A GRAMMAR OF BIH

by

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A DISSERTATION

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

March 2013
DISSEASON APPROVAL PAGE

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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March 2013
Title: A Grammar of Bih

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

In phonology, Bih is the only mainland Chamic language to have retained all four Proto-Chamic presyllablic vowels. As a result, Bih is the only Chamic language having only primary clusters inherited from Proto-Chamic and lacks the secondary clusters created by a reduction of an original disyllable form in Proto-Chamic, which occur in other languages of the family. In addition to the vowels, Bih retains only six out of thirteen Proto-Chamic presyllable consonants, but it retains all main syllable consonants from Proto-Chamic. In addition, all voiced "aspirated" consonants in Proto-Chamic become voiceless in Bih. This phonological change is common throughout coastal
Chamic and it is also shared among Bih and other two highland Chamic languages, Chru and Northern Roglai, but not with Ede.

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

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

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

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

This work would not have been possible without support for extensive fieldwork from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project of the School of Oriental and African Studies and from a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation. I would also like to thank the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon, the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies and the Center for the Study of Women in Society for their support. Thanks also to the Yamada Language Center for its support over many years of my study. Thanks also to Dr. Graham Thurgood and Dr. Paul Sidwell of a Chamic community for their comments and suggestions on my Bih historical phonology work.
My fieldwork and research in Vietnam also got support from the local people. I am indebted to Anh Trần Quang Tuán, the head of the Buôn-Tráp People's Committee, to Ban Nghiên Cứ Dân tộc tỉnh Đắk Lắk (the Center for Ethnic Research in Daklak) and to the University of Tây Nguyên for their support. I offer special thanks to Dr. Buôn Krông Thị Tuyết Nhương, to Thái Thị Hoài An and to Đỗ Thị Chấn for being supportive friends. I would like to especially thank Dr. Đoàn Văn Phúc at the Vietnam Institute of Linguistics, who has been a source of support and inspiration, for his encouragement and belief in what I have been doing for Bih and Êđê.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the Bih community. I am indebted to my main consultants who were willing to share their language and culture with me: Hriu Hmnop (duơn Ka), H'Ngo Diær (duơn Mot), Y Prăng Ađróng (aê Wih), Y Rah Buóndásp (aê Mot), Duơn Lűn and H'Băn Buón Yă (duơn Wun). Many thanks are due to Ma Pa, Y-Hiu Êban and H'Lâm H'Møj for their assistance.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE BIH LANGUAGE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Chamic Languages</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. The Bih and Their Current Language Situation</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. The Bih Documentation Project</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. BIH PHONOLOGY</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Inventory of Phonemes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1. Consonants</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2. Vowels</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. The Word and Syllable Structure</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. The Distribution of Phonemes</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1. Pre-syllable</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2. Main Syllable</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Transcriptions</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. WORD CLASSES</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Nominals</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1. Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2. Pronouns</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3. Numerals</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.4. Classifiers</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Verbs</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. Expressives</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4. Other Word Classes</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.1. Prepositions</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.2. Adverbs</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.3. Aspect Markers</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.4. Negations</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.5. Interjections</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. NOUNS AND THE NOUN PHRASE</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. Nouns</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1. Noun Stems</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2. Compound Nouns</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3. Derived Nouns</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. Internal Structure of the Noun Phrase</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3. The Quantifiers</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1. Numerals</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2. Classifiers</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3. Other Quantifiers</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4. The Attributive Phrase</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1. The Locative Prepositional Phrase</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2. The Relative Clause</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3. Possessive</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4. Demonstrative</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. PRONOUNS</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. Definite Pronouns</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1. Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2. Other Definite Pronouns</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2. Indefinite Pronouns</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1. Interrogative Pronouns as Indefinite Functions</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2. Negative Indefinite Expressions</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3. Reflexives and Reciprocals</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. NOMINALIZATION</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1. Introduction</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2. Derivational Nominalization</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3. Clausal Nominalization</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. VERBS AND THE VERBAL SYSTEM</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1. Characteristics of the Verb Class</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2. Derived Verb Stems</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3. Verb Classification</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1. Verbal Sub-classes</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.2. Copulas</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4. Verbal System</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.1. From Verb to Versatile Verb</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.2. From Verb to Verb Particle</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. EXPRESSIVES</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1. The Nature of the Phenomenon-Sound Symbolism in Bih Expressives</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2. Notes on the Semantics of Bih Expressives</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3. The Phonological Patterns of Reduplication in Bih</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.1. Complete Reduplication</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.2. Partial Reduplication</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. BASIC CLAUSAL SYNTAX</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1. Copulas</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.1. Equational jìng</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.2. Existential mào</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.3. Locative dōk</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2. Transitivity and Basic Clause Structure in Non-copula Constructions</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.1. Word Order and Grammatical Relations</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.2. Grammatical Selations and Semantic Roles</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3. Non-canonical Transitivity</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.1. Reflexives</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.2. Strict Reciprocity: Type 1 Tăn Construction</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.3. Collaborative Event: Type 2 Tăn Construction</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. MODIFICATIONS OF BASIC CLAUSAL STRUCTURE</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1. Negative and Interrogative Sentences</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1.1. Negative Constructions</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1.2. Questions</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2. Imperatives</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.1. Mild Imperative ʰọ</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.2. Mild Encouraging Imperative ᵍᵒʰ</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.3. Strong Imperative ᵇᵉ</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.4. Negative Imperative _DLL</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3. Sentence Particles</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1. Mirative Particle ᵚʳḥ</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.2. Anti-mirative/Expected Informative ʸᵦ</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.3. Explaining/Contradicting Particle ₙᵃʳ</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.4. Emphatic ʷᵃ</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. ADVERBIALS</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1. Adverbial Modifiers of the Basic Clause</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.1. Lexical Adverbs</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.2. Prepositional Phrases</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.3. Expressives</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2. Adverbial Clauses</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2.1. ʳʳᵈᵃ揩 Conditional Clause</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2.2. ʳʳʳᵃᵈᵃ/ᵇᵃⁿᵍ Causal Clause</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2.3. ᵃᵟᵈᵃ 'however, but' Clause</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1. Chained Clauses</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.1. Juxtaposed Chained Clauses</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.2. The Marked Chained Clause</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2. Serial Verb Constructions</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1. Serial Verb Construction in General</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2. SVCs in Southeast Asian Languages</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.3. SVCs in Bih</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3. Verb Compounds</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. OTHER SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1. Complement Clauses</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.1. Dah-clause Complements</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.2. Direct Quote Complements</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.3. Nominalized Complements</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.4. Verbal Phrase Complements</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2. Relative Clauses</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.1. Basic Structure of the Relative Clause</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.2. Generic Head Nouns</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.3. Accessibility to Relativization</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. DISCOURSE STATUS OF ARGUMENTS</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1. Topic and Focus in Bih</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1.1. Lê-construction</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1.2. Contrastive Focus: moh-construction</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1.3. Fronted NP Construction</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2. The Third and Fourth Arguments</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES .......................................................................................................................... 262

A. BIH-EDE-ENGLISH LEXICON (SELECTED WORDS) .................................................... 262

B. A SELECTED TEXT ............................................................................................................ 269

C. ABBREVIATIONS ............................................................................................................. 342

REFERENCES CITED .......................................................................................................... 344
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1. The Proto-Chamic dialect chain and its modern Chamic languages</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Bih and its surrounding area (adapted from Đoàn 1998)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Bih word structure</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. The internal structure of the noun phrase</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Bih variation samples</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Bih consonant phonemes</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Minimal sets illustrating phonemic contrasts</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Bih vowels</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Bih pre-syllable onset consonants</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5. Bih orthographic consonant symbols</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6. Bih orthographic vowel symbols</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Bih pronouns</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Bih cardinal numbers</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. List of Bih classifiers</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. The numeral system</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. List of Bih class terms</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. Bih indefinite/interrogative pronouns</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1. Two types of nominalization (Genetti et al., 2008)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

The third chapter describes the Bih phonological system with reference to its retentions and changes from Proto-Chamic (PC). Section 3.1 presents an inventory of Bih phonemes including both consonants and vowels while Section 3.2 describes the syllable
structure. Much of the discussion of Section 3.3 is about the distribution of these phonemes. The last section (§3.4) describes the relation between Bih phonemes and their orthographic symbols. After chapter III, all Bih data presented in the dissertation are in the Bih orthography.

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

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

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

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

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

THE BIH LANGUAGE

2.1 . Chamic languages

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

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

Within the Chamic languages, there are two subgroups: Highland Chamic, which includes Ede (also called Rade/Rhade), Jarai, Bih, Chru, Northern Roglai and Tsat, and Coastal Chamic including Haroi, Western Cham and Phan Rang Cham. Acehnese is a Chamic language which reached Sumatra before Proto-Chamic diverged into the mainland modern Chamic languages (Thurgood, 1999, p. 48). As for Bih, it was considered as an Ede dialect (Maitre, 1912; Đoàn, 1998) until my work. The current evidence suggests that it is a separate highland Chamic language although future research is needed to confirm whether it forms a genetic subgroup with either one or the other of Ede or Jarai, or if the three languages were members of the original dialect chain as
Thurgood (1999) suggested. Figure 2.1 (adopted from Thurgood 1999 with Bih added) shows the proposed internal subgrouping of the Chamic languages:

![Diagram of the Proto-Chamic dialect chain and its modern Chamic languages](image)

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

### 2.2. The Bih and their current language situation

Bih is spoken in Buon Trap town in the district of Krong Ana, with a small population resident in the neighboring districts of Lak in the east, where Mnong\(^1\) people

\(^1\) The Mnông language belongs to Môn-Khmer family.
live, and in the district of Čư Kuiñ in the north and in Buôn Ma Thuọt city in the northwest, and in the district of Krông Nô in the south where Ede is the dominant language. The location of Bih is illustrated in Figure 2.2:

Figure 2.2: Bih and its surrounding area (adapted from Doan 1998)
During the Vietnam War, Bih people moved to Buôn Ma Thuột city and resided mainly at Buôn Ale-A and Buôn Ale-B. After the war, many of them moved back to Buon Trap but there were a number of Bih speakers who remained in Buon Ma Thuot city from that time. Bih speakers at Buon Trap nowadays explain their language diversity as resulting from the time they lived in Buon Ma Thuot city where Ede is the dominant language: some of them got used to Ede while others still spoke Bih in their families but used Ede to communicate with others. As for Bih people who have lived in Buon Ma Thuot since the Vietnam War, because of the phonological similarities between Bih and Ede, they adopted Ede as their primary language.

In 2009, there were about 500 Bih people in Buôn Tráp town. However, there are not that many Bih speakers. There are only a few old people who can speak Bih and who are aware that Bih is a different language from Ede. Many people consider themselves to be ethnically Bih, but cannot speak Bih, let alone read or write it. Children and grandchildren of village elders don’t understand them if they speak Bih. In fact many elderly people have to use Ede to communicate with their children and others. In time, they got used to using Ede such as the case of the 82-year-old consultant of the Bih documentation project who still kept Bih grammar in his speech but with almost Ede vocabulary. In addition, a number of adults in their forties express that they feel comfortable in speaking Ede and Vietnamese, but not Bih, even though they consider themselves as Bih ethnically. A few of them who know some Bih vocabulary have a mixed speech of Ede grammar with Bih lexicon. In the family of one of the project consultants, her 48-year-old daughter understands some of her conversations in Bih, but speaks almost suly in Ede. Her grandchildren, 18 and 16-year-old girls, don’t even speak Ede, the primary
language of the community, let alone Bih. This is because people of the young generation (15 to 18 years old) learned Vietnamese at school and leave the village for better economic opportunities in other bigger cities such as Buon Ma Thuot and Hochiminh city.

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

Table 2.1: Bih variation samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bih</th>
<th>Ede</th>
<th>A mixed version between Bih and Ede features</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>timūn</td>
<td>kəmūn</td>
<td>tərəmūn</td>
<td>'cucumber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukāw</td>
<td>kəkāw</td>
<td>təkāw</td>
<td>'fingernail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>örtak</td>
<td>etak</td>
<td>rtak</td>
<td>'bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ørña:n</td>
<td>eña:n</td>
<td>rña:n</td>
<td>'ladder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padɛ</td>
<td>mədie</td>
<td>mdɛ/pade</td>
<td>'unhusked rice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. The Bih documentation project

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bih orthography was created based on the Ede orthography because of the phoneme similarities of the two languages. Since it was created, along with a typing keyboard layout, Bih people are proud of their "written" language and have started to use Bih in their conversations. They requested the inclusion of Ede as an additional language into a trilingual Bih-Vietnamese-English lexicon as they indicated that they will learn Bih faster with an Ede version of the Bih lexicon because they know Ede. The two Ede
speakers, H'Mi Čil and H'Juaih Niê Kdăm, who worked for the Bih Documentation Project as transcribers, became Ede data entry assistants for the lexicon.

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

BIH PHONOLOGY

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

3.1 Inventory of phonemes

3.1.1 Consonants

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

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

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

---

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

³ Pre-glottalized is the term used frequently for these segments in the literature on Chamic languages (Thurgood, 1999.) Phonetically, pre-glottalized segments are implosives (Greenberg, 1970) (Ladefoged, 1981)
Table 3.1: Bih consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rhotics</strong></td>
<td>Ʌ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laterals</strong></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.2: Minimal sets illustrating phonemic contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial positions</th>
<th>Final positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ [puh] 'to drive away (animals)'</td>
<td>/p/ [jap] 'to count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/ [buh] 'to put on one's arm/leg'</td>
<td>/b/ [buh] 'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɓ/ [ɓuh] 'to see'</td>
<td>/p/ [pĭt] 'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/ [phĭt] 'bitter'</td>
<td>/t/ [tĭh] 'to dig with a bamboo spade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɗ/ [ɗih] 'to lie'</td>
<td>/t/ [pĭt] 'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ [dih] 'there'</td>
<td>/d/ [dih] 'to lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɗ/ [ɗih] 'to lie'</td>
<td>/t/ [tĭh] 'to push'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/ [thŭn] 'year'</td>
<td>/c/ [cĕʔ] 'great-grandchild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/ [cĕʔ] 'great-grandchild'</td>
<td>/c/ [lac] 'to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/ [jĕʔ] 'close, near'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.1.2. Vowels

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

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

Table 3.3: Bih vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ū/u*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə/ə</td>
<td>ō/ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(3.1) FRONT CENTRAL BACK  
/ti/ 'at' /bi/ 'baby snakehead fish' /katūŋ/ 'pull'  
/rde/ 'Ede people' /bə / 'be pitied' /muŋ /'muzzle'  
/ge/ 'stick' /bɔ / 'be pitied' /ʔōʔ/ 'to vomit'  
/əŋəp/ 'dark' /bʊʃ / 'but' /gə/ 'pot'  
/gumək/ 'fat' /ɡama/ 'fat' /gumək/ 'fat'  
/anak/ 'child' /gumək/ 'fat' /gumək/ 'fat'

Bih also has diphthongs and triphthongs. The diphthongs are combinations of two vowels in which the first vowel is either a front or a center or a back vowel. They are /iə/, ...
/iɛl/ /iɛl/ /ei/ /ɛi/ /ɛu/, /au/, /ai/ and /ui/, /ue/, /uə/, /ua/, /uo/. There are three thiphthongs in Bih. These triphthongs are combined of either three vowels as /ieu/or vowels and a glide as /uai/ and /uay/. Notice that the last two triphthongs are reconstructed as /*uay/ and /*uɔy/ in Proto-Chamic (henceafter PC) respectively (Thurgood, 1999, p. 135).

Below is examples of the diphthongs and triphthongs:

(3.2)

/jɛɲ/ 'giving birth'
/jɛɲ/ 'close friend'
/hiar/ 'cry'
/nei/ 'this'

/kɔu/ 'I/me'
/nau/ 'go'

/lui/ 'quit'
/fue/ (in /găp āfue/) 'extended family'
/?aduɒɲ/ 'grandmother'
/juəm/ 'expensive'
/dua/ 'two'
/juɔp/ 'west'

/miew/ 'cat'
/maluai/ 'opo squash'
/kuay kuay/ 'iguana'

3.1.2.1. Phonemic Length

Thurgood (1999), following Lee (1966), indicates that vowel length contrasts in PC
were reconstructed for only three vowels *-a, *-u and *-ɔ and in limited environments.

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

3.1.2.1.1. Length distinctions for /a/

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

(3.3) /ʔumāk/ 'fat'
/ʔanak/ 'child'
/pusāt/ 'navel'
/pinhat/ 'chisel'
/pan/ 'to make a wall'
/ʔudān/ 'shrimp'
/tlāñ/ 'python'
/pulan/ 'month'
/dāl/ 'to wedge'
3.1.2.1.2. Length distinctions for the vowel /u/

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

(3.4)  

| /muŋ/ | 'muzzle' |
| /buŋ/ | 'proper name of a pot' |
| /ʔasũŋ/ | 'mortar' |
| /təɾapũŋ/ | 'flour' |
| /mũt/ | 'to enter' |
| /manũk/ | 'chicken' |
| /bũč/ | 'to pull up from the ground' |
| /pũɾtũʔ/ | 'a star' |

3.1.2.1.3. Length distinctions for /ɘ/

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

(3.5) 

a. /blɔp/ 'good'
   /chɔp/ 'sounds created when someone jumps up on something very fast'

b. /jɔt/ 'hold up'
   /frɔt/ 'finish'

c. /kachɔʔ/ 'dirty'
   /brɔk/ 'suddenly'

d. /brɔn/ 'happy'
   /bɔ/ in expressive: /bɔ lah/  'describes walking continuously/without end'

3.1.2.1.4 Length distinction for /o/

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

(3.6) /cʰõk/ 'stick together'
   /dɔk/ 'sit'

   /bɔʔ/ 'face'
   /brɔ/ 'lucky'
   /kɾoŋ/ 'river'
3.1.2.1.5. Complementary distribution of length for other vowels

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

(3.7)  
[chɨ?] 'sell'  
[bɨp] 'a duck'  
[ɓlɨt] 'to twist'

[cɨi?] 'mountain'  
[bɾɪk] 'to remember'  
[chɨt] 'sounds of chickens fighting'  
[cɨp] 'stand up quickly'

[ciŋ] 'a gong'  
[cil] 'tree proper name'  
[ɓɾi] 'lucky'

[bi] 'baby snakehead fish'  
[bin] 'mountain field'

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

(3.8)  
[ædɛ] 'Ede people'  
[ədɛ] 'weave'  
[jɾɛɲ] 'crunchy'

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

(3.9)  
[jɛ?] 'near, close'  
[ge] 'a stick'
The vowel /a/ is only short if it is followed by a velar stop /-k/ while with other coda consonants, it is long:

(3.10) [kasɔk] 'small basket for carrying cooked rice'
[ʔagɔp] 'dark'
[agɔm] 'darken'

Bih only has a short vowel /-ɔ/-:

(3.11) [gɔʔ] 'pot'
[ŋɔk] 'east'
[tʰɔŋ] 'knife'

3.2. The word and syllable structure

An important word syllabification pattern for Bih is the “sesquisyllabic” structure (Matisoff, 1973) in which a canonical word consists of a reduced ‘pre-tonic’ (presyllable) and a main ‘tonic’ syllable. Different initial cluster patterns are found in those words that have presyllable onsets against main syllable onsets. There are also restrictions on co-occurrence of presyllable and main onset consonants. A subset of the allowable onsets, vowels and codas in the presyllable can be found in the main syllables. Thus, the main syllable has the larger inventory of phonemes. Plus, the main syllable displays the whole set of possible phonological contrasts.
Austronesian languages are often disyllabic with penultimate stress (Thurgood, 1999, p. 60). Chamic languages with the influence of Mon-khmer stress pattern (which is iambic--weak and strong stress patterns) reduce or even drop the vowel in the presyllable results in iambic stress patterns. The iambic stress patterns then leads to the development of monosyllabic word structure with two-consonant initial clusters throughout Chamic languages (p.61). Even though Bih still retains disyllabic words from PC, it is adapted to the iambic stress patterns. The Bih word structure is shown in Figure 3.1:

\[
\sigma \quad \sigma
\]

\[(CV) \, C(C) \, V \, (C)\]

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

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

3.3. The distribution of phonemes

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

3.3.1. Pre-syllable

3.3.1.1. Consonants

The inventory of onset consonants in the pre-syllable is restricted. Only six
consonants in Table 3.1 can occur in the onsets of pre-syllable. There is no coda in the pre-syllable. They are illustrated in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Bih pre-syllable onset consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td>j-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.2. Vowels

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

3.3.2. Main syllable

3.3.2.1. Onset consonants

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


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

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

In addition, Bih also has three other clusters which were borrowed at the post-PC stage. They are *cr-, *sr- and *gr-4:

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

4 x means ‘borrowed and not reconstructable to PC’ (Thurgood 1999: xvi).
3.3.2.2 . Coda consonants

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PC</th>
<th>Bih</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*blah</td>
<td>/blah/</td>
<td>'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bra:s</td>
<td>/braih/</td>
<td>'husked rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*labuh</td>
<td>/ʔbuh/</td>
<td>'fall down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tikus</td>
<td>/tikuih/</td>
<td>'rat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.3.2.3 . Nucleus

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

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

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

Other diphthongs (see the list at section 3.1.2) can occur in both open and closed syllables. Triphthongs (/ieu/, /uai/ and /uay/) only occur in open syllables.

3.4 . Transcriptions

The following tables will show Bih orthographic symbols arranged according to the articulatory properties of the sounds they represent. These symbols will be used instead of the IPA symbols in subsequent chapters.
Table 3.5: Bih orthographic consonant symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>čh</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implosive</td>
<td>ᶦ</td>
<td>ḱ</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.6: Bih orthographic vowel symbols.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>ū/u*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>ơ/ơ</td>
<td>ĕ/ĕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

WORD CLASSES

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

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

4.1. Nominals

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

4.1.1. Nouns

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

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

Pronouns can be divided into two systems: definite pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Definite pronouns are mostly personal pronouns. These pronouns are distinguished in person (first, second and third) and in number (singular and plural). The first person plural distinguishes the inclusive and exclusive. The plural forms are kamei first plural exclusive, and he first plural inclusive. The first singular form is kâo. Di ih is the second plural. The second singular person pronoun has two forms: one, ih, for one’s son-in-law (polite form) and another, ông, for everybody else. The two forms ūu and gô are third singular person pronouns. While the former is used for one third person pronoun whose character is in focus in discourse, the latter is for all other third persons. Di ūu is third plural. There is also a special third person plural form for animals, dăng ūu, even though the third person plural form di ūu can be used to refer to animals as well. Indefinite
pronouns are distinguished for persons *mnuih*, things *adô*, and places *anôk*. Table 4.1 presents the definite pronouns mentioned above:

Table 4.1: Bih pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>kâo (INCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kamei (EXCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ōng (familiar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di ih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di ŋu/dăng ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>gö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di gö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>pŏng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>arăng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arăng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.1.3. Numerals**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bih</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlāo/trlāo</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nām</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tijuh</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapān</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duapān</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh sa</td>
<td>'eleven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh duapān</td>
<td>'nineteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua pluh</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlāo pluh</td>
<td>'thirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa ituh</td>
<td>'one hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa ibāo/trbāo</td>
<td>'one thousand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.4. Classifiers

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

Table 4.3: List of Bih classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trlám</td>
<td>'human and animals and objects in general'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phûrn</td>
<td>'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê and urât/uruât</td>
<td>'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pôk and blah</td>
<td>'two-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh and trlâm</td>
<td>'three-dimensional big and small round objects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usâr</td>
<td>'fruits in general.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Verbs

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

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

Verbs also can go through a nominalization process with the nominalizer talei /trlei
in order to function as nouns. In (4.2), *angoh* 'hot' and *a-āt* 'cold' are two stative verbs.

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

(4.2) Ƀuh lō mão trlei angoh a-āt ōh ŋu lač
NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2 3 say
'He said that there will be no fever anymore.'(ND007/260)

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

4.3 Expressives

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

Expressives in Bih include two types: full reduplication (*djeh djeh* ‘doing something not seriously’) and partial reduplication (e.g. *arblē arblō* ‘describing lands with
too much water’ and *hôk krđôk* ‘describing a very happy feeling’, *lah lañ* ‘very lazy’).

4.4. Other word classes

4.4.1. Prepositions

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

(4.3) Nei arăng brei kan akĕn dô apăl kô ŋu.

*now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3*  
'People give a catfish which is as big as the upper arm to him.'  
(PA011/019)

(4.4) ŏng dlăng aduăn kâo ti sang.

*2 look grandmother 1 LOC house*  
'You look at my grandmother at home.'  
(ND008/176)

(4.5) Ñu tangŭ atăm măng anôk palei ŋu năn,

*3 get.up REC from place wife 3 DIST*  
'hâng palei ŋu năn.  
with wife 3 DIST  
'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.'  
(ND007/095)

(4.6) Đa răng pilih hâng braih

*many 3 exchange with husked-rice*  
'He trades his hunting products for husked rice'  
(ND009/008)
4.4.2. Adverbs

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

(4.7) ōng lŏ wĭt yoḥ ta imai ōng buŏn dih.
2 again return PTCL LOC sister 2 village FAR.DIST
'You again return to your sister at our village there.' (ND003/079)

(4.8) (Si mnuih hiar làm nei, thâo dah lač hŏ!)
Who person cry in PROX know that say PTCL

Hùn pa-djăl hŏ, đăm pa-dăp hŏ!
Inform CAUS-fast PTCL don’t CAUS-hide PTCL
'(Who is crying here?) Please answer right now and do not hide anything.'
(ND011/042)

(4.9) Ñu nao riă atăm brüß~brüß~brüß jing gŏ duôm
3 go lay.in.wait REFL slowly COP 3 be.stuck

hăng panâk pasa hăng talei năn.
with weaving.stick weaving.stick with rope/thread PROX
'He sees: slowly she is stuck in the weaving frame.' (ND008/258)

4.4.3. Aspect markers

There are three particles that mark aspect in Bih: dō is a progressive aspect marker and leh is a perfective aspect marker. Dōk is another particle functioning as an imperfective marker while it is also a lexical verb meaning to 'sit/stay/reside'. To my knowledge, leh is grammaticalized from a lexical verb leh 'finish' and has a clausal-final
position while *dôk* is preverbal. The following examples (4.10)-(4.13) present these particles:

(4.10) Dô  duân  năn  ma-huí  yo’h.
PROG grandmother  then  PRE-scare  PTCL
'The grandmother is being scared' (ND008/113)

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

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

(4.13) Năn  ŋu  ma-dôk  dih  ti  anuăr,
then  3  PRE-PROG  lay  LOC  rotten.wood

*dôk* dih  ta  anuăr  năn  ŋu  čiąŋg  pĭt.
PROG  lay  LOC  rotten.wood  then  3  want  sleep

buh  ĕr  ŋu  lŏ  kalei  ubei.
NEG  diligent  3  again  dig  yam

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

4.4.4. Negations

There are two types of negation in Bih: a) one construction for negating a NP or clause and b) two constructions used to negate a VP. *buh dįď* is the negator for a NP/clause
(as shown in (4.14)) while bipartite buh…ôh 'not' and ka…ôh 'not yet' (ôh is optional) (in example (4.15) and (4.16)) are used to negate a VP. In addition, kĩn is also a negator for these above types as shown in (4.17):

(4.14)

a. ò Dông-krje, hâng adô ŏng weh?
   VOC PN with what you go.fishing
   'Hey Dông-krje, what do you go fishing with? '

b. Kâo weh hâng ulăt.
   1 go.fishing with worm
   'I go fishing with worms.'

c. buh djõ!
   NEG right
   'It is not right.'(ND007/007)

(4.15) Bu h kâo thâo mî a.
   NEG 1 know mom VOC
   ‘Mom, I do not know.’ (ND005a)

(4.16) Arnei ka kâo lô thâo mîn ôh.
   now NEG 1 again know think NEG2
   'Now I haven't thought (about it) yet.'(ND008/434)

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

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

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

Below are some examples:

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

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

(4.20) Nao wĕ duân ah mahuă bĕ.
go IMP grandma VOC PRE-eat IMP
'Eat now Grandma!' (ND008/226)
CHAPTER V

NOUNS AND THE NOUN PHRASE

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

5.1. Nouns

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

5.1.1. Noun stems

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

5.1.2.1. Noun-noun compounds

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

(5.2) pûk          sang
       mountain.house    house
       'houses'

čim       kan
bird       fish
'eating animals'

añuê       abăn
mat        blanket
'household items'

asei       djăm
cooked.rice    soup
'food'
5.1.2.1.1. Additive compound nouns

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

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

(5.3) arlô tăm  'wild buffalo'
măng ai  'a lot'

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

5.1.2.3. Class term compound nouns

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

(5.4) boh  kruč
      CLF  tangerine
      'tangerines'

      anak  putao
      child  head.village
      'head village child'
palei phŭn
wife trunk
'main wife'

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

5.1.3. Derived nouns

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

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

5.2. Internal structure of the noun phrase

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>HEAD noun</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 5.1: The internal structure of the noun phrase

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

The quantifier can be a number (5.6), or a number and either a classifier (5.7) or a
measure noun (5.8). Quantifier phrases often precede the head, but they can follow it in a special contrastive discourse context.

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

(5.7) sa urât ſũk
one CLF necklace
'one necklace' (ND010/117)

(5.8) sa trpât djâm
one bunch vegetable
'one bunch of vegetables' (Elicitation. HM20090510)

The attributive can be a locative prepositional phrase (5.9) or a relative clause (5.10):

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

(5.10) adŏ brei kĭn angoh gŏ năn
thing give DAT sick 3 DIST
'things that give to that sickness of him' (ND007/268)

Possessive phrases always follow the head:

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

(5.12) ao ſũu
shirt 3
'his/her shirt'
Demonstratives are always phrase final:

(5.13) adû năn
room DIST
'that room'

5.3 . The quantifiers

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

5.3.1 . Numerals

5.3.1.1 . Cardinal numerals

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bih</th>
<th>Èdè</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua</td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlâo/trlâo</td>
<td>tlâo</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pă</td>
<td>pă</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>êma</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>năm</td>
<td>nám</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tijuh</td>
<td>kjuh</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapăń</td>
<td>sapăń</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duapăń</td>
<td>duapăń</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh</td>
<td>pluh</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh sa</td>
<td>pluh sa</td>
<td>'eleven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluh duapăń</td>
<td>pluh duapăń</td>
<td>'nineteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua pluh</td>
<td>dua pluh</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlâo pluh</td>
<td>tlâo pluh</td>
<td>'thirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa ituh</td>
<td>sa êtuh</td>
<td>'one hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa ibăo/trbăo</td>
<td>sa êbăo</td>
<td>'one thousand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

To name the months or enumerate months, the cardinal numeral system is used:
pulan sa 'January', sa pulan 'one month'. Likewise with time, cardinal numerals are used: ima mông: 'five o'clock'.

5.3.1.2. Ordinal numerals

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

5.3.2. Classifiers

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

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

5.3.2.1. Introduction

The set of classifiers in Bih is small and their use is mainly obligatory in counting (except for counting days). When I say 'mainly obligatory", I mean that Bih speakers vary in the way they use classifiers: it is not just because the obligatory use depends on discourse (not noun semantics), but also in same contexts, a Bih speaker one time uses a classifier, another time does not use any. Even when she uses one classifier, it is not always a Bih classifier, sometimes an Ede classifier instead. This occurs in narrative texts.
as well: either Bih or Ede classifiers have been used, or no classifiers at all.

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

- *träm*: 'human and animals and objects in general'
- *phũn*: 'trees'
- *bē* and *urăt/uruăt*: 'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'
- *pōk* and *blah*: 'two-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'
- *boh* and *trlăm*: 'three-dimensional big and small round objects.
- *usăr*: fruits in general

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

(5.14) Palĕ hĕ sa urăt karah, sa trlăm?
CAUS-fall QP one CLF ring, one CLF
'Did one ring drop?' (ND010/115)
It is necessary to point out that according to Adams (1991:69), the two Bih classifiers bĕ and blah and the Ede classifier drei are of Mon-Khmer origin. In other words, Chamic languages in Vietnam borrowed certain classifiers from Austroasiatic languages in the region. As indicated in Chapter III, Bih has had long term contact with Mnông, a Mon-Khmer language; therefore, it would need further study to determine which Bih classifiers actually are from a Mon-Khmer language such as Mnông.

