adv

FT: (They) boarded the boat.

TF80

Wordform:	lienh	jas	meix	maenv	yenc	dul	saouxenc	dul	meix	bail	weex,	liax,
WfGloss:	moment	that	yet	those	people	even	moming	even	yet	go	make, do	asking for response
WfPOS:	comm	mkr	adv	pro	comm	adv	comm	adv	adv	v	v	part

FT: At that moment people had not gone to work yet.

TF81

Wordform:	qobs	bens	yocyih	guangl	laeup	naeuc	jenc	lac	ax
WfGloss:	just	only	slightly	bright	where	who	get up	PERF	confirming
WfPOS:	adv	adv	adv	adj	pro	pro	v	asp	part

FT: Right at dawn, no one was up yet.

TF82

Wordform: xeengl jagx lol xus geec lionx maengl lees lees bail lac
 WfGloss: row large stuff boat then place, location riverband pool below below go PERF
 WfPOS: v CLS comm adv comm comm adv adv v asp

FT: They rowed a boat to the riverband pool in downstream.

TF83

Wordform: wanc dah geec jagx geec jiongh waenl haeix jenh
 WfGloss: already cross place, location large stuff place, location bush day not very
 WfPOS: adv conj comm CLS comm comm comm neg adv

daeuh naeuc taeuk jas beel, liax,
 like who arrive, reach there go asking for response
 adv pro v adv v part

FT: They already went to a bamboo bush where people rarely went.

TF84

Wordform: qiangc nyih saml nyodx jas lus,
 WfGloss: season second three month there particle of fact confirming
 WfPOS: comm num num comm adv part

FT: It was the second or third month of the year.

TF85

Wordform: geec jagx jas bail weenl lol laeuc xus,
 WfGloss: place, location large stuff there go moor boat PERF then
 WfPOS: comm CLS adv v v comm part adv

FT: (They) moored the boat there.

TF86

Wordform: eac jagx xus, ak, waenl naih weex naenl paicqiangc
 WfGloss: two people then satisfied day this make, do large, bulky things ostentation
 WfPOS: num CLS adv mood comm dem v CLS comm

nyingl gunv ax
 a bit first confirming
 comm adv part

FT: They two, huh, (saying): "Let's do something ostentatious first today."

TF87

Wordform: geec jagx jas xus saoh lic, liax,
 WfGloss: place, location large stuff there then cook particle of confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: comm CLS adv adv v part part

FT: So (they) cooked there, let me tell you.

TF88

Wordform: keep xus xus jenxbill xus eac jagx xus seic maoh
 WfGloss: they then then prepare then two people then free 3S
 WfPOS: comm adv adv v adv num CLS adv v pro

hangc naeup dul beenh laeuc leec, liax,
 kind; type what all prepare PERF fact telling asking for response
 CLS pro adv v part part part

FT: They had prepared (well) so had everything they needed ready (to use).

TF89

Wordform: nanx yah meec huc, mangc yah meec huc
 WfGloss: meat also, too have supplementing everything also, too have supplementing
 WfPOS: comm adv v part pro adv v part

FT: Meat they had, everything they had.

TF90

Wordform: geec jas bail aol guc laeuc xus bail denl dil
 WfGloss: place, location there go take, bring pot PERF then go stew for example
 WfPOS: comm adv v v comm part adv v v part

denl yongv nguk huc, liax,
 stew arm pig supplementing asking for response
 v comm comm part part

FT: There they used a pot to stew such a pig leg, let me tell you.

TF91

Wordform: hangc naeup dul beenh laeuc lus, liax,
 WfGloss: kind; type what all prepare PERF particle of fact confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS pro adv v part part part
 FT: They had everything prepared, right.

TF92

Wordform: gaiv dil gaiv huc,
 WfGloss: chicken for example chicken supplementing
 WfPOS: comm part comm part
 FT: They also had chicken, OK?

TF93

Wordform: jagx gaiv yuh naengl yituv qias, yuh naengl yituv qias
 WfGloss: topic chicken also still need, want plug also still need, want plug
 WfPOS: mkr comm adv adv aux v comm adv adv aux v

gaiv huc, liax,
 chicken supplementing asking for response
 comm part part

FT: They chicken needed to be cleaned, (they) needed to unplugged the chicken, well.

TF94

Wordform: gaeis xis jagx jas nyac xiangv xiangh xenh dul nyenh hux
 WfGloss: unwilling be large stuff that 2S want hurry even still do
 WfPOS: . adj aux CLS mkr pro v adj adv adv v

deix liaengl jas, liax,
 somewhat long that asking for response
 adv adj mkr part

FT: So it took a while to finish everything.

TF95

Wordform: geis xis hux hux xis, taeuk nyenh taeuk haeux yedk, liax,
 WfGloss: NEG be do do be arrive, reach also arrive, reach meal morning asking for response
 WfPOS: adv aux v v aux v adv v comm comm part

dinl haeux yedk bail jingv saoh maenv jas ugs lis, liax,
 reach meal morning go only cook those that go out surprising asking for response
 v comm comm v adv v pro mkr v part part

FT: Everything was finally done by lunch time.

TF96

Wordform: lagx naih dil maoh xus jenc daengl xis maoh yedk jas xis
 WfGloss: man this pause 3S then get up come then 3S morning that be
 WfPOS: CLS dem part pro adv v v adv pro comm mkr aux

bail heemx xis
 go call (a person) be
 v v aux

FT: Meanwhile this (poor) guy had got up that morning and went to them.

TF97

Wordform: taeuk bail heemx eac hoh eac eac hohjih jas xis
 WfGloss: reach go call (a person) two pal two two friend, pal, fellow that be
 WfPOS: v v v num comm num num comm mkr aux

FT: (He) went there to his friend's house.

TF98

Wordform: laos eanc naih bail heemx dil
 WfGloss: enter house this go call (a person) pause
 WfPOS: v comm dem v v part

FT: As he went into one of those guys house to call...

TF99

Wordform: baov yedk naih lienc wanc bail lac, liax,
 WfGloss: say morning this even already go PERF asking for response
 WfPOS: v comm dem adv adv v asp part

FT: (Their family members)said they left already that morning.

TF100

Wordform: yav, ac keep bail laeup lac ax, laix,
 WfGloss: that two they go where PER question like this
 WfPOS: dem num comm v pro asp part part
 FT: "OK. Where did they go?"

TF101

Wordform: gaeis yox
 WfGloss: NEG know
 WfPOS: adv v
 FT: "We do not know at all."

TF102

Wordform: wanc jenc saeml saeml jas bail laeuc
 WfGloss: already get up early early MAN go PERF
 WfPOS: adv v adv adv part v part
 FT: "They got up really early and left."

TF103

Wordform: yuh taeuk eanc lagx jav yuh bail yuh bail
 WfGloss: again, then to house man that again, then go again, then go
 WfPOS: adv prep comm. CLS dem adv v adv v
 heemx nuv dil,
 call (a person) see pause
 v v part

FT: (He) went to the other's house.

TF104

Wordform: lagx jas yah bail laeuc, keep gaox eanc baov
 WfGloss: man that also, too go PERF they inside house tell
 WfPOS: CLS mkr adv v part comm adv comm v
 FT: That guy was gone, too. He was told by that family.

TF105

Wordform: maoh baov jav dah laeuc ax
 WfGloss: 3S say then cross PERF question
 WfPOS: pro v adv conj part part
 FT: He asked then where he went to.

TF106

Wordform: gaeis yox 'dah laeup
 WfGloss: NEG know cross where
 WfPOS: adv v conj pro
 FT: "We do not know where they go."

TF107

Wordform: nyaengx bail saeml nyaengc, yedk naih
 WfGloss: very go early really morning this
 WfPOS: adv v adv adv comm dem
 FT: "(He) went out really early this morning."

TF108

Wordform: lagx naih xis jagx jas nuv maoh ac keep dul bail laeuc
 WfGloss: man this be large stuff that if 3S two they even go PERF
 WfPOS: CLS dem aux CLS mkr conj pro num comm adv v part

xis laeup naengl laos eanc bail janl xeec leis ac,
 be where still enter house go eat tea able admitting
 aux pro adv v comm v v comm part part

FT: Since they were gone, he could not eat at their house.

TF109

Wordform: maoh nyenh gaeis lail eagx, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S also NEG good present asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv adv adj v part
 FT: He felt embarrassed.

TF110

Wordform: yiuu keep saml jagx dongc xus, eac jagx dongc
 WfGloss: need, want they three people together then two people together
 WfPOS: aux comm num CLS adv adv num CLS adv

xus weex leis leec
 then then make, do able fact telling
 adv adv v part part

FT: Only if they were present he would have been able to have a meal.

TF111

Wordform: nuv jagx lagx jas dul bail laeuc xis laeup naengl meec jagx
 WfGloss: if people man that even go PERF be where still have large stuff
 WfPOS: conj CLS CLS mkr adv v part aux pro adv v CLS

mangc weex
 what make, do
 pro v

FT: If his friend was gone, there was nothing he could do there.

TF112

Wordform: nyenh gaeis lail eagx, maoh xus
 WfGloss: also NEG good present 3S then
 WfPOS: adv adv adj v pro adv

FT: He then was embarrassed already.

TF113

Wordform: maoh xus kuagx jonv xis xus meec naenl xiangv
 WfGloss: 3S then right away return be then have large, bulky things think
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v aux adv v CLS v

daengl lac, liax,
 come PERF asking for response
 v asp part

FT: He returned home immediately and began to think over all this. Let me tell you now.

TF114

Wordform: xus jonv taeuk geec eanc maoh eanc keep bail lac
 WfGloss: then return to place, location house 3S house they go PERF
 WfPOS: adv v prep comm comm pro comm comm v asp

FT: So he returned to his home.

TF115

Wordform: jonv taeuk geec eanc keep bail xis jagx jas
 WfGloss: return to place, location house they go be topic that
 WfPOS: v prep comm comm comm v aux mkr mkr

laeup baov bens haeix haeux ax,
 where say only not rice confirming
 pro v adv neg comm part

FT: When he was back at his home, not only did he not have anything to eat...

TF116

Wordform: jagx maenv guc dungl haeux mangc dul haeix
 WfGloss: large stuff those pot steam meal everything all not
 WfPOS: CLS pro comm v comm pro adv neg

lic, liax,
 particle of confirming asking for response
 part part

FT: He did not even have the necessary cooking pots, either.

TF117

Wordform: xis maoh geec jas bail dos il xiangv xis
 WfGloss: then 3S place, location there go take once, as soon as think be
 WfPOS: adv pro comm adv v v adv v aux

FT: So he thought over the situation there (and found).

TF118

Wordform: naenl naih nyaengc miav, liax,
 WfGloss: large, bulky things this really sad asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS dem adv adj part
 FT: "This is really sad".

TF119

Wordform: ac keep dil yah yenlgail, liax,
 WfGloss: two they pause also, too should asking for response
 WfPOS: num comm part adv aux part
 FT: "They can do this."

TF120

Wordform: laih jagx xis jivxic ganl ganl ganl ganl
 WfGloss: this large stuff be suddenly, unexpectedly so-called so-called so-called so-called
 WfPOS: dem CLS aux adv adj adj adj adj

boih yaoc ganl ganl miav yaoc laeuc
 hide information 1S so-called so-called sad 1S PERF
 v pro adj adj adj pro part

FT: "They avoid me suddenly and are tired of me"

TF121

Wordform: maoh yuh nyenh yox, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S again, then also know asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v part
 FT: He also knew the situation well, right.

TF122

Wordform: geis xis yaoc jagx naih waenl waenl bens janl eac keep dil
 WfGloss: unable be 1S large stuff this day day only eat two they pause
 WfPOS: part aux pro CLS dem comm comm adv v num comm part

naih yah yenlgail miav
 this also, too should sad
 dem adv aux adj

FT: "I share their meals everyday, and they are unhappy about this."

TF123

Wordform: xus lagx naih bail xiangv xiangv dil
 WfGloss: then man this go think think developing, new info
 WfPOS: adv CLS dem v v v mkr
 FT: Then when he thought that over and over.

TF124

Wordform: meenh gaoc jagx xiangc jas bail nunc, meenh xiangv
 WfGloss: further inside large stuff bed there go lay further think
 WfPOS: adv adv CLS comm adv v v adv v

meenh xiangv xis
 further think be
 adv v aux

FT: The longer he laid on bed to sleep, the more he thought about the situation.

TF125

Wordform: hih, maoh nuv jagx naih yenlgail keep miav
 WfGloss: particle of sighing 3S if large stuff this should they sad
 WfPOS: part pro conj CLS dem aux comm adj
 FT: "Hm, they must be tired of this ", he concluded.

TF126

Wordform: yaoc il laih mags jas ganl wanc bens janl ac keep
 WfGloss: 1S alike this big that so-called already only eat two they
 WfPOS: pro adv dem adj int mkr adj adv adv v num comm

lus, liax,
 particle of fact confirming asking for response
 part part

FT: "I completely depend on them everyday. "

TF127

Wordform: ac keep waenl naih dil xis ganl laol xeds jagx
 WfGloss: two they day this pause be so-called we all topic
 WfPOS: num comm comm dem part aux adj pro num mkr

ganl sul xic naih dul biinv haohhanp laeuc lus
 so-called be time, season this even become male adult PERF particle of fact confirming
 adj aux comm dem adv v comm part part

FT: "Today they two, well, we all become so-called adults already."

TF128

Wordform: yaoc dul nyenh waenl waenl bens janl ac keep xis
 WfGloss: 1S even still day day only eat two they be
 WfPOS: pro adv adv comm comm adv v num comm aux

naenl naih yah yenlgail ac keep miav
 large, bulky things this also, too should two they sad
 CLS dem adv aux num comm adj

FT: "I still depend on them everyday. This must make them unhappy."

TF129

Wordform: maoh dil bail xiangv laenl naih dil xus yah nyaengx
 WfGloss: 3S pause go think object this pause then also, too very
 WfPOS: pro part v v CLS dem part adv adv adv

miav dal lac,
 sad come PERF
 adj v asp

FT: He thought about it that way and he was also sad.

TF130

Wordform: meenh xiangv xus meenh miav, gaox longc jas bail bonl xis
 WfGloss: further think then further sad inside heart there go stir be
 WfPOS: adv v adv adv adj adv comm adv v v aux

FT: The more he thought about it, the sadder his heart was.

TF131

Wordform: jagx naih xic xic bens janl keep lus
 WfGloss: topic this time, season time, season only eat they particle of fact confirming
 WfPOS: mkr dem comm comm adv v comm part

FT: "I depend on them all the time."

TF132

Wordform: laeup jagx weex eel, maoh nuv naenl naih?
 WfGloss: where topic make, do, QUESTION 3S if large, bulky things this
 WfPOS: pro mkr v part pro conj CLS dem

FT: "What can I do?", he pondered on this.

TF133

Wordform: gonl gonl xis maoh nuv bens saoh nyih daeil bail xus lail
 WfGloss: ponder ponder then 3S see only make excuse die go then good
 WfPOS: v v adv pro v adv v comm v v adv adj

laeuc, liax,
 PERF asking for response
 part part

FT: After he thought it over, he concluded that the only way out was to commit suicide, then (everything) would be fine.

TF134

Wordform: jagx naih haeix mangc gangs qiangc, liax,
 WfGloss: large stuff this not everything speak, say season asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS dem neg pro v comm part

FT: "There is no other way to do it."

TF135

Wordform: ledk seiv liangx naih bail xus, seiv liangx loh naih bail xus
 WfGloss: finish four fifty grams this go then four fifty grams voice, life this go then
 WfPOS: v num CLS dem v adv num CLS comm dem v adv

lail laeuc
good PERF
adj part

FT: "End my life then everything will be over."

TF136

Wordform: jav maoh xus liax, qianh huangh beec jil bail xiangv
WfGloss: topic 3S then asking for response thousand way hundred method go think
WfPOS: mkr pro adv part num comm num comm v v

laeup hangc daeil, liax,
where way die asking for response
pro n v part

FT: Then he tried in a thousand and one ways to think of how he was going to die.

TF137

Wordform: hocgail yuh jiuu hoc ol, hocgail yuh biul laemx ngl liax,
WfGloss: or PROG hang neck question or PROG jump water question asking for response
WfPOS: conj part v comm part conj part v comm part part

FT: "Either hang myself or drown myself?", like this.

TF138

Wordform: laeni naeup yiuu lail bail nyingl?
WfGloss: object what PROG easy go a bit
WfPOS: CLS pro aux adj v comm

FT: "Which way is least painful?"

TF139

Wordform: haeix yah janl kueip nyingl? liax
WfGloss: not also, too eat suffering a bit asking for response
WfPOS: neg adv v comm comm part

FT: "Which is not that painful?"

TF140

Wordform: jagx jas yiuu saoh daeil bail yuh nyenh qop gids lic.
WfGloss: large stuff that PROG make die go PROG still fear pain confirming
WfPOS: CLS mkr aux v v v part adv v adj part

FT: When one is going to die, he is afraid of pain no matter what.

TF141

Wordform: maoh nuv jav xis bens laih hangc weex
WfGloss: 3S see then be only this way make, do
WfPOS: pro v adv aux adv dem n v

FT: He concluded then he would do it this way.

TF142

Wordform: nuv nyac jiuu hoc dil yah janl kueip
WfGloss: if 2S hang neck pause also, too eat suffering
WfPOS: conj pro v comm part adv v comm

FT: If you hang yourself, then that is painful.

TF143

Wordform: biul laemx naenl naih dil nuv bail taeuc xuix naenl
WfGloss: jump water large, bulky things this pause if go jump into water large, bulky things
WfPOS: v comm CLS dem part conj v v comm CLS

naih dil naenl naih qop lienc yiuu kuaiphoc nyingl, liax
this pause large, bulky things this may even PROG comfortable a bit asking for response
dem part CLS dem aux adv aux adj comm part

FT: "If you drowning yourself, this may be easier."

TF144

Wordform: nuv piaemp laos jagx maengl naeup bail laih jagx
WfGloss: if dropped into water quickly into large stuff pool what go this large stuff
WfPOS: conj part prep CLS comm pro v dem CLS

xis jingv bial laeuc, liax,
then tie large stone PERF asking for response
adv v comm part part

FT: "If you go quickly and jump into a river pool like this, and have a stone tied to your body"... let me tell you.

TF145

Wordform: jagx jas xis weengc sic haeix banlhuac laeuc, liax,
 WfGloss: large stuff that be must be not method, way PERF asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS mkr aux aux aux neg comm part part

FT: "There is no way to escape from this", let me tell you.

TF146

Wordform: piaemp luih bail haeix yiuu yingc mebl laemx
 WfGloss: dropped into water quickly descend go not need, want several mouth water
 WfPOS: part v v neg aux num CLS comm

xus daeil laeuc
 then die PERF
 adv v part

FT: "I will jump into the water and do not even need to take more than a few mouths of water, then die already."

TF147

Wordform: maoh xus xiangv xiangv dil, hngx, maoh nuv bail
 WfGloss: 3S then think think pause particle showing frustration 3S see go
 WfPOS: pro adv v v part part pro v v

daeis gaox eanc yah haeix meec jagx mangc laeuc
 look, watch inside house also, too not have large stuff what PERF
 v adv comm adv neg v CLS pro part

FT: He thought it over and over, hm, and he found that when looking around inside his house there was nothing there.

TF148

Wordform: xus sogx eanc bonl dah naenl naenl semx bail kaeip
 WfGloss: then track house check through cross large objects Large objects room go open
 WfPOS: adv v comm v conj CLS CLS comm v v

nuv dil xus naengl meec laenl semx dil xus nyenh naengl xic jav yenc
 see pause then still have object room pause then also still time, season that people
 v part adv adv v CLS comm part adv adv adv comm dem comm

laox meec jagx, meec jagx, heek, meec jagx mucxiangh liingl laox lac
 elder have large stuff have large stuff exactly have large stuff wooden box extremely big, large PERF
 adj v CLS v CLS part v CLS comm adv adv adj asp

FT: Then he searched through the house and went through each room, and there was one room in which his parents left a huge wood box.

TF149

Wordform: nyenh daeuh demc nyinc jav laol bail gongxiaohxeel
 WfGloss: also like unusual, unexpected year, years of age that we go collective store
 WfPOS: adv adv mkr n dem pro v comm

dil gabs demc jagx jas laeup mags leec, liax,
 pause joint unusual, unexpected large stuff that where big fact telling asking for response
 part v mkr CLS mkr pro adj int part part

FT: (They) made a very big one, like those found in the collective store.

TF150

Wordform: maoh yuh bail nuv xis, heex, maoh nuv naih naengl meec
 WfGloss: 3S again, then go see be laughing 3S see this still have
 WfPOS: pro adv v v aux part pro v dem adv v

jagx mucxiangh
 large stuff wooden box
 CLS comm

FT: He went to take a look again and: "Ha," he saw: "There is still one big wood box."

TF151

Wordform: jagx naih nyaengc mags nyaengc
 WfGloss: large stuff this very big really
 WfPOS: CLS dem adv adj int adv

FT: "This is really big!"

TF152

Wordform: qobs jongl leis wach yenc
 WfGloss: just contain able person people
 WfPOS: adv v part CLS comm

FT: "Just (big) enough to contain a person."

TF153

Wordform: maoh yuh dah yuh dah geec dengv jas xus
 WfGloss: 3S again, then from again, then from place, location dark there then
 WfPOS: pro adv conj adv conj comm adj adv adv

jaic ugs geec guangl daengl sedl penp nuv xis
 drag go out place, location bright come sweep dust see then
 v v comm adj int v v comm v adv

FT: He dragged out the box from the dark to the light and sweep dust...

TF154

Wordform: xic jav yenc laox nyenh nyaengx weex lail
 WfGloss: time, season that people elder also very make, do good
 WfPOS: comm dem comm adj adv adv v adj

FT: It was a really good, well-made box.

TF155

Wordform: ixhip, maoh nuv jagx hok naih lienc nyaengx lail ac
 WfGloss: shocking 3S if large stuff stuff this even very good surprised
 WfPOS: part pro conj CLS comm dem adv adv adj part

FT: Wow, he was impressed with the quality.

TF156

Wordform: qak tedk guangl, liax, heak huh jac
 WfGloss: paint paint bright asking for response red intensifier for redness sort of
 WfPOS: v comm adj int part adj adj int part

FT: It was painted a shiny red.

TF157

Wordform: bail aol lagx laengl bail kaip nuv xis
 WfGloss: go take, bring body part finger go clean see be
 WfPOS: v v part comm v v v aux

FT: He cleaned it by hand.

TF158

Wordform: jav maoh xus donh yenl luh dinl langc
 WfGloss: topic 3S then just lift descend foot open space within a dwelling
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv adv v v comm comm

daeux xus,
 PERF, already then
 part adv

FT: So he carried it down to an open space and ...

TF159

Wordform: dah wul laeuc ac donh naeip laemx yugx, liax,
 WfGloss: from aboard PERF pause just use water wash asking for response
 WfPOS: conj adv part part adv v comm v part

FT: (He) washed it with water from the top.

TF160

Wordform: meenh yugx yuh jagx jas nyaengc meenh maeik lis,
 WfGloss: further wash also large stuff that really further new surprising
 WfPOS: adv v adv CLS mkr adv adv adv adj part

liax,
 asking for response
 part

FT: The more he washed, the newer the box looked like.

TF161

Wordform: jagx jas haeix baov daeuh qiangp yuh haeix baov
 WfGloss: large stuff that not say passive sunlight also not say
 WfPOS: CLS mkr neg v mkr comm adv neg v

daeuh daeuh mienp
 passive passive rain
 mkr mkr comm

FT: (Because) it was not exposed to the sun or rain (much).

TF162

Wordform: · xul gaox jagx, gaox jagx semx naeup xis ic
 WfGloss: hide inside large stuff inside large stuff room what be pause
 WfPOS: v adv CLS adv CLS comm pro aux part

FT: (It) was stored in a room.

TF163

Wordform: hax, maoh nuv laenl naih doiv kenp lac,
 WfGloss: bingo 3S see object this right path PERF
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem adj comm asp

FT: Bingo! He found it: "This is what I want."

TF164

Wordform: yaoc yaoc yaoc gaeis yongh, jagx biul laemx naih, weex
 WfGloss: 1S 1S 1S NEG apply nominal jump water this make, do
 WfPOS: pro pro pro adv v mkr v comm dem v

naenl seic maoh taek geec laeup bail daeil lax, liax,
 Large objects free 3S arrive, reach place, location where go die SUG asking for response
 CLS v pro v comm pro v v part part

FT: "I won't jump into the water, (but) let me go wherever to die(flowing in the box)."

TF165

Wordform: maoh xus, heek, maoh xus, heek, nuv jas laos jagx jas
 WfGloss: 3S then exactly 3S then exactly if that enter large stuff that
 WfPOS: pro adv part pro adv part conj mkr v CLS mkr

bail xus
 go then
 v adv

FT: He then said, exactly, "if (I) go into that box..."

TF166

Wordform: demc xenh jas yah yuh nyenh daeuh laol xic
 WfGloss: unusual, unexpected moment that also, too also also like we time, season
 WfPOS: mkr comm mkr adv adv adv adv pro comm

naih hangc hongc-yangp dil lic, liax,
 this kind; type Hongxiang pause particle of confirming asking for response
 dem CLS prop part part part

FT: (What happened) that time was like what we have now at the Hongxiang Elementary school.

TF167

Wordform: demc xenh jas yuh sanv hagx haeux yedk laeux xih
 WfGloss: unusual, unexpected moment that also dismiss inform meal morning PERF be
 WfPOS: mkr comm mkr adv v v comm comm part aux

FT: (It was) the moment when the school was being dismissed for lunch (break).

TF168

Wordform: maoh nuv wul jiuc jas beel
 WfGloss: 3S see aboard bridge there go
 WfPOS: pro v adv comm adv v

FT: He decided to go to the bridge.

TF169

Wordform: waenl jas yuh doiv daeuh banv gangl xuis lic,
 WfGloss: day that again, then right like middle river water confirming
 WfPOS: comm mkr adv adj adv comm comm comm part

liax,
 asking for response
 part

FT: That day the water was happened to be high.

TF170

hangc	laemx,	hangc	laemx,	heek,	hangc	laemx	saml	nyodx	qaik
kind; type	water	kind; type	water	exactly	kind; type	water	three	month	rake
CLS	comm	CLS	comm	part	CLS	comm	num	comm	v

eav	jas	dil	hangc	jas	xis	ic
paddy	MAN	pause	kind; type	MAN	be	pause
comm	part	part	CLS	part	aux	part

FT: It was a good stream for paddy raking in the 3rd month of a lunar calendar year.

TF171

Wordform:	maoh	xus	bail	xis
WfGloss:	3S	then	go	be
WfPOS:	pro	adv	v	aux

FT: He went (for that).

TF172

Wordform:	aol	bail	wul	jiuc	jas	baix	xis
WfGloss:	take, bring	go	aboard	bridge	there	place	be
WfPOS:	v	v	adv	comm	adv	v	aux

FT: He took it onto the bridge there to display it.

TF173

Wordform:	maoh	baov	maenv	lagx	nuns	naih,	liax,
WfGloss:	3S	tell	those	child	tender, young	this	asking for response
WfPOS:	pro	v	pro	comm	adj	dem	part

FT: He told those kids: "let me tell you."

TF174

Wordform:	lagx	nuns	deic	xenh	janl	haeux	jonv
WfGloss:	child	tender, young	unusual, unexpected, surprising	moment	eat	meal	back
WfPOS:	comm	adj	mkr	comm	v	comm	adv

daeux	lus,	liax,
PERF, already	particle of fact confirming	asking for response
part	part	part

FT: At that moment, the kids were back from lunch, let me tell you.

TF175

Wordform:	geec	jas	xeds	daeis	maoh
WfGloss:	place, location	there	all	look, watch	3S
WfPOS:	comm	adv	num	v	pro

FT: Everyone watched him.

TF176

Wordform:	leis	nuv	baix	jagx	longx	heak	huh
WfGloss:	marker of experience	see	place	large stuff	large, long wooden box	red	intensifier for redness
WfPOS:	mkr	v	v	CLS	comm	adj	adj int

jas	xis	keep	xus	xais	maoh
MAN	be	they	then	ask	3S
part	aux	comm	adv	v	pro

FT: They saw that there was a huge red wood box so they asked him about it.

TF177

Wordform:	baov	nyac	nyac	beel	jagx	mangc	dil	mac	ax,	laih	hangc
WfGloss:	say	2S	2S	go	large stuff	what	pause	what	question	this	way
WfPOS:	v	pro	pro	v	CLS	pro	part	pro	part	dem	n

xais	maoh	xis
ask	3S	then
v	pro	adv

FT: "You, you want to sell it?", asked him like this.

TF178

Wordform:	maoh	baov	laeup	hax
WfGloss:	3S	say	where	ha
WfPOS:	pro	v	pro	part

FT: He said: "Where is that? (No!)"

TF179

Wordform: maoh baov yaoc yaoc yaoc xus laih hangc weex
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S 1S 1S will this way make, do
 WfPOS: pro v pro pro pro aux dem n v
 FT: He said: "(Instead) I will do it this way."

TF180

Wordform: yaoc laos jagx naih bail xus
 WfGloss: 1S enter large stuff this go then
 WfPOS: pro v CLS dem v adv
 FT: "(When) I go into this (box)."

TF181

Wordform: yaoc xus aol sinc guv xaol xus, liax,
 WfGloss: 1S then use, apply money reward 2P then asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm v pro adv part
 FT: "I will give you money for this."

TF182

Wordform: xaol xus daeic yaoc dal liaop laos nyap bax has, liax,
 WfGloss: 2P then disposable 1S come push into river go SUG asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv v pro v v prep comm v part part
 FT: "You kids then push me down into the river."

TF183

Wordform: dos sas qak bail laoc xus daeic daengl sas laeuc xus
 WfGloss: put lock onto go PERF then disposable come lock PERF then
 WfPOS: v comm prep v part adv v v come v part adv
 FT: "Put the lock on, and lock it closed."

TF184

Wordform: xaol xus xus liaop laos nyap bax has
 WfGloss: 2P then then push into river go SUG
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v prep comm v part
 FT: "You push (this) away into the river, OK?"

TF185

Wordform: lagx nuns beeh nuv leis dems, liax, nyingl sinc guv xis
 WfGloss: child young concession if obtain around asking for response a bit money reward then
 WfPOS: comm adj part conj v adv part comm comm v adv
 FT: Well, they were just kids, so they were willing for money...

TF186

Wordform: leis yingc yingc begs sinc guv xis, jagx lagx nuns
 WfGloss: obtain several several one hundred money reward then topic child young
 WfPOS: v num num num comm v adv mkr comm adj

weengc jaenc lic, liax,
 always be willing particle of confirming asking for response
 adv v part part

FT: For a few hundred, the kids would always willing (to do that).

TF187

Wordform: laeup qop nyac baov nyac daeil ax, iv
 WfGloss: where fear 2S say 2S die confirming extreme surprise
 WfPOS: pro v pro v pro v part part
 FT: (They) would not worry about your death at all.

TF188

Wordform: deenh nuv aol nyingl sinc guv xis ic
 WfGloss: once if use, apply a bit money reward then pause
 WfPOS: adv conj v comm comm v adv part
 FT: If given some money for doing what they asked about.

TF189

Wordform: jav meec seec xih nyenh kedk
 WfGloss: topic have a few be still refuse
 WfPOS: mkr v num aux adv v
 FT: But there were some who were not willing (to do it).

TF190

Wordform: meec seec baov nuv liaop jagx naih bail
 WfGloss: have a few say if push large stuff this go
 WfPOS: v num v conj v CLS dem v

FT: Some said: "If we push him away down (in the water)..."

TF191

Wordform: begx luih jagx naih bail naengl meec yenc heec
 WfGloss: fall heavily descend large stuff this go still have people assuring
 WfPOS: v v CLS dem v adv v comm part

FT: "There is no way he can survive this!"

TF192

Wordform: weengc bens daeil
 WfGloss: must only die
 WfPOS: aux adv v

FT: "He will die."

TF193

Wordform: gaox laih, gaox nyap naih kuip, kuip taeuk laeup bax
 WfGloss: inside this inside river this flow flow to where QUES, polite
 WfPOS: adv dem adv comm dem v v prep pro part

FT: "In the river, you will not go too far..."

TF194

Wordform: bens yiuu kuip luih bail dongv nyap xus
 WfGloss: only need, want flow descend go CLS for large, long, round stuff river will
 WfPOS: adv aux v v v CLS comm aux

daeil laeuc, laih eec
 die PERF this tell you the truth
 v part dem part

FT: "You will die after only flowing a certain distance", like this.

TF195

Wordform: seec yiuu mags nyingl, yiuu sings nyingl dil, jagx
 WfGloss: a few relatively big a bit relatively understand a bit pause large stuff
 WfPOS: num adv adj int comm adv v comm part CLS

jav dul qop heec
 that even frighten assuring
 dem adv v part

FT: Those who were older and knew more (said): "(There is) nothing to worry about."

TF196

Wordform: nuv maoh dul ugs sinc, laol yingc jagx dos dal
 WfGloss: if 3S even pay money we several people do come
 WfPOS: conj pro adv v comm pro num CLS v verb

FT: "Since he is offering the money, we will do it."

TF197

Wordform: jagx wul jiuc naih yuh lail liaop, liax,
 WfGloss: topic aboard bridge this also easy push asking for response
 WfPOS: mkr adv comm dem adv adj v part

FT: "Also, it is easy to push it away from this bridge."

TF198

Wordform: maoh baov xaol lagx nuns nuv leis qingk
 WfGloss: 3S say 2P child tender, young if marker of experience taste
 WfPOS: pro v pro comm adj conj mkr v

qaenp xis
 heavy then
 adj adv

FT: He said: "If you kids feel it is too heavy..."

TF199

Wordform: maoh xus yuh nyenh beenh demc jiuc gonv dil keep lac
 WfGloss: 3S then also also prepare unusual, unexpected for stick stick, pole to they PERF
 WfPOS: pro adv adv adv v mkr CLS comm prep comm asp

FT: He also prepared some sticks for them.

TF200

Wordform: maoh baov jav xus ngeeux laos bail xus
 WfGloss: 3S say then then pry into go then
 WfPOS: pro v adv adv v prep v adv
 FT: He said: "Use your sticks to pry the box."

TF201

Wordform: dongc hueek dongc hueek bens yiuu heemx il nacnyeec
 WfGloss: together strength together strength only need, want shout one time
 WfPOS: adv comm adv comm adv aux v num CLS

xus luih baov, maoh baov
 then descend PERF 3S say
 adv v part pro v

FT: "(You) work together and one good push will drop the box in the water," he said.

TF202

Wordform: maoh wanc songv biinl jiuc jas laoc lus
 WfGloss: 3S already put down beside bridge there PERF particle of fact confirming
 WfPOS: pro adv v adv comm adv part part

FT: He had already placed those sticks on the side of the bridge.

TF203

Wordform: xus nyaengc laC, maoh xus laos jagx jas bail lac
 WfGloss: then really PERF 3S then enter large stuff that go PERF
 WfPOS: adv adv part pro adv v CLS mkr v asp

FT: So he went into (the box).

TF204

Wordform: laos jagx jas bail xis maoh gaov jagx jas weengc
 WfGloss: enter large stuff that go be 3S inside large stuff there always
 WfPOS: v CLS mkr v aux pro adv CLS adv adv

leis yox leec
 marker of experience know fact telling
 mkr v part

FT: Once he was inside, he knew what was happening outside.

TF205

Wordform: maoh baov jav yiuu dos sas qak bail lux
 WfGloss: 3S say then need, want put lock onto go warning
 WfPOS: pro v adv aux v comm prep v part

FT: He said: "Then you need put the lock on."

TF206

Wordform: heex, keep xus dos sas qak bail lail laeuc xus
 WfGloss: laughing 3P then put lock onto go ready PERF then
 WfPOS: part pro adv v comm prep v adj part adv

FT: Right, they put the lock on and...

TF207

Wordform: baov keep liaop luh, jav xih
 WfGloss: tell 3P push attention drawing then be
 WfPOS: v pro v part adv aux

FT: (He) told them: "Push now, really hard."

TF208

Wordform: xus dos lic, hoh jas xus
 WfGloss: then do particle of confirming group that then
 WfPOS: adv v part CLS mkr adv

FT: So (they) started to do that.

TF209

Wordform: daeic jagx jav- daengl liaop bemv gaov nyap bail xus
 WfGloss: disposable large stuff then come push swift action inside river go as for
 WfPOS: v CLS adv v v mkr adv comm v mkr

FT: Then those pushed that box down into the river.

TF210

Wordform: jagx lagx nuns beeh naengl wul jas daeis
 WfGloss: people child tender, young concession? still aboard there look, watch
 WfPOS: CLS comm adj part adv adv adv v

lic, maengx nyeblnyins, liax,
 particle of confirming happy intensifier asking for response
 part adj mkr part

FT: The kids watched the box from the bridge, very excitedly. That is true.

TF211

Wordform: kuip jagx jas heak huh jas kuip luih nyap
 WfGloss: flow large stuff that red intensifier for redness MAN flow descend river
 WfPOS: v CLS mkr adj int part v v comm

bail, liax,
 go asking for response
 v part

FT: The red box flowed down into the river stream.

TF212

Wordform: laeup gangs nyac baov meec jagx yenc gaox jas
 WfGloss: where speak, say 2S say have people people inside there
 WfPOS: pro v pro v v CLS comm adv adv

yuh bens qop daeil ax
 also only frighten die confirming
 adv adv v v part

FT: They didn't care that there was a person inside and didn't worry he might die (because of it).

TF213

Wordform: maoh jagx jas damlxingc daeil dil jagx
 WfGloss: 3S people that no matter what die POSS reason
 WfPOS: pro CLS mkr adv v part part

FT: (Because) he, himself, wanted to die anyway.

TF214

Wordform: maoh maoh nyaengc miav nyaengc laeuc leec
 WfGloss: 3S 3S really sad really PERF fact telling
 WfPOS: pro pro adv adj adv part part

FT: He was so sad.

TF215

Wordform: jagx jas keep xic xic bens janl eac maoh
 WfGloss: large stuff that 3P time, season time, season only eat two 3S
 WfPOS: CLS mkr pro comm comm adv v num pro

jas xis ic
 that then pause
 mkr adv part

FT: (About) the fact that he ("they" on surface) had depended on the other two all the time.

TF216

Wordform: xus kuip luih bail lac
 WfGloss: then flow descend go PERF
 WfPOS: adv v v v asp

FT: Then (the box) floated away downstream.

TF217

Wordform: kuip luih jal dil kuip bail kuip daengl xis taeuk geec
 WfGloss: flow descend there pause flow go flow come be arrive, reach place, location
 WfPOS: v v adv part v v v v aux v comm

jagx lionx maengl bail lic, liax,
 large stuff riverband pool go particle of confirming asking for response
 CLS comm comm v part part part

FT: Floated down there, and floated all the way to the river pool there, let me tell you.

TF218

Wordform: heek, taeuk geec jagx keep saoh janl bail lic
 WfGloss: exactly arrive, reach place, location large stuff 3P cook eat go confirming
 WfPOS: part v comm CLS pro v v v part
 FT: Exactly(comment to audience's input), he arrived where they were cooking.

TF219

Wordform: jav xis lienh jas ac keep xis gani qobs xogx, liax,
 WfGloss: topic be moment that two 3P be so-called just ripe, cooked asking for response
 WfPOS: mkr aux comm mkr num pro aux adj adv adj part
 FT: Then at that moment they had just finished cooking, let me tell you.

TF220

Wordform: qobs qis xiangv kaihtanh
 WfGloss: just initiate want start dining
 WfPOS: adv v v v
 FT: And were thinking of eating.

TF221

Wordform: xis waoh waoh waoh meenh weex lol jas waoh nyagl jas
 WfGloss: but person person person often make, do boat that person small that
 WfPOS: conj CLS CLS CLS adv v comm mkr CLS adj mkr

xis: eex, maoh baov: ac baos ac
 then sighing 3S say HON older brother pause
 adv part pro v part comm part

FT: Then the younger one who often worked on the boat said: "Hi! My old brother."

TF222

Wordform: heek jagx naih jagx naih jagx naih xogx xis xogx
 WfGloss: exactly large stuff this large stuff this large stuff this ripe, cooked be ripe, cooked
 WfPOS: part CLS dem CLS dem CLS dem adj aux adj

laeuc, duis qak xongc duis qak xongc dul beix jens janl gunv huc
 PERF ladle onto table ladle onto table even do not imminent eat first suggesting
 part v prep comm v prep comm adv adv adj v adv part

FT: Exactly (response to audience input), "Even though everything" is ready, (and some of it is) placed on the table, do not eat yet!"

TF223

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac nuv geec wul jux, kuip jagx
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S see place, location above, upper end attention flow large stuff
 WfPOS: pro v pro v comm adv part v CLS

longx heak huh jas luih daengl
 large, long wooden box red intensifier for redness MAN descend come
 comm adj adj int part v v

FT: He said: "Look to the upper stream! There is a huge red wood box floating down (toward us)."

TF224

Wordform: geec wul jas gox kuip eanc yah gox mangc
 WfGloss: place, location above, upper end there do not know flow house also, too do not know what
 WfPOS: comm adv adv v v comm adv v pro

huc, liax,
 questioning asking for response
 part part

FT: "(I) do not know whether it is a house being washed down toward us) or something."

TF225

Wordform: iv, nuv jav ac laol laoc jagx jas jenc daengl,
 WfGloss: extreme surprise if then two we take out of water large stuff that up come
 WfPOS: part conj adv num pro v CLS mkr adv v

gaox jagx jas weengc meec hok leec,
 inside large stuff there must have stuff fact telling
 adv CLS adv aux v comm part

FT: "Wow, if we (can) get it, there must be something inside"

TF226

Wordform: iv, gaoclaoc jav yuh bail dil
 WfGloss: extreme surprise married man then again, then go pause
 WfPOS: part comm adv adv v part
 FT: "Wow", that man then went to take a look and...

TF227

Wordform: nyaengc luh, jagx longx heak huh jas
 WfGloss: really attention drawing large stuff large, long wooden box red redness MAN
 WfPOS: adv part CLS comm adj adj int part

luh, liax,
 attention drawing asking for response
 part part

FT: "True, there is a huge red wood box."

TF228

Wordform: jagx jas gaoclaoc jav yah jav xis ac keep
 WfGloss: large stuff that married man that also, too then be two 3P
 WfPOS: CLS mkr comm dem adv adv aux num pro

xus qenc bail lic
 then stop go particle of confirming
 adv v v part

FT: The other man also (did) that and they stopped (the boat) there.

TF229

Wordform: yak, hoik daengl hoik daengl,
 WfGloss: wow fast come fast come
 WfPOS: interj adj v adj v

FT: "Watch! (You) come quickly, come quickly. "

TF230

Wordform: ac keep xus songv lol xus, liax, laos
 WfGloss: two 3P then release, put boat then asking for response enter
 WfPOS: num pro adv v comm adv part v

laos nyap, dav nyap, bail lac
 enter river middle river go PERF
 v comm adj comm v asp

FT: So they rowed that boat and, let me tell you, (they) went to the middle of the river.

TF231

Wordform: dav nyap bail bail bail geec jas bail kuans lac
 WfGloss: middle river go go go place, location there go guard PERF
 WfPOS: adj comm v v v comm adv v v asp

FT: (In) the middle of the river there to guard (wait).

TF232

Wordform: jagx jas xus nyaengc dah wul jas kuip taeuk jeel
 WfGloss: large stuff that then really from above, upper end there flow to beside
 WfPOS: CLS mkr adv adv conj adv adv v prep adv

ac keep jas xis, liax
 two 3P there then asking for response
 num pro adv adv part

FT: The box came up beside them. Let me tell you this.

TF233

Wordform: ac keep xus huaik jagx jas qak lol jenc dal lic
 WfGloss: two 3P then grab large stuff that onto boat up come confirming
 WfPOS: num pro adv v CLS mkr prep comm adv v part

FT: They scooped and got it into the boat, ya know.

TF234

Wordform: huaik jagx jas qak lol daengl xis jagx jas nyenh qaenp leec
 WfGloss: grab large stuff that onto boat come be large stuff that also heavy fact telling
 WfPOS: v CLS mkr prep comm v aux CLS mkr adv adj part

FT: Hoisted it into the boat and it was so heavy, to tell you the truth.

TF235

Wordform: meec jagx yenc gaox jagx jas xis liax,
 WfGloss: have people people inside large stuff that be asking for response
 WfPOS: v CLS comm adv CLS mkr aux part

FT: (Because) there was a man inside it, ya know.

TF236

Wordform: ix, heek, demc begs dah jenl ac
 WfGloss: yes, agreeing exactly unusual, unexpected one hundred exceed JIN, 500 grams surprised
 WfPOS: adv part mkr num v CLS part

FT: Right, exactly, it was more than a hundred pounds (actually 50kgs).

TF237

Wordform: geis xis nyaengx benl il qik xus wenv dul suds
 WfGloss: NEG be really work hard one breath then sweat even leak, come out
 WfPOS: adv aux adv v num CLS adv comm adv v

daengl lic
 come confirming
 v part

FT: No wonder that after working only just a short while, (they) were sweating.

TF238

Wordform: jagx jas weengc yox daeuh leis sinc leec
 WfGloss: large stuff that must know appropriate obtain money fact telling
 WfPOS: CLS mkr aux v adj v comm part

FT: For that large box (they) knew in fact (they) would get money, for sure.

TF239

Wordform: nuv kuip jagx hok, weengc meec hok gaox jas
 WfGloss: if flow large stuff stuff must have stuff inside there
 WfPOS: conj v CLS comm aux v comm adv adv

FT: If it floated away, there must be something inside it. (Audience comment occurred afterward).

TF240

Wordform: heek, xangh qaenp xangh sanxjenl leec
 WfGloss: exactly further heavy further work hard fact telling
 WfPOS: part adv adj adv v part

FT: Exactly! The heavier (the box was), the harder they worked (because they assumed it had greater value).

TF241

Wordform: qaengk jagx jas jenc daengl xis
 WfGloss: drag large stuff that up come then
 WfPOS: v CLS mkr adv v adv

FT: (They) dragged it up (out of the water).

TF242

Wordform: iv, jagx naih nyaengc jiangc hoh
 WfGloss: extreme surprise large stuff this really better a lot, much
 WfPOS: part CLS dem adv adj adj

FT: "Wow, it is huge."

TF243

Wordform: dos sas ac, wul naih
 WfGloss: put lock surprised above, upper end this
 WfPOS: v comm part adv dem

FT: "There is a lock on it."

TF244

Wordform: jagx naih laeup weex kaeip ax? liax,
 WfGloss: large stuff this where make, do open question asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS dem pro v v part part

FT: "How to open it?", let me tell you.

TF245

Wordform: yuh haeix meec yoxxic bens meec jagx sas wul naih
 WfGloss: also not have key only have large stuff lock above, upper end this
 WfPOS: adv neg v comm adv v CLS comm adv dem

FT: "We do not have a key, (and) there is a lock on it."

TF246

Wordform: heek, baov jav jav daov, weex ngeeux maoh bail mac
 WfGloss: exactly say then then opposite make, do pry 3S go SUG
 WfPOS: part v adv adv adj v v pro v part

FT: That's right. The other one said: "Well (let's) pry it open."

TF247

Wordform: waenl lenc xillingh anl laenl qak dul gaeis yiuvjens mac, liax,
 WfGloss: day later redo install object onto even NEG important SUG asking for response
 WfPOS: comm prep v v CLS prep adv adv adj part part

FT: "Later (we'll) put back another lock on it. There is no problem at all."

TF248

Wordform: weengc yiuw kaeip gaox jas nuw nuw meec jagx mangc leec
 WfGloss: must PROG open inside there see see have large stuff what fact telling
 WfPOS: aux aux v adv adv v v v CLS pro part

FT: "We must open this and see what is inside."

TF249

Wordform: eac jagx jas xus ngeeux qak lol daengl laeuc xus
 WfGloss: two people that then pry onto boat come PERF then
 WfPOS: num CLS mkr adv v prep comm v part adv

naeip hangc jaos miax dids mal, hangc jaos hangc miax dids
 use kind; type head knife cut vegetable kind; type head kind; type knife cut
 v CLS comm comm v comm CLS comm CLS comm v

mal dil jaos xus ngeeux lic
 vegetable pause head then pry particle of confirming
 comm part comm adv v part

FT: So the two guys pulled that box aboard that boat, and used the tip of the knife for vegetable cutting to pry (open the box).

TF250

Wordform: ngeeux waih jagx jas bail xis
 WfGloss: pry disfunctional large stuff that go then
 WfPOS: v adj CLS mkr v adv

FT: (They) pried that (lock) out.

TF251

Wordform: xus kaeip nuw
 WfGloss: then open see
 WfPOS: adv v v

FT: Then (they) opened that (box).

TF252

Wordform: eex heip, kaeip nuw jagx yenc ac
 WfGloss: sighing surprised open see people people surprised
 WfPOS: part part v v CLS comm part

FT: Aha, opened it, (and there was) a man!

TF253

Wordform: laoc jenc nuw nyenh jagx jas lic
 WfGloss: take out of water up see still people that confirming
 WfPOS: v adv v adv CLS mkr part

FT: Took it out of the water and there he was!

TF254

Wordform: eex heip, baov laenl naih, liax,
 WfGloss: sighing surprised say object this asking for response
 WfPOS: part part v CLS dem part

FT: Aha, saying: "(Look at) this!" let me tell you.

TF255

Wordform: ngik, ac laol jagx naih laeup weex xeis, liax,
 WfGloss: regretting two we large stuff this how make, do sighing, disappointed asking for response
 WfPOS: part num pro CLS dem pro v part part

FT: "What can you say? For this, we are helpless", let me tell you .

TF256

Wordform: jagx jas xiangv jav dul lagx nyingl naih dul boih
 WfGloss: abstract that think that even diminutive a bit this even hide information
 WfPOS: mkr mkr v dem adv CLS comm dem adv v

maoh geis leep, liax,
 3S unable disappointed asking for response
 pro part part part

FT: "We thought of avoiding him and yet we cannot keep this meal party from him either", let me tell you.

TF257

Wordform: heek, nyenh jagx jas daengl leep
 WfGloss: exactly still people that come disappointed
 WfPOS: part adv CLS mkr v part

FT: Exactly, still here he came.

TF258

Wordform: yav geec jas qobs xogx lus
 WfGloss: that place, location there just ripe, cooked fact confirming
 WfPOS: dem comm adv adv adj part

FT: They had just cooked (those foods) ready.

TF259

Wordform: heek, wanc yiuw laop maoh lus
 WfGloss: exactly originally PROG keep away 3S fact confirming
 WfPOS: part adv aux v pro part

FT: Exactly, they originally wanted to avoid him.

TF260

Wordform: hngx, gaoclaoc xeengl lol jas baov:
 WfGloss: particle showing frustration married man row boat that say
 WfPOS: part comm v comm mkr v

FT: "Hmmm", the boat man said.

TF261

Wordform: jagx naih haeix mangc gangs jiangc
 WfGloss: large stuff this not what speak, say better
 WfPOS: CLS dem neg pro v adj

FT: "We have nothing more to say about this."

TF262

Wordform: jagx naih beds seih juijjenl, liax,
 WfGloss: large stuff this eight character determine asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS dem num comm v part

FT: "This is determined by fortune."

TF263

Wordform: ac laol xiangv pieenk maoh dul
 WfGloss: two we want cheat 3S even
 WfPOS: num pro v v pro adv

FT: "We wanted to avoid him."

TF264

Wordform: heek, nuv ac laol beix tanh jagx habk naih kongp
 WfGloss: exactly if two we do not be greedy, corrupt large stuff large box this tag question
 WfPOS: part conj num pro adv v CLS comm dem mkr

jav kongp nyenh pieenk maoh leec
 then tag question also cheat 3S fact telling
 adv mkr adv v pro part

FT: Exactly, "If we were not greedy for this box, then we would have been able to avoid him, wouldn't we?"

TF265

Wordform: ac laol yuh nyenh leis nuv jagx jas jav xiangv qop
 WfGloss: two we also still marker of experience see large stuff that that want may
 WfPOS: num pro adv adv mkr v CLS mkr dem v aux

meeec sinc xus bail laoc jagx jas qak lol dal, liax,
 have money then go PERF large stuff that onto boat come asking for response
 v comm adv v part CLS mkr prep comm v part

FT: "We saw this and thought that there is money inside it, so went to grab it out of the water."

