A GRAMMAR OF BIH

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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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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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

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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

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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:

Proto-Chamic
(PC)

Highlands
Chamic

Coastal
Chamic

Cham

Northern
Cham

?

Acehnese Bih Rade Jarai Chru   Northern   Tsat Haroi Western Phan Rang
                                     Roglai   Cham   Cham
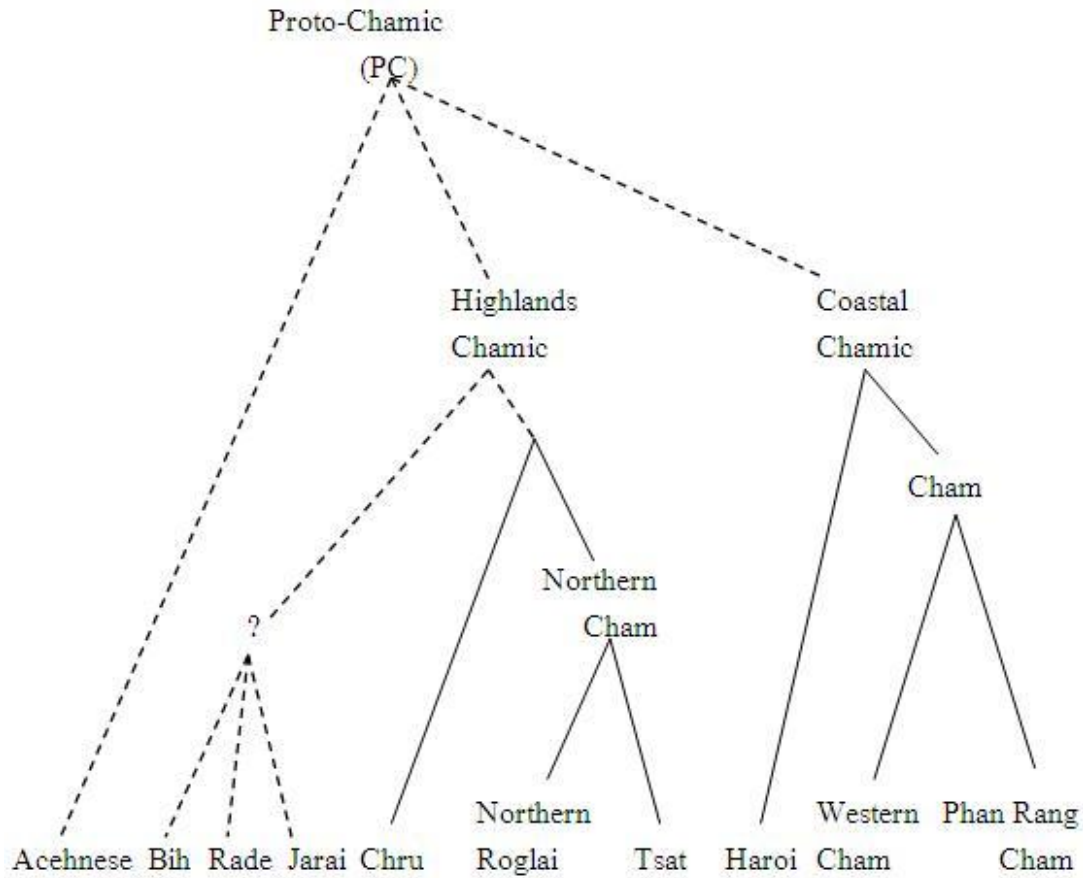
Figure 2.1: The Proto-Chamic dialect chain and its modern Chamic languages

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

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[1] The Mnông language belongs to Môn-Khmer family.

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live, and in the district of Cư Kuiñ in the north and in Buôn Ma Thuột 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:
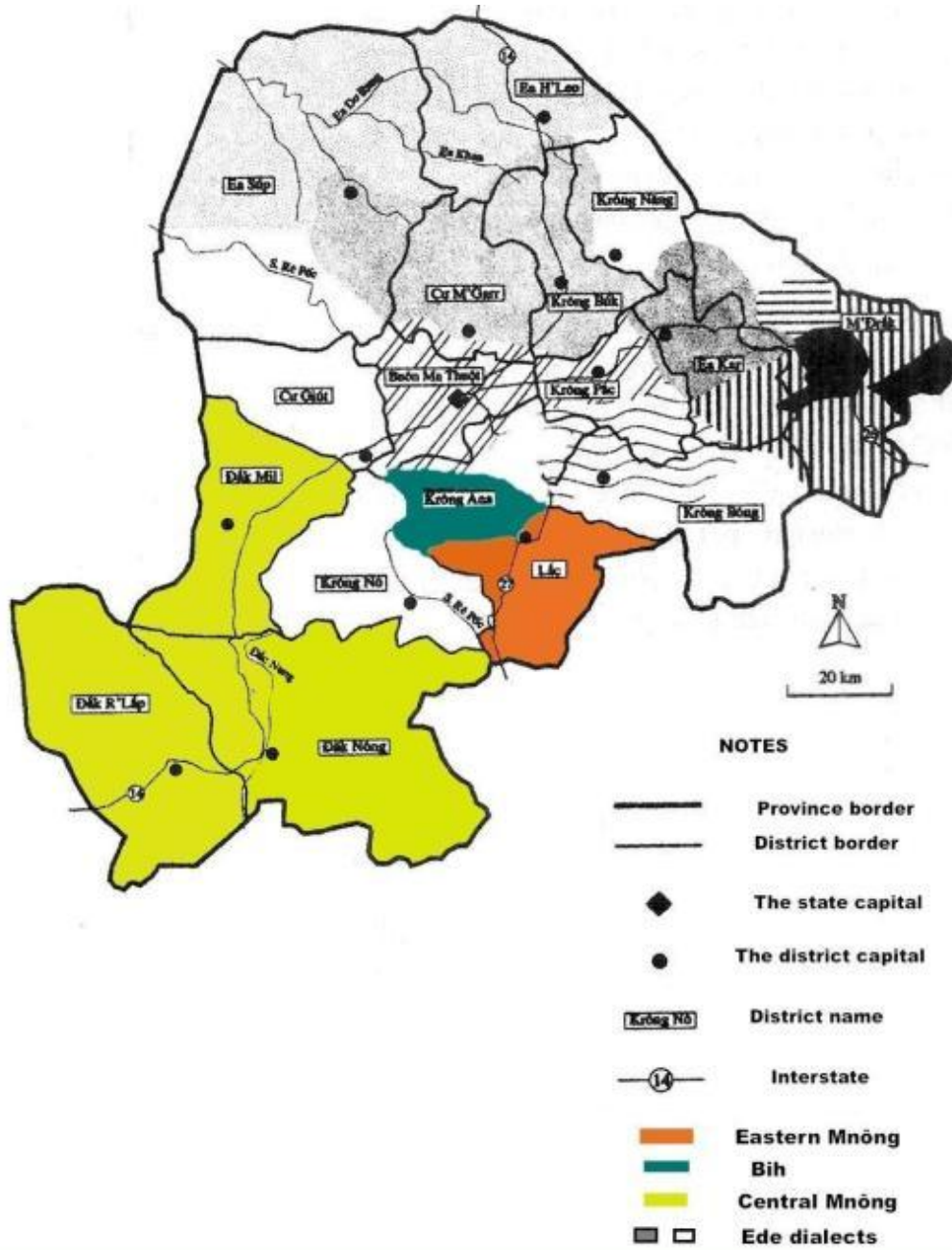
Figure 2.2: Bih and its surrounding area (adapted from Doan 1998)

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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 Trấp 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 soly in Ede. Her grandchildren, 18 and 16-year-old girls, don't even speak Ede, the primary

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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

Bih	Ede	A mixed version between Bih and Ede features	GLOSS
timŭn	kəmŭn	tərəmŭn	'cucumber'
tukăw	kəkăw	təkăw	'fingernail'
ərtak	etak	rtak	'bean'
ərña:n	eña:n	rña:n	'ladder'
padɛ	mədie	mdɛ/pade	'unhusked rice'

pinɛ	mənie	mnɛ/pine	'virgin'
atɛ	atie	ate	'liver'
awɛ	hərie	are	'come'

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

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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 Hmŏk 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 Adrŏng. 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 Hmŏk, 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.

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 (implosives[3]). 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.