5.3.2.2. Mensural classifiers

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

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

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

With measure nouns, sometimes in discourse a classifier phrase in Bih consists only of a number and a measure noun that functions as a classifier, as shown in (5.17) and (5.18), or we sometimes see the noun first followed by the numeral and classifier, as in (5.19):
(5.17) Sa palah bông anân, sa palah pioh.
    one half eat then, one half keep
    '(They) eat a half while keep the other.' (ND007/113)

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

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

5.3.2.3. Class terms

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

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

Table 5.2: List of Bih class terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boh: class term for three dimensional objects in general:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example: boh sang: houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh mnûk: chicken eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh tâo: stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh dûng: coconuts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ana: class term for trees:

Example:  
- *ana punūt*: a name of a tree  
- *ana kayāo*: trees in general

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ana punūt</em></td>
<td>a name of a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ana kayāo</em></td>
<td>trees in general</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### gō: class term for pots:

Example:  
- *gō asei*: pot to cook rice  
- *gō djām*: pot to cook soups  
- *gō būng*: one type of traditional Bih pot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gō asei</em></td>
<td>pot to cook rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gō djām</em></td>
<td>pot to cook soups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gō būng</em></td>
<td>one type of traditional Bih pot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### bāng: class term for holes:

Example:  
- *bāng ēar*: a well  
- *bāng boh-tāo*: a small stone cave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bāng ēar</em></td>
<td>a well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bāng boh-tāo</em></td>
<td>a small stone cave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

boh. It is usār, the classifier for all fruits having seeds (the hard skin of the coconut is
considered as the seed of the coconut): sa usār boh dúng 'one coconut'.

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

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

punūt.

5.3.2.4 . Time expressions

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

(5.20) Sa iwa čĭm phiêr
one IWA bird fly
'one bird's wingbeat' (PA011/303)
(5.21) Sa iwa biă ta năn ſu ruêh dieo nuă yoḥ.
one IWA short LOC DIST 3 look.around left right PTCL
'After a short sleep, he looks for her around.' (PA016/087)

(5.22) Sa iwa biă dĩng-buăl ſu magăt êman nao dlăng
one IWA short servants 3 lead elephant go look
'In a little bit (shortly) his servants lead the elephants to go watching (it) '
(PA011/520)

5.3.3. Other quantifiers

In Bih, there are some quantifiers that are used to express approximate quantity.

They tend to precede the nominal. They are ajih 'all' in (5.23), djăp 'every' in (5.24), lu
'many' in (5.25) and đa 'some' in (5.26):

(5.23) ajih näm trlăm manũk.
all six CLF chicken
'all six chickens' (Elicitation HM20081210)

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

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

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

Bih also has another way to express approximate quantity by using two numerals
next to each other. These two numerals are often small numerals (always smaller than 'ten'), as shown below:

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

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

5.4. The attributive phrase

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

5.4.1. The locative prepositional phrase

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

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

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

(5.30) dhŏng ti sang dih
knife LOC house FAR.DIST
'the knife at home' (PA015/014)
5.4.2. The relative clause

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

(5.31) adô [brei kîn angoh gö] nân
ting give DAT sick 3 DIST
'things that give to that sickness of him' (ND007/268)

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

5.4.3. Possessive

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

(5.33) dhông ông
knife 2sg
'your knife' (PA015/014)

(5.34) brām ana ūnū
arrow crossbow 3sg
'his crossbow and arrow' (PA016/010)

(5.35) ao aduân
shirt grandmother
'the grandmother's shirt' (ND003)
5.4.4. Demonstrative

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

(5.36) mności  käo  nei
  thing  1   PROX
  'this thing of mine' (PA015/059)

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

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

PRONOUNS

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

6.1 . Definite pronouns

6.1.1 . Personal pronouns

Bih uses a set of pronouns to mark first person singular, first person plural inclusive, first person plural exclusive, second person singular, second person plural and third person singular and third person plural. In addition to these, speakers nowadays distinguish between familiar and polite second person singular forms, although older speakers say that there was no such distinction in the past (as shown in Table 4.1).
In some contexts nowadays, two singular pronouns: ōng (familiar) and ih (polite) are recognized, although in folktales only one form, ōng, is used. Bih speakers explain that the second polite singular form ih, as well as the third person singular and plural forms ū and di ū, are borrowed from Ede, the dominant language which Bih speakers all use. However, there is no historical evidence to show whether these are borrowed from Ede or are inherited from Proto-Chamic. Bih also has dăng ū as a third person plural form, but in current Bih it is more used for animals than for humans.

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

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

(6.1) Nei arăng brei kan akêŋ dɛ apāl koř ū.  
now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3 'People give a catfish which is as big as the upper arm to him.'  
(PA011/019)
(6.2) Arăng ba ajih mợh ta palei arăng ta sang
 3 bring all MIR LOC wife 3 LOC house

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

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

6.1.2. Other definite pronouns

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

(6.3) Mâo ubai matâm ᄄצועי matihî~matihier atâm ñu
When the yam soup is ready, they eat together.' (ND003/147)

6.2 . Indefinite pronouns

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

6.2.1 . Interrogative pronouns as indefinite functions

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

(6.4) Sei mnu:ih ŏng mā?
who person 2 take/pick up
'Who did you bring home?' (ND007/037)
(6.5) Sei mnuih ngã pûk sang!
    who person make mountain-house house
'Noone built houses. (Lit. 'Who person will make houses!' ) (ND009/122)

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>interrogative/indefinite + generic noun</th>
<th>negative indefinite interpretation</th>
<th>negative indefinite expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td><em>sei mnuih/arăng</em> who person</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>buh māo mnuih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td><em>mɒng mnɒng/adō</em> what thing/thing</td>
<td><em>ya (mnɒng)</em> NEG (what thing)</td>
<td>buh māo adō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td><em>ti/ta anôk</em> LOC place</td>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td>buh māo anôk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td><em>ti-ba/si-ba/si</em></td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td><em>ai</em></td>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.1. *Sei mnuih 'who person'*

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

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

(6.7) *Sei ràng lông palê atâm boh tông-lông*
    *who person try drop REC fruit PN*

    māng dlông rû-râ rû-râ rû-râ ta lân yaih.
    from above a lot a lot a lot LOC ground EXC
    'No one tries to drop such a lot of (Tông-lông) fruits like that.'(ND010/098)
(6.6) has an interrogative reading and occurs in a context where the elephant heard
the sounds of crying coming from a big hole and he asked who cried down there. In
contrast, (6.7) is an affirmative statement. Here, a lot of fruits are being dropped to the
ground in order to kill the elephant family who wanted to get Y-Bia. The speaker wants to
say that there are so many fruits dropping down from the tree that human beings could not
be making it happen (Only birds could be able to do this.)

6.2.1.2. *Ndŏ ᄂ/Ndŏ* 'what thing'

(6.8) Ndŏ ᄂ ŏng ᄃiëŋ?
what.thing 2 want
'What do you want?' (PA011/158)

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

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

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

(6.11) Si-ba ŏng angoh?
    how 2 sick
  'What makes you sick?' 'Lit. how are you sick?' (ND007/100)

(6.12) Si malŏ ngă?!
    how PRE-again do
  'We can't do anything' (Lit: 'How we can do now?') (ND007/017)

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

6.2.1.4. Aį 'why'

(6.13) Aį malŏ kalei ubei?
    why PRE-again dig yam
  'Why do we need yams?' (ND007/016)

(6.14) Aį buh thâo hěn, buh thâo malâo pine.
    why NEG know ashamed, NEG know embarrassed girl
  'She is not ashamed (to do that).' (Lit: Why was she not ashamed?)
  (ND009/114)

(6.13) and (6.14) both have an interrogative construction but (6.14) is used as an
indefinite statement. In (6.13), when the husband monkey asks his wife's grandmother to go
to dig yams, she wants to know why they need yams when they already have something
better-- rice and potatoes. Example (6.14) comes from a story about two sisters-- Y- Djă and Y-Hen. Because of their father's promise, Y-Djă must marry a python, but Y-Hen rejected that idea. When Y- Djă agrees to the proposal, Y-Hen laughs at her and thinks that her sister should be ashamed of her decision expressing it as a statement.

6.2.1.5. Ti anôk 'where'

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

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

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

6.2.2. Negative indefinite expressions

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

(6.17) *buh mão anôk ŋu nao ôh* (alah~alañ Thô).

NEG1 COP place 3 go NEG2 (lazy PN)

'There is no place he goes (because he is lazy)' (PA011/004)

(6.18) *buh mão ngăn tăm~ênua~ba~kadi ôh*.

NEG1 COP property compensation NEG2

'There is nothing we can give (them) as compensation.' (PA011/276)

(6.19) *buh mão pô lô msĕ ôh aî*.

NEG1 COP person also same NEG2 at all

'There is no one who is as beautiful as her' (PA013/075)

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

6.3. Reflexives and reciprocals

Bih also has reflexives and reciprocals that function as noun phrases. These non-canonical object pronouns will be dealt with in Chapter 10.3, which shows the relations between a single participant in multiple roles and multiple participants in multiple roles. In
the following examples, the first one includes a reflexive pronoun while the second one has reciprocals:

(6.20) Paul mrao ñu ačô.
PN wash 3 REFL
‘Paul washed himself.’ (Elicitation. HM2010.05.02)

(6.21) Di ñu tâm thâo
PL 3 REC know
‘They know each other.’ (Elicitation. HM2010.05.02)
CHAPTER VII

NOMINALIZATION

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

7.1. Introduction

Genetti et al. (2008) make a distinction between derivational and clausal nominalization in which derivational nominalization is a syntactic process which creates lexical nouns from other lexical categories and clausal nominalization is used to nominalize an entire clause to allow it to function as a noun phrase in a larger syntactic structure. Genetti et al. (2008) demonstrate the difference between these two types of nominalization in Table 7.1 below:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Applied to:</th>
<th>Result in:</th>
<th>Structure:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td>Verb or predicate</td>
<td>Lexical verb</td>
<td>[V-NMZ] NOUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Lexical adjective</td>
<td>[V-NMZ] ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausal</td>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>[(NP)…V-NMZ]NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Genetti et al.’s distinction, Bih has both derivational and clausal nominalization. The former is marked by \textit{talei}, which is described in §7.2 while the latter has a zero nominalizer, which I describe in §7.3.

7.2. Derivational nominalization

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

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

(7.1) \textit{Buh lŏ măo trlei angoh a-ăt ŭh ſu lač} 
\textit{NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold ſu say} 
‘He said that there will be no fever anymore.’(ND007/260)

In (7.2), \textit{kalei} nominalizes an adjective \textit{tũ-dun} to become a lexical noun meaning ‘wealth’. Then \textit{kalei tũ- dun} becomes a predicate complement of the main copula verb \textit{jing}:
(7.2) Arăng lŏ jing mão kalei tű-duň rông anak čô
3 again COP have NMZ rich raise child grandchild
'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

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

(7.3) Nei kâo pablĕ Thô-alah khâng
now 1 tell PN often

talei ndût~dă aê duôn makunei
NMZ old grandmother grandfather pass

treli Bih.
story Bih

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

7.3 . Clausal nominalization

Bih clausal nominalization applies to a clausal construction to allow it to function
as a noun phrase in a larger syntactic context. In other words, the Bih clausal
nominalization process allows a complement clause to function as a noun phrase. In
addition, complement clauses can also be created from nominalized clauses with or without
a complementizer, but have no other mark of nominalization. Examples below show
different internal complement clauses in Bih and they all are treated as a noun phrase
without a nominalizer:
In (7.4) the main verb mĩn is a complement taking verb and eh kapaih tadi is its full complement clause in which eh kapaih is the subject argument of the complement and tadi is the predicate of the complement. (7.4) occurs in the context where the wife threw all of her husband's belongings made of fabric – things such as clothes, blankets and scarves – since she thought they were useless fabric stuff (called eh kapaih). The whole grammatical clause eh kapaih tadi is treated as an object for the main verb mĩn with dah as its complementizer.

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

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

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

In (7.6), the full complement clause abao kâo blũ nei 'My snail speaks now' is the object of the string of verbs kũp mhĩ without a complementizer:
(7.6) ŏng kăp mhŭ abao kăo blŭ nei
2 wait listen snail 1 speak now
'You wait to hear my snail speaking now.' (ND008/040)

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

VERBS AND THE VERBAL SYSTEM

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

8.1. Characteristics of the verb class

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

Bih verbs include words expressing concepts which may translate as adjectives in other languages such as English. Consider the following examples (8.1), (8.2) and (8.3) in which the main predicates are expressed through $\text{djâ 'to handle', siem 'beautiful', and jâk 'good'}$, which are equivalent to two distinct word classes, verb and adjective, in English.
(8.1) Pañā matlāo urei, buh ŋu lō djă asei
Until PRE-three day, NEG1 3 again handle cooked-rice
kra năn ōh, Djōng năn ōh.
monkey DIST NEG2 Djōng DIST NEG2
‘Until the third day, he still wouldn’t take cooked-rice from that monkey and Djōng.’ (ND003/223)

(8.2) Kih pūk buh siem, pasiem;
sweep mountain-house NEG1 beautiful CAUS-beautiful
kih sang buh jăk pajăk yoḥ.
Sweep house NEG1 good CAUS-good PTCL
‘She sweeps until the house is very clean.’ (Lit. when sweeping the house, if it is not beautiful, (she) makes it beautiful; if it is not good, (she) makes it look good.) (PA013/103)

(8.3) Speaker A: ōng dlăng gō kāo nei: siem leh ḥē?
2 look pot 1 PROX beautiful PFV QP
'Look! Is my pot already beautiful?'

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

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

**8.2. Derived verb stems**

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

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

(8.4) Amĭ kâo dje leh.
mother 1 die PFV

'My mother died.' (Elicitation DBK20081012)

(8.5) Kâo pa-dje leh ſu.
1 CAUS-die PFV 3

'I killed him.' (ND008/199)

(8.6) Kâo manei nei.
1 bathe PROX

‘I bathe now.’ (ND009/226)

(8.7) Kâo pa-manei ſu nei.
1 CAUS-bathe 3 PROX

‘I bathe her now.’ (Elicitation HM20120824)
It is common to see a causative morpheme add another participant to an otherwise intransitive construction to make it become a transitive event as \textit{pa-} does in (8.5) and in(8.7). (8.4) is an intransitive construction with a stative intransitive verb \textit{dje} 'die' while (8.5) is an transitive event with a causative prefix on the stative verb \textit{dje} 'die', changing that verb to an event verb \textit{padje} 'kill'. In (8.6), \textit{mane} requires one participant that functions as both agent and patient of an event; while in (8.7), with the causative \textit{pa-}, \textit{pamane} now has \textit{k\textasciitilde{o}} as an agent and \textit{\texttilde{n}u} as a patient. In examples (8.5) and (8.7), \textit{pa-} is an active causative prefix. However, with a transitive event as shown in (8.8), \textit{pa-} does not function as a causative to bring another participant to the event in (8.9). The fact that both (8.8) and (8.9) convey the same thing means both (8.8) and (8.9) are transitive clauses whether there is \textit{pa-} marking on the verb or not. Therefore, \textit{pa-} does not have a causative sense in this transitive clause.

\begin{align*}
\text{(8.8)} & \quad \text{čiăng tlaih palei khar} \\
& \quad \text{want release wife unsuccessful} \\
& \quad 'He does not want to release the wife.' (Elicitition.HM20100215)
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(8.9)} & \quad \text{čiăng pa-tlaih palei khar} \\
& \quad \text{want CAUS-release wife unsuccessful} \\
& \quad 'He does not want to release the wife.' (ND008/612)
\end{align*}

It is often (but not always) the case when \textit{pa-} occurs with transitive verbs that express the event relating to inanimate objects as shown in (8.10) or relating to inactive animate objects as in (8.11):
(8.10)  Nuevo pa-atük ēar.
3 CAUS-boil water
'She boiled water.' (Elicitation HM20120710)

(8.11) Kbal ma-pa-bē kan, pa-bē kan,
1 PRE-CAUS-break fish CAUS-break fish

Kbal ma-pa-dům lām gō anān.
1 PRE-CAUS-put in pot DIST
'She broke the cooked fish by hand and put into that pot.' (RH002/21)

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

(8.10), ēar 'water' is an inanimate object, so pa- is attached to the verb atük 'boil'. In (8.11), kan 'fish' is an animate object. However, in this context, the fish is already cooked, so, it has become an inactive animate. Thus, pa- is used with the verb as well. Again, in these cases, pa- does not function as a causative prefix at all. We often do not see pa- occurring with animate objects as shown in (8.12):

(8.12) Nuevo ma-dům lām gō bǔng.
3 PRE-put in pot PN(copper.material made)
'He put (his eel) in the copper pot.' (PA012/078)

Example (8.12) comes from a portion of text which describes how Jatarīt took care of his eel (who later became his wife) after he found her: first he put her in his grandma's valuable pot, then later fed an eel with a special food. As an eel is an animate object, we do
not see *pa*-been used in (8.12).

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

(8.13)  Kih pük buh siem, pasiem;
Sweep mountain-house NEG1 beautiful CAUS-beautiful

kih sang buh jąk pajàk yơh.
Sweep house NEG1 good CAUS-good PTCL
‘She sweeps until the house is very clean.’ (PA013/103)

(8.14)  Tukuay ŋu ŏng lŏ paphet padlông bêt.
pot.top 3 2 again CAUS-be.equal CAUS-high a bit
‘You again make the pot top be equal and higher a bit.’ (BB004b)

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

(8.15)Djāp-djik-lik-anao yöh ŋu ma-pa-dṳ̀m ma-pa-dṳ̀m lām nān
everything PTCL 3 PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST
‘Everything that could be harmful to the monkey he put in the drum.’
(ND007/413)

(8.16)  (Tikuīh dle)... Ňu dṳ̀m ti anuăr dlông anuăr nān.
(mouse forest) 3 put LOC rotten.wood on rotten.wood DIST
‘He put the mouse from the hunting on the rotten wood.’ (PA011/147)
The text from which example (8.15) comes describes what kinds of creatures (bugs and insects) Đông-krje collected to put in his drum to give to the monkey. In example (8.15), all of creatures are animate, but we see pa-there in the example. On the other hand, in example (8.16), the mouse from Jatarĭt's hunting is dead. If pa- is required with an inactive animate object, it is expected to see pa- in example (8.16). Since pa- does not bring a causative meaning, it does not occur in (8.16). In other words, since pa- does not function as an active causative prefix, it is fossilized.

8.3 . Verb classification

8.3.1 . Verbal sub-classes

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

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

The fact that examples (8.18) and (8.19) are ungrammatical indicates that thâo 'know' as a state verb can't take any progressive markers:
Both event and stative verbs can take perfective marker \textit{leh}, but a second distinction between the two is that semantically, an event verb like \textit{jhĭt} ‘to stitch’ in (8.20) when taking \textit{leh} as its perfective marker, means 'finish stitching'; while a stative verb, like \textit{tasă} 'ripened/cooked' in (8.21) together with \textit{leh}, means being ripened/cooked. In other words, the perfective marker \textit{leh} with an event verb means 'finish an action', while with a stative verb it means 'be in a status':

(8.20) Anôk tumha ŋu riah makunei dih, arăng jhĭt leh.
\hspace{1cm} place parent-in-law 3 cut pass FAR.DIST 3 stitch PFV
\hspace{1cm} 'His father in law stitched together the place where he cut before.'(PA011/121)

(8.21) Gô tasă leh.
\hspace{1cm} 3 ripen/cooked PFV
\hspace{1cm} 'It is already cooked.' (PA011/024)

Within the class of event verbs, a first sub-division is between transitive and intransitive verbs which is based on the number of arguments participating in a verb frame for which the verb subcategorizes. Transitive verbs are those which have two core participants (A and O) while intransitive verbs have one core participant (S). These
categories are determined based on syntactic criteria only, since Bih has no morphological markers to distinguish argument roles. The syntactic evidence for participant roles is their position in a clause. Examples (8.22) and (8.23) below show different semantic roles of the same argument *puya* 'crocodile' according to its syntactic distribution in a clause:

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

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

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

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

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

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

(8.24) Gô ma-breî ma-eng ao kĩn ñu.
3 PRE-give PRE-skirt shirt DAT 3

‘She gave her skirt and shirt to her (the monkey).’ (ND003/185)
As shown in (8.24) and (8.25), ŋu '3' and kao '1' are the recipients in the two actions expressed by brei 'give' and pablè 'talk', respectively. In (8.24), the recipient follows the patient argument while in (8.25) it precedes the patient and directly follows the verb; in both cases the recipient is marked by kĭn 'LOC'.

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

(8.26) Oh si-ba ŋon thâo dǐ dǐ jŏng trlāo akŏk trdei. EXC how 2 know go.up go.up leg before head after 'Hey, how do you know to climp up to the tree with feet first and head later?' (PA015/064)

(8.27) Jŏng tangan siem mŏh palei pine dih.
8.3.2. Copulas

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

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

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

(8.30) Mlăm mâo mơ̄h mnuih ha ŏng,
night COP MIR person LOC 2
urei mâo mơ̄h mnuih ka ŏng amara mâo kô ŏng.
day COP MIR person DAT 2 FUT COP DAT 2 'There will be people with you day and night.' (ND011/103)

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

(8.31) Drei ma-dôk lâm sang.
1INCL PRE-be.at PREP house
'We are home.' (ND008/239)

### 8.4. Verbal system

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

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

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

8.4.1 From verb to versatile verb

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

8.4.1.1. *Nao* 'go'> juxtaposed verb

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

(8.32) Nei kâo lô nao lâm bhît dih.

now 1 again go PREP forest FAR.DIST

'Now I again go to the forest.' (PA011/289)

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

(8.33) Kâo ma-nao čhî abao nei.

1 PRE-go sell snail PROX

'I go to sell this snail.' (ND008/032)

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

(8.34) Kâo ma-nao čhî abao nei leh.

1 PRE-go sell snail PROX PFV

'I sold this snail already.'

(8.35) Buh kâo ma-nao čhî abao nei ôh.

NEG1 1 PRE-go sell snail PROX NEG2

'I do not go to sell this snail.'

Semantically, there are cases where *nao* in a sequence of verbs is not the same as
*nao* when it is a main verb. It still means 'go' but it is at a more abstract level. Example
(8.36) comes from a text in which Jatarĭt has a tangerine tree with a lot of fruits. When he is not at home, many animals come to ask for a tangerine. His grandmother has to give each of them one. Then when he comes home and sees many fruits gone, he wants to go find those animals and ask them for compensation. Example (8.36) is when he tells his grandmother what he intends to do:

(8.36) Kăo nao tiă boh kăo yoh.
   I go chase fruit I PTCL
   'I will find those animals and ask for compensation.' (Lit. 'I will follow my fruits') (ND008/163)

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

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

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

8.4.1.2. Dŏk 'sit'>juxtaposed verb

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

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

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

(8.39) Ñu dôk hďơr mơh.
       3 sit recall MIR
'She sits recalling'

(8.40) Ñu dôk hďơr mơh. Ñu bŏng kan maknuê năn
       3 sit recall MIR 3 eat fish past DIST
'She is recalling that she ate that fish' (PA011/079)
8.4.2. From verb to verb particle

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

8.4.2.1. Brei 'give'>causative> benefactive particle

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

(8.41) Nei arăng brei kan akčn dơ apăl ko ńu.
    now people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
    'People give a catfish as big as the upper arm to him.'
    (PA011/019)

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

(8.42) Nei buh arăng brei kan akčn dơ apăl ko ńu.
    now NEG people give fish catfish as upper.arm DAT 3
    'People do not give a catfish as big as the upper arm to him.'

The benefactive particle brei often has its position before the recipient argument. Syntactically it can't be negated and can't stand as the only morpheme in a verb phrase. It
functions like a dative marker in languages with morphological case marking.

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

(8.43) Thô  gó  magîr  ngã  ana  năn
PN  3  PRE-try  make  crossbow  DIST

ngã  leh  ngã  ana  rî  brãm,
make  PFV  make  crossbow  whittle  arrow

dua  tlâo  urât,  brei  ko  ŋu.
two  three  CLF,  BEN  DAT  3

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

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

(8.44) *Thô  gó*  magîr  ngã  ana  năn
PN  3  PRE-try  make  crossbow  DIST
Thô tried to make a crossbow and some arrows but did not give them to him.'

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

(8.45) Răng dê brei dôk mnuih tamûn,  
people EMPH CAUS stay person people  
ông dê mabrei dôk tlân madôk ular  
2 EMPH PRE-CAUS stay python PRE-stay snake  
'Other people let their children get married to human beings while you let your child get married to a python.' (ND009/066)
Notice that in example (8.45), the two verbs in a sequence mabrei and dôk have two different subjects: ŏng is the agent of the verb mabrei, but not of the verb dôk. In other words, there is no CAUSEE explicit here. If there is an explicit CAUSEE that is the subject of the verb dôk, the CAUSEE will precede the verb dôk as shown in (8.46):

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

8.4.2.2. Dôk 'sit/stay'>progressive

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

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

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

(8.48) Buh kâo dôk ha sang.
     NEG 1 stay LOC home
       'I am not at home.'

Unlike brei, which has a different syntactic position as a verb and as a particle, dôk has the same position for all of its functions. As a particle, dôk is also clause medial.
Semantically it brings a progressive aspect to the event carried by the main verb. In example (8.49), dôk brings the progressive aspect to the action dîh 'laying down' of the main character in the story. Semantically, it can't be a verb because 'sit' and 'lay down' cannot both describe the same single event. Syntactically, it can't be the only morpheme in the verb phrase without changing the meaning of the event (as in example (8.49)). In other words, it can't be the head of the verb phrase without dîh 'lying down' as a main verb in example (8.49):

(8.49) Năn ñu ma-dôk dîh ti anuăr,
  then 3 PRE-PROG lie LOC rotten.wood

  dôk dîh ta anuăr năn ñu čiāng pĭt .
  PROG lie LOC rotten.wood then 3 want sleep

  buh ar ñu lō kalei ubei,
  NEG diligent 3 again dig yam

  năn dôk pĭt ti năn yŏh.
  then PROG sleep LOC DIST PTCL

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

One may argue that the third dôk in example (8.49) is a serial verb instead of a particle meaning 'continuing' and so the meaning could be ‘he sits sleeping’. It is true that in example (8.49) dôk pĭt could be ambiguous: without context it can be either 'is sleeping' or 'sits sleeping', because there is no syntactic test to distinguish dôk as a particle and a
serial verb except the context where it occurs. In example (8.49), it isn't a serial verb meaning 'sit' in *dôk pĭt* because the context tells readers that he was lying down just right before the action of *pĭt* 'sleep', so it is a progressive particle. Obviously, verb serialization is the path through which a full lexical verb is grammaticalized to become a particle (more discussion about this in Chapter XIII with verb serialization). However, it is unclear at what point on the path of grammaticalization a serial verb turns into a grammaticalized particle. This is the case for *dôk*, as there is no syntactic test to distinguish the two uses unless they are in context. In another example (example (8.50) below) where *dôk* co-occurs with another verb, it is again the context which determines whether it is a versatile verb or a particle:

(8.50) Drei  taiduah  bûôn kîn  ông
2INCL look.for village DAT 2

dôk  ngă  pûk  sang  kô  ông.
stay make/do mountain.house house DAT 2

'We look for a village and will be making houses (there) for you.' (PA011/262)

(8.50) is from a story where a crow wants to give some compensation to Thô from whom he stole food. (8.50) is one of his suggestions to Thô: that they (a crow and Thô) can go to look for a place where he can build the new village for Thô with houses. *Dôk* in this example can't be a full lexical verb which means 'sit/stay' because *dôk* and *ngă* can't go
together, so *dôk in dôk ngă* is a progressive aspectual marker. They are verbs in a series, but not verbs in a chained clause (For the difference between verb serialization and clause-chaining, please refer to Chapter XIII.)

**8.4.2.3. Dô as another progressive particle**

*Dô* in Bih has only one function: a progressive particle. It is included in this section because of its formal and functional similarities to *dôk*.

Unlike *dôk*, *dô* is a clause initial particle. It brings a progressive aspect to an event with motion verbs such as 'run' or 'fall', and shows a relation between the current action and what happened before:

(8.51)  

\[
\text{Dô adei Krang mahiar}  
\text{PROG younger.sibling PN PRE-cry}  
\text{ta imai ŋu ta sang năn.}  
\text{LOC sister 3 LOC house DIST}  
\text{‘Krang is crying and running to his sister at home.’ (ND003/288)}  
\]

Example (8.51) is from a context where Krang was doing something else before the actions of crying and running happening in (8.51). Actually he knocked on the pig’s food bowl which his sister had told him he was not supported to do. As a result, all of the pigs he saw before became crocodiles, which sends Krang home crying and running to his sister. So, the actions happening at that time have their cause from a previous action. Therefore, *dô* is used.

On the other hand, *dôk* only co-occur with posture verbs and stative verbs such as 'sit' and 'sleep', and shows the current status of a verb without a larger frame of whether or
not what happened before is related to the one expressed by the verb (detailed in section 8.4.2.2).

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

8.4.2.4. Leh 'finish'>perfective

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

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

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

leh čũ dih nao čũ dih,
finish mountain FAR.DIST go mountain FAR-DIST
endless
'She passed one mountain after another: an endless going.' (PA014/115)

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

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

(8.53) Amĭ pată leh wă!
Mother tell PFV PTCL
‘The mother said already.’ (ND005b)

(8.54) Ŋu leh leh nah ŋu.
3 finish PFV part 3
'She finished her part.' (RH017)

Example (8.54) presents two different positions demonstrating two distinct functions of the morpheme *leh*. It is from the context where the whole family of H-Riu Hmŏk is making their traditional grass mats. In the process of doing them, there are at least two people who sit on ether side of the mat frame and put the material through the frame one after another. The main verb *leh* in this case co-occurs with the particle *leh*. It is interesting that when one tries to take out the second *leh* in (8.54) in elicitation, the main consultant said it would be fine but in everyday language Bih people do not speak like that.
She also explained that when using *leh* as a verb 'to finish', it means either that action is *completely* finished, which means it has to have the particle *leh* as a perfective or it indicates that the subject has finished doing something which means it needs *leh* as a serial verb.

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

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

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

(8.57) *Ñu  leh  nah  ñu.
      3      PFV  part  3

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

*Leh* also functions as a versatile verb in Bih. As a versatile verb, it co-occurs with other verbs and brings the meaning 'completed' to an action conveyed by the other verbs.
Usually, the verbal phrase having *leh* as a versatile verb is a part of a clause chain (for the
difference between a clause chain and verb serialization, refer to Chapter XIII.) In this
function, *leh* has a clause initial position which is different from those of the other
functions:

(8.58) Leh kǎo mhaò nǎn, nǎn yōh,
finish 1 drink DIST, then PTCL

kǎo mǎo tien pruič nǎn.
I have stomach intestine DIST
‘After I drank that (water), I become pregnant.’ (ND005)

In example (8.58), *leh* is clausal initial and it brings a completed sense to the verb

*mhaò* 'to drink'. Often the subject of the subordinate clause *leh* is co-referent to the subject
of the main predicate as shown in (8.59):

(8.59) Leh mǎo arbūng drei wǐt yōh.
Finish COP bamboo.shoot INCL return PTCL

'After having bamboo shoot, we will return right back.' (ND010/007)

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

EXPRESSIVES

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

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

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

Another example is *alʉ ih~a l â m*. This is an expressive describing things which are very cheap. This meaning comes from the meaning of the base *alʉ ih* which means 'cheap'. On the other hand, *kad ô~kad un g* and *a kei~urei* are examples in which the bases are nouns.
**Kadô** is a flat container used in harvesting seasons or in keeping goods and **akei** refers to a young man. However, **kadô-kadung** is an expressive used to talk about a kind of flat containers in general and **akei-urei** is used to describe a situation when people talk about young men as opposed to young women or other groups of people. In other words, these two expressives are used in a more abstract situation than each of their base is. This is also a case of four syllable expressions. The noun **lu** in Bih meaning 'lots'. Its two syllable expressive is **lu-lin**, which is used to describe things that are a lot. The degree will increase much more if people use **lu-liit-lu-lin**.

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

However, there are expressives where the base can't be determined or the base has no lexical meaning, but people do have common agreements in using them. For example, **karung-karem** and **purā-purō** are expressives which Bih speakers can't tell which one is the base in each expressive. However, **karung-karem** is used to describe a mixed category of things that are from different categories. To make it clear, for example, a seller who comes on the way to the Bih mountain village to sell things that Bih speakers
may need, such as household stuffs, gardening tools, hunting tools, etc, he sells

karung~karem (ńu čhĭ karung~karem.) There is no base in this expressive. The same to

pură~purō, it is used to describe some objects which are big and to Bih speakers, this

expressive has no base. On the other hand, mut mut ‘doing something very slowly’ is an

expressive which comes from the base that has no lexical meaning. It is used to describe
doing something not seriously. Other examples are also the case in which miu~miu is an

expressive to describe a quite or sad status, but miu has no lexical meaning by itself or the

meaning of rungu in the expressive rungu~rungu can't be identified.