TF266

Wordform: jagx naih haeix leix mangc gangs, iv,
 WfGloss: abstract this not words what speak, say extreme surprise
 WfPOS: mkr dem neg comm pro v part

FT: "We are speechless about all this."

TF267

Wordform: ix... jagx jas jagx jas, (laughing) hix,
 WfGloss: yes, agreeing large stuff that abstract that what can you say?
 WfPOS: adv CLS mkr mkr mkr part

FT: "Right...that.. that...What can you say? "

TF268

Wordform: jav xus gaoclaoc baos mags jas xus maoh jagx
 WfGloss: topic then married man older brother big that then 3S people
 WfPOS: mkr adv comm comm adj int mkr adv pro CLS

jas dogx leec dil yenc xus, maoh maoh yiuV banl-huac jungc
 that read book pause people then 3S 3S PROG method plentiful
 mkr v comm part comm adv pro pro aux comm adj

nyingl lax, liax,
 a bit PI asking for response
 comm part part

FT: Well then the older one, he read more books, so he had more ideas (about doing things).

TF269

Wordform: maoh nuV naenl naih
 WfGloss: 3S see large, bulky things this
 WfPOS: pro v CLS dem

FT: He looked at the situation.

TF270

Wordform: maoh weengc xiangv pieenk jagx jas leec, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S must want cheat people that fact telling asking for response
 WfPOS: pro aux v v CLS mkr part part

FT: He had tried to find a way to avoid that (poor guy).

TF271

Wordform: jav maoh xus baov waoh nyagl jas
 WfGloss: topic 3S then tell person small that
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v CLS adj mkr

FT: So he told the younger one (the poor guy).

TF272

Wordform: maoh baov naenl naih yav hangc weex, laol waenl naih,
 WfGloss: 3S say large, bulky things this that way make, do we day this
 WfPOS: pro v CLS dem dem n v pro comm dem

FT: He said: "Today, let's do it this way."

TF273

Wordform: laol waenl naih weex naenl xihdeil, liax,
 WfGloss: we day this make, do large, bulky things anthithetical couplet asking for response
 WfPOS: pro comm dem v CLS comm part

FT: "Today let's produce anthithetical couplets", let me tell you.

TF274

Wordform: nuV waoh naeup gangs leis doiv ac xus, xus janl, liax,
 WfGloss: if person who speak, say able right pause then then eat asking for response
 WfPOS: conj CLS pro v part adj part adv adv v part

FT: "If anyone can produce a right one, then (you can) eat."

TF275

Wordform: gangs geis doiv dil xus xus beix janl, liax,
 WfGloss: speak, say unable right pause then then do not eat asking for response
 WfPOS: v part adj part adv adv adv v part

FT: "If you can not produce a right one, then (you can) not eat."

TF276

Wordform: ganl ganl yiisul gangs jav xis waoh naeup jas xis
 WfGloss: so-called so-called meaning speak, say then be person who that be
 WfPOS: adj adj comm v adv aux CLS pro mkr aux

yiuv kaeip sinc dil hangc yanghdeis
 need, want pay money pause kind; type alike
 aux v comm part CLS adv

FT: That meant if anyone (could not, he) needed to pay (for the meal), something like that.

TF277

Wordform: nyaengc miav nyaengc daeux xis, liax,
 WfGloss: really sad really PERF, already be asking for response
 WfPOS: adv adj adv part aux part

FT: (They) were already so unhappy.

TF278

Wordform: nuv gangs haeix doiv xus nyac yah haeix leis janl
 WfGloss: if speak, say not right then 2S also, too not marker of experience eat
 WfPOS: conj v neg adj adv pro adv neg mkr v

FT: If one cannot produce a right one, then he could not eat.

TF279

Wordform: xus bens nuv eac jagx jav
 WfGloss: then only see two people that
 WfPOS: adv adv v num CLS dem

FT: Then (he) could watch the other two to have that meal.

TF280

Wordform: yah maoh jagx jas haeix dogx leec laeup meec jagx gangs
 WfGloss: also, too 3S people that not read book how have abstract speak, say
 WfPOS: adv pro CLS mkr neg v comm pro v mkr v

leis jagx maenv, liax,
 able abstract those asking for response
 part mkr pro part

FT: The poor guy had not attended school, how (would he) know how to do it ...?

TF281

Wordform: nuv weex maenv xihdeil laeup gangs leis ax
 WfGloss: as for make, do those anthithetical couplet where speak, say able confirming
 WfPOS: prep v pro comm pro v part part

FT: How would he say a couplet?

TF282

Wordform: xus ac keep yuh wanc il yah hangc xeengl liangc
 WfGloss: then two 3P also already alike that way RECIPIENT discuss
 WfPOS: adv num pro adv adv adv pro n part v

laeuc, yenp waoh waoh baos nyagl jas xus
 PERF with, and person person older brother small that then
 part prep CLS CLS comm adj mkr adv

FT: So they two had already discussed about the (idea), with the younger one(the poor guy).

TF283

Wordform: nyaengc taeuk xic, liax, yip yip yip songv
 WfGloss: really to time, season asking for response once once once put down
 WfPOS: adv prep comm part adv adv adv v

gaems daol qak baox xis, liax,
 lid, cover cooking pot onto PERF then asking for response
 comm comm prep part adv part

FT: (Then) at that very moment, let me tell you, once they had put the cover of the cooking pot up there.

TF284

Wordform: aol jagx jas weex xongc xis
 WfGloss: use, apply large stuff that make, do table be
 WfPOS: v CLS mkr v comm aux

FT: (They) used that cover as a dining table.

TF285

Wordform: wul jagx jas xus wul lol xus baix qak
 WfGloss: above, upper end large stuff that then aboard boat then place onto
 WfPOS: adv CLS mkr adv adv comm adv v prep

beel lic, liax,
 go particle of confirming asking for response
 v part part

FT: On the board of the boat, placing (the dishes) there.

TF286

Wordform: baix qak beel xis
 WfGloss: place onto go then
 WfPOS: v prep v adv

FT: (They) placed (them) there.

TF287

Wordform: xus xus dos geec jas xus xus jenxbiil janl lic, liax,
 WfGloss: then then put place there then then prepare eat confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: adv adv v comm adv adv adv v v part part

FT: Then, placed it there and were ready to dine, let me tell you.

TF288

Wordform: xis baos mags jas xus il laih hangc gangs:
 WfGloss: then older brother big that as for alike this way speak, say
 WfPOS: adv comm adj int mkr mkr adv dem n v

: So the oldest brother said in this way.

TF289

Wordform: maoh baov: yav hangc hoc
 WfGloss: 3S say that way SUG with mild, soft tone
 WfPOS: pro v dem n part

FT: He said: "Let's do this that way."

TF290

Wordform: laol waenl naih yah ganl jenl jicliongx dongc laih liaengl laoc
 WfGloss: we day this also, too so-called genuine siblings together this long PERF
 WfPOS: pro comm dem adv adj adj comm adv dem adj part

FT: "Today we real brothers have spent days together for this long."

TF291

Wordform: meix baov waenl naeup xis heek, kuanh lagx nyingl xiangxqiangc
 WfGloss: yet say day what then exactly chat diminutive a bit enjoyable, comfortable
 WfPOS: adv v comm pro adv part v CLS comm adj

nyingl hoc
 a bit SUG with mild, soft tone
 comm part

FT: "We have never really talked."

TF292

Wordform: waenl naih saoh laenl naih ganl, ganl laenl mal naih laol laih
 WfGloss: day this cook object this name name object dish this we this
 WfPOS: comm dem v CLS dem comm comm CLS comm dem pro dem

liaengl naengl meix waenl naeup aol hangc mal laih lail
 long still yet day what buy kind; type dish this good
 adj adv adv comm pro v CLS comm dem adj

FT: "Today we cooked these...these dishes so long we have never done this before."

TF293

Wordform: yuh meix saoh leis il laih hangc hangc weildaol, liax,
 WfGloss: also yet cook obtain alike this kind; type kind; type taste asking for response
 WfPOS: adv adv v v adv dem CLS CLS comm part

FT: "Also (we) have never cooked in these kind of (good) flavors."

TF294

Wordform: jagx maenv xiangliaol yah aol jungc lus
 WfGloss: large stuff those spice also, too buy plentiful fact confirming
 WfPOS: CLS pro comm adv v adj part

FT: "The spices we also bought a lot."

TF295

Wordform: jav nuv jav xis laol waenl naih weex nyngl xihdeil
 WfGloss: topic if then be we day this make, do a bit anthithetical couplet
 WfPOS: mkr conj adv aux pro comm dem v comm comm

huc, liax,
 suggesting asking for response
 part part
 FT: "So let's produce couplet now."

TF296

Wordform: il laih hangc xis waoh baos nyih baov:
 WfGloss: alike this kind; type then person older brother second say
 WfPOS: adv dem CLS adv CLS comm num v

FT: (He said) something like this kind, so the second older brother said:

TF297

Wordform: dos mac
 WfGloss: do agreeing
 WfPOS: v part

FT: "OK/alright."

TF298

Wordform: yah daeuh mac, nuv nyac il yah hangc gangs xis ic
 WfGloss: also, too appropriate agreeing see 2S alike that way speak, say be pause
 WfPOS: adv adj part v pro adv pro n v aux part

FT: "(It) is OK, if you say it that way."

TF299

Wordform: xis jagx hok jagx waoh waoh bens jaiv keep janl xis
 WfGloss: but large stuff stuff people person person only depend on 3P eat then
 WfPOS: conj CLS comm CLS CLS CLS adv v pro v adv

maoh laeup yox gangs xihdeil ax
 3S where know speak, say anthithetical couplet confirming
 pro v v comm part

FT: But the person who depended on them did not know how.

TF300

Wordform: jagx jas ac keep xeds baov yah jagx jas maoh yah haeix
 WfGloss: abstract that two 3P all say also, too abstract that 3S also, too not
 WfPOS: mkr mkr num pro num v adv mkr mkr pro adv neg

banl-huac
 method
 comm

FT: They said to do it, he could not refuse.

TF301

Wordform: maoh jagx jas laeup yox gangs xihdeil ax
 WfGloss: 3S people that where know speak, say anthithetical couplet confirming
 WfPOS: pro CLS mkr pro v v comm part

FT: He did not know how to say couplet at all.

TF302

Wordform: jav xus nyaengc lac
 WfGloss: topic then really PERF
 WfPOS: mkr adv adv asp

FT: So really (there they were).

TF303

Wordform: baos keep xus baov:
 WfGloss: older brother 3P then say
 WfPOS: comm pro adv v

FT: His old(est) brother then said: ...

TF304

Wordform: jav xus yiuV xus nuV laol xeds weex yuh weex
 WfGloss: topic then PROG then if we all make, do also make, do
 WfPOS: mkr adv aux adv conj pro num v adv v

nyingl xihdeil xus yah daeuh mac
 a bit anthithetical couplet then also, too appropriate agreeing
 comm comm adv adv adj part

FT: "Well, then (we) want to.. if we all make, also produce some couplets, then that is good "

TF305

Wordform: jav naeuc gangs gunv huc, maoh xus
 WfGloss: topic who speak, say first questioning 3S then
 WfPOS: mkr pro v adv part pro adv

FT: "Then whose goes first?", he then (said).

TF306

Wordform: jagx baos nyih jas xus baov: naeuc gangs gunv eec,
 WfGloss: people older brother second that then say who speak, say first tell you the truth
 WfPOS: CLS comm num mkr adv v pro v adv part

nyac baos mags gangs gunv mac
 2S older brother big speak, say first SUG
 pro comm adj int v adv part

FT: The middle brother then said: "Let me tell the truth, no one but you the oldest one go first."

TF307

Wordform: naengx dah nyac daengl mac, liax,
 WfGloss: immediately from 2S come agreeing asking for response
 WfPOS: adv conj pro v part part

FT: "Let's start with you."

TF308

Wordform: jav xus nyaengc lac
 WfGloss: topic then really PERF
 WfPOS: mkr adv adv asp

FT: So then really...

TF309

Wordform: xus weex xihdeil lac
 WfGloss: then make, do anthithetical couplet PERF
 WfPOS: adv v comm asp

FT: Then they said couplets.

TF310

Wordform: xus yiuV gangs xihdeil jingv janl lac
 WfGloss: then need, want speak, say anthithetical couplet only eat PERF
 WfPOS: adv aux v comm adv v asp

FT: Then (they) needed to say couplets and after that then they could eat.

TF311

Wordform: jav xus gaoc baos mags keep dil xus maoh
 WfGloss: then then adult man older brother big 3P pause then 3S
 WfPOS: adv adv comm comm adj int pro part adv pro

gangs gunv lic
 speak, say first particle of confirming
 v adv part

FT: So then their oldest brother, he spoke first.

TF312

Wordform: maoh xis weex jagx laoxsuh xis
 WfGloss: 3S be make, do people teacher then
 WfPOS: pro aux v CLS comm adv

FT: He was a teacher.

TF313

Wordform: xic jav jagx dogx leec xis haeix daeuh xic naih
 WfGloss: time, season that nominal read book be not like time, season this
 WfPOS: comm dem mkr v comm aux neg adv comm dem

FT: At that time the study practice was different from (what we do at) now.

TF314

Wordform:	xic	jav	laol	jagx	dogx	laox	xoc	naih	xis	ganl	jagx
WfGloss:	time, season	that	we	abstract	alone	elder	study	this	be	so-called	nominal
WfPOS:	comm	dem	pro	mkr	adv	adj	v	dem	aux	adj	mkr

bail	geeus	seih	naih	jas	geeus	xah	seih	xis,	naih	xis
go	teach	character	this	that	teach	write	character	be	this	be
v	v	comm	dem	mkr	v	v	comm	aux	dem	aux

FT: Before we studied the old academic way and the students went to study how to write (Chinese) characters, teach how to write characters.

TF315

Wordform:	aol	jagx	jagx	jagx	liinl	heak	daengl	waenc
WfGloss:	take, bring	large stuff	large stuff	large stuff	stone	red	come	rub
WfPOS:	v	CLS	CLS	CLS	comm	adj	v	v

laoc	xus	xus,	liax,
PERF	then	then	asking for response
part	adv	adv	part

FT: (We) took the red (dye) stone to grind ink, right?

TF316

Wordform:	taeuk	xic	xus	aol	jagx	jagx	laemx	magx	xus
WfGloss:	to	time, season	then	use, apply	large stuff	large stuff	water	ink	then
WfPOS:	prep	comm	adv	v	CLS	CLS	comm	comm	adv

bail	jinc
go	fill in
v	v

FT: To that moment, (we) then used that (resulted) ink to fill in.

TF317

Wordform:	kaihix	jagx	xic	naih	hangc	youleec	tuk	naih	xis,	liax,
WfGloss:	begin	abstract	time, season	this	way	kids	hare	this	then	asking for response
WfPOS:	v	mkr	comm	dem	n	comm	comm	dem	adv	part

FT: At the beginning (like) today's kindergarten.

TF318

Wordform:	heek,	gebx	seih	heak
WfGloss:	exactly	copy	character	red
WfPOS:	part	v	comm	adj

FT: Exactly, copying the red characters.

TF319

Wordform:	heek,	maoh	xus	baov	laeup	hangc	huc,	liax,
WfGloss:	exactly	3S	then	say	how	way	questioning	asking for response
WfPOS:	part	pro	adv	v	pro	n	part	part

FT: "Exactly", he asked then: "What to do next?" something like that.

TF320

Wordform:	jav	maoh	xus	gaoclaoc	baos	mags	keep	xus	gangs
WfGloss:	topic	3S	then	married man	older brother	big	3P	then	speak, say
WfPOS:	mkr	pro	adv	comm	comm	adj int	pro	adv	v

FT: So the oldest brother then said.

TF321

Wordform:	jav	maoh	baov	maoh	xus	bens	gangs	maoh	dil
WfGloss:	then	3S	say	3S	then	only	speak, say	3S	POSS
WfPOS:	adv	pro	v	pro	adv	adv	v	pro	part

wags	biedl	jas	sangx	loh,	liax,
long, thin objects	pen	that	feed	voice, life	asking for response
CLS	comm	mkr	v	comm	part

FT: So he said, he only talked about his pen of living.

TF322

Wordform: maoh baov:
 WfGloss: 3S say
 WfPOS: pro v
 FT: He said:

TF323

Wordform: hongc biic xiex ac, xus heec biic gail, deec
 WfGloss: red pen write pause then black pen cover obtain
 WfPOS: adj comm v part adv adj comm v v

gol gongh mienc yah gol gol ngail
 person or object achievement name also, too person or object person or object love
 CLS comm comm adv CLS CLS v

FT: "Writing in red, and covering by black. Everyone loves what I have achieved."

TF324

Wordform: deil deec buc deil deec huc, deil buc deec yah moc qic taip
 WfGloss: right able NEG right able question right NEG able also, too not eat dish
 WfPOS: adj part adv adj part part adj adv part adv adv v comm

FT: "Can you counter/response (to my couplet) or not? If not, no eating!"

TF325

Wordform: liax, gaoc baos mags xus laih hangc gangs, liax,
 WfGloss: asking for response adult man older brother big then this way speak, say asking for response
 WfPOS: part comm comm comm adj int adv dem n v part

FT: Let me tell you, the oldest brother then said in this way.

TF326

Wordform: nuv doiv haeix doiv
 WfGloss: see right not right
 WfPOS: v adj neg adj

FT: Depends on whether right or not.

Wordform: nuv haeix doiv xus beix janl mal, liax,
 WfGloss: see not right then do not eat dish asking for response
 WfPOS: v neg adj adv adv v comm part

FT: If not, then you do not eat, let me tell you.

TF329

Wordform: xis il laih hangc gangs
 WfGloss: then alike this way speak, say
 WfPOS: adv adv dem n v

FT: He said in this way.

TF330

Wordform: yuh taeuk baos nyih keep dil maoh jagx jas yuh bens
 WfGloss: PROG to older brother second 3P pause 3S people that also only
 WfPOS: part prep comm num pro part pro CLS mkr adv adv

xeengl lol xis
 row boat then
 v comm adv

FT: Next was the middle brother's turn, he only rowed boats.

TF331

Wordform: maoh yah yiuu gangs il jagx, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S also, too need, want speak, say one large stuff asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv aux v num CLS part

FT: He also needed to say one, let me tell you.

TF332

Wordform: daeuh xic jav hongc-yangp xeengl lol dil
 WfGloss: like time, season that HongYang row boat pause
 WfPOS: adv comm dem prop v comm part

FT: As rowing boat in Hongxiang before.

TF333

Wordform: waenl naeup xis xeengl qak biingc-danx huc
 WfGloss: day what be row onto PingTan supplementing
 WfPOS: comm pro aux v prep prop part
 FT: Someday (he) rowed up to Pingtan.

TF334

Wordform: waenl naeup xis biingc-danx xeengl luih taeuk xenh-jul juc
 WfGloss: day what be PingTan row descend to JinZhou as you know
 WfPOS: comm pro aux prop v v prep prop part
 FT: Someday (he) rowed from Pingtan down to Jinzhou.

TF335

Wordform: weengc bens dongv nyap naih guedx
 WfGloss: must only CLS for large, long, round stuff river this work out
 WfPOS: aux adv CLS comm dem v
 FT: Always within that range of the river.

TF336

Wordform: maoh yuh yah gangs il laenl
 WfGloss: 3S also also, too speak, say one object
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v num CLS
 FT: He also said one.

TF337

Wordform: maoh xus gangs maoh jagx xeengl lol jas lac, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S then speak, say 3S people row boat that PERF asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv v pro CLS v comm mkr asp part
 FT: Then he talked about his boat rowing.

TF338

Wordform: ngox dil qonc taeuc jeenh youl. ngox dil qonc taeuc jeenh
 WfGloss: IS POSS boat head sharp also IS POSS boat head sharp
 WfPOS: pro part comm comm adj adv pro part comm comm adj
 youl jeenh huc, qonc weix xus haic yaol jeenh
 also sharp supplementing boat tail then still want sharp
 adv adj part comm comm comm adv v adj
 FT: "The head of my boat is very sharp, and the rear is even sharper."

TF339

Wordform: tenp xiangl yah tenp deec liaox qianh qianh wanl
 WfGloss: row above, upper also, too row obtain PERF thousand thousand ten thousand
 WfPOS: v adv adv v v part num num num
 wanl huc,
 ten thousand supplementing
 num part
 FT: "I rowed upstream for thousands and thousands (of miles)."

TF340

Wordform: tenp xial yah tenp deec liaox wanl wanl
 WfGloss: row down, below also, too row obtain PI ten thousand ten thousand
 WfPOS: v adv adv v v part num num
 qianh qianh,
 thousand thousand
 num num
 FT: "I rowed downstream for thousands and thousands (of miles)."

TF341

Wordform: bieec gol wenl ngox huac saic meil youh dil ngox
 WfGloss: other person or object ask IS grow property, fortune NEG have pause IS
 WfPOS: pro CLS v pro v comm adv v part pro
 yah gangx meil youh, liax,
 also, too say, speak, talk NEG have asking for response
 adv v adv v part
 FT: "Others asked me whether I made my fortune yet or not; I said no."

TF342

Wordform: maoh xus laih hangc gangs lac, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S then this way speak, say PERF asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv dem n v asp part
 FT: He said in this way, let me tell you.

TF343

Wordform: yev, maoh, nuv gaoclaoc baos nyih naih yuh
 WfGloss: warning, challenging 3S see married man older brother second this again, then
 WfPOS: part pro v comm comm num dem adv
 gangs laenl meil youh ngi? liax,
 speak, say object NEG have question asking for response
 v CLS adv v part part
 FT: "Hm!(Surprised)" He (the poor and youngest guy) wondered why the middle brother talking about his fortuneless yet life?

TF344

Wordform: gaoclaoc jav yuh gangs baov yuh nuv
 WfGloss: married man that also speak, say say again, then if
 WfPOS: comm dem adv v v adv conj

gangs haeix doiv yuh beix janl mal?
 speak, say not right again, then do not eat dish
 v neg adj adv adv v comm

FT: Let me tell you, the other one also talked about " If not right, no eating?"

TF345

Wordform: ik, maoh nuv laenl naih
 WfGloss: shock 3S see object this
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem
 FT: Hm, He looked at this.

TF346

Wordform: maoh xus meec nyinjl naoxsux lac
 WfGloss: 3S then have a bit brain PERF
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm comm asp
 FT: Then he used his brain.

TF347

Wordform: xic xic bens bens dac keep dogx leec dul
 WfGloss: time, season time, season only only go with 3P read book even
 WfPOS: comm comm adv adv v pro v comm adv
 FT: Even though all the time (he) just followed them to school .

TF348

Wordform: maoh nuv laenl naih ganl nyaengc ganl meec meec nyinjl
 WfGloss: 3S see object this so-called really so-called have have a bit
 WfPOS: pro v CLS dem adj adv adj v v comm

nyaengc miav yaoc nyaengc laeuc, liax,
 really sad 1S really PERF asking for response
 adv adj pro adv part part

FT: He concluded: " This really shows that they are tired of me."

TF349

Wordform: xis xis nuv waoh naeup haeix jav xis yiuw waoh jas
 WfGloss: then then if person who not that then need, want person that
 WfPOS: adv adv conj CLS pro neg dem adv aux CLS mkr

kaeip sinc dil wuc
 pay money POSS listen!
 v comm part part

FT: Then if anyone could not (do) that, then that person paid for the meal.

TF350

Wordform: hangc yilsul laih hangc liax,
 WfGloss: kind; type meaning this kind; type asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS comm dem CLS part

FT: The meaning (of their behavior) is like this.

TF351

Wordform: maoh yah haeix weds saeic dil jagx
 WfGloss: 3S also, too not make fortune fortune POSS reason
 WfPOS: pro adv neg v comm part part

FT: Right, he(the middle one) did not make fortune neither.

TF352

Wordform: maoh jagx jas yuh gox kenp gangs lic
 WfGloss: 3S people that also do not know path speak, say particle of confirming
 WfPOS: pro CLS mkr adv v comm v part

FT: He did not know how to say (the couplet).

TF353

Wordform: menp menp xis maoh yuh nyenh gangs il jagx
 WfGloss: meditate meditate then 3S also also speak, say one large stuff
 WfPOS: v v adv pro adv adv v num CLS

wugs dal
 come out, go outside come
 v v

FT: (He) pondered and pondered, then he also made one.

TF354

Wordform: taeuk maoh daeux xis
 WfGloss: to 3S PERF, already be
 WfPOS: prep pro part aux

FT: When it was his turn.

TF355

Wordform: maoh jagx jas haeix xus jagx mangc dil maoh
 WfGloss: 3S people that not then large stuff what pause 3S
 WfPOS: pro CLS mkr neg adv CLS pro part pro

xus yah gangs il jagx lac
 then also, too speak, say one large stuff PERF
 adv adv v num CLS asp

FT: He had nothing, (but) he also produced one.

TF356

Wordform: maoh xus:
 WfGloss: 3S then
 WfPOS: pro adv

FT: He then (said):

TF357

Wordform: xoux xiangl yic deil kuaip sih
 WfGloss: hand above, upper one pair chopstick nominalization
 WfPOS: comm adv num CLS comm comm

FT: "There is one pair of chopsticks in my hand."

TF358

Wordform: qjc bieec gol yah qjc deec liaox qianh qianh
 WfGloss: eat other person or object also, too eat obtain PI thousand thousand
 WfPOS: v pro CLS adv v v part num num

wanl wanl
 ten thousand ten thousand
 num num

FT: "(I) have eaten (meals of) others (with this one) for thousands and thousands (of times)."

TF359

Wordform: qjc deec liaox wanl wanl qianh qianh
 WfGloss: eat obtain part PI ten thousand ten thousand thousand thousand
 WfPOS: v v part num num num num

FT: "(I) have eaten (meals of) others (with this one) for tens of thousands (of times)."

TF360

Wordform: bieec 'gol wenl ngox kaih qianc meil youh dil
 WfGloss: other person or object ask IS pay money NEG have pause
 WfPOS: pro CLS v pro v comm adv v part

FT: "Others asked me whether I paid for all those."

TF361

Wordform: ngox yah gangx meil youh
 WfGloss: IS also, too say, speak, talk NEG have
 WfPOS: pro adv v adv v

FT: "I said NO."

TF362

Wordform: liax, maoh xus yah yah gangs
 WfGloss: asking for response 3S then also, too also, too speak, say
 WfPOS: part pro adv adv adv v

FT: Let me tell you, he also said in that way.

TF363

Wordform: maoh baov nuv ac xaol yiuu xiangv yaoc kaeip sinc xis yaoc
 WfGloss: 3S say see two 2P PROG want 1S pay money then 1S
 WfPOS: pro v v num pro aux v pro v comm adv pro

yah gangs gaeis yongh, liax,
 also, too speak, say NEG apply asking for response
 adv v adv v part

FT: He meant (in his couplet): "If you two want me to pay (for this), I say that is really unnecessary."

TF364

Wordform: ix, heek, xus nyenh nyenh leis janl yink
 WfGloss: yes, agreeing exactly then also also marker of experience eat free
 WfPOS: adv part adv adv adv mkr v adj

lic, liax,
 particle of confirming asking for response
 part part

FT: Right, exactly, then again (he) got a free meal.

TF365

Wordform: maoh yah gangs baov baov denh jav xus, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S also, too speak, say say say as soon as that then asking for response
 WfPOS: pro adv v v v adv dem adv part

FT: He also said that if that..., then , let me tell you.

TF366

Wordform: maoh yah gangs haeix meec sinc
 WfGloss: 3S also, too speak, say not have money
 WfPOS: pro adv v neg v comm

FT: He said he had no money.

TF367

Wordform: xus, bens laih jagx
 WfGloss: then only this large stuff
 WfPOS: adv adv dem CLS

FT: Well, This is all.

TF368

Wordform: huenp waeix lac, hux.
 WfGloss: finish for songs and poems PERF right
 WfPOS: v CLS asp part

FT: (I) have finished one story already, right.

.....

3.5.2 Sky Repairing (SR)

3.5.2.1 Summary of SR

In *Sky Repairing (SR)*---

God gave an infertile old couple a son (used to be an angel) for their righteousness in life. The heavenly born boy was seven years old when suddenly there was very heavy, endless raining in the area and almost destroyed everything the farmers produced in field.

The boy figured that there must be some leaking in the sky behind the disaster. So he went on a mission journey to look for sky fixing materials by himself. The determined boy overcame various kinds of difficulties, including obtaining the secret of how and using what to fix the leaking sky from old people; forcing the dragon king to pull his own teeth and cut off one of his two horns for materials; being given a black sheep from an old farmer which could fly. God was behind all these, presenting different problems to test the boy's determination and will and helping him out when necessary. The boy surprised his parents when he came home so soon with all the required materials. He later rid the sheep into the sky and fixed the cracks with the dragon king's teeth as nails and horn as hammer. The rain stopped and the world was saved from flooding because of the boy's heroism. The head of the nails he hammered into the once cracked sky became stars.

3.4.2.2 SR in LINGUALINKS format

/SR/

Sky Repairing

Narrator: Zaiwei Yang

SR1

Wordform:	xic	jav	xus	meec	eac	yenc	laox
WfGloss:	time, season	that	then	have	two	people	elder
WfPOS:	comm	dem	adv	v	num	comm	adj

FT: At that time, there were two old people.

SR2

Wordform:	xeds	ngox	xebx	dah	laeuc,	liax
WfGloss:	all	five	ten	exceed	PERF	asking for response
WfPOS:	num	num	num	v	part	part

FT: Both (were) over fifty years old already, let me tell you.

SR3

Wordform:	eac	lagx	yenc,	ngox	xebx	dah	dul	naengi	meix	meec	lagx	nuns,	meix
WfGloss:	two	body part	people	five	ten	exceed	even	still	yet	have	child	young	yet
WfPOS:	num	part	comm	num	num	v	adv	adv	adv	v	comm	adj	adv

taikbiingc
peaceful
adj

FT: The couple, even though (they were) in their fifties, still did not have a child, (this issue was) not settled yet.

SR4

Wordform: ac keep dil xus waenl waenl bens bail kaeip deih
 WfGloss: two 3P pause new information day day only go open field
 WfPOS: num pro part mkr comm comm adv v v comm

wangcjiv, kaeip deih wangcjiv, laos gaox longl beel
 corn open field corn enter inside remote mountain area go
 comm v comm comm v adv comm v

FT: They went to work in the remote mountain cornfield everyday.

SR5

Wordform: bail kaeip deih wangcjiv xis meec il waenl wuc, eac hohjih
 WfGloss: go open field corn then have one day listen! two friend, pal, fellow
 WfPOS: v v comm comm adv v num comm part num comm

eac yenc laox naih geec yas laox yas lav
 two people elder this place, location there elder there have a rest
 num comm adj dem comm adv adj adv v

FT: (They) went to work in the cornfield, and one day the two pals, these two old people took a break there.

SR6

Wordform: gav biingv xuc laoc xus geec suiv xus lav
 WfGloss: place on handle hoe PERF then place, location sit then have a rest
 WfPOS: v comm comm part adv comm v adv v

FT: (They) put down their hoes there and sat and took a rest.

SR7

Wordform: ac keep xus tank
 WfGloss: two 3P then sigh
 WfPOS: num pro adv v

FT: The two people then sighed (over their childlessness).

SR8

Wordform: heex, maoh baov ac laol wuc, liax, jagx naih
 WfGloss: sighing 3S say two we regretting asking for response abstract this
 WfPOS: part pro v num pro part part mkr dem

nil, haeix jagx mangc lail, liax
 pause not neg large stuff what good asking for response
 part part CLS pro adj part

FT: "Hm (sighing)", he said: "We are pitiful, because of this issue (childlessness). It is not good", right?

SR9

Wordform: kos xis senhhoc naih daov nyenh weex leis dah leep
 WfGloss: even be life this opposite also make, do able cross disappointed
 WfPOS: adv aux comm dem adj adv v part conj part

FT: "Even though our life is not bad..."

SR10

Wordform: ac laol xus kaeip deih wangcjiv nyenh gouv janl
 WfGloss: two we then open field corn also sufficient eat
 WfPOS: num pro adv v comm comm adv adj v

FT: "We both work in the cornfield and have plenty to eat."

SR11

Wordform: keep xeds weex gongs weex sax laoc leep
 WfGloss: 3P all make, do father's father make, do father's mother PERF disappointed
 WfPOS: pro num v comm v comm comm part part

FT: "They (the other people) all are grandparents already."

SR12

Wordform: laol lienc naengl weex bux weex naeix dul naengl meix weex
 WfGloss: we even still make, do father make, do mother even still yet make, do
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v comm v comm adv adv adv v

FT: "We are not even parents yet."

SR13

Wordform: hiv, beix beix, bens yav hangc
 WfGloss: surprising do not do not only that way
 WfPOS: part adv adv adv dem n

FT: "No! Do not (think about it that way). (We must) deal with it in another way."

SR14

Wordform: maoh baov jagx naih laol haeix laeup xiangv, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say topic this we not how think asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v mkr dem pro neg pro v part

FT: He said: "(For) this (issue) we should not think about it any more."

SR15

Wordform: gongh gongh laeup xiangv
 WfGloss: do not do not how think
 WfPOS: adv adv pro v

FT: "Do not think any more about it."

SR16

Wordform: xic naih menl deih yah haeix aol dil laol dil laol
 WfGloss: time, season this sky ground also, too not give to we pause we
 WfPOS: comm dem comm comm adv neg v prep pro part we pro

yah haeix banlhuac, liax, gaoc bux keep xus yah hangc
 also, too not method, way asking for response adult man father 3P then that way
 adv neg comm part comm comm pro adv pro n

gangs
 speak, talk, say
 v

FT: "At present God does not give us (offspring), and we are helpless," right? the then father said (something) like this.

SR17

Wordform: naeix keep dil baov, hiv, liax, xiangv daengl hah laol
 WfGloss: mother 3P pause say sighing asking for response think come sighing laol
 WfPOS: comm pro part v part part part v v part pro

yuh, liax, yah haeix jagx leis soih naeuc leep, liax
 also asking for response also, too not abstract commit sin, crime who disappointed asking for response
 adv part adv adv neg mkr v comm pro part part

FT: His mother said: "Hm, right, thinking this over, we have never offended anyone."

SR18

Wordform: laeup jagx yuh laol yuh.
 WfGloss: how abstract PROG we PROG
 WfPOS: pro mkr part pro part

FT: "Why do we (not have a child)?"

SR19

Wordform: keep yenc xingh xeds meec lagx nuns yuh laol yuh naengx
 WfGloss: 3P people other all have child tender, young also we PROG even
 WfPOS: pro comm adj num v comm adj adv pro part adv

haeix meec lagx nuns ngl?
 not have child tender, young extremely frustrated
 neg v comm adj part

FT: "Others all have children, (but) we do not have children?"

SR20

Wordform: naenl naih weih naenl mangc ngl? laih
 WfGloss: large objects this for large objects what extremely frustrated this
 WfPOS: CLS dem conj CLS pro part dem

FT: "What is this for?" (she said) like this.

SR21

Wordform: laoxqianhyeec yah yiuiv xiangv nyingl mac, mach xus laih hangc gangs
 WfGloss: God also, too need, want think a bit SUG 3S then this way speak, say
 WfPOS: comm adv aux v comm part pro adv dem n v

FT: "God, please also consider our childlessness a bit", she requested.

SR22

Wordform: gaeis xis doiv daeuh waenl jas dil gaoclaoc yiljil dil
 WfGloss: unwilling be right appropriate day that pause husband Supreme Being pause
 WfPOS: adj aux adj adj comm mkr part comm prop part part

maoh wugs bags dal yimk
 3S come out, go outside outside come cool
 pro v comm v adj
 FT: It happened that God went outside (of His temple) to cool Himself that day.

SR23

Wordform: leis qingk ac keep eac lagx yenc geec lees jas tank
 WfGloss: experience hear two 3P two body part people place, location below there sigh
 WfPOS: mkr v num pro num part comm comm adv adv v
 FT: (He) (over)heard as they were sighing there (about that).

SR24

Wordform: yiv, baov: eac maoh yenc jav ac, liax
 WfGloss: surprising say two 3S people that SUG asking for response
 WfPOS: part v num pro comm dem part part
 FT: "Wow!" He said, " That couple!" right.

SR25

Wordform: xeds ngox xebx dah laeuc leep, nyaengc naengl meix meec
 WfGloss: all five ten exceed PERF disappointed really still yet have
 WfPOS: num num num v part part adv adv adv v

lagx nuns
 child tender, young
 comm adj

FT: "(They) are both in their fifties, (and they) still do not have a child yet."

SR26

Wordform: ac keep laemh qis yah nyenh longc lail, laemh naih
 WfGloss: two 3P generation previous also, too also heart good generation this
 WfPOS: num pro comm adj adv adv comm adj comm dem

yah longc lail
 also, too heart good
 adv comm adj

FT: "They were people with great hearts last generation, and they remain with good heart this time, too."

SR27

Wordform: waenl waenl bens weex gongl
 WfGloss: day day only make, do work
 WfPOS: comm comm adv v comm
 FT: "(They) do nothing but work everyday."

SR28

Wordform: nyaengc haeix leis soih naeuc
 WfGloss: really not commit sin, crime who
 WfPOS: adv neg v comm pro
 FT: "Really do no harm to others."

SR29

Wordform: hix, laenl naih, liax, jav yiuw xiangv laenl banlhuac
 WfGloss: surprising object this, asking for response then PROG think object method, way
 WfPOS: part CLS dem part adv aux v CLS comm

gunv, liax
 first asking for response
 adv part

FT: "Hmm, this is..., then (I) need to help them with this issue."

SR30

Wordform: yah yiuw aol loc lagx nuns dil keep
 WfGloss: also, too need, want give Animal, person child tender, young to 3P
 WfPOS: adv aux v CLS comm adj part pro
 FT: "(I) need to give them a child also."

SR31

Wordform: jav xis maoh xus heemx lagx maenv wul menl dil maenv
 WfGloss: so be 3S then call (a person) people those above, upper end heaven POSS those
 WfPOS: conj aux pro adv v comm pro adv comm part pro

tongcsix jas, daengl xeengl liangc lac
 kids that come RECIP discuss PERF
 comm mkr v part v asp

FT: So He summoned those little angels to discuss (this).

SR32

Wordform: maoh baov xaol naeuc jaenc luih wancganl beel, liax,
 WfGloss: 3S say 2P who be willing descend the present world go asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v pro pro v v comm v part

weex weex weex wanc yenc heep, laix,
 make, do make, do make, do common people question, begging like this
 v v v adj comm part part

FT: HE asked: "Who is willing to descend to the world to be a common person (rather than an angel here)?" like this.

SR33

Wordform: iv, baov ac ac yenc laox ul, nuv gangs baov nyac
 WfGloss: extreme surprise say HON HON people elder if speak, talk, say say 2S
 WfPOS: part v part part comm adj conj v v pro

dul, liax, yuh tongcyiv bail xis laol, yaoc jaenc bail, yaoc bail, maoh
 even asking for response also agree go then we 1S be willing go 1S go 3S
 adv part adv v v adv pro pro v v pro v pro

baov, meec lagx xus yah hangc gangs
 say have child then that way speak, talk, say
 v v comm adv pro n v

FT: "Well", said (one of the angels): "God, if you agree to let us go, then we... I am willing to go, and (I) will go", he said.

SR34

Wordform: hax, maoh baov jav xis daeuh, liax
 WfGloss: bingo 3S say that be ok asking for response
 WfPOS: part pro v dem aux v part

FT: "Good." He said: "That will be nice."

SR35

Wordform: jav, nik, maoh baov, xic naih meec eac yenc laox,
 WfGloss: then See! Listen to me 3S say time, season this have two people elder
 WfPOS: adv part pro v comm dem v num comm adj

nyaax geec jas kaeip deih wangcjiv jas
 be at, on place, location there open field corn that
 v comm adv v v comm comm mkr

FT: He then said: "See those two old people, the ones working in their cornfield down there?"

SR36

Wordform: eac yenc laox jas nyaengx longc lail nyaengc, liax
 WfGloss: two people elder that very heart good really asking for response
 WfPOS: num comm adj mkr adv comm adj adv part

FT: "Those two old people have great hearts," let me tell you.

SR37

Wordform: keep yah nyaengx juiv nyaengc
 WfGloss: 3P also, too really cherish really
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v adv

FT: "They also cherish (child) very much."

SR38

Wordform: nuv jav xis xaol bail xus bail yenp keep weex lagx
 WfGloss: if that be 2P go then go with, and 3P make, do child
 WfPOS: conj dem aux pro v adv v prep pro v comm

FT: "So you should go to be their son."

SR39

Wordform: ax, daeuh daeuh daeuh, yaoc bail
 WfGloss: all right, agreeing ok settled settled 1S go
 WfPOS: part v adj adj pro v

FT: "All right! (It is) a done deal. So I will (be the one to) go (there)..."

SR40

Wordform: maoh baov jav xis mags daengl xis nyenh yiuu sanxjenl luh
 WfGloss: 3S say topic then grow come be still need, want work hard attention drawing
 WfPOS: pro v mkr adv v v aux adv aux v part
 FT: HE (God) said: "Then (you) will also need to work hard when you grow up."

SR41

Wordform: nyenh yiuu, nyenh yiuu, liax, bangl laox weex
 WfGloss: also need, want also need, want asking for response help elder make, do
 WfPOS: adv aux adv aux part v adj v

gongl nyingl luh
 work a bit attention drawing
 comm comm part

FT: "(You) will also need," let me tell you, " ...to help (you) parents to do work."

SR42

Wordform: jav weex leis, liax
 WfGloss: then make, do able asking for response
 WfPOS: adv v part part
 FT: "That is OK", right.

SR43

Wordform: jav weengc huangkseml, liax
 WfGloss: then always rest assured asking for response
 WfPOS: adv adv v part
 FT: "Then (you can always) be assured (that) ."

SR44

Wordform: deenh nuv keep dul weex xis laol weengc sic weex
 WfGloss: once if 3P even make, do then we always be make, do
 WfPOS: adv conj pro adv v adv pro adv aux aux v
 FT: "If they (the two old people) work, then we will always work too."

SR45

Wordform: laol yuh jagx yenc nyix yuh laeup meec jagx nanc weex ax
 WfGloss: we also people people young also where have abstract cannot make, do question
 WfPOS: pro adv CLS comm adj adv pro v mkr aux v part
 FT: "We are also young men, and why wouldn't we work? "

SR46

Wordform: weengc sic weex leis
 WfGloss: always be make, do able
 WfPOS: adv aux v part
 FT: "(That I) will always be able to work."

SR47

Wordform: maoh xus nyaengc liingx
 WfGloss: 3S then really accept
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v
 FT: He then readily, happily took (that assignment).

SR48

Wordform: liingx xis lagx jas xus luih daengl
 WfGloss: accept then man that then descend come
 WfPOS: v adv comm mkr adv v v
 FT: Taking the assignment, then the young man descended (to this world).

SR49

Wordform: lagx jas xus luih daengl xis ac keep geec
 WfGloss: child that then descend come then two 3P place, location
 WfPOS: comm mkr adv v v adv num pro comm

lees nyenh jilxuc kuanh
 below still continue chat
 adv adv v v

FT: (When) the young man descended, the couple were still talking (over there).

SR50

Wordform: naeuc yox nil kungs tengx bail, liax,
 WfGloss: who know pause make noise sound of dropping go asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v part v comm comm v part

FT: No one expected that a big bang would occur suddenly. Let me tell you.

SR51

Wordform: beeml kungs tengx beel xis
 WfGloss: suddenly make noise sound of dropping go then
 WfPOS: adv v comm v adv

FT: When suddenly there was a bang.

SR52

Wordform: ixhip, liax, geec jagx mangc, geec laeup meec
 WfGloss: shocking asking for response place, location large stuff what place, location where have
 WfPOS: part part comm CLS pro comm pro v

jagx mangc yav kungs bax, menl naeix jas yunv
 large stuff what that make noise question, polite HON mother that scare
 CLS pro dem v part part comm mkr y

FT: "Wow!" the old woman exclaimed, "where and what is that bang ? " she was stupefied.

SR53

Wordform: bux keep dil yah pungkpangk jenc daengl, liax,
 WfGloss: father 3P pause also, too quickly get up come asking for response
 WfPOS: comm pro part adv adv v v part

FT: His father also stood up terrified, let me tell you.

SR54

Wordform: gaoclaoc yenc laox yah pungkpangk jenc dal xis
 WfGloss: husband people elder also, too quickly get up come then
 WfPOS: comm comm adj adv adv v v adv

FT: (When) that old man stood up terrified.

SR55

Wordform: dah jagx jaos deih wangcjiv jas begx il jagx gaemx
 WfGloss: from large stuff head field corn there fall heavily one large stuff large objects
 WfPOS: conj CLS comm comm comm adv v num CLS CLS

liinl bagx lueh dal hix
 stone white descend come surprising
 comm adj v v part

FT: A big white stone rolled down from the upper part of the cornfield (on the hill).

SR56

Wordform: begx gaemx liinl bagx xus ac keep xus naengx
 WfGloss: fall heavily large objects stone white then two 3P then immediately
 WfPOS: v CLS comm adj adv num pro adv adv

naengh dah biinl deih beel, liax
 escape, run away cross beside field go asking for response
 v conj adv comm v part

FT: It rolled (toward them) so they two ran away to the other side of the cornfield.

SR57

Wordform: begx taeuk jeel ac keep beel xis bemv kaeip dal, nyac nuv,
 WfGloss: fall heavily to beside two 3P go then swift action open come 2S see
 WfPOS: v prep adv num pro v adv mkr v v pro v

daeic jagx jagx gaemx bial bagx jas
 disposable large stuff large stuff large objects large stone white that
 v CLS CLS CLS comm adj mkr

FT: As it rolled near them, the white stone opened up suddenly.

SR58

Wordform: bemv kaeip beel xus
 WfGloss: swift action open go then
 WfPOS: mkr v v adv

FT: (It) opened suddenly, then...

SR59

Wordform: aeiv, gaox jas meec daclagc lagx nuns weexnyinl jas,
 WfGloss: shocked inside that have small, young animate child tender, young happily, cutely MAN
 WfPOS: part adv mkr v CLS comm adj adv part

nyac nuv, daclagc nongx heak
 2S see small, young animate kid red
 pro v CLS comm adj

FT: Wow, inside there was a cute baby boy, you see, it was a little new-born!

SR60

Wordform: ixhip, baov hangc gags yangh naih wuc, liax
 WfGloss: shocking say way different form this listen! asking for response
 WfPOS: part v n adj adv dem part part

FT: "What is this?" (they) said: "This is really unusual/strange."

SR61

Wordform: meec daclagc lagx nongx heak lais ac
 WfGloss: have small, young animate child kid red here surprised
 WfPOS: v CLS comm comm adj adv part

FT: "There is a new-born here!"

SR62

Wordform: xus jaenx beel nuv
 WfGloss: then close, near go see
 WfPOS: adv adj v v

FT: (They) then moved closer (to the baby) to take a look.

SR63

Wordform: hiv, dagc naih nyaengx lail daclagc nyaengc, liax
 WfGloss: surprising male mammal this very good small, young animate really asking for response
 WfPOS: part adj dem adv adj CLS adv part

FT: "Wow! He is really a cute one!" like this.

SR64

Wordform: naengl nas panp nyaems jas
 WfGloss: also face sweet intensifier MAN
 WfPOS: adv comm adj mkr part

FT: "He is even smiling happily!"

SR65

Wordform: hix, wanc deix yox, meec meec nyingl nyaems jol
 WfGloss: surprising already somewhat know have have a bit sweetly smile
 WfPOS: part adv adv v v v comm adv v

nyaems jol jas yox nyingl daeux
 sweetly smile MAN know a bit PERF, already
 adv v part v comm part

FT: "He already knew, knew how to smile sweetly."

SR66

Wordform: gaeis xis ac keep xus daeic jagx lagx nuns jas
 WfGloss: unwilling be two 3P then disposable people child tender, young that
 WfPOS: adj aux num pro adv v CLS comm adj mkr

xus aol bail eanc
 then take, bring go house
 adv v v comm

FT: So they two took that little boy back to their house.

SR67

Wordform: ixhip, baov: jav xis eax ac laol waenl naih geec lais kuanh,
 WfGloss: shocking tell topic be two two we day this place here chat
 WfPOS: part v mkr aux num num pro comm dem comm adv v

liax
 asking for response
 part

FT: "Aha!", (the old man) said: "Then this must have happened, because we were chatting here today..."

SR68

Wordform: kuanh maenv naih jas, tank maenv naih jas qop lienc yuh,
 WfGloss: chat stuff this MAN sigh stuff this MAN may even again, then
 WfPOS: v comm dem part v comm dem part aux adv adv

liax, menl deih leis nuv laol yuh menl deih yox
 asking for response sky ground experience see we also sky ground know
 part comm comm mkr v pro adv comm comm v

yagxsac
 have mercy
 v

FT: "(We) talked and sighed about all these things. May be people in heaven saw us and (so they) were merciful to us..."

SR69

Wordform: yox yagxsac jingv jiuc songv lagx jas dil
 WfGloss: know have mercy only intentionally release, put child that to
 WfPOS: v v adv adv v comm mkr prep

FT: "It is only because (they) were merciful (to us) that they intentionally presented this boy to us."

SR70

Wordform: daeuh daeuh daeuh, hih, jav xis nyaengc
 WfGloss: ok ok ok sighing that be real, true, genuine
 WfPOS: v v v part dem aux adj

FT: "Good good good, ha!" So (they two) were really (happy about that).

SR71

Wordform: ac keep xus eac jagx dul nyaengc maengx nyaengc
 WfGloss: two they new information two people all very happy really
 WfPOS: num comm mkr num CLS adv adv adj adv

FT: They two were extremely happy (about that).

SR72

Wordform: nyaengx maengx nyaengc xus map eanc dil xus heemx maenv
 WfGloss: very happy really then come house pause then call (a person) those
 WfPOS: adv adj adv adv v comm part adv v

bucلاغx ah, maenv tenpsinc ah daengl janl haeux nyaemv xus kuanh naenl qenckuangp
 clan fellow SEG those SEG come eat meal night then chat Large objects situation
 n part pro part v v comm comm adv v CLS comm

FT: (They two) were so happy so that, once they came home, they invited their kith and kin to have dinner together and informed them of what happened.

SR73

Wordform: baov jav jenl gags yangh luh, liax
 WfGloss: say that very different form attention drawing asking for response
 WfPOS: v dem adv adj adv part part

FT: (The guests/audience) said: "That is really something unusual/unheard of."

SR74

Wordform: yah lail yah lail, hip hip, menl deih nyaengc
 WfGloss: also, too good also, too good surprising surprising sky ground really
 WfPOS: adv adj adv adj part part comm comm adv

jiuvguv, nyaengc yox xaol
 take care of, bless really know 2P
 v adv v pro

FT: "That is good. Wow, God really are taking care of you, and (HE) really understands your situation."

SR75

Wordform: yox xaol yah hangc kueip lagx nuns
 WfGloss: know 2P that way be extremely short of child tender, young
 WfPOS: v pro pro n v comm adj

FT: "(HE) understands your desperate need of child."

SR76

Wordform: yuh yah yox ac xaol eac yenc laox dil yah hangc yuh
 WfGloss: also also, too know two 2P two people elder pause that way also
 WfPOS: adv adv v num pro num comm adj part pro n adv

longc lail
heart good
comm adj

FT: "(HE) also knows that you old couple are kind hearted people."

SR77

Wordform: daeuh daeuh daeuh daeuh, laix
WfGloss: ok ok ok ok like this

FT: "It is good that this has happened ", like this.

SR78

Wordform: xus nyaengc
WfGloss: then real, true, genuine
WfPOS: adv adj

FT: So this really (happened).

SR79

Wordform: aol maoh daengl bonc dil yah nyaengx mags hoik nyaengc
WfGloss: take, bring 3S come nurture pause also, too very grow up fast really
WfPOS: v pro v v part adv adv v adj adv

FT: (They) raise him and he grew up very fast.

SR80

Wordform: yuh yah nyaengx guail nyaengc
WfGloss: also also, too very smart really
WfPOS: adv adv adv adj adv

FT: He was very smart.

SR81

Wordform: gaeis xis gox jivxic dil taeuk deic ngoc liogx
WfGloss: unwilling be do not know unexpectedly pause reach unusual, unexpected five six
WfPOS: adj aux v adv part v mkr num num

nyinc dax lic, liax
year, years of age PERF confirming asking for response
n part part part

FT: So without any incident, five or six years passed.