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[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 Chamiclanguages (Thurgood, 1999.) Phonetically, pre-glottalized segments are implosives (Greenberg, 1970) (Ladefoged, 1981)

Table 3.1: Bih consonant phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	kʰ	
	Voiced	b	d	ɟ	g	
	Implosive	ɓ	ɗ	ʄ		
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives			s			h
Glides		w		j		
Rhotics			ɾ			
Laterals			l			

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

Table 3.2: Minimal sets illustrating phonemic contrasts

Initial positions	Final positions
/p/ [puh] 'to drive away (animals)'	/p/ [jap] 'to count'
/b/ [buh] 'to put on one's arm/leg' /ɓ/ [ɓuh] 'to see'	
/p/ [pĭt] 'to sleep' /ph/ [phĭt] 'bitter'	
/t/ [tih] 'to dig with a bamboo spade'	/t/ [pĭt] 'to sleep'
/d/ [dih] 'there' /ɗ/ [ɗih] 'to lie'	
/t/ [tŭn] 'to push' /th/ [thŭn] 'year'	
/c/ [cɛ̆ʔ] 'great-grandchild'	/c/ [lac] 'to say'
/ɟ/ [ɟɛ̆ʔ] 'close, near'	

/ʄ/ [ʄɛ̃ʔ] 'to describe action's quietness' (in [ʄɛ̃ʔ ʄɛ̃ʔ]: expressive)	
/c/ [caɹ] 'province' /ch/ [chaɹ] 'a big gong'	
/k/ [kah] 'topic marker'	/k/ [ʔawak] 'spoon'
/g/ [gah] 'side'	
/k/ [koŋ] 'bracelet' /kh/ [khoŋ] 'dry season'	
/ʔ/ [ʔih] 'second person sigular'	/ʔ/ [ɟŭʔ] 'black'
/m/ [mɛh] 'to be unsuccessful because of supernatural cause	/m/ [ʄãm] 'soup'
/n/ [nɛh] 'one's mother's younger sister'	/n/ [lăn] 'earth, soil, ground'
/ɲ/ [ɲɛh] 'to hit with one's elbow'	/ɲ/ [phaɲ] 'to sneeze'
/ŋ/ [ŋɛh] 'clean'	/ŋ/ [saŋ] 'house'
/s/ [saŋ] 'house'	
/h/ [hiaɹ] 'to cry'	/h/ [bɔh] 'fruit'
/ɹ/ [ɹŏŋ] 'back (noun)'	/ɹ/ [hiaɹ] 'to cry'
/w/ [wai] 'to pedal (bicycle)'	
/j/ [jaŋ] 'spirit'	

3.1.2 . Vowels

Bih has fourteen contrastive vowels, including the four vowels, /u/, / ə /, /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 /ɛ/; back: high /u/, mid-high /o/, and mid-low /ɔ/. 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 / ɨ/, mid-central / ə /, higher mid-low /ə/ and low /a/. Length is

distinctive only for the mid-central and low vowels / ə̆/ and /ă/. Table 3.3 illustrates all of

these vowels in Bih.

Table 3.3: Bih vowels

	Front	Center	Back
Close	i	ɨ	ŭ/u*
Close-mid	e	ə̆/ə ə	ŏ/o
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ̆
Open		ă/a	

*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'   /bɨ/ 'baby snakehead fish'   /katŭŋ/ 'pull'
        /rɗe/ 'Ede people'   /bə / 'be pitied'   /muŋ/ 'muzzle'
        /gɛ/ 'stick'   /ɓə̆/ 'but'   /ʔŏʔ/ 'to vomit'
                                   /aŋəp/ 'dark'   /go/ 'to lean a little'
                                   /ʔumăk/ 'fat'   /gɔ̆/ 'pot'
                                   /anak/ 'child'

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 /ie/,

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/iɛ/,/ia/,/ɛi/; /əi/, /əu/, /au/, /ai/ and /ui/, /ue/, /uə/, /uă/, /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 /*uəy/ in Proto-Chamic (henceafter PC) respectively (Thurgood, 1999, p.

135).

    Below is examples of the diphthongs and triphthongs:

(3.2)

/ɟieŋ/	'giving birth'
/ɟiɛŋ/	'close friend'
/hiar/	'cry'
/nɛi/	'this'

/kəu/	'I/me'
/nau/	'go'

/lui/	'quit'
/ʄue/ (in /găp ʄue/)	'extended family'
/ʔaduən/	'grandmother'
/juăm/	'expensive'
/dua/	'two'
/juop/	'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

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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 *-ŭ 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) /ʔumăk/   'fat'
       /ʔanak/   'child'

       /pusăt/   'navel'
       /pinhat/   'chisel'

       /păŋ/   'to make a wall'
       /ʔudaŋ/   'shrimp'

       /tlăn/   'python'
       /pulan/   'month'

       /ɗăl/   'to wedge'

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/manal/	'mend'

/dăr/	'bury'
/ʔukhar/	'root'

/tană ʔ/	'to cook'

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 /ŭ/ 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'
	/ɓuŋ/	'proper name of a pot'
	/ʔasŭŋ/	'mortar'
	/tərəpŭŋ/	'flour'
	/mŭt/	'to enter'
	/manŭk/	'chicken'
	/bŭč/	'to pull up from the ground'
	/pərətŭʔ/	'a star'

3.1.2.1.3 . Length distinctions for /ə/

/ə/ has a length contrast with the two final stops: bilabial /p/ and alveolar /t/ (see

examples 3.5a-b). In syllables closed by a velar stop /k/ and a glottal stop /ʔ/, only short / ə̆/

occurs (example 3.5 c). Elsewhere, only long / ə/ occurs (example 3.5 d):

(3.5)

    a.   /ɓləp/   'good'

          /chə̆p/   'sounds created when someone jumps up on something very fast'

    b.   /jət/   'hold up'

          /ʄrə̆t/   'finish'

    c.   /kachə̆ʔ/   'dirty'

          /ɓrə̆k/   'suddenly'

    d.   /ɓrən/ 'happy'

          /bə/ in expressive: /bə 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 /ŏ/only contrast in syllables closed bya velar stop /k/. Also, phonetically the vowel /o/ becomes /ŏ/ with the glottal stop coda while it is long in other environments:

(3.6)   /cʰŏk/'stick together'

       /dok/   'sit'

       /ɓŏʔ/   'face'

       /ɓro/   'lucky'

       /kroŋ/ 'river'

3.1.2.1.5 . Complementary distribution of length for other vowels

The two vowels /i/ and /ɨ/ become phonetically /ĭ/ and / ɨ̆/ respectively in stop-final

syllables while they are long before a sonorant coda. The following lists provide their

complementary distribution:

(3.7) [chĭʔ] 'sell'
      [bĭp] 'a duck'
      [ɓlĭt] 'to twist'

      [cɨ̆ʔ] 'mountain'
      [ɓrɨ̆k] 'to remember'
      [chɨ̆t] 'sounds of chickens fighting'
      [cɨ̆p] 'stand up quickly'

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

      [bɨ] 'baby snakehead fish'
      [bɨn] '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) [ɹɗe] 'Ede people'
      [ɗɛ̆c] 'weave'
      [ɟrɛ̆ɲ] 'crunchy'
      As for /-ɛ-/, it is short when followed by a glottal stop, and long elsewhere:

(3.9) [jɛ̆ʔ] 'near, close'
      [gɛ] 'a stick'

[ɛp]   'peek'
[gɛt]   'a bottle of water'
[crɛk]   'to split grass'
[jɛŋ]   'fish net'
[wɛh]   'fishing'

The vowel /ə/ is only short if it is followed by a velar stop /-k/ while with other

coda consonants, it is long:

(3.10) [kasə̆k]   'small basket for carrying cooked rice'
        [ʔaŋəp]   'dark'
        [agəm]   'darken'

Bih only has a short vowel /-ɔ̆-/:

(3.11) [gɔ̆ʔ]   'pot'
        [ŋɔ̆k]   'east'
        [tʰɔ̆ŋ] '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:

$$\sigma \qquad \sigma$$

$$\text{(CV) } \mathbf{C(C) \ V \ (C)}$$
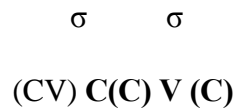
Figure 3.1: Bih word structure. Parentheses mean optional, main syllable is in bold while presyllable is non-bold.