9.2 Notes on the semantics of Bih expressives

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

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

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

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

(9.1) a. rep čhep asei prlei kâo.
   REDUP body body 1
   ‘my body is itchy.’

   b. paliă palia ūu.
   REDUP 3
   ‘He [walks] on and on. (ND003)

9.3. The phonological patterns of reduplication in Bih

9.3.1. Complete reduplication

Complete reduplication in Bih involves expressives in which a reduplicant is reduplicated from a base which are mainly mono syllable or disyllable. For instance, from
brui ‘slow’, its complete reduplication is brui-brui used to describe things in a slow movement, or from brue ‘straight’, brue-brue is used to describe things in a very straight line, or rungu-rungu is a disyllable expressive used to a situation where a lot of people gather together to eat and drink for fun.

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

(9.2) djeh djeh ‘doing something not seriously’
    djeh djut ‘describing bad manners’

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

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

9.3.2 . Partial reduplication

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

9.3.2.1 . Nucleus changes

Expressives belonging to this group are those in which initial consonant/consonant clusters and final consonant of the root and the reduplicant are the same while the main
vowel changes. Below are examples for this type of partial reduplication:

(9.3)  
\[ arblē \text{ arblō } \] ‘describing lands with too much water’
\[ brwāp \text{ brwōp } \] ‘describing place with a lot of moving people’
\[ nik \text{ nak } \] ‘describing things having its original history’
\[ pūk \text{ pāk } \] ‘describing too much talk’
\[ rlung \text{ rlṳng } \] ‘describing things moving side by side in water’
\[ trpĭm \text{ trpŭm } \] ‘describing things shorter than its expected size’
\[ tādīt \text{ tādāt } \] ‘describing hesitating in speaking’

As shown in (9.3), the initial consonant or consonant clusters and the final consonant in the base are repeated respectively in the reduplicant. The only portion of the root changed is the syllable nuleus. There are no rules defining possible phonological changes. The root’s and the reduplicant’s vowels could both be as in \( arblē \text{ arblō } \), or both back vowels as in \( rlung \text{ rlṳng } \), but they can also be from different groups of vowels as in \( brwāp \text{ brwōp } \) and \( nik \text{ nak } \). In other words, the phonological relation of the vowels of the root and the reduplicant is unpredictable.

9.3.2.1. Onset changes

This group of expressives is created by reduplicating the root rhyme and changing the onset consonant/consonant cluster in the reduplicant. There is no onset-changed restriction between the root and the reduplicant: it could be from a single consonant in the base to a consonant cluster in the reduplicant or vice versa. \( bōk \text{ krdōk } \) and \( tū \text{ tᵝlūt } \) in (9.4) give examples in which the initial consonant of the base, which is a single consonant, changed into an initial consonant cluster of the reduplicant. On the other hand, \( tloh \text{ inoh } \) and \( bhīt-łīt \) shows the opposite way where the onset consonant of the base is a cluster while
that of the reduplication is a single consonant. *kriēp mliēp* in (9.4) demonstrates another case in which the base and the reduplicant both have an onset consonant cluster, *ml-*, which is not very common for this type of reduplication and also the cluster ‘*ml-*’ itself is irregular in Bih:

(9.4)  
- *hōk krdōk* ‘describing a very happy feeling’
- *tūt trīūt* ‘describing trees/plants without leaves because they fell off all’
- *tloh inoh* ‘describing things in a large number’
- *bhīt-līt* ‘describing things very tiny’
- *kriēp mliēp* ‘very quiet’
- *biā riā* ‘describing things coming very shortly’
- *nutīh kūih* ‘describing things easy to do’

**9.3.2.3. Coda changes**

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

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

As indicated in Chapter III, Bih has twelve consonants which can occur as codas, but not all of these twelve consonants can occur in a coda-changed reduplication group. The commonest pattern is alternation between a voiceless glottal fricative /-h/ and alveolar/palatal nasal /-n/ or /ⁿ/. Also, there are not many expressives belonging to this group. More common is the pattern where both elements of the rhyme – both the final
consonant and the vowel – are changed, are very common.

9.3.2.4 Rhyme changes

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

(9.6)  
arlăn arlet ‘always’
arleh rluăt ‘describing things not smooth (as clay, mortar, dough)’
brañ brô ‘describing a very bright light as sun’
găt gin ‘describing things in a very big size’
gō gōi ‘things everywhere’
grū grūm ‘describing things very dirty’
lič lek ‘doing something again and again’
moh măl ‘lucky’
mprăč mpruă ‘describing things with splay ends’
rhō rhēć ‘describing things in a very long length’
rō ruôm ‘embarrassing’
CHAPTER X

BASIC CLAUSAL SYNTAX

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

10.1. Copulas

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

10.1.1. Equational jingga

Jingga is an equational copula connecting two pronominals. (10.1) provides an example in which jingga functions as a copula to join two NPs: ſu and mnuih Bih:

(10.1) ſu jingga mnuih Bih.

3 COP person PN

'He is Bih.' (Elicitation. HM20091022)
As a verb, *jing* also can take negation *buh….ôh* (which I will describe in a later chapter) just as a regular Bih verb does:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beside as a copula, *jing* also functions as a lexical verb meaning 'become' even
though syntactically, the lexical verb 'become' jing connects two NPs as well. In (10.6),

jing connects ūn and be.

(10.6) Kāo pablē matāo be mnuih ūn
1 tell/talk ghost goat person 3

biā-dah ūn jing be, ūn matāo be nān.
but 3 become goat, 3 ghost goat DIST

'I tell a story about a ghost goat. She is actually a human but becomes a ghost goat.' (ND006/001)

(10.7) presents a similar construction, where jing joins the two NPs: arăng and māo

kalei tū-du-cn rōng anak ćō as a headless relative clause in which the subject arăng changes into the concept expressed by the predicate noun māo kalei tū-du-cn rōng anak ćō:

(10.7) Arăng lō jing māo kalei tū-du-cn rōng anak ćō
3 again become have NMZ rich raise child grandchild

'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

10.1.2. Existential māo

Māo has two functions: an existential copula and a possessive verb 'to have'.

Structurally these two functions occur in the two constructions: a verbal copula construction and a transitive verb construction. An existential copula construction syntactically starts with the copula māo; then, there is often one indefinite noun followed
by a location with a locative marker, as shown in example (10.8):

(10.8) Mâo djäm ta di ih, mão ta kâo.
   COP soup LOC PL 2 COP LOC 1
   '(If) there are soups at your house, there are some at mine.' (ND007/085)

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

(10.9) Mlăm mão moh mnuih ha ŏng,
   night COP MIR person LOC 2

   urei mão moh mnuih ka ŏng amara mão kô ŏng.
   day COP MIR person DAT 2 FUT COP DAT 2
   'There will be people with you days and nights.' (ND011/103)

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

(10.10) Buh lô mão trlei angoh a-ât ôh.
   NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2
   'There won't be a fever (for me) any more.' (ND007/260)

(10.11) Buh mão anôk ŋu nao ôh.
   NEG1 COP place 3 go NEG2
   'He doesn't go anywhere.' (Lit. there is no place he goes'.) (PA011/004)
On the other hand, a possessive mão construction includes both a possessor and a
possessee in which a possessor precedes the verb mão while the possessee follows it
without any locative or dative markers. The possessive mão is just like any transitive verb
in a language which takes two nominal arguments in one construction.

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

(10.12) Leh di ŋu mão djăm biep,
    finish PL 3 have vegetable PN

di ŋu wît yòh ta buân.
PL 3 return PTCL LOC village
'After they had one type of vegetable, they returned home.' (ND011/011)

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

(10.13) Arăng lâm nei buh mão ôh krbao
    3PL PREP PROX NEG1 have NEG2 buffalo

dă krbao kăo, amī aduân kăo
CONJ buffalo I mother grandmother I
'People nowadays don’t have buffalos like my ancestors' buffalos.
(ND007/297)
10.1.3. Locative dôk

The verb *dôk* as a lexical verb means 'sit' as shown in (10.15), or 'stay, reside' as in (10.16):

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

(10.16) Kâo dôk ta ƀuôn amĭ kjar kâo ta Kiên-Giang dih.
1 reside LOC village mother husband1 LOC PN FAR-DIST
'I live at my husband mother's village in Kiên-Giang.'
(Elicitation.HM20120826)

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

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

(10.18) Di ih dôk lăm adjê dih,
PL 2 be.at PREP storage.house FAR.DIST
You all (both of you and your child) are in the storage house over there.

(10.19) ŏng dôk ti nei yo'h hô!
2 be.at LOC PROX PTCL IMP
'You please be here.' (ND011/055)

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

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

10.2.1 . Word order and grammatical relations

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

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

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

(10.20) Kăo angoh, lŏ blĕ angoh.
    1 hot again rise hot
    'I am sick again.' (ND007/097)

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

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

(10.21) Năn mawĭt yŏh duăn Sun năn.
      then PRE-return PTCL grandmother PN DIST
      'Then, grandmother Sun returns home.' (ND008/016)

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

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

(10.22) ŏng dlăng aduăn kăo ti sang.
      2 look grandmother 1 LOC house
      'You look at my grandmother at home.' (ND008/176)
(10.23)  \text{Gô mabông katår tle.}  \\
\text{3 PRE-eat corn pound}  \\
'He ate mashed corn.' (PA012/020)

In (10.22), the fact that őng precedes the main verb dlăng determines its syntactic relation to the verb: it is a subject of the verb; while aduân kao follows the main verb, and so is the object. On the other hand, in (10.23) goř precedes the transitive verb mabông and katår tle follows the verb, so goř is the subject and katår tle is the object of the sentence.

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

(10.24)  \text{Kăo brei agår leh kọ őng.}  \\
\text{1 give drum PFV DAT 2}  \\
'I gave the drum to you already.' (ND007/402)

(10.25)  \text{Nei arăng brei kan akčăŋ ḏọ apāl kọ ńu.}  \\
\text{Now 3PL give fish cat.fish as arm DAT 3}  \\
'Now people give him a cat fish as big as an arm to him.' (PA011/019)

\text{Kăo} in (10.24) precedes the main verb \text{brei}, so it is the subject of the sentence while in (10.25) the main verb \text{brei} is preceded by \text{arăng}, thus, \text{arăng} is the subject of (10.25).

Both in (10.24) and (10.25), there are two object arguments following the main verb: agår and őng in (10.24), and \text{kan akčăŋ ḏọ apāl} and ńu in (10.25) respectively. Both őng and ńu,
beside following the main verb, each also has *kơ* as a dative marker relation. Thus, an indirect object is the one following a verb and marked by the dative marker *kơ* as shown in (10.24) and (10.25). However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, any constituent which is in focus could be moved to a first position. Therefore, if an argument with a syntactic marker *kơ* is placed in focus position, *kơ* will be moved along with the NP (more discussion in Chapter XV).

10.2.2. Grammatical relations and semantic roles

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

The following data presents certain semantic roles of core arguments and obliques in Bih:
In (10.26), the A argument kao T is the agent of the verbs padje 'kill' and ñu is the patient O. In (10.27) the A argument ŏng 'you' is the agent of the verb atät 'lead' and kao is the patient:

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

(10.27) ŏng atät kao duân ah.
    2 lead 1 grandmother VOC
'You lead me (there), Grandma.'(ND007/278)

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

(10.28) Kâo mhư mọh asâo mađuh~mađah.
    1 hear/listen MIR dog barking.sounds
'I heard some barks.'(ND007/156).

(10.29) Kâo angoh, lŏ bĕ angoh.
    1 hot, again rise hot
'I am sick again.'(ND007/097)

In (10.30), the A argument kao is the agent of the verb mă while thồng nei is the O argument functioning as an instrument. In

(10.31) and (10.32), adjê and dei are locative obliques while in (10.33) ŏng is a
benefactive oblique:

(10.30) Kâo mă thŏng nei makhăt kan ŋu.
1 hold/pick.up knife PROX PRE-cut fish 3
'I use this knife to cut his fish.' (Elicitation.HM20091020)

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

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

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

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

As mentioned above, because there is no syntactic marking on verbs or their arguments to show grammatical relations (except indirect objects), transitivity in Bih can be recognized by word order. However, it is the semantic properties of a verb which define the event’s transitivity. The mapping between semantics and syntax, e.g., the mapping between agent and clausal subject, and patient and direct object, is especially important to determine grammatical relations for those clauses which have two NPs preceding a verb as
in (10.34) (in which one NP is fronted for discourse purposes).

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

(10.34)  Katăr năn kâo tle hŏng putei.
corn DISTAL 1 pound with banana

'As for that corn, I pound with bananas.' (PA012/051)

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

The fact that the semantic component is one of the criteria (beside word order) for determining syntactic transitivity of a simple clause in Bih is true for those clauses in which one participant can have two different semantic roles such as both actor and undergoer or where roles of actor and undergoer each map to multiple participants, which will be
presented in the following section (§10.3).

10.3. Non-canonical transitivity

10.3.1. Reflexives

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

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

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

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

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

In (10.38) and (10.39) we have reflexives of experience verbs:
There is always a pronoun preceding a reflexive ačô. Syntactically, if the subject of a sentence is singular, a singular pronoun ŋu is used as in (10.39) and (10.40), but if it is a plural, a plural form is used as in (10.41) and (10.42):

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

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

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

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

Example (10.43) demonstrates that Bih treats Grăp čô mnuih ‘everyone’ as a group of people, and semantically it is plural; thus the reflexive in this case has to be plural di ŋu ačô, otherwise it is ungrammatical as in (10.44):
(10.43) Grăp čô mnuih maneı kîn di ſu ačô.
Every CLF people wash DAT PL 3 REFL
‘Everyone washed himself.’

(10.44) *Grăp čô mnuih maneı ſu ačô.

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

(10.45) Tam blũ kîn ſu ačô.
PN speak DAT 3 REFL
'Tam spoke to herself.'

mother PN talk DAT PN with PN REFL
'Nghiêp’s mother described Kô to himself.'

(10.47) Mĭ Nghiêp pablĕ kîn ſu ačô hăng Y-Tam.
Mother PN talk DAT 3 REFL with PN
‘Nghiêp’s mother described herself to Tam.’
(10.48)  Mǐ Mlih pamūt arđeh ŋu ačô lām sang.  
mother PN CAUS-push motorbike 3 REFL LOC house  
'Mlih's mother pushed her motorbike to the house.'

(10.49)  Mǐ Nghiep blei druôm-urā kîn ŋu ačô.  
mother PN buy notebook DAT 3 REFL  
'Nghiêp's mother bought a notebook for herself.'

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

(10.50) Tam pamĭn dah Y-Kô buh ŋu ačô lām mta kinh.  
PN think that PN see 3 REFL LOC eye mirror  
‘Tam thought that Y-Kô saw himself.’

(10.51) Tam lač kō mǐ Nghiep pablē kîn Y-Lam.  
PN say DAT mother PN talk DAT PN  
'Tam told Nghiep's mother to describe Y-Lam'

(10.52) Y-Kô lač kō mǐ Nghiep pablē kîn ŋu ačô.  
PN say DAT mother PN talk DAT 3 REFL  
'Y-Kô told Nghiep's mother to describe herself.'

(10.53) Mǐ Nghiep buh leh Tam kaďap kîn ŋu ačô.  
Mother PN see PFV PN defend DAT 3 REFL  
‘Nghiêp’s mother saw Tam defending herself.’

Examples (10.54)-(10.56) demonstrate that the subject of the main clause is the one coreferent with the pronoun ŋu: 
It is interesting to see that when the subjects of the main clause, Y-Lam in (10.55) and Mĭ Rai in (10.56) respectively, are the ones coreferent with the pronoun ñu, there is no reflexive ačô. Otherwise, if the reflexive form is present, as in (10.57) and (10.58), it will be cofererent with the subject of the embedded clause:

(10.57) Y-Lam mĭhř leh mĭ Nghiêp prni kín ñu ačô.  
PN hear PFV mother PN praise DAT 3 REFL  
‘Y-Lam heard Nghiêp’s mother, praising her.’

(10.58) Mĭ Rai pamĭn mĭ Nghiêp pajhuñ kín ñu ačô.  
Mother PN think mother PN CAUS-hate DAT 3 REFL  
‘Rai’s mother thinks that Nghiêp’s mother hates her.’
10.3.2. Strict reciprocity: Type 1 tài m construction

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

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

(10.59) Di ṅu tài thâo
    PL 3 REC know
    ‘They know each other.’

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

(10.61) Y-Phon leh-anăn palei ṅu tài khăp
    PN and wife 3 REC love
    ‘Y-Phon and his wife love each other.’
(10.62) Tam leh-anăn mĭ Nghiêp tăm unîng
PN and mother PN REC miss
‘Tam and Nghiep’s mother miss each other.’

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

In the examples (10.59)-(10.62), each of the participants is both actor and undergoer to each other and each of them is a core argument of the event. However, in (10.63), it is each person's motorbike that is a reciprocal referent, not the owner himself. In (10.64), the reciprocal non-arguments are Blît's father's and Tam's languages, or the house in (10.65) and cooked rice in (10.66):

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

(10.64) Ma Blît leh-anăn Tam tăm thâo săng
Father PN and PN REC know understand

tanao di ūn blŭ năn.
story PL 3 speak PROX
‘Blît’s father and Tam know each other’s language.’

(10.65) Ma Blît leh-anăn ma Huạ tăm jru ngă sang.
Father PN and father PN REC help build house
‘Blît’s and Huạ’s fathers help to build each other’s house.’
(10.66) Ñu tái čhŏk asei
3 REC scoop cooked.rice
‘They scoop cooked rice for each other.’

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

(10.67) Tái čhŏk asei
REC scoop cooked.rice
‘They scoop cooked rice for each other.’

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

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

Syntactically (10.63) is similar to (10.68) even though semantically the construction
expresses a collective event which should fall under the type 2 tăm construction.

10.3.3. Collaborative event: Type 2 tăm construction

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

(10.69)  Alek yơh di gô tăm pît tăm dih năn.
Quiet PTCL Pl 3 REC sleep REC lie then
‘Deeply, they lie together and sleep together.’(ND007-216)

(10.70)  Ñu tăm pah gô. (PA013-62)
3 IMPFV REC scold 3
‘They are scolding her.’

(10.71)  Di ñu dua tăm pavang prčăm gô
PL 3 two REC together fight 3
‘Both of them together fight her.’

Examples (10.69)- (10.72) provide evidence that each of the subject arguments acts the same as the others. In (10.69), which comes from a monkey story, each monkey lies and sleeps in the same way: very quietly and deeply. Each of them is a theme/experiencer of the event. Example (10.71) shows a case similar to (10.66) in the way both of them have a singular subject argument together with a reciprocal marker tăm which forces a plural interpretation of the subject argument. Thus, syntactically, (10.66)
and (10.71) are not much different from examples of the Type 1 construction in section 10.3.2: tăm is in immediate preverbal position. However, semantically, there is a distinction between the type 1 tăm construction and type 2 tăm construction: all participants in type 2 map the same role to the predicate:

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

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

(10.73) Tăm  tană  asei
   REC  cook  cooked.rice
‘They cooked rice together.’
CHAPTER XI

MODIFICATIONS OF BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

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

11.1. Negative and Interrogative sentences

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

11.1.1. Negative constructions

11.1.1.1. Discontinuous negative constructions: buh...(ôh) and ka...(ôh)

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

*ka…ôh*. However, in (11.2), it is possible to interpret that the action *thâo mĩn 'think'* might happen later, even though it is not a certainty that it will happen.

(11.1) *Pañă matlâo urei, buh ūu lō djă asei*  
*Until PRE-three day, NEG1 3 again* handle cooked.rice  

kra năn ôh, Djŏng năn ôh.  
monkey DIST NEG2, PN DIST NEG2  
‘Until the third day, he didn’t take any cooked rice from the monkey and Djŏng.’ (ND003)

(11.2) *Arnei ka kâo lō thâo mĭn ôh.*  
*now NEG1 1 again know think NEG2*  

'Now I haven't thought (about it) yet.'(ND008/434)

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

(11.3) *Buh kâo thâo mĩ a.*  
*NEG 1 know mom VOC*  

‘Mom, I do not know.’ (ND005a)

(11.4) *Ka kâo ngã aje trlâo k [+di] ih palei kjar.*  
*NEG1 1 make house first DAT PL 2 wife husband*  

'I haven't made a house for both of you first yet.' (ND009/106)
11.1.1.2. Discontinuous negative construction *kîn...(rei)*

Bih also has another negative construction, also discontinuous *kîn...(rei)*

(example(11.5)) Again, the final particle *rei* is optional (ex. (11.7)). This construction not only has the same position but also functions the same as the bipartite negation *buḥ…ôh*.

The fact that there would be no difference if *kîn...rei* in example (11.5) is replaced by *buḥ…ôh* as shown in (11.6) indicates that these two constructions have the same function:

(11.5) Kîn ŋu paṟ rei.
   NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2
   'He won’t let him be hungry.’ (ND007/034)

(11.6) Buḥ ŋu paṟ ôh.
   NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2
   'He won’t let him be hungry.’

(11.7) Kîn ŋu brei.
   NEG 3 give
   'He did not give.' (PA011/071)

However to negate two or more events together, *kîn...rei* is used, but not *buḥ…ôh*.

Example (11.8) presents a case where *kîn...rei* negates more events. (11.8) comes from the portion of text in which Jatarît goes to exchange his snail for things he wants. People first offer him blankets, but he does not want them. Next, they offer clothes, but he does not want them either. Then, they offer to build a house for him. He does not want that either. In
this case, \textit{kĩn…rei} is used but not \textit{buh…ôh} or the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown in (11.9):

(11.8) Kĩn kão čieng rei.
\hspace{1cm} \text{NEG1 1 want NEG2}
'I do not want it either.' (ND008/070)

(11.9) *Buh kão čieng ôh.

11.1.1.3. Discourse negative construction

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

Syntactically, \textit{aũuoi}, \textit{sang} and \textit{nih nôk} in (11.10), and \textit{čhar} in (11.11), respectively, precede the marker \textit{kĩn} and are specifically negated; while in (11.12) \textit{kĩn} is clause-initial and the whole event expressed in (11.12) is negated. In other words, (11.10) and (11.11) present a construction in which \textit{kĩn} follows things that it negates. This order is different
from the discontinuous construction $kǐn…rei$ in (11.12) where $kǐn$ is in clause-initial

position:

(11.10) Añuí $kǐn$ răng lang, sang $kĩn$ răng kih,
mat NEG 3 spread house NEG 3 sweep

nih nôk $kĩn$ răng padông.
places NEG 3 CAUS-stand
‘He did not spread out his mat, did not clean his house and did not let anyone
stand at any places.’ (PA010)

(11.11) čhar $kĩn$ kâo čiăng.
big.gong NEG 1 want
'As for the big gong, I don't want it.' (PA011/182)

(11.12) Kĩn ū $pə-čìŋ$ rei.
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2
‘He won’t let him be hungry.’ (ND007/034)

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

(11.13) blū $kĩn$ blū.
Speak NEG speak
‘Speaking is not speaking.’ (ND005a)
(11.14) Pĭt malām kĭn jāk, dōk urei kĭn jāk lei.
Sleep night NEG good, stay day NEG good NEG
‘He doesn’t feel good both day and night.’ (Lit: 'He does not feel good during the day, he does not sleep well at night either.') (PA010)

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

(11.15) Kĭn kāo čiāng čhr.
NEG 1 want big.gong
'I don't want the big gong.'

(11.16) Kĭn rāng lang ańuōi, kĭn rāng kih sang,
NEG 3 spread mat NEG 3 sweep house
kĭn rāng pādōng nih nōk (lei/rei).
NEG 3 CAUS-stand places
‘He did not spread out his mat, did not clean his house and did not let anyone stand at any places.’

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

The only means Bih uses to express interrogatives is to add an interrogative marker to a declarative statement. Yes/no questions are marked with the interrogative particle *hĕ*. Wh-questions are formed with question words such as *ti anôk 'where', si ba 'why' etc. A yes/no question in Bih is shown in 11.1.2.1 and a wh-question is presented in 11.1.2.2.

11.1.2.1. Yes/no question

*Hĕ* is a yes/no question particle placed post-verbally in a sentence. (11.17)-(11.18) show examples of the question particle *hĕ*:

(11.17) 畎 Rĭt 畎 Rĭt ha sang *hĕ* ĕng yŏng?
VOC PN VOC PN LOC house QP 2 brother
'Hey, brother Rĭt, are you home?' (ND008/397)

(11.18) băng đơm *hĕ*?
hole old QP
'Is it an old hole? '(RH005/152)

(11.19) bông *hĕ* ŭu dua ung mŏ.
eat QP 3 two husband wife
'Are they eating?'(PA011/537)

11.1.2.2. Wh-question

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

(11.20) Ai ŏng palt’ kâo Dông-krje eh?
   why 2 lie 1 PN VOC
   'Why did you lie to me, Dông-krje?' (ND007/016)

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

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

(11.23) Nŏng adô?
   what thing
   'what's up?' (ND007/060)

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

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

(11.25) Sei mnuih ŏng mă?
   who person 2 pick.up
   'Who did you bring home?' (ND007/037)
Similarly *nông adò* in (11.26) is sentence-initial, even though it fills in a syntactic object of the sentence:

(11.26) *Nông dỗ ông mahuĩ?*
what thing 2 PRE-scare
'What are you scared of?' (PA011/396)

It is interesting to see that all question words are at the beginning of a sentence in Bih, as this is not true in other languages in the area such as Vietnamese. For example, in the case of example (11.24) where the question word *sei mnuih* 'who' syntactically is in a subject position, Vietnamese *ai* 'who' will be at the beginning of a sentence as shown in (11.27). However, in the case of (11.25) where the question word *sei mnuih* is in an object position, Vietnamese *ai* 'who' will be in the object position, not at the beginning of a sentence as shown in (11.28). (Both Bih and Vietnamese have the same word order AVO):

(11.27) *Ai làm nhà.*
who make house
'Who makes houses?'(Elicitation.TN20121208)

(11.28) *Anh dắt ai về?*
2 bring who return
'Who did you bring home?'(Elicitation.TN20121208)
It is not clear why all wh-words are sentence-initial. It might have to do with pragmatic order where anything in focus has to be moved into initial focus position.

11.2. Imperatives

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

11.2.1. Mild imperative *hô*

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

(11.29)ông dôk hông anak hô!

2 stay with child IMP
kào  nao  ayu  tih  ubei.
1  go  have.fun  dig  yam
'You stay at home with our child please and I will go to dig yams.' (PA011/131)

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

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

ŏng  manei  ŭng  trlâo  hĕ  kâo  trdei  hŏ!
2  take.a.shower  2  before  QP  1  after  IMP
'You take a shower first and then me later please!' (ND009/226)

11.2.2. Mild encouraging imperative \textit{goh}

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

(11.31) ŭ Bia  ŭ Bia  ŭng  mà  goh.
VOC  PN  VOC  PN  2  pick.up  IMP
'Hey Bia, please pick (me) up!' (ND010/020)

In (11.32), the speaker is Djŏng's wife. She suggests to her husband and a monkey
that they go into the forest to gather firewood for the family. This is not something they are required to do:

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

11.2.3. Strong imperative bĕ

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

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

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

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

(11.34) ŏng dôk guân bĕ.
2 sit wait IMP
'You please wait.' (ND009/319)

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

(11.35) Kâo brei ŏng dôk anak kâo bĕ.
1 CAUS 2 stay child 1 IMP
'[Let me go and] I will let you marry my daughter.' (ND009/027)

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

11.2.4. Negative imperative đăm

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

(11.36) Buûh jîăng ah đăm ông bông ôh kâo.
oh.no friend VOC IMP 2 eat NEG2 1
'Oh no! Friend, please do not eat me.' (PA011/179)

The bipartite negative imperative đâm…ôh also combines with hô, the polite mild imperative, to give a friendly suggestion or a polite request as shown in (11.37) and
(11.38):

(11.37) Đăm ông ba kao, Mī hŏ!
IMP 2 bring 1sg Mom IMP
‘Mom, please do not take me to throw away!’ (ND003)

(11.38) Đăm ông đua ôh hŏ.
IMP 2 wear NEG2 IMP
'Please do not wear it.' (ND007/373)

11.3. Sentence particles

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

11.3.1. Mirative particle möh

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

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

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

răng ačô.
3 REF

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

In (11.40), the main character of the story, *Thô alah*, takes with him to the forest a small knife which he sticks into his hair bun (A hair bun is a normal place for Bih villagers to carry small tools). However, when the story shows him using that knife for cutting down
and splitting bamboo this is quite surprising, because these are tasks which in real life need a bigger knife than could be carried in the hair. The constituent hŏng dhŏng năn ‘with that knife’ is marked with mŏh to indicate this unexpectedness. Otherwise, if this were a normal incident using the appropriate sized knife, yöh would be used instead. We can see in the same example (11.40) when Thô told his wife that he would go to look for yams, it is expected that one would find yams at the place where he is going (the forest). Thus when he does see some, the clause is marked with non-mirative yöh:

(11.40)Dhŏng arĩ ſu ti boh bŭk năn ſu madjă,
knife PN 3 LOC CLF hair then 3 PRE-take

Djă nao truh ti kmrŏng dih,
take go arrive LOC forest FAR.DIST

buh yöh ubei dua kdrŭn tlâo kdrŭn.
see PTCL yam two CLF three CLF

Nei makhăt alê khăt alê,
now PRE-cut medium.bamboo cut medium.bamboo

mablah hŏng dhŏng năn mŏh.
PRE-split with knife DIST MIR

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

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

(11.41) Kâo čiąŋ sei siem djām jāk yophe.
1 want cooked.rice good soup good PTCL
'I want delicious soup and good cooked rice.' (PA011/232)

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

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

(11.42) Kâo soh yophe nei.
1 wrong PTCL PROX
'I am wrong.' (PA011/214)

Or it could be a suggestion that the information being communicated is something which the hearer should know, whether or not they actually do, as in (11.43):
When the information is out of the listeners' expectation, *moh* is used as described in section 11.3.1

**11.3.3. Explaining/contradicting particle *lah***

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

\[
\text{(11.44) Nei } \text{lah, } \text{ŏng } \text{dlăng } \text{imai } \text{mačăm } \text{kăo.}
\]

This IMP 2 look older-sister PRE-beat 1

‘Look! You look how she beats me.’ (ND003)

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

\[
\text{(11.45) Măo } \text{ŏh } \text{lah, } \text{dŏ } \text{jiăng } \text{kăo } \text{brei } \text{lah.}
\]

have NEG2 IMP thing friend 1 give IMP

'It is not. These things are from my friend.' (PA011/273)
11.3.4. Emphatic واب

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

(11.46)窄 ږ ښ واب.
I say DIST PTCL
'I said so.' (ND009/088)

(11.47)ښ واب ځ ښ ښ ښ ښ.
DISTAL PTCL 1 EMPH 1 PRE-stay
'I got married because of that.' (ND009/147)

(11.48)ښ واب ځ ښ.
NEG PTCL 1 go
'I did not go.' (ND005b)
CHAPTER XII

ADVERBIALS

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

12.1 . Adverbial modifiers of the basic clause

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

12.1.1 . Lexical adverbs

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

12.1.1.1 . Manner adverbs

Some manner adverbs are prăl ‘fast’, brū ‘slow’ and brŏk ‘suddenly’. Below are some examples of manner adverbs in clauses:
(12.1) Đăm Debe雲 phiar prăl ơh hơ!
NEG1 2 fly fast NEG2 IMP

huĩ ỉu mào duǐ tiă ông.
afraid 3 NEG win follow 2

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

(12.2) Leh-năn inüncü ỉu năn brŭ prŏng, brŭ prŏng,
and then eel 3 DIST slowly big slowly big

brŭ prŏng, prŏng yo’h
slowly big big PTCL

inüncü độgăt~đơgîn.
eel very big

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

Semantically, both prăl and brŭ modify the main verb in a clause in terms of
describing a manner of the action in their clause: flying fast in (12.1) and gradually (lit.
slowly) getting bigger in (12.2). Syntactically, prăl is post-verbal while brŭ is pre-verbal.

On the other hand, Brŏk in example (12.3) modifies the whole event, and it is clause-
initial:

(12.3) Brŏk ỉu kra năn hmiř
suddenly 3 monkey DIST hear

'Suddenly the monkey heard.'(ND007/168)
12.1.1.2. Aspectual adverbs

There are three aspectual adverbs in Bih. They are mrâo 'just/recently', adôk 'still' and tanŏng/kanŏng 'only'.