SR82

Wordform: taeuk deic ngoc liogx nyinc beeh eac yenc laox
WfGloss: reach unusual, unexpected five six year, years of age concession? two people elder
WfPOS: v mkr num num n part num comm adj

dil nyaemv nyaemv dul aol kinp bail jagx jaos
pause night night all use, apply arm go put underneath head
part comm comm adv v comm v v comm

laoc jas bail nagk, liax
PERF MAN go sleep asking for response
part part v v part

FT: (When he was) five or six years old, the old couple put their arms under the boy's head to (comfort him) while he was sleeping at night.

SR83

Wordform: nyihnyongc dil liangp ax
WfGloss: extremely, very much MAN like to do, love confirming
WfPOS: adv part v part

FT: (They) loved him very much.

SR84

Wordform: gaeis xis taeuk ngoc liogx tedk nyinc dal xis nyaengc
WfGloss: NEG be to five six seven year, years of age come then really
WfPOS: adv aux prep num num num n v adv adv

meecc nyingl sings laoc lic
have a bit understand * PERF weak confirming
v comm v part part

FT: When he was 5-7 years old, he started to understand stuff a bit.

SR85

Wordform: yuh deix mags hoik jas xis, deix paok jangs jas xis
 WfGloss: also somewhat grow up fast MAN be somewhat quickly grow MAN be
 WfPOS: adv adv v adj part aux adv adv v part aux
 FT: (He) grew up a bit faster (than usual), and outgrew (the normal children).

SR86

Wordform: hah, doiv deic nyinc jas dil deihhuangp jas nyaengc
 WfGloss: sighing right unusual, unexpected year, years of age that pause place that really
 WfPOS: part adj mkr n mkr part comm mkr adv

lingx nyaengc
 dry real, true, genuine
 adj adj

FT: Well, it happened that in those years that place had a severe drought.

SR87

Wordform: lingx xis, ixhip, maoh baov: naenl naih laih
 WfGloss: dry new information shocking 3S say large objects this this
 WfPOS: adj mkr part pro v dem dem

lingx beel, liax
 dry go asking for response
 adj v part

FT: The weather was so dry, (so) he asked: " Why is it so dry?"

SR88

Wordform: naengx haeix dogl mienp laol deih wangcjiv naih laeup weex lail
 WfGloss: even not drip, drop rain we field com this how make, do good
 WfPOS: adv neg v comm pro comm comm dem pro v adj

FT: "It does not rain at all, and our cornfield will not grow. "

SR89

Wordform: gaeis xis yuh dogl mienp dal, liax
 WfGloss: unwilling be PROG drip, drop rain come asking for response
 WfPOS: adj aux part v comm v part

FT: (After he said this,) it started raining.

SR90

Wordform: yip dogl mienp dal beeh naengx dogl dogl dogl
 WfGloss: once drip, drop rain come concession? immediately drip, drop drip, drop drip, drop
 WfPOS: adv v comm v part adv v v v v

dogl naengx daengx nyinc daengx nyodx yah hangc dogl
 drip, drop even whole, full year, years of age whole, full month that way drip, drop
 v adv adv n adv comm pro n v

FT: The rain did not stop. It rained for days and months and years.

SR91

Wordform: ax hah, naenl naih yah naenl nyads, liax
 WfGloss: confirming sighing Large objects this also, too Large objects troublesome asking for response
 WfPOS: part part CLS dem adv CLS adj part

FT: Hm, this was as troublesome (as the drought was).

SR92

Wordform: laih naengl laih jagx dogl mienp haeix dogl xus haeix dogl
 WfGloss: this still this abstract drip, drop rain not drip, drop then not drip, drop
 WfPOS: dem adv dem mkr v comm neg v adv neg v

mienp, yip dogl mienp jenc daengl laengx laih hangc dogl beel
 rain once drip, drop rain get up come indeed this way drip, drop go
 comm adv v comm v v adv dem n v v

FT: This, raining like this...When there was no rain, there was not a drop of rain, (but) now there is rain and it will not stop.

SR93

Wordform: jagx wangcjiv yah haeix lail beel leep, liax
 WfGloss: large stuff corn also, too not good go disappointed asking for response
 WfPOS: CLS comm adv neg adj v part part

FT: All the corns will not grow good with too much rain, right?

SR94

Wordform: laol laeup jagx weex eel?
 WfGloss: we how abstract make, do QUESTION
 WfPOS: pro pro mkr v part
 FT: "How can we do?"

SR95

Wordform: hix, maoh baov naenl naih xis, lagx jas xus baov
 WfGloss: surprising 3S say large objects this be child that then say
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem aux comm mkr adv v
 FT: "Hm, this is ...", the boy murmured.

SR96

Wordform: ac bux hip, maoh baov, qop lienc kemk menl
 WfGloss: HON father surprising 3S say may even have hole, crack sky
 WfPOS: part comm part pro v aux adv v comm

beel luc, maoh baov, liax
 go PERF guessing 3S say asking for response
 v part pro v part

FT: "Daddy, " he said: "The sky may have been cracked (somewhere)."

SR97

Wordform: qonx kemk menl beel jingv naengx haeix jagx
 WfGloss: may have hole, crack sky go only even do not have, without large stuff
 WfPOS: aux v comm v adv adv v CLS

yangh beel mienp mienp mangc
 stop go rain rain what
 v v comm comm pro

FT: "There may be crack so that the rain never stops."

SR98

Wordform: hmx, maoh, yuilbic nyaengc kemk menl box, eac yenc
 WfGloss: judging 3S must really have hole, crack sky strong guessing two people
 WfPOS: part pro aux adv v comm part num comm

laox jas baov, liax
 elder that say asking for response
 adj mkr v part

FT: "Hm," he said... "The sky must have been cracked," the two old people said.

SR99

Wordform: haeix xis laeup meec jagx laih jagx ax
 WfGloss: not be how have large stuff this large stuff confirming
 WfPOS: neg aux pro v CLS dem CLS part

FT: "Otherwise there is no way that this would have happened like this."

SR100

Wordform: laengx nyinc xis dogl dogl il qiengc yuh haeix
 WfGloss: past, before year, years of age be drip, drop drip, drop one period of time also not
 WfPOS: adj n aux v v num comm adv neg

dogl beel leec
 drip, drop go fact telling
 v v part

FT: "In the past, (the case was) when it rained for a while, it would stop at sometime."

SR101

Wordform: xic naih meec jagx dogl dogl laengx haeix honh ngl?
 WfGloss: time, season this have abstract drip, drop drip, drop indeed not cease question
 WfPOS: comm dem v mkr v v adv neg v part

FT: "Why now does it rain and never stop?"

SR102

Wordform: hix, maoh baov jav xis: ac bux, ac naeix
 WfGloss: surprising 3S say topic new information HON father HON mother
 WfPOS: part pro v mkr mkr part comm part comm

il, nuv laih dil laenl xis gaeis liangs baov dogx laol
 begging, imploring if this POSS object then NEG be say alone we
 part conj dem part CLS adv adv part v adv part

leep, liax baov
 disappointed asking for response say
 part part v

FT: He thought about that and said: "Father, mother, if (situation is as bad as) this is, this affects not only our family..."

SR103

Wordform: jagx naih yenc xingh xeds luv haeux lic,
 WfGloss: large stuff this people other all starve, have famine meal confirming
 WfPOS: CLS dem comm adj num v comm part

luv haeix mangc janl lic,
 starve, have famine do not have, without what eat confirming liax
 v v pro v part asking for response
 part

FT: "This makes others all hungry, starving without anything to eat", you know.

SR104

Wordform: laeup hangc weex eel?
 WfGloss: how way make, do QUESTION
 WfPOS: pro n v part

FT: "What to do?"

SR105

Wordform: hm, bux keep baov: jagx naih laeup yox laeup jagx
 WfGloss: frustrated father 3P say large stuff this how know how abstract
 WfPOS: mood comm pro v CLS dem pro v pro mkr

weex ax,
 make, do question liax
 v part asking for response
 part

FT: His father said: "Who would know how to deal with (this)? "

SR106

Wordform: menl deih yah jagx xis laol yah gox, haeix banlhuac
 WfGloss: sky ground that large stuff then we also, too do not know do not have, without method, way
 WfPOS: comm comm pro CLS adv pro adv v v comm

FT: "If God is doing this, then we have no hope."

SR107

Wordform: gox laeup jagx weex
 WfGloss: do not know how large stuff make, do
 WfPOS: v pro CLS v

FT: "(We) do not know what to do."

SR108

Wordform: luv xus luv, naih nuv gangs baov eenv laih
 WfGloss: starve, have famine then starve, have famine this if speak, talk, say say further this
 WfPOS: v adv v dem conj v v adv dem

jagx dogl xis nyaengc yiuV weex luv daeil
 large stuff drip, drop be really PROG make, do starve, have famine die
 CLS v aux adv aux v v v

FT: "Starving is just starving, (but) if this raining goes on and on, then it will make people starve to death."

SR109

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: jav nanc, naenl naih.
 WfGloss: surprising 3S say that cannot large objects this
 WfPOS: part pro v dem aux CLS dem

FT: "No! This can not (be allowed to go on)," he (the boy) said.

SR110

Wordform: maoh baov: jav yaoc yiuV xiangv banlhuac gunv, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say topic 1S need, want think method, way first asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v mkr pro aux v comm adv part

FT: He said: "I need to figure a way out (of this situation)."

SR111

Wordform: nuv jav xis yaoc yiuu bail semh dil gaoh laeup kernk baox
 WfGloss: if that then 1S need go search, look for to inside where have hole, crack PERF
 WfPOS: conj dem adv pro aux v v prep adv pro v part
 FT: "If there is a crack, I will go to find it."

SR112

Wordform: yiuu semh yenc bail amv, baov
 WfGloss: need, want search, look for people go fix, repair say
 WfPOS: aux v comm v v v
 FT: "(I) will need to find someone to fix (it)," he said.

SR113

Wordform: daeic jagx menl jas amv bail jingv weex leis, liax
 WfGloss: disposable large stuff sky that fix, repair go only make, do able asking for response
 WfPOS: v comm mkr v adv v part part
 FT: "To fix the sky is the only way that will work.", let me tell you.

SR114

Wordform: beix laih jagx ac, beix beix kernk luih dal
 WfGloss: do not this way, like pause do not do not have hole, crack descend come
 WfPOS: adv dem comm part adv adv v v
 FT: "(So it will) not do stuff like this, (it will) not crack down on(to us)."

SR115

Wordform: hih, nongx heip ic, liax, menl dul bail amv
 WfGloss: sighing kid caring pause asking for response sky even go fix, repair
 WfPOS: part comm part part part comm adv v v
 leis il?
 able begging, imploring
 part part
 FT: "Ooh, my son, how can the sky even be fixed?"

SR116

Wordform: yev, nuv meec jagx kernk kongp weengc meec
 WfGloss: warning, challenging if have large stuff have hole, crack tag question must have
 WfPOS: part conj v CLS v mkr aux v
 jagx amv, maoh baov, liax
 large stuff fix, repair 3S say asking for response
 CLS v pro v part
 FT: "Well, if there is a crack, it must be fixable," he said.

SR117

Wordform: jav weengc weex leis
 WfGloss: then must make, do able
 WfPOS: adv aux v part
 FT: "It must be possible."

SR118

Wordform: heep, meec jagx jemc weengc sic amv leis mac, liax
 WfGloss: agreeing with have large stuff hole always be fix, repair able SUG asking for response
 WfPOS: part v CLS comm adv aux v part part part
 FT: "Right! (response to audience comments) If there is a hole, it will always be repairable."

SR119

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: jav xis gox lus, liax
 WfGloss: what can you say? 3S say that be do not know fact confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: part pro v dem aux v part part
 FT: "Hm," he(father) said: "That is not a sure thing."

SR120

Wordform: hex, maoh baov: ac bux, liax, dil yaoc weengc
 WfGloss: disagreeing, listen to me! 3S say HON father asking for response to 1S must
 WfPOS: part pro v part comm part prep pro aux

sic yiuu bail semh yenc dal amv menl
 be need, want go search, look for people come fix, repair sky
 aux aux v v comm v v comm

FT: "Listen to me!", he said: "Father, I must go to find someone to fix the sky."

SR121

Wordform: yaoc weengc sic bail
 WfGloss: 1S must be go
 WfPOS: pro aux aux v
 FT: "I must go!"

SR122

Wordform: nongx ngl, jav nyac bail geec laeup beel semh
 WfGloss: kid caring? then 2S go place, location where go search, look for
 WfPOS: comm part adv pro v comm pro v v

ax, laix
 question like this
 part part

FT: "(My) child, if you go, where will you go to look for (that kind of people)?"

SR123

Wordform: yaoc weengc sic bail mac, liax
 WfGloss: 1S must be go SUG asking for response
 WfPOS: pro aux aux v part part
 FT: "I will just go where they are."

SR124

Wordform: seic maoh bail taeuk laeup
 WfGloss: free 3S go arrive, reach where
 WfPOS: v pro v v pro
 FT: "No matter where I (need to) go to."

SR125

Wordform: deenh nuv gangs baov leis yenc amv menl laeuc
 WfGloss: once if speak, talk, say say obtain people fix, repair sky PERF
 WfPOS: adv conj v v v comm v comm part
 xus yaoc xus map laeuc, liax
 then 1S then come PERF like this
 adv pro adv v part part
 FT: "Once I find the right people to fix the sky, then I will come back," like this.

SR126

Wordform: hax, maoh baov: yav jagx weex, liax, yox
 WfGloss: surprising 3S say that way, like make, do asking for response know
 WfPOS: part pro v dem comm v part v
 geec laeup beel semh ax, yax
 place, location where go search, look for question tag question
 comm pro v v part part
 FT: "Oh," he (father) said: "You will do it that way? (Do you) know where to look for (that kind of people)?Ah?"

SR127

Wordform: nyac yuh nyincjis yuh jingv laih mags
 WfGloss: 2S also age also only this old
 WfPOS: pro adv comm adv adv dem adj
 FT: "Also you are too young to go."

SR128

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc weengc sic bail, huangkseml, ac bux, ac
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S must be go rest assured HON father HON
 WfPOS: pro v pro aux aux v v part comm part

naeix heip
 mother appealing
 comm part

FT: He said: "I will go, no matter what. Do not worry (about me), my father, mother."

SR129

Wordform: maoh baov: deenh nuv yaoc nuv leis maenv amv menl laeuc
 WfGloss: 3S say once if 1S if obtain stuff fix, repair sky PERF
 WfPOS: pro v adv conj pro conj v comm v comm part

yaoc map
1S come
pro v

FT: He said: "Once I get the material for sky-fixing, I will then come back."

SR130

Wordform: deenh meix leis amv menl menl naenl meix leis mangc
WfGloss: once yet obtain fix, repair sky sky large objects yet obtain what
WfPOS: adv adv v v comm comm CLS adv v pro

daengl amv menl yaoc weengc nal meix map
come fix, repair sky 1S must still yet come
v v comm pro aux adv adv v

FT: "If I do not get the sky-fixing..., do not get something to fix the sky, then I will not come (back)."

SR131

Wordform: ax, xaol huangkseml ac has
WfGloss: all right, agreeing 2P rest assured pause SUG
WfPOS: part pro v part part

FT: "All right. You can rest assured, please. (Do not worry about me)."

SR132

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc weengc sic liaengl dul bens bail yodx nyinc
WfGloss: 3S say 1S must be long even only go half year, years of age
WfPOS: pro v pro aux aux adj adv adv v num n

yaoc xus weengc sic weengc sic yiuw leis laoc laix
1S will must be must be PROG obtain PERF like this
pro aux aux aux aux aux aux v part part

FT: He said: "It should not take me longer than six months to get the material," like this.

SR133

Wordform: maoh xus nyaengc
WfGloss: 3S new information really
WfPOS: pro mkr adv

FT: He then did (went for set off on his task).

SR134

Wordform: ^ maoh xal jeecxenh bail laeuc xis bux keep naeix
WfGloss: 3S make (decision) determination go PERF new information father 3P mother
WfPOS: pro v comm v part mkr comm pro comm

keep dil yah nyenh daeic geis daos
3P pause also, too also hold unable accomplish
pro part adv adv v part v

FT: He had made up his mind to go, (so) his father and mother also could not hold him back.

SR135

Wordform: maoh yuh bens laos tedk beds jus nyinc lagx yenc
WfGloss: 3S also only only seven eight nine year, years of age child people
WfPOS: pro adv adv adv num num num n comm comm

dul maoh dul weengc sic xal jeecxenh bail
even 3S even must be make (decision) determination go
adv pro adv aux aux v comm v

FT: So even though he was only a 7-9 years old, he was determined (of going).

SR136

Wordform: dil keep dil xus yah nyaengc bail beel nyingl wangciv xus
WfGloss: developing, new info 3P pause then also, too really go sell a bit corn then
WfPOS: mkr pro part adv adv adv v v comm comm adv

beel aol lagx nyingl sinc xus dil maoh bail weex hoxxic
go give NEG a bit money then to 3S go make, do meal, food
v v part comm comm adv prep pro v v comm

FT: So they (his parents) went and sold corns and gave that bit of money to him for food and housing.

SR137

Wordform: maoh baov: nongx ngl, maoh baov: yav nyac yuh
 WfGloss: 3S say kid caring? 3S say that 2S PROG
 WfPOS: pro v comm part pro v dem pro part

bail yuh yah gox taeuk laeup, liax
 go PROG also, too do not know arrive, reach where asking for response
 v part adv v v pro part

FT: He (father?) said: "son," he said: "You will go, (but) you do not where to go (to find those materials)."

SR138

Wordform: laol yuh daeic nyngl hoxxic yuh bens lagx nyngl
 WfGloss: we PROG hold a bit meal, food PROG only NEG a bit
 WfPOS: pro part v comm comm part adv part comm

FT: "We will have that bit of money, only have that little amount."

SR139

Wordform: geec eanc naih yah haeix.
 WfGloss: place, location house this also, too do not have, without
 WfPOS: comm comm dem adv v

FT: "Our family is also poor."

SR140

Wordform: hiv, maoh baov: bens yiuu laih yungc dul lail
 WfGloss: disagreeing 3S say only need, want this many, much even good
 WfPOS: part pro v adv aux dem adj adv adj

xiv laeuc, liax
 more than enough PERF asking for response
 adv part part

FT: "No." he said: "This is plentiful."

SR141

Wordform: maoh baov: ac xaol geec eanc naih yah naengl yiuu
 WfGloss: 3S say two 2P place, location house this also, too still need, want
 WfPOS: pro v num pro comm comm dem adv adv aux

senlhoc xis
 live reasoning?
 v mkr

FT: "You two at home also need to live (on this)."

SR142

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc bens yiuu laih yungc xus yaoc dah wangv
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S only need, want this many, much then 1S from side
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv aux dem adj adv pro conj comm

bail xus dah wangv lah
 go then from side beg, ask for free
 v adv conj comm v

FT: "I only need this much, and the rest I will beg for as I go."

SR143

Wordform: weengc weex leis
 WfGloss: must make, do able
 WfPOS: aux v part

FT: "That will be no problem at all."

SR144

Wordform: yaoc il naeup il jas lah xis yaoc jagx
 WfGloss: 1S location, place where location, place there beg, ask for free then 1S abstract
 WfPOS: pro n pro n adv v adv pro mkr

jas dogx bens yaoc dil jagx xis
 that alone only 1S POSS abstract reasoning?
 mkr adv adv pro part mkr mkr

FT: "I will (be able to) beg here and there, for I am by myself only (easier to feed)."

SR145

Wordform: nyenh dangv dangv jas gaixjeec xus dangv dangv jas bail
 WfGloss: also gradually gradually MAN solve then gradually gradually MAN go
 WfPOS: adv v v part v adv v v part v

FT: "(I will) also (be able to) solve (this) gradually, then I (will be able to) go farther."

SR146

Wordform: maoh wanc xal jeecxenh bail laeuc xis naeix keep
 WfGloss: 3S already make (decision) determination go PERF reasoning mother 3P
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm v part mkr comm pro

bux keep yah nanc daeic
 father 3P also, too cannot hold
 comm pro adv aux v

FT: He had already made his mind, so his mother and father could not stop him.

SR147

Wordform: maoh yedk lenc xus nyaengc aemv lagx naenl
 WfGloss: 3S morning next then really carry on back, bear diminutive large objects
 WfPOS: pro comm adj adv adv v mkr CLS

beeul beeul xus bail lac
 bag, package bag, package then go PERF
 comm comm adv v asp

FT: So the next morning, he set off with a small pack.

SR148

Wordform: yip bail xis taek geec lais yah bail xais
 WfGloss: once go new information arrive, reach place, location here also, too go ask
 WfPOS: adv v mkr v comm adv adv v v

maenv yenc laox jas, liax
 those people elder that asking for response
 pro comm adj mkr part

FT: Once he set off, he (first) arrived at one place, and asked those old people (about where the people are).

SR149

Wordform: yav, xaol leis yox geec laeup meec yenc amv menl haiep?
 WfGloss: that 2P experience know place, location where have people fix, repair sky question
 WfPOS: dem pro mkr v comm pro v comm v comm part

FT: "Well... do you know where the people who can fix the sky are?"

SR150

Wordform: iv, baov: ixhip, nongx heip, liax, laeup meec
 WfGloss: extreme surprise say shocking kid caring asking for response where have
 WfPOS: part v part comm part part pro v

jagx yenc amv menl leis il?
 way, like people fix, repair sky able begging, imploring
 comm comm v comm part part

FT: "Wow! (what?)", (they) said: "Wow, little brother, there is no such person who can fix the sky!"

SR151

Wordform: hiv, maoh baov: nuv haeix amv yuh laeup weex
 WfGloss: disagreeing 3S say if not fix, repair PROG how make, do
 WfPOS: part pro v conj neg v part pro v

xeis ax, liax
 sighing, extremely disappointed question asking for response
 part part part

FT: "Hmm", he asked: "If (we) do not fix (the sky), then what should I do?"

SR152

Wordform: waenl waenl laih jagx dogl mienp
 WfGloss: day day this way, like drip, drop rain
 WfPOS: comm comm dem comm v comm

FT: "Every day it rains like this."

SR153

Wordform: heek, dogl mienp laih liaengl jas waih maenv wul
 WfGloss: exactly drip, drop rain this long resulting damage, destroy stuff above, on
 WfPOS: part v comm dem adj mkr v comm Conj.

jenc wul jih naih laeup naengl lail ax
 mountain above, on hillside this how still good confirming
 comm Conj. comm dem pro adv adj part

FT: Exactly (response to audience comments). " Raining this much is not good for the plants in the mountains. "

SR154

Wordform: ngik, nongx heip, liax, kongp xongl leis qingk
 WfGloss: regretting kid caring asking for response never pair experience hear
 WfPOS: part comm part part adv CLS mkr v

gangs baov naeuc geec laeup amv menl lic, - jav xis
 speak, say say who place, location where fix, repair heaven confirming then be
 v v pro comm pro v comm part adv aux

FT: "Oh, well...little brother, Never (did we) learn that there are people who can fix the sky. That is (the truth). "

SR155

Wordform: maoh baov: hex
 WfGloss: 3S say disagreeing, listen to me!
 WfPOS: pro v " part

FT: He said: "Listen to me!"

SR156

Wordform: maoh baov: jav xis yaoc weengc sic yiuw bail
 WfGloss: 3S say topic be 1S must be need, want go
 WfPOS: pro v mkr aux pro aux aux aux v

FT: He said: "I will keep going anyway."

SR157

Wordform: weengc sic yiuw meec, liax
 WfGloss: must be need, want have asking for response
 WfPOS: aux aux aux v part

FT: "(There) must be (that kind of people somewhere)."

SR158

Wordform: jillanc kemk beel xus weengc yiuw meec yenc amv
 WfGloss: because have hole, crack go then must need, want have people fix, repair
 WfPOS: conj v v adv aux aux v comm v

FT: "For if (the sky) is cracked, then there must be someone who can fix it."

SR159

Wordform: maoh xus bail
 WfGloss: 3S then go
 WfPOS: pro adv v

FT: He then moved on.

SR160

Wordform: bail bail bail bail xis nyaengx bail deix jail jas
 WfGloss: go go go go then really go somewhat far, long (distance) MAN
 WfPOS: v v v v adv adv v adv adj part

FT: He went on and on and on, and farther away from home.

SR161

Wordform: bail deix jail xis gaoclaoc yenc
 WfGloss: go somewhat far, long (distance) new information adult man people
 WfPOS: v adv adj mkr comm comm comm

menl jas dii, liax, xus gaoclaoc yiljil jas yuh
 heaven that pause asking for response then husband Supreme Being that again, then
 comm mkr part part adv comm prop mkr adv

leis qingk
 experience hear
 mkr v

FT: He went so far, that the sky man, God, learned about (what he was doing).

SR162

Wordform: lagx jas meenh geec lees jas liongv liongv jas gangs
 WfGloss: man that often place, location below there loudly loudly MAN speak, say
 WfPOS: comm mkr adv comm adv adv adv adv part v

baov yiuu amv menl, liax
 say PROG fix, repair heaven asking for response
 v aux v comm part

FT: That boy spoke out loudly and told (everybody that he) wanted to fix the (cracked) sky.

SR163

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: lagx naih, liax, lagx naih
 WfGloss: surprising 3S say man this, asking for response man this
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem part CLS dem

dal semh, liax, semh maenv amv menl
 come search, look for asking for response search, look for stuff fix, repair heaven
 v v part v comm v comm

FT: "Hm", God said: " This boy is looking for material to fix the sky... "

SR164

Wordform: xic naih daov nyaengc lees
 WfGloss: time, season this opposite real, true, genuine below
 WfPOS: comm dem adj adj adv

FT: "That is really imminent at this moment."

SR165

Wordform: menl naih hngk dogl mienp dax yah
 WfGloss: heaven this disliking, disgusting drip, drop rain assuming, assessing also, too
 WfPOS: comm dem part v comm mkr adv

nyaengc yah haeix lail
 real, true, genuine also, too do not have, without good
 adj adv v adj

FT: "The rain is not good."

SR166

Wordform: maenv wangcjiv naih maenv mangc naih xeds wul jenc wul jih
 WfGloss: stuff corn this stuff everything this all on, in mountain on, in hillside
 WfPOS: comm comm dem comm pro dem num adv comm adv comm

naih haeix lail beel xis laoxbegssingv naih nyaengc huangh
 this not good go then folk, common people this real, true, genuine nervous, panic
 dem neg adj v adv comm dem adj adj

FT: "All those corn crops, and plants over the mountains and hills are being destroyed, and the common people are in panic."

SR167

Wordform: maoh xis ganl nyaengc xiangv weih maenv laoxbegssingv
 WfGloss: 3S be so-called really want for many, multiple folk, common people
 WfPOS: pro aux adj adv v conj mkr comm

naih dal xiangv
 this come consider
 dem v v

FT: He was very considerate for the common people.

SR168

Wordform: jav xis maoh yiuu xiangv naenl banlhuac gunv
 WfGloss: topic be 3S need, want think large objects method, way first
 WfPOS: mkr aux pro aux v CLS comm adv

liax,
 asking for response
 part

FT: So He decided to figure out a way (to help them).

SR169

Wordform: nuv laih dil laenl xis
 WfGloss: if this POSS object reasoning?
 WfPOS: conj dem part CLS mkr

FT: If the situation was as bad as reported, then...

SR170

Wordform: maoh xus bail geec jagx banv jenc bial
 WfGloss: 3S then go place, location large stuff middle mountain large stone
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm CLS comm comm comm

jas dil
 there developing, new info
 adv mkr

FT: He then went to the hill of the stone mountain,

SR171

Wordform: bail geec jagx jas bail meec jagx ac weex jagx meec
 WfGloss: go place, location large stuff there go have large stuff pause make, do large stuff have
 WfPOS: v comm CLS adv v v CLS part v CLS v

jagx ngamc bial xus meec jagx maeix songc geec jas xus
 large stuff cave large stone then have large stuff tree pine place, location there new information
 CLS comm comm adv v CLS comm comm comm adv mkr

FT: (HE) went there, and (there) was a stone cave and a pine tree.

SR172

Wordform: maoh xus bail geec jas nyaoh
 WfGloss: 3S then go place, location there rest
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm adv v

FT: God went there to take a break (and wait for the boy's coming).

SR173

Wordform: bail geec jas nyaoh xis maoh nuv lagx jas nyaengc meec
 WfGloss: go place, location there rest new information 3S see man that really have
 WfPOS: v comm adv v mkr pro v CLS mkr adv v

jeecxenh haeix, qok haeix, liax
 determination not fear not asking for response
 comm neg v neg part

FT: (He) went there to rest, and He (wanted to) find out whether this boy was determined or not, whether (he) was scared or not.

SR174

Wordform: gaeis xis maoh yuh biinv jagx gaoclaoc dil
 WfGloss: unwilling be 3S again, then become people husband developing, new info
 WfPOS: adj aux pro adv v comm comm mkr

xus bail geec jas geec jagx jeel nyap jas dil
 then go place, location there place, location topic beside river there developing, new info
 adv v comm adv comm mkr adv comm adv mkr

xeengl jagx jigs lol xus geec jagc jas xus aemv jagx
 row topic boat boat then place, location general there then carry on back, bear topic
 v mkr CLS comm adv comm CLS adv adv v mkr

duc seil xus geec jas nyaoh
 wearing raincoat made of palm fiber then place, location there rest
 CLS comm adv comm adv v

FT: So He became an old man and went to the river bank, sailing a boat, wearing a palm leaf raincoat (on his back), and waited for him there.

SR175

Wordform: lagx jas taeuk bail ac
 WfGloss: man that arrive, reach go sequential
 WfPOS: comm mkr v v part

FT: The boy arrived there.

SR176

Wordform: baov: yenc laox wull liax, nyac leis yox
 WfGloss: say people elder requesting, begging asking for response 2S experience know
 WfPOS: v comm adj part pro mkr v

geec laeup meec yenc amv menl haeip
 place, location where have people fix, repair heaven question
 comm pro v comm v comm part

FT: (The boy) said: "Old man/Sir., do you know where there are people who can fix the sky?"

SR177

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: nyac xiangv yiuw amv menl
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say 2S want PROG fix, repair heaven
 WfPOS: part pro v pro v aux v comm

ic is, leex
 pause question, doubting like this
 part part part

FT: "What?", HE said: "You want to find people to fix the sky?" like this.

SR178

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: jav xis, nik, maoh baov:
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 3S say topic be See! Listen to me 3S say
 WfPOS: part pro v mkr aux part pro v

nyac dah lais eenv pias eac naenl jenc xus taeuk
 2S from here further climb over two large objects mountain then arrive, reach
 pro conj adv adv v num CLS comm adv v

geec jagx jenc jas beel xus nyac daeis nuw
 place, location large stuff mountain that go then 2S look, watch see
 comm CLS comm mkr v adv pro v v

FT: "Well," HE said: "Then, listen!", He said: "You (need to) climb over two more mountains from here, then go to that mountain, and you take a look around."

SR179

Wordform: banv jenc bial jas meec jagx maeix songc
 WfGloss: middle mountain large stone there have large stuff tree pine
 WfPOS: comm comm comm adv v CLS comm comm comm

FT: "There will be a pine tree right in the middle of the stone mountain."

SR180

Wordform: xus wul jagx maeix songc geec wangv gaox maeix
 WfGloss: new information on, in large stuff tree pine place, location side inside tree
 WfPOS: mkr adv CLS comm comm comm comm comm adv comm

songc yah meec gaoclaoc yenc laox
 pine that have husband people elder
 comm pro v comm comm adj

FT: "And in the pine tree, (no..) Somewhere close to the pine tree there will be an old man. "

SR181

Wordform: maoh qop leis yox, liax
 WfGloss: 3S may experience know asking for response
 WfPOS: pro aux mkr v part

FT: "He may know (what you are asking for)."

SR182

Wordform: hocox
 WfGloss: I see
 WfPOS: part

FT: (The boy said:) "I see.(I have got you!)"

SR183

Wordform: maoh leis yox geec laeup meec yenc amv menl
 WfGloss: 3S experience know place, location where have people fix, repair heaven
 WfPOS: pro mkr v comm pro v comm v comm comm

FT: "He knows where there are people who can fix the sky. "

SR184

Wordform: hocox, yav jagx ic is, laix
 WfGloss: I see that abstract pause question, doubting like this
 WfPOS: part dem mkr part part part
 FT: "I see that now", like this.

SR185

Wordform: maoh baov: jav xis daeuh mac
 WfGloss: 3S say topic be appropriate agreeing
 WfPOS: pro v mkr aux adj part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "That is wonderful."

SR186

Wordform: jav xis xeenglxuh nyac lus
 WfGloss: topic be thank, appreciate 2S fact confirming
 WfPOS: mkr aux v pro part
 FT: "I appreciate your help."

SR187

Wordform: maoh yuh bail
 WfGloss: 3S again, then go
 WfPOS: pro adv v
 FT: Then he kept going.

SR188

Wordform: nyaengx xus pias eac naenl jenc xus bail bail
 WfGloss: really then climb over two large objects mountain then go go
 WfPOS: adv adv v num CLS comm adv v v

bail xis,
 go new information
 v mkr

FT: (He) climbed two mountains, and went farther and farther away...

SR189

Wordform: nyaengx lus, banv jenc bial jas meec maeix songc
 WfGloss: very fact confirming middle mountain large stone there have tree pine
 WfPOS: adv part comm comm comm comm adv v comm comm

biaxbiuc jas
 uncombed, disordered MAN
 adj part

FT: Just as the man said, there was a huge pine tree in the middle of the stone mountain.

SR190

Wordform: biaxbious jas xis maoh yuh: hek, yenc laox heip,
 WfGloss: uncombed, disordered MAN then 3S again, then hi (far away) people elder caring
 WfPOS: adj part adv pro adv part comm adj part

wenx yah geec lees jas heemx, liax
 aimlessly, randomly also, too place, location below there shout asking for response
 adv adv comm adv adv v part

FT: (A) big (pine tree), he then shouted aimlessly: "Hello! Old man!"

SR191

Wordform: nyaox eanc haeix huc?
 WfGloss: be at, on house not question
 WfPOS: v comm neg part
 FT: "Are you at home?"

SR192

Wordform: gaox nyaengc dah gaox jas meec gaoclaoc wugs
 WfGloss: inside really from inside there have husband come out, go outside
 WfPOS: adv adv conj adv adv v comm v

dal lic
 come confirming
 v part

FT: Inside, from inside the tree there did come out an old man!

SR193

Wordform: maoh baov: ix, baos heip, nyac weex mango ax?
 WfGloss: 3S say yes, agreeing older brother caring 2S make, do what question
 WfPOS: pro v adv comm comm part pro v pro part
 FT: He (the old man) said: "Yes (I am). Kid, what are you doing? "

SR194

Wordform: hex, maoh baov: yaoc xiangv semh yenc amv menl
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 3S say 1S want search, look for people fix, repair heaven
 WfPOS: part pro v pro v v comm v comm

ac, liax
 SUG asking for response
 part part

FT: "Well", he said: "I want to look for people who can fix the sky."

SR195

Wordform: nyac gaeis yox geec laeup yox geec laeup yox geec
 WfGloss: 2S NEG know place, location where know place, location where know place, location
 WfPOS: pro adv v comm pro v comm pro v comm

laeup meec yenc amv menl haeih wuc?
 where have people fix, repair heaven NEG question closely
 pro v comm v comm adv part

FT: "Do you happen to know where there are people who can fix the sky?"

SR196

Wordform: hox, maoh baov: yav jagx wuc
 WfGloss: I see, fact found 3S say that way, like conceding
 WfPOS: part pro v dem comm part

FT: I see (what you want)," he said: "That is (what you want)."

SR197

Wordform: maoh baov: yav nyac qak dal mac
 WfGloss: 3S say then 2S ascend come SUG
 WfPOS: pro v adv pro v v part

FT: He said: "You can come up here."

SR198

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: jagx nyac jas yaoc laeup qak dal leis ax
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say large stuff 2S that 1S how ascend come able question
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS pro mkr pro pro v v part part

FT: "No!" he said: "How can I go up there?":

SR199

Wordform: jav xis, nik, maoh baov: yaoc songv jagx
 WfGloss: topic be See! Listen to me 3S say 1S release, put large stuff
 WfPOS: mkr aux part pro v pro v CLS

miudx luih dal, liax
 mustache descend come asking for response
 comm v v part

FT: "Well", he (the old man) said: "I will let my mustache be extended (to you)."

SR200

Wordform: nyac xus xus nyongv jagx miudx yaoc naih qak dal
 WfGloss: 2S then then grab, hold on large stuff mustache 1S this ascend come
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v CLS comm pro dem v v

FT: "You then grab my mustache to come up."

SR201

Wordform: dil maoh xus bail geec jagx peep,
 WfGloss: developing, new info 3S then go place, location large stuff end, toward the edge of
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v comm CLS comm

liax, ngamc bial jas beel songv jagx miudx bagx dal xus
 asking for response cave large stone there go release, put large stuff mustache white come then
 part comm comm adv v v CLS comm adj v adv

FT: He went to the edge of the stone cave and let his white mustache down.

SR202

Wordform: .il weex il eais xus il weex
 WfGloss: once, as soon as make, do once, as soon as long then once, as soon as make, do
 WfPOS: adv v adv adj adv adv adv v

il eais xus qiaengp taeuk geec jagx dinl bial beel lic,
 once, as soon as long then pull, drag to place, location large stuff foot large stone go confirming
 adv adj adv v prep comm CLS comm comm v part

jagx miudx jas
 large st. mustach that
 CLS comm mkr

FT: Once did (the old man let his mustache down more), it became longer, and reached to the foot of the big stone, (I am talking about the old man's) mustache.

SR203

Wordform: qiaengp taeuk dinl bial beel xis maoh baov: nyac nyongv ac as
 WfGloss: pull, drag to foot large stone go then 3S say 2S grab, hold on SUG SUG
 WfPOS: v prep comm comm v adv pro v pro v part part

FT: Once the mustache reached the foot of the stone, he said: "You hold on it, little boy!"

SR204

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac nyongv jagx miudx jas xus qak dax
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S grab, hold on large stuff mustache that then ascend inviting
 WfPOS: pro v pro v CLS comm mkr adv v part

has, laix
 SUG like this
 part part

FT: "You hold the mustache and then come up", like this.

SR205

Wordform: maoh yah nyaengc liabs jagx jiu
 WfGloss: 3S also, too really grab swiftly and firmly large stuff thread or hairy thing
 WfPOS: pro adv adv v CLS CLS

miudx jas xus nyaengc qiaengc
 mustache that then really pull, drag
 comm mkr adv adv v

FT: He (the boy) grabbed the mustache and (dragged on it).

SR206

Wordform: qiaengc xus gaoc jav xus daeic jagc miudx jas
 WfGloss: pull, drag then adult man that then disposable object, people mustache that
 WfPOS: v adv comm dem adv v CLS comm comm mkr

xus dangv dangv yuh weex jens beel xus gaeis xis jas jaic
 then gradually gradually also make, do short go then unwilling be that drag
 adv v v adv v adj v adv adj aux mkr v

daeic jagx lagx jaic qak beel lic
 disposable people man drag ascend go confirming
 v CLS CLS v v v part

FT: (The boy) Dragging on it, the old man then shortened his mustache, and pulled that boy up (toward him).

SR207

Wordform: jaic qiak beel
 WfGloss: drag aboard go
 WfPOS: v adv v

FT: (The old man) dragged (the boy) up (to him).

SR208

Wordform: baos wul, maoh baov: jav nyac, liax, bail semh
 WfGloss: older brother requesting, begging 3S say topic 2S asking for response go look for
 WfPOS: comm part pro v mkr pro part v v

amv menl, semh yenc amv menl ic his, laix
 fix, repair sky search, look for people fix, repair sky pause question like this
 v comm v comm v comm part part part

FT: He said: "Kid, are you on your way to look for people who can fix the sky?"

SR209

Wordform: maoh baov: heep
 WfGloss: 3S say agreeing with
 WfPOS: pro v part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "Let me tell you."

SR210

Wordform: maoh baov: yenc laox wul, yaoc leis qingk keep
 WfGloss: 3S say people elder requesting, begging 1S experience hear 3P
 WfPOS: pro v comm adj part pro mkr v pro
 gangs baov nyac yox geec laeup meec yenc amv menl,
 speak, talk, say say 2S know place, location where have people fix, repair sky
 v v pro v comm pro v comm v comm

liax

asking for response

part

FT: He said: "Old man, I was told that you know where the people who fix sky are."

SR211

Wordform: nuv jav xis nyac baov yaoc nyingl
 WfGloss: if that then 2S tell 1S a bit
 WfPOS: conj dem adv pro v pro comm
 FT: "If that (is true), then you tell me (where to find them)."

SR212

Wordform: hox, maoh baov: yav, jav xis daeuh, liax, nuv
 WfGloss: I see, fact found 3S say that that be appropriate asking for response if
 WfPOS: part pro v dem dem aux adj part conj

laih dil laenl dil
 this POSS object pause
 dem part CLS part

FT: "I see," he said: "Then that is fine (I can do something about that), if that is (what you mean)."

SR213

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac laih hangc dil
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S this way pause
 WfPOS: pro v pro dem n part
 FT: he said: "(Because) what you asking is true."

SR214

Wordform: maoh baov: jav yaoc baov nyac
 WfGloss: 3S say topic 1S tell 2S
 WfPOS: pro v mkr pro v pro
 FT: He said: "I will tell you."

SR215

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac eenv dah lais bail weenp jus
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S further from here go climb over, cross nine
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv conj adv v v

naenl jenc
 large objects mountain
 CLS comm

FT: He said: "You climb over nine more mountains from here."

SR216

Wordform: eenv weenp jus naenl jenc dil maoh baov:
 WfGloss: further climb over, cross nine large objects mountain pause 3S say
 WfPOS: adv v num CLS comm part pro v

nyac taeuk geec jas beel
 2S arrive, reach place, location there go
 pro v comm adv v

FT: "(Once you) climb over nine more mountains", he said: "you arrive in that place."

SR217

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc xus laih hangc ac weex ac has
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S then this way pause make, do pause SUG
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv dem n part v part part
 FT: "You then do this way."

SR218

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc aol il loiv jags dil nyac bail daens
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S give one pair straw shoe to 2S go wear
 WfPOS: pro v pro v num CLS comm prep pro v v
 FT: He said: "I will give you a pair of straw shoes to wear."

SR219

Wordform: nyac weenp jus naenl jenc xus taeuk geec
 WfGloss: 2S climb over, cross nine large objects mountain then arrive, reach place
 WfPOS: pro v num CLS comm adv v comm

jeel nyap beel dil xus nyac xus il jas xus leeml
 beside river go pause then 2S then location, place there then strike, do forcefully
 adv comm v part adv pro adv n adv adv v

il jaemx, maoh baov
 one stomp 3S say
 num v pro v

FT: "(After) you have climbed over nine mountains, and have arrived at the river bank, you then make a big stomping noise there", he said.

SR220

Wordform: daens jagx jags jas xus leeml il jaemx
 WfGloss: wear large stuff straw shoe that then strike, do forcefully one stomp
 WfPOS: v CLS comm mkr adv v num v
 FT: "(You) stomp once with wearing that pair of straw shoes."

SR221

Wordform: leeml il jaemx xus maoh baov: yiuu meec yenc
 WfGloss: strike, do forcefully one stomp then 3S say PROG have people
 WfPOS: v num v adv pro v aux v comm

daengl semh nyac
 come search, look for 2S
 v v pro

FT: "(After you) have stomped once", he said: "(there) will be someone looking for you."

SR222

Wordform: yiuu meec yenc daengl semh nyac xus maoh baov:
 WfGloss: PROG have people come search, look for 2S then 3S say
 WfPOS: aux v comm v v pro adv pro v

nyac xus semh maoh liax, semh maoh amv menl
 2S then search, look for 3S asking for response look for 3S fix, repair sky
 pro adv v pro part v pro v comm

FT: "(There) will be some looking for you, and ", he said: "then you should ask him, ask him to fix the sky."

SR223

Wordform: semh maoh amv menl xus maoh baov: yav
 WfGloss: search, look for 3S fix, repair sky then 3S say that
 WfPOS: v pro v comm adv pro v dem

jagx mangc dal amv leis ax
 abstract what come fix, repair able question
 mkr pro v v part part

FT: Looking for him to fix the sky... He(the boy) said(asked): "Then what do I need to fix the sky?"

SR224

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac yenp maoh dil aol jagx jingl, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S with, and 3S pause take, bring topic nail asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v pro prep pro part v mkr comm part
 FT: He(the old man) said: "You ask him for nails."

SR225

Wordform: yenp maoh aol jingl dal amv
 WfGloss: with, and 3S take, bring nail come fix, repair
 WfPOS: prep pro v comm v v
 FT: "(You) take nails from him to fix (the sky)."

SR226

Wordform: maoh meec jingl eec?
 WfGloss: 3S have nail do you think...? Really?
 WfPOS: pro v comm part
 FT: "Does he have nails?"

SR227

Wordform: baov: ngeec maoh jas
 WfGloss: tell tooth 3S that
 WfPOS: v comm pro mkr
 FT: He (the old man)told (the boy): "His teeth (are the nails)."

SR228

Wordform: maoh baov: aol jagx ngeec maoh dal, nyac
 WfGloss: 3S say take, bring large stuff tooth 3S come 2S
 WfPOS: pro v v CLS comm pro v pro
 bens yiuw leis saml naenl dul weex leis lac, pro
 only need, want obtain three large objects even make, do able PERF say
 adv aux v num CLS adv v part asp v
 FT: He (the old man) said: "Take his teeth. You will only need three, that will do it (for you)."

SR229

Wordform: aol ngeec maoh daengl xus aol bail amv jingl aol
 WfGloss: take, bring tooth 3S come then take, bring go fix, repair nail take, bring
 WfPOS: v comm pro v adv v v v comm v

bail amv menl jas leis
 go fix, repair sky that able
 v v comm mkr part

FT: "Take his teeth, and that will be able to fix his teeth (no), fix the sky."

SR230

Wordform: oc hox
 WfGloss: unexpected finding I see, fact found
 WfPOS: part part
 FT: "I see."

SR231

Wordform: deenh nuv nyac leis naenl ngeec maoh jas lac
 WfGloss: once if 2S obtain large objects tooth 3S that PERF
 WfPOS: adv conj pro v CLS comm pro mkr asp

maoh baov: jav nyac xus nyac xus bail ac has
 3S say topic 2S then 2S then go pause SUG
 pro v mkr pro adv pro adv v part part

FT: "Once you get his teeth", he said: "You then move on."

SR232

Wordform: maoh baov: yuh weenp dah il laenl jenc
 WfGloss: 3S say again, then climb over, cross cross one object mountain
 WfPOS: pro v adv v conj num CLS comm
 FT: He said: "You climb over one (more) mountain."

SR233

Wordform: yuh weenp dah il laenl jenc dil, maoh baov: nyac
 WfGloss: again, then climb over, cross cross one object mountain pause 3S say 2S
 WfPOS: adv v conj num CLS comm part pro v pro

yuh taeuk naenl haeis
 again, then arrive, reach large objects sea
 adv v CLS comm

FT: (Once you) have climbed over one (more)mountain", he said; "You will arrive by the sea."

SR234

Wordform: taeuk naenl haeis jav dil xus
 WfGloss: arrive, reach large objects sea that pause new information
 WfPOS: v CLS comm dem part mkr
 FT: "(Once) You have arrived at the sea, then..."

SR235

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac yuh leeml il jaemx
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S again, then strike, do forcefully one stomp
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv v num v
 FT: He said: "You then/again stomp once."

SR236

Wordform: deenh nuv maoh haeix liingx xus nyac xus jaemx
 WfGloss: once if 3S not accept then 2S then stomp
 WfPOS: adv conj pro neg v adv pro adv v

suds, maoh eac jaemx
 leak, come out 3S two stomp
 v pro num v

FT: "stomp heavily again if nothing happens."

SR237

Wordform: nuv nyac yuh haeix liingx xus nyac yuh jaemx saml jaemx
 WfGloss: if 2S again, then not accept then 2S again, then stomp three stomp
 WfPOS: conj pro adv neg v adv pro adv v num v
 FT: "Stomp once more if nothing happens."

SR238

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac laih hangc weex, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S this way make, do asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v pro dem n v part
 FT: He (the old man) said: "You will do this."

SR239

Wordform: maoh xus weengc sic aol dil nyac laoc
 WfGloss: 3S then must be give to 2S PERF
 WfPOS: pro adv aux aux v prep pro part
 FT: "The he will certainly give (it) to you."

SR240

Wordform: maoh baov: yav yuh aol jagx mangc ax
 WfGloss: 3S say then again, then take, bring abstract what question
 WfPOS: pro v adv adv v mkr pro part
 FT: He (the boy) said/asked: "Then what do I take?"

SR241

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac xus bail aol xus
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S then go take, bring new information
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv v v mkr
 FT: He(the old man) said: " Then you go to take..."

SR242

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac xus yiuv jagx wangcxuic, maoh baov
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S then need, want large stuff hammer 3S say
 WfPOS: pro v pro adv aux CLS comm pro v
 FT: He (the old man) said: " Then you ask for a hammer. "

SR243

Wordform: hoh, yiuv jagc wangcxuic?
 WfGloss: I see, OK need, want general clf hammer
 WfPOS: part aux CLS comm
 FT: "OK! Ask for a hammer?"

SR244

Wordform: yav maoh aol jagx mangc weex wangcxuic ax
 WfGloss: then 3S use, apply abstract what make, do hammer question
 WfPOS: adv pro v mkr pro v comm part
 FT: "What do I use as a hammer?"

SR245

Wordform: baol maoh jas, baov
 WfGloss: hom 3S that say
 WfPOS: comm pro mkr v
 FT: "His hom", he said.

SR246

Wordform: aol jagx baol maoh jas weex wangcxuic
 WfGloss: use, apply large stuff hom 3S that make, do hammer
 WfPOS: v CLS comm pro mkr v comm
 FT: "You use his hom as hammer."

SR247

Wordform: maoh meec jagx baol, baov
 WfGloss: 3S have large stuff horn say
 WfPOS: pro v CLS comm v
 FT: "He has horns", he said.

SR248

Wordform: hoh, jagx mangc, jagx yenc dil jagx mangc ax?
 WfGloss: I see, OK abstract what people people or abstract what question
 WfPOS: part mkr pro CLS comm conj mkr pro part
 FT: "I see. What is he? Is he a man or what?"

SR249

Wordform: maoh baov: jagx jas laox liongcwangc lic, baov
 WfGloss: 3S say topic that elder dragon king confirming say
 WfPOS: pro v mkr mkr adj comm part v
 FT: He said: "He is the dragon king!"

SR250

Wordform: ax, laox liongcwangc maoh meec jagx baol
 WfGloss: all right, agreeing elder dragon king 3S have large stuff horn
 WfPOS: part adj comm pro v CLS comm
 FT: "All right. The dragon king has horns."

SR251

Wordform: nyac aol jagx baol maoh daengl xus weex laenl
 WfGloss: 2S use, apply large stuff horn 3S come then make, do object
 WfPOS: pro v CLS comm pro v adv v CLS

wangcxuic xus weex leis lac
 hammer then make, do able PERF
 comm adv v part asp

FT: "You take his horn as a hammer, then that will do it."

SR252

Wordform: oc hos, yav hangc ic his?
 WfGloss: unexpected finding unexpected finding that way pause question
 WfPOS: part part dem n part part
 FT: "Really? Like that?/Is that it?"

SR253

Wordform: ax, maoh baov: jav daeuh
 WfGloss: all right, agreeing 3S say then ok
 WfPOS: part pro v adv v
 FT: "Wonderful", he (the boy) said: "Then good."

SR254

Wordform: maoh yuh, liax, yuh leis laenl
 WfGloss: 3S again, then asking for response again, then obtain object
 WfPOS: pro adv part part adv v CLS
 FT: He (the boy) then got another one (of his required tools).

SR255

Wordform: dah yas yuh: jav yuh naengl laeup hangc
 WfGloss: from there again, then then again, then also how way
 WfPOS: conj adv adv adv adv adv adv pro n

weex eel?
make, do QUESTION
v part

FT: The boy) again (asked): "What do I do next?"

SR256

Wordform: maoh baov: jav xus xic naih dil nyac xus laih hangc
WfGloss: 3S say then then time, season this pause 2S then this way
WfPOS: pro v adv adv comm dem part pro adv dem n

FT: He (the old man) said: "Next you do this..."