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

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p-	t-	c-	k-	ʔ
Nasals	m-				
Rhotics		ɹ-			

3.3.1.2 . Vowels

Bih has four vowels in its pre-syllable: /-a/, /-i/, /-u/, /-ə/. 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-/   /blɛi/   'buy'
       /tl-/   /tlɔh/   'break/
       /dl-/   /dlo/   'brain'

       /pr-/   / prɔ̌ŋ /   'big'
       /br-/   / bruă? /   'work'
       /kr-/   /kra/   'monkey'
       /tr-/   /trɛi/   'full'
       /dr-/   / dră? /   '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 ˣcr-, ˣsr- and ˣgr-[4]:

(3.13)   /cr-/   / crih /   'strange'
          /sr-/   / srŏ? /   '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:

(3.14)	PC	Bih	Gloss
	*blah	/blah/	'split'
	*bra:s	/braih/	'husked rice'
	*labuh	/ʔbuh/	'fall down'
	*tikus	/tikuih/	'rat'

      Bih has five final soronants: /-m/, /-n/, /-ŋ/, /-l/ and /-ɹ/. 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: /ɛi/, /-ɘu/ 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

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	č	k	(unmarked*)
	Aspirated	ph	th	čh	kh	
	Voiced	b	d	j	g	
	Implosive	ƀ	đ	dj		
Nasals		m	n	ñ	ng	
Fricatives			s			h
Glides		w		y		
Rhotics			r			
Laterals			l			

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

represented.

Table 3.6: Bih orthographic vowel symbols.

	Front	Center	Back
Close	i	ư	ŭ/u*
Close-mid	ê	ǒ/ơ	ỗ/ô
		â	
Open-mid	e		ŏ
Open		ă/a	

    * 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); /-ơi/,/-âo/, /-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 simplies 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-Bia* 'a girl's name') or animals' names (*Blem* 'an elephant's name'), and place names (*Krông Nô* 'a district name'. Common nouns include human (*arăng* 'people'), friends (*jieng* 'friend'), afterlife forms (*yang* 'dead person'), body parts (*tangan* 'hand', *jŏng* 'leg'), flora (*punga* 'flower'), fauna (*asâo* '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)   *aê* 'grandfather'
               duân 'grandmother'
               amĭ ama 'parents'
               amĭ 'mother'
               ama 'father'
               prŏng 'mother's older sister'
               neh 'mother's younger sister'
               wa 'mother's older brother and his wife'
               miêt 'mother's younger brother and his wife'
               ayŏng 'older brother'.
               mai 'older sister'
               adei 'younger sibling'
               e 'older sister's husband, older brother's wife'

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, *ŏng*, for everybody else. The two forms *ñu* and *gŏ* 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 ñu* is third plural. There is also a special third person plural form for animals, *dăng ñu*, even though the third person plural form *di ñu* can be used to refer to animals as well. Indefinite

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pronouns are distinguished for persons *mnuih*, things *adŏ*, and places *anôk*. Table 4.1

presents the definite pronouns mentioned above:

Table 4.1: Bih pronouns

Singular		Plural
1st	kâo	he (INCL) kamei (EXCL)
2nd	ŏng (familiar)/ih (polite)	di ih
3rd	ñu	di ñu/dăng ñu
3rd	gǒ	di gǒ
3rd	pǒng	---
3rd	arăng	arăng

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

Bih	Gloss
sa	'one'
dua	'two'
tlâo/trlâo	'three'
pă	'four'
ima	'five'
năm	'six'
tijuh	'seven'
sapăn	'eight'
duapăn	'nine'
pluh	'ten'
pluh sa	'eleven'
pluh duapăn	'nineteen'
dua pluh	'twenty'
tlâo pluh	'thirty'
sa ituh	'one hundred'
sa ibâo/trbâo	'one thousand'

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

<div style="border: 1px solid black;">

trlăm: 'human and animals and objects in general'

phŭn: 'trees'

ƀĕ and *urăt/uruăt*: 'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'

pŏk and *blah*: 'two-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'

boh and *trlăm*: 'three-dimensional big and small round objects.

usăr: fruits in general.

</div>

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 *ƀuh…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 (*ƀhĭt* 'small'), color (*jŭ* '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*

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in order to function as nouns. In (4.2), *angoh* 'hot' and *a-ăt* 'cold' are two stative verbs.

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

(4.2) Ɓuh   lŏ   mâo   trlei   angoh a-ăt   ôh   ñu   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/koʼ* 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 *arɓlĕ arɓlŏ* 'describing lands with

too much water' and *hŏk krdŏk* '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 (*kơ* 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 (*hăng* in (4.6), for example):

(4.3) Nei   arăng brei   kan   akễñ   đơ   apăl   kơ   ñu.
       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 aduân   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 ñu   năn,
       3   get.up   REC   from   place wife   3   DIST

       hăng   palei ñu   năn.
       with   wife   3   DIST
       'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.'(ND007/095)

(4.6) Đa   răng   pilih   hăng   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) ŏng   lŏ   wĭt   yơh   ta   imai   ŏng   ƀuôn 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   lăm   nei,   thâo   dah   lač   hŏ!)
       Who   person cry   in   PROX   know   that say   PTCL

       Hưn   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 ƀrư~ƀrư~ƀrư jing   gơ̆   đuôm
       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: *dô* is a progressive aspect marker and *leh* is a perfective aspect marker. *Dôk* 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-huĭ yơh.
   PROG grandmother then PRE-scare PTCL
   'The grandmother is being scared' (ND008/113)

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

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

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

   dôk đih ta anuăr năn ñu čiăng pĭt.
   PROG lay LOC rotten.wood then 3 want sleep

   ƀuh ăr   ñu lŏ kalei ubei.
   NEG diligent 3 again dig yam

   năn dôk pĭt ti năn yơh.
   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. *ƀuh djŏ* is the negator for a NP/clause

(as shown in (4.14)) while bipartite *ɓuh…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, *kǐn* is also a negator for these above types as shown in (4.17):

(4.14)

    a.   ǒ   Dông-krje, hăng adǒ   ǒng weh?
           VOC PN   with   what you   go.fishing
           'Hey Dông-krje, what do you go fishing with? '

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

    c.   ɓuh   djǒ!
           NEG right
           'It is not right.'(ND007/007)

(4.15) ɓuh   kâo   thâo mǐ   a.
       NEG 1   know mom VOC
       'Mom, I do not know.' (ND005a)

(4.16) Arnei ka   kâo lǒ   thâo mǐn ôh.
       now   NEG1 1   again know think NEG2
       'Now I haven't thought (about it) yet.'(ND008/434)

(4.17) Kǐn   lǒ   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) ởh, mamǎ ɓuh jing abao madôk ɓuh 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) ở Bia ở Bia, ti anôk ŏng dôk?
VOC PN VOC PN, where place 2 stay
'Hey, Bia! Where are you?' (ND010/081)

(4.20) Nao wě duân ah mahuǎ bě.
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 *mnŏng* 'things'). In addition, in Bih there are some polysyllabic noun stems from borrowed words (*cikaret*- 'cigarette') or proper names (*Djông-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)   ɓuôn   'village'
        sang   'house'
        prăk   'money'
        huă   'eat.cooked rice'
        pĭt   'sleep'

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, *pŭk sang* 'houses'

consists of *pŭk* '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)   *pŭk*   *sang*
        mountain.house   house
        'houses'

        čim   *kan*
        bird   fish
        'eating animals'

        añuê   *abăn*
        mat   blanket
        'household items'

        asei   *djăm*
        cooked.rice   soup
        'food'

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braih   *pade*
husked.rice   unhusked.rice
'main harvesting products'

bŭng   *bai*
back.basket   back.basket
'back baskets'

phŭn   *kayâo*
trunk   tree
'trees'

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*   *kruẽ*
            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-ăt
                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:

Quantifier	Number	Classifier	HEAD noun	Attributive	Possessor	Demonstrative

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

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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   urăt   ñŭk
       one   CLF   necklace
       'one necklace' (ND010/117)

(5.8) sa   trpăt   djăm
       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 gờ   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   ačô   nei
       pot   clay   2INCL   REFL   PROX
       'this pot from our clay' (BB004)

(5.12) ao   ñu
       shirt 3
       'his/her shirt'

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Demonstratives are always phrase final:

(5.13) adǔ   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

Bih	Êđê	Gloss
sa	sa	'one'
dua	dua	'two'
tlâo/trlâo	tlâo	'three'
pă	pă	'four'
ima	êma	'five'
năm	năm	'six'
tijuh	kjuh	'seven'
sapăn	sapăn	'eight'
duapăn	duapăn	'nine'
pluh	pluh	'ten'
pluh sa	pluh sa	'eleven'
pluh duapăn	pluh duapăn	'nineteen'
dua pluh	dua pluh	'twenty'
tlâo pluh	tlâo pluh	'thirty'
sa ituh	sa êtuh	'one hundred'
sa ibâo/trbâo	sa êbâo	'one thousand'

There are two alternative forms for the numerals 'three' and 'one hundred': *tlâo/trlâo* and *ibâo/trbâo*. 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:

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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 pluh:* '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:

trăm: 'human and animals and objects in general'
phŭn: 'trees'
ƀě and *urăt/uruăt*: 'one-dimensional rigid and flexible objects'
pŏk 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: *čô* 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) Palě   hě   sa   urăt   karah, sa   trlăm?
       CAUS-fall QP   one   CLF   ring, one   CLF
       'Did one ring drop?'   (ND010/115)

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It is necessary to point out that according to Adams (1991:69), the two Bih

classifiers *ƀĕ* 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   gŏ   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 ƀǒng anăn,   sa   palah   pioh.
one   half   eat   then,   one   half   keep
'(They) eat a half while keep the other.' (ND007/113)

(5.18) ñu   mă   sa   trpăt   sa   trpăt   sa   trpăt.
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   ƀǒng 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

boh: class term for three dimensional objects in general:

Example: *boh sang*: houses
                boh mnŭk: chicken eggs
                boh tâo: stones
                boh đǔng: coconuts

ana: class term for trees:
Example: *ana punŭt*: a name of a tree
ana kayâo: trees in general
gŏ: class term for pots:
Example: *gŏ aseĭ*: pot to cook rice
gŏ djăm: pot to cook soups
gŏ bŭng: one type of traditional Bih pot
ƀăng: class term for holes:
Example: *ƀăng êar*: a well
ƀăng boh-tâo: a small stone cave

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 mnŭk* '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 đŭng* 'coconut'. *Boh* in *boh đŭng* is a class term and it occurs with *đŭng* as a lexicalized compound noun to categorize one type of object. However, this type of

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object in a numeral noun phrase requires a classifier which differs from their class term

boh. It is *usăr*, the classifier for all fruits having seeds (the hard skin of the coconut is

considered as the seed of the coconut): *sa usăr boh đŭng* '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*

punŭt.

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)

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(5.21) Sa   iwa   ƀiă   ta   năn   ñu   ruêh   đieo   nuă   yơh.

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   ƀiă   dĭng-buăl   ñu   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   năm   trlăm   manŭk.

all   six   CLF   chicken

'all six chickens' (Elicitation HM20081210)

(5.24) Djăp   mnuih   are   ta   ñu.

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) Đa   mnuih dje   nôk   nei   nôk   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) pǔk   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) dhǒng 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) adǒ   [brei   kǐn   angoh gǒ]   nǎn
      thing   give   DAT   sick   3   DIST
      'things that give to that sickness of him' (ND007/268)

(5.32) anuôr   [dôk   mǎ   kan]   nǎn
      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) dhǒng ǒng
      knife   2sg
      'your knife' (PA015/014)

(5.34) ɓrǎm   ana   ñu
      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 *nǎn* and far distal *dih*. These demonstratives function as determiners

in the NP. Their positions are always phrase final as shown below:

(5.36) mnǒng   kâo   nei
      thing   1   PROX
      'this thing of mine' (PA015/059)

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

(5.38) phung pukǎn 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: *ŏng* (familiar) and *ih* (polite) are recognized, although in folktales only one form, *ŏng,* is used. Bih speakers explain that the second polite singular form *ih*, as well as the third person singular and plural forms *ñu* and *di ñu*, 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 ñu* 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: *ñu, gŏ', pŏng* and *arăng*. The third person singular and plural forms *ñu* and *di ñu* can be used to refer to both humans and animals. However, the third singular *pŏng* 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   akẽ̑ñ đơ   apăl   kơ   ñu.
       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)

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

       răng   ačô.
       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 *gơ̆* have an interesting distinction in

discourse. Both are third person singular pronouns but *ñu* is used for the main character in

discourse while *gơ̆* 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   matăm   ƀơ̆ng   matihĭ~matihiêr   atăm   ñu

COP   yam   PRE-REC   eat   together   REC   3

matăm   ɓɗ̌ng   dăng   ñu.
PRE-REC   eat   PL   3
'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 *mnuih* 'person', *adɔ̌* 'thing' or *anôk* '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*

mnuih 'who person' with two different interpretations: one as an interrogative expression and the other as an indefinite expression:

(6.4)   Sei   mnuih   ŏng   mǎ?
         who   person   2   take/pick up
         'Who did you bring home?' (ND007/037)

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(6.5) Sei   mnuih ngă   pǔk   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

	interrogative/indefinite + generic noun	negative indefinite interpretation	negative indefinite expressions
person	*sei mnuih/arăng* who person	-----	ɓuh mâo mnuih NEG COP person
thing	*nǒng mnǒng/adǒ* what thing/thing *ndǒ* what thing	*ya (mnǒng)* NEG (what thing)	ɓuh mâo adǒ NEG COP thing
place	*ti/ta anôk* LOC place	*ta* NEG	ɓuh mâo anôk NEG COP place
how	ti-ba/si-ba/si	--------	-----
why	ai	----	-----

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   lăm   nei?
       who   person cry   LOC   PROX
       'Who has cried in here?' (ND011/042)'

(6.7) Sei   răng   lông   palě   atăm   boh   tông-lông
       who   person   try   drop   REC   fruit   PN

       măng   dlông rŭ~ră rŭ~ră rŭ~ră ta   lăn   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 . *Nŏng adŏ/Ndŏ* **'what thing'**

(6.8) Ndŏ   ŏng   čiăng?
       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 . *Ai* 'why'

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

(6.14) Ai   ɓuh   thâo   hẽñ,   ɓuh   thâo   malâo   pine.
        why   NEG   know   ashamed,   NEG   know   embarassed 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) ở   Bia   ở   Bia,   ti   anôk ŏng   dôk?
       VOC PN   VOC PN, where   place 2   stay
       'Hey, Bia! Where are you?' (ND010/081)

(6.16) (Ha   sang kâo čô   ơh,)   ta   kâo   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: *ƀuh + mâo + 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 *ƀuh mâo mnuih* 'not have person/people' to express an indefinite

person, and *ɓuh mâo adǒ* 'not have thing' for an indefinite thing and *ɓuh mâo anôk* 'not

have place' for an indefinite place. Below are some examples:

(6.17) ɓuh   mâo   anôk   ñu   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) ɓuh   mâo   ngăn   tăm~ênua~ba~kađi   ôh.
       NEG1 COP   property   compensation   NEG2
       'There is nothing we can give (them) as compensation.' (PA011/276)

(6.19) ɓuh   mâo   pô   lǒ   msě   ôh   aĭ.
       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   tăm   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)

	Applied to:	Result in:	Structure:
Derivational	Verb or predicate	Lexical verb	[V-NMZ] NOUN
	Verb	Lexical adjective	[V-NMZ] ADJ
Clausal	Clause	Noun phrase	[(NP)…V-NMZ]NP

According to Genetti et al.'s distinction, Bih has both derivational and clausal nominalization. The former is marked by *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 *talei,* which marks derivational nominalization, has three allomorphs: *talei, trlei* and *kalei.* According to Bih speakers, *talei* and *trlei* are Bih forms while *kalei* is a borrowing of the Ede *klei.* Of the two, *talei* is used more frequently throughout the data and in every conversation amongst Bih speakers. Therefore, in this chapter, I will use the form *talei. Trlei* has exactly the same range of use.