(12.4) Hlei mão čô anak alüč,  
Who have grandchild child loss  
nao kriu mrâo nei.  
go fishing just PROX  
'Who recently lost the child who went finishing?'(PA015/084)

(12.5) Bô imai dôk ung lâm ěar dih….  
as.for sister be.at husband in water FAR.DIST  
buh mão dje sît ôh imai năn,  
NEG1 have die true NEG2 sister DIST  
adôk udîp.  
still alive  
'As for his sister, she did not die, she is still alive and married to a husband in the river there.'(ND003/254)

As shown in (12.4) and (12.5), mrâo and adôk have two different positions in a clause. Mrâo occurs after the verb in (12.4), in (12.5) adôk precedes the verb. On the other hand, tanŏng/kanŏng has different positions in a clause depending on whether it modifies the action or the event. For example, in (12.6), the speaker wants to mention that only making the traditional clay pots is the thing they as women in the village know
or as shown in (12.7), because only one person can help to mash the clay land to make it
be ready to make pots, so *tanŏng* is clause-initial. However, if *tanŏng* modifies the action
as shown in (12.8), it is verbal-initial:

(12.6) Adŏ ņu aê akei năn bŏ he pine
dŏ he mathâo
what 1INCL PRE-know
tanŏng he muân yŏh he thâo,
only 1INCL make PTCL 1INCL know
adŏ amĭ aduôn he đơm.
thing mother grandmother 1INCL old
'We do not know things men do. We only know (and can do) things our
grandmother and mother make.' (RH005/077)

(12.7) Tanŏng ih majru tle.
only 2 PRE-help mash
'Only you help to mash the land.' (RH005/018p)

(12.8) Kâo kanŏng mă djuh arŏk.
only 1 only take firewood rotten.bamboos
'I only pick up firewood.' (RH005/013p)

12.1.1.3. Adverbs of replay

Two adverbs *lŏ* 'again' and *ăt* 'also' can express the repetition or replay of an
event. Both of them precede a main verb of a clause as shown in (12.9) and (12.10).
However, lŏ always expresses an exact replay in which the same action is performed by the same participants:

(12.9) ŏng lŏ wît yŏh ta imai ŏng buôn dih.
2 again return PTCL LOC sister 2 village FAR.DIST
'You again return to your sister at our village there.' (ND003/079)

While āt may likewise describe an exact replay as shown in (12.10), it can also express a repetition of an action by a different participant as shown in (12.11):

(12.10) Leh năn brei čǐm blĭ nao āt sĕnăn mŏh iĕu.
and give bird PN go also such.as MIR call
'and then he lets Blĭ bird go to also call his sister as the pigeon did.'
(PA014/217)

In (12.9), the action 'return' is repeated by the same participant ŏng. On the other hand, āt in (12.10) and in (12.11) shows an action repetition but with different participants. In (12.10) āt functions as a signal for repetition coming in this case it is an iĕu 'call' action, but with a different participant: čǐm blĭ. Example (12.10) is from a text where a younger brother first lets a pigeon go to call his sister who lives with the village head. However, after the pigeon comes back, he then sends the Blĭ bird to also call his sister exactly as the pigeon did. The repetition here is the action of calling his sister. In (12.11), the repeated action is shooting the the bird, first by someone else and now by the village head. Example (12.11) is in a context where the head village lets his servant shoot
the pigeon when the pigeon called his wife and told her about her brother. When he sees that the Blî bird has come to call his wife (after the pigeon), he himself, not his servant, goes to shoot it, and āt is used:

(12.11) āt mtao lŏ panah môh gŏ.
also head.village again shoot MIR 3
'The head village again shot the bird (as someone else did before).'(PA014/218)

12.1.1.4 . Quantification

12.1.1.4.1 . Duration

Adverbs of degree modify verbs/verbal phrases and noun phrases as well. They are sui as in (12.12), tadi as in (12.13), buh...aĭ as in (12.14); and ajăn as in (12.15) and măng aĭ as in (12.16):

(12.12) Dôk sui thŭn-ngŭn pulan dôk păk, dôk puñam.
sit long year month sit weave, sit weave
'She stayed there for a long time.'(PA014/178)

(12.13) Kâo pablē tadi trlei kanap mnai amĭ ama kāo
I tell true NMZ poor poor mother father 1
đôm dē.
old EMPH
'I told truthly about my parents' poverty a long time ago.'(RH003/078)

(12.14) Buh kamei pagao trlei amĭ ama aĭ.
NEG 1EXCL pass story mother father at.all
'We always listen to our parents.' (RH003/110)
(12.15) Đôk tană huă bông ta năn yơh ajän ŋu.
sit cook eat eat LOC DIST PTCL only 3
'He sits to cook and eat over there himself.' (PA014/118)

(12.16) Ñu bông kan maknuë năn, măng ai ŋu.
3 eat fish recent.time DIST a lot 3
'She ate a lot of fish.' (PA011/080)

12.1.1.4.2. Frequency

These adverbs modify action repetitions. Some of them are lô 'again' and nanao

'always':

NEG1 mother again put.down NEG2 together PRE-scare all
'I will not put them together because I am afraid that it will all run
out.' (RH002/071)

(12.18) Ñu djă ba čiêng, čiêng dũĕ nanao pliă~plia
3 take bring carry carry leave always REDUP

dua duôr čũ tlâo duôr čũ.
two CLF mountain three CLF mountain
'He always carries all of his animals on his way through mountains.'
(PA014/191)

12.1.1.4.3. Time

Adverbs of time provide information about the point or the period of time at which
an event takes place. Again, like other adverbs, they occur in different positions in a clause:
clause-initial as ntra 'later' in (12.20) or clause-final as makunei 'recently' in (12.22) or in
the middle of a clause as trguah 'tomorrow' in (12.23). However, these are not their firm positions, each adverb of time can have different positions in different clauses depending on what each adverb modifies (ntra has two different positions in (12.20) and (12.21)).

Below is the list of frequent used adverbs of time:

(12.19) abrei 'yesterday'
trguah 'tomorrow'
urei nei 'today'
samen nei 'this week'
pulan dih 'next month'
thŭn prdih 'in two years'
arnei 'now'
ntra 'later'
guah makunei 'this past morning'
ntra tlăm 'later in the afternoon'
malăm nei 'this coming night'

(12.20) ŭm ĕr lō tanā duăn ah,
EXC work.hard again cook grandmother VOC

ntra he wĭt huă ta buŏn.
later 1INCL return eat LOC village
'We do not want to cook here, later we will go home to eat.'
(ND008/218)

(12.21) ŏng găm yo’h, huĭ blĕ angoh kâo ntra tlăm.
2 put.lid.tight PTCL scare rise sick 1 later night
'You put the lid on tight because I am afraid that I will be sick later tonight.'(ND007/116)
(12.22) Kăo čăm aduân kăo makunei.
I beat grandmother I past.time
'I recently beat my grandmother.' (ND008/177)

(12.23) Leh tăl si trguah, brañ guah idah yang urei...
Finish until as tomorrow clear morning rise God sun
'Until the next day when the sun was very clear.' (PA011/283)

12.1.2 . Prepositional phrases

The internal structure of a prepositional phrase is discussed in (4.4.1). This section describes a prepositional phrase in terms of its function as an adverbial modifier of a clause. It could function as a target location for the event as shown in (12.24) or a location where an event starts as shown in (12.25). In addition, a prepositional phrase can provide extra information about the event such as giving particular information about what instrument the main character used as in (12.26) or about a comitative participant, whether animate as in (12.27) or inanimate as shown in (12.28):

(12.24) Dông Krje lŏ nao ba ŭn ta palei ta sang.
PN again go bring pig LOC wife LOC house
'Dông Krje again takes the pork to his wife at home.' (ND007/136)

(12.25) ņu tangū atăm măng anök palei ŋu năn,
3 get.up RECP from place wife 3 DIST
hăng palei ŋu năn.
with wife 3 DIST
'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.' (ND007/095)
(12.26) Đa tuah hŏn̄g karang,
many scoop.up with fishing.colander

da tuah hŏng nhŏk.
many scoop.up with fish.trap

'Many people scoop fish up with fishing colanders but others with fish traps.' (PA011/011)

(12.27) Leh mă ulăt, năn gŏ nao čut weh năn,
Finish take worm then 3 go put.a.string.into fish.hook DIST
čut weh năn, năn matuôm hăng kra.
put.a.string.into.fish.hook then then PRE-meet with monkey

'Finished collecting worms, he went fishing and then met the monkeys.'
(ND007/003)

(12.28) Đa răng pilih hăng braih hăng pukuč ada.
Many 3 exchange with rice with rice.bran some

'He exchanges some of his fish to take some rice and some rice bran.'
(ND009/008)

12.1.3 Expressives

Expressives are described in detail in Chapter IX. This section discusses the function of expressives in modifying a basic clause. An expressive can modify a main verb in a clause as in (12.29) where the reduplicated expressive bubuč gives more information about the way the python in a story sits, or it may by itself describe the whole event as in (12.30) where the expressive djik~djik~djik evokes the image of the whole body shaking:
"As for the python, he sits with his body circle around the tree's trunk.' (ND009/032)

'She herself is very scared: her body is shaking.' (ND008/159)

Expressives, like other adverbs in Bih, can occur in different positions in different clauses as shown in examples (12.31) and (12.32). In example (12.31), $brũ-\text{brũ}$ modifies the main verb čung 'wait' while in example (12.32), it modifies the whole clause. It describes the degree of things changing in a whole event: Y-hen realizes that her sister became more beautiful when she got married to a python, so now she (Y-hen) has started not eating (in order to cause her father to look for a husband for her like her sister’s husband). It is in a clause-initial position:

'We do not leave her, we will wait slowly for her.'(PA013/009)
12.2. Adverbial clauses

Out of the three devices for marking subordinating clauses such as adverbial clauses listed by Thompson and Longacre (1985) – grammatical morphemes, special verb forms and word order – the only device found in Bih is marking by grammatical morphemes. These are morphemes with lexical content such as to'/to'-dah 'if/when', kyua/kyua-dah/băng 'because' and biă/biă-dah 'however, but'. Dah in these morphemes also functions as a complementizer on its own, but when it combines with to' 'if/when', kyua 'because' and biă 'however, but', it indicates that the clause in which it occurs is an adverbial clause. Adverbial clause markers occur more often with dah (e.g. to'-dah, kyua-dah, biă-dah) although they also occur without dah.

Adverbial clauses can precede or follow main clauses, although with an adverbial clause expressing cause the preference is for the main clause to precede the clausal subordinate clause. Bih adverbial clauses are generally declarative clauses, but to'-dah may sometime introduce an imperative clause.
12.2.1. *To-dah* conditional clause

A *To-dah* clause supports a main clause in terms of giving a condition for the event expressed in the main clause to take place. Examples (12.33)-(12.38) introduce declarative clauses while in example (12.39), the main clause is imperative:

(12.33) *To-dah* di ih luăr kào koh padje.
if PL 2 lie 1 cut CAUS-kill
'If you all are lying to me, I will kill you.' (ND008/344)

(12.34) *To* palư năn kào lô hrê nei
if lie then 1 again come here

ông čuh bông tů mơh
2 roast eat agree MIR
'If I am lying to you, I agree to come here for you to kill me.'
(PA011/210)

(12.35) *To-dah* čieng adeiông dôk adei,
if want younger.sister 2 stay younger.sister

čieng imai ông dôk imai.
want older.sister 2 stay older.sister
'If you want the younger daughter, you can get married to her, and if you want the old one, you can get married to her as well.'(ND009/089)

(12.36) *To-dah* kào dje āt tuôm hăng mô kào mơh.
if 1 die also meet with wife 1 MIR
'If I die, I also meet my wife.'(ND008/621)
(12.37) Tơ-dah buh lai ŏng, tam-lam đă nei.
   if NEG be.over 2 hard like PROX
   'If you do not recover, it is bad.' (ND007/236)

(12.38) Tơ-dah êmô čiăng eh, brei ūu eh làm êa hō!
   If cow want defecate give 3 defecate in water IMP
   'When the cows want to defecate, let them defecate in the river please.'
   (PA011/420)

(12.39) Tơ-dah ao kâo đuşong ta yuọp nei
   if shirt 1 float LOC East PROX
   đăm ŏng nao mă ôh hō!
   NEG1 2 go take NEG2 IMP

   Tơ-dah ao kâo đuşong ta ngŏk năn
   if shirt 1 float LOC West DIST
   ŏng tiă mă yơh.
   2 follow take PTCL
   'When my shirt floats toward the East, please do not pick it up. When it floats
   toward the West, please chase to pick it up.' (ND009/229)

12.2.2. Kyua-dah/ƀăng causal clause

Both kyua-dah and ƀăng mean 'because'. However, according to Bih speakers,

kyua-dah is an Ede form while ƀăng is Bih. Our examples of kyua-dah come from a

speaker who has a lot of Ede influence in his speech; we do not see examples of ƀăng in
his texts. Our examples with băng come from a speaker of "purer" Bih. However, this 
speaker does occasionally also use kyua-dah:

(12.40) Maudîp yôh anak ńu…. 
PRE-alive PTCL child 3 

dôk lâm buôn sang yôh kyua-dah mào 
stay in village house PTCL because COP 

mtâo dlê bông mnuih. 
ghost forest eat people 
'His son is still alive. He stays in the village (does not go into the forest) because 
there is a ghost who eats human beings there.' (PA015/115)

(12.41) ṭ duôn ṭ duôn, ńng jum môh kâo 
VOC grandma VOC grandma 2 want MIR 1 

da……. 
much…

Kyua-dah nao băng ta miêt wa, 
because go go.away LOC uncle uncle 

buh arăng lô jum ôh. 
NEG1 people again want NEG2 
'Hey, Grandma, please help me because my cousins do not want to help 
me.'(PA016/082)
'Go ahead and do it", Dong-Krje said, "What can I do? I was wrong to talk to you like that. '(ND007/017)

### 12.2.3. **Biă-dah 'however, but' clause**

A *biă-dah* clause introduces some contradicting facts in comparison to a main clause. It could be an event which is inconsistent with the one in the main clause as in (12.43) and in (12.44). Or it could be two different topics that the main clauses are about as in (12.45):

(12.43) Lah đięo nuă māo êa biă-dah
side left right have water but

    ti êa krông năn, ajih khuőt leh.
LOC water river DIST be.out dry.up PFV
'There is water elsewhere except the river.' (PA011/449)
(12.44) Buh kão thào biă-dah kão mûh môh
NEG 1 know but 1 hear MIR

asão mađuh~mađah.
dog bark.alot
'I do not know but I heard the dogs barked a lot.' (ND007/155)

(12.45) Truh ta buôn, asei djăm môh ŋu brei,
Arrive LOC village cooked.rice soup MIR 3 give

kîn ŋu pař rei. biă-dah paanuh,
NEG1 3 CAUS-hungry NEG2 however CAUS-tie

ăt ŋu paanuh môh.
also 3 CAUS-tie MIR
'After arriving at the monkey village, although they did give food to Dong-Krje, they still kept him tied to the spinach plants.'(ND007/034)
CHAPTER XIII

MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter will examine constructions involving more than one simple clause combined into a larger sentence in which these clauses function as matrix clauses: chained clause constructions (§13.1), serial verb constructions (§13.2), and verb compound constructions (§13.3).

13.1 Chained clauses

Longacre (1985) defines a chain structure as a construction in which one of the verbs in the chain is more grammatically marked for tense/aspect/mood than other verbs. In this kind of chain structure, the final and medial verbs are of two morphologically different verb forms. It is often the case that the final verb has full inflectional morphology while other preceding verbs do not. These non-final verbs may have morphological markers for the fact that their subject is the same or different from that of the final verb.

Longacre's definition is not easily applicable to Bih, which has no verb morphology. What I will call a "clause chain" in this work is similar to what Li and Thompson (1981) and Li (2004) call "topic chain" in Chinese linguistics (although their definition of topic in a topic chain is different from topic as described in Chapter XV in this dissertation). A chained clause construction includes more than one clause, in which one clause with a specific NP refers to a referent that is subsequently mentioned in other clauses but without overtly specified coreferential NP's. It is often the case that the
specific NP is referred to in the first clause of a chain, but there are exceptions. Plus, a clause with that specific NP and its following clauses may belong to different chains. In other words, two different chains could be connected to each other (by a conjunction for example), so that the first NP in the first chain could be coreferent to other clauses in the second chain depending on discourse context. Semantically, the referred NP is often an agent, a theme for the whole event in a chain.

In Bih, there are two ways in which chained clauses show the relations between clauses in a sequence: one is by simple juxtaposition (13.1.1) and the other is using the chronological successive connector *leh nănl năn* 'and then/then' (13.1.2).

13.1.1 . Juxtaposed chained clauses

It is very common in Bih that two or more clauses are juxtaposed and share one argument. The shared argument can occur overtly in the first clause as in (13.1) or in the second clause as in (13.2) and in (13.3). In (13.1), the pronoun *ñu* is only specified in the first clause in (13.1.a.) while it never occurs again in (13.1b.) and (13.1c) even though it is the referent that these two clauses are about:

(13.1) a. Ñu lŏ čuh ēmô kabao,
   3 again roast cow buffalo

   b. lŏ iēu ḅuôî iēu mjâo,
   again call midwife call shaman
c.  lŏ lŏ  bŏng huă ka anak ŋu năn.
    again again eat eat DAT child 3 DIST
    'He again roasted cow and buffalo and called a midwife and a shaman to
    come pray.'(PA015/112)

In (13.2), we see an example where the first clause Leh măo arbŭng and the
second clause wĭt yö̍h share the same subject argument drei 'we' which occurs overtly in
the second clause:

(13.2)  Leh măo arbŭng, drei wĭt yö̍h.
    Finish COP bamboo.shoot 1INCL return PTCL
    'After having bamboo shoot, we will return home.' (ND010/007)

Example (13.3c) describes two events: Leh bŏng ŋưn and lai in which they both
share kăo as their argument:

(13.3) a.  Bŏ si-ba ŏng angoh?
    but why 2 sick
    'But what makes you sick?'

b.  Angoh yö̍h. Angoh rih ŋưn.
    sick PTCL sick kill pig
    'I am sick. This is called sick for pork.'

c.  Leh bŏng ŋưn, kăo lai.
    Finish eat pig 1 recover
    'After eating pork, I will be no longer sick.'(ND007/102)
The relationship between verbal phrases in the two examples (13.2) and (13.3) is consequential or resultative, meaning that the second verbal phrase is the consequence/result of the first verbal phrase. In (13.1), on the other hand, the relationship among clauses in a chain is simple sequence.

Example (13.4) on the other hand, presents an interesting chained clause structure in a larger discourse context. The portion of text example (13.4) comes from is about a conversation between a grandmother and her grandson who plans to leave his grandmother's house to go looking for his sister. (13.4a.) is his response to the grandmother when she asks him to stay longer with her and it is the end of their conversation. On the other hand, (13.4b.) and (13.4c.) are narrative clauses describing what actually happens after the conversation between them. Notice that (13.4a.) and the other two examples (13.4b.), and (13.4c.) are two different types of speech: the former is direct speech while the latter is narrative. Thus, they belong to different chains: the first belongs to a chain which describes the conversation between the grandmother and the grandson while the latter belongs a chain describing what happens after the conversation. It is understood that all clauses in the latter chain in (13.4b.) and (13.4c.) are about the grandson who is referred as kao in the previous chain in (13.4a.) even though there is no overt pronoun or NP mentioning it:

(13.4) a. Ƀuh  kâo  đư  đôk   duôn   ah,  kâo  đưê  leh.  
   NEG1  win stay grandmother  VOC, 1 leave PFV
   'I can't stay, grandma. I will leave.' (PA014/112)
b. Dua tlâo hruê ta năn lô duể,
two three day LOC DIST again leave

Akăt mngai hông hla tinŭng đêо nuâ,
cover ear with leaf eel left right
duể matâm yo'h.
leave PRE-REC PTCL

'After that two or three days, he himself left with a high determination.'

c. Leh duôr nei, nao duôr dih,
Finish mountain PROX go mountain FAR.DIST

leh čư dih, nao čư dih,
Finish mountain FAR.DIST go mountain FAR.DIST
paliă~ palia.
endless

'He crossed mountain after mountain.' (PA014/115)

The relationship among clauses in a chain is mainly sequential; apart from that they show some independence from each other, and the semantic relation among these clauses is looser than that of serial verb constructions discussed in §13.2. Thus, it is possible to have one type of grammatical marker in one clause and another on another clause. For example, in (13.4a.), there are two clauses: \textit{Buh kâo dûi dôk duôn ah} and \textit{kâo duể leh}: the former is a negated clause while the second one is not. In other words, in (13.4a.), only the first event gets negation, while the second event is marked for tense/aspect with the aspect marker \textit{leh}.
13.1.2. The marked chained clause

The clause linker *leh năn/năn* 'and then/then' is marked to connect different separated clauses regardless of whether or not they all share one argument. In other words, these clauses belong to different chains connected by *leh năn/năn* 'and then/then'. The events expressed by these chained clauses may have a sequential, conditional, causative or purposive relationship.

It is common (but not necessary) to see that subject arguments in a chained clause connected by *leh năn/năn* are coreferential. Example (13.5) demonstrates the case where the two clauses in a chain share the same subject argument *kăo* 'I' and it occurs in both clauses:

(13.5) Leh kăo mhao năn, năn yo̱h, kăo măo
Finish 1 drink then, then PTCL 1 COP

tien pruê̱c năn.
belly intestine DIST
‘After I drank that (water), then I was pregnant.’ (ND005a)

On the other hand, (13.6) and (13.7) present examples in which two clauses share one subject argument with *leh năn* as a connector. The second clause has an anaphoric zero which is coreferential with the previous clause:

(13.6) Amĭ ŭu lâm buôn, leh-năn đŏng tian ko̊ ŭu năn.
mother 3 in village then PROG belly DAT 3 DIST
‘Her mother stayed in the village and was pregnant her.’ (PA014/002)
(13.7) Ñu pioh năn, leh năn tangŭ sì trguah
3 keep then, finish then get.up as tomorrow,
sì guah dih năn.
as tomorrow FAR.DIST then
'He kept the husk then, and then got up in the days after then.'
(ND008/203)

Leh năn can also simply connect clauses describing different events (as shown in (13.8)) or two sequential events (as shown in (13.9)) that do not share arguments:

(13.8) Pīt yo’h dă kra yo’h arăng lač.
sleep PTCL like monkey PTCL 3PL say

Leh năn arăng Đông-krje dê, ràng nao ba
finish then 3 PN EMPH 3 go take/bring

pha manŭk ta palei ràng, sa palah pŏk.
thigh chicken LOC wife 3 one half open
'The monkeys sleep deeply (people say:"sleep like a monkey"), and then Đông-krje takes the other half of the chicken to his wife.'(ND007/074)

(13.9) Jatarĭn năn hia yo’h, nhă nhă nhă nhă nhă nhă,
PN then cry PTCL (crying.sound)

buh thâo lŏ mĭn.
NEG know again think

Leh năn mŏ palei ñu năn lač.
Finish then wife wife 3 then say
Ndŏ ŏng kĭn hiar Rĭt ah?
what 2 DAT cry PN VOC
'Jatarĭt then cried because he did not know what to do. And then his wife asked:
"what made you cry, Rĭt?"(ND008/470)

Examples (13.8) demonstrates that *leh năn/năn* connects two separated events in a clause chain: (1) *Pĭt yơh dă kra yơh arăng lač* 'The monkeys sleep deeply (people say:"sleep like a monkey")'and (2) *arăng Dông-krje dê, răng naoba pha manũk ta palei răng, sa palah pŏk* 'Dông-krje takes the other half of the chicken to his wife'.

In (13.9), the two clauses connected by *leh năn* are: (1) *Jatarĭt năn hia yơh, ŏhă ŏhă ŏhă ŏhă, buh thâo lŏ mĭn*, and (2) *mŏ palei ŭu năn lač "Ndŏ ŏng kĭn hiar Rĭt ah?"*. These distinctly different events in a chain are sequential and then *leh năn/năn* links them together.

Sometimes *leh năn/năn* connects two separated sequential events in which one event has a zero anaphor which is not coreferential with the subject of the event expressed in the following clause but is rather coreferential with the subject of a preceding event as shown in the following example:
The two verbs *tulũ* and *hiar* can't share the same subject *adei gõ* in (13.10). *Tulũ* has a distinct zero subject coreferential with the subject of the previous sentence: *ńu*.

However, although the anaphoric zero refers back to a preceding clause, the clause *Leh tulũ* is chained with the following clause *dô adei gõmahiar yõh kiñ amai gõ*, *Y-Liễm* in (13.10). This is because the two clauses are in a causative sequence: the first action causes the second action.

These examples (13.7)-(13.10) indicate that *năn* is a connector between different events regardless of whether they have the same or different subject arguments. That is also why *năn* is commonly needed in a chain with numerous clauses that describe multiple events such as (13.11). This example, (13.11), illustrates numerous chained clauses- many with subject ellipted. These clauses share one subject argument *Ama źu* which occurs in the first clause, and *năn* overtly links them together:
Ama ſu jak nao brei mnei,
father 3 invite go give bathe,

[Ø (1)nao brei mnei ti ēa dih].
go give bather LOC water FAR.DIST

năn [Ø (2) truh ti dih] năn,
then arrive LOC FAR.DIST then

[Ø (3) toh kapin ao ] năn mniê.
take.off loincloth shirt then girl

năn ama ſu năn [ (4) čăm],
then father 3 then beat

[Ø (5) čăm] năn,
beat then

[Ø (6) măo lŏ čiăng ſh kŏ mniê năn],
NEG1 again want NEG2 DAT girl DIST

anak ſu pine năn,
child 3 girl DIST

[Ø (7) čiăng kŏ anak akei],
want DAT child boy

anak pine năn, năn ſu [(8) lui hĭ lăm pin ēa].
child girl DIST, then 3 forget quit in river.head water
'Her father asked her to go for a bath at the head of a river. When arriving there, he took her clothes off and got noticed that she was a girl (not a boy). Because he did not like girls (he liked boys), he beat her and left her at the river head.'(PA014/012)

13.2. Serial verb constructions

13.2.1. Serial verb construction in general

In a serial verb construction (SVC) there is a sequence of verbs that act as a single predicate without overt marking of coordination or subordination. All verbs in this construction share the same actor or object and the same tense/aspect value, and the construction is treated as mono-clausal (Foley & Olsen, 1985). When occurring in a SVC, one verb may eventually lose its syntactic status and become a functional marker, providing obvious evidence for the shift into a new category.

SVCs, according to Aikhenvald (2006, p. 21), can be divided into two types, asymmetrical and symmetrical. An asymmetrical SVC includes one verb that belongs to a semantically and grammatically restricted class and one or more belonging to an open class. The verb from an open class will describe the event while the one from the restricted class will modify the event by providing additional specification such as
motion or direction. On the other hand, symmetrical serial constructions include only open class verbs which are of equal status in describing the event.

13.2.2. SVCs in Southeast Asian languages

Verb serialization is an areal phenomenon in Southeast Asian languages (Bisang, 1996; Matisoff, 1991). While types of SVC vary among serializing languages, Southeast Asian languages show a consistent pattern of SVCs with two or more verb words in what is considered a single clause. Like SVCs in other languages, they have common properties such as verbs sharing arguments and tense/aspect/modality specification. Matisoff (1991) considers one of the verbs in a sequence of verbs the “verb-head” (Vh) and others are “versatile verbs” (Vv) (which are equivalent to what Aikhenvald called asymmetrical), semantically subordinated to the head. By Matisoff’s definition, versatile verbs can be full verbs in their own constructions, but when occurring in SVCs, they change their status and become modifiers for other verbs. Southeast Asian languages also show a pathway to grammaticalization through verb serializing construction in which certain independent lexical verbs, through the process of grammaticalization, become grammatical forms in a SVC (Bisang, 1996; Matisoff, 1991, cf. DeLancey, 1991). Both Bisang (1996) and Matisoff (1991) present SVCs and the process of grammaticalization through verb serializing in Southeast Asian languages such as Hmong, Khmer, Thai and Vietnamese.

This section presents some types of SVCs in two mainland Southeast Asian languages with which Bih has been in close contact: Vietnamese and Ede.
Nguyen (2005) presents an analysis of Vietnamese SVCs showing the existence of both asymmetrical and symmetrical types. According to Nguyen (2005), the "versatile verbs" in an asymmetrical construction are often verbs of direction while the "verb-head" is typically a manner or position verb (examples (13.12) and (13.13). As for symmetrical types, Nguyen (2005) indicates that verbs in the sequence are motion/position and action verbs (examples (13.14) and (13.15) below). Below are some examples of Vietnamese SVCs:

(13.12) Nam nhảy ra/ sang chỗ Tôi.
PN jump go.out/ go across place 1
‘Nam jumps out to my place’.

(13.13) Con ong bay vào chỗ Nam.
N bee fly go.in place PN
‘The bee flies into Nam’s place’.

(13.14) Nam đứng hát.
PN stand sing
‘Nam stands singing.’

(13.15) Nam ngồi viết thư.
PN sit write letter
‘Nam sits writing a letter’

The position verbs in (13.12) and (13.13) are heads and the directional verbs are modifiers for the head. Therefore, the status of the verbs in the sequence is not equal. In
(13.14) and (13.15) each verb contributes to the meaning of the sentence and has equal status.

Nguyen (2007) and Nguyen (in press) describe verb serialization in Ede, another highland Chamic language of which Bih was previously thought to be a dialect. Ede also has both types of SVCs, which in Nguyen 2007 are referred to as nuclear SVC, core SVC, and modifying SVC types. A core SVC in Ede includes a sequence of verbs each of which still keeps its own meaning and contributes to the whole sentence's meaning; while in a modifying SVC, one verb modifies the other verb meaning with which it occurs. Nguyen (2007) also makes a distinction between nuclear and core SVC in which verbs in the former don't have their own arguments while those in the latter do. The following data illustrate these types of SVC in Ede:

(13.16) Y-Kug duah buh H’Du.
    PN     look-for see   PN

‘Y-Kug found H’Du.’
‘People in the village help the house owner to go to cut trees in a forest to make coffin.’

‘Grandmother counts word for grandchild.’

The connection between SVCs in Ede and grammaticalization stages is described in Nguyen (2011). Verb serialization in Ede is similar to other SVC languages where a serialized verb, such as 'finish', 'use', 'give' or a postural verb such as 'sit', is losing its verbal status in the sequence and being grammaticalized. Therefore, with these SVCs, the degree of integration among verbs in sequence is higher than those in which each verb has equal verbal status. The following examples of Ede SVCs show the integration of verbs in sequence: in (13.19), the two verbs: dôk and mdei somewhat keep their own meaning while in (13.20), mả no longer literally means as 'pick.up/take':

(13.19) Kâo dôk mdei bhiăo.
1 sit rest abit
‘I rest shortly.’ (UNK20080813.57)
Sui sa bliũ, arāŋ hiu ĭuă dlăng mā.
long one time, people go visit look use/pick.up
'People went check on them one for a while.' (JNK2005.004)

The above data for SVCs in Vietnamese and Ede show that these two languages have typical Southeast Asian language patterns for a verb serializing construction. The first type consists of a string of verbs which take one tense/aspect/negation as a single clause regardless of whether each verb has its own argument/s or all verbs share the same argument(s). In the second type, a serial verb can have the same syntactic behaviors as those of the first type; however, one verb in a series becomes a grammatical marker for the whole sequence. It is the semantic nature of verbs such as ‘sit’, ‘stand’, ‘finish’, ‘give’ in these two languages that motivates them into certain grammatical slots in serial verbs constructions.

13.2.3 . SVCs in Bih

13.2.3.1 . Properties of serial verb constructions in Bih

In Bih, verbs that participate in a SVC can be sorted into restricted and open classes. The restricted category is quite small, including only specification of motion or direction (nao 'go', wit 'return', truh 'arrive') and the benefactive brei 'give'.
Like verb serializing constructions in other languages, SVCs in Bih have typical features of a SVC such as sharing arguments and aspect markers among verbs in a sequence and considered as a single clause. In examples (13.21), (13.22) and (13.23), we see one typical feature of verbs in SVCs: sharing arguments. In (13.21), the two verbs trŭn and bộng share the same arguments: Dĭng-buăl ņu and găp-djuê ņu.