SR257

Wordform: nyac xus eenv bail dil, maoh baov: xus taeuk
WfGloss: 2S then again, one more time go pause 3S say then arrive, reach
WfPOS: pro adv adv v part pro v adv v

geec meec gaoclaoc yenc laox
place, location have husband people elder
comm v comm comm adj

FT: "You continue", he said: "(You will) arrive at a place where there is an old man."

SR258

Wordform: geec jas yah kaeip deih wangcjiv, maoh baov
WfGloss: place, location there also, too open field corn 3S say
WfPOS: comm adv adv v comm comm pro v

FT: "There (he) also works in corn field", he said.

SR259

Wordform: kaeip deih wangcjiv dil, maoh baov: nyac xus dah yas
WfGloss: open field corn pause 3S say 2S then from there
WfPOS: v comm comm part pro v pro adv conj adv

bail bail xus dungs gaoc kaeip deih wangcjiv xus
go go then run into, meet adult man open field corn new information
v v- adv v comm v v comm comm mkr

FT: "(He) explores corn field", he said; "You go on from there and you will meet an old man exploring his corn field."

SR260

Wordform: maoh sangx jagx daeux liees, maoh baov
WfGloss: 3S raise large stuff many (animated) goat 3S say
WfPOS: pro v CLS adv comm pro v

FT: "He will be raising a lot of goats," he said.

SR261

Wordform: sangx daeux liees dil maoh baov: nyac yenp maoh
WfGloss: raise many (animated) goat developing, new info 3S say 2S with, and 3S
WfPOS: v adv comm mkr pro v pro prep pro

aol loc liees, liax,
take, bring animals goat asking for response
v CLS comm part

FT: "Raising a lot of goats," he said; "You will ask for a goat from him."

SR262

Wordform: yenp maoh gangs dil baov maoh yamI
WfGloss: with, and 3S speak, talk, say developing, new info say 3S loan, borrow
WfPOS: prep pro v mkr v pro v

loc liees bagx jas dil nyac
animals goat white that to 2S
CLS comm adj mkr prep pro

FT: "Talk to him and ask him to lend you the white ram."

SR263

Wordform: maoh baov: yamI loc daegx liees bagx jas
WfGloss: 3S tell loan, borrow animals male (mammals) goat white that
WfPOS: pro v v CLS adj comm adj mkr

dil nyac xus
to 2S new information
prep pro mkr

FT: He(the old man) said: "(Asking him to) lend the white ram to you, then..."

SR264

Wordform: deenh nuv gangs baov nyac amv menl huenp lac nyac
WfGloss: once if speak, talk, say say 2S fix, repair sky finished PERF 2S
WfPOS: adv conj v v pro v comm adj asp pro

nyenh lunx jonv dil maoh
still return, escort back to 3S
adv v adv prep pro

FT: "Say that... once you have finished the sky fixing, you will return (that white ram) to him."

SR265

Wordform: nyac yenp maoh hangc gangs
WfGloss: 2S with, and 3S way speak, talk, say
WfPOS: pro prep pro n v

FT: "You speak to him in this manner."

SR266

Wordform: ac, maoh xus maoh xus weengc sic aol nyac laoc, maoh baov
WfGloss: agreeing, OK 3S then 3S then must be give 2S PERF 3S say
WfPOS: part pro adv pro adv aux aux v pro part pro v

FT: "All right, he will, then he will certainly give (it) to you."

SR267

Wordform: gaoc yenc laox jas longc lail lail jas
WfGloss: adult man people elder that heart good good quality
WfPOS: comm comm adj mkr comm adj adj mkr

FT: "He is a very good hearted man."

SR268

Wordform: nuv nyac gangs amv menl maoh weengc llingx
WfGloss: if 2S speak, talk, say fix, repair sky 3S must accept
WfPOS: conj pro v v comm pro aux v

FT: "If you say tell (him that you want to) fix the sky, he will certainly give what you asked for."

SR269

Wordform: oc hox, heek, maoh yah weex wangcjiv xis
WfGloss: unexpected finding I see, fact found exactly 3S also, too make, do corn reasoning
WfPOS: part part part pro adv v comm mkr

FT: "I see!", exactly, "(Because) he also grows corns."

SR270

Wordform: gaeis xis maoh xus nyaengc lac leis naenl jas leis naenl
WfGloss: NEG be 3S then really PERF obtain large objects that obtain large objects
WfPOS: adv aux pro Adv adv asp v CLS mkr v CLS

qenckuangp maoh xus nyaengc bail lac
situation 3S then really go PERF
comm pro adv adv v asp

FT: So really, he really.. after learning these things, he started on his journey.

SR271

Wordform: bail bail xus weenp dah jus naenl jenc xis
WfGloss: go go then climb over, cross cross nine large objects mountain then
WfPOS: v v adv v conj num CLS comm adv

taeuk jagx haeis bail lic
arrive, reach large stuff sea go confirming
v CLS comm v part

FT: (He) traveled, climbing over nine mountains, and then he arrived at the sea.

SR272

Wordform: taeuk jagx haeis bail maoh xus leeml il
WfGloss: arrive, reach large stuff sea go 3S then strike, do forcefully one
WfPOS: v CLS comm v pro adv v num

jaemx liax, daens jagx jags jas
 stomp asking for response wear large stuff straw shoe MAN
 v part v CLS comm part

FT: (Once he) arrived at the sea, he stomped his feet wearing the pair of straw shoes.

SR273

Wordform: leeml il jaemx xis naenl, laemx, naenl haeis
 WfGloss: strike, do forcefully one stomp then large objects water large objects sea
 WfPOS: v num v adv CLS comm CLS comm

dil naenl laemx jas lags hodxhodx dal lic
 developing, new info large objects water that boil dynamically, loudly come confirming
 mkr CLS comm mkr v adv v part

FT: (After he) stomped once, the sea water, the water of the sea, boiled over.

SR274

Wordform: lags hodxhodx jas jenc dal . xis
 WfGloss: boil dynamically, loudly MAN mountain come new information
 WfPOS: v adv part comm v mkr

FT: Once the water of the sea boiled over...

SR275

Wordform: hev heip, laox liongwangc xus, laox
 WfGloss: stop! warning, attention drawing surprised elder dragon king then elder
 WfPOS: part part adj comm adv adj

liongwangc xus leis qingk naenl jas jaemx laoxhos xis
 dragon king then experience hear large objects that stomp serious, strong reasoning?
 comm adv mkr v CLS mkr v adj mkr

FT: "Stop!" said the dragon king who felt that the sound of stamping was too horrible.

SR276

Wordform: geis xis bac jenc dal lac
 WfGloss: NEG be clamber, crawl mountain come PERF
 WfPOS: adv aux v comm v asp

FT: So (he) came up (from the bottom of the sea) to the surface.

SR277

Wordform: bac jenc dal: hev. baov: naeuc wul
 WfGloss: clamber, crawl mountain come stop! warning, attention drawing say who above, upper end
 WfPOS: v comm v part v pro adv

naih wuc, liax, naeuc wul naih weex maenv mangc
 this question, Zhuiwen asking for response who above, upper end this make, do stuff what
 dem part part pro adv dem v comm pro
 naih wuc?
 this question closely
 dem part

FT: (He) ascended, and (said): "Stop! Who up here, who up here is doing this?"

SR278

Wordform: maoh xus baov: hex, maoh baov: nyac qak dal lic
 WfGloss: 3S then say relieving 3S say 2S ascend come confirming
 WfPOS: pro adv v part pro v pro v v part

is laix
 question, doubting like this
 part part

FT: Then he (the boy) said: "OK/now I've got your attention, you are here now, " like this.

SR279

Wordform: maoh baov: hex, maoh baov: yaoc xiangv dal yenp nyac
 WfGloss: 3S say relieving 3S say 1S want come with, and 2S
 WfPOS: pro v part pro v pro v v prep pro

yaml il jinx hok ac, laix
 loan, borrow one classifier for tools stuff SUG like this
 v num CLS comm part part

FT: He (the boy) said: "Well, I would like to borrow one thing from you."

SR280

Wordform: yaml jagx mangc ax?
 WfGloss: loan, borrow large stuff what question
 WfPOS: v CLS pro part
 FT: "Borrow what?"

SR281

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc dil xiangv yenp nyac yaml nyingl jingl
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S pause want with, and 2S loan, borrow a bit nail
 WfPOS: pro v pro part v prep pro v comm comm

bail amv menl
 go fix, repair sky
 v v comm

FT: "I want to borrow some nails from you to fix the sky."

SR282

Wordform: deihhuangp laol jas dil maoh baov: nyaengx kemk menl
 WfGloss: place we there pause 3S say really have hole, crack sky
 WfPOS: comm pro adv part pro v adv v comm

daeux jas suds luih bail ngenl wanc maenv wangcjiv naih
 PERF, already MAN leak, come out descend go emphasizing already those corn this
 part part v v v mkr adv pro comm dem

haeix lail, maoh baov
 not good 3S say
 neg adj pro v

FT: "In my hometown," he said: "the sky is leaking badly and the corn crop is being mined," he said.

SR283

Wordform: ixhip, baov: yaoc meec jagx mangc amv menl leis ax?
 WfGloss: shocking say 1S have large stuff what fix, repair sky able question
 WfPOS: part v pro v CLS pro v comm part part
 FT: "What?" (the dragon king) asked: "What do I have to fix the sky?"

SR284

Wordform: maoh baov: yiuv nyac dil saml nadi ngeec ac
 WfGloss: 3S say need, want 2S POSS three grains, small seeds tooth SUG
 WfPOS: pro v aux pro part num CLS comm part
 FT: He (the boy) explained: "(I) want three of your teeth."

SR285

Wordform: yixhip, maoh baov: jav nanc, jagx ngeec jas aol
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say that cannot large stuff tooth that give
 WfPOS: part pro v dem aux CLS comm mkr v

nyac leis eec
 2S able do you think...? Really?
 pro part part

FT: "What are you saying?", he said; "That is impossible. How can my teeth be given to you? (No way!)"

SR286

Wordform: yaoc yiuv janl maenv yiuv ngaoh maenv, liax
 WfGloss: 1S need, want eat stuff need, want chew, masticate stuff asking for response
 WfPOS: pro aux v comm aux v comm part
 FT: "I need (my teeth) to eat and chew stuff."

SR287

Wordform: jav nanc nanc nanc
 WfGloss: that cannot cannot cannot
 WfPOS: dem aux aux aux
 FT: "That is not possible."

SR288

Wordform: yiv, jav weengc yiuv daeuh aol yaoc
 WfGloss: surprising that must need, want passive give 1S
 WfPOS: part dem aux aux mkr v pro
 FT: "You are refusing? But you must give that to me."

SR289

Wordform: maoh baov: jav deihhuangp jas nuv gangs baov nyac haeix aol
 WfGloss: 3S say topic place there if speak, say say 2S not give
 WfPOS: pro v mkr comm adv conj v v pro neg v

yaoc amv menl xis maenv yenc naih luv daeil bail leec
 1S fix, repair sky reasoning? those people this starve, have famine die go truth
 pro v comm mkr pro comm dem v v v mkr
 FT: He (the boy) said: "If you do not give me (your teeth) to fix the sky, the people in my hometown will starve to death."

SR290

Wordform: nanc, naenl jav xis weengc sic nanc
 WfGloss: cannot large objects that reasoning? must be cannot
 WfPOS: aux CLS dem mkr aux aux aux

FT: "No way! That is impossible (I cannot give you my teeth)."

SR291

Wordform: jav xis daeil dul bens yav lac
 WfGloss: that be die even only that PERF
 WfPOS: dem aux v adv adv dem asp

FT: "Even if I was dead, I would not give them to you."

SR292

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc weengc sic nanc
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S must be cannot
 WfPOS: pro v pro aux aux aux

FT: He (the dragon king) said: "I cannot do it."

SR293

Wordform: nyaengc nanc ic is?
 WfGloss: really cannot pause question, doubting
 WfPOS: adv aux part part

FT: "(Is it) really impossible (to you)?"

SR294

Wordform: nyaengc nanc, maoh baov: jav xis
 WfGloss: really cannot 3S say that be
 WfPOS: adv aux pro v dem aux

FT: "Really impossible", he said: "That is..."

SR295

Wordform: jav yaoc yuh jaemx lic, maoh baov
 WfGloss: topic 1S again, then stomp confirming 3S say
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v part pro v

FT: "Then I will (have to) stomp again", he said.

SR296

Wordform: hak, maoh baov: laeup hangc dul nanc
 WfGloss: disagreeing, defiant 3S say how way all cannot
 WfPOS: part pro v pro n adv aux

FT: "(Still) no way!" he said: "No matter what (you do), (that is) impossible."

SR297

Wordform: dil maoh yuh leeml il jaemx lic
 WfGloss: peak developing 3S again, then Strike, do forcefully one stomp not sure
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v num v part

FT: So he (the boy) stomped once more.

SR298

Wordform: leeml il jaemx beeh gaox dingv jas hangc
 WfGloss: strike, do forcefully one stomp concession? inside under there kind; type
 WfPOS: v num v part adv adv adv CLS

xiaoxyaoh jas ngl pias longc beel lic, liax,
 little soldier that emphasizing turn over, upside down stomach go confirming asking for response
 comm mkr part v comm v part part

FT: With this stomp, the little soldiers underneath the sea water turned their stomach over (died), let me tell you.

SR299

Wordform: lags laemx jenc dal yuh naengx bens nuv pias longc
 WfGloss: boil water mountain come also immediately only see turn over, upside down stomach
 WfPOS: v comm comm v adv adv adv v v comm comm

beel xis
 go then
 v adv

FT: The water was boiling and all around the little soldiers were dying...

SR300

Wordform: heek, wanl dal lic
 WfGloss: exactly scream come confirming
 WfPOS: part v v part

FT: Exactly, (they) were even screaming (to death).

SR301

Wordform: wanl dal xis
 WfGloss: scream come then
 WfPOS: v v adv

FT: Once (they) screamed,...

SR302

Wordform: laox liongwangc: ixhip, naenl naih weex geis, liax,
 WfGloss: elder dragon king shocking large objects this make, do unable asking for response
 WfPOS: adj comm part CLS dem v part part

laih dil laenl xis, baov, liax
 this MAN object reasoning say asking for response
 dem part CLS mkr v part

FT: The dragon king murmured: "Hm! This(situation) is unbearable," like this.

SR303

Wordform: hex, yiuw daeuh aol maoh jingv weex leis
 WfGloss: relieving need, want passive give 3S only make, do able
 WfPOS: part aux mkr v pro adv v particle

FT: "Hm, (I) need to give (my teeth) to him to stop him from stomping."

SR304

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac aol yaoc dil haeix wuc?
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S give 1S or not question closely
 WfPOS: pro v pro v pro conj neg part

FT: He (the boy) asked: "Are you going to give me the teeth or not?"

SR305

Wordform: heex, maoh baov: nanc aol
 WfGloss: sighing 3S say cannot give
 WfPOS: part pro v aux v

FT: "Hm..." the dragon king said: "(I still) can not give (them to you)."

SR306

Wordform: nuv nyac nuv nyac haeix aol yaoc yuh jaemx lic, maoh baov
 WfGloss: if 2S if 2S not give 1S again, then stomp confirming 3S say
 WfPOS: conj pro conj pro neg v pro adv v part part pro v

FT: "If you do not give to me, I will stomp again!" he said.

SR307

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: jav beix laeuc lus beix laeuc
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say topic do not PERF fact confirming do not PERF
 WfPOS: part pro v mkr adv part part adv part part

lus beix laeuc lus
 fact confirming do not PERF fact confirming
 part adv part part

FT: "What?" he begged: "Please do not do that again, please, please."

SR308

Wordform: maoh baov: jav daeuh daeuh daeuh daeuh
 WfGloss: 3S say that ok ok ok ok
 WfPOS: pro v dem v v v v

FT: He said: "OK, OK, OK!"

SR309

Wordform: maoh baov, liax, nuv laih dil laenl xis
 WfGloss: 3S say asking for response if this MAN object reasoning?
 WfPOS: pro v part conj dem part CLS mkr

FT: "If(the situation) is like this. "

SR310

Wordform: maoh baov: nyac, yaoc aol nyac aol nyac aol nyac
 WfGloss: 3S say 2S 1S give 2S give 2S give 2S
 WfPOS: pro v pro pro v pro v pro v pro

FT: he said: "I will give (them) to you, I will give (them) to you."

SR311

Wordform: jav dil maoh yah nyaengc ngeeux saml jagx
 WfGloss: topic peak developing 3S also, too really pry three large stuff
 WfPOS: mkr mkr pro adv adv v num CLS

ngeec xus aol dil maoh beel, liax
 tooth then give to 3S go asking for response
 comm adv v prep pro v part

FT: So he (the dragon king) pried out three teeth and gave them to him (the boy.)

SR312

Wordform: aol dil maoh beel xus daeuh laeuc
 WfGloss: give to 3S go then appropriate PERF
 WfPOS: v prep pro v adv adj part

FT: Once he gave the teeth to him, everything was back on track.

SR313

Wordform: maoh xus yah: yav xis, maoh baov: xeenglxuh nyac lus
 WfGloss: 3S then also, too that be 3S say thank, appreciate 2S fact confirming
 WfPOS: pro adv adv dem aux pro v v pro part

FT: He (the boy) then said: " I thank you (for this)."

SR314

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc bail lac, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S go PERF asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v pro v asp part

FT: "I must go," like this.

SR315

Wordform: yuh bail ac
 WfGloss: again, then go pause
 WfPOS: adv v part

FT: (So the boy) moved on again.

SR316

Wordform: maoh yuh weenp laenl jenc xis yuh
 WfGloss: 3S again, then climb over, cross object mountain then again, then
 WfPOS: pro adv v CLS comm adv adv

taeuk jagx haeis beel lic
 arrive, reach large stuff sea go confirming
 v CLS comm v part

FT: He (the boy) climbed over one more mountain, and he arrived at the sea again.

SR317

Wordform: yuh taeuk' haeis beel xis maoh yuh geec jas
 WfGloss: again, then arrive, reach sea go then 3S again, then place, location there
 WfPOS: adv v comm v adv pro adv comm adv

yuh bail leeml il jaemx
 again, then go strike, do forcefully one stomp
 adv v v num v

FT: (He) arrived at the sea again, and then he stomped once more.

SR318

Wordform: leeml il jaemx xus jagx laox liongcwangc xus yah
 WfGloss: strike, do forcefully one stomp then people elder dragon king then also, too
 WfPOS: v num v adv CLS adj comm adv adv

dah dingv jas bac jenc dal lac
 from under there clamber, crawl mountain come PERF
 conj adv adv v comm v asp

FT: (The boy) stomped once, then the dragon king ascended from the bottom (of the sea).

SR319

Wordform: hev hep, maoh baov: wul jas
 WfGloss: stop! warning, attention drawing Wow, surprised 3S say above, upper end there
 WfPOS: part part pro v adv adv

naeuc weex wuc?
 who make, do question closely
 pro v part

FT: "Stop!" He (the dragon king) said: "Who is stomping up there?"

SR320

Wordform: baov, liax, laol geec jas nyaoh geis qenc huc
 WfGloss: say asking for response we place, location there live unable successful suggestion
 WfPOS: v part pro comm adv v part adj part

FT: (The dragon king) complained: "We cannot even live (down in the bottom)."

SR321

Wordform: hev, maoh baov: nyac qak daeux xis yaoc xiangv
 WfGloss: stop! attention drawing 3S say 2S ascend PERF, already then 1S want
 WfPOS: part pro v pro v part adv pro v

yenp nyac beel, liax, xiangv yenp nyac yamI naenI wangcxuic
 with, and 2S go asking for response want with, and 2S loan, borrow large objects hammer
 prep pro v part v prep pro v CLS comm

ac
 SUG
 part

FT: "Listen!" He said: "(Since) you have come up here, I want to borrow a hammer from you."

SR322

Wordform: iv, maoh baov: wugs wangcxuic dal weex mangc ax?
 WfGloss: extreme surprise 3S say come out, go outside hammer come make, do what question
 WfPOS: part pro v v comm v v pro part

FT: "What?" he said: "Take hammer for what?"

SR323

Wordform: yaoc geec laeup meec wangcxuic ax?
 WfGloss: 1S place, location where have hammer question
 WfPOS: pro comm pro v comm part

FT: "Where would I have a hammer?"

SR324

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: yaoc yiuV bail amv menI lic
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 3S say 1S PROG go fix, repair sky confirming
 WfPOS: part pro v pro aux v v comm part

FT: "Well," he said: "I need it to go to fix the sky."

SR325

Wordform: maoh baov, liax
 WfGloss: 3S say asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v part

FT: He said (this), you know.

SR326

Wordform: yav yaoc laeup geec laeup meec wangcxuic dil nyac beel
 WfGloss: then 1S where place, location where have hammer to 2S go
 WfPOS: adv pro pro comm pro v comm prep pro v

amv menl ax?
fix, repair sky question
v comm part

FT: "Then where do I have a hammer for you to go to fix the sky?"

SR327

Wordform: jagx baol nyac jas
WfGloss: large stuff horn 2S that
WfPOS: CLS comm pro mkr

FT: "Your horn."

SR328

Wordform: ixhip, aol jagx baol yaoc dil nyac, jav weex
WfGloss: shocking give large stuff horn 1S to 2S that make, do
WfPOS: part v CLS comm pro prep pro dem v

leis qenc lus? liax
able successful fact confirming asking for response
part adj part part

FT: "What? give my horn away to you? Is that doable? (no way!)" *

SR329

Wordform: jav yaoc wanc kaok jagx baol naih lic
WfGloss: then 1S originally depend on large stuff horn this confirming
WfPOS: adv pro adv v CLS comm dem part

FT: "I always rely on my horns."

SR330

Wordform: jav nuv haeix jagx baol jas keep dal qihhup
WfGloss: then if not large stuff horn that 3P come bully
WfPOS: adv conj neg CLS comm mkr pro v v

yaoc, baov, liax
1S say asking for response
pro v part

FT: "If I do not have my horns, others will bully me ", (the dragon king) said, let me tell you.

SR331

Wordform: yaoc baol naih ngeeux keep jingv keep jingv qok lic
WfGloss: 1S horn this pry 3P only 3P only fear confirming
WfPOS: pro comm dem v pro adv comm adv v part

FT: (I use) my horns to beat them up, so they will be afraid of (me)."

SR332

Wordform: hoh, yav nanc
WfGloss: so that impossible
WfPOS: adv dem adj

FT: "So that is impossible."

SR333

Wordform: yix, maoh baov: jav beix nanc luh
WfGloss: surprising, what? 3S say that do not cannot warning
WfPOS: part pro v dem adv aux part

FT: "What?" he (the boy) said: "Do not (tell me that it is) impossible."

SR334

Wordform: maoh baov: nuv nyac nanc xis weengc sic weengc yivv
WfGloss: 3S say if 2S cannot but must be must need, want
WfPOS: pro v conj pro aux conj aux aux aux aux

daeuh aol yaoc
passive give 1S
mkr v pro

FT: He (the boy) said: "Even if (you said) you believe that you cannot, you must give (them) to me. "

SR335

Wordform: maoh baov: haeix xis deihuangp laol jas yenc luv
WfGloss: 3S say not be place we there people starve, have famine
WfPOS: pro v neg aux comm pro adv comm v

daeil lieeux beel lax
 die finished, out go PERF
 v adv v part

FT: He (the boy) said: "Otherwise all the people in my hometown will die."

SR336

Wordform: naengx suds kemk menl jas baox jas suds
 WfGloss: immediately leak, come out have hole, crack sky that PERF MAN leak, come out
 WfPOS: adv v v comm mkr part part v

naenl mienp jas luh daengl wanc amv geis qenc, maoh baov
 large objects rain that descend come already fix, repair unable successful 3S say
 CLS comm mkr v v adv v part adj pro v

FT: "(Because) the sky is leaking and the rain is pouring down, and they have no way to fix it", he (the boy) said.

SR337

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: yav jagx laeup weex xeis
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say that abstract how make, do sighing, extremely disappointed
 WfPOS: part pro v dem mkr pro v part

ax, laix
 question like this
 part part

FT: "Wow", he (the dragon king) said: "Is there any other way?"

SR338

Wordform: maoh baov: naenl baol dil nyac xis nyaengc nanc
 WfGloss: 3S say large objects horn to 2S reasoning? really cannot
 WfPOS: pro v CLS comm prep pro mkr adv aux

luh
 attention drawing
 part

FT: He (the dragon king) said: Giving (my) horn to you is really impossible."

SR339

Wordform: nuv nyac yiuu jagx xingh daov naengl weex leis nyingl lees
 WfGloss: if 2S need, want large stuff other opposite still make, do able a bit conceding
 WfPOS: conj pro aux CLS adj adj adv v part comm part

FT: "If you want something else, may be I can help you."

SR340

Wordform: jav nyac weengc yiuu daeuh aol yaoc lic
 WfGloss: then 2S must need, want passive give 1S confirming
 WfPOS: adv pro aux aux mkr v pro part

FT: "But you must give (them) to me."

SR341

Wordform: nuv nyac haeix aol yaoc xis yaoc yuh xis jaemx lic,
 WfGloss: if 2S not give 1S then 1S again, then then stomp confirming
 WfPOS: conj pro neg v pro adv pro adv adv v part

baov, liax
 say asking for response
 v part

FT: "If you do not give (them) to me, I will stomp again!", he (the boy) threatened. You know.

SR342

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: jav beix beix beix
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say that do not do not do not
 WfPOS: part pro v dem adv adv adv

FT: "What?" he (the dragon king) said: "Do not do that, please, please."

SR343

Wordform: maoh baov, liax: xic naih dul wanc baov
 WfGloss: 3S say asking for response time, season this even already say
 WfPOS: pro v part comm dem adv adv v

yenc geis qenc laeuc
 people unable successful PERF
 comm part adj part

FT: He (the dragon king) said: "The suffering caused by (the boy's stomping) has been already beyond description."

SR344

Wordform: yaoc dul geec jas xis laeup nyaoh geis qenc yaoc jingv
 WfGloss: 1S even place, location there be how live unable successful 1S only
 WfPOS: pro adv comm adv aux pro v part adj pro adv

bac qak dal
 clamber, crawl ascend come
 v v v

FT: "Even I was helpless down there, so I came up here."

SR345

Wordform: nuv nyac yuh jaemx xis lail laenl lac, daeil lac, baov,
 WfGloss: if 2S again, then *stomp then good object PERF die PERF say
 WfPOS: conj pro adv v adv adj CLS asp v asp v

liax
 asking for response
 part

FT: "If you stomp again, then (we) will die," he (the dragon king) said, let me tell you.

SR346

Wordform: heex, aol nyac aol nyac aol nyac
 WfGloss: sighing give 2S give 2S give 2S
 WfPOS: part v pro v pro v pro

FT: "OK, (I will) give (them) to you, (I will) give (them) to you. "

SR347

Wordform: hah, maoh xus bail yamI jagx jov, jov
 WfGloss: new info 3S then go loan, borrow large stuff saw saw
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v v CLS comm comm

dadl keck dal xus daeic jagx baol xus gaenv
 cut, sever iron come then disposable large stuff horn then cut
 v comm v adv v CLS comm adv v

il mangv baol dil maoh beel, liax
 one part, half horn to 3S go asking for response
 num CLS comm prep pro v part

FT: (Here you go), he (the dragon king) then went to borrow a saw, a metal-cutting saw, to cut off one of his (two) horns to give to him (the boy).

SR348

Wordform: gaenv il mangv baol xus leis baol
 WfGloss: cut one part, half horn then obtain horn
 WfPOS: v num CLS comm adv v comm

FT: (The dragon king) cut off one of his horns, and (the boy) got the horn.

SR349

Wordform: hih, leis baol xus maoh yuh bail lac
 WfGloss: sighing obtain horn then 3S again, then go PERF
 WfPOS: part v comm adv pro adv v asp

FT: OK, (after) getting the horn, he (the boy) moved on again.

SR350

Wordform: yuh bail nyaengc luh, taeuk bail xus
 WfGloss: again, then go real, true, genuine attention drawing arrive, reach go then
 WfPOS: adv v adj part v v adv

dungs gaoclaoc kaeip deih wangcjiv
 run into, meet husband open field corn
 v comm v comm comm

FT: (The boy) went on, when (he) arrived there he met an old man who was exploring his corn field (as he had been told).

SR351

Wordform: heh, maoh baov: yenc laox heip, yenc
 WfGloss: sighing after labor work 3S say people elder caring people
 WfPOS: part pro v comm adj part comm

laox heip, lav nyingl gunv wuc, laix
 elder caring have a rest a bit first listen! like this
 adj part v comm adv part part
 FT: "Hello..." he (the boy) said: "Old man, old man, please take a break first", like this.

SR352

Wordform: yixhip, baos heip, maoh baov: nyac weex
 WfGloss: shocking older brother caring 3S say 2S make, do
 WfPOS: part comm part pro v pro v

naenl mangc ax?
 large objects what question
 CLS pro part
 FT: "Oh! Kid," he (the old man) said: "What are you doing (here?)"

SR353

Wordform: lav nyingl gunv mac, ac laol kuanh nyingl gunv mac
 WfGloss: have a rest a bit first SUG two we chat a bit first SUG
 WfPOS: v comm adv part num pro v comm adv part
 FT: "Take a break first. Let's chat a bit."

SR354

Wordform: hax, daeuh daeuh daeuh daeuh
 WfGloss: bingo ok ok ok ok
 WfPOS: part v v v v
 FT: "Sure let's take a break."

SR355

Wordform: maoh yah dah yas xus luih dal xus
 WfGloss: 3S also, too from there then descend SUG then
 WfPOS: pro adv conj adv adv v part adv

yaop jagx gongc yinl xus geec jas jedl yinl
 look for large stuff pipe tobacco then place, location there light up, ignite tobacco
 v CLS comm comm adv comm adv v comm
 FT: He (the old man) came down from (the place where he was working) and found his smoking pipe, and put tobacco in there.

SR356

Wordform: jedl yinl xus: nongx ngl, yav nyac weex
 WfGloss: light up, ignite tobacco then kid caring? then 2S make, do
 WfPOS: v comm adv comm part adv pro v

jagx mangc ngl? laix
 abstract what caring? like this
 mkr pro part part
 FT: (Once he) had lit his tobacco, then (the old man said/asked): "My kid, what are you doing here? "

SR357

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: yenc laox heip ic
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 3S say people elder appealing pause
 WfPOS: part pro v comm adj part part
 FT: "Well," he (the boy) said: "Sir."

SR358

Wordform: maoh baov waenl naih xiangv daengl jouc nyac nyingl ac
 WfGloss: 3S say day this want come ask for, request 2S a bit SUG
 WfPOS: pro v comm dem v v v pro comm part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "Today I would like to ask you for favor."

SR359

Wordform: hop, meec jagx mangc ax, yav nyac
 WfGloss: unexpected, surprised have abstract what question then 2S
 WfPOS: part v mkr pro part adv pro

jouc yaoc? ,
 ask for, request 1S
 v pro
 FT: "Really? What (kind of request do you) have? What is your appeal?"

SR360

Wordform: nyac gangs nyac gangs, liax
 WfGloss: 2S speak, talk, say 2S speak, talk, say asking for response
 WfPOS: pro v pro v part
 FT: "You tell me, please."

SR361

Wordform: nuv yaoc weex leis taeuk dil yaoc weengc sic,
 WfGloss: if 1S make, do able arrive, reach in case of, if 1S always be
 WfPOS: conj pro v part v conj pro adv aux

liax, weengc sic tongcyiv
 asking for response always be agree
 part adv aux v
 FT: "If I can do (it), I will, I will certainly agree (to do it)."

SR362

Wordform: il laih wuc, maoh baov
 WfGloss: alike this listen! 3S say
 WfPOS: adv dem part pro v
 FT: "(My request) is like this", he (the boy) said.

SR363

Wordform: deihuangp laol jas xus kemk menl beel xus ngenl
 WfGloss: place we there then have hole, crack sky go then emphasizing
 WfPOS: comm pro adv adv v comm v adv mkr

wanc waenl xus ngenl wanc waenl waenl yah
 fact, what happened day then emphasizing fact, day day that
 mkr comm adv mkr comm comm pro

hangc dogl mienp xus
 kind; type drip, drop rain then
 CLS v comm adv
 FT: "(In) my hometown, the sky is cracked, and everyday it rains (badly) like that."

SR364

Wordform: maenv wangcjiv haeix lail dih laeup daeuh nyac dil wangcjiv
 WfGloss: those corn not good pause where like 2S POSS corn
 WfPOS: pro comm neg adj part pro adv pro part comm

laih jagx ax
 this way, like confirming
 dem comm part
 FT: ""The corn crop is not good. It is not like your crops here."

SR365

Wordform: laol geec jas yah dos wangcjiv, heek, daeil lieeux,
 WfGloss: we place, location there also, too plant corn exactly die finished, out
 WfPOS: pro comm adv adv v comm part v, adv

wanc daeil laemx lieeux baov
 fact, what happened die water finished, out PERF
 mkr v comm adv part
 FT: "In my hometown we also grow corn", exactly, "but the corn crop is over watered so it dies."

SR366

Wordform: geis xis: hiv
 WfGloss: NEG be sighing
 WfPOS: adv aux part
 FT: So (the old man) said: "Oh no!"

SR367

Wordform: maoh baov: yav xis nyaengc lus
 WfGloss: 3S say that be real, true, genuine fact confirming
 WfPOS: pro v dem aux adj part
 FT: He said: "That is really (bad)."

SR368

Wordform: nuv gangs baov laol xis yenc kaeip deih xis nuv jagx
 WfGloss: if speak, talk, say say we then people open field be if large stuff
 WfPOS: conj v v pro adv comm v comm aux conj CLS

wangcjiv dul haeix lail xis jav laeup weex aol mangc sangx
 com even not good then then how make, do use, apply what feed
 comm adv neg adj adv adv pro v v pro v

loh ax, liax
 voice, life question asking for response
 comm part part

FT: "Are you talking about peasants? If so, if their corn crop fails, how will they live?"

SR369

Wordform: jav xis daeuh daeuh, meec jagx banlhuac mangc ax?
 WfGloss: that then ok ok have large stuff method, way what question
 WfPOS: dem adv v v v CLS comm pro part
 FT: "Then all right, what can we do?"

SR370

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc xiangv yenp nyac yaml jagx
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S want with, and 2S loan, borrow large stuff
 WfPOS: pro v pro v prep pro v CLS

daegx liees bagx jas bail
 male (mammals) goat white that go
 adj comm adj mkr v

FT: He (the boy) said: "I want to borrow your white ram."

SR371

Wordform: yix, jagx daegx liees naih meec jagx mangc,
 WfGloss: surprising, what? large stuff male (mammals) goat this have abstract what
 WfPOS: part CLS adj comm dem v mkr pro

liax, weex leis ax?
 asking for response make, do able question
 part v part part

FT: "Are you sure? How can this ram help?"

SR372

Wordform: maoh baov: weex leis lic
 WfGloss: 3S say make, do able confirming
 WfPOS: pro v v part part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "(the ram) can work this out."

SR373

Wordform: maoh baov, liax: jagx daegx liees naih yaoc,
 WfGloss: 3S say asking for response large stuff male (mammals) goat this 1S
 WfPOS: pro v part CLS adj comm dem pro

aol dil yaoc weex leis lic
 give to 1S make, do able confirming
 v prep pro v part part

FT: He (the boy) said: "If you give me this ram, then it will help fix the sky."

SR374

Wordform: hoc hop, yav daeuh daeuh
 WfGloss: a bit surprising unexpected, surprised then ok ok
 WfPOS: part part adv v v
 FT: "Really? Then it is a done deal!"

SR375

Wordform: ax, aol dil nyac, aol dil nyac, aol dil nyac,
 WfGloss: all right, agreeing give to 2S give to 2S give to 2S
 WfPOS: part v prep pro v prep pro v prep pro

hixhip

Not a big deal

part

FT: "All right. (I will) give it to you.(I will) give it to you. It is not a big deal (at all)."

SR376

Wordform: maoh baov: heek, ac yenc laox heip
 WfGloss: 3S say exactly HON people elder appealing
 WfPOS: pro v part part comm adj part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "Exactly! Listen to me (one more time), Old man."

SR377

Wordform: maoh baov: nik nyac, deenh yaoc amv menl huenp
 WfGloss: 3S say See! Listen to me 2S once 1S fix, repair sky finish
 WfPOS: pro v part pro adv pro v comm v'

laeuc yaoc nyenh lunx jonv dal
 PERF 1S still return, escort back come
 part pro adv v adv verb

FT: He (the boy) said: "Listen! Once I have finished fixing the sky, I will return (this ram) to you."

SR378

Wordform: hak, jagx naih nyac aol bail xus gaeis
 WfGloss: disagreeing, defiant way, like this 2S take, bring go then NEG
 WfPOS: part comm dem pro v v adv adv

yongh aol jonv yah weex leis, maoh baov, liax
 require, need take, bring back also, too make, do able 3S say asking for response
 v v adv adv v part pro v part

FT: "No. If you take the ram, it is ok you do not return it", the old man said.

SR379

Wordform: jagx daegx liees yaoc geec yas naengl meec, maoh
 WfGloss: large stuff male (mammals) goat 1S place, location there still have 3S
 WfPOS: CLS adj comm pro comm adv adv v pro

baov, liax
 say asking for response
 v part

FT: "I have plenty of rams, " the old man continued.

SR380

Wordform: geis yiuvjens
 WfGloss: NEG important, essential
 WfPOS: adv adj

FT: "Do not worry about that."

SR381

Wordform: xus maoh liingx laeuc xus
 WfGloss: then 3S accept PERF new information
 WfPOS: adv pro v part mkr

FT: So he (the old man) agreed to (the boy's request).

SR382

Wordform: maoh baov: jav xis daeuh ac has, yaoc aol bail
 WfGloss: 3S say that be ok pause SUG 1S take, bring go
 WfPOS: pro v dem aux v part part pro v v

ac has, laix
 pause SUG like this
 part has, laix

FT: He (the boy) said: "Good. Then I will take (this ram with me). "

SR383

Wordform: yaoc aol bail xus kaok nyac lus, laix
 WfGloss: 1S take, bring go then depend on 2S confirming like this
 WfPOS: pro v v adv v pro part part
 FT: "I (will) take (it) and thank you."

SR384

Wordform: maoh xus geec jas xus kuanh nyingl xus nyaengc
 WfGloss: 3S then place, location there then chat a bit then really
 WfPOS: pro adv comm adv adv v comm adv adv

leis daegx liees
 obtain male (mammals) goat
 v adj comm

FT:)So he (the boy) chatted just for a little while and he took the ram.

SR385

Wordform: leis daegx liees maoh nuv: naenl naih laeup jagx
 WfGloss: obtain male (mammals) goat 3S see large objects this how way, like
 WfPOS: v adj comm pro v CLS dem pro comm

weex eel? liax
 make, do QUESTION asking for response
 v part part

FT: (Once) he took the ram, he wondered: "What should I do (now)?"

SR386

Wordform: leis daegx liees laeuc yuh bail yuh bail
 WfGloss: obtain male (mammals) goat PERF again, then go again, then go
 WfPOS: v adj comm part adv v adv v

eanc jail leec
 house far, long (distance) truth
 comm adj mkr

FT: "(I) have got this ram, but I am so far away from home."

SR387

Wordform: yaoc dul daengl deic yingc nyanl laeuc lus,
 WfGloss: 1S even come unusual, surprising several month PERF fact confirming
 WfPOS: pro adv v mkr num comm part part

liax
 asking for response
 part

FT: "The journey has taken several months," let me tell you.

SR388

Wordform: jagx naih laeup jagx weex las?
 WfGloss: large stuff this how way, like make, do QUES
 WfPOS: CLS dem pro comm v part

FT: "How can I do with this?"

SR389

Wordform: maoh xiangv xiangv dah dah
 WfGloss: 3S think think over over
 WfPOS: pro v v adv adv

FT: He thought over and over again.

SR390

Wordform: jagx naih qop jagx daegx liees meec mienctangc, liax
 WfGloss: way, like this may large stuff male (mammals) goat have trick asking for response
 WfPOS: comm dem aux CLS adj comm v comm part

FT: "This.. may be there are tricks (in) this ram," you know.

SR391

Wordform: maoh nuv naenl naih: baov yaoc semh daegx
 WfGloss: 3S see large objects this tell 1S search, look for male (mammals)
 WfPOS: pro v CLS dem v pro v adj

liees naih xus daeuh laeuc xis
 goat this then ok PERF reasoning?
 comm dem adv v part mkr

FT: He considered this: "I was told that obtaining this ram would be efficient."

SR392

Wordform: maoh xus nyaengc ac
 WfGloss: 3S then real, true, genuine pause
 WfPOS: pro adv adj part

FT: He then really (followed what he was told next).

SR393

Wordform: xiangv xiangv dah dah: laeup jagx weex eel?
 WfGloss: think think over over how way, like make, do QUESTION
 WfPOS: v v adv adv pro comm v part

FT: Thinking over (about it): "What to do (next)?"

SR394

Wordform: daegx liees jas yuh - keedk keedk keedk keedk yuh
 WfGloss: male (mammals) goat that also baa, bleat baa, bleat baa, bleat baa, bleat again, then
 WfPOS: adj comm mkr adv v v v v adv

daengl daeis maoh, liax
 come look, watch 3S asking for response
 v v pro part

FT: That ram approached him(the boy), bleating.

SR395

Wordform: keedk keedk keedk keedk yuh daengl daeis maoh
 WfGloss: baa, bleat baa, bleat baa, bleat baa, bleat again, then come look, watch 3S
 WfPOS: v v v v adv v v pro

FT: Bleating over and over, the ram came forward to look at him(the boy).

SR396

Wordform: dil maoh yah: ev, nuv daegx liees
 WfGloss: peak developing 3S also, too well, why not? if male (mammals) goat
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv part conj adj comm

naih yuh keedk keedk keedk yuh daengl daeis yaoc
 this again, then baa, bleat baa, bleat baa, bleat again, then come look, watch 1S
 dem adv v v v adv v v pro

FT: So he (the boy then): "Hi, if this ram bleatingly comes to see me.. "

SR397

Wordform: dil yaoc xus beev jagx bal xus qak jagx
 WfGloss: peak developing 1S then set apart large stuff thigh, leg then ascend large stuff
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v CLS comm adv v CLS

daegx liees jas beel leec, liax
 male (mammals) goat that go fact telling asking for response
 adj comm mkr v particle part

FT: "Let me see if I can ride (this ram)."

SR398

Wordform: qic qak daegx liees jas beel xis
 WfGloss: ride, sit on ascend male (mammals) goat that go then
 WfPOS: v v adj comm mkr v adv

FT: He (the boy) rode on (the back of) the ram.

SR399

Wordform: dil maoh yuh meec jagx mangv dinl xus,
 WfGloss: peak developing 3S also have large stuff part, half foot then
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv v CLS CLS comm adv

liax, xus xus deix nanc qak deix nanc qak jas
 asking for response then then somewhat cannot ascend somewhat cannot ascend MAN
 part adv adv adv aux v adv aux v part

xus lieengv dads
 then limp swift and short action
 adv v part

FT: It was difficult to get on. He had to kick the ground with his feet quickly.

SR400

Wordform: maoh xus dos il tengx luih beel, liax, dos
 WfGloss: 3S then take one striking descend go asking for response take
 WfPOS: pro adv v num CLS v v part v

il tengx luih beel xis naeuc yox jagx daegx
 one striking descend go then who know large stuff male (mammals)
 num CLS v v adv pro v CLS adj

liees jas hux jenc dal lic
 goat that suddenly and fastly up come confirming
 comm mkr adv adv verb part

FT: He stomped once, just once, the ram suddenly flew into the air.

SR401

Wordform: hux jenc naengx dah menl jas naengx il
 WfGloss: suddenly and fastly up immediately from sky there immediately one
 WfPOS: adv adv adv conj comm adv adv num

lienh yuh bac taekuk eanc daeux, nyac nuv
 moment also clamber, crawl arrive, reach house PERF, already 2S see
 comm adv v v comm part pro v

FT: Flying up in the air, (it took) just a moment to arrive (the boy's) home by air. You see.

SR402

Wordform: ixhip, maoh nuv jagx naih wuc, liax
 WfGloss: shocking 3S see large stuff this conceding asking for response
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem part part

FT: "Wow!", he (the boy) said: "(Look at) this!"

SR403

Wordform: heex, jagx liees naih nyaengc lilhaip lus, liax
 WfGloss: sighing large stuff goat this really strong, excellent confirming asking for response
 WfPOS: part CLS comm dem adv adj part part

FT: "Hm. This ram is really good," let me tell you.

SR404

Wordform: taekuk eanc dal xis maoh yuh: ix, nyaengc taekuk
 WfGloss: arrive, reach house SUG then 3S again, then yes, agreeing really reach
 WfPOS: v comm part adv pro adv adv adv adv v

deihhuangp laol laeuc lus
 place we PERF fact confirming
 comm pro part part

FT: (Once he) arrived home, he then said: "(I) have really come back to my hometown (now)."

SR405

Wordform: luih dal xis maoh xus jingv jagx daegx liees geec
 WfGloss: descend SUG then 3S then tie large stuff male (mammals) goat place, location
 WfPOS: v part adv pro adv v CLS adj comm comm

jas xus laos eanc beel lax
 there then enter house go PERF
 adv adv v comm v part

FT: After descending (from the sky?/off the ram?), he restrained the ram, and then went into (his parents') house.

SR406

Wordform: laos eanc beel xis
 WfGloss: enter house go then
 WfPOS: v comm v adv

FT: (He) went into the house.

SR407

Wordform: heip, bux heip, ac naeix heip, yaoc map laeuc lic
 WfGloss: greeting father appealing HON mother appealing 1S come PERF confirming
 WfPOS: part comm part part comm part pro v part part
 FT: "Hi! Father, mother, I am back now!"

SR408

Wordform: ixhip, baos heip, laol xiangv qok nyac, naengx,
 WfGloss: shocking older brother appealing we think worry 2S immediately
 WfPOS: part comm part pro v v pro adv

liax, bail laih liaengl xiangv qok nyac naengx taeuk laeup
 asking for response go this long think worry 2S immediately arrive, reach where
 part v dem adj v v pro adv v pro

beel luc
 go PERF guessing
 v part

FT: "Oh my God! My kid! We thought you have been away for so long and would not return for a while."

SR409

Wordform: hix, yaoc bail jail lih, maoh baov, liax
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 1S go far, long (distance) confirming 3S say asking for response
 WfPOS: part pro v adj part pro v part

FT: "Well, I did go very far," he said.

SR410

Wordform: jav xis maoh baov, liax: haeix liaengl xus taeuk
 WfGloss: that be 3S say asking for response not long then arrive, reach
 WfPOS: dem aux pro v part neg adj adv v

wailgueec bail lac, maoh baov
 foreign country go PERF 3S say
 comm v asp pro v

FT: He then said: "(I went so far away that) very soon (I) would have reached the foreign countries."

SR411

Wordform: maoh baov: nyaengx jail nyaengc, yingc nyanl, yaoc
 WfGloss: 3S say very far, long (distance) really several month 1S
 WfPOS: pro v adv adj adv num comm pro

qams, liax
 walk asking for response
 v part

FT: He said: "(It was) very far. I walked for several months (to get there)."

SR412

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: yav nyac xus laeup hangc yav
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say then 2S then how way that
 WfPOS: part pro v adv pro adv pro n dem

map hoik ax?
 come fast question
 v adj part

FT: "Really?" he (father/ or mother?) asked: "Then how can you come back so soon?"

SR413

Wordform: hik, maoh baov
 WfGloss: look at this, there 3S say
 WfPOS: part pro v

FT: "Look at this," he (the boy) said.

SR414

Wordform: gagsyangh, maoh baov
 WfGloss: unusual, abnormal 3S say
 WfPOS: adj pro v

FT: "(This is really something) unusual/strange", the boy said.

SR415

Wordform: yaoc bail semh yenc amv menl xus, nik, xic
 WfGloss: 1S go search, look for people fix, repair sky then See! Listen to me time, season
 WfPOS: pro v v comm v comm adv part comm

naih leis jagx daegx liees naih, maoh baov
 this obtain large stuff male (mammals) goat this 3S say
 dem v CLS adj comm dem pro v

FT: "I went to seek people who can fix the sky, and now (I) have this ram," he said.

SR416

Wordform: jagx daegx liees naih dil yaoc qak beel xus
 WfGloss: large stuff male (mammals) goat this pause 1S ascend go then
 WfPOS: CLS adj comm dem part pro v v adv

dil yaoc xus bieedx dinl luih beel xus pemx
 peak developing 1S then stumble, fall foot descend go then deep sound of dropping
 mkr pro adv v comm v v adv part

kernk dingv dahleih beel xus
 have hole, crack under ground, floor go then
 v adv comm v adv

FT: "This ram, I got on (his back), and I kicked my feet (on the ground), then the ground was broken.."

SR417

Wordform: jagx daegx liees jas hux qak menl beel xus
 WfGloss: large stuff male (mammals) goat that suddenly and fastly ascend sky go new information
 WfPOS: CLS adj comm mkr adv v comm v mkr

FT: "The ram flew up into the sky."

SR418

Wordform: naengx dah menl daengl lic, maoh baov
 WfGloss: immediately from sky come confirming 3S say
 WfPOS: adv conj comm v part pro v

FT: "(I) came from the sky," he (the boy) said.

SR419

Wordform: ixhip, maoh baov: yav jagx ic his, liax
 WfGloss: shocking 3S say that way, like pause question asking for response
 WfPOS: part pro v dem comm part part part

FT: "Wow," he (father) said: "Is that what happened?" you all hear this?

SR420

Wordform: maoh baov: jav nyac leis maenv amv liees, amv amv
 WfGloss: 3S say topic 2S obtain stuff fix, repair goat fix, repair fix, repair
 WfPOS: pro v mkr pro v comm v comm v v

menl haeix ax?
 sky not question
 comm neg part

FT: He (father) asked: "Then have you got stuff to fix the ram, ..(no) to fix the sky yet?"

SR421

Wordform: leis lih, maoh baov, liax
 WfGloss: obtain confirming 3S say asking for response
 WfPOS: v part pro v part

FT: "(I have) got (them)," he (the boy) said, you know.

SR422

Wordform: maoh baov: jav xis, liax, aol jagx mangc
 WfGloss: 3S say that be asking for response use, apply large stuff what
 WfPOS: pro v dem aux part v CLS pro

beel amv ax?
 go fix, repair question
 v v part

FT: He (father) asked: "What do you have to fix the sky?"

SR423

Wordform: hix, maoh baov: meec banlhuac meec banlhuac
 WfGloss: well, let me tell you 3S say have method, way have method, way
 WfPOS: part pro v v comm v comm
 FT: "Well," the boy said: "(I) have got ways (to do that) ."

SR424

Wordform: maoh baov: waenl mos gunv, liax, waenl mos menl
 WfGloss: 3S say day next put off, hold asking for response day next sky
 WfPOS: pro v comm adj v part comm adj comm

guangl laeuc xus
 bright PERF new information
 adj int part mkr

FT: He (the boy) said: "Let's do it tomorrow, (when) tomorrow during the day."

SR425

Wordform: maoh baov: yaoc bail amv
 WfGloss: 3S say 1S go fix, repair
 WfPOS: pro v pro v v
 FT: "I will go to fix (the sky)."

SR426

Wordform: yeck lenc xus maoh yuh nyaengc yaop jagx.
 WfGloss: morning next new information 3S again, then really look for large stuff
 WfPOS: comm adj mkr pro adv adv v CLS
 FT: The next morning he (the boy) went to look for a ...

SR427

Wordform: maoh baov: ac bux heip, meec jagx piup
 WfGloss: 3S say HON father appealing have large stuff small bamboo basket
 WfPOS: pro v part comm part v CLS comm

haeix ax?
 not question
 neg part

FT: He (the boy) asked: "Father, (do you) have a bamboo basket?"

SR428

Wordform: maoh baov: meec, jagx piup daov meec lees
 WfGloss: 3S say have large stuff small bamboo basket opposite have conceding
 WfPOS: pro v v CLS comm adj v part
 FT: He (the father) said: "(We do) have one. As for a bamboo basket, (we) do have (that)."

SR429

Wordform: aol jagx piup dil yaoc huangpbinh nyingl, maoh baov
 WfGloss: give large stuff small bamboo basket to 1S convenient a bit 3S say
 WfPOS: v CLS comm prep pro adj comm pro v
 FT: "Give me a bamboo basket will (make this) easier," he (the boy) said.