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

(7.1) Ɓuh   lŏ   mâo   trlei   angoh a-ăt   ôh   ñu   lač
      NEG1 again COP   NMZ   hot   cold   NEG2 3   say
      'He said that there will be no fever anymore.'(ND007/260)

In (7.2), *kalei* nominalizes an adjective *tŭ-dưn* to become a lexical noun meaning 'wealth'. Then *kalei tŭ- dưn* becomes a predicate complement of the main copula verb *jing:*

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(7.2)   Arăng lŏ   jing   mâo kalei tŭ-dưn   rông   anak   čô
        3   again   COP   have NMZ   rich   raise   child grandchild
        'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

        Nđừm~đă in (7.3) means 'old'. When *talei* precedes *nđừm~đă aê duôn makunei*, it

makes the whole phrase *talei nđừm~đă aê duôn makunei* function as a NP meaning

'folktale':

(7.3)   Nei   kâo   paƀlĕ Thô-alah   khăng
        now   1   tell   PN   often

        talei   nđừm~đă   aê   duôn   makunei
        NMZ   old   grandmother grandfather   pass

        trlei   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:

(7.4) Kâo   mǐn   dah   eh   kapaih   tadi.
      1   think   COMP   excrement   cotton   true
      'I thought that they were worthless. '(BB001/091)

In (7.4) the main verb *mǐn* 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 *mǐn* 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   ngǎ   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 *ngǎ sang aje* 'make houes' as its object. However, internally, *ngǎ sang aje* is the verb-complement clause in which the subject argument of this complement verb *ngǎ* 'make' is co-referential with the subject of the main verb: *di ih*. *Ngǎ 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 blǔ nei* 'My snail speaks now' is the object of the string of verbs *kǎp mhǔ* without a complementizer:

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(7.6)　ŏng　kăp　mhŭ̌　abao　kâo　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: *ƀuh…ôh/ka…ôh* 'no/not.yet' (in which syntactically, *ƀuh* and *ka* are pre-verbal particles while *ôh* optionally occurs in verb phrase final position) and other verbal markers such as progressive marker *dô/dôk* and the perfective marker *leh* (*dô/dôk* is pre-verbal while *leh* is post-verbal). In addition, only Bih verbs can get a prefix *pa-* whether it is an active causative prefix or it is fossilized (more discussion about 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 *djă* 'to handle', *siem* 'beautiful'*,* and *jăk* 'good', which are equivalent to two distinct word classes, verb and adjective, in English.

(8.1) Pañă   matlâo   urei,   ɓuh   ñu   lŏ   djă   asei
       Until PRE-three   day,   NEG1 3   again handle cooked-rice

       kra   năn   ôh,   Djŏng   năn   ôh.
       monkey DIST NEG2 Djŏng   DIST NEG2
       'Until the third day, he still wouldn't take cooked-rice from that monkey and
       Djŏng.' (ND003/223)

(8.2) Kih   pŭk   ɓuh   siem,   pasiem;
       sweep mountain-house   NEG1 beautiful   CAUS-beautiful

       kih   sang ɓuh jăk   pajăk   yơh.
       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: ŏng   dlăng gŏ   kâo   nei: siem   leh hĕ?
                    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 *ɓuh… ôh*, which negates the action

'handle'. *Siem* in both (8.2) and (8.3) show two Bih verbal characteristics: in (8.2) it takes

ɓuh 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   ñu.
        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   ñu   nei.
        1   CAUS-bathe   3   PROX
        'I bathe her now.' (ElicitationHM20120824)

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It is common to see a causative morpheme add another participant to an otherwise intransitive construction to make it become a transitive event as *pa-* does in (8.5) and in(8.7). (8.4) is an intransitive construction with a stative intransitive verb *dje* 'die' while (8.5) is an transitive event with a causative prefix on the stative verb *dje* 'die', changing that verb to an event verb *padje* 'kill'. In (8.6), *manei* requires one participant that functions as both agent and patient of an event; while in (8.7), with the causative *pa-*, *pamanei* now has *kâo* as an agent and *ñu* as a patient. In examples (8.5) and (8.7), *pa-* is an active causative prefix. However, with a transitive event as shown in (8.8), *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 *pa-* marking on the verb or not. Therefore, *pa-* does not have a causative sense in this transitive clause.

(8.8) čiăng   tlaih palei   khar
       want   release wife   unsuccessful
       'He does not want to release the wife.'(Elicitition.HM20100215)

(8.9) čiăng   pa-tlaih   palei   khar
       want   CAUS-release wife   unsuccessful
       'He does not want to release the wife.' (ND008/612)

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) Ñu   pa-atŭk   êar.
      3   CAUS-boil   water
      'She boiled water.' (Elicitation HM20120710)

(8.11) Kbăl   ma-pa-ɓĕ   kan,   pa-ɓĕ   kan,
      1   PRE-CAUS-break   fish   CAUS-break   fish

      kbăl   ma-pa-dŭm   lăm   gŏ   anăn.
      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), *êar* 'water' is an inaminate object, so *pa-* is attached to the verb *atŭk* '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) Ñu   ma-dŭm   lăm   gŏ   ɓŭng.
      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 Jatarĭt 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

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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   pǔk   ƀuh   siem,   pasiem;
Sweep mountain-house   NEG1 beautiful   CAUS-beautiful

kih   sang   ƀuh jăk   pajăk   yơh.
Sweep house NEG1 good CAUS-good PTCL
'She sweeps until the house is very clean.'(PA013/103)

(8.14) Tukuay ñu   ŏng   lŏ   paphet   padlông   ƀêt.
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*-) coexit 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)Djăp-djik-lik-anao yơh ñu   ma-pa-dưm   ma-pa-dưm   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.'
(ND007/413)

(8.16) (Tikuih dle)... Ñu   dưm ti   anuăr   dlông anuăr   năn.
(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) Dông-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 *manao dlăng* '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:

(8.17) Dô   goʔ   ma-nao   dlăng ta   ndriêng   năn.
       PROG   3   PRE-go   look LOC   deck   DIST
       'She is going to look at the deck.'(ND008/129)

(8.18) *Dô ñu thâo.
(8.19) *Ñu dôk thâo.

Both event and stative verbs can take perfective marker *leh*, but a second

distinction between the two is that semantically, an event verb like *jhǐt* 'to stitch' in (8.20)

when taking *leh* as its perfective marker, means 'finish stitching'; while a stative verb, like

tasă 'ripened/cooked' in (8.21) together with *leh*, means being ripened/cooked. In other

words, the perfective marker *leh* with an event verb means 'finish an action', while with a

stative verb it means 'be in a status':

(8.20) Anôk   tumha   ñu riah makunei   dih,   arăng jhǐt   leh.
       place parent-in-law 3 cut pass   FAR.DIST 3   stitch PFV
       'His father in law stitched together the place where he cut before.'(PA011/121)

(8.21) Goʔ   tasă   leh.
       3   ripen/cooked PFV
       '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:

```
        A      V      V      O
(8.22)  Ñu     nao    čiem   puya.
        3      go     feed   crocodile
        'He goes to feed the crocodiles' (ND003/283)
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```
        S              V              [  LOC   ]
(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 *kǐn/koʼ*

'LOC'as its marker regardless of its syntactic position in a clause:

```
        A      V          P          P      [    R  ]
(8.24)  Gǒ     ma-brei    ma-eng     ao     kǐn    ñu.
        3      PRE-give   PRE-skirt  shirt  DAT    3
        'She gave her skirt and shirt to her (the monkey).' (ND003/185)
```

```
                   [      S        ]  V        [R  ]     [              O              ]
(8.25)  Amĭ    ama    kâo  paƀlĕ    kĭn    kâo    tanao  bŭn~buăt~ulăt~kathe
        mother father 1    tell     DAT    1      story  poor

        he     nei.
        1INCL  PROX
```
'My parents told me about our poverty.' (RH003/006)

As shown in (8.24) and (8.25), *ñu* '3'and *kâo* '1'are the recipients in the two actions

expressed by *brei* 'give' and *paƀlĕ* '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: *ŏng* '2' and *đĭ đĭ jŏng trlâo 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  ŏng   thâo   đĭ     đĭ     jŏng  trlâo  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            mơh   palei  pine   dih.
```

leg	hand	beautiful		PTCL	wife	girl	FAR.DIST

'That woman's body is beautiful.' (ND009/273)

(8.28)	Tikuih		năn	brŭ	leh.
	rat		DIST	rotten	PFV

'That rat is rotten already.' (PA011/149)

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 characterictics 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	ɓrŭ~ɓrŭ~ɓrŭ	jing	gơ̆	đuôm
	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	mơh	mnuih	ha	ŏng,
	night	COP	MIR	person	LOC	2

	urei	mâo	mơh	mnuih	ka	ŏng	amara	mâo	kơ	ŏng.