(13.21) Dĭng-buăl ņu găp-djuê ņu trŭn
servant 3 extended.family 3 go.down

bộng bît hŏng mtao yŏ năn.
et together with village.head PTCL DIST
'His servants and his family go down to eat with the village head.' (PA011/646)

In (13.22), the two verbs nao and hưn share not only one argument ņu but also an adverbial marker lŏ:

(13.22) ņu lŏ nao hưn hŏng palei ņu.
3 again go inform with wife 3
'He again goes to inform to his wife.' (ND007/184)

In (13.23), all three verbs have kamei as their shared argument. All of these verbs when in a sequence of verbs have no coordination or subordinating markers. They simply are next to each other:
(13.23) Kamei wĭt nao ba trŏng kĭn ŭu.
EXCL return go bring/take eggplant DAT 3
'We return to bring eggplants for him.' (PA014/141)

In addition, each sequence of verbs in the examples (13.21), (13.22) and (13.23) can take only one aspect or negation marker for the whole sequence, as shown in (13.24), (13.25) and (13.26):

(13.24) Buh dîng-buăl ŭu găp-djuê ŭu trŭn
NEG1 servant 3 extended.fam 3 go.down
bŏng bit hŏng mtao ŭh năn.
eat together with village.head NEG2 DIST
'His servants and his family do not go down to eat with the village head.' (PA011/646)

(13.25) Ñu lŏ nao hŭn hŏng palei ŭu leh.
3 again go inform with wife 3 PFV
'He again went to inform to his wife.' (ND007/184)

(13.26) Ka kamei wĭt nao ba trŏng
NEG1 EXCL return go bring/take eggplant
kĭn ŭu ŭh.
DAT 3 NEG2
'We have not returned to bring eggplants for him yet.' (PA014/141)

(13.27) Kamei wĭt nao ba trŏng kĭn ŭu leh.
EXCL return go bring/take eggplant DAT 3 PFV
'We already returned to bring eggplants for him.' (PA014/141)

The individual verbs in a sequence cannot be independently marked for aspect or
negation (13.28), (13.29) and (13.30):

(13.28)*Buh dîng-buăl ſu, găp-djuê ſu trûn ŏh, buh bông bit hông mtao ŏh năn.
   'His servants and his family do not go down, they do not eat with the village head'

(13.29)*Nũ ıntı nao leh, hûn hông palei ſu leh.
   'He again goes to his wife, (and) informs to his wife'

(13.30)*Kamei wĭt leh, nao leh, ba trŏng kĭn ſu leh.
   'We returned, went to him, took eggplants to him'

Examples (13.21)-(13.27) show that although there is more than one verb, Bih SVCs function as a single predicate to describe a single event. Again, each construction can only take one aspect or negation marker as a single syntactic unit even though they consist of at least two verbs or they will be ungrammatical like (13.28)-(13.30). This is different from a clause chain where each verb can have its own arguments and aspect or negation marker as shown in section 13.1.

13.2.3.2. Serial verb constructions: type 1

As we have seen, type 1 verb serializing constructions in Bih have all of the properties of a SVC described in §13.2.3.1. That is, each construction has only one aspect or negation marker even though it consists of more than one verb in sequence. In Aikhenvald's (2006: 21) terms, type 1 SVCs in Bih are of the asymmetrical type in
which a construction includes both a restricted verb and other open class verbs. Further examples are given in examples (13.31)-(13.34):

(13.31)

ong  nao  mă  yơh  đuôn  nei.
2   go  hold/pick.up  PTCL  hat  PROX
'You come to pick up the hat.' (ND007/184)

(13.32)

Nei  kâo  nao  iêu  di  ih  nei.
PROX 1  go  call  PL 2  PROX
'Now I come to call you all.' (PA011/164)

(13.33)

Kamei  wĭt  mă  dhŏng  năn,
1EXCL return hold/pick.up knife DIST
di  ih  nao  hṳn  hông  amĭ  ama  kamei.
PL 2  go  inform  with  mother  father  1EXCL
'We returned from picking up the knife. You all please inform our parents.'
(PA015/078)

(13.34)

Dôk  tană  huă  bŏng  ta  năn  yơh  ajăn  ū.
sit  cook  eat  eat  LOC  DIST  PTCL  only  3
'He sits to cook and eat over there himself.' (PA014/118)

The first verb in a sequence in examples (13.31)-(13.34) is a motion verb: \textit{nao} in (13.31) and (13.32), \textit{wĭt} in (13.33); and a posture verb \textit{dôk} in (13.34). The other verb(s) in a sequence will be from the open class such as \textit{mă} in (13.31) and (13.33), \textit{iêu} in (13.32) or \textit{tană}, \textit{huă} and \textit{bŏng} in (13.34). As in other verb serializing languages (Foley and Olson (1986: 41)), the most favored restricted slot in Bih SVCs type 1 is a verb of

189
motion, location or posture, mainly a motion verb *nao* 'go'. These intransitive verbs
serve as a modifying function for the event or activity named by the other verbs. Cross-
linguistically, serialized motion verbs tend to occur in first position (of the sequence)
where to some extent, they may set the scene or an attitude for the performance of an
action which expressed by other verbs (Lord, 1993).

13.2.3.3. Serial verb constructions: type 2

Bih also has symmetrical type 2 SVC’s, according to Aikhenvald's criteria, where
the components of the SVC are all verbs of the open class. This means that each of verbs
in a sequence can express any verbal meaning (they are not restricted into one type of
verbs or a common type of verb) and they all have equal verbal status in the sequence:

(13.35) Ñu čuh bông atăm yıh kāo.
     3 roast eat REFL PTCL 1
     'He himself kills me.' (PA011/219)

(13.36) nei yua mataduah duĩn pusei arăng
     now tell look.for pick.up nail 3
     sě agăr arăng tah lui hỉ năn yı, arăng
     drum.frame drum 3 pry.out forget quit DIST PTCL
     taduĩn matrôk hông kõ lũ.
     pick.up put with pan PN
     'Now he tells (Y-Rit) to look for nails and drum frames which people threw
     away, and put them in a pan.' (PA012/091)
Even though the action, event or state named by the first verb in sequence of verbs precedes that of the second verb and so on in examples (13.35)-(13.37), there is no sense that their meaning is more central than any other. In other words, the meaning relation between verbs in a serial construction is typically simply chronological order. They all tend to refer to sub-parts or aspects of single overall event, and are equal in terms of contributing to the overall event. In (13.35), both čuh and bōng participate as sequential actions from which the meaning of 'kill' is created. In (13.37), all three verbs: lông, blū and lăng together mean 'convince' in a context where one person ńu does not want to talk to anybody until his request is accepted. Therefore, each verb in the sequence plays a role as others.

13.2.3.4 Serial verb constructions in Bih and the process of grammaticalization

DeLancey (2004, p. 1593) points out that the initial stage of the process of grammaticalization begins with a productive syntactic construction which includes a particular lexeme in a specific slot occurring in sequence with other more specific
verbs. The fact that verbs are serialized is considered a starting point of the process of grammaticalization because each verb in sequence loses its syntactic characteristics as compared to its behavior in its own independent clause. Bih verb serialization is not an exception: it exemplifies a case similar to other SVC languages where two or more verbs in the serialized verbs take only one aspect/negation marker for the whole sequence. In addition, there is a specific slot in Bih SVCs: a grammaticalizing motion verb or posture verb occupies the first position in a sequence of verbs. This type of first position verb in Bih serial construction falls into a typical specific slot in a verb serializing construction cross-linguistically (Foley & Olson, 1985, p. 41). It is those restricted verbs in the SVC which are losing their verbal status and being grammaticalized. The following examples show one serialized motion verb, 'return', on the path toward grammaticalization:

(13.38) (彤 ṁr lō tană duăn ah, )
INT work.hard again cook grandmother VOC

ntra he wĭt huă ta ƀuôn.
later 1INCL return eat LOC village

'(We do not want to cook here), later we will eat at home.'

(ND008/218)
In this example we see a SVC in which the sequence of verbs includes *wĭt* ‘return’ and *huă* ‘eat’. The first position in the sequence is a motion verb, and the meaning relation between the two verbs is iconic with respect to temporal order of verbs: *wĭt* precedes *huă* just as the event of returning precedes the event of eating.

In (13.39), however, the relation between the two verbs is different:

(13.39) Kamei *wĭt* mă dhŏng năn,
1EXCL return hold/pick up knife DIST
'Ver returned from picking up the knife.' (PA015/078)

In (13.39), as in (13.38), *wĭt* is in the first position of the sequence and *mă* is the second verb. This means their syntactic order is still the same as that of (13.38).

However, semantically, the action *mă* ‘pick up’ precedes that of the action *wĭt* ‘return’, so the overall meaning of the sequence is counter-iconic: the subjects first *mă thŏng* 'pick up the knife' and then *wĭt* 'return'. Thus, even though the motion verb *wĭt* is still in the first position, it represents an event which follows the second verb in its sequence.

This meaning relation is very common in everyday spoken Bih, as *wĭt* is always in first position regardless of whether the act of returning precedes or follows the event denoted by the following verb:
Moreover, semantically, the meaning of the verb *wĭt* in the two examples (13.40) and (13.41) can't be negated. The only part which can be negated is the second verb:

(13.44) Buh ŋu wĭt ayu ëh, ŋu wĭt mă-bruā mŏh.
        NEG1 3 return play  NEG2 3 return work  MIR
        'He comes from work, but not from playing outside.'

If someone wants to mention that he still plays and has not returned from playing yet, and wants to negate the 'return' part, (13.45) will be ungrammatical:

(13.45)*Ka ŋu wĭt ayu ëh, (ŋu adŏk nao ayu mŏh.)
        NEG1 3 return play  NEG2, 3 still go play  MIR

*Wĭt* in the examples (13.40) and (13.41) can't both be negated. Otherwise, *wĭt* can be negated as it can in its independent clause as in (13.46) and (13.47):
(13.46) Ka ŋu wít ūh. (Ŋu adôk nao ayu mōh.)
NEG1 3 return NEG2 (3 still go play MIR
'He has not returned yet. (He is still out playing. )'

(13.47) Ka ŋu wít ūh. (Ŋu adôk mă-bruă mōh.)
NEG1 3 return NEG2 (3 still work MIR
'He has not returned yet. (He is still at work.)'

The fact that wít in (13.40) and (13.41) is in first position in a sequence of verbs
is consistent with the position of other serialized motion verbs, which are always in a first
position in a SVC in Bih. Therefore, wít as a motion verb in (13.40) and (13.41) is
grammatically in a first position even though its contribution to the overall meaning of the
sentence is the event which occurred last. This means that wít in (13.40) and (13.41) is
grammaticalized, since its semantic force is not directly inferable from its position. In the
fact that the two wíts (both in (13.38); and in (13.40) and (13.41)) both exists in a SVC
in Bih shows wít moving along the path of grammaticalization: the former is still a
motion verb like other motion verbs such as nao 'go' while the latter is grammaticalized.

Another commonly grammaticalized verb is the position verb dôk in Bih. As
described in Section 8.4.1.2 and 8.4.2.2, dôk can be a full lexical verb or a versatile verb
or a progressive marker. Examples below are from Chapter VIII:
(13.48) Kâo dôk ha sang.
I stay LOC house
'I stay at home.' (ND008/102)

(13.49) Kâo dôk wăn puñam.
I sit weave weave
'I sit weaving' (ND010/005)

(13.50) Năn ŋu ma-dôk dih ti anuär,
then 3 PRE-PROG lay LOC rotten.wood
dôk dih ta anuär năn ŋu čiäŋ pît .
PROG lay LOC rotten.wood then 3 want sleep

buḥ ar ŋu lō kalei ubei,
NEG diligent 3 again dig yam

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

Again in example (13.48) dôk is the only verb in the sentence meaning 'sit/stay'.

In (13.49), dôk is a versatile position verb while in (13.50) dôk is a progressive marker.

However, in some cases, it is syntactically not easy to decide whether a particular instance of dôk is still a verb or is functioning as a grammatical marker, because dôk is in a transition between a verb to a grammatical marker. (13.51) below provides an example. It comes from a portion of text which describes how Y-Rît gets enough breast
milk for the village head. He goes to wild animal places (to wild pig's, to tiger's, to
elephant's, to barking deer's) and example (13.51) is what he sees:

(13.51) a. Truh ta mabui, mabui dôk pamăm anak,
Arrive LOC wild pig wild pig DÔK CAUS-nurse child
'At the wild pig place, the wild pig is nursing her child.'

b. Truh ta armông năn, armông dôk pamăm anak mơh.
arrive LOC tiger DIST tiger DÔK CAUS-nurse child MIR
'At the tiger's place, the tiger is nursing her child.'

c. Lô nao ta êman, êman dôk pamăm anak.
again go LOC elephant elephant DÔK CAUS-nurse child
'He again goes to the elephant's place. The elephant is nursing her child.'

d. Truh ta djruah, dlăng djruah dôk pamăm anak.
Arrive LOC deer watch deer DÔK CAUS-nurse child
'At the deer's place, the deer is nursing her child.' (ND008/501)

Syntactically there is no difference among dôk in examples (13.51a)-(13.51d): it
all is preverbal. However, semantically one may argue that in (13.51a)-(13.51c), dôk is a
versatile verb meaning 'sit' even though it is hard to imagine the context in which a wild
pig or a tiger or an elephant sits nursing, as these animals lie down to nurse. But it is
impossible for a deer to sit nursing as in (13.51d), thus dôk in (13.51d) can only be
interpreted as a grammaticalized progressive marker. Therefore, with the same syntactic
pattern as example (13.51d), *dôk* in example (13.51a)-(13.51c) is a progressive marker.

The fact that a regular verb in sequence and a grammaticalized verb such as the case of *wît* in (13.38) and in (13.40); and *dôk* in (13.48) and in (13.51) co-exist in the language demonstrates that the transition from a full lexical verb to a grammaticalized marker has not totally completed. To what extent this process will be completed is still unknown, but *wît* and *dôk* are examples for the fact that restricted verbs are a starting point for a process of grammaticalization.

13.3. Verb compounds

A verb compound construction is a construction in which one predicate includes either two verbs expressing two associated actions, one included within the other (13.52)-(13.53), or two almost synonymous verbs (13.54):

(13.52) Leh *pît dih nân, alek yôh di ñu pît.*
Finish sleep lay then, quiet PTCL PL 3 sleep
'They fell asleep very deeply as soon as they lay down.'
(ND007/071)

(13.53) Ñu marâo tangû pît.
3 just get.up sleep
'She just got up.' (Elicitation.HM20120826)

*Pît dih* in (13.52) and *tangû pît* in (13.53) are verb compounds in which each verb in the compound has its own meaning but each expresses an action relating to the other.
For example, it is expected that sleeping is often associated with a lying down position while getting up is associated with emerging from sleeping. That is why pĭt and dih are together in (13.52); and tangŭ and pĭt are associated in (13.53). In other words, these verbs in a compound describe different actions but these actions are associated as part of a larger overall event.

On the other hand, the synonym-verb compound describes two almost similar actions as shown in (13.54):

(13.54) Leh huă bŏng năn, năn gŏ maiēu anak gŏ.
finish eat.rice eat then, then 3 PRE-call child 3
'Finishing the meal, he called his daughter.'(ND009/047)

Huă and bŏng both express the same action, 'eat'. However, these two verbs are different in terms of what is to be eaten: huă means to eat cooked rice while bŏng refers to eating anything. The reason why they often occur together is because in Bih culture a meal (or any cultural celebration) includes cooked rice and something else to eat with it.

Another feature of verb compounds is the fact that the two verbs in the compound do not have a fixed order: they can be switched or separated in the same predicate. (13.55) provides an example of the two verbs pĭt and dih in a different order from (13.52). The compound verbs can be separated in the same sentence as pĭt and dih in (13.55) or huă and bŏng in (13.56); or in the case of example (13.57) in which another
word can be inserted between the two verb compound. However, when the two verbs are
together in a compound, the compound expresses the event somewhat more abstractly
than either of the verb used separately:

(13.55) Amâo arâng lô dih pît hăng ŋu,
NEG 3 again lie sleep with 3

ôk ŋu majuh, ôk ŋu malua,
always 3 encourage always 3 convince

arâng bhuh arâng pît,
3 NEG 3 sleep

bhuh arâng dih atâm hăng ŋu.
NEG 3 lie together with 3

'She did not agree to marry him even though he convinced her. '
(ND008/614)

(13.56) Kâo huă asei bông djâm, bhuh amĭ brei
I eat cooked.rice eat vegetable NEG mother give

dôk Duh-ϐo-brôt
stay PN

kâo ūf asei tāl djê.
I keep.hungry cooked.rice til die

'I eat, but if Mom does not let me get married to Duh-ϐo-brôt, I will stay hungry
until I die.' (PA013/160)
Nei năn lô si tlăm, lô angoh môh.
Now then again as afternoon, again sick MIR

Angoh tangû malâm pît.
sick get.up night sleep

'Now he is again sick like in the afternoon. He is sick after getting up from the night.' (ND007/243)
CHAPTER XIV

OTHER SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter describes two types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses (§14.1) which function as noun phrases, and relative clauses (§14.2) which function as modifiers of nouns.

14.1 . Complement clauses

There are a number of types of complementation in which a clause functions as a core argument of a higher verb in Bih. This section presents different types of Bih complement constructions. They are dah-clause complements (§14.1.1), direct-quote complements (§14.1.2), nominalized complements (§14.1.3) and verbal phrase complements (§14.1.4).

14.1.1 . Dah-clause complements

Dah is a complementizer which introduces a following clause which functions as a core argument for the main verb of a higher clause. In (14.1), mîn is the main verb which takes dah di ih luăr as its object argument. Di ih 'you all' in dah di ih luăr functions as a subject argument of the verb luăr 'lie':

202
(14.1) Kâo mîn dah di ih luâr.
1 think COMP PL 2 lie
'I thought that you lied (to me).' (ND008/365)

In (14.2), the complement clause eh kapaih tadi takes dah as its complementizer and the whole clause functions as an object argument for the main verb mîn:

(14.2) Kâo mîn dah eh kapaih tadi.
1 think COMP excrement raw.cotton true
'I thought that they were real useless fabrics.' (BB001/091)

The lower construction which takes dah as its complementizer could be a NP with an embedded relative clause as shown in example (14.3). In (14.3), mnuih in mnuih pukăn is a NP with pukăn as a relative clause without any markers for a relativizer (More details about Bih relative clauses are in section 14.2). Mnuih pukăn, together with dah, functions as an object argument for the main verb mîn.

(14.3) Kâo mîn dah mnuih pukăn.
1 think COMP person different
'I thought that this is someone else.' (ND008/513)

It is often the case when the complement taking verb is a cognitive verb (such as mîn 'think', thâo 'know'), then the complement clause is signaled by dah. Otherwise, with other matrix verbs, the language uses different complement clause types.
Dah also functions as an adverbial clause marker in Bih. This means that in a combined clause including an adverbial clause and a main clause, dah will co-occur with other markers such as conditional markers to mark a subordinate clause as a conditional or clausal clause. This is described in §12.2.

14.1.2. Direct quote complements

Direct quote complements are often complements of the verb lač ‘say’. The direct quote complement could be a verbal phrase, as shown in (14.4) or a full clause as shown in (14.5):

(14.4) ōng lač buh djŏ.
2 say NEG right
'You said: [it] is not right.' (ND007/021)

(14.5) Kâo mĭn dah eh kapaih mumăn̄g, ŋu lač.
1 think COMP excrement raw.cotton nothing 3 say
'He said he thought that they were useless fabrics.' (BB001/090)

14.1.3. Nominalized complements

Nominalized complements are those using the nominalizer trlei/talei to create a phrase that can function as a core argument of a higher clause construction. In (14.6),

trlei angoh a-āt is a predicate nominal for the copula mâo.
(14.6) ḃuh lŏ māo trlei angoh a-āt ḍoh ñu lać
NEG1 again COP NMZ hot cold NEG2 3 say
'He said that his fever will go away.'
'Lit: He said that there is not fever anymore.' (ND007/260)

14.1.4. Verbal phrase complements

A complement "clause" can simply have the internal structure of a verb phrase.

This occurs with the matrix verb ṭiăng/ tieng 'want', which takes a verb phrase complement as its core object argument as shown in (14.7) and (14.8):

(14.7) Năn tumha ŋu ḃuh lŏ dući ṭiăng bông ćim năn,
then in-law 3 NEG again win want eat meat DIST

maćiăng bông pumao năn.
PRE-want eat mushroom DIST

'His parents in law do not want to eat that meat, but want mushrooms instead. '
(PA011/561)

(14.8) Kăo ćieng bông ubei, ōng atăt kăo duăn ah.
1 want eat yam 2 lead 1 grandmother VOC

'I want to eat yams. Please show me the way, Grandma.' (ND007/278)

14.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are those functioning as modifiers embedded in the noun phrase they modify (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). RC’s in Bih are unmarked, that is, there is
no relativizer, nominalizer, or relative pronoun to mark a clause as a RC. Syntactically, the head noun that a Bih relative clause modifies can be a subject, object or an oblique of a RC. Bih also includes relative clauses that Andrews (2007) called 'adjoined" or Givon (2001: 207) called extraposed relative clauses, where a relative clause is outside of the matrix clause. This section describes a basic structure of the RC (§14.2.1), a RC with a generic head noun (§14.2.2), and the accessibility of relativization (§14.2.3).

14.2.1. Basic structure of the relative clause

Structurally, a NP with an embedded relative clause in Bih includes a head noun and relative clause. There is no relativizer to mark the construction. The head occurs to the left of the RC regardless its syntactic function in the RC. Examples (14.9), (14.10) and (14.11) illustrate typical RC constructions in Bih (the RC is in brackets):

(14.9) Arnei kâo pablĕ kơ mnuih [jah uma].
     now 1 talk  DAT person cut.down mountain.field
     'Now I talk about the person who cut down the mountain field.'
     (PA016/001)

(14.10) Ƀuh mâo adô [kâo čieng] ôh.
     NEG1 COP thing 1 want NEG2
     'There is nothing that I want.' (ND008/050)

(14.11)  Di ih mût lâm nei yoh.
     PL 2 enter in PROX PTCL
     .....  dlăng ti anôk [èa pa-puh pa-dûng
     watch LOC place water CAUS-hit CAUS-float
'You all enter in there (the drum), watch out for the place where the water carries the drum (with you all) to.' (PA011/106)

In these three examples, the head noun occurs to the left of the RC and is next to its modifying RC without any marker as a relativizer. Internally, a head noun that a RC modifies can be coreferential with different syntactic functions in different RCs. In other word, a head noun can function as a subject argument as in (14.9) or object argument as in (14.10) or an oblique of a RC as in (14.11). Example (14.9) includes a head noun *mnuih* 'person/people' with an embedded RC *jah uma* 'cut down the mountain field'. The head noun *mnuih* syntactically functions as the subject argument of the embedded RC *jah uma*. In example (14.10), the RC *kâo čieng* modifies the head noun *adō* which is coreferent with the object argument of the RC while example (14.11) presents the case where the head noun *anôk* is coreferent to an oblique of the RC: *êa papuh padنغ di ih yơh* (Accessibility to relativization is described in Section 14.2.3.)

At a higher level, a head noun with an embedded RC can fill in different syntactic positions of a matrix clause. It could be a subject argument as shown in (14.12) or an object argument as in (14.13) and in (14.14):
Example (14.12) is a syntactic construction including a relative clause. (14.12) is an existential construction in which the copula mâo is always located at the beginning of the sentence as described in §10.1. In (14.12) mnuih mgăt čiêm ūn hlŭn gai kpiē is a relative clause which functions as the subject of the sentence. Internally, mnuih mgăt čiêm ūn hlŭn gai kpiē includes two relative clauses: mnuih mgăt čiêm ūn and hlŭn gai kpiē in which mnuih and hlŭn are two head nouns for which mgăt čiêm ūn and gai kpiē respectively are relative clause modifiers for.

In (14.13) we see an example in which a relative clause is embedded in the noun phrase which functions as an object of the matrix clause. adō brei kĩn angoh gŏ năn is a noun phrase functioning as the object of the sentence). In this NP, there is a relative clause: brei kĩn angoh gŏ năn. In the internal structure of this particular relative clause, there is a
missing subject which is not coreferential with anything in example (14.13). The understood subject for that relative clause is the monkey couple, in the context in which they have given to Dông-krje, their debtor, whatever he requested for his illness because they thought that his illness was caused by God, and what he requested was what God wanted.

A noun phrase which functions as an indirect object can also be modified by a RC. In (14.14), *mnuih dôk apĭt hŏng ŏng prdih dih* 'the person who sat with you two days ago' is a NP including the head noun *mnuih* and an embedded RC: *dôk apĭt hŏng ŏng prdih dih*:

(14.14) Kâo brei m'eng kâo kô mnuih dôk apĭt hŏng
1 give skirt 1 DAT person sit together with

ŏng prdih dih.
2 FAR.DIST FAR.DIST

'I gave my skirt to the person who sat with you two days ago.'
(Elicitation.HM20121014)

There are also relative clauses which modify non-core arguments of a matrix clause. In the following example (14.15), relative clause modifies a head noun which functions as an oblique of the matrix clause:

(14.15) Arnei kâo pablê kô mnuih jah uma.
now 1 talk DAT person cut.down mountain.field

'Now I talk about the person who cut down the mountain field.'
(PA016/001)
Example (14.15) includes a oblique NP *mnuih jah uma* following the main verb *paƀlĕ 'talk' in (14.15). Example (14.16) demonstrates a different case where an oblique NP is fronted, so its relative clause is also fronted: both *Ka anak ſu djê nân* and *Ka anak ſu udĭp nân* are fronted:

(14.16) Ka anak ſu djê nân dah leh ſu ngă pusat.
DAT child 3 die DIST then finish 3 make grave.stone

Ka anak ſu udĭp nân ſu lō čuh èmò kabao,
DAT child 3 live DIST 3 again roast cow buffalo

lō iêu ƀuôi iêu mjâo, lō lō
again call mid.wife call shaman again again

bông huă kô anak ſu nân.
eat eat.rice DAT child 3 DIST

'Again, for his child who had died, they built a death house and prayed for him. For the living child, they roasted cows and buffalos and called a shaman to come pray.' (PA015/112)

As indicated at the beginning of §14.2, Bih relative clauses include not only embedded clauses but also extraposed relative clauses where relative clauses are not adjacent to the head noun. Example (14.17) shows a relative clause which is extraposed to the end of the sentence:
'(Do not tie this buffalo with other buffaloes. Please tie it separately.) (However), it is true that he tied it with other buffaloes, so they treaded on it, those buffaloes that smashed it-the crab.' (ND007/310)

(14.17) is in the context where Đông-krje gave a crab to the monkey's family and said that it was his ancient buffalo and told them not to tie his buffalo with other buffaloes from the monkey's family, which were the real buffaloes. The monkey's family, who did not listen to him, then tied Đông-krje's crab with other buffaloes. So, the buffaloes trampled the crab, thus they are those that smashed his crab.

Givon (2001, p. 207) states that extraposed relative clauses only occur in restrictive relative clauses. This is the case in example (14.17) where the NP mnông kruăk gö areng functions to limit the reference of its coreferential NP krbao dê. In other words, it is the buffaloes among which the monkey's family tied the crab that smashed the crab, not other buffaloes.
Notice also that *mnông*, the head noun which the extraposed relative clause *kruák gõ areng* modifies, is indefinite, which is expected for the head of an extraposed relative clause, according to Givon (2001).

Externally, the surface syntax of a head noun and its modifying RC is not distinguishable from a juxtaposed chained clause (Chapter XIII.1.1) in which many clauses in a chain share one subject, because the relation between a head noun and a RC is simply that they are adjacent to each other without any relativizer to indicate their relationship. Both constructions have a noun followed by a clause or verb phrase. For instance, example (14.18) below without context could be interpreted either as a juxtaposed chained clause or a single clause with an embedded RC:

     PL 2  PRE-know cut tree make house house
     'You both know how to cut down trees and make houses.'  (ND009/060)

(14.19) Di ih mathâo druôm kyâo[ngã pûk sang]RC.
     PL 2  PRE-know cut tree make house house
     'You both know how to cut down trees which are used to make houses.'
     (ND009/060)

Example (14.18) includes two clauses sharing one subject argument *di ih*. The second clause *ngã pûk sang* is juxtaposed to the first clause *mathâo druôm kyâo* and both of them are governed by the shared subject argument *di ih*. On the other hand, example
(14.19) shows that *ngâ pîrk sang* is a RC that modifies the head noun *kyâo*, thus, it is a single clause construction. Example (14.18) comes from a portion of text in which a father has two daughters, and wanted one of them to get married to a python because he had promised the python that he would let him marry one of his daughters (otherwise the python would kill him). He gave an explanation why he promised so. He said that if he died, no one in the family would be able to do hard work (men's work). If his daughters were sons, they would have been able to do physical work such as cutting down trees, making houses, finding food, taking care of their mom etc. That is why (14.18) is interpreted as a chained clause. However, without the context, both examples (14.18) and (14.19) are acceptable.

The examples (14.20)- (14.21) provide another distinction for a chained clause and a NP with an embedded RC:

(14.20)  Ñu mă tilăng mangă djăm ubai.
3 take worm make soup yam
'She took worms to make soup which she called "yam soup".'
(ND003/133)

(14.21)  Kâo tuôm hŏng mnuih buôn sang mnăm tape.
1 meet with person village house drink wine
'I met the village people who were drinking wine.'

Example (14.20) is a chained clause construction in which *tilăng* and *mangă djăm ubai* are two separate constituents while in (14.21) *mnuih buôn sang* and *mnăm tape* is one constituent in which *mnuih buôn sang* is the head noun and *mnăm tape* is a RC. This
head noun and its RC have no marker intervening them. So, when looking at linear order of these two constructions (a chained clause and a clause with a RC), they are similar.

However, example (14.21) has a generic noun *mnuih*, one of the Bih generic nouns which requires a modifier. This noun signals to readers that what follows it is a modifier(s), not a separate constituent (more discussion in §14.2.2).

14.2.2 . Generic head nouns

As described in §14.2.1, a juxtaposed chain clause and a NP with an embedded RC are syntactically ambiguous without context. Semantically, a head noun of a RC often carries some signal to readers that the next constituent which follows is a RC. That is, a head noun is often a generic noun. In other words, some generic nouns when filling in a position of a head noun, need a modifier and in this case it is a RC. These head nouns in Bih are *mnuih* 'person', *adō/dō* 'thing', *anôk* 'place'. The following examples (14.22)-(14.24) demonstrate these generic nouns followed by a RC:

(14.22) Arnei kâo pablē kọ mnuih jah uma.
   now 1 talk  LOC person  cut.down mountain.field
   'Now I talk about the person who cut down on the mountain field.'
   (PA016/001)

(14.23) Truh ha năn ta tôŋg
   arrive LOC DIST LOC deep.water
   anôk di ŋu dôk kriu makanuē năn môh
   place PL 3 sit poison.fish previous DIST MIR
   'Arriving at the place where they sat and poisoned the fish before'
   (PA015/018)
Examples (14.22)- (14.24) provide constructions in which mnuih, anôk and adô are the head nouns of their NP's. Each of them occurs with a RC modifier. In (14.22) mnuih has jah uma as a RC modifier, in (14.23) di ūu dök kriu makanuê is a RC for anôk, and in (14.24), adô has ŏng mabông ntra as its RC. The examples (14.22)- (14.24) will be ungrammatical without RCs and demonstratives as shown below:

\[(14.25) \quad *\text{Arnei kâo } \text{pablë } \text{kô } \text{mnuih} \]
\[(14.26) \quad *\text{Truh } \text{hà } \text{năn } \text{ta } \text{tông } \text{anôk} \]
\[(14.27) \quad *(\text{mang } \text{yôh } \text{nei,}) \text{adô} \]

The fact that these examples (14.25)- (14.27) are ungrammatical without their modifying RC does not mean that these three nouns have to have a RC as their modifiers, only that they must have a modifier (though in text they usually occur with the RC.) The point here is that they can't stand without any modifier as one constituent unless there is a very specific context for their sentence. Compare these nouns (mnuih, adôk and adô) with the head noun in (14.28), \textit{anuôr} ‘rotten trunk’, which also has a RC as its modifier.
However, unlike the generic nouns, *anuôr* can occur without any modifier as shown in example (14.28) below:

(14.28) Kâo mão anuôr.
1 have rotten.trunk
'I have rotten trunks.'

(14.29) *Kâo buh mnuih.
1 see person

(14.30) Kâo buh arăng
1 see 3/people
'I saw people'

Example (14.28) is grammatical while (14.29) is ungrammatical. However, example (14.29) is grammatical if *mnuih* is replaced by another generic noun *arăng* which means the same as *mnuih* but can stand by itself without any modifiers as shown in (14.30). This indicates that there are certain generic nouns such as *mnuih, adôk* and *adô*, which are prone to the role of modified head noun, and thus automatically indicate that the following constituent is a modifying RC.