SR430

Wordform: bux keep xus nyaengc yah meec jagx piup deix
 WfGloss: father 3P then really also, too have large stuff small bamboo basket somewhat
 WfPOS: comm pro adv adv adv v CLS comm comm adv
 deix duv jas xus aol dil maoh jongl
 somewhat cot off, break, rag MAN then give to 3S contain
 adv v part ~ adv v prep pro v
 FT: His father did have a somewhat ragged bamboo basket, and gave it to him to place the nails and the hammer in.

SR431

Wordform: maoh baov: deenh haeix suds xus weex leis laeuc
 WfGloss: 3S say once not leak, come out then make, do able PERF
 WfPOS: pro v adv neg v adv v part part
 FT: He (the boy) said: "As long as (the bamboo basket) does not let stuff slide away, then OK."

SR432

Wordform: aol maoh jongl xus maoh jongl eac jagx jingl jongl
 WfGloss: give 3S contain then 3S contain two large stuff nail contain
 WfPOS: v pro v adv pro v num CLS comm v

saml jagx jingl laos beel xus, liax, xus
 three large stuff nail into go new information asking for response new information
 num CLS comm prep v mkr part mkr
 FT: (His father) gave (it) to him, then he put into it (those) two nails (no), three nails.

SR433

Wordform: jongl jagx wangcxuic laos beel xus
 WfGloss: contain large stuff hammer into go new information
 WfPOS: v CLS comm prep v mkr
 FT: (He also) put the hammer into (the bamboo basket).

SR434

Wordform: maoh xus qic qak jagx liees beel lac
 WfGloss: 3S then ride, sit on onto large stuff goat go PERF
 WfPOS: pro adv v prep CLS comm v asp
 FT: He (the boy) then rode on the ram.

SR435

Wordform: qic qak jagx liees maoh nuv: jagx naih meec
 WfGloss: ride, sit on onto large stuff goat 3S see large stuff this have
 WfPOS: v prep CLS comm pro v CLS dem v

banlhuac laeuc, liax
 method, way PERF asking for response
 comm part part

FT: (Once he) sat on the ram, he thought: "I must know the way."

SR436

Wordform: jagx liees naih deenh nuv yaoc jaemx maoh xus
 WfGloss: large stuff goat this once if 1S stomp 3S then
 WfPOS: CLS comm dem adv conj pro v pro adv

bac jenc daeux, liax
 clamber, crawl up PERF, already asking for response
 v adv part part

FT: "This ram will fly once I stomp the ground."

SR437

Wordform: dil maoh yah tengx jaemx xus jagx jas xus
 WfGloss: peak developing 3S also, too sound of dropping stomp then large stuff that then
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv comm v adv CLS mkr adv

maoh xus nyeil qak jagx daegx liees jas beel xus
 3S then scratch ascend large stuff male (mammals) goat that go new information
 pro adv v v CLS adj comm mkr v mkr

FT: So he stomped once, (after) he got onto the ram.

SR438

Wordform: tengx il mangv dinl tengx jaemx xus
 WfGloss: strike one part, half foot sound of dropping stomp new information
 WfPOS: v num CLS comm comm v mkr

FT: (The boy) kicked (his) one foot, and stomped.

SR439

Wordform: jagx liees jas xus huk qak menl beel lic
 WfGloss: large stuff goat that then suddenly and very fastly ascend sky go confirming
 WfPOS: CLS comm mkr adv adv v comm v v part

FT: The ram flew up into the sky.

SR440

Wordform: huk qak menl beel xus nyaengx denv taeuk
 WfGloss: suddenly and very fastly ascend sky go then really rush, dash arrive, reach
 WfPOS: adv v comm v adv adv v v v

geec jagx menl beel
 place, location large stuff sky go
 comm CLS comm v

FT: Flying into the sky, (the boy and the ram) did dash to where the cracked in the sky is.

SR441

Wordform: deeux, maoh nuv xegs jagx paic naih nyaengc
 WfGloss: fuck 3S see crash, rend large stuff crack, rife, crevice this really
 WfPOS: v pro v v CLS comm dem adv

kuangs lus, liax
 wide, broad fact confirming asking for response
 adj part part

FT: "Damn," he saw (and said): " This crack here is really big."

SR442

Wordform: ixhip, maoh nuv hangc sulqenc naih wuc
 WfGloss: shocking 3S see kind; type issue this regretting
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS comm dem part

FT: "Gosh," he thought: "The is so bad!"

SR443

Wordform: dil maoh yah.
 WfGloss: peak developing 3S also, too
 WfPOS: mkr pro adv

FT: So he...

SR444

Wordform: laeup jagx weex eel?
 WfGloss: how large stuff make, do QUESTION
 WfPOS: pro CLS v part

FT: "What should I do?"

SR445

Wordform: maoh nuv naih aol jagx mangc beel amv?
 WfGloss: 3S see this use, apply abstract what go fix, repair
 WfPOS: pro v dem v mkr pro v v

FT: He wondered: "How can I fix this? "

SR446

Wordform: maoh xiangv xiangv dah dah gox laeup weex
 WfGloss: 3S think think over over do not know where make, do
 WfPOS: pro v v adv adv v pro v

FT: He thought it over but did not know how to do (it).

SR447

Wordform: maoh nuv dil yaoc xiv, liax, wenx beel jaic
 WfGloss: 3S see pause 1S try asking for response aimlessly, randomly go drag
 WfPOS: pro v part pro v part adv v v

nuv dal
 see SUG
 v part

FT: He thought: "Let me just try to pull (the sky). "

SR448

Wordform: bail jaic jaic xus naeuc yox jagx bangh menl jas
 WfGloss: go drag drag then who know large stuff CLS for thin, wide objects sky that
 WfPOS: v v v adv pro v CLS CLS comm mkr

yuh il weex il jaenx beel lic, liax
 also further make, do further close, near go confirming asking for response
 adv adv v adv adj v part part

FT: (The boy) went to pull (the sky), and the piece of the (cracked) sky moved closer and closer (as he pulled it).

SR449

Wordform: il weex il jaenx il weex il jaenx beel xis
 WfGloss: further make, do further close, near further make, do further close, near go new information
 WfPOS: adv v adv adj adv v adv adj v mkr

FT: They kept moving closer and closer...

SR450

Wordform: hix, maoh nuv: bonc naih xaoldol lac
 WfGloss: surprising 3S see times this sufficient PERF
 WfPOS: part pro v CLS dem adj asp

FT: "Aha," he (the boy) thought: "One more pull will do it."

SR451

Wordform:	dil		maoh	yah	aol	jagx	jingl	xus,
WfGloss:	peak	developing	3S	also, too	use, apply	large stuff	nail	then
WfPOS:	mkr		pro	adv	v	CLS	comm	adv

liax,		daeic	jagx	jas	dags,	liax,	aol	jagx
asking for response		disposable	large stuff	that	hammer, hit	asking for response	use, apply	large stuff
part		v	CLS	mkr	v	part	v	CLS

ngeec	ngeec	liongc	as	xus
tooth	tooth	dragon	that	then
comm	comm	comm	pro	adv

FT: So he took out the nails, the dragon teeth, and nailed them to the sky.

SR452

Wordform:	aol	jagx	wangcxuic	aol	jagx	baol	jas	xus
WfGloss:	use, apply	large stuff	hammer	use, apply	large stuff	horn	that	then
WfPOS:	v	CLS	comm	v	CLS	comm	mkr	adv

weex	wangcxuic	xus	daeic	jagx	jas	dags
make, do	hammer	then	disposable	large stuff	that	hammer, hit
v	comm	adv	v	CLS	mkr	v

FT: (The boy) took the hammer, the dragon horn, to strike (the nails).

SR453

Wordform:	dags	dags	dags	dags	xus	daengx	jagx
WfGloss:	hammer, hit	hammer, hit	hammer, hit	hammer, hit	then	whole, full	large stuff
WfPOS:	v	v	v	v	adv	adv	CLS

jas	dags	dah	beel	xus
that	hammer, hit	over	go	then
mkr	v	adv	v	adv

FT: (The boy) hit everything.

SR454

Wordform:	hax,	jagx	menl	jas	xus	nyaengc,	haeix	dogl	mienp	baox	luh
WfGloss:	bingo	large stuff	sky	that	then	real, true	not	drip, drop	rain	PERF	attention drawing
WfPOS:	part	CLS	comm	mkr	adv	adj	neg	v	comm	part	part

FT: Bingo! The sky stopped leaking rain.

SR455

Wordform:	nyaengc	haeix	suds	beel	luh,	liax
WfGloss:	really	not	leak, come out	go	attention drawing	asking for response
WfPOS:	adv	neg	v	v	part	part

FT: It did not leak.

SR456

Wordform:	geis	xis	maoh	jingv	dah	jas	bac	luh	dal	xis
WfGloss:	NEG	be	3S	only	from	there	clamber, crawl	descend	come	new information
WfPOS:	adv	aux	pro	adv	conj	adv	v	v	v	mkr

FT: So he came down from the sky (to the earth).

SR457

Wordform:	hax,	nyaengc	menl	lail	dal	xus
WfGloss:	bingo	really	sky	good	come	then
WfPOS:	part	adv	comm	adj	v	adv

FT: Bingo! The weather turned nice.

SR458

Wordform:	keep	xus	naenl	yenc	jas	dal	hoh	maoh	ac,	liax
WfGloss:	3P	then	many	people	that	come	congratulate	3S	pause	asking for response
WfPOS:	pro	adv	adj	comm	mkr	v	v	pro	part	part

FT: So the people came to congratulate him (about this).

SR459

Wordform:	maoh	baov:	hevhep,	kaok	nyac	kaok	nyac,	liax
WfGloss:	3S	say	wow, surprising	depend on	2S	depend on	2S	asking for response
WfPOS:	pro	v	part	v	pro	v	pro	part

FT: He (one of the people) said: " Thank you, thank you very much (for what you did for us)."

SR460

Wordform: heek, xeenglxuh maoh
 WfGloss: exactly thank, appreciate 3S
 WfPOS: part v pro

FT: Exactly, (people) really appreciated him.

SR461

Wordform: gaeis xis xic naih jingv wul menl jas jingv ngk
 WfGloss: NEG be time, season this only aboard sky that only look at there
 WfPOS: adv aux comm dem adv adv comm mkr adv v

meeec jedl jac
 have star fact pointing out
 v comm part

FT: So this is why there are stars in the sky now.

SR462

Wordform: jagx jas jagx jaos jingl dil jagx
 WfGloss: large stuff that large stuff head nail POSS large stuff
 WfPOS: CLS mkr CLS comm comm part CLS

FT: Those are the heads of the nails (that the boy nailed up there).

SR463

Wordform: xeds xis jaos jingl maoh jas dags
 WfGloss: all be head nail 3S that hammer, hit
 WfPOS: num aux comm comm pro mkr v

FT: They are all the heads of nails he hit.

SR464

Wordform: heeh, jagx jaos jingl maoh daeic dal dags xis
 WfGloss: smiling large stuff head nail 3S disposable come hammer, hit new information
 WfPOS: part CLS comm comm pro v v v mkr

FT: Haha, he hit the heads of those nails.

SR465

Wordform: heek, haeix xis dogl luih daeux
 WfGloss: exactly otherwise then drip, drop descend PERF, already
 WfPOS: part adv adv v v part

FT: Exactly, otherwise (the nails) would have fallen.

SR466

Wordform: heek, ix, songc dah jas.
 WfGloss: exactly yes, agreeing since from there
 WfPOS: part adv adv conj adv

FT: Exactly, yes, from then on...

SR467

Wordform: huenp laeuc luh, bens laih hangc laeuc luh
 WfGloss: finished PERF attention drawing only this way PERF attention drawing
 WfPOS: adj part part adv dem n part part

FT: (I have) finished. This is the end.

As stated above, the including of the full version of the two narratives aims to facilitate the reader's referring and examining of samples.

3.5 Summary

Chapter Three elaborates on the data source Kam community --- Yutou: its ethnographic features, cultural inheritance, language use, and spoken literature. The storytelling event is also explored to identify its social and cultural functions in community. After that, focus shifts to describing of data nature and information of the data collecting process. The full LINGUALINKS version of the two narratives with brief summary of the respective story occupy the rest of the chapter.

The following Chapter Four will analyze the data and examine how the observed linguistic and discourse phenomena fit into the Schiffirin model.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

4.1 Analysis of discourse conditioned phonological and grammatical variations

4.1.1 Introduction

Coherence, subordination, grounding, etc. are familiar topics in discourse analysis. In this chapter some additional candidates will be examined to account for aspects of Kam narrative, i.e. phonological and grammatical variations in discourse, including word order and see how they might be interpreted within Schiffrin's model. These are based on the idea that Kam, just as Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) and other languages of the area, is discourse-oriented. Grammatical phenomena beyond sentence-level description can and should be explained. As for the discussion of phonological variations, along with some morphological ones, this approach can be viewed as an attempt to expand the territory of discourse analysis. The intention here is to visualize them as part of the initial discourse building-up and to interpret these processes as ones that should not be limited within phonology or morphology, but might have also been influenced by forces beyond word boundary.

Section 4.1.1.1 is a report of a new morpheme from the collected discourse data. Phonological features of this new morpheme are first examined. The unique linguistic environment of this new member will also be discussed with an investigation about how it may relate to discourse organization and at what level(s). Section 4.1.1.2 will be dedicated to the

morphological reduction in directional verbs and its relationship to intonation and grounding. Section 4.1.1.3 will check some unconventional usage of classifiers and pronouns in discourse. Section 4.1.1.4 will examine word order variations found and their significance in realizing and fulfilling various discourse functions. All the mentioned variations will be considered within Schiffrin's five-plane model.

4.1.1.1 A new morpheme /ə/

The schwa vowel /ə/ is found in almost every Kam-Tai language, and can be a rhyme itself in many languages such as Thai, Mulam, and Maonan (Wang Jun et al 1984). An interesting contrast is that in Kam “/ɛ/ and /ə/ are realized as short vowels, never occurring syllable-final.” (Long and Zheng 1998: 28) That means phonologically /ə/ must co-occur with nasals, stops, or other vowel codas except possibly in Chinese loan words. This restriction is the reported behavior in the field studies of all the twenty-two locales in the *Fieldwork Report on the Kam Language* 侗语调查报告(1957). Even though a number of locales investigated has revealed since then is up significantly, no counter evidence has ever been reported.

In the narrative data collected for this paper, a few, if not many, cases of /ə/ as a rhyme without coda have been discovered, cf sentences TF343 and SR275:

TF343: *yev [jə53], maoh nuv gaoclaoc baos nyih naih yuh gangs laenl meil youh hup?*

FT: “Hm!” (Surprised) He (the poor and youngest guy) wondered why the second oldest brother talked about his still unfortunate life?

SR275: *hev [hə53] heip, ... xus, laoxiongwangc xus leis qingk naenl jas jaemx laoxhos xis*

FT: “Stop!” said the dragon king who felt that the sound of stamping was too horrible.

Other known members of the list include:

--- *tek* [tə453] 'to express a challenge, come on!'

--- *hek* [hə453] 'to express positive acknowledgement, agreement or excitement.'

--- *hev hep* [hə53 hə35] 'to express a strengthening sudden realization or recognition, admittance.'

--- *hex hep* [hə31 hə35] 'to express a sudden realization or recognition, admittance.'

--- *hex* [hə31] 'to express wonder or doubt; pause.'

--- *heh* [hə33/11] 'to express disappointment, acknowledgement of a sad fact.'

--- *yex* [yə31] 'to express mild surprise; really?'

--- *xev* [çə53] 'to express rejection or denouncement, or disgust.'

--- *xex* [çə31] 'to express disapproval or dislike.'

They all represent particles expressing attitude or reaction to what has happened or what has just been said. And they are syntactically independent of a sentence. So they occupy as a type a unique syntactic and/or discourse position.

Part of the reason why /ə/ has been left out of Kam phonology heretofore lies in the fact that past linguistic data was mostly elicited by means of word lists rather than by means of text of naturally occurring discourse. Particles, including SFPs, express mainly attitude or context rather than material information. Without sufficient attention to aspects of discourse in language data collection, researchers would need to have been lucky to have encountered the otherwise elusive morphemes such as /ə/. In this case, /ə/ exists exclusively in a few particles solely

exercising discourse functions. In this sense, discourse data will not only aid in the study of discourse patterns of a language, but also expand the phonology and morphology.

4.1.1.1.1 Some phonological features of /ə/

It is obvious that there are some shared features among the words with /ə/ as rhymes.

First of all, the majority of the sample syllables are with high falling tone ν -53 and middle falling tone x -31 here, with a couple of level tones, i.e., middle h -33 and low c -11. No high level tone (tone l -55) or tone [s -323] were found. If grouped by tone category, Tone 1/1' and Tone 3 are also absent. Since the amount of data uncovered is still limited in a sense, it may well be possible that further study will unearth this /ə/ in each and every tone category, but the current data reveals a tendency that certain tones that have falling pitch seem to appear more often than others with /ə/ rhyme word. This will be explained from a pragmatic perspective later in this chapter.

Secondly, there is a co-occurrence restriction between the high-middle & middle-low falling ones and middle & low level tones. The semantic meanings expressed in individual pair are very subtly different but apparently related in a very close way, as in:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---yev [yə53]} \\ \text{'to express great surprise; what? You cannot be serious?'} \\ \text{---yex [yə31]} \\ \text{'to express slight surprise; really?'} \end{array} \right.$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---hev hep [hə53 hə35]} \\ \text{'to express a strengthening sudden realization or recognition, admission.'} \\ \text{---hex hep [hə31 hə35]} \\ \text{'to express a slight sudden realization or recognition, admission.'} \end{array} \right.$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---}xev \text{ [}\zeta\text{ə53]} \\ \text{'to express rejection or denouncement, or disgust.'} \\ \text{---}xex \text{ [}\zeta\text{ə31]} \\ \text{'to express disapproval or dislike.'} \end{array} \right.$$

Similar cases are found in other pairs such as *hic/hix*, *heec/heep*, and *lac/lax*, as grouped in 3.2.1, with the higher pitch expressing stronger attitude or reaction and the lower weaker attitude or reaction.

This interesting observation leads one to wonder how the tonal tier is filled in the process, whether they are two separate words or one word with two forms, a single morpheme with two allomorphs. In phonology theory, different environmental factors condition the choice of allomorphs. In a sense, very much like that, the choice of the above particles, and of many non /ə/ rhyme particles, are conditioned by related linguistic features. Whether the one with higher pitch or the lower one occupies the slot in the continuous utterance depends on what goes on in the context. If the speaker has a strong feeling about the information communicated and/or needs to react strongly to, then the higher pitch one will appear. If the speaker does not have a strong feeling about the information communicated or doesn't need to react strongly, then the lower pitch one will prevail to limit or downplay the emotional or attitudinal expression. So even the occurrence of the particles is predictable in discourse context. The exact choice will not be decided until the information introduced is evaluated.

One may argue that each and every choice of word in a language is conditioned by its surrounding linguistic and social, communicational environments. So the above observation states an obvious fact. The validity comes from the fact that not only do members of the pair convey closely related yet subtly different information, but also this pair is consistent through all

the cases. Such differences in semantics signal through the selection of vowels is sometimes called a contrast of ideophones.

4.1.1.1.2 Allomorph particles with rhyme /i/ and /e/

Another argument for word allomorphy is that /i/ is exchangeable with the /ə/ for many instances. For example, the particles mentioned above may have codas filled with /i/ as rhymes.

The attitude or reaction expressed may be different a bit:

---yiv [ji53] 'to express strong surprise from an unexpected result.'

---yix [ji31] 'to express mild surprise from an unexpected result.'

---hih [hi33] 'to express sighing or grieving.'

---*hix hip [hi31 hi35] 'to express caring for others' suffering.'

---*hik [hi453] 'to express shock, response to really unexpected result.'

---*hix [hi31] 'to express a sigh, reluctant acceptance.'

---xiv [çi53] 'to express strong disrespect or hatred.'

---xix [çi31] 'to express disrespect, disregard, ignorance.'

The asterisk indicates the status of allomorph is questionable. To make the situation yet more complicated, there are some particles with /e/ rhymes while the initial is /h/:

---heev [he53] 'to express approval to others assumption, comment; agreement.'

---heeh [he33] 'to express sigh, with mocking undertone.'

---heex heep [he31 he35] 'to express uncontrolled laughing.'

---heex [he31] 'to express focusing, pausing in utterance.'

The apparent relationship among these three groups of similar particles with different single vowel rhymes suggests that, at least in particles expressing attitudes or reactions, the rhyme themselves of the syllables /ə i e/ may well be relevant to the meaning or the politeness or the attitude of the speaker's. Not only are they correlated phonetically and semantically, but also the correlation could well spread to discourse since one can predict a narrator would have consistent evaluation of a certain situation in context. Thus, the usage of certain particles with identical rhyme, if in need, could be expected.

4.1.1.2 Discourse induced reduction of directional verbs

4.1.1.2.1 Categories of directional verbs

Directional verbs (DVs) are verbs used after the main predicate to indicate or reflect the direction of the movements or actions in space or the change of status in existence. Examples:

(1) maoh nuv xil *daengl* laoc lic
 he see movie *come* Part. Part.
 'He (went and) watched that movie (and is back here) already.'

(2) masmenl heeak *bail* lac
 cloud red *go* Part.
 'The cloud became just red (the transformation process completed at that moment).'

Here the *daengl* 'to come' and *bail* 'to go' come after the main verbs *nuv* 'to see' and *heeak* 'to become red, redden' respectively. What they express is not the central or focal information of the movements or actions of the sentences. Rather their function is to pinpoint the direction or status of the movement or action. Consider the situation in (1) as an example: The main idea here is that the person 'watched (a movie)', not that that person 'is back here', as the translation suggests. Replacing the directional verb *daengl* with *bail* 'to go', then the structure simply means 'He (went to) watch a movie'. Whether he is back or not is unspecified. So the role semantic these directional verbs play is subordinate and specifying: to pinpoint the spatial direction or status of the action.

Along with the *bail*, there are seven DVs found in the studied data that can be grouped into three pairs to identify the possible directions of movements in a three-dimensional space in regard to the speaker:

{	<i>bail</i>	'to go (away), leave'
{	<i>map/daengl</i>	'to come (toward), come back'
{	<i>qak</i>	'to go (upward), ascend'
{	<i>luih</i>	'to go (down), descend'
{	<i>laos</i>	'to go(into) a closed space, enter'
{	<i>ugs</i>	'to come (out) of a closed space, emerge'

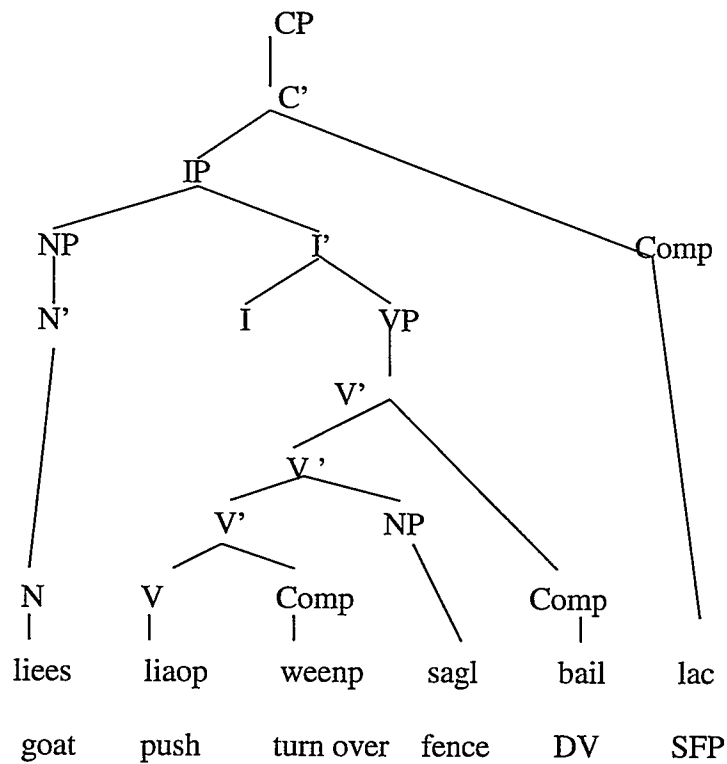
Of them the first pair is the most frequently used DVs in Kam, with the *map/daengl* further distinguishing whether the movement is a two-way or unidirectional.

4.1.1.2.2 The structures of the directional verbs

This section will examine the surrounding structure of the directional verbs.

As the above discussion and examples illustrate, the directional verb is closely connected or attached to the main verb, augmenting it with information about the actor along with the main verb action taking place. The tight connection between the two verbs disallows interposed or intervening elements. For instance, in the case of *liees* (*sheep*) *liaop* (*push*) *weenp* (*upside down*) *sagl* (*fence*) *bail* (*go*) *lac* (*part.*) the final particle *lac* cannot come before the directional complement (i.e., **liees liaop weenp sagl lac bail*). This constraint argues for treating directional verbs as complements. A similar case is seen in verbs of motion with complement of location, i.e., *maoh* (*he*) *leis* (*have, possess*) *bail* (*go*) *Beecjenh* (*beijing*) *dah* (*Perfective marker*). 'He's been to Beijing (once)', but not (except in northern Kam areas) *maoh leis bail dah Beecjenh*. 'He's been to Beijing.' Moreover, the set of directional verb is limited in number. The most common ones are *bail* /pai55/ 'away from' and *mal* /ma35/ *daengl* /taŋ55/ 'toward the speaker'. The close connection of the two verbs has led many to regard the directional verb as a complement and not an adjunct of the main verb.

To illustrate the structural features of directional verbs, an X-bar diagram of the example sentence mentioned above is provided here:



'The goat(s) pushed the fence over.'

Figure 4.1 Illustration of DV's Structural Property

The DV *bail* is treated as a complement of the VP to specify the direction of the pushing act from the goats. Within their boundary of VP, the discussed DVs will appear after the head Vs. NPs and a complement of V are allowable in between.

Contrary to what one sees in the isolated instance above Figure 4.1, the targeted DVs reduction takes place in discourse setting. See a few examples here:

SR22

Wordform:	gaeis	xis	doiv	daeuh	waenl	jas	dil	gaoclaoc	yiljil	dil
WfGloss:	unwilling	be	right	appropriate	day	that	pause	husband	Supreme Being	pause
WfPOS:	adj	aux	adj	adj	comm	mkr	part	comm	prop	part

maoh	wugs	bags	dal	yimk
3S	come out, go outside	outside	come	cool
pro	v	comm	v	adj

FT: It happened that God went outside (of His temple) to cool Himself that day.

SR89

Wordform: gaeis xis yuh dogl mienp **dal,** liax
 WfGloss: unwilling be PROG drip, drop rain **come** asking for response
 WfPOS: adj aux part v comm **v** part
 FT: (After he said this,) it started raining.

TF129

Wordform: maoh dil bail xiangv laenl naih dil xus yah nyaengx
 WfGloss: 3S pause go think object this pause then also, too very
 WfPOS: pro part v v CLS dem part adv adv adv

miav **dal** lac,
 sad **come** PERF
 adj **v** asp

FT: He thought about it that way and he was also sad.

TF168

Wordform: maoh nuv wul jiuc jas **beel**
 WfGloss: 3S see aboard bridge there **go**
 WfPOS: pro v adv comm adv **v**
 FT: He decided to go to the bridge.

The DVs *daengl* and *bail* are reduced to *dal* and *beel* respectively. The coda of the DVs, whether it is a consonant or a vowel, is deleted. The tone remains unchanged. Also it is worthwhile to point out that in *beel*, the nuclear vowel has also been changed from /a/ to /e/. In rule formulation the phenomenon could be stated:

$$C/V_1V_2(C)\# \longrightarrow C/V_1\emptyset\#$$

Here C stands for initial consonants, V for nuclear vowels, and # for end of the syllable.

In words, the syllable final consonant, if any, is deleted. The original tone remains.

4.1.1.2.3 Analysis of mechanism of the variation

The morphological explanation to be proposed here will focus on the adjacent linguistic environments of the targeted DV, be it the initial, coda, rhyme, or tone of the previous syllable or all together as a syllable. In an analytic, isolating languages such as Kam, the form of each syllable is lexically fixed. That means rarely does the form vary in context; there is no pattern of morphological alternation in context. There are, though, some reported cases in Kam-Tai

language including tone sandhi in Zhuang (Pingwen Huang 2003), initial variations in classifier (Shi 1983), and progressive assimilation or dissimilation. Regressive interaction does not exist in these languages.

In the study of reduction discussed here, one can easily exclude the possibility of regressive or right-to-left forces since in some instances the DVs themselves are the final syllables in the sentences (SR4, 207, 216, 326; TF5, 168). And there is nothing available there to trigger a backward reduction. The only remaining option then is to seek the triggering factor in the syllable preceding the DV. Whether it is the contiguous syllable or another or a distant components of the verb phrase that also play such a role is in need of further investigation. Yet one piece of evidence strongly against the idea of influence from other components: The inserted NP, along with possible complement between the predicate verb and the DV, can be any noun if the context permits it. In other words, the phonological and morphological characteristics of the previous syllable and the nature of intervening syllables appear to have no effect on the phenomenon at all, since any noun in principle could occupy that position. In SR201, the DV *beel* is seven syllables away from the main verb *bail*.

SR201

Wordform:	dil		maoh	xus	bail	geec		jagx		peep,
WfGloss:	developing, new info		3S	then	go	place, location		large stuff		end, toward the edge of
WfPOS:	mkr		pro	adv	v	comm		CLS		comm

liax,		ngamc	bial	jas	beel	songv		jagx	miudx	bagx	dal	xus
asking for response		cave	large stone	there	go	release, put		large stuff	mustache	white	come	then
part		comm	comm	adv	v	v		CLS	comm	adj	v	adv

FT: He went to the edge of the stone cave and let his white mustache down.

So there can be many syllables between a verb and its reduced form as in SR201, or nothing at all as in TF196. It seems quite difficult to construct any local connection between the

reduction and its surrounding phonological environment if not impossible. No evidence found to date suggests any direct relationship between the reduced DV and syllables before or after it.

These discoveries drive one to look for possible explanations elsewhere. Since this phenomenon of reduction is found only in discourse data, and since phonological or morphological processes in Kam hardly occur, it is reasonable to turn to pragmatic or functional sources for understanding the mechanism of the observed DV reduction.

To reveal possible differences between an original form and the reduced form, and the motivation behind that, instances of DVs *daengl* and *bail* in the two narratives were tabulated and the results are displayed below:

Table 4.1 Usage of the Original and Reduced Forms of Verbs in Discourse

TF(narrator A)		SR(narrator B)	
<i>daengl</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>daengl</i>	<i>dal</i>
27-5=22	6	22-4=8	44
<i>bail</i>	<i>beel</i>	<i>bail</i>	<i>beel</i>
72-33=39	7	92-63=29	65

The minus numbers are the instances of true semantic predicates but not DVs *daengl* and *bail*. They need to be excluded since they have not undergone the grammaticalization processes. Also the other frequently used DV *map* is not included since no further *map* permits reduction, as constrained by the formula in 4.1.1.2.2., cf SR129 and TF11.

One may notice that there are a few instances of disparity present in this summary. The first emerges from the frequencies of usage of the two DVs. The *bail/beel*, which expresses

'away from (the speaker or the occasion)', occurred almost twice (140 versus 80 instances) as often as *daengl/dal*, which expresses the opposite 'toward (the speaker or the occasion)'. Whether it is simply a reflection of the eventful reality or something else remains to be seen. A second kind of disparity exists between the two narrators. Narrator B in SR uses the reduced DV forms much more often than the original unreduced ones. What narrator A does in TF is a complete reversal. He frequently makes a consistent choice of using the originals *daengl* and *bail* over the reduced *dal* and *beel* respectively. Whether the disparity between the two narrators is just a manifestation of different personal styles or the result of other discourse factors against remains to be seen. There is no doubt that the same DV reduction does occur in both narrators' utterances. This is a further piece of evidence indicating the reduction process is neither phonological nor morphological. Otherwise the disparity between narrator A and B would be difficult to explain if it were governed by the same Kam rules of sentence and word grammar. Instead one must invoke something else to explain the evident contrastive usage of DVs in narrator A and B. The present section will analyze this phenomenon and seek legitimate interpretations of this.

The current transcription of the DVs shows no difference between the two forms other than the rhyme (coda dropping and vowel changing in *bail/beel*), but when listening to the tape, it is obvious that something more is involved. The first auditory impression is that the changed DVs have rhymes shorter in length and lighter in pitch than the original forms. The tone is slight or reduced in some cases, or even zero (cf 轻声 words of Modern Standard Chinese *zi* 子). Measuring the length and intensity of DVs and comparing the two forms in each group would aid the comprehension of these even though that could not be undertaken in the current study.

So the question remains why this reduction happens. What are the special functions the DVs serve in the structure? Firstly, they are complements of the VPs further specifying the direction of the actions carried by the main verbs, whether those actions transpire outgoing/outward or incoming/inward. For instance:

- (3) heemx (call) *bail* (go) 'to call away' (outgoing)
 (4) heex (call) *daengl* (come) 'to summon' (incoming)

In the case of action verbs, the semantic meaning of the structure is easier to understand, but in many other cases, such as verbs expressing psychological states, emotions, feelings, the precise contribution of the DVs to the whole meaning is not that clear. For example, in TF 129:

TF129

Wordform:	maoh	dil	bail	xiangv	laenl	naih	dil	xus	yah	nyaengx
WfGloss:	3S	pause	go	think	object	this	pause	then	also, too	very
WfPOS:	pro	part	v	v	CLS	dem	part	adv	adv	adv

miav dal lac,
 sad come PERF
 adj v asp

FT: He thought about it that way and he was also sad.

A more delicate translation of the above structure might be "*He thought about it that way and he also became sad.*" The function of this "adj. + DV" is similar to then the English verbs with the causative affix *en*. Some other instances are listed here:

- (5) mags (big) *daengl/dal* (come) 'to become bigger; enlarge'
 (6) bagx (white) *bail/bal* (go) 'to become white; whiten'
 (7) mas (soft) *bail/bal* (go) 'to become soft; soften'

Intuitively, it is very much as if a supra-segment morphological process applies in which an AP is transformed into a VP. And the semantic meaning is not about status or state of what the adjective specifies but rather about its transforming or changing of the status. Notice that in Kam and many other East Asian languages, including MSC, the boundary between the adjective and the verb is porous. The *miav* 'sad' in TF129 is a classic example demonstrating that even an adjective can be modified by a DV, just as verbs can.

Secondly, DVs serve as inchoative aspect markers. As Chu (:15 2002) points out, in MSC, "this suffix ('起来') indicates that the speaker is concerned with the start of an event." In Kam, this 'suffix' *jenc* (arise) *daengl* (come) '起来' functions as a very similar aspect marker:

- (8) *wav maeiv jas sul (jenc) dal lac*
 leaf tree Dem green (arise) come Asp
 'The tree leaves starts to become green.'

So the function is the same but the linguistic elements used to realize that function are not identical, even though the suffix itself is very likely calqued from MSC. The first syllable *jenc* (arise) is not mandatory but optional. Interestingly, if the head of the VP is a verb (not an adjective as in the above case), then the presence of *jenc* will add a new semantic nuance to the expression. For instance, in *X nees (cry) dal (come)* 'X cried', the focus is on what X did, with *dal (come)* as a resultative indicator. When *jenc* (arise) is present, i.e., in *X nees (cry) jenc (arise) dal (come)* 'X started to cry.' (initiative), the focus is on what X started to do, with the added *jenc (arise)* as a initiative or inchoative indicator.

Thirdly, the tone of the DV is identical to its verb counterpart in the transcription but phonetic analysis reveals that the length and intensity of the syllable decreases in fact, an issue related to intonation closely. In the case of DVs, the change in length and intensity affects many aspects of the narrative process, most notably the grounding status of the DVs. By shortening the length and reducing the intensity, the DVs first are phonetically set apart from their verb counterparts, signaling lesser prominence on the effected DV members semantically. This does not mean they are not important anymore to the linguistic structure. Rather, the focus of the narration has shifted from the plain semantic property of the DVs to other areas. In other words, the lexical meaning is attenuated but their role as communicational executors in narrative discourse have been enhanced or intensified.

The functions of the new-found morpheme schwa /ə/ and its allomorph counterparts /e i/ are mostly semantic, considering the selection of the variational forms denotes different attitudes of or reactions from the speaker. Moreover, it reflects the speaker's knowledge or expectation leading out of what has just been discussed right before his utterance. For instance, in SR24:

SR24

Wordform:	yiv ,	baov:	eac	maoh	yenc	jav	ac,	liax
WfGloss:	surprising	say	two	3S	people	that	SUG	asking for response
WfPOS:	part	v	num	pro	comm	dem	part	part

FT: "Wow!" He said, " That couple!" right.

Here the *yiv* indicates that the speaker is so surprised to learn that it is THAT couple who are still fertile that he feels and that he must do something to help them.

The functions of the discussed morphological and phonological variations can be defined at various levels of Schiffrrin's model. Taking members of the pair particles with the schwa /ə/ and /i/ rhyme as examples, both the *yiv* and *yev* express strong surprise as mentioned in 4.1.1.1

and 4.1.1.2. They differ in the fact that while *yiv* simply expresses SURPRISE against one's expectation or assumption, *yev* reflects the speaker's UNHAPPINESS or even ANGER toward the unexpected development as well, therefore is usually considered either as issuing a challenge or a warning. In SR 288:

SR288

Wordform:	yiv,	jav	weengc	yiuv	daeuh	aol	yaoc
WfGloss:	surprising	that	must	need, want	passive	give	1S
WfPOS:	part	dem	aux	aux	mkr	v	pro

FT: "You are refusing? But you must give that to me."

Here the brave boy in the story was surprised but not angered when the Dragon King refused to give him the requested teeth. Contrastively, in SR 116:

SR116

Wordform:	<i>yev,</i>	nuv	meec	jagx	kemk	kongp	weengc	meec
WfGloss:	warning, challenging	if	have	large stuff	have hole, crack	tag question	must	have
WfPOS:	part	conj	v	CLS	v	mkr	aux	v

jagx	amv,	maoh	baov,	liax
large stuff	fix, repair	3S	say	asking for response
CLS	v	pro	v	part

FT: "Well, if there is a crack, it must be fixable," he said.

The same boy was not only surprised to learn that the sky may have cracked somehow, but also he issued a challenge to himself that he needed to find the way of fixing that problem. Also see *yiv* in SR 24, and *yev* in TF 343.

Obviously the selection of different variants is strong confirmation that they function on the *information structure* level. They concern the information status and reflect the speaker's knowledge of what has happened or is happening. Since these particles signal the speaker's (A) reaction toward the previous participant's (B) utterance and initiates A's linguistic production, they also fulfill a turn-taking role as part of the *exchange structure* apparatus. Though not as

apparent as it is in information and exchange structure, the variation also signals the way in which the speaker orientates the audience toward utterances s/he produce, indicating that they occupy certain position in the *participation framework*. In this case (SR116), *yev* marks a sub-peak of the storyline and a critical development of the story.

Particles in this group usually carry semantic meanings which are very difficult to discern outside of the actual context. The most efficient way of elucidating their true meanings is observing and examining them in contextual, discourse data.

4.1.1.3 Classifier variants and pronoun modifiers of kinship terms in discourse

4.1.1.3.1 Classifier initial and tonal variations

A classifier is a function word that occurs with and categorizes a noun or verb or another classifier. The semantic function of the classifier is “to describe a noun in terms of some sense of the noun itself: a physical attribute such as shape substance primarily” (Daley 1998: 1). Or in Allan’s words, classifiers are defined as “morphemes which occur ‘in surface structures under specifiable conditions’, denote ‘some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers’” (Allan 1977: 285). Kam classifiers are widely used since every NP must have one to be counted, not only in quantifier phrases, but in definite NPs as well. Besides nominal classifiers, there are also numeral, verbal, and locative classifiers. When following certain numbers/quantifiers, the initial consonant of classifiers may change sometimes. For convenience, the one with the original initial is labeled as CLSa, while the one with the mutated initial is CLSb. The current section will be dedicated to this specific aspect of Kam classifiers, aiming to discover any connection between the specified initial shift and discourse

influence. The followings are some examples reported from Gaoba 高坝 Kam in Jinping, Guizhou (Shi 1983):

- tui4* classifier for 'bowl' > *il zui4* 'one bowl'
tal classifier for 'eye' > *il zal* '(take) a look'
məi4 classifier for 'tree' > *il wəi4* 'one tree'

The cited phonological variation phenomenon in Kam classifiers is not a new observation. Indeed, mutated initials were included in the *Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium on Problems Associated with the Orthography for the Kam Language* in 1957 and treated as number indicators in some Northern varieties. Since then, quite a significant amount of academic effort has been expended to reveal the mechanism behind these (Shi 1983, Liang 1984, TY Yang 1999). Shi Lin was the first scholar to contribute extensive work on this very subject and extended its scope to some nouns and verbs. In the preliminary study of phonology, he concludes, "the initials, be they voiceless or voiced, will change to corresponding voiced fricatives [w- j- z- or ɣ-] in all word categories. In a few cases, the resulting initial is [lj- or ʔ- or n-]" (Shi 1983). He also noticed that the resulting classifiers cannot be reduplicated or be used to modify pronouns. Tongyin Yang (1999) argued against the claim of possible relation between numbering and the initial variations by examining the surrounding phonological environments and summarizing it as an assimilation process primarily. He goes further in later works and verifies his main explanation through reconstructing otherwise meaningless place names in his MA thesis in 1992.

4.1.1.3.2 Discourse functions of classifiers and their variants

The goal here, though, is not to concentrate on the lexico-semantic or syntactic aspects of classifier usage but to investigate the discourse functions of classifiers and understand whether the initial variation in classifiers reinforces any discourse functions. If so, what might those roles be.

Classifiers mark definiteness in languages (Dyvik 1983: 24). In Kam, this function is usually realized along with demonstratives *jas* 'that, the' (close to interlocutors, old information), *jav* 'that' (distant but visible), *jac* 'that, the' (invisible to interlocutors, old information) *naih* 'this', *naeup* 'which', and personal pronouns. Take SR302 as an example:

SR320

Wordform:	laox	liongwanc:	ixhip,	naenl	naih	weex	geis,	liax,
WfGloss:	elder	king of dragons	shocking	large objects	this	make, do	unable	asking for response
WiPOS:	adj	comm	part	CLS	dem	v	part	part

laih	dil	laenl	xis,	baov,	liax
this	MAN	object	reasoning	say	asking for response
dem	part	CLS	mkr	v	part

FT: The dragon king murmured: "Hm! This is unbearable, (situation)" like this.

Here the classifier for 'object, thing, stuff' *naenl* is used to refer to an abstract thing, a situation or status just described in the previous sentences. The modified N' can be omitted, but the presence of the matched classifier allows the recovery of its sense. It first serves as the head of the N'; second, it reveals many of the characteristics of the omitted NP through narrowing the range of the possible NP meanings, and helps recover the covert meaning. Not only does this practice allow the recovery of the semantic meaning of an abstract thing, it also reinforces its status as old information as it acts informationally in a manner similar to a zero anaphor.

There is yet another feature of Kam classifier-modified phrases in discourse. More often than not, the phrasal head, be that an of NP, VP, or AP, is absent. In those cases, the CLSb will be selected and fill the head position, cf. instances in SR71, 103, 163, 212, 228, 388, 426, TF40, 50, 56, 129, 163, 247, 336, etc. A complete summary of all the classifier usage in the two stories is displayed below:

	CLS with overt phrasal head		CLS with covert phrasal head	
SR	140	77%	43	23%
	<i>jagx</i>	93	<i>jagx</i>	18
	<i>naenl</i>	23	<i>naenl</i>	12
	<i>laenl</i>	3	<i>laenl</i>	9
	others	11	others	4
TF	140	50%	140	50%
	<i>jagx</i>	54	<i>jagx</i>	88
	<i>naenl</i>	6	<i>naenl</i>	10
	<i>laenl</i>	5	<i>laenl</i>	8
	others	75	others	34
Total	280	60%	184	40%

Figure 4.2 The Covert and Overt Phrase Head N' with CLS in Discourse

It is somewhat surprising that forty percent of the phrases with classifier-modifier do not have an overt phrasal head (N, V, or Adj.). The contextual environment partly accounts for this omission of the head as it allows a reduction of redundant information. Further checking shows

that the presence of an overt head is closely related to the salience of the referent. That is, when the referent is high in salience, the head, especially in NPs, does appear. When the salience decreases, the head can be omitted more often than not. Consider the classifier *daclagc* 'CLS for animate, diminutive form' as an example. Of the four instances in SR 59, 59, 61, and 63, the CLS is present in the first three but absent in the last. To introduce the initial discourse referent, it is necessary to have the head N *nongxheak* occupying that position in 59. The second instance in the same sentence details the unique appearance of the baby boy, adding a piece of new information to complete the definition of the referent. In 61, the head N is still there because the sentence constitutes the peak of the story in the orientation part. The unique physical appearance of a baby coated in a huge rock attracts the instant attention of the old couple in the story and the listeners in the narration. The reappearance of the head noun adds prominence to that N. Also CLS forms one of the cohesion strategies in which a part of or even the entire previous sentence is repeated. In this case, the head N is repeated after another inserted sentence in 60. In 63, the head N is absent.

Another factor leading to covert or overt phrasal heads with CLS is related to the abstractness of the heads. That means when the semantic meaning of the head is material, concrete, and physical, as typically in common nouns, it tends to require the presence of the phrasal head. And when the meaning becomes less concrete, such as descriptions of emotional states or qualities of things, it is more likely that the phrasal head will be absent from surface structure. This is especially true in regard to the usage of a few most frequently-used classifiers, as will be discussed in more detail below. In the example of *jagx*, whose occurrence almost accounts for 54.5% (253/464) of all classifier cases, it is evident that the abstractness of the concerned phrasal head affects whether the presence of the head itself is mandatory. For

example, in SR103, the phrase *jagx naih* 'this' refers to the above-mentioned bad situation people found themselves in as a result of rain. In TF145, *jagx jas* 'that' is about the mediated action of suicide through drowning by the poor friend, the main character of the story. Not only is that still imaginary (therefore higher abstractness), but also a lengthy phrase or clause would be required if one ever were to realize the phrasal head linguistically. It requires more linguistic elements to encode an abstract thing than a common noun. As a result, the narrator simply lets the phrasal head be covert, avoiding the otherwise lengthy description and, nevertheless, maintaining the referential continuity. Actually, such an information conveying process may be considered more efficient since marked information is overt and known is covert. A similar explanation can also be applied to the usage of *naenl/laenl*, another super classifier.

The unique feature in SR302 is that the classifier *naenl* is CLSa rather than the anticipated CLSb in the first instance. The classifier is in sentence initial position so there is nothing to trigger the targeted initial variation processes that Shi (1983) and TY Yang (1992) investigated. Also, the previous situation represented is abstract and not countable. As a result, CLSb was assumed to occupy the classifier position. The second instance, i.e., *laenl* in *laih dil laenl*, is justified under the rule summarized by Yang 1992, i.e., preceded by an -i- rhyme syllable *dil /ti55/*.

This prompts one to wonder whether the relationship between the initial variation and number can be completely dismissed (Shi 1983; Yang 1992) because it seems that there is a loose connection between the cases presented above, at the least. First, CLSb occupies all the positions after quantifier *il* 'number one', and CLSa after most of the other numerals. This is the most persuasive piece of evidence suggesting that initial variant may express sets with cardinality one. Some examples follow here:

{	CLSa <i>jangl</i> <i>sam l</i> (three) <u><i>jangl</i></u> (CLSa) <i>qis</i> (paper) 'three pieces of paper'
	CLSb <i>liangl</i> <i>il</i> (one) <u><i>liangl</i></u> (CLSb) <i>qis</i> (paper) 'one piece of paper'
{	CLSa <i>maoh</i> <i>beds</i> (eight) <u><i>maoh</i></u> (CLSa) <i>jenc</i> (person) 'eight people'
	CLSb <i>waoh</i> <i>il</i> (one) <u><i>waoh</i></u> (CLSb) <i>jenc</i> (person) 'one person'
{	CLSa <i>guangs</i> <i>yingc</i> (several) <u><i>guangs</i></u> (CLSa) 'several bowls of...'
	CLSb <i>wangs</i> <i>il</i> (one) <u><i>wangs</i></u> (CLSb) 'one bowl of...'

One can draw further evidence of the influence of the numeral from the fairly consistent appearance of CLSb with covert phrasal heads in above table. This can be interpreted as a CLSb co-occurring with abstract or uncountable things vs. CLSa with the others. Counterevidence does exist since CLSb is also used after quantifiers such as twenty, thirty, forty, and so on. In discourse context, the selection of CLSb implies either cardinality one or abstractness, unitariness, unaccountability of the accompanying referent. It is worthwhile to reconsider then the possible connection between two forms of classifier and a numbering distinction. Even though the singular-plural and countable-unaccountable boundaries are not clear-cut as in many languages such as Indo-European, it is reasonable to consider that as an account. One further feature is that this classifier selection is a byproduct of the decimal cycle in counting. When the quantifier is *il* 'one', or a decimal number, such as *nih xil* 'twenty', *saml xil* 'thirty', *tedk xil* 'seventy', the counting is considered a start-over. The required classifier of such phrases would then be the CLSb, since these contexts imply singularity. In addition only CLSb qualifies for the individualizing structure 'CLS + CLS (+N)', the elusive connection between number and forms of classifier certainly magnifies in a sense. This supports the early notion that, in Kam,

classifiers may encode the semantic differences of sets (countable/uncountable or unitary/differentiated) in some way indeed.

The surprising employing of CLSa over CLSb has something to do with the classifier itself. *naenl* is one of the most common classifiers, or one can call them super, universal classifiers. By the name of super, universal, these members can accompany almost any NP or AP. Consider these examples:

- a. *jagx/jagc*---universal classifier, can modify any NP, AP, and NumP
- b. *doc*--- classifier for animate, animals
- c. *dagc/daclagc*--- classifier for diminutive animate things
- d. *naenl*--- classifier for inanimate things

According to the above derived rules, CLSb *laenl* is the only qualified candidate in SR302 since the phrasal head is absent when encoding the non-physical, abstract terrifying situation and is therefore not countable. Instead, CLSa *naenl* is called on to serve. More examples of such unexpected CLSa forms are found in SR 20, 87, 95, 109, 270, 290, 385, 391 and TF 118, 128, 132, 143, 269, and 272.

Unexpected but not unexplainable is this switch from CLSb to CLSa, a manifestation of influence from outside Kam varieties; YT Kam is the only reported location in Southern Kam that demonstrates the same classifier variation phenomenon, though many Northern Kam varieties do. No form of Kam near Yutou observes this practice. And if one recalls that the YT Kam was the last group to settle in the area, it is clear that YT Kam are immigrants to the area. That also offers a clue pointing that historically the YT Kam might have come from the North.

As newcomers they were underrepresented in the geographical area, it might be expected that significant influence from the outside would intrude into the community, language included, during such a chaotic and open transient period of time such as that experienced by China in the past fifty years. The 1990's witnessed numerous fundamental changes in social and cultural structure. Taking language attitude as an example, it is a fact that the active territory of YT vernacular is limited to the four YT villages. As long as one is away from the village, s/he will speak in the more popular Bingcdanx 坪坦 or Wangcdus 黄土 vernacular. So the exceptional use of *naenl* and other classifiers in which CLSa prevails over the expected CLSb is primarily a sociolinguistic or language contact issue. On the other hand, when the frequency of a commonly used classifier reaches certain point, it obtains a universal, one-type-fit-all status. The result is the emergence of a few superpower classifiers. This tends to blur the distinction of CLSa and CLSb. The boundary between the two becomes fuzzy. In many ways, this development is a reflection of a global tendency under which language-dialect boundaries diminish as engagement among the speakers increases. Individual traits give in to serve common interest.

4.1.1.3.3 Why *buxlaol* 'our father' is right but *buxyaoc* 'my father' is wrong?

In the discussion of kinship names' pronoun modifiers, Yang (1999: 31) argued that:

When the head noun here is a kinship name that belongs to a higher generation than the speaker, only the plural pronouns can be put into the possessive pronoun position. This lexical restriction is a consequence of social and cultural customs and practices among the YT Kam people. Thus, in a sense YT Kam has a form of *pluralis majestatis* construction that employs plural forms to accord greater respect or social significance to elders.

That means in practice *yal* (father) *laol* (we/our) 'our father' is acceptable and meaningful, while *yal* (father) *yaoc* (I/my) 'my father' is not.

In this section, the above intriguing issue will be re-examined in light of discourse data, with an aim to discovering the communicative function of Kam singular and plural pronouns in discourse and to taking a closer look at what those specific “social and cultural customs and practices” are in this Kam speech community.