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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   lăm   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   lǒ   nao   lăm   bhǐt   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   čhǐ   abao   nei.
          1   PRE-go   sell   snail   PROX
          'I go to sell this snail." (ND008/032)

There are two verbs *nao* 'go' and *čhǐ* '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   čhǐ   abao   nei   leh.
          1   PRE-go   sell   snail   PROX PFV
          'I sold this snail already."

(8.35) Ɓuh   kâo   ma-nao   čhǐ   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

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(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) Kâo nao tiă boh kâo yơh.
     1   go   chase fruit 1   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 . *Dôk* 'sit'>juxtaposed verb

Dôk 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 *dôk* is one of a series of verbs in sequence. Example (8.38)

presents a construction in which *dôk*, 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-Rĭt, 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-Rĭt's. Thus, in this

context where the subject's position while engaged in the action 'recall' is not relevant, *dôk*

modifies the main verb *hdơr* as a progressive marker (more details about the process of

grammaticalization are in XIII):

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

(8.40) Ñu   dôk   hdơr   mơh. Ñu   ƀŏng   kan   maknuê   năn
       3   sit   recall MIR   3   eat   fish   past   DIST
       'She is recalling that she ate that fish' (PA011/079)

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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 akĕ̃ñ đơ apăl kơ ñu.
       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 ɓuh arăng brei kan akĕ̃ñ đơ apăl kơ ñu.
       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 *kơ/ta/tơ* before the recipient argument as shown in example (8.43):

(8.43) Thô   gơ̆   magĭr   ngă   ana   năn
       PN   3   PRE-try   make   crossbow   DIST

       ngă   leh   ngă   ana   rĭ   b̆răm,
       make   PFV   make   crossbow   whittle   arrow

       dua   tlâo   urăt,   brei   kơ   ñu.
       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 urăt* '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   gơ̆   magĭr   ngă   ana   năn
        PN   3   PRE-try   make   crossbow   DIST

ngă	leh	ngă	ana	rĭ	ƀrăm,
make	PFV	make	crossbow	whittle	arrow

dua	tlâo	urăt,	ƀuh	brei	kơ	ñu.
two	three	CLF,	NEG	BEN	DAT	3

'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-occuring 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 *kơ/ta/tơ* as it does as a particle.

(8.45)	Răng	dê	brei	dôk	mnuih	tamŭn,	
	people	EMPH	CAUS	stay	person	people	
	ŏng	dê	mabrei	dôk	tlăn	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 mearning '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) B̵uh   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 *đih* '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 *đih* 'lying down' as a main

verb in example (8.49)):

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

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

       ƀuh   ar   ñu   lŏ   kalei ubei,
       NEG   diligent   3   again dig   yam

       năn   dôk   pĭt   ti   năn   yơh.
       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   taduah   ƀuôn   kĭn   ŏng
        2INCL look.for   village DAT   2

        dôk   ngă   pŭk   sang   kơ   ŏng.
        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

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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) Dô   adei   Krang   mahiar
        PROG younger.sibling   PN   PRE-cry

        ta   imai   ñu   ta   sang năn.
        LOC   sister 3   LOC   house DIST
        '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 Eđê, 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   čǔ   dih   nao   čǔ   dih,
        finsh mountain   FAR.DIST   go   mountain   FAR-DIST

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paliă~palia.

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) Ñu   leh   leh   nah   ñu.
        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

particularly, 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   kâo   mhao năn,   năn   yơh,
       finish 1   drink DIST,   then   PTCL

       kâo   mâo   tien   pruič   năn.
       1   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

mhao '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   mâo   arbŭng   drei   wĭt   yơh.
       Finish COP   bamboo.shoot 1INCL   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

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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 *mhao~mhâm* is used to describe actions relating to drinking water or

liquid but not wine. It is derived from the base *mhao* which is a verb meaning 'drink'.

Another example is *alưih~alâm*. This is an expressive describing things which are very

cheap. This meaning comes from the meaning of the base *alưih* which means 'cheap'. On

the other hand, *kadô~kadung* and *akei~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~lĭt~ 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,

ɓrŭ is a verb meaning 'slow', 'light'. There are different expressives from this base such as

ɓrŭ ɓrŭ, *ɓu ɓrŭ*, *ɓrŭ ɓra,* 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 *pură~purô* 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

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may need, such as household stuffs, gardening tools, hunting tools, etc, he sells

karung~karem (*ñu čhǐ karung~karem.*) There is no base in this expressive. The same to

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

expressive has no base. On the other hand, *muťt muťt* '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 awǎng*, 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 *đồng*, Vietnam currency, and then at the time of speaking, it is sold for five or even six thousand *đồng*. 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 *pujip 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 *pali̯ă palia*. *Pali̯ă 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. pali̯ă palia   ñu.
            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

ɓrŭ 'slow', its complete reduplication is ɓrŭ~ɓrŭ used to describe things in a slow

movement, or from ɓruẽ 'straight', ɓruẽ-ɓruẽ 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) *arɓlĕ arɓlŏ* 'describing lands with too much water'
   ɓrwâp ɓrwớp 'describing place with a lot of moving people'
   nik nak 'describing things having its original history'
   pŭk păk 'describing too much talk'
   rlung rlưng 'describing things moving side by side in water'
   trpĭm trpŭm 'describing things shorter than its expected size'
   tadữt tadăt '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 *arɓlĕ arɓlŏ*, or both back vowels as in *rlung rlưng* , but they can also be from different groups of vowels as in *ɓrwâp ɓrwớp* and *nik nak*. In other words, the phonological relation of the vowels of the root and the reduplicant is unpredictable.

9.3.2.2 . 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. *hŏk krdŏk* and *tŭt trlŭt* 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 inoh* and *ɓhĭt-lĭt* shows the opposite way where the onset consonant of the base is a cluster while

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that of the reduplication is a single consonant. *kriêp mliêp* 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)   *hǒk krdǒk* 'describing a very happy feeling'
        tŭt trlŭt 'describing trees/plants without leaves because they fell off all'
        tloh inoh 'describing things in a large number'
        ƀhĭt-lĭt 'describing things very tiny'
        kriêp mliêp 'very quiet'
        ƀiǎ riǎ 'describing things coming very shortly '
        nưih kưih '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'
        jhǎk jhǎr '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 /ñ/. 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 gĭn 'describing things in a very big size'
       gŏ gơi 'things everywhere'
       grŭ grŭm 'describing things very dirty'
       lič lek 'doing something again and again'
       moh măl 'lucky'
       mprŭč mpruĭ 'describing things with splay ends'
       rhô rhêč 'describing things in a very long length'
       rŏ 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: *jing*, *mâo* and *dôk* 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 *jing*

Jing is an equational copula connecting two pronominals. (10.1) provides an example in which *jing* functions as a copula to join two NPs: *ñu* and *mnuih Bih*:

(10.1)   Ñu   jing   mnuih Bih.
              3   COP   person PN
              'He is Bih.' (Elicitation. HM20091022)

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As a verb, *jing* also can take negation *ɓuh....ôh* (which I will describe in a later

chapter) just as a regular Bih verb does:

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

(10.3) ởh,   mamă   ɓuh   jing   abao   madôk   ɓuh   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 l
       ocation.'(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 *ñu* and *be̞*:

(10.6) Kâo   paɓlĕ   matâo be   mnuih ñu
       1   tell/talk   ghost goat   person 3

       ɓiă-dah ñu   jing   be,   ñu   matâo be   năn.
       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 *mâo*

kalei tŭ-dưn rông anak čô as a headless relative clause in which the subject *arăng* changes

into the concept expressed by the predicate noun *mâo kalei tŭ-dưn rông anak čô*:

(10.7) Arăng lŏ   jing   mâo   kalei   tŭ-dưn rông   anak   čô
       3   again become have NMZ   rich   raise child   grandchild
       'He becomes rich to raise his children and relatives.' (PA011/584)

10.1.2 . Existential *mâo*

Mâo 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 *mâo*; then, there is often one indefinite noun followed

by a location with a locative marker, as shown in example (10.8):