**14.2.3. Accessibility to relativization**

This section provides data showing different syntactic slots which a head noun of a RC in Bih can fill. Keenan and Comrie (1977) argue that languages are different in the way they determine which NP position can be relativized. However, the variations follow the universal accessibility hierarchy in which a NP in a subject position is more likely to
be relativized than direct object, and then indirect object, oblique, genitive and object of comparison (p.66).

According to Keenan and Comrie (1977)'s hierarchy, a head noun in Bih can have different roles in a RC: it can function as a core argument such as subject or object, or as an oblique. The following data present different syntactic slots of a head noun in a RC. First, examples (14.31)- (14.32) demonstrate that a head noun functions as a subject argument of a RC:

(14.31) Nei taiduah adŏ riah agăr.
now look.for thing split drum

'He was looking for something that splits the drum.'(PA011/120)

(14.32) Buh năn wît ta ḃuôn, wît ta ḃuôn
see then return LOC village return LOC village

pablĕ hông mnuih ḃuôn sang mnăm tape.
talk with person village house drink wine

'Having seen that, they arrived home and talked to the village people who were drinking wine.'(PA015/004)

In example (14.31), adŏ riah agăr includes a head noun adŏ and a RC riah agăr in which the head noun is the subject argument of a RC. This example comes from a portion of text that describes how Jatarĭt and his family looked for something that would split the drum they were in in order to get out. They all entered the drum according to a
request from his father in law, who did not like the fact that his daughter had a son with a very poor person--Jatarĭt.

In example (14.32), *mnuih Buôn sang* is the head noun that functions as a subject argument of a RC *mnăm tape* 'drinking wine'. This example is from a text in which two brothers found a portion of a river that has a lot of fish, they went back to their village and talked to villagers who were drinking wine about what they have seen.

A head noun can also function as an object argument of a RC as shown in examples (14.33)- (14.36):

(14.33) Dŏ jiăng kao brei lah.

thing close.friend 1 give IMP

'Things that my friend gave to me.' (PA011/273)

(14.34) Kăo dê măo adŏ kăo bŏng.

1 EMPH have thing 1 eat

'I myself have things that I eat.' (ND011/081)

(14.35) Sei mnuih ŏng mă?

who person 2 take/pick.up

'Who did you bring home?' (Lit. Who is the person you brought home?)

(ND007/037)
(14.36) Tam: Sei mnuih wāt-pagai?

who person get.married

'Who get married (there)?' (Lit. Who is the person getting married?)

Hriu Hmŏk: Mnuih ŏng brei čhŭm ao prdih lah.

person 2 give pants shirt FAR.DISTAL IMP

'The person you gave clothes before.' (ElicitationHM20091006)

The portion of text from which example (14.33) comes describes how Thô, a very lazy guy who does not even want to go to look for food, brought home a lot of good food and toys for his son. Having seen that, his wife asked him where those things came from. Example (14.33) is his response. In this example dŏ is the head noun coreferent to the object of a RC jiăng kāo brei lah. In (14.34), adŏ is also the head noun which is modified by the RC kāo Dŏng. Adŏ functions as an object argument of the RC kāo Dŏng in example (14.34).

Example(14.35) is from a text in which the male monkey brought home Dŏng-krje, whom the monkey considered as a prisoner because of Dŏng-krje's mistake. When seeing her husband with someone else who she did not know, the monkey wife asked her husband about Dŏng-krje. In (14.35), mnuih is the head noun and ŏng mă is a RC modified the head noun. The head noun is coreferent to the object argument of the RC. On the other hand, example (14.36) demonstrates a different syntactic function of a head noun in its RC. Mnuih in (14.36) is the head noun and ŏng brei čhŭm ao prdih lah is the
RC. This example is a conversation between two speakers about a wedding in a village. Tam was asking about who was getting married in a family she knows of when she and Hriu Hmŏk passed by their house. Hriu Hmŏk answered that the person who was getting married was the one Tam gave clothes to before. In this example, *mnuih* functions as an indirect object of a RC.

A head noun which a RC modifies can be also coreferent to an oblique of that RC. Notice that a head noun which functions as an oblique of a RC in Bih is often a locative in the RC. In (14.37), *anûôr* functions as a locative of a RC *dôk mă kan năn* while in (14.38) and in (14.39), *anôk* is a locative of a RC *ñu nao* and *e ŏng ayu* respectively. In these examples (14.37)- (14.39), there is no locative or dative preposition at all:

(14.37) Anûôr  dôk  mă  kan  năn  
rotten.trunk  sit  take/pick.up  fish  DIST
'The rotten trunk that (we) sat on and picked up fish'
(PA015/012)

(14.38) Buh mâo anôk  ñu  nao  õh,  alah-alañ  Thô.  
NEG1 COP place 3  go  NEG2 lazy  PN
'There is no place he goes. He--Thô-- is lazy' (PA011/004)

(14.39) Djâp  anôk  e  ông  ayu.  
enough  place  brother-in law  2  go.play
'There are many places your brother in law went out to play.' (ND008/499)
CHAPTER XV

DISCOURSE STATUS OF ARGUMENTS

15.1. Topic and focus in Bih

This section is about two discourse-pragmatic categories in Bih: topic and focus. These two terms have been discussed in the literature but there is no general agreement about what topic and focus are (Chafe, 1975; Dik et al., 1981, Givon, 1983; Lambrecht, 1994). Here, I adopt Lambrecht’s (1994) usage in which topic refers to portion of a proposition in a given discourse context showing a relation between a referent and its proposition, and focus refers to a relation of an element of information in a proposition and is equal to the difference between the presupposition and assertion in the proposition. Topic, under Lambrecht's (1994, p. 118) definition, is what is construed about a referent in a given utterance context. Focus is considered as an element of information added into a proposition by asserting the information that is different from what is presupposed.

This section presents three types of pragmatically marked constructions in Bih: one with a topic marker lē, one with a contrastive focus marker, mōrh, and the third with a fronted NP.

These marked constructions are used in discourse situations in which a speaker intends to convey information about a not yet accessible referent (either it is being introduced for the first time or it is unactivated) or wants (1) to describe some event in which such a referent is a participant, or to refer to (2) a participant who contrasts with another participant in a given context, or (3) a referent that contradicts what people
assume or presuppose. If ń marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, moḥ marks contrastive focus. As for the fronted NP construction, it can mark a topic, a contrastive topic or contrastive focus. In other words, in comparison with ń and moḥ, NP fronting in Bih has multiple pragmatic functions including functions which overlap with those of ń and moḥ.

15.1.1. Ć-Construction

As described in Chapter X, Bih has basic AVO word order. This means a subject argument NP is before the verb. So it is often the case that when a subject argument becomes a topic of a proposition, it needs some signal/mark to tell listeners that it is topicalized. In Bih, that marker is ń. The fact that a subject argument, when topicalized, is often marked with ń as a topic marker is because in basic Bih word order, a lexical subject NP is already at the beginning of the sentence preceding the verb, and a lexical object NP follows the verb. Thus a subject cannot be marked for pragmatic status simply being before the verb. In addition, ń can mark a topicalized NP which has another syntactic functions such as an object, an oblique or an adverbial. However, when it follows a subject or object argument, ń can mark not only a topic but also a contrastive topic, depending on context and its position. The following data demonstrate two functions of ń one as a marker of topic and the other as a marker of contrastive topic.

Example (15.1) comes from a text describing the way Kadăm Wiêt found the magic medicine to bring his father, who died of a sword wound, back to life. Kadăm Wiêt
went to Grü Ak, the crow's village, as he had heard that Grü Ak had many magic things. He got married to Grü Ak's daughter there and stayed with her family and paid attention to things around the house. One day, he asked his wife to go around the house with him to identify things belonging to her family, so that later if her parents should ask him to bring some thing for them, he would know where it was. Then he saw some really bright objects and asked his wife what they were and if they were valuable. His wife told him:

(15.1) a. "ơ! Eh di ŭu yo'h. 
yes excrement PL 3 PTCL
'Yes! Those are their excrement.'

b. Eh ŭu nei lĕ dù̃i bi hlao 
excrement 3 PROX TOP good CAUSE revive 
mnuih êka. "
person injured 
'His excrement is good for reviving injured people.' (PA010/34)

(15.1a.) was her response to his question about if it was valuable. This is the first time the referent (excrement) is introduced, so it is brand new to the hearer (in this case, to Kadăm Wiêt). Therefore, in order to continue with this newly introduced referent and give more information about it (which otherwise people would not), the speaker uses lĕ as a signal in (15.1b.) to tell her husband that the referent (her parents' excrement) are what she wants to talk about next. Syntactically, Eh ŭu nei is coded as a subject of (15.1).

On the other hand, Y-rĭt nei in (15.2b.), different from the topicalized NP in (15.1), is coded as a syntactic object argument in a clause-initial position. Y-rĭt is the
first new referent who plays an important role in a discourse situation that a speaker
wants to report on/describe before any other referents in the same given text:

(15.2) a. Arnei kāo prŏ talei nūng quăng Jatarît.
   now I tell story eel giant PN
   'Now I am telling a story about Jatarit's eel.'

   b. Y-rît nei lê phûng ūn năn arăng jak nao
      PN PROX TOP PL 3 DIST 3PL invite go
      mă năn, nao koh djrao ngă krđuôn.
      pick.up DIST go shorten bamboo make eel.catcher
      'Y-rît, they asked him to go shorten bamboo to make eel catchers.'
      (PA012/002)

(15.2) is taken from the text in which a speaker wants to tell a story about an eel
belonging to a very poor person in a village, Jatarît whose nickname is Y-rît. (15.2a.) is
the way the speaker introduces the story to hearers. It is usual to expect that more
information about the eel or more participants in the story other than an eel itself would
be introduced after (15.2a.). When (15.2b.) is inserted, the speaker wants to discontinue
the introductory referent, an eel, and activate the topicalized referent in the story, Jatarît,
who normally would not be fronted because the grammatical coding is an object

224
argument. In other words, when *Y-рит nei* is fronted with *lĕ*, in this context it is pragmatically marked as a referent for which the proposition(s) is about.

If the above examples demonstrate topicalized NPs that are core arguments, the following data (15.3) provide examples in which a pragmatically marked referent is a non-core argument, in this case an adverb:

(15.3) a. *Yaih ai о̄ng palư̄ kâo Dông-krje eh?
EXCL why 2 lie 1 PN VOC
'What! why did you lie to me, Dông-krje ?'

о̄ng lač aseh iman amī aduàn о̄ng
2 say horse elephant mother grandmother 2

ang maiman amī aduàn о̄ng.
great PRE-elephant mother grandmother 2
'You said your ancestors' elephant was great.'

b. *Arlâo năn lĕ о̄ng brei brŏng,*
before DIST TOP 2 give big.storage.unit
о̄ng brei brŏng kơ̄ kâo
2 give big.storage.unit DAT 1

kăp angîn -puih,
wait windy.season
ňu lač, гơ̄ kra lač.
3 say 3 monkey say

'Last time, you gave me the big rattan storage container and said to wait for the windy season.' said the monkey.'(ND007/349)
Example (15.3) is from a text about Dông-krje and the monkey's family. Dông-krje wanted to pay something back to the monkey's family for his mistake, which the monkeys called compensation. One time he gave the monkey's family a crab and told them that was his ancestors' buffalo. Then when the monkeys saw that was a lie (because the crab died when they tied it together with their buffalos), they went back to Dông-krje's house to ask for more compensation. Dông-krje lied to them again. He said he would give his ancestors' elephant to the monkeys and told them that they could ride the elephant across the river when the windy season arrived. It turned out that it was a big rattan storage container that Dông-krje gave to the monkey but not an elephant.

Therefore, the monkey went back to him another time for compensation. (15.3a.) is where the monkey repeated what Dông-krje told them before. When (15.3b.) is inserted with high intonation on the topicalized NP Arlão năn, the monkey wanted Dông-krje to know that they knew LAST TIME what he gave to them was a big container-- not an elephant as he said. The topicalized adverb falls into an adverbial time phrase.

What have seen so far in this section is that NP's in different grammatical roles can be topicalized with the topic marker lĕ. Notice that those topicalized NPs are introduced into discourse situations at the beginning of their proposition. The fact that the topic of a sentence in Bih is sentence-initial is not surprising from a universal tendency for accented topic expressions with a topic announcing function, according to Lambrecht (1994). In other words, it is common to see an accented NP, which has as a primary function of introducing a new referent or shifting from one referent to another, occur at
the beginning of or before the sentence (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 201). Therefore, in the case of Bih, when *Eh ſu nei, Y-rít* and *arláo nei* (in (15.1), (15.2) and (15.3) respectively) have the function of introducing a new topic to discourse, they are sentence-initial. However, not all topicalized NPs in Bih are at the beginning of a sentence. Bih also has topicalized NP's introduced at the end of a sentence. This is often a case in topicalized object NP's which follow a verb. When such a NP is marked with *lĕ* while still keeping its sentence-final position, we see a marked pragmatic purpose which is different from that of a fronted object like *Y-rít* in example (15.2).

Let's get back to the tale about Dông-krje and the monkey family in a larger discourse excerpt:

(15.4) a. Kra ah, arăp leh kâo maadôk hŏng ŏng.
monkey VOC enough PFV 1 PRE-stay with 2

Arnei si-ba mangă!
now how PRE-make/do

kâo malŏ tuh-ina-ba-kâdi ŏng yŏh.
1 PRE-again give.compensation.for 2 PTCL

kâo brei krbao, krbao dŏng măng amĭ aduăn.
1 give buffalo, buffalo from from mother grandma

drei ndŏm
1EXCL long.time
"Hey, Monkey, I stayed with you long enough. Now what should I do? I want to give you some compensation: I will give you my great grandmother's buffalo."

(ND007/296)

b. ŏng dôle guǎn bě!
2 sit wait IMP

Kāo lō brei iman lē.
1 again give elephant TOP

'Please wait! I will give you an ELEPHANT.' (ND007/320)

c. Bòi hō nei kāo būh lō mão nei.
oh.no but now 1 NEG again have now

kāo brei duôn lē.
1 give hat TOP

'Oh no! Now I don't have it. I will give you a HAT.' (ND007/353)

"This hat is from my ancestors and nowadays people do not have any hat like that. Please wait for two days." Then the monkey agreed to wait for two days to get the special hat from Dông-krje.

........

The monkey went back to Dông-krje again: "Hey Dông-krje, you said this was your ancestors' hat and told me that my family could put it on and sit under the sun.

5 This symbol means the material in the story is going on and on and not important to present.

228
However, the wax melted and ran all over my family members's faces. That was not a good hat as you said. You lied to me. Now I am again asking for my compensation."

d. Kra ah, arnei năn ah,
monkey VOC now then VOC

Káo brei agăr lê kơ clang.
1 give drum TOP DAT 2
'Hey Monkey, now I will give you a DRUM.' (ND007/402)

(15.4) is a starting point for what Dông-krje offered to the monkey family for his compensation because he did not want to stay with the monkey family anymore. The first compensation he gave to the monkey family was krbao a buffalo as indicated in (15.4a.). Notice that krbao is a grammatical object argument following the verb brei in (15.4a.).

When (15.4b.) is introduced to the text, the coded object argument iman is marked with lê. Dông-krje wanted to pay compensation to the monkey family with his ELEPHANT instead of his buffalo as he had previously said. The topic marker lê is seen as a device where the speaker wanted to discontinue with what has preceded and start a new topic. Dông-krje wanted to not talk about his buffalo, but instead talk about his elephant.

(15.4c.) and (15.4d.) are similar to (15.4a.) both in syntactic coding and pragmatically marked situations. Syntactically, in both (15.4c.) and (15.4d.), duôn, a hat, and agăr, a drum, are object arguments marked with the topic marker lê. They both follow a verb. In discourse, duôn and agăr are introduced to the text as new topics in
(15.4c.) and (15.4d.) respectively with high intonation peak. The speaker wants the hearer to expect discontinuity about the previous thing, and to introduce a new thing to the discourse. Lê in this case, indicates a contrastive new topic.

(15.5) is another example to support the claim that when Lê marks an object argument in a final position, it is usually functioning as a contrastive topic marker. The text from which (15.5) is taken describes how Jatarît went through challenges created by the village head. Jatarît was a very poor orphan who lived with an old generous lady whom he called grandmother. From his magical tangerine tree, he got a wife and many other things for his house. There was a chief in the village who had everything and did not want anyone else to have things which he did not have. When he found out that Jatarît's wife was more beautiful than any of his wives, he wanted Jatarît's wife. In order to have her, he needed to challenge Jatarît with other tasks first. The first thing he challenged Jatarît with was to obtain dried chilis and dried eggplants which were not in season. He got what he asked for. The next thing he wanted was cucumbers, and then, later he wanted bamboo shoots. Every single time he gave Jatarît a limited time to obtain what he wanted and often Jatarît had to rely on his wife to fulfill the king's requirements. One time, after all of his previously requested things were provided, he called his servant and said:

(15.5) boi̍h dīng-katang di ih lō nao, hey servant PL 2 again go
čieng ko̍h êa tusâo lē. want DAT water breast TOP

230
'Hey, servants! You all go to (Jatarît's house) for me. I want BREAST MILK.' (ND008/457)

The chief of the village, in contrast to his previous requests, now wanted something different: êa tusâo, breast milk. When this new referent is inserted into the discourse, it is differentiated from previous things such as cucumbers, dried chilis, and eggplants by the use of the contrastive topic marker lë. The speaker is no longer talking about bamboo shoots, but rather breast milk.

What have seen in (15.4) and (15.5) is that when lë is placed in clausal-final position, it marks a contrastive topic. However, contrastive topic marking with lë is not limited to sentence-final position. It can also occur at the beginning of a sentence. The following section of text demonstrates lë as a contrastive topic marker on a NP at the beginning of a sentence. (15.6) is again taken from the tale about Jatarît and the village chief who wanted Jatarît's wife. After the village chief's sons told him that Jatarît's wife was more beautiful than any of his wives, he asked his servants to go to double check the information. (15.6a.) says "they went" as opposed to (15.6b.) in which "HE went":

(15.6) a. Nao yôh dîng-katang nũ.
      go  PTCL servant  3
      'His servants went (to Jatarit's house)' (ND008/306)

They went back home and reported what they saw to the village head: 'It is true what your son said. When we arrived there (at Jatarit's house), he invited us to go up
inside. When we sat in the living room, there was a very bright light reflecting from his bedroom. We asked him about it. He said that the light came from his great grandmother's traditional wine čeh tang (something which only rich people would have). We said that was not true and then we left. *(So, the truth was Jatarit had a beautiful wife from which the bright light came-TN).*

Then the village head said "Are you lying to me? If you are lying to me, I will kill you all." "It is true. It is fine for you to kill us if we are lying to you", responded the servants. The village head said "Good".

b. năn sĕ trguah
   then until tomorrow
   ñu lĕ lŏ nao, putao lĕ lŏ nao.
3 TOP again go, village.head TOP again go
'Then the following morning, he, the head of the village, went (to Jatarit's house)' *(ND008/346)*

In *(15.6b.)*, the accented pronoun ñu is contrasted with the NP *dîng-katang ñu.* These two NPs code two active referents in this discourse: the village head and his servants. Because he wanted to make sure what they said was true, he himself went to
double check the information. Lề marks the contrastive referent (the village chief as opposed to his servants) and it is in a sentence-initial position.

Examples (15.4) to (15.6) provide evidence that a topicalized NP when being contrasted can be at the beginning of a sentence or in sentence-final position depending its syntactic function as a grammatical subject or object. However, when a topicalized NP falls into a syntactic object position, lề often marks it as contrastive while with a grammatical subject, it could either be contrastive or simply a topic marker introducing a new referent into a discourse. The fact that lề sometimes introduces a new topic into discourse (e.g. example (15.1) and (15.2)) and sometimes marks as a contrastive topic marker (e.g. example (15.4) and (15.6)) is usual, but the unusual thing about it is the fact that a lề-marked NP can be in a sentence-final position as opposed to a sentence-initial position as in other languages in SEA region such as Vietnamese (Cao 1998), Chinese (Li & Thomson, 1976), or Ede (Nguyen 2006), where such constructions are consistently sentence-initial.

15.1.2. Contrastive focus: moh- construction

If lề marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, a construction having moh adds information into a proposition contradicting what is presupposed or assumed
(Lambrecht, 1994, p. 207). The following data provide evidence that *môh* indicates contrastive focus (which may be also different from the mirative *môh* discussed in Section 11.3.1).

Example (15.7) comes from a section of text describing how a little boy found his father. *Môh* occurs in the story where the main character is crying because he wants a crossbow after seeing that his friends all had their crossbows. It was presupposed that what he wanted was a crossbow. Therefore, his relatives tried to make one for him. It turns out that when his grandfather made one for him, he did not want it. His uncles made one for him, he did not want that one either. What surprises hearers is that he wanted his father to make one for him. There is a counter expectation in the proposition and that is what *môh* is used for.

(15.7) Nei aê ſu ngă kĭn ſu čiāng,
now grandfather 3 make NEG 3 want
miêt wa ſu ngă kĭn ſu čiāng
uncle uncle 3 make NEG 3 want
Still cry DAT father FOC make crossbow
'Now when his grandfather or his uncle made a crossbow for him, he didn't want it. He wanted (to the speaker's surprise) his father to make one for him.'
(PA011/052)

(15.8) presents another discourse situation in which what is presupposed and what is added via *môh* are positioned next to each other in a comparison construction:

234
(15.8) Mŏ ŏng tilît ańuê ka, ka siem 
wife 2 roll mat notyet notyet beautiful

ka siem ſu môh, siem arăng môh.
notyet beautiful 3 FOC beautiful 3 FOC

('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

Mŏ ŏng ti năn lang ańuê, ngă abăn, brei abăn, 
wife 2 LOC DIST spread mat, make blanket give blanket

ät siem arăng môh.

again beautiful 3 FOC

('Your wife who spreads a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

Mŏ phŭn ŏng, palei phŭn ŏng 
wife root 2 wife root 2

ät siem arăng môh.

again beautiful 3 FOC

('Your head wife is not as beautiful as her.')

'It is her who is more beautiful than any of your wives.' (ND008/293)

The section of text from which (15.8) is taken describes how much more beautiful Jatarĭt's wife is in comparison to the village chief's wives. The chief's son went back home and reported to his father how beautiful Jatarĭt's wife was. His expectation about his father's wives was that they were the most beautiful. Therefore, when he put each of his father's wives and Jatarĭt's wife (who is coded in the pronoun arăng) in a comparative
construction to compare their beauties, there is a contrast between what is presupposed and what is added into the proposition.

On the other hand, (15.9) provides evidence for the difference between the two moḥ-constructions: a mirative moḥ and contrastive focus. In general, constructions containing the mirative moḥ have the unexpected information coded in different syntactic constituents from that of the contrastive focus moḥ. Syntactically, a mirative moḥ occurs in a verb phrase final position (15.9), while a contrastive focus moḥ occurs at the end of a NP (examples (15.7) and (15.8)). Pragmatically, moḥ as a NP operator presents unpredictable information which contradicts with what is assumed or presupposed while a mirative moḥ does not.

(15.9) Dhões arĩ ſu tĩ boh bũk năn ſu madjă,
knife PN 3 LOC CL hair then 3 PRE-take

Djă nao truh tĩ kmrŏng dih,
take go arrive LOC forest FAR.DIST

buh yŏh ubei dua kdrŭn tlăo kdrŭn.
see PTCL yam two CLF three CLF

Nei makhăt alĕ khăt alĕ,
now PRE-cut medium.bamboo cut medium.bamboo

mablah hŏng d hông năn moḥ.
PRE-split with knife DIST MIR
'He took with him the knife which is often in his bun to the forest to dig yams. He found some yams there. Then he (to my surprise) cut down medium bamboos there and he used that knife to split the bamboo as well.'(PA011/136)

In (15.8) it is Y-Bia (coded by the pronoun *arăng*) rather than the chief's main wives, who is the most beautiful. This is contradiction to the hearer's assumption that chief's wives are the most beautiful. However, in (15.9), it is surprising to hearers that Dông-krje uses a small knife that is often in his hair bun to cut down and split bamboo to make tools for digging yams. However, his action does not contradict any expectation before the time of speech as *môh* does in (15.8). Moreover, mirative *môh*, but not contrastive focus *môh*, can be replaced by an anti-mirative particle *yôh* to indicate that the information is not marked as unexpected. Therefore, it is grammatical to replace *môh* by *yôh* (15.10), but then the sentence no longer carries surprising information to hearers. However, it is impossible to replace *môh* by *yôh* in (15.11):

(15.10) *(Dhŏng arĭ ňu ti boh bŭk năn ňu madjă. Djă nao truh ti kmrŏng dih, būh yōh ubei dua kdrŭn tlâo kdrŭn,)*

Nei makhăt alê khăt alê, mablah hŏng dhŏng năn yōh.

'Then he cut down and split the bamboo with that knife. '

(15.11) *Mŏ ŏng tilît aŋuê ka, ka siem wife 2 roll mat not.yet not.yet beautiful

ka siem ňu yōh, siem arăng yōh.

not.yet beautiful 3 PTCL beautiful 3 PTCL

('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')
15.1.3. Fronted NP construction

Word order variation and its pragmatic function in discourse have been discussed in many studies (Fox, 1985; Payne, 1990 (ed.), 1992; Downing & Noonan (eds.) 1995, inter alia). Lambrecht (1986) describes the relation between word order variation in French, a SVO language, in terms of the two pragmatic components, topic and focus. Payne (1995) examines the correlation between main clause word order and pragmatic factors motivating word order variation in a verb initial language, 'O'odham. According to Lambrecht (1986), in spoken French, a canonical clause, instead having SVO order in which a subject NP precedes the verb, has no subject NP at all. The majority of nouns in these "preferred clauses" are not syntactic subjects or objects of the proposition. These nouns occur in clause-initial position but in a non-argument position and bound to the
verb. They are what he called topic constituents. They appear to the left of the "preferred clauses" for certain pragmatic purposes. Payne (1995) shows that in rigid verb initial languages, the pragmatically marked information is mostly placed in preverbal position: clause-initially. Thus, Lambrecht (1986) and Payne (1995) show that both some verb medial and some verb initial languages use the same means, NP fronting, to indicate a pragmatically marked referent.

This is also the way Bih pragmatically marks a NP in relation to its proposition. We often see an object or oblique argument fronted when topicalized but without the topic marker lē. Fronting is typically the way this language activates a referent which a speaker wants a hearer pay attention to; it indicates that the speaker will introduce more information about that referent in a given context or that the fronted referent is in contrast to a previous one. In addition, fronted NPs can present an unpredictable fact which contradicts what the hearer may have presupposed about something in the discourse. In other words, a fronted NP in Bih could present a topic, a contrastive topic or a contrastive focus (in Lambrecht's sense) in a proposition. This is similar to the case of the Mayan languages described in Aissen (1992).

This section describes fronted NPs with these two functions. As for fronted object NPs which are also marked by the topic marker lē, they are described in section 15.1.1. (It is necessary to mention here that the fronted object NP with the lē marker and the fronted object NP without lē have no pragmatic difference according to Bih speakers,

239
although the former often corresponds to a referent introduced as a first topic in a given
text (example (15.2).)

The following data (15.12)-(15.15) provide examples for different pragmatic
functions of a fronted NP in Bih:

(15.12)(Drink wine and eat buffalo when celebrating the end of the harvest season.)
      door east door west 2 close

   b. bô, ti gŭ năn ông ćût turŏng uda yơh hô.
      but LOC below.part DIST 2 put stake stake PTCL IMP
      'Close all entrance doors. As for the part below, put pointed stakes down there
      please.' (ND007/436)

The section of text from which (15.12) is taken describes what Dông-krje told the
monkey family about how to use his drum and what to do before using it. Băng-phă ngŏk
and băng-phă yuôp are the referents that the speaker, Dông-krje, is directing his hearers
to pay attention to. It is what the speaker will be referring to for the rest of the
proposition. So, it is a topic of (15.12a.). In a Bih traditional long house, there are two
entrance doors: one is in front of the house and the other is on the back of the house.

Their house, one kind of stilt house, has two parts: the main part is above and the lower
part is for keeping animals. When (15.12b.) is inserted into the text, hearers know by the
fronted NP ti gŭ năn that Dông-krje has changed his referent: from this point on, he is no
longer talking about all the activities which will take place during the celebration. Now,
the proposition is only about those which will take place in 'the lower part'. The fronted NP in this case functions as marked signal for a topic of the discourse section.

(15.13) is a similar example in which a topicalized NP is fronted. Syntactically, the fronted NP *anôk tumha ŋu riah makunei dih* functions as an object argument in (15.13). When it is fronted, it becomes a referent that speaker wants to give more information about:

(15.13)  (nei tadv̄a adō riah agār)
now PRE-find thing pierce drum
(now he is looking for something to pierce the drum)

*anôk tumha ŋu riah makunei dih,*
place parent.in.law 3 pierce previous FAR.DIST

arāng j̄hīt leh.
3 sew PFV
'As for the place his father pierced before, he sewed.'(PA011/120)

(15.14b.), on the other hand, presents a different case in which *Mabuin akāo,* a referent that the proposition is about, is coded in a fronted NP and syntactically functions as a predicate nominal of an existential copula *māo* construction:

(15.14)a. Tơ ŋu dōk, madōk yōh ajān di ŋu lē.
If 3 stay PRE-stay PTCL only PL 3 TOP
'If they want to get married, they themselves get married.'

b. Mabuin akāo bhūh māo ōh.

241
PRE-ask.for  ask.for NEG1 COP  NEG2
'As for asking for permission, there would not be any.'

c. Buh mão buĩн akâo ôh.
NEG1 COP ask.for ask.for NEG2
'There is no asking for permissions from anyone.'

d. Tũ ñu dök yơ'h, akei khăp pine, pine khăp akei
agree 3 stay PTCL boy love girl girl love boy

ñu bi dök.
3 together stay
'If the girl loves the boy and the boy loves the girl, they live together.'

(PA013/179)

(15.14) is taken from a tale about Duh bơ-brôt. Dăm-bhu is in love with her and
wants to marry her. However, his parents do not want him to marry her because she was
ugly. In the Bih culture, agreement and permission from parents is necessary for a
marriage. Nevertheless, Dăm-bhu intends to marry her regardless of what his parents
say. In (15.14a.), Duh bơ-brôt's grandmother expresses Duh bơ-brôt's opinion about
marriage-- an opinion that Dăm-bhu shares. When (15.14b.) is inserted into the text, the
speaker wants the hearer to understand that as for 'asking for permission', there would
be nothing like that from them.
Syntactically a NP which functions as an oblique argument could also be fronted and made the topic of a proposition. (15.15) is an example. (15.15) comes from a text describing two siblings who went back to a fishing place to retrieve the younger brother's special knife. Only the older brother survives, because a ghost at the fishing place ate the younger one. After a long journey, the older brother finally arrived back home. His parents were very happy because they thought both of them had died. (15.15) describes what they did for each of the two boys:

(15.15) (After arriving home, they prayed for their children. Then the day after, they again roasted cows, and buffalos to pray for the child who was still alive.)

a. Ka anak ŋu djê năn dah leh ŋu ngă pusat.
   DAT child 3 die DIST then finish 3 make one.stone

b. Ka anak ŋu udĭp năn ŋu lŏ čuh êmô kabao,
   DAT child 3 live DIST 3 again roast cow buffalo

lŏ ĭeu buŏi ĭeu mjăo, lŏ lŏ bông huă
again call mid.wife call shaman again again eat eat.rice

ko’ anak ŋu năn.
DAT child 3 DIST
'For their child who had died, they built a deathhouse and prayed for him. For the living child, they roasted cows and buffalos and called a shaman to come pray.' (PA015/112)
Both *ka anak ŋu djê năn* and *ka anak ŋu udîp năn* are syntactically connected to the verb in (15.15a.) and (15.15b.) as obliques. By fronting, *ka anak ŋu djê năn* becomes the referent which the proposition (15.15a.) is about while the proposition of (15.15b.) is about *ka anak ŋu udîp năn*. These two referents are the topics of their propositions in (15.15a.) and (15.15b.) respectively. By fronting a NP, the speaker directs the hearer's attention: by this delimiting fronted noun phrase, the incoming information of the proposition is about the child who passed away in (15.15a) and the living child in (15.15b).