It is important to point out that this practice occurs only in referring to the person the pronoun phrase identifies but not in face-to-face situation in which the person is an addressee. When addressing, the pronoun will be left out as a default. Usually a prefix expressing ‘dearness’ *ac* will be added to a kinship term, as in many East Asian languages such in MSC and other Kam-Tai languages. This, on the one hand, fits the linguistic trend of disyllabic word forms among them; on the other hand, it creates a sense of closeness and endearment between speaker and addressee. Here are a few examples from the data:

SR96
ac **bux** hip, maoh baov, qop lienc kemk menl
 HON father surprising 3S say may even have hole, crack sky

beel luc, maoh baov, liax
 go guessing 3S say asking for response
 FT: “Daddy, ” he said: “The sky may have been cracked (somewhere).”

In this conversation in SR, the son expresses his surprise to his father directly at the possibility of the sky cracking. No singular pronoun *yaoc* (my/I) or plural form *laol* (our/we) appears since this is a situation of direct address.

TF221:

...
 maoh baov: **ac** **baos** ac
 3S say HON older brother pause
 FT: “...(my) older brother”, he said.

Here the pronoun is zero to show closeness, and intimacy from the younger brother to the older. The contextual information makes it clear already that the default or unstated pronoun is first person. Whether it is plural or singular depends on what additional characteristics of the context and communication situation are, as will be touched on in the following paragraph.

In referring, basically the choice of plural over singular is used to demonstrate respect to one's senior relatives and/or reflect the emphasis on the core values of family and family identity. My grandfather himself is not only MY grandfather but also the grandfather of all my siblings and his other grandchildren. Especially, in mountainous agricultural communities such as YT Kam, almost every villager may be related to the other within the kinship system. An individual is considered first a member in the system rather than independent. It is reasonable to assume theoretically that there may be multiple parallel relationships between one member and the others. The potential overlap of one referential entity in the Kam kinship system makes it necessary to decrease the degree of specification by using plurals rather than the singular pronouns after kinship terms. Socially and pragmatically, this not only recognizes that the addressee is one member of the set defined by the term, but it also increases the closeness among siblings and/or all other members of the same relationship between the elder and his/her younger relatives. Standing out is the group identity and the shared kinship ties of multiple members to a single member. More importantly, the emphasis on distinction of family group identity rather than the individual demonstrates that power and solidarity are the main determining factors in the speaker's choice between the two distinct address pronouns in Kam as first summarized by Brown and Gilman (1960).

Pronoun modifiers of kinship term in practice are very different from possessive modifiers. When one says *leec* (book) *yaoc* (I/my) 'my book', the expressed relationship

between the object and the person is possession, while when one says *nongx* (younger siblings) *xaol* (they/their), the reflected relationship between the persons is categorizing (or sorting in other words). The subtle distinction between *maix* (wife) *maoh* (he/his) 'his wife' and *maix* (wife) *keep* (they/their) 'their brother's wife' is a good example manifesting that the singular pronoun stresses a possessive relationship, and the plural pronoun stresses a categorizing one, even after kinship terms. This subtle difference does not necessarily mean that a husband *owns* his spouse but in history that may be one of the scenarios. In Kam, when a man marries a woman, the correct form of expressing is *aol* (buy, take in) *maix* (wife) (as in English 'take a wife'). The possessive feature is more evident than its MSC counterpart 结婚, similar to the English expression 'to bind in marriage'. For extending evidence of ownership and categorizing, one can refer to the contrasting between examples (9) and (10):

(9) *eanc* (house, home) *yaoc* (I/my)

'my house, my family' (the speaker must be the head of the household)

(10) *eanc* (house, home) *laol* (we/our)

'our house, our family' (the speaker must not be the head of the house)

It would be appropriate then to look at some instances in the collected data and further explore the discourse consequences of this plural vs. singular distinction in the Kam kinship system.

SR53

bux keep dil yah pungkpank jenc daengl, liax,
 father they pause also, too quickly get up come asking for response
 FT: 'His father (the man) also stood up terrifyingly, let me tell you.'

Even though the old couple in SR53 have only one son, the narrator chooses the plural *keep*(they/their) over the singular form *maoh*(he/his) in his reference to the teenager's father.

TF18

yuh	keep	yenc	laox	jagx	louv	saeml	xus	maoh
also	they	people	elder	abstract	leave behind	early	new information	3S

jagx	eanc	yuh	nyenh	naengl	meeç	il	jagx	eanc,	liax,
large stuff	house	also	still	still	have	one	large stuff	house	asking for response

FT: 'Although his parents passed away early, he still had a house building (to live in).'

In this case the plural pronoun *keep* 'they/their' precedes the head noun in the NP *keep yenc laox* 'old people, parents', a rare exception here to the head-first typology, as the modifier is moved out of its conventional position after the head. By preceding, possessive before NP, the modifier pronoun, the reference of the NP seems is shifted from *yenc laox* (parents) to *keep* (they/their) in a sense. This displacement increases the informational prominence on *keep*, the modifier pronoun, and keeps the spotlight on the main character of the story rather than on his parents, a strategy not uncommon in narrative through an unconventional, and possibly in some context, quasi-ungrammatical word order variant in Kam. It is intriguing since this is not exactly the same phrasal structure as discussed in previous sections, yet the practice of plural over singular pronouns recurs. The poor unnamed orphan is the only child of his parents, but when referring to his parents, he regularly uses the plural pronoun. It reminds us that the narrator is taking the perspective of the characters; narrator and audience are embedded into the network of the kinship system rather than choosing to stand outside as isolated, independent individuals. Whether one has siblings or not, s/he is still considered as a member of group, a group with one single member here in this specific setting.

This raises another potential for informational difference: could one exchange the plural and respective singulars? Would that still be accepted pragmatically? If so, what is the semantic, practical, and informational difference between the usage of plural and singular pronouns?

The preliminary answer to this question is “yes”. Exchange is possible when the addressee is equal in status or lower than the addresser, and if the surrounding situation demonstrates something unusual or abnormal, such as running into someone or mourning the dead, that might justify this change in usage. For example, during funeral services, a weeping mother would cry out in mourning for the unexpected death of her child by saying *lagx* (offspring, child) *yaoc* (I/my) *hipic* (particle) ‘my dear child!’. On the contrary, a happy mother would address her child returning from school ‘[*ac*] *nongx* (child) *laol* (we/our)!’ ‘my darling!’ Loss through death is a loss of possession whereas a dear one returning invites stress in the category-kinship bonds of “common blood”.

A few more examples in discourse from a phone conversation can be added to provide more evidence. At the beginning of the conversation between a brother and sister, no matter which is older, the person called might guess who the caller is by asking:

(11) *ac* (prefix) *baos* (older brother) *laol* (we/our) *bac* (particle)?

‘Is/isn’t this OUR brother?’ (if he is the brother.)

(12) *ac* (prefix) *baeix* (older sister) *laol* (we/our) *bac* (particle)?

‘Is/isn’t this OUR sister?’

The sentence (12) would be proper if the caller is the sister.

As the conversation goes on, if the brother informs the sister of some terrible events in his life recently, or something very unexpected, one can expect that she would try to comfort her unlucky brother. Under this circumstance, her initial reaction or comforting act would start with *baos* (brother) *yaoc* (I/my) *hipic* (particle) ‘Oh, my brother!’, and similar for a sister.

The situation in referring would be different in some ways. Only plural pronouns are qualified as the modifiers. Examples:

{	<i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>naeix</i> (mother) <i>laol</i> (we/our)	‘our mother’
	vs. * <i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>naeix</i> (mother) <i>yaoc</i> (I/my)	*‘my mother’
{	<i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>sax</i> (grandmother) <i>laol</i> (we/our)	‘our grandmother’
	vs. * <i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>naeix</i> (mother) <i>yaoc</i> (I/my)	*‘my grandmother’
{	<i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>nongx</i> (younger sibling) <i>laol</i> (we/our)	‘our younger sibling’
	vs. * <i>ac</i> (prefix) <i>nongx</i> (younger sibling) <i>yaoc</i> (I/my)	*‘my younger sibling’

The reason why singular pronouns are disqualified from the modifier position in this structure obviously is not syntactic but pragmatic. One may wonder what those pragmatic factors might be. As discussed above, the choice of plural over singular pronoun modifiers has something to do with either respect shown to the addressee or the expressing of group identity. Looking beyond demonstrating ownership or intimacy, the connection between the number status of the pronoun and politeness emerges.

In face-to-face address, the speaker communicates with the addressee within the setting created. The identities of the addressees and other background persons are present and evident. The modifying function of the pronoun becomes redundant. To shorten the distance between the

interlocutors and increase intimacy, the speaker chooses to add the prefix *ac* to show respect, intimacy, and affection to the addressee. The first person pronouns are not the only group of valid candidates. As the presented situation allows, the second and third pronouns could also qualify. For example, when a father address his children's uncle, he can take reference to their uncle by saying *ac* (prefix) *juc* (mother's younger brother) *xaol* (you/your) 'your uncle' or *ac* (prefix) *juc* (mother's younger brother) *keep* (they/their) 'their uncle', use reflecting the practice of *teknonymy* in Kam. For example, a husband would say to his children, "Go ask Mother", meaning the children's mother not his mother. Nevertheless the absence or deletion of pronoun practically confers inclusiveness and positive politeness.

Contrastively, when the speaker and the addressee are separated spatially, there is no need for definiteness. But, when they are not in the same context or communicational setting, it is necessary to specify the identity of the kinship term by inserting an appropriate pronoun. Even though both singular and plural pronouns are available and fit syntactically, the former carries no intimacy in personal communication but might be thought better in establishing a unique referent. Nevertheless, narrowing down the identity of the person in the group and locating his status in the kinship system becomes more essential. To that end the plural, the form used by all generationally lower, is a more rigid designator resembling a proper name in some ways. To avoid potential contradiction of using singular forms of address, the plural ones are called on. The use of plural forms decreases the degree of intimacy in some way, but also magnifies the degree of solidarity.

Another reason is rooted deeply in Kam marriage customs. According to ancient Kam epics and songs, ancestors once in the past split surnames at some point to solve the increasing difficulty of finding marital partners from outside the community allowing members with certain

more distance relationships to marry. The most significant boundary developed was that the community was split into two legitimate groups A and B, between which marriage could be practiced. Or, in anthropological terms, they were divided into two “moieties”, each member is a member of one of the moiety or the other moiety; *tertium non datur*; there is no middle ground here. In a homogeneous community such as the Kam, to all members with equal status in the kinship hierarchy, a kin is KIN to all. In other words, a grandmother will never be the grandmother of a single individual X only, but of others lying in the same hierarchical kin position as well. A mother, in absolutely most cases, is the mother of more than one child. Even now, each family is still allowed to have two children under the government’s family planning rules. Parents still today with only one child are referred to in plural forms as *bux laol* or *neix laol* in speech. So it makes perfect sense that the singular pronoun is excluded from being used as modifier of a head pronoun. That accords to the cultural environment in which the clan and family are the core of the social system. Nothing is really exclusively owned by one individual or privileged in Kam kinship relationship. Cultural values of the community dictate plural pronouns.

Topicalization is a frequently visited syntactic issue in Kam-Tai and other Asian languages and it is also a factor in this issue. When topicalized, an object NP is moved up to the very beginning of a sentence. For example, (13) is a typical SVO sentence:

- (13) *Yaoc* (*I/my*) *janl* (eat) *haeux* (rice, meal) *laeuc* (PERF)
 Sub. Verb Obj.
 ‘I have had my meal.’

When the object NP *haeux* (rice, meal) is moved up to the initial position, i.e., out of its original VP and into a special position, a topicalized sentence is generated as following:

- (14) *Haeux* (rice, meal) *yaoc* (I/my) *janl* (eat) *laeuc* (PERF)
 Obj. Sub. Verb
 ‘As for the meal, I have had that.’

This is the structure in which potential confusion might emerge if plural pronouns were modifiers of kinship terms. Example sentence in (15) is used to explain how this might happen:

- (15) *Ac* (prefix) *yal* (father) *keep* (they/their) *dax* (Part)?
 ‘Where is his/their father?’

This is a grammatical sentence. If the corresponding singular 2nd pronoun *maoh* (he/his) replaces the plural *keep* (they/their), then in (16):

- (16) *Ac* (prefix) *yal* (father) *maoh* (he/his) *dax* (Part)?
 ‘Where is father?’

There are two possible readings of this new sentence in regard to the identity of the *yal* (father) and *maoh* (he/his): a) they are the same referent, i.e., ‘the father himself’; b) ‘his father’. Simply choosing the plural pronoun *keep* (they, their) would solve this potential problem since the identities of *yah* and *keep* could not be identical anymore.

This usage of plural pronouns as modifiers to kinship terms spreads to other NPs and expresses the same social meaning.

SR363

Wordform:	deihuangp	laol	jas	xus	kemk	menl	beel	xus	ngenl
WfGloss:	place	we	there	then	have hole, crack	sky	go	then	emphasizing
WfPOS:	comm	pro	adv	adv	v	comm	v	adv	mkr

wanc	waenl	xus	ngenl	wanc	waenl	waenl	yah
fact, what happened	day	then	emphasizing	fact,	day	day	that
mkr	comm	adv	mkr	mkr	comm	comm	pro

hangc	dogl	mienp	xus
kind; type	drip, drop	rain	then
CLS	v	comm	adv

FT: "(In) my hometown, the sky is cracked, and everyday it rains (badly) like that."

When referring to his hometown, the boy in the story chooses the plural pronoun *laol* 'we/our' over *yaoc* 'I/my'. The emphasis on group identity prevails and the collective value of the Kam community is highlighted, yet the referential meaning of the NP is still clear. Similar instances are found in SR404, TF57, 114, 303, 311, 320, and 330.

In summary, the disqualifying of plural pronouns as modifiers of kinship terms is a combined result of linguistic mechanisms (sentence grammar) and discourse constraints. In this way, possible ambiguity of a targeted referent is avoided, and pragmatically proper and efficient communication is achieved. In a sense, it is really not about what the pronoun itself means on the surface but the context it is in (linguistically and culturally). The literal meaning is secondary compared to its social meaning. And that is why *buclaol* 'our father' is right but *buxyaoc* 'my father' is wrong in Kam. For an extreme case, one could check sentence TF215 and see how the *keep* 'they' replaces the *maoh* 'he' as the pronoun modifier to encode the 3S. Similar using of classifiers as means of indicating politeness and social status has also been discovered in some Indo-Aryan (Aikhenvald 2000: 261), Korean (Lee 1997) and Micronesian languages (Keating 1997). Without discourse as the setting, it is an almost impossible task to uncover the exact functions of different types of pronouns in narrative and communication.

4.1.1.4 Word order variations in discourse

Word order typology has played a major role in the development of language typology, beginning with Greenberg (1966). It has been carried over by numerous scholars, notably

including Leman (1973), Vennemann and Harlow (1977), Mallinson and Blake (1981), Hawkins (1983), Nichols (1986), Dryer (1988), and Payne (1990, 1992).

Besides describing varied word order found, it is more important to discover and interpret the functions of the observed variations, for “... a linguistic phenomenon cannot be looked upon as illustrating a definite ‘process’ unless it has an inherent functional value” (Sapir 1921: 62).

Basically there are two approaches towards word order, as pointed out by Payne (1992: 2):

The first one is *cognitive*, which explores the relationship between order and mental processes or constraints. Among other things, such an account would consider the relevance of limited focal attention, the current status of certain information in the mind of speaker (e.g. is it in the active focus of attention/memory, or not), and operations concerned with comprehension and integration of information into the already-existing network or developing mental representation. A *pragmatic* account would explore the relationship between order and speaker-hearer interactions. Choice of one order rather than another can constitute a speech act of ‘instructions’ on the speaker’s part, relative to how the hearer should integrate information into a mental, cognitive representation.

Word order study of a language in synchronic perspective is how all the linguistic constituents are organized in certain linear orders. In the functional-typological approach, the focus is how different grammatical functions are realized through linguistic methods and how different linguistic constituents are organized in language behavior. The three major parameters that have been used in recent typological literature (Givón, 1984: 187-237) are:

- a). The relative position between the major clausal constituents *Subject (S)*, *Object (O)*, and *Verb (V)*;
- b). Constituents’ order in noun phrase (NP);
- c). The order of head noun (N) and relative clause (Rel).

Word order also changes over time due to linguistic and social factors. As a language without literate history, it is very difficult to discover what has happened in Kam in the past. Fortunately, researchers have been witnessing some obvious changes in the last few years in word order parameters in this language. In this section, the three identified Kam major parameters in word order will be explored first, then the new observed variations in collected discourse data. What may have triggered these will also be looked at. And last but not least, what discourse roles these variations or changes serve in the narrative discourse will be examined.

4.1.1.4.1 The three Kam major parameters in word order

4.1.1.4.1.1 Relative position between subject, object, and verb

By the term *word order*, it actually does not concern so much with the order of words as with the order of constituents. That way one can avoid the possible distraction coming from the fact that the word boundary in Kam is not well defined. Theoretically speaking, there are six possible combinations concerned with the order of the subject, object, and verb of a sentence: SVO, SOV, VOS, VSO, OSV, OVS (where S refers to *subject*, V to *verb* and O to *object*). According to preliminary statistical data, 44% of the languages in the world are SOV, 35% are SVO, 19% are VSO, and 2% are VOS. OSV and OVS are rare (Language Files. 1994).

Kam is a *SVO* language with the subject preceding the verb and the object follows, as demonstrated in the following examples.

- (17) Mogx janl̃ neic
 bird eat worm
 S V O
 'Bird eats worm.'

- (18) Ac naeix liap nongx
 mother feed baby
 S V O
 'The mother is feeding the baby.'

The SVO order is consistent through almost all the types of sentences except in the case of topicalization in which the object is raised to the very beginning and OSV order results. A couple of examples may serve as illustrations:

- (19) leec yaoc dogc wenp laoc. 'As for the textbook, I have finished
 book I read finish Perf. reading that.'
 O S V
- (20) kaos yah beenh laos xus. 'Alcohol, (they) also prepared.' (TF70)
 alcohol also prepare PERF then
 O (S) V

These kinds of grammatical variation in word order will be considered here, for they are part of the discourse strategy to satisfy all communicational demands and fulfill situational needs. They may also have been a product of language contact with Chinese initially, but they are nowadays very stable and used by all speakers, including other minority languages in the area. The present research will also look at other variations observed and see what discourse functions they may play.

4.1.1.4.1.2 Constituents within phrase, head-first or head-last?

An interesting fact about word order typology is that within phrasal categories languages tend to place the head of the phrase either consistently before its modifiers and complements or after its modifiers and complements. The head of a phrase is the central, obligatory member of the phrase, while the modifiers serve to modify or complement the meaning of the head. Thus,

modifiers (adjuncts) or complements are other constituents occurring with the head. Obviously,

Kam is a *head-first* language (TY Yang 1999:). Examples:

(21) VP: V(head) + Object

- a). *laeml* (hunt) *saol* (smell) ‘(hunting dog) to track the smell’
 b). *bonc* (remove) *eanc* (home, house) ‘relocate, move’

(22) PP: P(head) + NP

- a). *wul* (on, above) *xiongc* (table) ‘on the table’
 b). *dah* (from) *bags* (outside) *ma p*(come) ‘comes back from outside’

(23) NP: NP(head) + relative clause

- (23a) *benh* *leec yaoc nyinc beel aol jas lieeux bail lac*
 CLS book I year last buy that lost away Perf.
 ‘The book that I bought last year is lost.’

- (23b) *maoh laos eanc meec dol jingl jas baox.*
 He enter house have gate that Particle, assertive
 ‘He went into the house with gate.’

(24) NP: N(head) + possessive NP

- (24a) *leix* (word) *maoh* (he, him) ‘his words’
 (24b) *sinc* (money) *dangc-hagx* (school) ‘school’s money’

(25) NP: N(head) + AP

- (25a) *mal* (dish) *lianb* (hot) ‘spicy dishes’
 (25b) *yenc* (person, people) *lail* (good) ‘nice person’

When there are quantifiers the situation differs. The head usually is after the modifier, as discussed above in ‘number + CLS + N’ structure. This is a deviation from the head-first principle but not the type that will be discussed here, for it is not a shift from the basic order. No spoken instance of ‘N + number + CLS’ has been reported, but Professor Yang Quan pointed out that such an order does exist in song verses such as *map (dog) saml (three) duc (CLS)* ‘three dogs’.

4.1.1.4.1.3 The order of head noun (N) and relative clause (Rel)

Again the head (N) precedes the relative clause (Rel). See some samples here:

(26) *jagc yenc [waenl nyung daengl aol doc jas] waenl naih yuh daengl lac.*
 CLS person yesterday come buy ox that today again come Perf.
 ‘The person that came to buy the ox yesterday has come back (to buy) today’

(27) *yaoc yiuw wenh leec [keep kiuk bail laoc jas].*
 I want Cls book they abandon away Perf. That
 ‘I want to have the book which they abandoned.’

In summary, Kam is an SVO language, with head preceding modifiers and complements within all major phrasal categories, and relative clauses.

4.1.1.4.2 Word order variations

By the term *word order variations*, it means any constituent order at either phrasal, relative clausal, or clausal that is different from the description in 4.4.1. As in every field, there are going to be some exceptions to rules. The motivation here is to find what the variations are, how they vary from the derived patterns, and why. Topic sentences and interrogative sentences,

which bear extra grammatical functions, are some early discerned instances. To include all possible instances, word order variation is defined as situations in which the relative order of constituents varies from the above three parameters, no matter whether it has the same grammatical or semantic features as before or not.

Word order variation is not random, chaotic, or unpredictable. Whatever variation, the manifestation will be conditioned by semantic, grammatical, or discourse factors. After analyzing typological data from various languages around the world, Steele (1978: 601) concludes that there are striking differences in the predilections of languages of different types to exploit word order variation, yet consistent patterns also surface within different each basic word order type. In SVO languages such as Kam, VS is not uncommon, occurring in slightly less than 50% of the members. VOS, VSO, SOV, OSV, and OVS are uncommon, substantially less than 50% collectively. Observed manifestations of these types in Kam are: OSV, VSO, VOS, SOV, VO, and VS. Cases will be listed and analyzed within the framework of discourse analysis.

Variations in regard to the order of head noun (N) and relative clause (Rel) are scattered throughout collected data and will occupy a subsection in the present discussion.

4.1.1.4.2.1 Topicalization

Since Hockett (1958: 201) first proposed the term *topic*, many scholars have applied and extended this idea to MSC, most notably Chao (1975), Li and Thompson (1976), and Tsao (1979). Li and Thompson propose that MSC is a *topic-prominent language* as opposed to *subject-prominent languages* such as English. Tsao recognizes the discourse nature of topic. As for the functions of the syntactic construction *topicalization*, Prince (1981) and Ward (1985) proposed that they are: (a) bearing a particular anaphoric relating to something already in the

discourse, or that the co-participants are constructing – it represent either an entity already evoked in the discourse or else an entity which bears some set relation to something already in the discourse model; (b) the proposition corresponding to the sentence as a whole, with the tonically stressed constituent replaced by a variable, represents an open proposition that is appropriately construable salient ‘shared knowledge’. In other words, it can be explained in terms of referential continuity and thematic continuity.

It is not surprising that topicalized sentences are the first evident case of SVO order variation. See examples in SR14, 18, TF7, 46, 93, and 116. In these object raising cases the unexpected change of order is treated as a grammatical function of focusing or topicalization in the literature. By looking beyond the sentences, it will show that this SVO variation serves more than just focusing or salience upgrading.

Also the domain of topicalizing in Kam is not limited to an NP object being advanced and moved to a position before the subject. In SR14, with the help of topic marker (also a CLS) *jagx*, the ‘CLS + Det.’ introduces the situation the old couple is in, equivalent to ‘this’ in English and 这个 in MSC. This is not a typical or ‘well-formed’ topicalization structure since the fronted components are not a typical NP or AP. Rather they consist of ‘CLS + Det.’ Depending on the specific demonstrative, the whole structure may serve to identify the otherwise abstract or elusive situation/status one is in, or to reintroduce the previous mentioned referent into the communication. This is one of the often-used strategies of referent continuity in Kam. The strategy draws the otherwise abstract, untouchable things into a position of prominence before the interlocutors and the audience as well, shortening the distance between them. The distinction between this referent-not-on-surface and referent-on-surface topicalization constructions is that the first type creates a more tightly-knit situation with a higher degree of cohesion, while the

second type reduces the abstractness of the otherwise murky referent, in which the actual referential noun phrase is often absent.

It is somewhat surprising that the total number of topicalized sentences is significantly lower. Of the 835 sentences in narrative data, only 28 (3.3%) are confirmed topicalized. Certain aspects of the narrative structure contribute to this result. One of them is that narrative is mainly monologue. Communication between the narrator and audience is constrained. The narrator has complete control on how s/he will unfold the episodes. His/her plan is premeditated. Avoiding topicalization if possible will aid in maintaining character referential continuity since the moved up objects in topicalization tends to be inanimate objects rather persons.

Also zero-subject sentence is so widespread that it can be considered as an unmarked feature of sentence and discourse structure in Kam. It maintains the referential/thematic continuity to such a high degree that only introduction of new participant(s) will break that continuity. Whenever a topicalized structure emerges, that means the current continuity will have to be interrupted, either replacing the previously mentioned referent with a new one, or change the theme as discourse goes on. See TF116 as an illustration of this.

TF116

Wordform:	jagx	maenv	guc	dungl	haeux	mangc	dul	[maoh]	haeix
WfGloss:	large stuff	those	pot	steam	meal	everything	all	[he]	not
WfPOS:	CLS	pro	comm	v	comm	pro	adv	[pro]	neg

lic, particle of confirming part	liax, asking for response part
--	--------------------------------------

FT: He did not even have the necessary cooking pots, either.

Here the subject Subj. (*the one born in a poor family*) in parenthesis is zero as well, but as the object in bold (*cooking pots*) is inserted into the initial sentence position and creates a topicalization construction. The referential continuity is preserved since the same referent

occupies the Subject. in the following fifty sentences. What has changed, though, is the theme in discourse, i.e., from what he subjectively experienced, to what he objectively evaluated himself as a miserable social figure, a turning point in plot development. It shows that thematic continuity operates on the basis of the hierarchical structure of the discourse. For thematic continuity clauses are given differential weights, since some clauses contribute to the development of the theme in a paragraph, while others do not (Cooreman 1992).

4.1.1.4.2.2 Phrase internal variations

Other candidates are found mostly in phrasal categories and relative clauses concerned with the relative position between the head and modifiers/complements, and between the head noun and the relative clause.

N(head) and Possessive NP vs. Possessive NP and N(head)

In Northern Kam, the modifier NP can be placed either before or after the head N.

Examples:

- (28) *maoh* *koc* *bail guilyangc lieeux.*
 He/his older brother go Guiyang Perf.
 'His older brother went to Guiyang.' (Long & Zheng 1998: 201)

- (29) *jaoc* *leec* *lieeux lac.*
 I/my book lose Perf.
 'My book is lost.'

It is understandable that these variations should emerge in Northern Kam first since the Chinese intruded from the north and immigrated into Kam territory as early as in the Tang Dynasty (618-907A.D.). Moreover, in ancient Chinese, the possessive NP preceded the head

noun without the possessive marker *DE*. For example, 'wu2 xiong1' 吾兄 means 'my elder brother'. For educational and economic reason, more and more Kam people have started to interact with Chinese and learn the Han language. And the usually rigid word order has cracked a bit in this specific phrasal structure.

The Southern area has been less accessible to outsiders due to its geographical, topographic, and underdeveloped condition. Yet the population explosion of the 60's and technology advancement in the past century has led more Chinese people to enter the south. In former times the same phenomenon took place in the Northern area. Nowadays in Southern Kam it is allowed that personal pronouns at least can appear before the modified head N with the help of possessive marker *DE*. Examples:

(30) ac naeix dil kugs
 mother DE clothes 'mother's clothes'

(31) keep dil liedl
 they/their DE firewood 'their firewood'

But in contrast to Northern Kam, the pronoun modifiers cannot be put before the head N which is a person (as it can as the South). Examples:

(32) * daol (dil) neix 'my mother' vs. neix daol.

(33) * maoh (dil) nongx 'his/her younger siblings' vs. nongx maoh

Parallel examples are seen in MSC 的 *DE*, but are still optional when the head N is a person. Examples:

(34) wo3 ma1-ma1 我妈妈 = wo3 DE ma1-ma1 我的妈妈 'my mother'

(35) *wo3 shu1 *我书 but wo3 DE shu1 我的书 'my book'

It can then be inferred that the relative order between different types of NP modifiers and their head N differs in some way. The degree of rigidity with a pronoun NP is higher than other NPs.

This may come from the fact that the DE type with pronoun has a strong sense of possession. Someone possesses something. So it makes sense that the (30) *ac naeix dil kugs* is acceptable in Southern Kam, for the person can really possess clothes, the referential entity of the head N. On the contrary, when the head noun is also a person, it is hard to argue that the modifier pronoun can possess the one of the head noun. I cannot "possess" my mother. So *xaol dil naeix* is ungrammatical, and one has to use the form *naix xaol*. Also one would predict that *laol dol naeix* would also be ungrammatical, since – as just argued – that would less about possession and more about membership in a kin network.

4.1.1.4.2.3 Head-noun and relative clause

As a head-first language, a Kam head-noun appears before its relative clause, as example sentences in 4.4.1.3 demonstrated. Its only valid variant would be 'Rel + *dil* + N', reflecting an increasing MSC influence on Kam. *dil* equivalent to MSC 的 is a possessive marker used after an attribute. The variant is not uncommon especially among younger generations below 40 years of age. This form pretty much explains why not even a single instance appears in the more than

eight hundred sentences. Recall that both the narrators are over sixty. It confirms that the MSC flavored structure is a syntactic newcomer or option in the language system.

In this section, various linguistics variations in discourse are considered, including a recently discovered morpheme schwa /ə/ in the phonology, the directional verbs and the reduction in the morphological area, classifier variations in initial and tone and their function in discourse and communication, the exclusion of plural person pronoun in address, and word order. As demonstrated above, the discussion is beneficial in understanding Kam discourse by looking at linguistic variants from a discourse perspective, thus drawing a clearer picture of how they function and operate at different levels. These remind one that within a language, components at all levels contribute to the developing of context. On the other hand, discourse appears to be top-driven and interacts with all its linguistic components and surrounding social factors.

4.2 Sentence-final particles (SFP) in narrative discourse

4.2.1 Introduction

In his extensive description of the Lahu language, Matisoff (1973) dedicates over two hundred pages to the verb phrase, of which about eighty pages are devoted to “verb particles,” “universal unrestricted particles,” and “final unrestricted particles” (Person 2000: 64), a type of word that is the subject of the present chapter. They are all considered part as of the verb phrase in this SOV language:

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 aspects, directionality, subjective attitudes towards the

verbal event, etc. Conspicuously absent are any Pv's referring to tense. Tense concepts are foreign to the Lahu verbs, as they are for the Sino-Tibetan languages in general. (Matisoff 1973: 315)

Ever since the 1970's, scholars have been contributing significant efforts to the study of these types of particles in Asian languages. It is surprising that such a commonly used part of speech existing in so many languages has been ignored for so long even in MSC, one of the world's largest language with a more than two thousand year written tradition. On the one hand, it has something to do with the fact that the exact meaning of an SFP tends to be elusive and hard to specify outside of context; on the other hand, SFPs predominantly occur in oral, narrative speech, a linguistic genre considered until the early twentieth century in China as informal and unrefined in comparison to written language. Through the years, there are various terms referring to these particles, including *mood words* 语气词 in Chinese, *particles* (Chao 1975: 795), *utterance-final particles* (Bourgerie 1987), *auxiliary words* (Dai 1996, Long and Zheng 1998), *auxiliary mood words* 语气助词 (Liang 1884: 378), *sentence particles* (Cooke 1989, Hanson 1996), but *sentence-final particles* (SFPs) has emerged as the most general, well-accepted term by scholars since Li and Thompson's (1981) study.

SFPs are morphemes that are attached to the end of a sentence. Here the *sentence* is used in a very loose sense since in instances the attached structure units are clauses, an issue related the difficult sentence parsing in MSC and other languages lacking TAM markers. Also ellipsis in subject positions is widespread in these languages, particularly in oral discourse, resulting in many VP or NP-like sentences. The functions of these SFPs are mainly pragmatic, including expressions of request, question, assumption, endearment, and a simple statement with an undertone of relief.

However, more importantly, final particles convey speech act information, e.g., marking the attitude of the speaker toward what s/he is saying, marking an utterance as reported speech, or as a mild warning, etc... Generally speaking, the studies just cited investigate the specific speech act functions performed by individual particles, and the relationship between an utterance that ends with one of these particles and what has previously been said in a speech context (Law 1990: 1).

This is why SFPs have often been studied from the point of view of pragmatics or discourse, a tradition that the current research hopes to continue.

In this chapter, sentence-final particles in Kam are itemized based on the collected narrative data and other available resources in section 4.2.2. Each particle's main linguistic and pragmatic functions are illustrated briefly. Then in section 4.2.3, two very much less explored areas in the study of SFPs, phonological and syntactic features of SFPs, become the subject of the current investigation. Section 4.2.4 deliberates on the discourse functions of these SFPs, the main goal of this chapter. Section 4.2.5 looks at the correlation between the SFPs and intonation, a rather subtle and sometimes deeply twisted, elusive subtopic. This section will also consider the SFPs from a higher and broader perspective to see how they interplay with discourse markers: how they differ, what features the SFPs and discourse markers share in common, and how the two work together to fulfill various discourse functions. A special, super SFP *liax* will attract extra attention since it has an unconventional distribution feature and a powerful role to play in construing storytelling narrative discourse.

4.2.2 The inventory of Kam SFPs

Kam SFPs are particles that appear at the end of a sentence to convey *attitudinal, textual, cognitive, interactional, and TAM* information of speech act. According to this relatively loose

definition, particles reflecting simply different tenses and aspects are also included in the current discussion SFPs. The primary reason for this inclusion is that even though some of the TAMs are particles functioning within the phrasal level, namely VPs, often times they can occupy the sentence final position too in their respective clauses or sentences. Graphic representation of this syntactic feature of SFPs will be displayed in the syntactic analysis of SFPs later. Below is one of the most frequently encountered particle *lac* in TF13 as a demonstration example:

TF13

Wordform:	meer	il	lagx	dil	xus	laos	hangc	hangc	hangc
WtGloss:	have	one	child	pause	then	enter	kind; type	kind; t	kind; type
WtPOS:	v	nur	comm	part	adv	v	CLS	CLS	CLS

nyad:	jas	bai	lac
poor	tha	go	PE
adj in	mk	v	asɿ

FT: (the other) one then entered a poor family.

In TF13 the *lac* here is a pure aspect indicator, qualifying the action of *laos* 'to enter, to be born in (a family)' by expressing that it is completed as scheduled or intended. Variants of *lac* include *laoc*, *laeuc*, *lax*, a group of SFPs that express similar TAMs but possess different attitudinal, cognitive, or interactional information of the speech act. In context, this sentence may also function as a sequential marker. Nevertheless, they manifest not only their semantic and syntactic functions, but also have pragmatic or discourse roles. So even if a particle occurs within the VP, it will still be included in the SFPs list as long as it could appear at the very end of a clause or sentence.

This is a slightly different argument from many previous studies on SFPs such as Li and Thompson, Law, and Person's, but the result is the same. The current simple criteria of SFPs ease the categorizing work of SFPs, and their characteristics of operating at different levels from phrase to sentence to paragraph to discourse at the same time are also considered. By covering

particles of TAMs such as *lac*, the scope of research on SFPs in the current study is broadened from the bottom to the top, so the intended goal of capturing the discourse function of sentence-final particles could be examined on a broader ground.

Here is a list of all the SFPs that appear in the two collected narratives in alphabetical order. SFPs from other sources such as Xing's, Long's, and the author's other fieldwork notes, are incorporated and marked with an asterisk. They are included in the list below since they have been reported but the discussion of them will be limited in a sense for many of these data are given in sources without context. It is evident that, as illustrated in the table, some of the members have variants in context to express delicate and subtle attitudinal, textual, cognitive, or interactional differences. This long table spans over a few pages.

Table 4.2 Indexing of the Kam SFPs

No.	SFPs	Information Conveyed	Instances
1	ac	a. Questioning, usually used as greeting; b. Permitting, admitting c. pausing	SR392, TF59; SR24, TF108 TF7, 59
2	as	Pleasantly informing of others	SR203
3	ax	Strong questioning, seeking more information	SR83, TF115
4	bac*	a. Expressing uncertainty in negation b. Recommending or suggesting such as in <i>nyac bail bac</i> "You'd better go." c. Mild questioning, sometimes equals to greeting such as in <i>ac naeix bac?</i> On phone conversation "Is this mom?/how are you, mom?" d. Agreement soliciting	
5	daeux	Shortened form of 'daengl (DV) lac (PERF)', an aspect marker, also indicating new, unexpected information	SR65, TF48

Table 4.2 --- Continued

6	dax	Shortened form of ' <i>daeux</i> ',	SR81, TF 28
7	dil	Unfinishing, pausing	SR69, TF22
8	eec	Closely questioning, interrogating	SR226, TF49
9	eel	Extended syllable of a previous <i>weex</i> , questioning	SR94, TF132
10	haeip	Shortened form of "haeix il", <i>yes</i> or <i>no</i> question.	SR149, 176
11	has	a. Polite suggesting, 'would you...' b. Encouraging, comforting	SR204, F182
12	heec	Tag question	TF195
13	heep	Variation of haeip, <i>yes</i> or <i>no</i> questioning	SR32
14	heip	a. Strong appealing b. Great surprise with emotional overtones	SR128, 376
15	hic*	Mild reconfirmation seeking such as in <i>lah jagx hic?</i> "Is this it?/Is this all? /OK"	
16	hix	Informing in a surprise, unexpected tone	SR55
17	hoc	Mildly surprised	TF289, 291
18	hox	Suddenly see the light; instant realization of a truth. I got it! self-independent clause such as in <i>Hox!</i> "I see!"	
19	huc	a. Variation of <i>wuc</i> , for drawing attention b. suggesting	SR191, TF222
20	ic	pausing	TF162, 170, 215
21	il	Strong questioning, doubting	SR115, 150
22	is	Appealing, begging	SR278, 293
23	jeec*	Tag question, more sure or confident of	
24	jeep*	Variation of <i>jeec</i> , less sure or confident of	
25	lac	Perfective. Indicating the completing of an act, especially in structures indicating sequence of actions.	TF12, 13, 15 SR147, 228

Table 4.2 --- *Continued*

26	laeuc	Perfective. Variation of <i>lac</i> . Emphasizing the completion and implying expectation such as 'so what?'	TF31, 77 SR312, 431
27	lah*	Perfective. Variation of <i>lac</i> . Emphasizing the completion in a happy tone and implies 'how about it?'	
28	laoc*	Perfective. Variation of <i>lac</i> .	
29	las	Perfective. Variation of <i>lac</i> . Polite information seeking, in some cases a childish expression	RS388
30	leec	The truth is...like that, that is it	SR100, TF37
31	leep	Greatly disappointed or frustrated	SR102, TF33
32	lees	Admitting, conceding	TF339
33	liax	Universal discourse marker, communication operator. Seeking consensus from others as an SFP	SR60, TF2
34	lic	Committing; weak confirming, unsure of; asking for permission	SR298, TF61
35	lih	Fact revealing, confirming, told you so	TF409
36	lis	Fact revealing, confirming	TF95, 160
37	luc	Guessing, assuming	TF408
38	luh	a. Informing; b. agreeing	SR41, TF28
39	lus	a. Admonishing; b. Fact revealing. Implies turn taking.	SR119, TF131
40	lux	Strong recommending, alarming, warning	TF205
41	mac	Mild, polite suggesting, recommending	SR118, TF65
42	ngl	Questioning, wondering, reasoning	SR19, TF343
43	wuc	attention drawing, serious questioning requiring answer	SR196, TF3

When *liax* is in bold, it is to draw attention to a special form of SFP with unique status in discourse, functioning as an SFP and discourse marker simultaneously in many occasions. The study will specify and further discuss it in 4.4.

There are some SFPs clusters in which two SFPs appear at the end of a sentence to express multiple discourse meanings. The majority are made up of the perfective aspect marker *lac*, or its variants *laoc*, *laeuc*, *lah*, and *lax*, followed by another SFP. Theoretically the perfective aspect marker can combine with any other SFP, with the marker closer to the V, to form a cluster. A list of five clusters other than combinations with the perfective aspect marker(s) found in data is provided in the following table. Keep in mind that these several clusters can again combine with the perfective aspect marker to form a three-member cluster.

Table 4.3 SFP clusters without the PERF Marker

No.	SFP clusters	Information Conveyed	Instances
40	ac as	Variation of <i>ac has</i> , polite and mild form	SR203
41	ac has	Pausing for suggesting, recommending, encouraging	SR130, TF217, 382
42	heip ic	Compassionately and seriously appealing	SR357
43	ic is	Pausing and questioning, doubting	SR177, 252
44	lic is	Curiously questioning, a response to somewhat surprised by what happens	SR278

The phonological status of these SFP clusters is debatable. In other words, whether they are two syllables as proposed or actually just one extraordinarily lengthened syllable with result that the impression and perception is of two identifiable syllables. This is still up for discussion. The category of SFP clusters in Table 4.3 offers a strong evidence that the first syllable of the

pair is decisive, hence suggesting that they may well be considered a variant of the individual SFP they follow, respectively. If there is any member that should possibly be considered to consist of two individual SFPs, that would be *heip ic*. The idea of treating *heip ic* as two indispensable members of one syllable pair rather than one single syllable SFP is to avoid the potential burden of creating new tones. So unless there is another method to place the clearly lengthened linguistic components, such as reading in intonation territory, the suggested SFP clusters will stand. In real narrative utterances, the length and tonal contour of a lengthy syllable would have been different from any single syllable tone summarized in 1.5.

4.2.3 Phonological and syntactic features of SFPs

Phonological and syntactic aspects of SFPs have long been ignored despite the fact that there are many studies of SFPs in many languages of the region. While it is true that the major function of SFPs lies in pragmatics and discourse, and thus analyses in those two areas are well justified, it is also undeniable that better understanding of the phonological and syntactic features of SFPs will enhance the comprehending of SFPs. This is the very reason why Law (1990) concentrated all his efforts in his dissertation on the study of syntax and phonology of Cantonese SFPs. His inspiring work shows the obvious and close relationship between particle systems and intonations. He examines whether individual particles have specific syntactic functions, what functions they perform, and what syntactic slots they occupy. Though there is not sufficient space to provide a comprehensive account of the syntax and phonology of Kam SFPs at present, some long overdue attention will be devoted to them hereafter. In sum, the goal here is not to present a thorough study of the syntax and phonology of SFPs but to lay the ground for further study.

4.2.3.1. Tonal and other syllabic structural characteristics of SFPs

It was noticed in the early transcriptional stages in the present project that identifying the tones of some SFPs was difficult. On the one hand, intonation and tone interact in such a collaborative way. Subtle difference of tone can carry delicate distinctions of meaning. On the other hand, since the length and intensity of tone on an SFP can vary greatly according to the contextual environment, it could result in different syllabic pairings. That is, is there only one tone-bearing-unit (TBU) within a single lengthened syllable or are there two? In all cases, the TUBs of the two clustered SFPs are identical except in the case of *heip ic*, a piece of evidence for the one TBU treatment. Or are there two TBUs and is the SFP the part occupied by the two separate syllables? The relative intensity can increase or decrease depending on the situational demand in communication. The adopted treatment leads directly to the emergence of particle clusters in section 4.2.2, a practice favored because it avoids introducing new tone categories into discussion.

As was mentioned previously in 1.5.3.3, there are nine distinct tones in unchecked syllables in Kam: high-level (1-'55'), high-rising (1'-'35'), low-level (2-'11'), mid-falling-rising (3-'323'), [low-rising (3'-'13')], mid-falling (4-'31'), high-falling (5-'53,'), high-rising-falling (5'-'453'), and mid-level (6-'33'). In checked syllables, there are six tones: high-level (7-'55'), high-rising (7'-'35'), low-falling (8-'21'), mid-falling-rising (9-'323'), [low-rising (9'-'13')], and mid-falling (10-'31'). The complexity of the Kam tonal system creates some unique environments for the expression of tone on SFPs and sentence intonation. First of all, variation of the sentence intonation is more constrained since the Kam tone space is already tightly packed by its nine contrasts in CV syllables. The possibilities for confusion loom large since pragmatic sentence-level function and syllable-level tone contour may interfere. A resulting phenomenon is

that length and intensity are applied more often to convey speech act information (even though intensity has not studied in current data transcription). Of the five SFP clusters, at least four could be combined and treated as a single particle if based on acoustic and phonetic evidence alone. The reason why a single SFP treatment is abandoned and the clustered SFP account has been adopted here is that that might lead to introduction new tones into the system, an issue that would be hard to justify. It will be simpler and more constrained to divide the lengthened SFP section into two separate particles. Fortunately, all the resulting individual SFPs except *as* have their counterpart in the list of single SFPs, further supporting that the SFP cluster treatment is justified as well.

Secondly, checked syllables CV(V)C are not allowed to appear in SFPs. Of all the SFPs, none appears in the category with the three stop codas: /-p, -t, -k/. This There are five checked Cantonese SFPs: *ak33*, *kak33*, *lak33*, and *lok33*, *tʃek55* (Law 1990: 206), but Law provides no discussion of their phonological and syntactic features. Even though no specific reason is provided by Law, one can assume that these SFPs must be different from the ones in unchecked syllables in some way. This reminds one of the reasons suggested for the SFPs parse in the above discussion. That is, even though they might be single particles phonetically, treating them as clusters will not only avoid introducing new tone categories, but also the result in two SFPs are relatable to an existing single SFPs. This reveals an interesting characteristic or quality of SFPs: the phonological structure allows it to be lengthened or extended since the situation may require extra attitudinal, textual, cognitive, or interactional information to be coded through extension of a one-syllable SFP into a bi-syllabic cluster. An important phonological feature of Kam-Tai voiceless stop codas is that they are glottalized and unreleased (Liang 1986: 324), a well-known distinctive acoustic trait also found in SE Asian languages, MSC and English. As noted, SFPs

must be syllables without codas. An unreleased coda would make the extension or lengthening impossible. In the extreme, even nasal codas are disqualified in Kam. That leaves vowel as the only valid rhyme candidates in SFPs.

The opposite observation has been made in earlier English. Brinton points out that “shortness” is one of the properties of discourse markers: “While the monosyllabic forms *hwæt* and *anon* and the aphetic form *gan* (<*on-/aginnan*) clearly meet the definition of phonetic shortness, as does *Pa*, which exists alongside the longer nonpragmatic form *Panne/Ponne*, phrase such as *I gesse* and constructions such as *Pa gelamp Pt* and *then it bifel that* would not appear” (1996: 266).

Law notices that many Cantonese particles have the identical segmental shape and differ only in tone. “When their meanings are taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that particles that are phonetically similar very often share a core meaning” (Law 1990: 82). His proposal is that these particles are underlyingly related. Regrouping Kam SFPs partially confirms his account, as shown in the following figure:

<u>Weakener</u>	<u>Neutralizer</u>	<u>Strengtheners</u>
<u>ac</u>		ax as as, ac has daeux./dax
<u>eec</u>	<u>eel</u>	haeip heip, heip ic has
<u>heec</u>		heep heip
<u>hic</u>		<u>hix</u>
hoc		
<u>ic</u>		ic his, ic is
<u>lac</u>		las lax
laeuc		
<u>leec</u>		leep
		liax
<u>lic</u>	<u>lih</u>	lis, lic is
<u>luc</u>	<u>luh</u>	lux lus
mac		
wuc/huc		

Figure 4.3 Grouping of Kam SFPs

As shown in the Figure 4.3, tone -c (11) is the one that appears most frequently. And within a related group or a set along the horizontal line, the one with this low-level tone tends to express a mild, polite type of speech act information such as making assumptions, guesses, suggestions, recommendations, and lukewarm confirmation. The mid-level tone conveys information in a relaxing, not-so-serious, neutral way. On the contrary, SFPs with falling tones -

x (31) tend to encode strong speech act information such as appealing, begging, criticizing, condemnations, and marking something as unusual. Also SFPs with high-rising -p (35) carry strong feelings such as great disappointment (e.g. *leep*) and demands for a response (e.g. *heep*). To categorize the pragmatic difference among SFPs, a three-group classification is suggested: low-level tones are labeled as *weakeners*; mid-level ones *neutralizers*; and the ones with rising or falling tones *strengtheners*. These grouping will be considered in 4.3. This is a manifestation of how pitch and intensity, along with length of the syllable, can be applied in expressing discourse functions, an issue closely related to intonation. Remember that the sentence-final position is also a very important subpart of the entire sentence intonation contour. So in a sense, the study of intonation and the study of SFPs overlap often and complement one another. To draw a better picture of Kam intonation requires much a greater amount and more varieties of linguistic data including causal conversation and formal public speech, along with a proven model. Unfortunately neither prerequisite is currently available.

There is also evidence that not all the tones of SFPs are inherent. Out of context, many SFPs have no specific semantic meaning. Only in context would their meanings emerge and become comprehensible. In most cases, it is impossible to ask a subject what an SFP means as a headword in a glossary. And another observation is that even in context, the meaning might still be unclear or vague to most native speakers. The transcription of narrative discourse data in Xing's is quite accurate and reliable. The only missing part is the semantic meaning of SFPs from time to time, such as /o11/ and /e11/ (1988: 52), /le11/ and /lo11/ (1988: 126), and /ho11/ and /la31/ (1988: 97). As Li and Thompson summarize the situation in Chinese SFPs: "(The SFPs') semantic and pragmatic functions are elusive, and linguists have had considerable difficulty in arriving at a general characterization of each of them" (1981: 238).

This leads to the subject of tonal operational territory. Unlike any other part of speeches, SFPs are highly dependent on context. In other words, they are very discourse sensitive. Another observed trait of SFPs is that even in context, the tone on a specific SFP is not as crystal clear or as stable as on other words, either because the tone is lexically indeterminant, or because it varies according to the emergent speech act information of the context. As a result, some scholars in the past simply marked them as untoned, while others have ignored their existence in data processing (Xing 1988). Similarly, most of the frequently used Chinese SFPs are de-stressed and have the neutral tone (Li & Thompson 1981: 238).

Contrary to typologically widespread rising intonation in questions, Kam uses another system. Falling and level intonation appear frequently in questions. See an example sentence in TF319:

Wordform:	heek,	maoh	xus	baov	laeup	hangc	huc,	liax,
WfGloss:	exactly	3S	then	say	how	way	question	asking for response
WfPOS:	part	pro	adv	v	pro	n	part	part



FT: "Exactly", he asked then: "What to do next?" something like that.