(10.8) Mâo   djăm   ta   di   ih,   mâo   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: *mâo* 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   mâo   mơh   mnuih ha   ŏng,
       night COP   MIR   person LOC   2

       urei   mâo   mơh   mnuih ka   ŏng   amara mâo   kơ   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 *mâo* construction also takes *ɓuh…ôh* as its

negative marker, as shown in (10.10) and (10.11):

(10.10) Ɓuh   lŏ   mâo   trlei angoh a-ăt   ôh.
        NEG1   again COP   NMZ   hot   cold   NEG2
        'There won't be a fever (for me) any more.'(ND007/260)

(10.11) Ɓuh   mâo   anôk   ñu   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 *mâo* construction includes both a possessor and a possessee in which a possessor precedes the verb *mâo* while the possessee follows it without any locative or dative markers. The possessive *mâo* 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 village going to the mountain to look for vegetables. Syntactically, (10.12) is a transitive construction including a possessor *di ñu* and a possessee *djăm biep*:

(10.12) Leh   di   ñu   mâo   djăm   biep,
        finish PL   3   have   vegetable PN

        di   ñu   wĭt   yơh   ta   ɓuân.
        PL   3   return PTCL   LOC   village
        'After they had one type of vegetable, they returned home.' (ND011/011)

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

(10.13) Arăng lăm   nei   ɓuh   mâo   ôh   krbao
        3PL   PREP   PROX   NEG1   have   NEG2   buffalo

        dă   krbao   kâo,   amĭ   aduân kâo
        CONJ   buffalo   1   mother grandmother I
        'People nowadays don't have buffalos like my ancestors' buffalos.
        (ND007/297)

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(10.14) Kamei   ɓuh   mâo   ngăn   tăm~ênua~ba~ kađi   ôh.
        1EXCL   NEG1 have   property   compensation   NEG2
        'We do not have property to pay compensation.' (PA011/276)

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   ɓuôn 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

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di	ih	dua	ung	mỗ,	tlâo	ha	anak	ŏng.
PL	2	two	husband	wife,	three	LOC	child	2

'You all (both of you and your child) are in the storage house over there.'
(PA011/097)

(10.19) ŏng dôk ti   nei   yơh   hŏ!
        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

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

In this case, *kâo* 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, *duân Sun năn* follows the predicate *mawĭt yơh* and is the subject of the sentence even though its position is different from that of (10.20).

(10.21) Năn mawĭt yơh duân 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 aduân kâo ti sang.
2 look grandmother 1 LOC house
'You look at my grandmother at home.'(ND008/176)

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(10.23) Gờ   maɓŏng   katăr   tle.
         3   PRE-eat   corn   pound
         'He ate mashed corn.'(PA012/020)

In (10.22), the fact that *ŏng* precedes the main verb *dlăng* determines its syntactic

relation to the verb: it is a subject of the verb; while *aduân kâo* follows the main verb, and

so is the object. On the other hand, in (10.23) *gờ* precedes the transitive verb *maɓŏng* and

katăr tle follows the verb, so *gờ* is the subject and *katăr 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) Kâo   brei   agăr   leh   kơ   ŏng.
         1   give   drum   PFV   DAT   2
         'I gave the drum to you already.'(ND007/402)

(10.25) Nei   arăng brei   kan   akẽ̃ñ   đơ   apăl   kơ   ñu.
         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)

Kâo in (10.24) precedes the main verb *brei*, so it is the subject of the sentence while

in (10.25) the main verb *brei* is preceded by *arăng*; thus, *arăng* is the subject of (10.25).

Both in (10.24) and (10.25), there are two object arguments following the main verb: *agăr*

and *ŏng* in (10.24), and *kan akẽ̃ñ đơ apăl* and *ñu* in (10.25) respectively. Both *ŏng* and *ñu*,

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beside following the main verb, each also has *ko'* as a dative marker relation. Thus, an

indirect object is the one following a verb and marked by the dative marker *ko'* 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 *ko'* is placed in focus position, *ko'* 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 *ko'*. 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 *ta/ka/ko'* (since

indirect object is marked by *ta/ka/ko'*, 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 *kâo* 'I' 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 *atăt* 'lead' and *kâo* is

the patient:

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

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

In (10.28) the A argument *kâo* is the experiencer of the verb *mhử* 'hear/listen',

while in (10.30) the experiencer *kâo* is the S argument of the predicate *angoh* 'be sick':

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

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

In (10.30), the A argument *kâo* is the agent of the verb *mă* while *thŏng 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   ñu.
        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   ŏng.
        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

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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 *lĕ* or *mơh* 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

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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:

(10.38)   Tam   krčao ñu   ačô.
            PN   scare 3   REFL
            'Tam scares herself.'

(10.39)   Tam   jhuñ   kĭn   ñu   ačô.
            PN   hate   DAT   3   REFL
            'Tam hates herself.'

There is always a pronoun preceding a reflexive *ačô*. Syntactically, if the subject of a sentence is singular, a singular pronoun *ñu* 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):

(10.40)   ŏng   prni   kĭn   ŏng   ačô.
            2   praise DAT   2   REFL
            'You admire yourself.'

(10.41)   Di   ih   prni   kĭn   di   ih   ačô.
            PL   2   praise DAT   PL   2   REFL
            'You admire yourselves.'

(10.42)   Kamei   prni   kĭn   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 ñu ačô*, otherwise it is ungrammatical as in (10.44):

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(10.43)   Grăp čô   mnuih manei kĭn   di   ñu   ačô.
            Every CLF people wash DAT PL   3   REFL
            'Everyone washed himself.'

(10.44)   *Grăp čô   mnuih manei kĭn   ñu   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 *ñu*. Neverthless, in this case if a singular form *ñu* 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   blŭ   kĭn   ñu   ačô.
            PN   speak DAT 3   REFL
            'Tam spoke to herself.'

(10.46)   Mĭ   Nghiêp paƀlĕ kĭn   Y-Kô hăng Y-Kô ačô.
            mother PN   talk   DAT   PN   with   PN   REFL
            'Nghiêp's mother described Kô to himself.'

(10.47)   Mĭ   Nghiêp paƀlĕ kĭn   ñu   ačô   hăng Y-Tam.
            Mother PN   talk   DAT   3   REFL with   PN
            'Nghiêp's mother described herself to Tam.'

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(10.48)   Mĭ   Mlih   pamŭt   arđeh   ñu   ačô   lăm   sang.
            mother PN   CAUS-push motorbike 3   REFL   LOC   house
            'Mlih's mother pushed her motorbike to the house.'

(10.49)   Mĭ   Nghiêp blei   druôm-ură   kĭn   ñu   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   ɓuh   ñu   ačô   lăm   mta   kinh.
       PN   think that   PN   see   3   REFL   LOC   eye   mirror
       'Tam thought that Y-Kô saw himself.'

 (10.51)Tam   lač   kơ   mĭ   Nghiêp   paɓlě   kĭn   Y-Lam.
        PN   say   DAT   mother PN   talk   DAT   PN
        'Tam told Nghiêp's mother to describe Y-Lam'

(10.52) Y-Kô lač   kơ   mĭ   Nghiêp   paɓlě   kĭn   ñu   ačô.
        PN   say   DAT   mother PN   talk   DAT   3   REFL
        'Y-Kô told Nghiêp's mother to describe herself.'

(10.53)Mĭ   Nghiêp   ɓuh   leh   Tam   kađap kĭn   ñu   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 *ñu*:

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(10.54)   Tam   rmuh mǐ   Nghiêp   prni   kǐn   ñu   ačô.
           PN   request mother   PN   praise DAT   3   REFL
           'Tam_a asked Nghiêp's mother_b to praise her_a.'

(10.55)   Y-Lam mhư̌ leh   mǐ   Nghiêp prni   kǐn   ñu.
           PN   hear PFV   mother PN   praise DAT   3
           'Y-Lam_a heard Nghiêp's mother_b praising her_a.'

(10.56)   Mǐ   Rai   pamǐn mǐ   Nghiêp pajhuñ   kǐn   ñu.
           Mother PN   think   mother PN   CAUS-hate DAT   3
           'Rai's mother_a thinks that Nghiêp's mother_b hates her_a.'

It is interesting to see that when the subjects of the main clause, Y-Lam in (10.55) and Mǐ 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   mhư̌ leh   mǐ   Nghiêp prni   kǐn   ñu   ačô.
        PN   hear PFV   mother PN   praise DAT   3   REFL
        'Y-Lam heard Nghiêp's mother_b praising her_b.'