Notice that all of the fronted NPs in (15.12)-(15.15) have different syntactic functions in connection to their grammatical sentence. A fronted NP could be an object argument as in (15.12) and (15.13), or an oblique as in (15.15a) and (15.15b). In other words, even though fronted NPs can have different syntactic roles in a grammatical sentence, they all can be the topic of a sentence. This is one of the properties of a topic described by Li and Thompson (1976): anything can be a referent for which a proposition is about. This is the main difference between a topic and a syntactic subject.

Examples (15.12)-(15.15) present fronted NP's in Bih functioning as pragmatic topics. The data below, (15.16), show an example in which a fronted NP shows a different function in discourse. A fronted NP here is not simply a referent that one proposition is about. Rather it is contrasted with another topic mentioned either previously or in the same context:

(15.16) a. ŋu plăk ama gô ti jông tăm
   3 pull father 3 LOC foot REFL

244
sawei     ti     gũ
throw    LOC    lower.part

leh-năn     čuh   ama   gô    năn.
then   roast   father   3   DIST
'He pulled the father by the feet, and then threw him on the ground, and then roasted (the body) over the fire.'

b. pha    mra   ūu   pioh,   akô   asei   ūu   ūu   djâ.
thigh   shoulder   3   keep   head   body   3   3   hold
'He kept the father’s thighs and shoulders while he took the head and the body (to his wife at home).' (PA016/033)

(15.16) comes from a text which describes how a ghost killed a father who went hunting with his son. (15.16a) describes how the ghost caught the father who was on the tree with his son. When (15.16b.) is introduced, both pha mra and akô asei are topics of their proposition, but they are also contrastive with one another: as for thighs and shoulders, he kept them, but as for the head and the body he took them (home). Therefore these two fronted NPs pha mra and akô asei are contrastive topics.

Another function of Bih fronted NPs can be seen in the following example where a referent of a proposition contradicts the hearer's expected referent:

(15.17) (That is not right. I pound with banana.)
Katăr bhûk   katăr   năn   kao   tle   hông   putei
corn smashed corn DIST 1 pound with banana

năn kāo djā ba. Kāo buh māo asei.
then 1 hold take/bring 1 NEG have cooked.rice
'It is smashed corn that I pound with banana to take with me because I do not have cooked rice.' (PA012/051)

The text from which (15.17) comes describes what foods Y-rĭt and his friends ate when they went to look for bamboo to make eel catchers. Y-rĭt's friends have cooked rice for their lunch while he only has an inferior corn-based dish. Because his friends lied to him (they said that they would let him use their cutting tools), Y-rĭt decided to lie to them when they asked him what kind of food he was eating. He said it was dog excrement. When they went back to the village, his friends told the village chief that Y-rĭt's dog excrement were very sweet and good. When the village chief asked him, his reply was (15.17). Y-rĭt wanted the Chief to know that it was smashed corn and not dog excrement as presupposed. In other words, what his hearers, his friends and the Chief, had in mind about his food was that it was dog excrement. So, when the referent *Katār bhŏk katār năn* is inserted, the speaker, Y-rĭt, wanted to contrast the referent with his hearers' presupposition. Therefore it is a contrastive focus.
15.2. The third and fourth arguments

This section presents a grammatical category which distinguishes a topical third person from all others. This is similar to the phenomenon which has been called "obviation" in North American languages such as Algonquian, Kutenai etc. in which one third person pronoun used to introduce new information or to reference a given participant as a topic of discourse is called proximate, and contrasts with a distinct form of third person reference called obviative. In these languages, there are certain syntactic properties associated with the obviation system. For example, in Ojibwe, an Algonquian language spoken in Canada and the United States, a noun functioning as a subject will be unmarked if it is proximate and will be marked by a suffix indicating its obviative status. Also, a transitive verb has two forms: one is a direct form and the other is inverse. The direct form is used if the subject is proximate while the inverse form is used if the subject is obviative.

Even though Bih does not have an inverse system marked on the verb as other languages that have the proximate/obviative distinction do, we find in Bih narrative one third person pronoun, ñu, used to refer to the character whose point of view is being represented, and another, gô, for other third persons. We will use the terms proximate
and obviative to refer to these two third persons in Bih although the Bih system is simpler than in the languages for which these terms were originally intended.

This section presents data from three stories in order to show how Bih makes a proximate/obviative distinction from different perspectives. The following section of text is taken from a tale of Jatarît, the protagonist, whose life is the main focus of the story. Jatarît lives with his grandmother in great poverty. His life changed when his grandmother went fishing. She caught no fish, but did catch a magic snail which could sing. Jatarît decided to trade his valuable snail for a tangerine at the market because he liked tangerines. It turned out that the seeds from his tangerine provided a heavy-bearing tangerine tree that attracted a lot of birds who all wanted to have one of the tangerines. One of the birds, who took a tangerine from Jatarît's tree while he was not at home gave him a magic box as compensation. Out of the box came Y-Bia, a beautiful woman who became Jatarît's wife. Y-Bia was able to provide anything the family needed. The village chief was not happy with the fact that a poor person like Jatarît could have the most beautiful wife, who was even more beautiful than any of his wives.
He challenged Jatarĭt many times, but Jatarĭt, with his wife's help, became the victor and by the end of the story he became the village chief.

In (15.18a.), when the proximate third person Jatarĭt is first introduced, a proper name is used. In (15.18b.) we have aduân ſu‘his grandmother’ with the proximate pronoun. When his grandmother is referred to by a pronoun in (15.18c.), it is with the obviative ɡ̄o:\n
(15.18)a. Kāo lō pablē Jatarĭt.
    1 again tell PN
    ‘I again tell a story about Jatarĭt.’

    b. Nei aduân ſu aduân Sun năn
        now grandmother PROX grandmother PN DIST

        nao yao yōh duăn.
        go fishing PTCL grandmother
        'His PROX grandmother goes fishing.' (ND008/001)

    c. Năn ɡ̄o dē ɡ̄o nao hāng arăng mōh,
        then OBV EMPH OBV go with 3PL MIR

        ɡ̄o katuai hōng arăng.
        OBV follow with 3PL
        'She OBV goes and follows other people.’ (ND008/004)

These references, ſu for Jatarĭt and ɡ̄o for his grandmother, are consistent throughout the text (examples (15.19) and (15.20) come from the end of the text):
luckily grandchild I VOC OBV say 'She said to her grandson (Jatarīt) that he was lucky to go home after fighting with the village chief.' (ND008/619)

then say husband PN PTCL DAT PROX PN DIST

DAT PROX PN

'Then (the elephant) recognized him as the husband of Y-Đut, another nickname for Y-Bia.' (ND008/644)

This indicates that Jatarīt was the central topic of the story while his grandmother was not.

On the other hand, we also find the use of the proximate form to place narrative focus on a local instead of a global topic. Example (15.21) is from a conversation between Jatarīt and the two dragons Y-Rī and Y-Răn about how his grandmother was scared of all the strange powerful animals who came for his tangerines while he was not home. For this portion of the narrative only, where Jatarīt is speaking and presenting someone else as the main character of his discourse, it is the grandmother who is referred to by the proximate ňu, although elsewhere in the story she is always obviative:
(15.21) a. ŏng dăâng aduăn kâo ti sang, 
2 look grandma 1 LOC house

b. sa ñu huĭ kọ āng, sa ñu huĭ kọ kâo.
one PROX scare DAT 2 one PROX scare DAT 2
'You look at my grandma: on the one hand she is scared of you while on the other hand she is afraid of me.'(ND008/177)

In addition, speaking of a local topic in a certain portion of text, any third person can be referred to by the proximate pronoun ñu if he or she is the focus of that brief episode regardless whether he or she occurs from the beginning of the story as the global topic or not. Examples (15.22) and (15.23) come from the portion of text about Jatarĭt's wife and the village chief respectively. Jatarĭt's wife had not been introduced to the text until example (15.22) and the village chief was introduced only in the second half of the story by (15.23). When the narrative stops tracking Jatarĭt, for an episode that follows his wife Y-Bia, it is Y-Bia who is referred to by the proximate pronoun. Likewise the village chief, for a narrative portion where he plays a central role, is referred to with ñu since he is the topic for that portion:

(15.22) a. Leh tană aseî atŭk djăm, ñu Y-Bia năn, 
Finish cook rice cook soup, PROX PN DIST, 

b. Leh-năn ñu wâng abăn, wâng dŏ piên ao yo'h. 
Then PROX weave blanket, weave thing loin-clothes shirt PTCL
‘Then that Ybia, when finished cooking rice and soup, she$_{\text{PROX}}$ then weaves blankets, loin clothes and shirts.’ (ND008/251)

(15.23) Năn ſu mayua dîng-katang ſu,
then PROX PRE-tell servant PROX

nao bĕ di ih dîng-katang ah,
go IMP PL 2 servant VOC

di ih nao lăng ta sang Y-Rĭt dih.
PL 2 go look LOC sang PN FAR-DIST
'Then he$_{\text{PROX}}$ told his servants to go and look inside Y-Rĭt's house.'
(ND008/300)

It makes sense that in portions of the text where the narrative stops tracking the global topic, the local topic is then referred to by the proximate as shown in (15.22) and (15.23) above. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how the language deals with a situation where the local topic meets the global topic in the same portion of narrative.

For instance, in the story about Jatarĭt, there is an episode which follows the village chief. Jatarĭt becomes involved because the village chief wants things from him. Here, when both of them are being referred to, it is expected that Jatarĭt, as the global topic, will be referred to by the proximate pronoun and the village chief will be referred as an obviative as shown in example (15.24):
(15.24) a. Leh-năn lô buh mơh dîng-buăl putao ſu
and again see MIR servant head.village PROX

năn, dîng-katang ſu lô nao.
DIST, servant PROX again go

b."Si-ba Y-Rît ah ŏng nao leh he?" "ŏ, kâo nao leh."
how PN VOC 2 go PFV QP yes, 1 go PFV

......

c. Ya hôi-krdơk yơh dîng-katang gơ dê.
what happy PTCL servant OBV EMPH
"Then again his PROX servants went to Y-Rît: "Hey, Y-Rît, did you go?"

"Yes, I did" Y-Rît responded.'

''His OBV servants were very happy.' (ND008/610)

However, it is not always the case where both a local topic in the episode and
the global topic are present that the local topic will be referred to with the obviative
pronoun. Sometimes both a glocal topic and a local one are referred to by the same
proximate form ſu. In other words, the same proximate form is used to refer to two
different third persons in that case. In order to make clear which third person the
proximate pronoun is referring to, Bih uses a noun phrase adjacent to the proximate to make a distinction between the two topics, as shown in example (15.25):

(15.25) a. Năn mŏ ſu Y-Rĭt palei ſu năn lač, 
then wife PROX PN wife PROX then say
(you told your brother to cook rice and soups )

b. Boř ſu putao nei năn,
but PROX king this then

buh lô thâo dô ſu lô čieng.
NEG again know thing PROX again want

'Then Y-RĭtPROX's wife told her brothers to talk to Y-Rĭt and ask him to cook rice and soup. As for himPROX, the chief, she did not know what he wanted.' (ND008/601)

However, occasionally an obviative can be used to refer to the main character in an episode that follows a different third person who belongs to the natural world. In the story above, Jatarĭt is referred to by an obviative in a context which describes where wild animals (in this case, deer) live and their actions there. Thus, in (15.26), he is marked as an obviative:

(15.26) Truh ta năn, đŭk-ardŭk mŏh, druah djruah tiă gŏ năn.
arrive LOC DIST, slowly MIR deer deer follow OBV DIST
'When heOBV arrived there, the deer followed himOBV.' (ND008/502)
Another story providing evidence of how Bih makes a proximate/obviative distinction is a story about Dông-krje and his relation to the monkey family. In Bih culture, monkeys often represent mischievous tricksters. Thus it is often the case when a folktale is about or has monkeys as characters, that folktale always has a lesson for hearers. Dông-krje became a prisoner of the monkey family after saying that he used monkey penis as bait for fishing (in fact he used worms, like everyone else, but got annoyed when the monkeys refused to believe him). He stayed with their family and caused a lot of trouble for them such as asking them to kill their livestock one after another--first a chicken, then a pig, a buffalo and finally their grandmother. The reason they did whatever he said was that they thought there was a ghost in his body and what he told them was really the ghost speaking. After the monkey family killed their grandmother as he had requested, he wanted to go back to his own house. He offered to pay for his mistake (what he said about his fishing foods) with a single compensation. From then on, he lied to them repeatedly. For example, one time he gave them a crab and told them that it was his ancestors' buffalo. Another time he gave them a big storage bin and told them that it was his ancestors' elephant that they could use to ride across
the river. Another time he gave them his ancestors' hat and told them to sit in the sun while wearing that hat. Finally, he gave to them a drum that he had filled with a lot of poisonous insects and creatures. He told them to use his drum when they celebrate the harvest season. As a result, all the monkeys died. At first, Dông-krje just wanted to pay off his debt to the monkeys. So when he gave his first compensation, it was just a compensation. However, with the later deceits, he wanted to kill them. So the degree of dangerousness of each subsequent compensation, compared to the earlier ones, always increased. But the monkey family did not realize that. They believed and followed his directives every time, but kept returning to him complaining that the compensation he had given did not match his description. Finally because of their stupidity, they died and Dông-krje was the winner after repeatedly duping the monkey family. The lesson from the story is "Do not be stupid like the monkeys who died because they believed what their enemy said". Because the monkey family and their stupidity are the main topic of discourse, the monkey is the main character and thus, it is expected that the monkey will be referred to by the proximate pronoun ńū. Therefore, at the beginning of the story when Dông-krje is the first person introduced to hearers, he is referred to by the
obviative pronoun $g$ as shown in (15.27). It is a signal to hearers that this person is not the main topic of the story. Then, when the monkey is introduced after Dông-krje, as in (15.27c-e), it was referred to by the proximate pronoun $\tilde{n}u$.

1 tell story long.time 1 tell PN

b. Krje năn gö nao čût weh.
PN DIST OBV go put fishing.tool
'I am telling a story about Dông-krje. He$_{OBV}$ goes fishing.'
(ND007/001)

c. čût weh năn, năn matuôm hăng kra.
put fishing.tool then, then PRE-meet with monkey

d. tuôm hăng kra, năn ūu kra lač:
meet with monkey then PROX monkey say

e. ō Dông-krje, hăng adō ếng weh?
VOC PN with thing 2 go fishing
'Then he$_{OBV}$ met the monkey and he$_{PROX}$, the monkey, asked Dông-krje, with what did you go fishing.' (ND007/003)

Just as in Jatarít's story, in certain portions of this story, where the narrative topic is a local topic instead of the global one, the proximate is used to refer to the local topic of that portion. In the following examples, it is Dông-krje who is referred to by $\tilde{n}u$. The first is shown in a portion of text, (15.28), in which the monkey and his family are talking
about Dông-krje's request regarding the type of meat he wants to eat (the grandmother!).

The second example, (15.29), occurs in the narrative describing how Dông-krje made the hat that he gave to the monkey:

(15.28) Ñu lač arih aduân yơh, ñu lač.
PROX say kill grandmother PTCL PROX say
'He_PROX said to kill our grandmother.' (ND007/257)

(15.29) Ñu mlia arlĭn năn.
PROX shine wax DIST
'He_PROX buffed the wax.' (ND007/362)

In another case when both Dông-krje, as a local topic, and the monkeys are mentioned in one portion of narrative, a NP occurs next to a proximate to make it clear who the pronoun refers to. Example (15.30) describes how Dông-krje goes looking for things to put in the drum, and then, when he is finished making the drum, he goes to call the monkey. In this portion of text, the proximate ñu in (15.30a.) refers to Dông-krje, so the second ñu in (15.30b.) is followed by a NP kra năn to make a clear reference to the monkey:

(15.30) a. Djăp~djĭk~djĭp~lĭk anao yơh ñu.
everywhere go PTCL PROX
ma-pa-duVm ma-pa-duVm lăm năn leh-năn ah
PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST and then
b. lō nao iêo ſu kra năn.
   again go call PROX monkey DIST

'He PROX went everywhere (to look for insects) to put in the drum, and then, he PROX called out to him PROX, the monkey.' (ND007/415)

As mentioned with reference to (15.26), the main character is sometimes referred to by the obviative gô instead of the proximate ſu. Example (15.26) comes from an episode where Jatarít was in the wild animal territory. In the story of Dông-krje and the monkey, the monkey is usually the topic of discourse. But in some of the last episodes in which the monkey has still luckily survived and has gone back to Dông-krje to ask for another compensation, he is referred to by the obviative (up until he dies) as shown in (15.31) and (15.32). It is not clear what discourse factors cause this switch between two coding pronouns, though according to Bih speakers it has to do with the fact that Dông-krje was the winner, and the monkey was too stupid to survive in the story, so this was the way they ended:

(15.31) Dô mamá yaih hâk-krdăk yơh gô. Kra năn mamá.
   PROG PRE-take EXCL happy PTCL OBV monkey then PRE-take

'The monkey OBV was so happy to take the hat.'(ND007/372)

(15.32) Dô matiă kadah tiă hûr di gô yơh.
   PROG PRE-follow bite follow etc PL OBV PTCL

'They were chasing to bite them OBV.'(ND007/454)
In a different story involving a man-eating ghost, the ghost has not been introduced yet in the first episode. So here, his victim is referred to with a proximate pronoun ñu as shown in (15.33):

(15.33)  Ñu dôk kẳp arnap ñu dua anak ama.
PROX sit wait house PROX two child father
'Both the father and son were waiting for their wild animals in their lookout house in a tree.'(PA016/007)

In this story, the ghost's victim was a father of a family so poor that they did not even have a house in a village. So they built a small mountain house right at the edge of the forest. One time the father and his son went hunting. They got a big forest buffalo and built a fire there to cook it. The ghost smelled roasting meat and came. Both father and son climbed up the tree, but the ghost pulled the father down and ate him, leaving the thighs and shoulders. Then the ghost told the son that they would go home to his mother and take her the "buffalo" meat. When he met the wife, Y-Bia, the ghost appeared as the father. He gave the wife all the thighs and shoulders from her husband and told her that they were from a buffalo. The ghost then took some wine and drank. Y-Bia recognized her husband's legs and prepared to flee. She and her children escaped and arrived at the home of an old lady who was the only one brave enough to hide them in her house after hearing their story. When the ghost came, the old lady tricked him into swallowing a red hot stone. She burned him to ashes, but forgot to throw his head into the fire. Y-Bia and her children decided to stay with the old lady for the rest of their lives. One time, when Y-Bia went looking for snails at the river, she realized that the head of the ghost was
following her. She ran back to the old lady's house, but it was too late as the ghost
grabbed her wrist and bit her calf when she climbed up the stairs and she died.

This story provides a consistent distinction between a proximate and obviatives in
which the proximate is used to refer to the main character while all other third persons in
the story are obviatives. Since the main character, in this case the ghost, occurs in the
story, he is referred to by the proximate in (15.34) and (15.35) even though at the
beginning of the discourse, the father was introduced by the proximate as shown in
(15.33) above. From there on, the father is referred to by the obviative (15.36) and his son
was, too (15.37). When Y-Bia is first introduced into the story, she is also referred to as
obviative in (15.38). So was the old lady: she was often called by duân sun, 'good
grandmother', but other than that, she was referred to as an obviative as in (15.39):

(15.34) brăm ana y'oḥ biă-dah mão lô thâo
arrow crossbow PTCL but NEG again know

máo panah ūu năn.
NEG shoot PROX DIST
'They have their crossbows but do not know how to shoot him PROX.'

(PA016/029)

(15.35) Akŏ ūu năn jing lô jing yang y'oḥ.
head PROX then become again become ghost PTCL
'His head then becomes the ghost.'(PA016/154)
(15.36)  Apăl gjë năn adôk, nů dëjă dâ năn.
arm OBV DIST still PROX hold like DIST
'His arms are still left, the ghost holds (to the wife).'
( PA016/036)

(15.37)  nů plăk ama gjë ti jîng tâm.
PROX pull father OBV LOC leg REC
'He pulled the father's legs.'(PA016/033)

(15.38)  Mâmât mamât năn jîng arlô,
dark dark then leg wild.animal
pungač pungač jîng jîng kjar gjë mnuih.
light light leg leg husband OBV human
'When it was dark, the legs looked like wild animal legs, when it was light, they were her husband's legs.'(PA016/048)

(15.39)  Duôn sun gjë ngâ kuë kabût but
grandma PN OBV make scoop grave.stone grave.stone
msat năn bông ĕmô bông kabao năn.
grave.stone then eat cow eat buffalo then
'The grandma made a grave stone and prayed for the mother.'
( PA016/149)
APPENDIX A

BIH-ede-English Lexicon (Selected Words)

This lexicon contains only selected words taken from my Bih lexicon database. The first column is Bih words that are from the texts collected through the Bih documentation project. The second column is Ede version that is provided by two Ede native assistants of the project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A - a</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abào</td>
<td>abao. large water snail.</td>
<td>arbúng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abâo</td>
<td>hbâo. ashes.</td>
<td>ardeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abreì</td>
<td>mbruè. yesterday.</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adâng</td>
<td>hdâng. charcoal.</td>
<td>arip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adei</td>
<td>adei. younger sibling.</td>
<td>arlang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adôk</td>
<td>adôk. still.</td>
<td>arlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adû</td>
<td>adû. room.</td>
<td>arluh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adûng</td>
<td>adûng. nose.</td>
<td>arnán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agâr</td>
<td>hgór. drum.</td>
<td>arsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akă</td>
<td>kà. tie.</td>
<td>artak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akei</td>
<td>ëkei. boy/man.</td>
<td>asah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akît</td>
<td>ruà. hurt.</td>
<td>asâo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akôk</td>
<td>kô. head.</td>
<td>asheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alâo</td>
<td>hlâo. pestle.</td>
<td>aseì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale</td>
<td>alè. medium bamboo.</td>
<td>altăk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alônôg</td>
<td>hlônôg. lar. forever/until.</td>
<td>anâtk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak</td>
<td>anak, ëdai. child, child.</td>
<td>anatìk</td>
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<tr>
<td>anakôn</td>
<td>anân. name.</td>
<td>aseìtìk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anāp</td>
<td>ti -anāp. front of.</td>
<td>asuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angît</td>
<td>ëngît. wind.</td>
<td>asûng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angû</td>
<td>ëngû. white sesame.</td>
<td>atâih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anông</td>
<td>ënông. carry on pole.</td>
<td>ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anûåûr</td>
<td>amun. stalk of bananas.</td>
<td>atûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayo</td>
<td>ëyo. white-headed langur, uncle, parent-in-law.</td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apui</td>
<td>puti. fire.</td>
<td>awak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arâng</td>
<td>ërâng. person.</td>
<td>awâr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbáo</td>
<td>ëbáo. thousand.</td>
<td>awe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya</td>
<td>ëya. ginger.</td>
<td>tei</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B - b</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>bê. imperative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>bê. calf.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blah</td>
<td>blah. split.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blei</td>
<td>blei. buy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh</td>
<td>boh, boh. fruit/egg/CL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

263
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bông</td>
<td>bông. coffin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braih</td>
<td>braih. rice(husked).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brei</td>
<td>brei, brei. give, permit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bruā</td>
<td>bruā. work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brūk</td>
<td>brū. rotten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B - b

| băng  | băng. hole. |
| brăm | brăm. arrow. |
| bè   | bè. CL for long thin object. |
| bük  | bük. head hair. |
| biā  | biā. little. |
| bŏō  | bŏō. face. |
| bōng | bōng. eat. |
| bōng | bōng. burn. |

### C - c

| čhar  | čhar. big gong. |
| čhŏk | čhŏk. scoop up/ladle. |
| čhum | čhum. pants. |
| čok  | čok. wail. |
| čuh  | čuh. roast something over fire by hand. |

### D - d

| dar   | dar. encircle. |
| dôk   | dôk, dôk, dôk, dôk. sit/stay, be at, still. |
| dông  | dông. stand. |
| dua   | dua. two. |
| dră   | dră. hand on hip. |
| dlăng | dlăng. dlăng. watch, look. |
| dleh  | dleh. tired. |
| dlô   | dlô. brain. |
| dlông | dlông. tall, long, above part. |

### Đ - đ

| Đang  | Đang. lie supine. |
| Đih   | Đih. lie. |
| Đũng  | Đurrect. wrap up. |
| Đuôn  | Đuôn. a bamboo conical hat. |
| Đuông | Đuông. float. |

### E - e

| eh | eh. excrement/feces. |
### Ê - ê

êar  êa. water.

### G - g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Êah</th>
<th>gah. side.</th>
<th>Grieng</th>
<th>griâng. fang.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gâm</td>
<td>gâm. put lid on.</td>
<td>Gük</td>
<td>pông. chicken cage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ge</td>
<td>giê. stick.</td>
<td>Guôp</td>
<td>gù. below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gô</td>
<td>gô. pot.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grâm</td>
<td>grâm. thunder.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### H - h

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<tr>
<th>Hăng</th>
<th>hăng. spicy.</th>
<th>Hôk</th>
<th>hôk. pour out.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hiar</td>
<td>hia. cry.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
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### I - i

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<tr>
<th>Hông</th>
<th>hông. wasp.</th>
<th>Īngît</th>
<th>īngît. sky.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibat</td>
<td>ībat. walk.</td>
<td>Īpan</td>
<td>īpan. centipede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īeu</td>
<td>īeu. call.</td>
<td>Īra</td>
<td>īra. salt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īma</td>
<td>īma. five.</td>
<td>Īrūm</td>
<td>īrūm. needle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īna</td>
<td>īna, ēnua. feminine, (class term).</td>
<td>Īwa</td>
<td>īwa. breath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### J - j

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jhit</td>
<td>jhit. sew.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dj - dj

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Djô</th>
<th>djô. correct.</th>
<th>Djuh</th>
<th>djuh. firewood.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djaro</td>
<td>drao. bamboo type.</td>
<td>Djûp</td>
<td>djûp. smoke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djruah</td>
<td>druah. barking deer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### K - k

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kā</th>
<th>kā. tie.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>kal. lock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kālei</td>
<td>klei. -ing, dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamei</td>
<td>hmei. we(ex ).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>kan. fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanāl</td>
<td>anāl kō. pillow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kang</td>
<td>kang. jaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāo</td>
<td>kāo. 1sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapal</td>
<td>kpal. thick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karām</td>
<td>krām. hatch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katāk</td>
<td>ktāk. sap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katāl</td>
<td>ktāl. itchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katre</td>
<td>ktrei. scissors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katūng</td>
<td>ktūng. pull.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawāt</td>
<td>kwāt. wire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayāo</td>
<td>kyāo. tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ho</td>
<td>k'ho. K'ho people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>kō. white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koh</td>
<td>koh. shorten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōng</td>
<td>kōng. bracelet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kra</td>
<td>kra. monkey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kroŋ</td>
<td>krōng. river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kru</td>
<td>kru. īlü. bowl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ksuā</td>
<td>ksuā. lung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktsär</td>
<td>ktsär. corn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuñĭ</td>
<td>kuñĭ. yellow, tumeric.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutura</td>
<td>ktu. head lice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### L - l

| läč | läč. say.               |
| lăm | hläm lam. in.           |
| lăn | lăn. land.              |
| lē  | lē. fall down.          |
| lek | liêk. tickle.           |
| lōk | lōk. peel.              |
| luai | luē. swim.              |

### M - m

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mā</th>
<th>mā. hold/use/take/pick up.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mabui</td>
<td>hlō ŭn. wild pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabūk</td>
<td>ruā. drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malām</td>
<td>mlam. night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malāo</td>
<td>mlāo. ashamed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malōng</td>
<td>lōng. try.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manei</td>
<td>mnei. bathe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māng</td>
<td>mōng. from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marai</td>
<td>mrai. thread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marāo</td>
<td>mrāo. new/just now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masām</td>
<td>msām. sour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masīn</td>
<td>msīn. salty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>alā. eye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdūng</td>
<td>adūng. nose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhaol</td>
<td>mhaol. drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miēo</td>
<td>miēu. cat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnūk</td>
<td>mnū. chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mung</td>
<td>amung. puzzle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### N - n

| näm | näm. six.                |
| nao | nao. go.                 |
| nei | nei. this.               |

266
267

\(\text{Ñ - ų}\\)

\(\text{ñeh} \quad \text{ñeh. elbow.}\\)
\(\text{ñu} \quad \text{ñu. 3sg.}\\)
\(\text{ñûk} \quad \text{añû. necklace/beads.}\\)

\(\text{NG - ng}\\)

\(\text{ngã} \quad \text{ngã. make.}\\)
\(\text{ngök} \quad \text{ngö. east.}\\)

\(\text{P - p}\\)

\(\text{på} \quad \text{på. four.}\\)
\(\text{pade} \quad \text{mdiê. unhusked rice/paddy.}\\)
\(\text{paduôp} \quad \text{myor. offer.}\\)
\(\text{pâk} \quad \text{puh. fan.}\\)
\(\text{pakâ} \quad \text{kuč pui, mkâ. feed a fire, measure.}\\)
\(\text{palâ} \quad \text{plâ. palm.}\\)
\(\text{palê} \quad \text{mplê. drop.}\\)
\(\text{pamah} \quad \text{mmah. chew.}\\)
\(\text{panah} \quad \text{momah. shoot.}\\)
\(\text{pasah} \quad \text{msah. wet.}\\)
\(\text{patûk} \quad \text{mtûk. cough.}\\)
\(\text{pê} \quad \text{pê. pick/pluck.}\\)
\(\text{phañ} \quad \text{bhañ, hdrak. sneeze.}\\)
\(\text{phît} \quad \text{phî. bitter.}\\)
\(\text{phûn} \quad \text{phûn. trunk.}\\)
\(\text{pinang} \quad \text{mmang. betel (areca -palm).}\\)
\(\text{pine} \quad \text{mmiê. girl/woman.}\\)
\(\text{pluh} \quad \text{pluh. ten.}\\)
\(\text{pök} \quad \text{pök. open.}\\)
\(\text{pông} \quad \text{pông. nail/hammer.}\\)
\(\text{prâk} \quad \text{prâk. money.}\\)
\(\text{prôk} \quad \text{prôk. squirrel.}\\)
\(\text{pröng} \quad \text{pröng, elder aunt, pröng. big.}\\)
\(\text{prû} \quad \text{mtû. star.}\\)
\(\text{pû} \quad \text{pû. carry in one’s arms.}\\)
\(\text{pujeh} \quad \text{mjeh. seeds.}\\)
\(\text{pukâ} \quad \text{mkâ. measure.}\\)
\(\text{pukän} \quad \text{mkân. another.}\\)
\(\text{pula} \quad \text{pla. plant.}\\)
\(\text{pulan} \quad \text{mlan. month.}\\)
\(\text{pulâo} \quad \text{mlâo. body hair.}\\)
\(\text{pumao} \quad \text{mmao. mushroom.}\\)
\(\text{puñam} \quad \text{mñam. weave.}\\)
\(\text{punga} \quad \text{mnga. flower.}\\)
\(\text{pungât} \quad \text{mngât. spirit.}\\)
\(\text{pusât} \quad \text{msât. belly button.}\\)
\(\text{pusei} \quad \text{msei. iron.}\\)
\(\text{putei} \quad \text{mtei. banana.}\\)
\(\text{puya} \quad \text{mya. crocodile.}\\)

\(\text{R - r}\\)

\(\text{rang} \quad \text{čbhû/bhû. spread it out.}\\)
\(\text{răng} \quad \text{adrâng. rice straw.}\\)
\(\text{râk} \quad \text{râk. grass.}\\)
\(\text{rdê} \quad \text{čdê. Rade people.}\\)
\(\text{rông} \quad \text{rông. raise.}\\)
\(\text{rông} \quad \text{rông. backbone.}\\)
\(\text{rôk} \quad \text{adrôk. toad.}\\)
\(\text{rtuh} \quad \text{čtuh. a hundred.}\\)
### S - s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rup</td>
<td>rup. picture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa. one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sang</td>
<td>sang. house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāp</td>
<td>sāp pui. smoke from fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sei</td>
<td>hlei. who.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siem</td>
<td>siam. beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siep</td>
<td>lang. spread out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sroh</td>
<td>hroh. grind/polish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srō</td>
<td>hroh. subside.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T - t

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ti. at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā. chop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabar</td>
<td>kba. tasteless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takung</td>
<td>kkung. carry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talan</td>
<td>ēlan. road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talei</td>
<td>klei, klei. the, string.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanā</td>
<td>knā. cook rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangan</td>
<td>kngan. hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangū</td>
<td>kgū. get up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanguar</td>
<td>knguōr. flat woven tray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tape</td>
<td>kpiē. rice vine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tara</td>
<td>ēra. girl(teenage).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarah</td>
<td>ērah. blood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasā</td>
<td>ksā. ripe/cooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than</td>
<td>adhan. branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thāo</td>
<td>thāo. know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thei</td>
<td>adhei. forehead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thōng</td>
<td>dhōng. knife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thūn</td>
<td>thūn. year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiā</td>
<td>tiō. chase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tian</td>
<td>tian. stomach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigei</td>
<td>ēgei. tooth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiju</td>
<td>kjūh. seven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikah</td>
<td>hdor. remember.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikuih</td>
<td>kkuīh. mouse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilah</td>
<td>ēlah. tongue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timūn</td>
<td>kmūn. cucumber.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### U - u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ubei</td>
<td>hbei. yam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuh</td>
<td>ebuh. fall down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubung</td>
<td>ēbūng. bamboo shoot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udead</td>
<td>hdām. ant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udang</td>
<td>hdang. shrimp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udār</td>
<td>hdor. miss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udîp</td>
<td>hdîp. alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ujan</td>
<td>hjan. rain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukhar</td>
<td>agha. long root.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ular</td>
<td>ala. snake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulūţ</td>
<td>hluăt. worm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulăt</td>
<td>hluăt. worm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma</td>
<td>hma. mountain field/cultivated field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umăk</td>
<td>ēmă. grease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unei</td>
<td>hnuē. honey bee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upeï</td>
<td>ēpeï. dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upih</td>
<td>ēpih. thin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ură</td>
<td>hră. letter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urăt</td>
<td>aruăt. vein.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urei</td>
<td>hruē. day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**W - w**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wa</th>
<th>wa. uncle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weh</td>
<td>weh. turn aside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wänɡ</td>
<td>wāng. sickle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēh</td>
<td>wēh. turn aside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wĭl</td>
<td>wĭl. round.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Y - y**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yang</th>
<th>yang. god.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yap</td>
<td>yap. count.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoh</td>
<td>yoh. ptcl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yot</td>
<td>pū yōng. pick a child up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yup</td>
<td>ayū. blow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

A SELECTED TEXT

Text name: Dông-krje and the monkey family
Text ID: ND007
Speaker: H'Ngu Đier
Gender: Female
Age: born 1937

ND007_ 001
Dă nei čô ah, kâo pablĕ tleı dôm.
as PROX grandchild VOC 1 tell/talk story old

Kâo pablĕ Dông-krje.
1 tell/talk PN
The story I will tell you, Dông-krje goes like this...