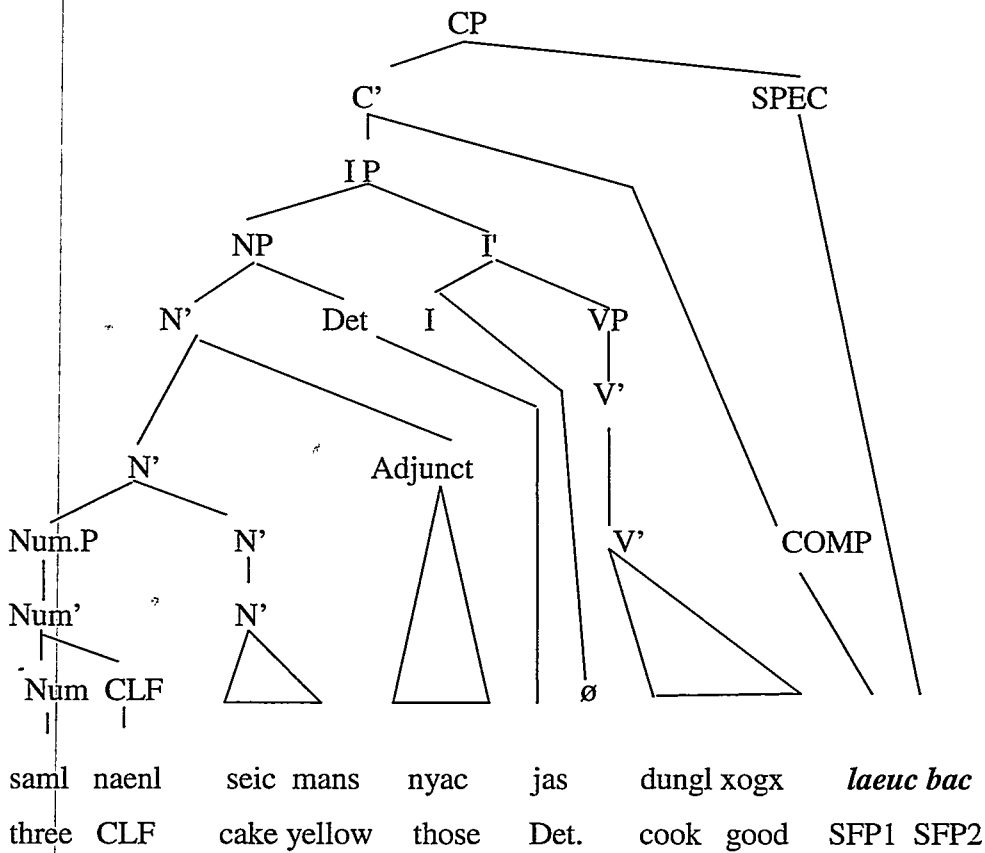
Until very recently, rising intonation was considered non-native in Yutou Kam. This has much to do with the fact that the dominant majority of Kam SFPs bear either level or falling tones. To alter the intonational shape from level or falling to rising would have been to change the tone of the SFPs themselves. As mentioned before, any change in tone contour in syllables has the potential to interfere with others since there are so many syllable-level tones in Kam. The fact that tone and intonation are intertwined so closely makes them inseparable, cf, Ross et al 1986. As a result, tone variants that produce tone sandhi are highly restricted. In an isolating

language such as Kam, the tone is lexically encoded with meaning. As long as the majority of the SFPs bear level and falling tones, the intonation pattern in questions will remain level or falling based on its lexical one.

From the 1990's onward, younger Kam speakers began to imitate the rising intonational pattern of MSC, since intensive language contact has occurred more and more through formal school education, TV broadcasting, and employment. The use of rising tone to express interrogation was first observed in Biicbac 琵琶 village in the 1980's. It spread from Wucgal, a Han Residence Unit surrounded by Kam. Notable majority of the residents of Wucgal could speak Kam, even though they kept their native local Chinese, including rising intonation in questions. Nowadays, the older generations has become more tolerant of the new speech norms even though they themselves are still reluctant to adopt them in their own speech.

4.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics of SFPs

These particles are all located in the final position of a sentence, but they actually play different syntactic functions, and occupy specific syntactic positions. For example, question particles such as *bac*, *ax*, *eel*, *wuc* occur in specifier position (SPEC) of CP; other particles occupy the complementizer (COMP), as will be discussed in the following paragraphs. So, not only do SFPs have critical semantic and pragmatic roles, but also they affect the syntactic structure of a sentence. To illustrate this syntactic feature, one example is offered in Figure 4.4:



‘I guess those three yellow cakes should have been cooked through (now)?’

Figure 4.4 Illustration of Syntactic Positions of SFPs

4.2.3.2.1 Question particles in SPEC position

The sample sentence in 4.2 shows that the SFP *bac* occupies the specifier position of the CP. Within the highlighted SFP cluster, *laeuc* is the perfective marker for the VP, while the *bac* is one of the several question particles. It should be noted that questions in Kam lack the subject-object inversion or *wh* movement in syntax. The most common way of forming a question is using SFPs such as No. 3, 8, and 23 in Table 4.1, along with shifted intonation. The *lac* is

considered as part of the VP, a feature that is widespread in languages such as Chinese, Kachin and Then (Bo 1997) in the area. In fact, the SFPs in Kachin reflect person, number, direction, focus, change-of-status, and mood. The SFPs could be formed by affixing, initial shifting, and root replacing (Dai 2002).

While *laeuc* strongly correlates with the verb, the final *bac* does not. In other words, *bac* relate to all the components of the clause/sentence. Since there is a well-studied counterpart *ba* 吧 in Chinese, the current study will refer to the previous research and see what the *bac* in Kam is and what semantic and syntactic function they play. Their discourse functions will be examined in the following section.

The *ba* 吧 in Chinese indicates 'suggestion', 'mild question', 'modesty', 'supposition', 'agreement', etc (Dow 1983: 151-2, Li et al 1984: 428-9). Li and Thompson (1981: 307-311) assign a function of 'soliciting agreement'. These are all true in Kam as it is quite likely a Chinese loan word. As the *bac* in the above also sentence expresses 'mild question', 'modesty', and 'soliciting agreement'.

As for its syntactic characteristics, there are few accessible reference works. Obviously *bac*'s role reaches beyond the VP. To place the SFPs satisfactorily in the syntactic structure, Law (1990: 11) proposes that Cantonese question particles such as *mɛ55*, *a13*, *a11*, *la 33* *pɔ/wɔ 33*, *le 13*, and *ma 33* actually occur in specifier (SPEC) position of the CP, as *wh* elements in other languages, with respect to FOCUS. One would then expect that a particle question could not contain a question element or FOCUS having wide scope, because the SPEC position cannot be doubly filled. His reasoning bases on the co-occurrence restrictions exhibited between question particles and other elements that are assumed to occur in SPEC in Logical Form. This SPEC of CP is to the right of C', contrary to the general assumption that SPEC is to the left of C'

in Chinese (Henry 1988, Zhou 1988). In this section, Law's analysis of this position in Cantonese is adopted since the structure of questions and the list of SFPs in Kam closely parallel that in Cantonese. For example, 'ma' 33---*mac*, 'le' 13---*luc*, 'a'13/'a'11 --- *ac/ax*, 'la 33 pɔ/wɔ 33'--- *lac bac*.

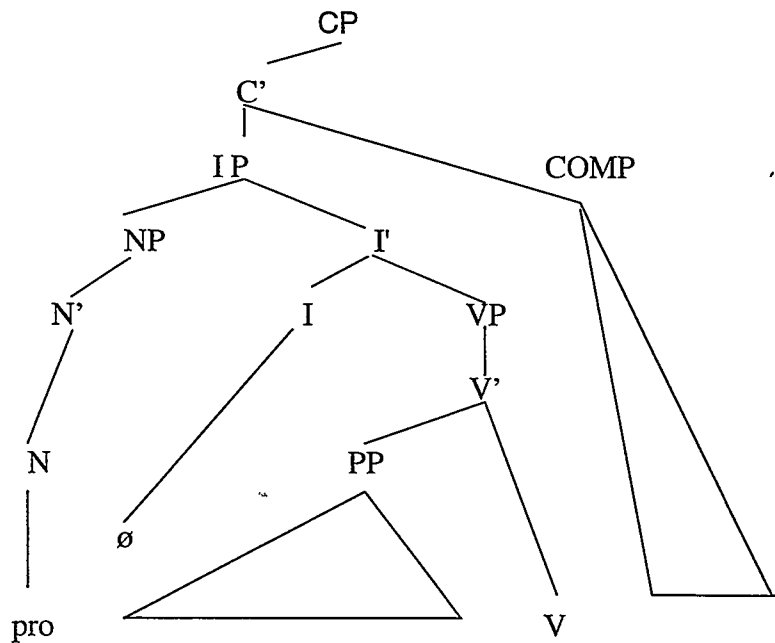
4.2.3.2.2 Other particles in COMP position

Chinese linguists have long disagreed about whether there are complementizers in MSC at all. Xu and Langendon (1985) postulated that, since there are no lexical items that serve as sentence introducers, MSC sentences lack a COMP position entirely. The same can be said of Kam as well even though serious discussion of the matter is lacking. Huang (1982) argues convincingly that prepositions such as 跟 *gen* (with), 对 *dui* (towards), and conjunctions such as 因为 *yinwei* (because), 如果 *ruguo* (if) can be treated as pre-sentential COMPs since they can either take a sentence as object or precede a clause.

Now after placing question particles into the SPEC position, the remained non-question particles take the stage. Taking the frequently used *lic* as an example:

TF31

Wordform:	yuh	wanh	hangc	mienctangc	yuh	daengl	laeuc	lic,	liax
WfGloss:	also	change	kind; type	trick	also	come	PERF	confirming	asking for response
WfPOS:	adv	v	CLS	comm	adv	v	part	part	part
FT:	They do new things in their life.								



[] yuh wanh hangc mientcangc yuh daengl *laeuc lic*, [liax]
 again change CLS way/trick again come SFP1 SFP2 [DM]

Figure 4.5 SFPs in COMP position

The *lic* here has the meaning of ‘it is the case that...’, ‘the situation is that...’, showing the speaker’s commitment to the truth of a claim or assertion. The SFP *lic* always ends a clause or a sentence. The *liax* after *lic* is a discourse marker, or a very special SFP at the most. So it is either a relative pronoun or a complementizer. Since there is no overt *wh* movement in Kam, the *relative pronoun* is ruled out immediately. It is more likely that the *lic* is a *complementizer*. In order to determine whether it occurs in the same SPEC position as *bac* or COMP at the end of the clause or sentence, a comparison between *lic* and the ‘that’ in ‘that’- relatives in English is conducted.

As the only particle used with all types of relative clauses, *lic* can also accompany a clause with or without a gap. These properties are very similar to the ‘that’ in ‘that’ – relatives in English. Radford (1988) argues convincingly that the relative particle *that* is a complementizer, and not a relative pronoun. Also a genitive form of the relative particle cannot be formed by inserting the genitive marker immediately after ‘*lic*’. This is illustrated by example English (36) and example Kam in (37).

(36) *The car that’s hood is damaged.

(37) *Yaoc jenl liangp wenh leec naih dil gaems lic
 IS really like CLS book this SFP GEN cover
 * I like this book’s cover very much.

Since *lic* cannot be a relative pronoun, and exhibits many of the characteristics of ‘that’, I propose that *lic*, like ‘that’, is a complementizer, appearing to the right of the IP.

4.2.4 Functions of individual SFPs in discourse

Section 4.2 provides a general, sketchy description of the listed SFP semantic and discourse functions. In this section, all the SFPs will be revisited and the functions of an individual SFP will be discussed in detail. To reflect the correlation among the different SFPs, discussion will be organized based on the groupings in table 4.3.

Law was the first to categorize SFPs into *weakeners* and *strengtheners* along with *neutral* groups according to the different speech act information they convey. He observes that SFPs with the same phonetic shape, similar meanings, and differing only in tone can be further grouped:

One generalization that can be made about these particles with respect to tone is that a low tone is usually associated with a stronger force of an utterance; a high or rising tone generally conveys a weaker force; whereas a mid-level tone is relatively neutral. For example, the particle 'ε' contributes the meaning that what is said is taken to be a suggestion by the speaker to the hearer. The form 'ε'55 expresses a tentative suggestions with the implication that the speaker is free to propose other things; 'ε'11 conveys the idea that the speaker expects agreement from the hearer; and a sentence that ends with 'ε'33 is interpreted as a neutral suggestion. Thus I propose that the particles 'ε'55, 'ε'33, 'ε'11 come from a single underlying form." (1990: 94).

This tri-particle grouping is adopted since preliminary results indicate the approach fits well with Kam SFPs as demonstrated in 4.2.1. The difference is that the grouping here: a). will refer to the phonological characteristics as one of the criteria but not as the principal ones for the current study; b). attempts to cover all found SFPs; c). Attitudinal elements and the degree of response demanding are counted as major distinctive factors among different groups. By *weaker* and *strengtheners*, they mean they are derived from 'weak' and 'strong', the pairwise distinction indicating the speaker's (narrator in narrative) attitude towards a proposition or toward his/her interlocutor. So sometimes the SFPs are used to modify the force of an utterance for the sake of the audience. On the other hand, Schiffrin (1987) notes that on the level of *participation framework*, a speaker indicates not only his/her stance toward a proposition, but his/her alignment vis-à-vis the hearer. If the SFP he uses expresses softness, mildness, indecisiveness on his part, then it is classified as a weakener. If the SFP he uses expresses conviction, strong emotional effect, decisiveness on his part, then it is classified as a strengthener. Anything else in between is classified as a neutralizer. *Negative*, *lukewarm*, and *positive* would be the other way of labeling them.

4.2.4.1 Weakener SFPs

Contrary to what Law finds in Cantonese SFPs (Law 1990: 94), Kam weakeners are the ones with low-level tone -c (11). Even though the expressed discourse and contextual situation of those individual SFPs are not identical, certain generalizations about them as a group seems evident. SFPs with tone -c tend to express making an utterance sound more tentative, suggestive, and indecisive. The degree of seeking a response is relatively lower than in the strengtheners, but may be higher than those in neutralizers. It also expresses on the part of the speaker a lack of interest, a sense of coldness, boredom, or bluntness. This section will examine each of the weakeners in Figure 4.1, as will do to SFPs in the other two groups. If there is a subgroup of closer SFPs, the delicate distinction among them will be scrutinized.

4.2.4.1.1 [ac] --- request, suggestion, and question indicators

As an SFP, the *ac* has four distinct functions:

a. Conveying a request in a mild, polite way such as in SR284, 321, 358. They are equivalent expressions as '*I'd like to...*', '*I want to...*', '*Please...*', or '*Just let you know...*' in English. For example, in SR358:

Wordform:	maoh	baov	waenl	naih	xiangv	daengl	jouc	nyac	nyingl	ac
WfGloss:	3S	say	day	this	want	come	ask for, request	2S	a bit	SUG
WfPOS:	pro	v	comm	dem	v	v	v	pro	comm	part
FT:	He (the boy) said: "Today I would like to ask you for favor."									

The little boy is asking for a polite favor. Without the SFP *ac*, the whole sentence turns into a statement considering he is talking to a senior member in community which would become a demand, an ultimatum at worst and a rude, arrogant request at best.

b. Asking a question in a soft, modest, caring tone after the *when where, why, what, how*

or other question structures such as in TF58:

TF58

Wordform:	maoh	baov	nyac	baov	ac	laol	yuh	nuv	jav	dogx	ac	laol	bail	bail
WfGloss:	3S	say	2S	say	two	we	also	if	then	alone	two	we	go	go
WfPOS:	pro	v	pro	v	num	pro	adv	conj	adv	adv	num	pro	v	v

geec	laeup	bail	weex	denv	huip-tanh	xis	pieenk	maoh	nyingl	xis	nyac	nuv
place, location	where	go	make, do	meal	party	then	cheat	3S	a bit	be	2S	see
comm	pro	v	v	CLS	comm	adv	v	pro	comm	aux	pro	v

laeup	jagx	weex	ac
where	abstract	make, do	QUES
pro	mkr	v	part

FT: He asked: "You say that we two should go somewhere else to have a meal party without him, (but) how are we going to do it?"

Compared to its counterpart *ax* in the strengthener group, *ac* is softer, with a humbler sound and more caring when a suggestion turns into a question. An equivalent expression to 'Could I...?', 'How about...?'. In the present instance, the junior is asking for instructions and ideas from a senior who initiated the thought of having a run-away party from their poor friend. In a sense, the speaker is looking for guidance.

c. Relief or surprise after learning new information such as in SR24, 61, TF108, 155, 236, 252. Taking TF155 as an example, the attached *ac* signals that the poor friend is surprised by the high quality of the wooden box found in his parents old house.

TF155

Wordform:	ixhip,	maoh	nuv	jagx	hok	naih	lienc	nyaengx	lail	ac
WfGloss:	shocking	3S	if	large stuff	stuff	this	even	very	good	surprised
WfPOS:	part	pro	conj	CLS	comm	dem	adv	adv	adj	part

FT: Wow, he was impressed with the quality.

d. Signaling a pause in a sequence of events for drawing attention such as in SR315, 392, TF59, 221. This is more of a narrative function since it will slow down the pace of information

exchange in face-to-face communication. In narrative, the pace is preferred to be slower to fit multiple hearers and the entertaining nature of the setting.

SR392

Wordform:	maoh	xus	nyaengc	ac
WiGloss:	3S	then	real, true, genuine	pause
WiPOS:	pro	adv	adj	part

FT: He then really (followed what he was told next).

4.2.4.1.2 [eec] --- inquiry, doubt, and acknowledgement

There are five occurrences of SFP *eec* in the data. Its discourse roles include: (1) expressing a moderate request for information, doubting with a question such as in SR226, 285; (2) expressing a fact, admitting or acknowledging a truth such as in TF49, 63, 194. The inferred message is that 'do not be surprised by the coming events.' In TF49, the speaker admits his helplessness in the situation around the community.

TF49

Wordform:	jagx	jas	meec	jagx	biih	maoh	leis	eec,	laix.
WiGloss:	large stuff	that	have	large stuff	avoid	3S	able	tell you the truth	like this
WiPOS:	CLS	mkr	v	CLS	v	pro	part	part	part

FT: "There is no way we can get away."

4.2.4.1.3 [heec] --- certainty

The *heec* expresses certainty, sureness, doubtlessness, and confidence in what one is talking about such as shown in TF191, 195.

TF191

Wordform:	begx	luih	jagx	naih	bail	naengl	meec	yenc	heec
WiGloss:	fall heavily	descend	large stuff	this	go	still	have	people	suring
WiPOS:	v	v	CLS	dem	v	adv	v	comm	part

FT: "There is no way he can survive this!"

He SFP *heec* indicates that the degree of certainty of what would happen to the person in the box floating downstream is as high as certain death. Compared to other SFPs, *heec* has a much lower frequency of occurrence with only two instances in TF and none in SR.

4.2.4.1.4 [*hoc*, *huc*, *wuc*] --- seeking agreement

These three SFPs are closely associated with similar phonological representations and discourse functions. They are exchangeable in general. The *hoc* conveys a mild, moderate suggestion in a non-aggressive way as in TF289, 291.

TF289					
Wordform:	maoh	baov:	yav	hangc	<i>hoc</i>
WfGloss:	3S	say	that	way	SUG with mild, soft tone
WfPOS:	pro	v	dem	n	part
FT:	He said: "Let's do this that way."				

The *huc* expresses: (1) mild suggestion similar to *hoc*. The phonetic and discourse difference between them is minimal and the two are largely interchangeable. Instances can be found in TF4, 222, 295; (2) earnest questioning, expecting a positive response such as in SR191, TF224, 305, 319; (3) supplementing information and setting the stage for major events or peaks as in TF16, 30, 89, 90, 91, 93, 333. This indicates that the encoded information is background, not foreground.

4.2.4.1.5 [*ic*] --- a pause, conceding, and rhythmic balancer

The *ic* is an extension of the previous syllable *xis* 'be'. It is used usually for brief pause and adds a sense of compromise, and intimacy to the narrative. More importantly, it gives the narrative some smoothness, rhythm and elegance and sets it off from causal conversation style.

So *ic* more often appears in formal speech rather than in other types of utterances. See TF162, 170, 188, 215, and 298.

TF298

Wordform:	yah	daeuh	mac,	nuv	nyac	il	yah	hangc	gangs	xis	ic
WfGloss:	also, too	appropriate	agreeing	see	2S	alike	that	way	speak, say	be	pause
WfPOS:	adv	adj	part	v	pro	adv	pro	n	v	aux	part

FT: "(It) is OK, if you say it that way."

Here *ic* shows the speaker's concession and compromise towards his interlocutor's proposal. It is a natural extended articulation of the preceding *xis*. From a semantic perspective, the *ic* does not express that much lexical meaning. But the communicational effect on narrating is evident.

4.2.4.1.6 [lac, laeuc, luc] --- perfective or completive aspect indicators

Members of this subgroup of SFPs convey perfective aspect information about the VP. Mainly they signal that the action has been completed and that the status been changed as a result. There are numerous works on its equivalent in Chinese. Discussions from the past are summarized by Chu:

The sentence-final particle *le* has generally been recognized as one for indicating a changed state and is thus called 'change of state' or 'change of status' particle. This treatment is basically adequate in explaining its semantic effect on isolated clauses. In many instances, however, a simple 'changed state' interpretation is insufficient by itself. Some pragmatic factors have to be considered in conjunction with it (1998: 155).

The same can be said of this subgroup of Kam SFPs. For example, in TF13:

TF13

Wordform:	meec	il	lagx	dil	xus	laos	hangc	hangc	hangc
WfGloss:	have	one	child	pause	then	enter	kind; type	kind; type	kind; type
WfPOS:	v	num	comm	part	adv	v	CLS	CLS	CLS

nyads	jas	bail	lac
poor	that	go	PERF
adj int	mkr	v	asp

FT: (the other) one then entered a poor family.

The *lac* indicates that the action *laos* 'to enter' has been accomplished as intended. In the sense of purely signaling an end to an act, the *laeuc*, *luc* can fully replace the *lac*. That is, they are highly interchangeable. They are not completely identical though. The differences lie in the fact that each of them conveys its own speech act information of unique mood, attitude, context, and interaction. The SFP *lac* expresses plain perfective aspect of the VP. No extra speech act information is encoded in it. So the *lac* tends to be neutral and could be grouped into the following neutralizers also.

On the other hand, the *laeuc* implies that the utterance is a response or reaction to input. In TF102, the insertion of *laeuc* emphasizes that the two rich friends have left already as a reply to the poor friend's question in TF102.

TF102

Wordform:	wanc	jenc	saeml	saeml	jas	bail	laeuc
WfGloss:	already	get up	early	early	MAN	go	PERF
WfPOS:	adv	v	adv	adv	part	v	part

FT: "They got up really early and left."

The *luc* occupying SFP position reveals the utterance to be an assumption or guess. The speaker assumes that some acts might/should/would/could have happened. The actuality of it remains to be seen. The only found two occurrences, SR96 and 408 in data; both are consistent on this. See SR96:

SR96

Wordform:	ac	bux	hip,	maoh	baov,	qop	lienc	kemk	menl
WfGloss:	HON	father	surprising	3S	say	may	even	have hole, crack	sky
WfPOS:	part	comm	part	pro	v	aux	adv	v	comm

beel	luc,	maoh	baov,	liax
go	PERF	3S	say	asking for response
v	part	pro	v	part

FT: "Daddy," he said: "The sky may have been cracked (somewhere)."

The *luc* qualifies as an SFP even though there are three other words after it in the sentence. The reasons are that: a. it occupies the final position of the direct quote; b. The *liax* is a universal SFP and discourse marker that may appear at any point of a structure once the situation requirement arises. The emergence of the *liax* at the end is not counted as an element of the SFP exclusively. Rather it is separated from the rest of the sentence by a preceding colon. The implied contextual situation from the *luc* is that a sequence is expected. In the story, a solution is expected and sought for the unwanted situation.

A unique feature of these three SFPs as a subgroup is that they are associated very closely with the verbs. In other words, i.e., it occupies the last position of the VP it is in. Sometimes it overlaps with the SFP, as in the three cited examples. If there is an SFP cluster, then it will be the one that is closest to the verb. See Figure 4.1 for reference.

The observation that SFPs correlating with certain components specifically rather than to the sentence as a whole is supported by evidence from Kachin, a Tibetan-Burmo language of China and Myanmar. Dai's study (2003) concludes that SFPs play critical roles in pronominalization and agree with the subject (objects in some instances) of the sentence in number and person. They could also reveal grammatical information in direction of the referred action, change of state, focus, and mood.

4.2.4.1.7 [leec] --- fact or truth indicator, factuality

The *leec* indicates that the statement is a fact or truth. Examples found in SR100, 289, 386, 397, TF 37, 50, 51, etc., are consistent throughout. See instance in TF270:

TF270

Wordform:	maoh	weengc	xiangv	pieenk	jagx	jas	leec,	liax,
WfGloss:	3S	must	want	cheat	people	that	fact telling	asking for response
WfPOS:	pro	aux	v	v	CLS	mkr	part	part

FT: He had tried to find a way to avoid that (poor guy).

Here the *leec* emphasizes that the statement “He tried to find a way...” is a hard fact in the events of the story.

4.2.4.1.8 [lic] --- weak confirmer

The *lic* confirms the mentioned statement. The degree of confirmation is weaker than that of *lih*, *ax*, as will be discussed later. See example in TF218:

TF218

Wordform:	heek,	taeuk	geec	jagx	keep	sach	jani	bail	lic
WfGloss:	exactly	arrive, reach	place, location	large stuff	3P	cook	eat	go	confirming
WfPOS:	part	v	comm	CLS	pro	v	v	v	part

FT: Exactly (comment to audience's input), he arrived where they were cooking.

4.2.4.1.9 [mac] --- recommendation indicator and agreement signer

There are two functions signaled by *mac*: (1) indicating that the uttered structure is a suggestion or recommendation; (2) signaling one's agreement towards other's suggestion, recommendation, etc. Potentially these two functions could and often are expressed in consecutive sentences by interlocutors. It is natural that one will either reject or accept the

other's suggestion right afterward. See examples in SR197 for recommending and TF297 for agreeing:

SR197

Wordform:	maoh	baov:	yav	nyac	qak	dal	mac
WiGloss:	3S	say	then	2S	ascend	come	SUG
WiPOS:	pro	v	adv	pro	v	v	part
FT:	He said: "You can come up here."						

TF297

Wordform:	dos	mac
WiGloss:	do	agreeing
WiPOS:	v	part
FT:	"OK/alright."	

4.2.4.2 Strengtheners

The strengtheners tend to represent strong attitudinal expressions such as appealing, serious inquiring, earnest requesting, begging, extreme caring toward the others, and forceful recommending, warning, and shocking reaction to unexpected happenings. The majority of the strengtheners possess either the mid-falling tone -x (31), the mid-falling-rising -s (323), or the high-rising tone -p (35). The choice of SFPs with different tones reveals information about the contextual situation. In general, the mid-falling tone -x (31) tends to reflect emphasizing, strong confirming, strong reluctant, or warning. The mid-falling-rising (323) is used more often to convey a sense of caring, intimacy, or imminent appealing. The high-rising tone -p (35) tends to express appealing, extreme caring, shocked reaction, or turn a statement into a question, an issue closely related with intonation structure of the sentences. It is not an accident that affection in addressing kinship terms happens to be expressed by assigning the same tone category -p (35). Here are some pairs of examples:

{	<i>ac naeix</i>	'mother'	vs.	<i>ac naip</i>	'mom, Dear Mother'
	<i>ac yal</i>	'father'		<i>ac yap</i>	'daddy, dad'
	<i>ac sax</i>	'father's mother'		<i>ac sap</i>	'grandmom'
	<i>ac nongx</i>	'younger sibling'		<i>ac nongp</i>	'dear sister/brother'
	<i>ac jaix</i>	'brother-in-law'		<i>ac jaip</i>	'dear brother-in-law'

No matter what the original tone, the new -p tone adds closeness and intimacy. In other words, the -p tone serves a unique feature of attitude.

Strengtheners are abundant as seen from Figure 4.1 in 4.2.1. Individual SFPs in this group will be treated in order in the following subsections.

4.2.4.2.1 [ax] --- strong questioning, demanding, and direct demanding

The *ax* possesses many features of *ac* as an SFP, i.e., asking questions, proposing, suggesting, or confirming information as illustrated in 3.3.1. But the force of all the above functions are augmented so that the once soft, mild, polite request signaled by *ac* turns into either a strong question, request or demand. In the extreme it is an ultimatum. The mood or the undertone of the questioning structure is negative in general, or suspicious as in answering door knocking *naeuc* (who) *ax* (SFP)? 'Who is this?' See examples in SR45:

SR45

Wordform:	laol	yuh	jagx	yenc	nyix	yuh	laeup	meeç	jagx	nanc	weex	ax
WfGloss:	we	also	people	people	young	also	where	have	abstract	cannot	make, do	question
WfPOS:	pro	adv	CLS	comm	adj	adv	pro	v	mkr	aux	v	part
FT:	"We are also young men, and why wouldn't we work?"											

The emphatic question ensued from the insertion of *ax*, which transforms the statement into a strong rebuke in context. In SR105 the question expects a direct response and the whole structure turns into a demand:

SR105

Wordform:	hm,	bux	keep	baov:	jagx	naih	laeup	yox	laeup	jagx
WfGloss:	frustrated	father	3P	say	large stuff	this	how	know	how	abstract
WfPOS:	mood	comm	pro	v	CLS	dem	pro	v	pro	mkr

weex	ax,	liax
make, do	question	asking for response
v	part	part

FT: His father said: "Who would know how to deal with (this)? "

When the structure the *ax* is in is a declarative sentence, it conveys confirmation or approval. See examples in SR83, 99,153, 364, TF23, 46, 81, 86, 115, 187, 212, 281, and 301.

SR83

Wordform:	nyihnyongc	dil	liangp	ax
WfGloss:	extremely, very much	MAN	like to do, love	confirming
WfPOS:	adv	part	v	part

FT: (They) loved him very much.

It is worthwhile to point out that the *ax* is an agreement indicator when appears at the very beginning of an utterance and serves as a discourse marker. Instances can be found in SR39, 131, 250, and 252.

4.2.4.2.2 [ac as, ac has] --- polite instructing or diplomatic commanding

These two SFP clusters are formed by extending the articulation of the first syllable *ac*. They are highly interchangeable or free variants. The tone on the resulting second syllable is -s [323], the designated candidate for expressing caring, intimacy, or imminent appeal. In SR203,

the old man (god in heaven) answers the boy's call and gives exact guidance to him so he can climb up the cliff and meet the old man there for more instructions. So the contextual situation is that a senior member wants to express his care and love for the courageous little boy. The *ac as* fulfills this interactional requirement at the end of the utterance.

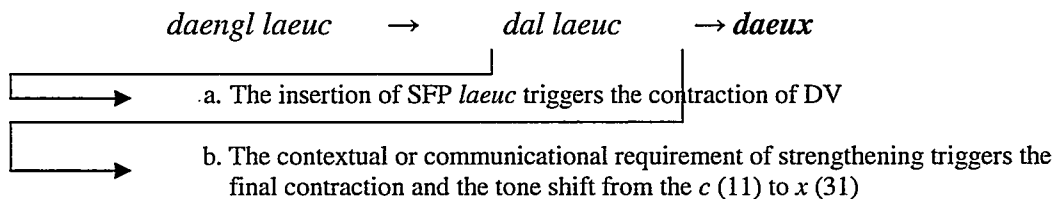
SR203

Wordform:	qiaengp	taeuk	dinl	bial	beel	xis	maoh	baov:	nyac	nyongv	ac	as
WfGloss:	pull, drag	to	foot	large stone	go	then	3S	say	2S	grab, hold on	SUG	SUG
WfPOS:	v	prep	comm	comm	v	adv	pro	v	pro	v	part	part

FT: Once the mustache reached the foot of the stone, he said: "You hold on it, little boy!"

4.2.4.2.3 [daeux, dax] --- perfective action on background or participation framework

The *daeux* is a shortened form of DV *daengl* and perfective SFP *laeuc*. As discussed in 2.2.2, the form *daengl* itself can be contracted to *dal*. It is not rare to see a *dal + laeuc* combination to express an accomplished act, along with information of the direction of the action related to the actor or narrator. This resulted "*dal + laeuc*" is then further compounded or reduced into one syllable as *daeux*. Here is an illustration of the bi-phrase contracting process:



This is a phonological contraction process regulated by the same rules as in 2.2.2. That is, the rhyme of the DV is contracted into a single /a/ to produce the *dal*. In discourse, the merging of perfective SFP *laeuc* and the speaker's emphatic attitude further motivate the second

contraction and the designated tone for strengthening force *x* (33) replacing the original low level tone *c* (11).

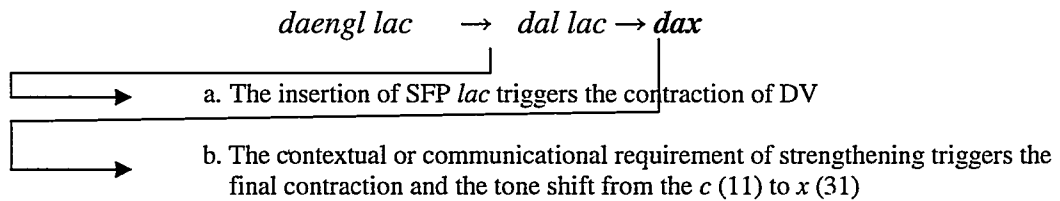
The whole process looks a bit complicated but the conditioning environment provides sufficient support of its mechanism. SR465 will be used demonstrate:

SR465

Wordform:	heek,	haeix	xis	dogl	luh	daeux
WfGloss:	exactly	otherwise	then	drip, drop	descend	PERF, already
WfPOS:	part	adv	adv	v	v	part
FT:	Exactly, otherwise (the nails) would have fallen.					

The speaker tends to emphasize that the otherwise terrible consequence if the leak were is fixed. It signals focusing in speech.

Similarly, the *dax* is derived through exactly the same process. The only changed prerequisite is that the attached original SFP is *lac* instead *laeuc*.



By using *dax*, the speaker implies that the chosen SFP is *lac*. The concerned event might be focal locally but not in the discourse as a whole. See examples in SR165, 204, and 81 as in the following:

SR81

Wordform:	gaeis	xis	gox	jivxic	dil	taeuk	deic	ngoc	liogx
WfGloss:	unwilling	be	do not know	unexpectedly	pause	reach	unusual, unexpected	five	six
WfPOS:	adj	aux	v	adv	part	v	mkr	num	num

nyinc	dax	lic,	liax
year, years of age	PERF	confirming	asking for response
n	part	part	part

FT: So without any incident, five or six years passed.

By inference, one might expect a similar contraction of the other DV *bail* > *bal* to appear in the SFP compounds. Generated from the same rule, the corresponding output SFP forms should be *baeux* and *bax*. But since initial *b* and rhyme *aeu* cannot combine in Kam phonology, the closest rhyme *ao* is chosen instead, yielding a new syllable *baox*. Instances actually are found in SR111, 365, 454, TF201, 283 for *baox* and TF182, 184, and 193 for *bax*.

TF184

Wordform:	xaol	xus	xus	liaop	laos	nyap	bax	has
WfGloss:	2P	then	then	push	into	river	go	SUG
WfPOS:	pro	adv	adv	v	prep	comm	v	part

FT: "You push (this) away into the river, OK?"

SR454

Wordform:	hax,	jagx	menl	jas	xus	nyaengc,	haeix	dogl	mienp	baox	luh
WfGloss:	bingo	large stuff	sky	that	then	real, true	not	drip, drop	rain	PERF	attention drawing
WfPOS:	part	CLS	comm	mkr	adv	adj	neg	v	comm	part	part

FT: Bingo! The sky stopped leaking rain.

That three directional verbs plus *lac* can combine with the identical rules of contraction is strong support for the reductional nature of some SFPs and for the analysis proposed here.

The selection of DVs has something to do with the narrated space and direction the speaker wants to create. The *bail/bal* indicates direction 'away from' either the actor or the narrative participants, and the *daengl/dal* shortens the distance and draw the scene closer toward the actor or the narrative participants. In TF184, the *bax* signals that the action *liaop* 'to push' is away from the participants. In SR454, the *baox* creates a sense of distance from the present time to the time the event took place long before in story. In other words, they denotes the manner the speaker and the audience relating to one another in many ways on the level of participation framework.

4.2.4.2.4 [haeip] --- questioner, confirmation seeker

The *haeip* turns a statement into a question aiming for a repetition of what just being said.

In other words, it shows that the speaker does not comprehend what the interlocutor has said or does not get the narrative drift. See example in SR149, 176.

SR149

Wordform:	yav,	xaol	leis	yoX	geec	laeup	meeC	yenc	amv	menl	haeip?
WiGloss:	that	2P	experience	know	place, location	where	have	people	fix, repair	sky	question
WiPOS:	dem	pro	mkr	v	comm	pro	v	comm	v	comm	part

FT: "Well... do you know where the people who can fix the sky are?"

4.2.4.2.5 [heip, heip ic] --- appealer and comforter

The *heip* and its extended form of articulation *heip ic* are SFPs conveying appeal, encourage or comfort in various contextual situations. See TF252, 254, and SR376.

SR376

Wordform:	maoh	baov:	heek,	ac	yenc	laox	heip
WiGloss:	3S	say	exactly	HON	people	elder	appealing
WiPOS:	pro	v	part	part	comm	adj	part

FT: He (the boy) said: "Exactly! Listen to me (one more time), Old man."

When it occurs after other exclamer, *heip* and *heip ic* represent a strong sense of surprise. See example in SR275:

SR275

Wordform:	hev		heip,	laox	liogwangc	xus,	...
WiGloss:	stop!	warning, attention drawing	surprised	elder	dragon king	then	
WiPOS:	part		part	adj	comm	adv	

FT: "Stop!" said the dragon king ...

One needs to point out that the *heip* expresses a sense of surprise or of encountering the unexpected when it appears at the very beginning of an utterance and serves as a discourse marker. Instance can be found in SR39, 131, 250, and 252.

4.2.4.2.6 [hix] --- surprise, resignation in the face of an unpreferred situation

The *hix* expresses one's surprise or helplessness toward an unwanted or unpleasant situation. See examples in SR56 and TF267.

TF267							
Wordform:	ix...	jagx	jas	jagx	jas, (laughing)	hix,	
WfGloss:	yes, agreeing	large stuff	that	abstract	that	what can you say?	
WfPOS:	adv	CLS	mkr	mkr	mkr	part	
FT:	"Right...that.. that...What can you say? "						

4.2.4.2.7 [ic is, ic his] --- Seek repetition

In case of uncertainty about what has been said, the speaker can use *ic is* or *ic his* to seek confirmation and invite repetition from the interlocutor. See examples in SR252, 419.

SR252							
Wordform:	oc	hos,	yav	hangc	ic	his?	
WfGloss:	unexpected finding	unexpected finding	that	way	pause	question	
WfPOS:	part	part	dem	n	part	part	
FT:	"Really? Like that?/Is that it?"						

4.3.4.2.8 [las] --- suggestion, seek ideas

The *las* appears at the end of a clause to seek suggestions and ideas from others on an issue. See example in SR388.

SR388										
Wordform:	jagx	naih	laeup	jagx	weex					las?
WfGloss:	large stuff	this	how	way, like	make, do					QUES
WfPOS:	CLS	dem	pro	comm	v					part
FT:	"How can I do with this?"									

4.2.4.2.9 [leep] --- disappointment

The SFP *leep* expresses strong disappointment. Cf. instances in SR9, 11, 93, 102 and TF 33, 256, and 257.

TF257										
Wordform:	heek,	nyenh	jagx	jas	daengl					leep
WfGloss:	exactly	still	people	that	come					disappointed
WfPOS:	part	adv	CLS	mkr	v					part
FT:	Exactly, still here he came.									

4.2.4.2.10 [lees] --- concession

The SFP *lees* expresses concession as in SR339 and 428.

SR339												
Wordform:	nuv	nyac	yiuv	jagx	xingh	daov	naengl	weex	leis	nyingl	lees	
WfGloss:	if	2S	need, want	large stuff	other	opposite	still	make, do	able	a bit	conceding	
WfPOS:	conj	pro	aux	CLS	adj	adj	adv	v	part	comm	part	
FT:	"If you want something else, may be I can help you."											

4.2.4.2.11 [liax] --- communication operator and universal discourse marker

Cf. discussion in 4.3.4.

4.2.4.2.12 [lis] --- surprise

The SFP *lis* conveys surprise toward events that develop differently than expected or scheduled. See instances in TF95, 160.

TF160

Wordform:	meenh	yugx	yuh	jagx	jas	nyaengc	meenh	maeik	lis,
WfGloss:	further	wash	also	large stuff	that	really	further	new	surprising
WfPOS:	adv	v	adv	CLS	mkr	adv	adv	adj	part

liax,
asking for response
part

FT: The more he washed, the newer the box looked like.

4.2.4.2.13 [lux, lus] --- dissuading and warning

The SFP *lux* indicates a serious warning. See the single example in TF205.

TF205

Wordform:	maoh	baov	jav	yiuv	dos	sas	qak	bail	lux
WfGloss:	3S	say	then	need, want	put	lock	onto	go	warning
WfPOS:	pro	v	adv	aux	v	comm	prep	v	part

FT: He said: " Then you need put the lock on."

4.2.4.3 Neutralizers

As defined above in 3.3, a neutralizer expresses a neutral degree of conviction, decisiveness of the speaker towards the statement. Speaking of instances, neutralizers are less numerous than weakeners and strengtheners.

4.2.4.3.1 [eel] --- supplementary question

The *eel* helps turn a statement into a question along with apparent wh- words such as *laeup hangc* 'how', *mangc/laenl naeup* 'what', *geec laeup* 'where', *lien/xic naeup* 'when'. The wh- words are mandatory while the *eel* is optional. In all the cases in the data (TF 132, SR94, 105, 255, 385, 393, and 444), the wh-word plus *eel* occur right after the verb *weex* 'to do'. This co-occurrence provides strong evidence of the origin of *eel*'s. It is an extended articulation of

weex when intonation is applied to form a question. A similar phenomenon was noted in the formation of SFP *ic*, discussed in 3.3.1.5. SR444 is a typical instance of this supplementary question:

SR444				
Wordform:	laeup	jagx	weex	eel?
WfGloss:	how	large stuff	make, do	QUESTION
WfPOS:	pro	CLS	v	part
FT: "What should I do?"				

4.2.4.3.2 [*lih*] --- confirmer with sense of humor, informality

The SFPs with middle level tone -h [33] as a rule express a casual, relaxed, relieved, and jocular attitude in the tenor of the language, an expression of informality in Kam. The SFP *lih* is an initial example of this subgroup of neutralizers. See example in SR409 and 421:

SR421					
Wordform:	leis	lih,	maoh	baov,	liax
WfGloss:	* obtain	the fact is	3S	say	asking for response
WfPOS:	v	part	pro	v	part
FT: "(I have) got (them)," he (the boy) said, you know.					

The statement with SFP *lih* here is an affirmative answer to the raised question in SR420. It declares positively that the boy himself did obtain the needed material for sky repair. An extra sense of relaxed jocularinity is added along the way. The argument for the *lih* qualifying as an SFP in the middle of the transcribed sentence is the same as for the *luc* discussed in 3.3.1.6.

4.2.4.3.3 [luh, hux] --- attention drawer

The narrator uses the *luh* to draw the audience's special attention to the information he intends to convey. See example in SR40, 41, 73, 333, 338, 350, 454, 455, 467, and TF28, 72, 247, and 227:

SR73

Wordform:	baov	jav	jenl	gags	yangh	luh,	liax
WfGloss:	say	that	very	different	form	attention drawing	asking for response
WfPOS:	v	dem	adv	adj	adv	part	part
FT: (The guests/audience) said:	"That is really something unusual/unheard of."						

The *luh* raises the degree of interest, curiosity about the information in order to attract attention from the audience, but not it is as strong as SFP of the category strengtheners. Strength difference can be seen through comparison with its counterparts *lux* and *lus* in 4.2.2.

Instances of SR467 are of special interest since the narrator signals the ending of his story. The hinted message is that "now this is someone else's turn to narrate". In TF368, the narrator uses a discourse marker *hux* 'right, this is it' to fulfill the same function instead.

In summary, weakeners soften or decrease the degree of attitudinal tension toward the statement they attach to, while strengtheners increase and tend to express conviction, strong emotional affect and decisiveness on the narrator's part. The few neutralizers lie somewhere between the two end points. The division of SFPs into three categories *weakeners*, *strengtheners*, and *neutralizers* simplifies the otherwise convoluted picture of discourse roles of SFPs and streamlines the current discussion.

4.2.5 SFPs and discourse markers (DM)

Sentence-final particles are mainly considered to be distinctive feature manifested in isolating languages of East and Southeast Asia. Certainly their semantic and syntactic functions are of interest as discussed in 3.2. At the same time, they fulfill various discourse functions. Discourse markers occur in various sentential positions and play their semantic, syntactic, and discourse roles as well. In other words, the use of discourse markers overlaps with the SFPs. This leads us to another question: what is the relationship between SFPs and discourse markers, a group of lexical items that are mainly responsible for discourse purpose but some of which also have overt semantic manifestation?

4.2.5.1 Discourse markers

Discourse markers --- expressions like *well, so, but, or, oh, anyway, and y'know* in English--- are one set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains. Schiffrin (2001: 55) elaborates that: "Two aspects of communicative knowledge closely related to one another are expressive and social: the ability to use language to display personal and social identities, to convey attitudes and perform actions, and to negotiate relationships between self and others. Others include a cognitive ability to represent concepts and ideas through language and a textual ability to organize forms, and convey meanings, within units of language longer than a single sentence." The study of discourse markers has drawn tremendous interest from scholars. However, there is no generally agreement upon the definition of the term *discourse marker* itself. The three main perspectives on markers are Halliday and Hasan's (1976) semantic perspective on cohesion; Fraser's (1990, 1998) pragmatic approach,

and Schiffrin's (1987) discourse perspective. Hölker (1991: 78-79) lists four basic features that characterize discourse markers. (1) They do not affect the truth conditions of an utterance; (2) they do not add anything to the propositional content of an utterance; (3) they are related to the speech situation and not to the situation talked about; (4) they have an emotive, expressive function rather than a referential, detonative, or cognitive function.

The form *liax* is a good candidate for initiating discussion of Kam discourse marker. Its main role is to elicit acknowledgement, agreement, and consensus from the addressees. In the present study, it asks for confirmative response from the audience. Its semantic meaning will be something like 'You see...', 'That is what happened', 'That is the case', 'Let me tell you', 'Have you got it?', or 'OK?'. In order to make sure that the audience is informed of and follows what goes on in the narrative, the narrator inserts this *liax* all over the course. So from a communication perspective, *liax* is an operator which gears and executes the convey of information between the narrator and the audience. Its catalytic power in communication will be deliberated in 4.4. Theoretically and practically, *liax* can occur at any place, in any position of the utterance. The most frequently attested position is the end of a clause or sentence, the exact place where SFPs are supposed to occupy. It signals the end of a clause or sentence more often than not. It can also appear in between subject NP and predicate VP. In some cases, it even takes place in between components within a VP and NP. Here is a brief statistical summary of *liax*'s sentential positions in the two narratives:

Table 4.4 The Distribution of *liax* in Sentential Positions

	Occurrences in final position		Occurrences in non-final position	
SR	90	70.9% [90/(90+37)]	37	29.1% [37/(37+90)]
TF	106	89.1% [106/(106+13)]	13	10.9% [13/(13+109)]
Total	196	79.7% [196/(127+119)]	50	20.3% [50/(127+119)]

The numbers indicate that almost 80% of its occurrences are at the end of a clause or sentence, a significant figure supporting its SFP status. In the sense that it terminates an utterance, there is no doubt that *liax* can well qualify to be an SFP. Its other discourse function includes checking for comprehension in the audience and asking for response and comments from them. Considering that there are 467 sentences in SR and only 368 sentences in TF, the 246 occurrences of this single SFP are exceptionally frequent. That means it appears in nearly 30% of all the sentences [$246 / (467+368)=29.5\%$]. Another feature observed is that the narrator in TF tends to use it to signal sentence ending a bit more often (89.1%) than the narrator in SR does (70.1%).

One faces a bit of dilemma in explaining the *liax*'s omnipresent distributional feature since that is fundamentally unlike all other SFPs. One convenient way of achieving that is simply to assign a *liax* with the status of a very special SFP to legitimize its unusual distribution. The other is redefining what an SFP is. In other words, the *sentence-final particles* are particles that *could* be at the end of a clause or sentence. This more precisely reflects the fact if the *liax* is an SFP, yet on other occasions it also appears in various sentential positions. A bonus of this

practice is that it includes all other potential occurrences of particles at the end of a sentence even if they are not found in that special sentential position in the present data.

Since it is more about the communication between the narrator and the audience than about the content of the narrated events themselves, it would be more appropriate to separate the *liax* in the stream of speech from other SFPs and all other components in discourse physically, as did in 3.1 and in the sentence parsing in transcription by inserting a colon before and after it. Phonetically, it is also a pause between the *liax* and its surrounding components.

4.2.5.2 Discourse markers found in narrative

Though the issue is raised here, the present study is not intended to be a comprehensive one of the Kam discourse markers. In fact, it is because the correlation between the pragmatic discourse markers and the SFPs is so close that some lines need to be drawn to better position the current study of the SFPs in discourse analysis. The discussion will list the observed discourse markers and give a short illustration of pragmatic functions of each individual. This will preserve what has been found and can serve as a starting point for future study on Kam discourse markers.

- a. *jav*. Pragmatic functions of this DM include: (1) Resultative indicator --- signaling that the previous unit serves as reason or cause for the coming unit; (2) Connector --- indicating cohesion between the previous unit and the current one *jav* is in; (3) One of the recovery strategies especially when narration is interrupted. *Jav* can bridge the gap between where the narrator leaves and where he is now.
- b. *xus*. 'then, so'. Pragmatic functions of this DM include: Overt sequential marker.
- c. *xis*. 'as you know, so, then' . Overt sequential marker.
- d. *nuv*. 'if, in case of'. Conditional sentence introducer.

e. *denh*. 'as soon as, when, if'. Cause prepositional sentence introducer.

f. *gaeis xis*. 'that is why..., so'. Explaining.

g. *liax*. Not a fully qualified member but would sustain challenge as it serves multiple pragmatic functions, such as communication operator, attention drawer, and self-correction indicator.

4.2.5.3 The comparison between discourse markers and SFPs

The characteristic functions of discourse markers overlap with the SFPs in many ways, as shown in the above discussion. There is no doubt that these two share some common territory and features. The following sections will conduct a brief study on what they have in common and in what areas they differ.

The differences are obvious. The first difference to note emerges instantly. The SFPs occupy the sentence-final location positionally, while discourse markers take the initial position of a clause or sentence in most cases. That means that, in general, they are in complementary distribution, i.e., at both ends of the sentence. Even though they differ in many other ways as well, this positional criterion is the most apparent and critical. Secondly, as a result of position, the SFPs interact with intonation of the sentence extensively. DM's connection to intonation is greatly limited by its sentence-initial position. Thirdly, the articulation of SFPs tends to be extended more often than not, resulting in many SFP clusters. This seems contradicts the claim that shortness is one of the phonological and morphological features of DM (Brinton 1996: 266). Whether and how this relates to the development of the Kam phonology remains to be seen.

The similarities between the two are as apparent as their differences. At first glance, even their semantic meanings are ambiguous. It turns out that they not only occur with highly

frequency in discourse, but also share phonological, grammatical, and discourse features. For instance, the tones on them tend to be weak and reduced in some cases, and the tone values in SFPs tend to be unstable and incoherent. Together they come to fulfill various discourse and pragmatic functions.

SFPs displays numerous distinctive aspects in various narrative linguistic structures ranging from semantics to syntax to discourse developing. They reveal speech act features signaling attitudinal, contextual, cognitive, and interactional information. As an analytic language lacking linguistic TAM expression, Kam utilizes other means to express such meanings. The SFPs belong to these compensatory strategies. Some SFPs do, in fact, bear aspectual information. Some show characteristics of certain moods. In isolating languages lacking morphological markers such as Kam, once discourse markers emerge, this otherwise 'missing' linguistic information could be recovered fairly well.

4.3 Structure of narrative and functions of repetition

Having introduced the background of Kam folktale narration, it is time now to cast long overdue attention on the linguistic aspects to see the features of Kam narrative from the perspective of language and discourse. First the structural characteristics of the collected stories will be examined based on Labov's six-part model in 4.3.1. The purpose is to illustrate a simple yet clear structural picture of the narrating. Then in 4.3.2, some grammatical characteristics will become the targets of current study.

4.3.1 Labov's six-part model of narrative and application in Kam

4.3.1.0 Labov's study in personal experience narrative

Labov (1967) jointly proposed a six-part model of naturally occurred narratives with Waletzky, and finalized his treatment in his well-known study of black English vernacular as Chapter 9 of his *Language in the Inner City* (1972).

The six parts of his structure of narrative are: *abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda*. Some scholars labeled this personal experience narrative type as PEN (personal experience narrative). Labov and Waletzky's hypothesis is that fundamental narrative structures are found in oral versions of personal experience. By exploring and revealing the true nature of ordinary narratives of ordinary speakers, they wished to identify and relate formal linguistic properties of narrative to their functions, i.e., recapitulating of PEN and evaluative. His definition of narrative is as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov 1972: 359-360). He also specifies that "a minimal narrative [is] a sequence of two clauses which are temporarily ordered ... a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture" (Labov 1972: 361).

The current discussion of Kam narrative discourse can be related to Labov's well-defined model because: on the one hand, fundamental structure of narratives is supposed to be universal; on the other hand, it will be of interest to see how different cultural environment and social functions of storytelling narrative in Kam community affect the structure itself.

Here is a more detailed definition of each of the six parts with brief examples when appropriate.

--- *Abstract*: One or two clauses the narrator uses to outline or advertise the whole story at the start of narrating. For example, at the very beginning in Labov's 11th narrative, the subject responds to the asked question (Were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of being killed?) by saying 'I talked a man out of -Old Doc Simon I talked him out of pulling the trigger.'