ND007_ 002
Krje năn gô nø čût weh, mă ulăt mă ulăt yo'h.
PN DIST 3 go put fishhook take worm take worm PTCL
He went fishing with a worm on his hook.

ND007_ 003
Leh mă ulăt, năn gô nø čût weh năn,
Finish take worm then 3 go put fishhook then

čût weh năn, năn matuôm hăng kra.
put fishhook then then PRE-meet with monkey
Then he met a monkey.
meet with monkey then 3 monkey say

then the monkey asked him "Hey Dông-krje, What are you using for fishing?"

"I am using a worm", he answered.

"That is not true", replied the monkey.

"Yes, it is. It is a worm" Dông-Krje answered.

The monkey asked again "What are you using for fishing?"

Then Dông-krje again said "I am using a worm"
buh ār buh ār!
NEG agree NEG agree
"not true, not true- you aren't telling me the truth"

so, Dông-krje then said

Kāo weh, kāo čūt weh nei hàng pruēč kra,
1 go fishing 1 put fishhook PROX with intestine monkey

hăng ate kra, hàng tiboh kra
with liver monkey with heart monkey

hăng ahŭng kra, hàng ple kra.
with stomach monkey with penis monkey

"I am using monkey intestine, monkey liver, monkey heart and monkey penis for fishing."

bòih, ai ông lač kò kāo dā nān, Dông-krje heh?
EXCL thing/what 2 say DAT 1 as DIST PN QP?

ông dlao-wač, ông are wē!
2 abuse 2 come IMP
"What! How can you say that to me? You insult me. Come here! We will arrest you."

"Go ahead and do it", Dông-krje said, "What can I do? I was wrong to talk to you like that.

but you all kept asking me what I used for fishing

When I said 'a worm', you said 'not true', again and again
Mã yôh năn.
hold/pick.up PTCL DIST
Therefore, I said it. If you want to arrest me, go ahead and do it.

ND007_023
mamă năn mamă anuh, ngă anuh
PRE-hold/pick.up then PRE-hold/pick.up stick/log make stick/log
then the monkeys took a pole and tied Dông-krje to it.

ND007_024
leḥ anuh, snăn môh anuh, mă blang
finish stick/log so MIR stick/log hold/pick.up wild kapok

ND007_025
drei madruăm blang hō!
1EXCL PRE-cut.down wild kapok IMP

ND007_026
lač ndâng kra ṅu
say PL monkey 3

They intended to cut down a tree and tie Dông-krje tightly to the log.

ND007_028
bưih, đăm ông druăm blang ôh!
EXC NEG1 2 cut.down wild kapok NEG2
"Oh no, please don't cut down that tree, Dông-krje said
Because it will make the whole body itchy for you, your wife, your children. Everybody will itch."

"What should I use?" asked the monkey

"You take all of Arūm plants and tie me to them.

Then the monkeys tied Dông-krje to the plants."
After arriving at the monkey village, although they did give food to Dông-krje, they still kept him tied to the plants.

When the monkey got home, his wife asked who he brought home with him. "I brought him home because he insulted me," said the husband. "He said:

he used monkey penises to put on a fish hook.

so, I brought him home."

yes 3 finish PTCL DIST
"uh huh, he did that already", responded his wife.

ND007_042
mũ anak ñu mabrei asei djăm mahuă yoḥ năn.
wife child 3 PRE-give cooked.rice soup PRE-eat PTCL DIST
Then the monkey's wife and his children gave Dông-krje some food to eat.

ND007_043
dŏk pît yoḥ, sa tlâm jăk moḥ.
sit/stay sleep PTCL one afternoon good MIR

ND007_044
sa malăm jăk moḥ.
one night good MIR
he stayed there one day and nothing happened.

ND007_045
pañă madua malăm,pañă tlăo malăm năn
til PRE-two night til three night then
until the second day, the third day,

ND007_046
năn ñu Dông-krje năn arla angoh
then 3 PN then pretend sick
then Dông-krje pretended that he was sick

ND007_047
huh-huh-huh-huh
(sound.from.sick.person)

ND007_048
năn sui biă, huh-huh-huh-huh
then long time short time (sound.from.sick.person)

ND007_049
277
arih manųk arih manųk
kill chicken kill chicken

"Cook chicken, cook chicken" said Dông-krje.

ND007_ 050
leh-nān krep ŋu Dông-krje dōk yōh nān,
and quiet 3 PN sit/stay PTCL DIST

buh lō blū ōh.
NEG1 again speak NEG2
and then he kept quiet.

ND007_ 051
nān ŋu mhält
then 3 listen
but the monkey had already heard.

ND007_ 052
ơh nōng dō ōng blū makunei ơh Dông-krje?
VOC what things 2 speak PRE-pass VOC PN?

nōng dō ōng blū?
what things 2 speak

ND007_ 053
huĭ kasāk matāo gũ yōh ōng.
scare ghost ghost put.a.spell.on.SO PTCL 2
"What did you say, Dông-krje?" asked the monkey, "I am afraid that ghosts are speaking through your mouth."

ND007_ 054
buh mão, kāo nān angoh, kāo angoh.
NEG COP 1 then sick 1 sick
"That is not true. I am sick" Dông-krje answered.

278
"But what makes you sick?"

"Cook chicken. after eating chicken then I will not be sick anymore", answered Dông-krje.

"Ok" the monkey said.
Here is the story: Dông-krje says that he is sick, and if we cook chicken for him, he will recover.

Why do you need to ask me? Go ahead and cook a chicken for him.

Then the monkey took a huge hen and roasted it for him.

After it was done roasting, he divided the chicken into two parts: one to eat right then and one to keep for later.

Hey, Dông-krje, eat this half and keep the other half for later in case you are hungry again tonight.
Everyone in my family ate already." the monkey said.

"Ok", answered Dông-krje

"You keep the other half safe please," Dông-krje continued

After finishing eating, they all slept.

The monkey family slept deeply.

They snored loudly and evenly.

That is why people say "sleep like a monkey".

So then Dông-krje went and took the chicken thigh-the other half- to his wife.

and he stayed with his wife and ate there with her. After that, he went back to the monkey's house.
ND007_077
Leh truh ta sang nān, dōk.
finish arrive LOC house DIST sit/stay

ND007_078
tangŭ guah ēm
get up morning early

*The following morning*

ND007_079
ḍ Dông-krje, ḍ Dông-krje bo mnūk ēng?
VOC PN VOC PN but chicken 2

"Hey, Dông-krje, where is your chicken?" the monkey asked.

ND007_080
σ, buh kāo lō thāo ēh, Jieng ēh,
EXC NEG1 1 again know NEG2 closed friend VOC

kāo lō nān ēh.
1 again DIST VOC

"Oh no, I don't know. I feel sick again."

ND007_081
nān ēh, ka Jieng ēh, kāo lō blē angoh,
then VOC NEG closed friend VOC 1 again rise sick

blē angoh lâm nei.
rise sick in PROX

*My whole body feels sick again.*

ND007_082
Nei thāo asāo bōng bē!
PROX know dog eat IMP

*I am afraid that the dog ate it already." said Dông-krje*
"I don't know either" replied the monkey.

"You poor thing! You didn't have anything to eat" continued the monkey.

"Don't worry. If you have something to eat, then I will have that. I can't have nothing!"

Dông-krje said
When he went to bed, he was sick again.

"Cook pig, cook pig" said Dông-krje

Then Dông-krje kept quiet.
"Hey, Dông-krje, Why? What did you say? I am afraid that ghosts are speaking through your mouth." said the monkey.

"No! I am again sick"

"But what makes you sick?"

"My sickness will be over if I eat pig." said Dông-krje
"If I don't eat pig, it won't be over." continued Dông-krje

"I understand!" answered the monkey. Then he went to inform his wife.

"Hey Honey" said the monkey

"What?" replied his wife

"Here is the story: Dông-krje is sick again. He said if he eats pig, then he will get well."
bông yởh ŭn kreo
eat PTCL pig castrated animals

ơh, nồng dơ ông lơ rmuh.
EXC what things 2 again ask

Khả malai ŭu răng dề, mačuh gوجب.
if PRE-be over 3 3 EMPH PRE-roast 3
"You don't need to ask. If that helps him recover, go ahead and roast a pig for him."
answered his wife.

năn mačuh yởh ŭn năn.
then PRE-roast PTCL pig DIST
then he roasted a big castrated pig

mamă bông. Sa palah pốk bông anăn, sa palah pốk pioh.
PRE-take eat one half open eat then one half open keep
They ate one half and gave the other half to Dông-krje to keep.

nei năn nei ông pioh Jeng hố! năn Dông-krje hố.
PROX then PROX 2 keep closed.friend IMP then PN IMP
"You keep this half safe please" said the monkey

nei năn drei tạm bông. ông pioh pasiem mơh,
PROX then 1INCL REC eat 2 keep CAUS-beautiful MIR
ông găm pasiem mơh.
2 put.lid.on CAUS-beautiful MIR
Everyone in my family ate. Keep it safe. Put the lid on securely" the monkey continued

ND007_ 116
ông gǎm yòh, huǐ blē angho kǎo
2 put.lid.on PTCL scare rise sick 1
"You put the lid on safely in case I am sick again" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 117
huǐ blē angho kǎo ntra tlâm ông gǎm
scare rise sick 1 a.bit.later afternoon 2 put.lid.on

pasiem, huǐ asâo nǎn wǎ, huǐ asâo lu asâo ačô.
CAUS-beautiful scare dog DIST PTCL scare dog several dog REFL
"Remember to put the lid on well enough to keep it away from dogs. Keep it for later in case I am sick again. I am afraid of your dogs" Dông-krje repeated

ND007_ 118
buh mǎo ôh asâo sang yuôp sang ngõk wǎ,
NEG1 COP NEG2 dog house west house east PTCL

ñu khâng nao ta sang nei.
3 often go LOC house PROX
"No, it was not our dogs. It was our neighbor's dog which often comes here." said the monkey

ND007_ 119
dā nǎn Dông-krje nǎn malač
as DIST PN then PRE-say

ND007_ 120
nei nǎn sô.
PROX then EXC
"it could be" said Dông-krje
After finishing eating, he put the lid on and made sure the lid fit well.

The pork shoulder and thigh were under the tight lid.

While the monkey did that, Dông-krje sat by the kitchen stove to warm his hands and acted like he was still sick.
He acted like he was still sick for a little while.

and then recovered a bit.

through the afternoon

Then in the evening

All the monkey family went to bed.

but PN EMPH LOC guest area 3 sleep alone 3
As for Dong-krje, he slept separately at the guest place.

While the monkeys slept deeply, Dông-ktrie untied himself.

He then went again and brought the other half of pork to his wife at home.

"Hey, Honey?" called Dông-ktrie. "What's up?" his wife responded.

"Wake up, please. Here. Have some pork" said Dông-ktrie.

"Wow! Where did you get the pork?" asked the wife.
This pork? From my illness. I said if he roasted a pig, then I would recover from my illness." said Dông-krje

"Oh no! You should not have done that. That was not good at all" said his wife.

"You are right" responded Dông-krje

After eating the pork with his wife, he went back to the monkey's house.
Then he went to bed.

Then the monkey said "Hey Dong-krje!" "What?", said Dong-krje

"Where is your pork?" asked the monkey. "I don't know", said Dong-krje, "Go look in the storage shelf.", continued Dong-krje

"My whole body feels sick again."

Last night I felt sick again

294
Try looking on the storage shelf" continued Dong-krje

"Oh no! It is not there, Dong-krje. What should we do now?", responded the monkey

"I don't know either. However, I heard the dogs barking last night

but I was sick, and shook so I could not get up" said Dông-krje

"Oh no! said the monkey, what will you eat later? We will all die because of this."

295
Then Dông-krje said "We still have some soup left, so we can eat."

Another night passed. Dông-krje was sick again.

The monkey's family slept. So did Dông-krje.

Another night passed.

He was sick again.
"Eat buffalo, eat buffalo" said Dong-krje.

Suddenly the monkey heard.

"Hey, Dong-krje!" asked the monkey. "What?" answered Dong-krje.

"What did you do last night? Is the ghost speaking through your mouth?" asked the monkey.

"No. I felt sick" said Dong-krje.
When I am sick, my body talks like that." said Dong-krje

bô si-ba lô angoh?
but why again sick
"How come you are sick?"

The monkey asked, "even though you already ate chicken,"

pig finish pig PROX
and already ate pork"

"I don't know why myself, friend!" said Dong-krje,

"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body." continued to Dong-krje

"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body. I am sick"
"But did it say what makes you sick?" asked the monkey.

"Eat buffalo. Then I will get well."

"Oh no! What should I do now?"

Then he went to let his wife know.

"What did he say?" asked his wife.

"He said this", replied the monkey.
drei mačuh lač malai angoh gŏ
1INCL PRE-roast say PRE-be over sick 3
"He ate pork already. He ate chicken already. But his sickness is still there. So, if he
eats buffalo then he will be well." the monkey answered

ND007_ 188
kĭn lŏ lai rei.
NEG1 again be over NEG2

ND007_ 189
nei rih krbao, leh bông krbao kah lai angoh
now kill buffalo finish eat buffalo then be over sick

ñu lač.
3 say

ND007_ 190
ơ
yes
"That is ok" said his wife.

ND007_ 191
năn palei ñu lač:
then wife 3 say:

oh tô dah ŏng mă, čuh čuh gŏ.
EXC if that 2 hold/pick.up roast roast 3
"If so, you get a buffalo and roast it,

ND007_ 192
dlăng läng mabông krbao đôgăt-dôgĭn.
look look PRE-eat buffalo big
"roast a big one".

ND007_ 193
leh-năn mačuh yoḥ krbao năn,
Then they roasted a buffalo, keeping the intestine.

**ND007_194**

pioh  
keep

**ND007_195**

leh-năn  
then/and

*Then*

**ND007_196**

sa palah pŏk tăm bottleneck, sa palah pŏk pioh  
one half open REC eat one half open keep

*one half was saved for later and the other half was kept for eating right then.*

**ND007_197**

pioh kŭn Dŏng-kra makrem huă.  
keep DAT PN save eat

**ND007_198**

Leh-năn matăm huă bottleneck,  
then/and PRE-REC eat eat

leh huă bottleneck madŭm lám para  
finish eat eat PRE-put in traditional storage shelf

*Then they all ate the buffalo meat. The half saved for later was put on the storage shelf.*

**ND007_199**

301
"Please keep it safe." said Dông-krje

"I am afraid that later at night"

dogs will come again.

"As for me, as you can see, I am afraid if I am again sick"

"and I could go outside.

But you already tied my legs and arms"
(so) I cannot go outside.

"If you do not untie me, I can't go outside. My body is shaking" said Dông-krje

"You keep it safe, please" said Dông-krje

"Ok" the monkey said.

Then he went to check the food on the storage shelf.
Then in the evening, they slept.

Dông-krje slept and they all also slept.

They slept very deeply.

Then Dông-krje again took the other half which the monkey kept for later.
He took it all to his wife at home.

His wife got up and they ate together.

When they finished eating,

Dông-krje again went back to the monkey's house.

Again he tied himself to the log.

and then he slept.
pĭt yo'h Dông-krje
sleep PTCL PN

ND007_228
pađao pĭt dih yo'h, buh lō lō hdo'r nei dih
CAUS-warm sleep lay PTCL NEG1 again again miss PROX FAR.DIST

ôh aĩ.
NEG2 at.all
*He slept very well and didn't remember what he did.*

ND007_229
Leh-năn tangŭ guah ưm
then/and get up morning early
*in the morning*

ND007_230
tangŭ sī trguah năn, năn ŕu kra rmuh
get up until/til tomorrow then then 3 monkey ask
*the monkey then asked*

ND007_231
si-ba Jeng ah, lō blē angoh hĕ ŏng?
why close friend VOC again rise sick QP 2
"Hey friend! Are you still sick?"

ND007_232
buh măo Jeng o'h, lai leh wă käo.
Neg COP close.friend VOC be over PFV PTCL 1

dụf biă leh.
win little PFV
"No. I am good now" said Dông-krje
"That is good. You are fortunate," said the monkey.

If you were still sick, we wouldn't know what to do, the monkey said,

Because since we roasted the buffalo, now everything is all gone" said the monkey.

Dông-krje then said "I feel good now"
Then he stayed on.

Then at nighttime, he became sick again.

The illness came during ‘sleeping time’.

"Kill the grandmother! Kill the grandmother!"

"Oh no!"
The monkey suddenly heard that

and got up

then/and

"Hey, Dông-krje! Why do you still lie there? Where is the buffalo meat?" asked the monkey.

"I am again sick, friend" Dông-krje said.
"Oh no! You poor thing!" The monkey said: "How could that happen?"

ND007_254
manũk ajih manũk, asâo ajih asâo,
chicken be.gone chicken dog be gone dog

ŭn ajih ŭn nei
pig be gone pig PROX
"You already ate chicken, pork, buffalo.

ND007_255
krbao ajih krbao nei
buffalo be gone buffalo PROX

ND007_256
bō nei si-ba ŋu lō lač?
but PROX why 3 again say
Now, what does (your body) say?" asked the monkey

ND007_257
ŋu lač arih aduān yoḥ ŋu lač
3 say kill grandmother PTCL 3 say
"It said, if you kill the grandmother, then I will recover forever." Dông-krje said.

ND007_258
leh-nān poh aduān nān kāo lai ŋu lač.
then/and beat grandmother then 1 be over 3 say

ND007_259
buh lō māo dùi nei ōh ŋu lač
NEG1 again COP win PROX NEG2 3 say
"Oh no! This is not permitted" responded the monkey.

ND007_260
buh lō māo trlei angoh a-āt ōh ŋu lač
NEG1 again COP NMZ sick cold NEG2 3 say
"But I won't ever be sick from now on" said Dông-krje.
Then he again went to his wife.

When he got to his wife, he said "What should we do now"

"Hey, Dông-krje is sick again"

"Why is he still sick?" asked his wife,
"We gave everything to that illness of his" continued the wife.

"But this time he said if the grandmother is killed, he will completely recover" the monkey answered.

"Ok" his wife agreed.

Then he said to the grandmother,

"Hey, Grandma! "What's up?" responded the grandmother.

nān aduān ēn nān lač
go grandmother VOC 1INCL go dig yam
"We are going to dig yams, Grandma" the monkey said

ND007_ 275
ôh, ai malô kalei ubei?
EXC thing/what PRE-again dig yam
"Why?" The grandmother asked in surprise.

ND007_ 276
pade he ačô, braih he ačô
paddy 1INCL REFL rice 1INCL REFL
"We have a lot of unhusked and husked rice, why do we need yams?" She continued.

ND007_ 277
aduân ŋu lač
grandmother 3 say

ND007_ 278
u-tlh. Káo čieng bông ubei, ơng atât kào duân ah.
EXC 1 want eat yam 2 lead 1 grandmother VOC
"No, I want to eat yams. Please show me the way, Grandma" the monkey requested.

ND007_ 279
bǒ jək palei nei häng anak
but invite wife PROX with child
"I asked my wife, but she would have to go with our children, and the sun is too hot"
the monkey continued

ND007_ 280
bah ade padiä leh
PTCL sky sunshine PFV

ND007_ 281
leh-anân majak saduân
and/then PRE-invite grandmother

"That is why I am asking you to go with me."
Then, when they arrived there, he beat the grandma until she died and he buried her in the yam field.

Then he returned home.

When he got home,

he told Dông-krje that he killed his grandmother.

"I killed my grandmother" the monkey said
"Ok" Dông-krje replied.

After the monkey killed his grandmother, then Dông-krje stayed there a couple of more days.

Then one day he said "I stayed with you long enough to make up for my mistake"
I will give you something as compensation for my mistake.

I will give you a buffalo from my great grandmother."

“People nowadays don’t have that kind of buffalo.” Dông-krje said, “They truly don’t have the same kind of buffalo as my ancestors.”

“I will give you that buffalo.” Dông-krje said again.
"Agreed!" the monkey responded.

Then they released Dông-krje by untying his legs from the log.

Then Dông-krje returned home to his wife.

Upon arriving home, he took his crab and gave it to the monkey.

This is my ancestor's buffalo.

Your ancestors didn't have this type of buffalo.
Only me, who has this buffalo from my ancestors. Therefore,

under whatever circumstances that may happen to you, please keep my buffalo (because it is very valuable).

Also, please remember, don't tie this buffalo with other buffalos at your house. Please keep him separate." Dông-krije said.

"I understand." the monkey replied.
Then that buffalo died then.

The monkey then went to Dong-krje and said "You lied to me"

"You said that was the buffalo from your ancestors. It died already. Therefore, you still have to give me compensation." the monkey emphasized.

"Oh no! what should I do now! Please wait!", Dong-krje said,

"I will give you our elephant"
"What? Your elephant?" The monkey replied. "Our elephant is very valuable because it is from our great grandfather, from our ancestors," Dông-krje said.

Then Dông-krje wove a huge rattan storage cylinder (used for storing rice).
First he went for awhile to look for rattan plants and then he cut them down and then took home and started to weave.

When he finished weaving, he called the monkey.

"Here is the elephant" said Dong-krje,

"Please don't climb up on the elephant right now. You should wait until you see our windy season coming,

When the wind hits it strongly, it will go by itself.

The monkey said "You shouldn't worry about me."
Look! My muscles are big, so I can handle a big wind. Don't worry!"

"OK, good! You can go now. I paid my debt to you all." Đòng-krje said.

Then, the big wind came.

The monkeys took Đòng-krje's elephant to the river

They all were on top of that elephant.

And then, the strong wind pushed them along with their rattan elephant away (down the river)
The rattan cylinder shook (rolled) badly then many of them died in the water.

Then the monkey again returned to Dông-krje "Dong-krje, you again lied to me" the monkey said, "You said that was the elephant from your ancestors"
The page reads:

Because PRE-elephant mother grandmother 2

Then you gave me your rattan elephant to wait for the strong wind" the monkey continued

Then you gave me your rattan elephant to wait for the strong wind" the monkey continued

2 give giant.rattan.storage.unit DAT 1

wait windy season

But PROX 1 NEG again COP PROX 1 give hat TOP

"Oh no! Now I don't have anything. I will give you a hat" Dông-krje said.

"This hat is from my ancestor" Dông-krje said.
This hat is from my ancestor. Nowadays people don't have one anymore." he continued.

and then,

Dông-krje said: "Wait for two days please!"

Then Dông-krje wove a hat
He made the frame of the hat, and then made wax.

ND007_ 361
ñu puñam arлин ñu măl arлин
3 weave wax 3 shine wax
He waxed the outer layer of the hat and buffed the wax to a shine.

ND007_ 362
ñu mlia ar琳 năn
3 shine wax DIST
He buffed the wax.

ND007_ 363
leh-năn lũm-arlũm dă duơn mơh dă duơn Bih năn mơh
then/and medium as hat MIR as hat PN DIST MIR
and then his hat looked like a Bih bamboo hat.

ND007_ 364
leh-inăn
then/and
Then

ND007_ 365
năo iêu, nei kra ơi
go call VOC monkey VOC
he went to call to the monkey: "Hey, Monkey!"

ND007_ 366
ông năo mă yơh duơn nei
2 go hold/pick.up PTCL hat PROX
Come get the hat.

ND007_ 367
leh duơn kăo siem măng ai măng ate tâm yơh,
finish hat 1 beautiful from a lot from liver REC PTCL
This is a very beautiful hat from my grandmothers.

I kept it from my ancestors.

and never wanted to let go of it" Dông-krje said.

"Yes!" The monkey replied.

The monkey took it and was really happy

So the monkey took it
"Please don't put it on, Dông-krje said,

Wait until the season of celebration comes, when people eat pigs and buffalos to celebrate the end of the cropping season (final harvest),

then put it on at high noon on a sunny day. Then let your wife put it on.

Let your children put it on, otherwise they will get a sunburn." Dông-krje reminded.

Dông-krje continued "All of your children and your wife will stay cool under the hat."
Then, when people were celebrating the end of the cropping season [final harvest],

they all went

to the celebration place.

They sat under the high sun (with the hat on).

Slowly the wax melted.

The melted wax got on all of the faces of the monkey’s children and his wife.
It stuck all over on their faces.

Then the monkey again returned to Dong-krje: "Hey, Dong-krje! Why did you lie to me?" The monkey asked,

"You said that the hat came from your ancestors, from a long time ago."

Now look!, the monkey continued.
blê ŏng palu arlin
rise 2 lie wax

*You lied again about the wax*

ND007_392
ông lač: duon ŏng siem jâk mãng aে mãng aduân.
2 say hat 2 beautiful good from grandfather from grandmother
*that you said was your ancestor's hat.*

ND007_393
baih dŭm năn lah, gô haň dei ŏng dôk hōng
EXC how much DIST PTCL 3 several many/much 2 sit with
padiâ.
sunshine

"Oh no! Đông-krje said, "It was because your children and wife sat too long in the sun."

ND007_394
anak palei ŏng dôk hăng padiâ.
child wife 2 sit with sunshine

ND007_395
dôk gô hăng padiâ ada, ŏ năn taďap da
sit 3 with sunshine many keep.hungry then cool many
krei gô nei dôk hăng pădiă paliă-paliă, năn
wrong event/thing EMPH PROX sit with sunshine nonstop then
jing gô maliêk i
become 3 PRE-melt EXC

*If they had sat in the sun some and had sat in the cool place some, that would have been
good. However, they sat too long in the sun, so the wax melted.*

ND007_396
leh-năn buh dari aĩ.
then/and NEG win at all

That was why it was not successful that way" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 397
ät kâo lôt dû mophon Dông-krje ah.
also I again compensate MIR 2 PN VOC

dû dû mohon si malô ngă.
compensate compensate MIR why PRE-again make

"Then I am again asking for my compensation then." the monkey said. "If you say so,
what else can I do now?" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 398
ät kâo gîr mohon.
also I try MIR

"I will try" Dông-krje continued.

ND007_ 399
kâo tuhinaba-kadî ông
1 give.compensation.for 2

"I will repay my debt to you."

ND007_ 400
kra ah
monkey VOC

ND007_ 401
arnei năn ah
now then VOC

Dông-krje continued "Now,

ND007_ 402
kâo brei agăr lê kơ ông.
1 give drum TOP DAT 2
I will give you a drum.

Sit and wait please!

[Wait] about two or three days. But if you want it now, I don't have anything to give you."Đông-krje said.

"That is fine" said the monkey.

And then, Đông-krje made a drum.

after wrapping the outside
padưm năn krîp
CAUS-put then be covered
_Dông-krje put it aside._

ND007_ 409
mă èguăt, èpan, ular, udieng
hold/pick.up scorpion bedbug snake a.reptile.type
_and then he took scorpions, bedbugs, snakes and put them into the drum and glued the_
drum cover [drum head] on really tight.

ND007_ 410
nei dih unei
PROX FAR.DIST bee
_He put a lot of bees and other_

ND007_ 411
khiêt, kumruăt pamŭt lăm agăr năn gă-agői yơh
wasp hive CAUS-enter in drum DIST extremely/a lot PTCL
_harmful insects inside the drum._

ND007_ 412
leh-anăn
and/then
_Then_

ND007_ 413
djàp-djik-lik-anao yơh ū mapadûm mapadûm lăm năn
everything PTCL 3 PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put in DIST
_Everything that could be harmful to the monkey he put in the drum._

ND007_ 414
leh-năn ah
then/and EXC
_and then_
he went and called to the monkey

"Hey, Monkey!" Dông-krje called "Yes!" the monkey responded.

"Come and take the drum" Dông-krje said.

"OK!" the monkey said.

"It is really beautiful." the monkey said.

He thought that it was a real drum.
The monkey is not like other people. (This means he is stupid).

"That is a real drum" Dông-krje said.

Then the monkey took the drum

"I am reminding you about one thing" Dông-krje said

"this fulfills all of my debt to you, said Dong-krje,

"I have paid you all of my debt. No more. OK?"

"I gave you one thing, you said, "It's not right"
I gave you another thing, you said, "It's not right"

"How could I know how to pay you back." Dông-krje continued.

"Nothing more. OK?" Dông-krje said.

"Your children and grandchildren should not ask for anything any more."

ruỗi leh nei hô.
Now I paid you back everything already. OK?"

"I agree!" the monkey answered

Dông-krje continued "When you celebrate the end of the season with pigs, buffalos.

"Yes!" The monkey responded. “The main doors on the west and on the east [ends of your house] --

[Be sure to] close them all!” Dông-krje said.

“And in the area under the house floor, put
stake stake PTCL IMP

many pointed stakes please"

ND007_ 441
năn kah öng pinăm atông yơh agăr öng
then then 2 drink play PTCL drum 2

tông yơh čing čhar öng
play PTCK small.gong big.gong 2
And then drink wine and play gongs and play this drum.

ND007_ 442
nak čô öng, găp-dujë öng, imai dei öng
child grandchild 2 extended.family 2 sister sibling 2
All of people in your family-- your grandchildren, children and your sisters, brothers,

ND007_ 443
neh aprông öng, amĭ aduăn öng
aunt elder.aunt 2 mother grandmother 2
all of your extended family members--

ND007_ 444
duß màm sang kdăl băng-phă ōk gah.
put in house close main.door owner.area guest.area
should stay inside the house with all of the doors locked.

ND007_ 445
kdăl yơh băng-phă ōk gah hŏ
close PTCL main.door owner.area guest.area IMP
Remember to lock all doors, ok?"Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 446
ơ
yes
"Yes!" the monkey replied.
"Remember to put pointed stakes everywhere in the ground, please" Dông-krje emphasized

"Yes!" the monkey answered.

So then, the monkey put the pointed stakes under the first floor of his house and then he closed all of the doors

they sat and played the gong and beat the drum.

340
They drank wind and ate and then beat the drum.

And then, the drum broke.

And then all creatures got out. They chased and bit everyone.

They pursued them to eat them.

The monkeys did not know what to do.
They ran to the doors and tried to open the doors and jumped onto the ground.

Snap-crack. Snap-crack. Their backs broke on the pointed stakes.

All of them died.

After all of them had died, no one came to ask for (debt) payment from Dông-krje anymore.

Finally, Dông-krje won.
### APPENDIX C

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
<td>First people plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EXCL</td>
<td>First people plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second person singular</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Third person singular</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Adverb</td>
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<td>Complementizer</td>
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343
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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REFERENCES CITED