--- *Orientation*: Clauses or even paragraphs introducing the participants and circumstances, especially of place and time, of the narrative, and is equivalent to what was called setting in the narratological chapters (Toolan 2001: 151). Some features of clauses in this section are that: a great many past progressive clauses in English as noticed by Labov: "We was doing this 50-yard dash;" and clauses identifying persons, time, and place may not appear at the beginning of the narrative but be placed at strategic points later on in narrative.

--- *Complication*: Narrative clauses that recount a sequence of events leading up to their climax or peak, the point of maximum suspense. By referring to what happens in the world of story and what happens in the world of telling, they create tension that keeps the audience listening in their seats if not on their feet at all time.

--- *Evaluation*: clauses right before the resolution that state or underscore the unusual or extraordinary characteristics of the events, why the audience should keep listening and allow the narrator to keep talking. They could be free clauses that comment on the on-going of the story, the characters; clauses embedded in the narrative through scanning details of characters; 'correlatives' decode what happens simultaneously; and explicatives that are appended to narrative clauses.

--- *Resolution*: Release the tension and reveals what happened in the end.

---*Coda*: Signaling the ending of narrative. Also labeled as closure in some literature (Abbott 2002: 188). This could be explicit declaring that the narrative proper is over. Some commonly used ways to do this include 'That is it', 'This is the end of my story', and 'OK. That is it, you know'. Often times some codas have the property of bridging the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present, that is, to bring the audience back to this world.

Kam narratives are of the same nature as Labov's in the sense that they also recapitulate what happened in the past, be that real or legendary. The difference is that in Kam the narrators are 'invited' or customarily 'selected' to tell a folktale story that has been narrated since long ago in a natural cultural setting as described in 3.2, rather than 'interviewed' to recapitulate only one's own personal experience as in Labov's. The intended audience is made up of fellow villagers, not 'strangers'. Its main function is social, internal rather than talking to individual(s) and satisfying outside academic request. It is noteworthy that in order to "obtain data on the most systematic form of language (the vernacular)...(and) how people speak when they are not being observed" (Labov 1972: xvii), Labov and his team developed contact with different preadolescent groups and conducted their peer observation. It will be of interest to see how the two functions of narrative, i.e., recapitulating of PEN and evaluative --- the narrative has a point, or worth of telling, as far as the speaker and the community are concerned jointly --- are realized in Kam and Harlem African-Americans, two totally distinct communities both geographically and in time. How they share structural properties of narrative and how they differ in building its own structure will be the most sought after for better and extended understanding of Kam narrative. All these and other possible factors will be studied in further detail when a difference is observed and explanation is needed.

To begin the analysis, a brief anatomy of the two recorded narratives based on Labov's model is produced, followed by analysis of each of the six parts in Kam:

Table 4.5 The Six-part Anatomy of the Kam Narratives

	SR	TF
Abstract	None	None
<i>Orientation</i>	#1-4	#1-14
<i>Complication</i>	#5-460	#39-363
<i>Evaluation</i>	#5-460	#39-363
<i>Resolution</i>	#461-466	#364-366
<i>Coda</i>	#467	#367-368

4.3.1.1 *Abstract

The first attention-drawing structure comes from the absent *Abstract* part. In both stories, there are no such clauses at the beginning to summarize what is coming next. The reason is plain and simple: Due to the nature of storytelling, *abstract* is not mandatory. Its absence will actually increase the curiosity level of the audience and draw the attention of all participants. On the contrary, the *abstract* in PEN is the straightforward response to the interviewer's question under that circumstance. As the setting shifts, the very reason that an abstract exists becomes invalid. Rather, the orientation will initiate the narrating as a result.

This does not exclude the possibility of an abstract in other Kam narratives. Depending on the occasions, the use of abstracts may become appealing. For instance, in Xing #3.3, 3.4,

3.10, and 3.12, a brief summary of what is coming is indeed present individually. Though information of physical settings within which the stories are narrated is missing, it is fairly safe to assume that one or more of the following situations may be true: a) the narrator is asked by other participants to tell a story, and any story will be welcomed. Under that circumstances, the narrator would search his mind and tell the audience the one that he chooses. This is similar to Labov's PENS and is a reflective result of being asked. b) The narrator is taking a turn from his predecessor in a multi-narrator occasion. To separate his from the others, a quick encapsulating of the point of the story will more than sufficiently serve the need.

4.3.1.2 Orientation

As being confirmed in narratives of many other languages, it turns out that the orientation part in Kam is rather brief, consisting of only a few clauses, i.e., 4 in SR and 14 in TF.

There are three characters in TF, the three 'brothers'. The information about their respective parents is so plain and simple that only SR16, 18, and 70 mention that. The same applies to the *lagx nuns* 'the (school) children' (in TF173, 174, 186, 186, 198, 210), along with sketchy reference to their families. This does not mean that one can conveniently ignore these supporting players at all. On the contrary, they may play significant roles in developing events such as the *lagx nuns* in TF when they push the box down into the river stream to trigger the peak event in that story.

There is a familiar pattern in introducing the time, location, and characters in the two stories. The time indicator (*dangl xul*) *xic jav* 'long long time ago' is the very first phrase to distance what will follow in the story from the present world of narrating. The predicate verb is the expected *mec* 'to have', the equivalent to the English 'to be' under this circumstance,

followed by characters. The location part will appear right after the time indicator if needed, as TF is the case. The order of time-(location)-characters is not surprising in the least. Here in these two stories and 23 out of 33 stories in Xing's collection (1988), the narration begins with the time indicator (*dangl xul*) *xic jav* 'long, long ago'. The optional *dangl xul* 当初 is an old Chinese loan word that brings a sense of formalness and authority into the narrative. This may well be a subtle symbol of power by the narrator since in the past a headmen and former official village head in the community may have used these expressions. This preliminary observation will be revisited in 4.3 when the background of narrators becomes an issue. Also, a four-syllable idiomatic expression echoes the trademark of Kam singing and poetic tradition since four-syllables, along with five and seven-syllable lines, are the most commonly used line structures in Kam songs, proverbs, and other rhyme oriented types of literature.

Once the time is fixed and the participants are drawn back into the world of the story, the main characters are quickly identified to complete the introduction. If one remembers the 'Once upon a time...' in English or 从前有一个...in Chinese, then this reoccurring pattern of orientation deserves to be considered as a candidate of universal narrative initiation. The location of place is not mandatory as time and characters are because it does not matter that much to the developing of the story. The audience may care less where the event took place unless the place still bears significance in the world of telling. By examining the available discourse data both from Yutou and Xing's (1988), it is obvious that some of the significant qualities are: a) the proximity of the setting of the story so the audience know where that is. In other words, they would be able to connect with that place through personal experience. See Xing #3.1, 3.10, 3.12, and 3.16. This would stimulate the sense of involvement for the participants into the narrative and raise the enthusiasm, a element of significance to keep audience attention and keep them in their seats. b)

The place itself bears significance, either it is in the history of the Kam or of China or in Kam religious beliefs. In Xing #3.6, the *Xiangc Anl* 长安 was the capital of the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD), and in TF1, the *Wangv Yeml* 'the nether world' is a central idea in Kam native religion. c) historic significance of the figure(s) in the narrative. See Xing #3.1, 3.12, and 3.16. Location is covert in SR because it is a fairy tale based on the Great Flood (Deluge) story that engulfed the whole world. Where exactly the boy was from does not make any difference in the development of the plot.

4.3.1.3 Complication and evaluation

These two parts are the combined trunk of the narrative. While *complication* occupies the majority of the clause positions, and unfolds events in order, it is the *evaluation* that glues them together. In the relatively short PENs, these two parts tend to be easy to identify and separate. As shown in the Table 4.1, this is not the case in the two Kam narratives. The *evaluation* part is so delicately infused into the *complication* throughout the course in both cases that the two become inseparable.

Taking the shorter TF as an example for discussion, evaluations can be found throughout the combined TF39-363 trunk, reaffirming Toolan's (2001: 151) observation that evaluation "may take many forms and appear at almost any point in the telling", Cf. TF9, 10, 14, 62, 154, and 186-188 for examples.

This feature of evaluation being infused over the complication has a lot to do with the genre of Kam narrative, its setting on the scene and functions in society in general. As will be detailed in 4.3, it is apparent that as a form of interactive entertainment, Kam narrative in discussion requires the narrator to monitor the audience's comprehension closely and ensure that

they follow his narrated events. In Labov's PENs, the interviewers ask or "beg" the narrator to perform. So attention from the audience there is out of the question. No extra effort is needed to lure the listener(s). Unlike in PENs, a new task the narrator faces here is to sustain his point and heighten the audience's interest throughout the otherwise lengthy narrative. Without exception these narratives last for 20 minutes, averaging 400 clauses respectively. Avoiding boring and embarrassing silence in public is a high priority if not the only one. To achieve that goal, it becomes necessary to invite the audience INTO the narrative. Constantly highlighting and evaluating significant development(s) are critical in this dynamic interactive process. Responding to their comments and answering their questions about the events as they unfold will aid this cause as well. The audience will not feel marginalized or abandoned but will want to help in some way. Plus it will also aid the narrator to focus on his agenda and make adjustments as needed. This is why evaluation can appear anywhere and everywhere (Labov 1972).

Evaluation itself is "a temporary suspension of the action, a brief 'time out' from the telling of the story proper" (Toolan 2001: 153). It signals why the narrator is telling the story. In other words, why the events of the narrative are reportable or worthy of narrating. Two types of evaluations are distinguished: internal and external evaluations.

Externals evaluations are those appearing outside of the fixed-position clauses of narrative and may serve various roles at points. A fair classification of different subtypes of external evaluation is proposed here:

- a. Summarizing the previous happening and being a starting point for the next event. See instances in TF9, 10, 11, 14, 36, and 50;

- b. Responding to audience's questions and/or comments. A reliable marker of this subtype is PART *heek*, even though this may overlap with other subtypes in some cases. Also the majority of these responses appear around the peak or climax of the events, indicating that the audience have a good following of the telling and are getting more involved as the story reaches its resolution. See instances in TF10, 11, 170, 218, 222, 236, 240, 246, 256, 257, 256, 267, 364;
- c. Self-questioning invites involvement of the audience. See instances in TF280, 218.
- d. Commenting on details and developing of the events. See instances in TF29, 56, 63, 80, 94, 363;
- e. Completely external evaluating. It breaks the frame of the storytelling itself to address the audience directly. See instances in TF62 and 149
- f. Explaining or reasoning the acts of characters in story. See instances in 185-188, 204, 212-215, 235-240, and 268;
- g. Supplementing information for listeners. See instances in 60, 84, 313-318,
- h. Brief translation of Chinese quotations. See instances in 325-329.

The last type of external evaluation in TF is very special since a Chinese couplet contest is invoked to decide who will pay for a meal. The reality is that most of the participants do not know or speak Chinese at all. To help them comprehend the development in the story, it is vital to inform them what the produced Chinese couplet means. Usually the translation is condensed into a single or a few clauses to avoid interrupting the flowing of the telling.

Contrary to these subtypes, internal evaluations are those woven into the structure and composition of the core narrative clauses. They carry the central sequential 'spine' of the narrative or along the 'storyline' (Longacre 1996: 27) and fill the complicating mission and resolution sections in the model. Labov (1972: 370-375) identified four subgroups of internal evaluations and their counterparts are listed below:

a. Intensifiers, including expressive phonology, onomatopoeic, and intonational emphases. While *heek* is a reliable marker of external evaluations, *hix* and *ixhip* are good markers for internals. See a complete list at SR 67, 97, 102, 163, 178, 375, 409 for *hix* and 52, 60, 67, 87, 150, 177, 198, 283, 283, 302, 307, 328, 337, 342, 354, 375, 402, 408, 412, 419, and 442 for *ixhip*. Gestures/facial expressions also qualify as intensifiers.

b. Comparators: clauses mentioning what did not happen in the story.

c. Correlatives: operations that bring together events that actually occurred so that they are conjoined in a single independent clause. This requires complex syntax usually and is a feature of well articulated or matured narrators.

d. Explicatives: Appended subordinate clauses which qualify, or give reasons for the main events narrated. Frequently they are introduced by *since*, *because*, *while*, *though*, and so on in English.

4.3.1.4 Resolution

The tension-releasing part is merely an instant in a sense, involving only three clauses in both stories. In SR 461-466 and TF354-456, the final resolution is that the poor brother pays nothing for his meal by standing his ground in a literacy contest in which he is expected to lose anyway. This rather short resolution has something to do with folktale narrating in Kam as a

genre. First, besides being a way of traditional knowledge transmission to younger generations, dramatized oral narrative is also an entertaining performance in the community, a kind of artistic activity (Hymes 1972 and Wolfson 1982). To make a performance successful, performers will contribute most of the time and space to the complication and evaluation parts, delicately describing what happens, how it happens, and why. As it reaches the point of revealing the significance or the final result in the story in a dramatic manner, it comes rather quick and short. The resulting effect is that the audience are left to have more freedom to enjoy the acclimating or exploding in their own way. Extra commenting or explaining would only dilute or even degrade the goals narrator has just achieved. Second, the presence of a video camera and multiple-narrator setting may have also placed some pressure on the narrating floor. A shortened resolution as an adjustment from the narrator is an acceptable sacrifice considering that shortening any other part, except the coda, would qualitatively damage the whole telling process.

4.3.1.5 Coda

To seal off the telling of the specific story, the narrator clearly states that his story has now come to an end. In TF367-368, it is *xus, bens laih jagx. Wenp waeix lac, hux*. 'Well, this is all (what I would narrate), and I have finished this one already. Right.' The coda in SR is almost identical with similar expressions if not identical: *huenp laeuc luh, bens hangc laeuc luh*. '(I) have finished and this is all (what I would narrate).' These are all near-identical closures of narratives in languages, even of the closing sequences of radio and television news bulletins.

As usually is the case, there are multiple narrators in Kam storytelling settings. See 3.2.3. The next narrator will take his turn when the previous finishes. To clearly signal ending and enforce the turn-taking, the coda is required to smooth the process. A short and brief ending also

4.3.2 Some discourse grammatical characteristics of narrative

It is apparent that much of the effort is concentrated on the analysis of structural features of narrative so far. In this section, a couple of grammatical characteristics observed in this concern will be considered, though this is by no means intended to be a systematic or exhaustive examination.

4.3.2.1 Repetitions

4.3.2.1.1 Types of repetition

The first observation is that repetition is applied extensively as an important strategy of cohesion. By 'repetition', One means the repeated use of the same words, phrases, or even clauses under certain circumstances. To make a better use of the data and be more goal-oriented, some types of repetition are set aside since they mainly serve their anticipated morphological and /or semantic roles. They do serve some discourse functions, but are limited to a great extent. A more appropriate label for these kinds of repetitions will be *reduplication* or *reiteration* (Chu 1998: 383). Members of these include but are not necessarily limited to the following types:

- a). Reduplication of noun(N) and classifier(CLS). Two subtypes need to be distinguished.

The first type {[N + N] / [CLS + CLS] + *jas*} decodes the meaning 'one by one, in turn'. In this structure the *jas* is a particle indicating 'way or manner of doing'. A glance at a pair of examples will help one obtain general ideas of how they look like:

waoh (CLS-people) *waoh* (CLS-people) *jas* 'one by one; alternatively'

The second type {[N1 + N1] / [CLS + CLS] + (N2) (+ *dul*)} expresses the meaning of 'each and every one'. The optional *dul* is a Chinese loan adverb *dōu* 都 'all'. It seems that the followed particle or adverb is the real operator in the structure. For instances:

Waenl (day) *waenl* (day) 'each and every day' (in SR4, 27)

Naenlh (CLS-object) *naenl* (CLS-object) *semx* 'one by one, through all' (TF148)

b). Reduplication of adjective(A) [A + A + (*jas*)] is an intensifier to emphasize the degree of an adjective. Instance:

lail (good) *lail* (good) *jas* 'very good, excellent'

The targeted repetitions in current section are those that usually include a larger amount of repeated components than repeating a single word, functioning at a higher level beyond phrase, clause, or even sentence or paragraph. The majority of these repetitions consist of the last part of the previous sentence as the initiating part of the next sentence. Usually the whole VP of the previous becomes a (conditional) subordinate clause. These kinds of repetitions can include instances of partial repetition words, phrases, clause, or in some cases, the complete sentence. Their functions lie primarily in either linking the connected structures, maintaining the continuity of referents, or as a narrative strategy of giving the narrator some more time and allow him to regroup or self-correct. The last type is labeled as *necessary redundancy* (NR) in the following summarized tables since they may seem to be just meaningless stuttering within clauses, but

actually play their self-correcting/regrouping roles out in discourse to buy time for the narrator or wait for audience input.

4.3.2.1.2 Repetition distribution in SR and TF

A complete list of all repetitions between or among sentences in each story are created to the represent the general situation of this coherence mechanism in the two narratives and showcase how closely the sentences in discourse are intertwined:

Table 4.6 Repetition Occurrences in SR

Sentence No.	Repeated elements	syntactic roles of the repeated structures in respective sentence and other comments
2-3	ngox xebx dah	quantifier
4-5	bail kaeip deih wangcjiv	VO as
48-49	lagx jas xus luih daengl	S as subordinate clause
50-51	kungs tengx bail(beel)	
53-54	pungkpank jenc daengl	VO as subordinate clause
55-56	begx (il) jagx gaemx linl bagx	VO as subordinate clause
57-58	beemv kaeip dah(beel)	VP as subordinate clause
68-69	yox yagx sax	VO as subordinate clause
71-72	nyaengx maengx nyaengx	VO as subordinate clause
74-75	yox xaol	VO as subordinate clause
90	dogl...dogl dogl dogl	NR for emphasizing

Table 4.6 --- *Continued*

96-97	qop lienc (qonx) kemk menl leel	S as subordinate clause
140 →142	bens yiuw laih yunge	VO as subordinate clause → indicates there is sentence skipping
160-161	bail daeix jail	VO as subordinate clause
202-203	qiaengp taeuk dinl bial beel	VO as subordinate clause
206-207	jaic qiak bail	VO as subordinate clause
215-216-219	eenv...weenp jus naenl jenc	VO as subordinate clause. Triple member chain in this case
219-221-222	lieeml il jaemx	VO as subordinate clause. Triple member chain in this case
222-223	yiv meec yenc daengl semh nyac	S as subordinate clause
228-229	aol jagx ngeec maoh da(engl)l	VO as subordinate clause
232-233	yuh weenl dah il laenl jenc	S as S
233-234	taeuk naenl haeis	VO as subordinate clause
242-243	yiuw jagx wangc xuic	S as S. Wondering on statement by others
259	kaeip deih wangcjiv	
260-261	sangx (jagx) daeux liees	VO as subordinate clause
271-272	yaeuk jagx haeis bail	VO as subordinate clause
272-273	leeml il jaemx	VO as subordinate clause
273-274	liags hodxhodx jas (jenc) dal	VO as subordinate clause
276-277	bac jenc da	VO as subordinate clause
300-301	wanl dal lic/xis	VO as subordinate clause
311-312	aol dil maoh beel	VO as subordinate clause
316-317	yuh taeuk (jagx) haeis bail	VO as subordinate clause

Table 4.6 --- *Continued*

317-318	leeml il jaemx	VO as subordinate clause
323→326	yaoc (laeup) geec laeup meec wangcxuic	S as subordinate clause
346	aol nyac aol nyac aol nyac	NR
348-349	gaenv il mangv baol	VO as subordinate clause
349-350	yuh bail	VO as subordinate clause
354	daeuh daeuh daeuh daeuh	NR
355-356	jedl yinl	VO as subordinate clause
371-372-373	weex leis	same as AP
375	aol dil nyac aol dil nyac	NR
394-395-396	keedk keedk keedk keedk	NR in triple clauses
399	dos il tengx luh bail(beel)	VO as subordinate clause
415-416	jagx dagx liees naih	O as Subj.
439-440	huk qak menl beel	VO as subordinate clause
447-448	beel(bail) jaic	VO as subordinate clause
453	dags dags dags dags	NR for emphasizing

The following table 4.7 summarizes repetitions occurred in TF.

Table 4.7 Repetition Occurrences in TF

Sentence No.	Repeated elements	Structure of repeating elements are
22-23	bail dogx leec	previous VO becomes O
40→42	weex lagx denv	same as VO
92-93	gaiv	Subj. topicalized
112-113	maoh xus	same as Subj.
114-115	eanc keep bail	same as PP
148→150	mucxiangh	same as O
173-174	lagx nuns	O as Subj.
182→184	liaop laos nyap bax has	same as VO
185-186	leis ...sinc guv xis	same as conditional subordinate clause
189-190	meeec seec	same as Subj.
205-206	dos sas qak bail	same as VO
216-217	kuip luih bail	VO as Subj.
222	duis qak xongc	NR
230-231	dav nyal bail (baill)	same as PP
232-233	huaik jagx jas qak lol (jenc) dal	VO as subordinate clause
232→241	qiaengk jagx jas jenc daengl	same as VO
249	hangc (jaos) miac dids mal	NR
305-306	naeuc gangs gunv	same as clause

Table 4.7 --- *Continued*

309	weex/gangs xihdeil	same as VO
338	wox dil qonc taeuc jeenh youl (jeenh)	NR
353→355	maoh yuh/xus nyenh/yah gangs il jagx lac	same as S

4.3.2.1.3 Features of observed repetitions

The first finding is that repetition is applied extensively as a mechanism for cohesion by both narrators, with the one in SR using it more frequently (47 times) than in TF (20 times). To reflect more accurately how sentences are intertwined, it is necessary to take out the NRs before calculating the numbers of chained sentences since they are mere internal reduplication within the sentence itself. The result is quite significant: of all sentences in SR, 84 (84/467=18%) are connected by overt linguistic repetitions, while in TF, 32 (32/368=8.7%) are tied together the same way. These are very high percentages considering the fact that combining averaging figure in the two stories is reaching 14% ($[84+32]/[467+368]=13.9\%$).

One pragmatic interpretation into this high number of chained sentences is that Kam did not have its own writing system until early 1950's, let alone standard formal school education. Oral narratives and other oral forms of literature were responsible for carrying knowledge and intellectual tradition on. One basically has to memorize all the verses and songs through extensive practice. It is always a challenge to recite lengthy oral literature works, particularly ones that have fixed linguistic forms. Personal elaboration or editing is strictly prohibited in that case. Since storytelling is a relatively flexible genre, it allows the narrator to have some freedom to shape the narrating process in his own way. This is especially true in the *complication* and

evaluation parts. The rather simple, short *orientation* and *resolution* and *coda* parts are comparably fixed.

Still, without the help of writing, the narrating could prove to be demanding. A good memory is one requirement for that competence. To supplement the limitation of one's memory, the narrators turn to other means for keeping track of referents and events in the story. Repetition is an easy choice. Simple repetition of what one has just narrated, partially or wholly in some case, is convenient and effective tool for the narrator. So it is primarily a self-beneficial strategy for the narrator. As for the audience, this may also help to connect the narrating and give a better comprehension of the story as long as it does not take away the craft of narrating. On the other hand, excessive repetition would slow the narrating down or even confuse its forward process. There should be a critical or significant point at which more repetition would be destructive and less would be tolerable. As far as the author knows, there is little done work in this area to identify the 'magic' balance of repetition versus progression. One could guess that 18% in SR will be a good starting point for further research of this topic.

Secondly, the difference (18-8.7=9.3%) between narrators is noticeable. Since the two narrators share almost identical backgrounds: both grew up in the same community; and both have almost identical school education, one must account for the discrepancy elsewhere. Personal style is an easy explanation, but to determine what exactly that style is, and what determinant influences the narrator's speaking style could prove to be challenging. The current study finds one determinant in the social administration experience or leadership. Narrator A of the SR once was a member the 上团 Villagers Autonomous Administration Committee, while narrator B of the TF not only was the official head of the village 上团, but also one of the a few customary headmen in Yutou community. B's frequent public speaking as a requirement and

responsibility of a head in the past may have helped improve his style to be less ponderous and more efficient. Tedious speech is considered inefficient and weak. A past village head was nicknamed *laocleeh* (meaning 'sluggish, messy, unorganized') for using the sequential marker 'then' excessively in public speaking.

Thirdly, by viewing the syntactic roles of the repeated components in their respective sentences, it is clear that the half of them (34/68=50%) serve as VP in the first sentence, and change their roles to be subordinate clauses in the subsequent ones. There are some NR instances, functioning to either emphasize the repeated components' lexical meaning or buy the narrator some more time to better organize the coming events. This realizes the maintenance of continuity of the participant(s) while limits the repetition to a certain amount.

Fourthly, the tabulated display in Table 4.2 and 4.3 offers some graphic clue as to how sentences are broken and integrated in Kam. Sentences are woven and chained together so tightly that this raises serious question about how to locate sentence boundary or even the very definition of 'sentence' itself. Chu (1998: 370) offers insight on the definition of sentence of Mandarin Chinese: "A Mandarin Chinese SENTENCE consists one or more clauses that are related by formal devices identifiable by overt signals." Those devices include topic chain, conjunction, adverb, verb form, mode of presentation, clause order and end of discourse. "The overt signals are zero-anaphor, conjunctions, adverbs, verbal affixes, type of verb, unmarked clause order, and sentence-final particles, respectively." In a language lacking TAM markers such as Kam, repetitions are reliable locators of sentence boundary and conjoiners. At least it tends to be the case in narratives.

Fifthly, there is correlation between the distribution of repetition and the four-part structure of narratives as individual and plot structure as a whole. Repetition occurs mainly in the

complication and evaluation part. Table 4.8 is a tabulation of how the repetitions distribute among the four-parts in SR and TF, respectively.

Table 4.8 Distribution of Repetitions in Individual Narrative

	SR	TF
<i>Orientation</i>	1	0
<i>Complication/evaluation</i>	46	19
<i>Resolution</i>	0	1
<i>Coda</i>	0	0

One may argue that since those two parts make up the trunk of the narrative, the conclusion of heavy distribution in this part does not add any new information to the discussion. In other words, that is anticipated since *Complication/evaluation* occupies the absolute proportion of the whole narrative. So it becomes logical to further explore how these repetitions are distributed within the *Complication/evaluation* part itself. It turns out that these repetitions accumulate around peaks or prepeaks. That is, as the plot reaches its climax, the usage of repetition will increase accordingly. Prior to that in *orientation* and early *complication/evaluation*, the number is much lower. Taking TF as example, 11 out of the 21 (52.4%) repetitions occur between TF173-249, a trunk made of 21 % (77/368) of the all sentences. It happens that TF173-249 is the part that contains the peak: The poor guy tries suicide with help from innocent school kids but is unintentionally “rescued” by his two best friends who are tired of him and manage to avoid him. It is no accident that the discrepancy or

out-of-proportion distribution of repetition expresses the correlation between repetition and plot structure.

Finally, widespread repetition relates to the tendency in discourse strategy among languages placing old information before new information (Li and Thompson 1974). In English, especially in written English, the focused or new information is claimed to be located at or near the end of the sentence, along with intonation as a cue (Halliday 1967; Leech and Short 1981), as is also the case in Chinese and French. This could be interpreted as result of plausible cognitive and functional motivations for placing salient information in sentence-final position (Herring and Paolillo 1995). The larger amount of repetition of the previous structure at the beginning of the following unit in discourse plays a similar role here, as far as information status is concerned. That is, old, repeated information is placed at the initial sentence position while the latter or final position is reserved for new information. Though not touched in this study, the SFPs also fulfill similar functions and is a promising issue to be considered later in the study of Kam discourse patterns.

4.4 Communicational aspects of narrating

Undoubtedly Labov's work on narratives has been particularly influential in English-speaking world. He is, however, by no means the only scholar interested in generalizing about the underlying formal and semantic structures of narratives and stories. For example, Schiffrin (1984, 1996) contributes her effort to better understand how the structure of stories reflects the fact that stories perform social actions; Ochs etc. (1989) and Norrick (1997) explore how the audience get involved into the developing of story; Goodwin (1982) touches on the "instigating"

in the discourse of Urban African-American girls and demonstrates how the larger social context affects the way the story are told and comprehended.

It is the intention of the current study here to look at the narrating from some new perspectives beyond Labov's and see how this will enrich and extend the understanding of the Kam narrative. The unique Kam narrating setting features as described in 4.1 point to an unexplored field in discussion. Specifically, the interaction between the narrator and the audience will be covered in this section: How the narrating relationship is regulated; the functions of decoys, whose main role is to acknowledge, respond to, and comment on the narrator's telling; how the input from other participants affects or changes the point of case or the direction of his narrating; and how operator *liax* negotiate and lubricate the communication between the narrator and the audience.

4.4.1 Narrating as *communicational* social interaction

Discourse structure can be accounted for in terms of syntax, semantics, stylistics, rhetoric, and in the study of specific genres such as those of argumentation and storytelling. In this section, another fundamental dimension of narrative discourse, namely its communicational and social aspects (van Dijk 1997: 2), will be focused on to see how this significant phenomenon is ordered and organized.

A brief introduction on the setting and context of Kam narratives is offered in 4.1, including the physical and social part. Specific efforts also contribute to discovering the social and cultural criteria for qualifying as public narrators. It is now time to examine, in the described context, how different participants play out their roles and realize the many functions of storytelling narrative. The nature of participant involvement, floor control, and decoy roles will

come under scrutiny first to reveal some features in the relationship between discourse and (male) power (West etc. 1997); then input from non-narrators will be focused on to see what the nature of this interaction in Kam narrative is, how the narrator and audience interact, and what effects those inputs have on the developing of the discourse, both linguistically and communicationally.

4.4.1.1 Monologue in which everyone can say something

The Kam storytelling narratives, as pointed out in 4.0 above, are primarily a monologic performance, as is the case in many other cultures. The narrator dominates the floor. Even though there are many social and cultural constraints on what and how he could narrate about, it is basically a one-man show once it starts, in the sense that he has his will on what he can tell the audience and how. That said, it also needs to be pointed out that from the narration transcription and video, there is a lot more going on besides the designated narrator's 'monologic' narrating. The temporary abbreviations in parenthesis will be adopted for convenience below in discussing of bi-direction exchange.

- a. audience asking questions (AQ);
- b. commenting on developments in story or simply acknowledging the presented information (CM);
- c. greeting and informational exchange during the circulation of food and cigarette (GI);
- d. non-linguistic instant responses and reactions to actions by exclaiming, laughing, and body languages (NL);
- e. reasoning or extensions along the lines presented by the narrator (RE);

- f. brief conversation among audience members concerning actions, including the rest of the audience's responding to these (RR).

Narrative in Kam is not strictly a monologic act but a collective performance. It shares a lot of similarity with TV talk shows, in which the host performs while the audience is allowed to react. The difference is that both the physical setting and cultural setting equalize the status of narrator (host) and his audience to a far greater extent. The narrator sits among the audience and he himself will become an ordinary audience once another narrator take over.

Originally, all of the above goings on were not transcribed into the database linguistically even though they were recorded on tape. First their role as an integral part of the narrative was not realized; second, some of the reactions such as laughing and sighing are nonlinguistic. To identify them, and recover their functions in discourse, it is critical to check through and clarify their relation to the main action of the narrative. One clue is that most of these occurrences appear in the evaluation part. Here are some examples that occurred off the actions or storyline in story in a sequential order. Both linguistic and non-linguistic nature audience reactions are noted here, no matter whether they were in or not in the in database and attached transcription:

In SR:

57-58	---NL
59	---NL
143	---GI
333	---CM

In TF:

1	---NL
6	---NL
10	---RE, CM
12	---CM
40	---CM
41	---CM
63	---RE
94	---CM.

There are more instances of off storyline reaction from the audience in TF than in SR, an indicator that their involvement in the narration was deeper and more relaxed.

In a word, the narrator, the decoys, and the rest of participants can and do speak in one way or another, contributing to the forming and developing of the narrative as a unit. In this sense Kam narrative is a monologue in which every participants can say something as long as they observe constraints within their own territories.

4.4.1.2 The floor control and social power realization

No designated order keeper is installed, but the host will exert his power to initiate such activity. He is the one that invites all participants and makes the activity possible. Once that is accomplished, it is up to the crowd to select one narrator at a time and formally start the narrating.

Since the narrators belong to the elite group of people in the community, respect and admiration from the members will put the order on scene in place automatically. With their advantage of age, life experience, and contribution to family and community, the audience is willing to listen to them. Moreover, they are also talented in speaking. A good narrator usually is also one of the headmen in the Kam community. Administration, whether that is official or just customary, brings with it authority in its wake. So internal control of the floor is pretty much preset before the narrating even starts. Narrating is one of the public activities in which an elite group of people can exert their power in such a covert way.

Once the narrating starts, a subtle collaborative exertion of order takes over. The parents will keep their eyes on their own children to ensure they do not break rules or embarrass anyone. The decoys will certainly help also. This will be looked at in the next subsection.

4.4.2 Input from non-decoy audience

As listed in 4.3.1.1, input from the audience is a mixture of various kinds of action in nature. Including all observed instances into discussion of discourse will surely aid the current efforts to a better and more thorough understanding of the Kam narrative.

Outside input first shows the degree of audience involvement and proper comprehension of the developing in story. In TF148, when the audience expresses interest in details of the unusual box, commenting on the unique feature of that product, it sends a clear and positive message to the narrator that their curiosity level is high by that evaluative information and they are interested in learning more of that. The appreciative narrator then brings the distant image of the box further back by inserting the crafted wooden boxes they personally manufactured in

1960-70'. The encouraged narrator is rejuvenated constantly by these kinds of positive feedbacks and this keeps the narrating going.

Folktale narrative involves recounting preexisting events. A story may have been told many times before. To the elders, few folktales are completely novel. So when a narrator stutters or stumbles along the way, decoys will step on and help him overcome the hurdle. See instances between TF164-165.

The narrating clauses and various inputs from audience interleave and overlap so subtly throughout the course of the story that it draws attention to a mixed type of narrative. In Polanyi's (1978: 109ff) term, this is a 'diffuse story', "in which a chunk of story is followed by a chunk of multi-party conversation glossing, clarifying, and amplifying aspects of the story chunk just told. In such a format, story evaluation can become a collaborative exercise" (Toolan 2001: 162-163). Apparently the degree of diffusion between narrating and audience input has not reached a level so one may need to treat the dispersed, inputs over the course as the several sections of a single, over arching story. Nevertheless, these extremely introductory words and actions need to be included to see the rich, genuine picture of narrating in the Kam community. It offers clues to the covert fact that narrating is a social interaction among all the participants, with narrating of the narrator(s) as the trunk or spine of the entity. Not only does the input aid or direct the narrating in some cases, but perhaps equally if not more importantly, it serves the purpose of reminiscence and social binding. In this regard, audience input is not necessarily limited to a supportive role any more. Rather it construes the picture of narrating activity in an organic way, perhaps more like collectively putting pieces of a jigsaw puzzle together.

4.4.3 Communication operator *liax*

In a narrative setting, the narrator leads in the information flow in a dominant way. Yet as observed in the previous discussion, this conveying process is bi-directional, more so in Kam particularly. Not only does the narrator speak 'scheduled' vignettes, but also the audience respond spontaneously to what is unfolding through the course of the plot. To ensure that what he intends to convey reaches to the audience and the outside input does not derail his narrating, the speaker resorts to both linguistic and non-linguistic strategies. One of the most noticeable of the forms is the frequent usage of *liax*, an SFP and discourse marker with special status as portrayed in 4.4.1. The SFP *liax* can appear virtually at any position of the narrative:

a. At the end of an utterance, be that a clause or a sentence. This is the most common position for *liax*. Examples: TF1, TF268, SR34, SR60, etc.

b. Between two phrases or clauses. Examples: SR8, SR16, SR29, SR52, SR68, SR115, SR150, SR154, SR161, SR163, SR176, SR208, SR272, SR277, SR309, SR320, SR343, SR373, SR410, SR422, SR424, TF1, TF21, TF53, TF230.

c. In the middle of a phrase. Examples: SR17, SR33, SR41, SR201, SR222, SR254, SR321, SR361, SR371, SR399, SR400, SR408, SR447, SR451, TF136, TF156, TF185, TF283.

d. Rarely does *liax* initiate an utterance considering that its main function is to emphasize or draw the attention of the audience to what the speaker himself just said. Immediate reaction is normally needed right on the spot. Any gap between the narrator's utterance of *liax* and late response from the audience would decrease the degree of attention and cohesion. A few exceptions are in TF325, 362 in which they start a sentence. The unusual environment here is that the previous two sentences are couplets in Chinese produced by one of the contestants. It becomes then necessary to separate the character's orally submitted couplets from the narrator's

speech. Though it is not completely inappropriate if placed at the end of the previous utterance, the pause between the couplets and *liax* is much shorter than the pause between the *liax* and the following components, thus supporting the parsing of *liax* as in a sentence initial rather final position.

4.4.3.1 *liax* in sentence-final positions

The *liax* is used to elicit acknowledgement, affirmation, agreement, and consensus from the addressees most frequently. For example, in TF254:

Wordform:	eex	help,	baov	laenl	naih,	liax,
WfGloss:	sighing	surprised	say	object	this	asking for response
WfPOS:	part	part	v	CLS	dem	part
FT:	Aha, saying: "(Look at) this!" let me tell you.					

Here the *liax* signals the narrator's intention of emphasizing the details developing in the story, attracting the audience's attention to the direct quotation of the characters, and asking for input from them. Practically that is exactly what happens. Following the utterance of this *liax*, the audience expresses their strong reaction to the unexpected resolution as the other two friends in the story unintentionally 'rescued' their poor friend. The narrator then reacts to their expressions and comments straight away in the next sentence. The particle *ngik* in TF255 conveys his, not the two friends in story's, regret similar to what the audience expressed about the events in the story. This occurrence of *liax* also indicates compromise on the narrator's part to the audience's comments.

The *liax* functions slightly differently in causal conversation since the speaker communicates with his/her interlocutor directly. The narrative setting does not exist anymore. In

face-to-face personal interaction, *liax* still conveys the speaker's intention of seeking acknowledgement, affirmation, and consensus on the surface, but the underlying function is more of negotiating. Here the purpose of the utterance obviously differs from that in narrative. Instead of drawing audience's attention to events in story and help them comprehend the developing story, in real life convincing the other and reaching deal are the objectives. Anyway, when appearing in the clause or sentence final positions, the absolute majority of *liax* occurrences serve to motivate and stimulate communication between the participants and carry the narrative forward.

To summarize, *liax* fulfills some modality functions realized usually through auxiliary words in other languages and carries abundant attitudinal, cognitive, and interactional information.

4.4.3.2 *liax* in non-sentence-final positions

In other instances, though, the usage of *liax* does not necessarily mean a demand over overt response. The solicited acknowledgement, affirmation, agreement, and consensus from the addressees are not as strong as in the previous case. To put it another way, they are very mild requests and do not expect imminent responses. Rather they become unconscious on the input seeking aspect often times and serve other discourse functions such as giving narrator himself more to paraphrase in a better way and smoothing the audience's comprehension of the narrating and the communication between the narrator and audience in general. Apparently occurrences of *liax* in non-final positions serve somewhat different purposes in discourse from the ones in sentence-final position. Let's take SR361 as an instance for documentation:

SR361

Wordform:	nuv	yaoc	weex	leis	taeuk	dil	yaoc	weengc	sic,
WfGloss:	if	1S	make, do	able	arrive, reach	in case of, if	1S	always	be
WfPOS:	conj	pro	v	part	v	conj	pro	adv	aux

liax,
asking for response
part
 FT: "If I can do (it), I will, I will certainly agree (to do it)."

	weengc	sic	tongcyiv
	always	be	agree
	adv	aux	v

This *liax* occurs between the repeated *weengc sic* 'will always be'. While it intends to draw the audience's attention to the developing events in TF254, its main function is to pause and give the narrator enough time to choose the right words. In this case, repetition is adopted as a secondary means after *liax* to buy himself some more time and provide himself a chance to regroup. In other similar instances such as TF53, 156, 185, 230, 283, SR163, 222, 277, 321, and 400, the pausing aspect for the narrator himself is greater than for asking concrete and obvious consensus from the audience when single or multiple words are repeated after the pause.

Another subgroup of *liax* occurrences is used to initiate direct quotes such as in SR52, 309, 320, 343, 373, 410, 422. After specifying who the speaker is, *liax* is inserted and a direct quote follows right away. The main intention is to draw the audience's attention to the coming quotation. Just as viewpoint can shift from one pair of eyes to another through a narrative, so too can voice. Most frequently this shift is accomplished by means of direct citation, indicated by the insertion of *liax*. In a language lacking of overt TAM representation, supplementary indicators such as inserted *liax* certainly compensate in some degree. All these different uses of *liax* show that it plays multiple functions in discourse especially when it appears at different sentential positions. It also reminds one that labeling all the occurrences of *liax* as particle 'asking for response' is an oversimplified treatment in the attached transcription. Its multi-faceted nature has not been detected or recorded until now.

4.4.3.3 Time realization, narrator privilege, and metrical expedient

Abbott concludes that “narrative is the principal way in which our species organizes its understanding of time” (2002: 3). Interestingly in Kam narrative itself, *liax* is used to realize the shift between the time of story and the time of narration. Whenever *liax* occurs, it not only powers the information communication between the narrator and the audience, but also realizes the back and forth time shift through the course. That is, it brings all the participants back to the present world. This shift usually is instantaneous since the narrator will take the audience back to the story time right away. In an ideal narrative world, the audience would be fused completely into the story and lose their awareness of time, but in reality, realizing and acknowledging the time shift is essential to accomplish the narrating mission.

Another feature of *liax* which should not go unnoted is that it belongs to the narrator exclusively. Only the narrator has the privilege of using this operator. Never is there a case in which the audience uses *liax*, for that would have violated the rule of communication in narrative. The fact is that while other participants might have their fair share of the floor when invited, it is the individual narrator who ultimately manages the course and controls the narrating act as a whole. This brings back the issue of power and social control. The narrator’s dominating role in narrating, along with the fact that he belongs to the elite social group of people in the community, is manifested to certain extent by the frequent usage of *liax* in different positions.

The *liax* /lja31/ is also a metrical or rhythmic expedient. A low falling tone requires less energy and is a nice break for the narrator to slow down, pause, and have a deep breath before going back to the narration. In fact, the tone is neutralized to zero in some cases to simply serve the role of pausing. This decreases the demanding tone and eases the impression that the narrator ‘forces’ others to listen to him. To call it a discourse lubricant is an underestimation of its power

in connecting/gluing the audience to the story and the narrator himself as a complete picture of communicating. Rather it is labeled a *communication operator* to reflect better its critical role in information exchange between the narrator and audience.

In summary, to a great extent the spontaneously communicative nature of Kam narrative is expressed overtly in this *liax*. Kam narrative is typically viewed as an event sequences, but this notion needs to be supplemented with the notion that a core property of it is also the fact that audience's linguistic involvements are integral parts of the narrative itself. On the one hand, it avoids an absolute monologue from forming so all participants are motivated and can enjoy the course; on the other hand, it maintains the guarantee that the narrator has a full control over the plot. So linguistically *liax* is for representing various aspects of speech act other than the content of the story events narrated. Whenever it appears at the end of the sentence-final position, *liax* either seeks the audience's acknowledgement, affirmation, agreement, and consensus on developing details in the story, or provides self-pausing. Communicationally, it connects the audience with the narrator and realizes the time frame shift in narrating, that is, from the time in being narrated events out and being back to the present narrating momentarily. Socially it is an unconscious way of expressing power and authority of the speaker over the listeners. In a word, *liax* fulfills multiple purposes or functions at the same time more often than not.

In section 4.4, the discussion of narrative structure comes first, based on Labov's pioneering work in PENs. Though the circumstances PEN and Kam narrative differ noticeably, the similarity or commonality between them is also apparent. Specific effort was paid to examining the narrative settings in Kam, and the extensive repetitions in discourse. After that, communicational aspects of the narrating were under scrutiny. Not only the relationship among different subgroups of participants is visited, but also how a very special group, the *yenc naemv*

guh 'the decoys', functions in the narrative discourse was examined. Also different types of non-narrator input, of linguistic or non-linguistic nature, are sorted. Their effects on the developing of the story are viewed from a broader perspective. And finally the communication operator *liax* occupied a subsection through which its multiple- roles of communicative nature were examined. Analyzing narrative in a sociolinguistic framework lands many refreshing interpretations of the settings of Kam narrative and the discourse linguistic structure itself as well.

4.5 Summary

This chapter concentrates to analyze various phenomena observed through the collected discourse narrative data, including discourse conditioned morphological and phonological variations, sentence-final particles in discourse, the structure of narrative, and the communicational aspects of narrative.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study, as stated in Chapter One, was to address features of Kam narrative discourse at various levels. Since this is an initial attempt in the area of broad discourse analysis, as many issues as possible are included intentionally, including phonological and syntactic variations in discourse, sentence-final particles, and communication between the narrator and the audience.

This chapter briefly recapitulates what have been carried out and the result of those discussions in Chapter Two, Chapter Three, and Chapter Four in section 5.1. Section 5.2 presents the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the study. Section 5.3 makes recommendation for future research.

5.1 Stated goals and findings

Morphemes in discussion and their functions in expressing different situational and contextual meanings are encouraging at the least. Although the research in word order variations in discourse could have been more extensive, the connection between them and the process of discourse building justifies the effort.

Except for the SFP clusters, SFPs share the final position in their respective clause or sentence. As it turns out in Chapter Three, they may play different grammatical and syntactic roles. Some occupy the COMP position, while others take the SPEC one. With regard to their

discourse and pragmatic functions, they are categorized into three groups, i.e., *weakeners*, *neutralers*, and *strengtheners*. The distribution of SFPs in the two collected narratives are compared. Also the relation between the SFPs and the discourse markers is touched briefly.

The discussion in narrative setting, both physical and social, and communication among participants led to the conclusion that Kam narrative is not a monologue in many senses. Not only do audience comment, react to the developing of narrated events throughout the course, but also their inputs are included in the narrating process by the narrator and the narrating genre itself. Along the way, decoy's roles of encouraging audience involvement, increasing entertainments, and supplementary floor order. Narrative is not simply a string of linguistic utterance. It is also an important social practice in community, serving the cause of carrying on the oral tradition, observing social customs, and maintaining social orders and social controls in its own way.

5.2 Strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the present study

This study attempts to correlate a large number of aspects in narrating in order to contribute understanding of the structure of narrative, from phonological and syntactic variations to SFPs, to the information exchange between the narrator and the audience. To be able to include as many issues in concern as possible is an encouraging beginning.

With regard to specific topics in the discussion, the results from discussion in phonological and syntactic variations part not only manifests that discourse requirements affects phonology and grammar, but also the correlation among different linguistic and discourse levels are recognized. These phenomena would otherwise be ignore if not for the analysis of discourse data.

Technologically speaking, LINGUALINKS ® has proven to be a very helpful and efficient tool in analyzing discourse data. Its feature of indexing usage of individual word in to a single window is extremely appreciated. Since discourse analysis requires large amount of textual data, databasing them in an electronic form streamlines and eases the analysis in every step.

As often is the case with projects of this type, more questions were raised than answered. The intention of covering as many issues as possible limits ability of exhausting certain topics and achieving thorough research on them. Though it is out of question that the issues in discussion are closely related to themselves and to the study of discourse patterns as a whole, developing a single theme would have advantages of its own.

Another weakness lies in the study of intonation and tones on SFPs. Apparently these two are related closely, but the accomplished effort on their relationship is not perfect. On the one hand, the lacking of this type of research in tonal languages contributes most of the reason; on the other hand, the lacking of data in conversation also makes it difficult to explore the connection in a broader way.

5.3 Recommendations for future research

Few studies have been conducted in the area of discourse analysis in Kam-Tai languages. This leaves almost every base uncovered and is one of the reasons that this study tries to accomplish multiple tasks at the same time. Due to time and space limitation, many issues are left unexplored. Followed are some of them that will be of great interest for the future study of Kam discourse analysis closely related to the issues included in the present research.

Better description and understanding of phonology, morphology, and semantics will benefit the study on discourse. Of special interest is how words can be contracted or extended in speech and why. As reveals in Chapter One and Chapter Three, they are influenced by the building of discourse structure and play important roles in the building process itself. As the notion of meaning has increasingly become bound to discourse context (Norrick 2001), it will be important to investigate how the speaker's intention in narrative is realized and how the audience's responses are incorporated in the developing of narrative itself.

Intonation is a linguistic property that interacts with SFPs. Though 4.2 touches the correlation between the two briefly, more efforts needs to be exerted before one can achieve a clearer picture of that relationship. The first thing in need is to collect conversational data which possesses critical intonation characteristics. Narrative does contain intonation assets as well, but the possibility of construing Kam intonation is limited by the fact that only a few speakers are involved. An approach relying on a few narrators would be very unreliable since it would prove the patterns observed is systematic rather than personal. It would be difficult to increase the number of subject samplings through narrative. In a multi-participant conversation setting, much more intonational features will be expressed intensively and extensively. The second need is to develop a model that considers the distinctive natures of tonal languages. The a few currently available models such as Crutteden's (1986) and Hirst & Di Cristo's (1998) were developed mainly from research on atonal Indo-European languages. In tonal languages the tones and intonation mingles so tightly that it requires extra work to separate the two and identify the functions each plays (Ross et al. 1992). Kam being the known language with the most number of tones in the world makes the task even more difficult yet challenging at the same time. Shack's (2003) study of Kam tonal phonology is a sound start. In reality, a highly reliable tonal

phonology must be achieved before one can look at intonation seriously. This is part of the reason why discussion of intonation is intentionally constrained. The third need is to conduct phonetic and acoustic research to examine how different linguistic apparatus are applied and avoid heavily relying on perception and description. It will also be interesting to see how tones on SFPs interacts with intonation specifically since they occupy the critical sentential position the intonation falls on.

Examination on discourse markers is another topic that witnesses very limited coverage. The list of DMs needs and will be extended significantly once conversational data is introduced. From what this study has experienced, approaches focusing on DMs and pragmatics such as Fraser's (1990, 1998) fits well with the issues in narrative. Fraser identifies the pragmatic meaning as the one concerns the speaker's communicative intention. It is conveyed by three different sets of pragmatic markers: basic, commentary, and parallel. This perspective on narrative is, in particular, beneficial to discover how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse. In short, exploring how the cohesion among sentences in narrative is expressed through pragmatic marker and how the story are construed with related larger linguistic apparatus are appealing.

Since the communication operator *liax* occupies such a unique position in sentence, discourse, and communication as a whole, it is worthwhile to conduct further research to see what it conveys, how and where it occurs. In particular, data in genres other than narrative would be welcomed to aid the seeking. For example, is the frequency of *liax* as high as it is in narrative or otherwise? As a tool of enforcing and negotiating communication, how different settings would affect the using of this operator?

Whether it is purely an accident that the two selected speakers are former village headmen or not, to illicit narrative data from other non-headmen storytellers and compare findings with that of the current study will further lower the possibility of idiosyncratic narrative styles into discussion. How certain changes in the speaker's background will affect the outcome of the narrative, both in linguistics and social control, remains to be explored.

In short, additional data and study on other genres and aspects of discourse, including narrative itself, would deepen the understanding of Kam discourse. This will further benefit the analysis of discourse as a whole.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Tongyin Yang was born on March 21, 1966 in Yutou, Tongdao Kam Autonomous County, Hunan Province of China. Though Yang dreamed of being a historian, he was admitted into the very first BA in Linguistics Program in mainland China at the Central University for Nationalities (CUN, formerly known as the Central Institute for Nationalities) in 1985, along with twenty-five other students who were native speakers of sixteen different minority languages of China, including Kam, Tibetan, Qiang, Hlai, Lolo, Hmong, Mian, Hani, Maonan, Mulam, Thai, Sui, Vietnamese, and Naxi. The unique class make-up opened his eyes to and stirred his interest in the beauty of human language. He received his BA in linguistics and MA in literature from CUN in 1989 and 1992, respectively. Yang worked as an assistant researcher for the Institution of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences from 1992 to 1996. He conducted linguistic field works in Mak, Jin, Lahu, and Kam during that period and participated in several research projects under the supervision of Professor Hongkai Sun, including *The New Discovered Languages of China* (as a result his book *A Grammar of Mak Language* was published in 2000) and *Survey and The Comprehensive Evaluation of the Newly Designed Writing Systems for Minorities*.

He obtained his second MA from the University of Texas at Arlington in 1999 and PhD in 2004, both in linguistics. His specialty is in endangered languages, Kam-Tai languages, field linguistics, discourse analysis, and language contact.