(10.58) Mǐ   Rai   pamǐn mǐ   Nghiêp pajhuñ   kǐn   ñu   ačô.
        Mother PN   think   mother PN   CAUS-hate DAT   3   REFL
        'Rai's mother_a thinks that Nghiêp's mother_b hates her_b.'
        (Elicitation.HM20110320)

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10.3.2 . Strict reciprocity: Type 1 *tăm* construction

This section presents another non-canonical transitive event, the reciprocal. *Tăm*

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 *tăm* 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 *tăm* is immediately

preceeding the verb. Examples (10.59)-(10.62) have core arguments as reciprocal

referents:

(10.59) Di ñu tăm   thâo
       PL 3   REC   know
       'They know each other.'

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

(10.61) Y-Phon leh-anăn   palei ñu   tăm   khăp
       PN   and   wife   3   REC   love
       'Y-Phon and his wife love each other.'

(10.62) Tam leh-anăn   mĭ   Nghiêp   tăm   unĭng
       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 Blĭt's father's and Tam's languages, or the house in

(10.65) and cooked rice in (10.66):

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

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

        tanao   di   ñu   blŭ   năn.
        story   PL   3   speak PROX
        'Blĭt's father and Tam know each other's language.'

(10.65) Ma   Blĭt   leh-anăn   ma   Hưa tăm   jru   ngă   sang.
        Father PN   and   father PN REC   help build house
        'Blĭt's and Hưa's fathers help to build each other's house.'

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(10.66) Ñu   tăm   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 *tăm*, 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 *tăm* construction).

(10.67) Tăm   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   tăm   pamŭt   ardeh   di   ñu   ačô
        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

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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 gờ tăm pĭt   tăm đih   năn.
               Quiet PTCL Pl 3   REC sleep REC   lie   then
               'Deeply, they lie together and sleep together.'(ND007-216)

(10.70)   Ñu   dờng tăm   pah   gờ. (PA013-62)
               3   IMPFV REC scold 3
               'They are scolding her.'

(10.71)   Di   ñu   dua   tăm   pavang   prčăm gờ
               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   ƀǒng.
            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 *čhǒk* '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*

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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, *ɓuh*, *ka*, and *kĭn*, which can co-

occur with two optional verb-phrase final markers: *ôh* which occurs with *ɓuh* 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: *ɓuh….(ôh)* and *ka…(ôh)*

Bih has two discontinuous negative constructions: *ɓuh…ôh* 'not, no' and *ka…ôh*

'not yet'. Syntactically, *ɓuh* and *ka* are pre-verbal particles while *ôh* optionally occurs in

verb phrase final position. Semantically, *ɓuh…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 ɓuh…ôh while in (11.2) there is

ka…ôh. However, in (11.2), it is possible to interpret that the action *thâo mĭn* 'think' might

happen later, even though it is not a certainty that it will happen.

(11.1) Pañă   matlâo   urei, ɓuh   ñu   lŏ   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 lŏ   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) Ɓuh   kâo   thâo   mĭ   a.
        NEG   1   know mom   VOC
        'Mom, I do not know.' (ND005a)

(11.4) Ka   kâo   ngă   aje   trlâo kơ   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 *kĭn…(rei)*

Bih also has another negative construction, also discontinuous *kĭn…(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 *ɓuh…ôh.* The fact that there would be no difference if *kĭn…rei* in example (11.5) is replaced by *ɓuh…ôh* as shown in (11.6) indicates that these two constructions have the same function:

(11.5) Kĭn   ñu   paữ   rei.
        NEG1 3   CAUS-hungry NEG2
        'He won't let him be hungry.' (ND007/034)

(11.6) Ɓuh   ñu   paữ   ôh.
        NEG1 3   CAUS-hungry NEG2
        'He won't let him be hungry.'

(11.7) Kĭn   ñu   brei.
        NEG   3   give
        'He did not give.' (PA011/071)

However to negate two or more events together, *kĭn…rei* is used, but not *ɓuh…ôh.* Example (11.8) presents a case where *kĭn… rei* negates more events. (11.8) comes from the portion of text in which Jatarĭt 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

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this case, *kĭn…rei* is used but not *ɓuh…ôh* or the sentence will be ungrammatical, as

shown in (11.9):

(11.8) Kĭn   kâo   čieng rei.
       NEG1 1   want   NEG2
       'I do not want it either.' (ND008/070)

(11.9) *Ɓuh   kâo   čieng ôh.

11.1.1.3 . Discourse negative construction

Kĭn also participates in another negative construction which has a different scope of

negation than *kĭn* described in section 11.1.1.2. In §11.1.1.2, *kĭn (kĭn…rei)* is syntactically

preverbal and it negates an event expressed in that construction, while *kĭn* 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 *kĭn*. Examples (11.10)-

(11.12) below demonstrate how *kĭn* as a discourse negative marker differs from that of the

discontinuous negative marker.

Syntactically, *añuôi*, *sang* and *nih nôk* in (11.10), and *čhar* in (11.11), respectively,

precede the marker *kĭn* and are specifically negated; while in (11.12) *kĭn* 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 *kĭn* follows things that it negates. This order is different

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from the discontinuous construction *kĭn…rei* in (11.12) where *kĭn* is in clause-initial

position:

(11.10) Añuôi   kĭn   răng   lang,   sang   kĭn   răng   kih,
        mat   NEG   3   spread house NEG   3   sweep

        nih   nôk   kĭn   răng   padǒng.
        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   kĭn   kâo   čiăng.
        big.gong   NEG   1   want
        'As for the big gong, I don't want it.' (PA011/182)

(11.12) Kĭn   ñu   pa-ǔ̆   rei.
        NEG1 3   CAUS-hungry NEG2
        'He won't let him be hungry.' (ND007/034)

      In addition, *kĭn* is used to negate with a speaker's emphasis on negated things (often

with high intonation on *kĭn*). For instance, in the following examples *kĭn* 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) ɓlŭ   kĭn   ɓlŭ.
        Speak NEG   speak
        'Speaking is not speaking.' (ND005a)

(11.14) Pĭt   malăm kĭn   jăk,   dôk   urei   kĭn   jăk   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   kâo   čiăng   čhar.
NEG   1   want   big.gong
'I don't want the big gong.'

(11.16) Kĭn   răng   lang   añuôi,   kĭn   răng   kih   sang,
NEG   3   spread   mat   NEG   3   sweep   house

kĭn   răng   padǒng   nih   nôk (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) ở   Rĭt   ở   Rĭt   ha   sang   hĕ   ŏng   yŏng?
         VOC PN   VOC PN   LOC   house QP   2   brother
         'Hey, brother Rĭt, are you home?' (ND008/397)

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

(11.19) ƀŏng   hĕ   ñu   dua   ung   mŏ̆.
         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

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with different wh-question words:

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

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

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

(11.23) Nơ̌ng   adŏ?
       what   thing
       'what's up?' (ND007/060)

(11.24) Sei   mnuih ngă   pư̌k   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 *nŏng adŏ* in (11.26) is sentence-initial, even though it fills in a syntactic

object of the sentence:

(11.26) Nŏng dŏ ŏng mahuĭ?
         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)

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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', *đuě* '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 descrbies all imperative particles.

11.2.1 . Mild imperative *hŏ*

Hŏ 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 *hŏ* is used:

(11.29) ŏng   dôk   hŏng   anak   hŏ!
      2   stay   with   child   IMP

kâo	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	ŏng	trlâo	hě	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 *goh*

The particle *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 *goh*:

(11.31)	ờ	Bia	ờ	Bia	ŏng	mă	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

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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   matăm   nao   mă   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

Jararĭt's house. That is when *bĕ* is used:

(11.33) Nao   bĕ   di   ih   dĭng-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 Dông 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

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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) Ɓuih   jiăng   ah   đăm   ŏng   ƀŏng   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 *đăm…ôh* also combines with *hŏ*, the polite mild imperative, to give a friendly suggestion or a polite request as shown in (11.37) and

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(11.38):

(11.37) Đăm   ŏng   ba   kâo, Mĭ   hŏ!
        IMP   2   bring   1sg Mom   IMP
        'Mom, please do not take me to throw away!' (ND003)

(11.38) Đăm   ŏng   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 *moh*

The mirative particle *moh* 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

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position in a clause. The use of *mơh* to mark fronted focused constituents will be discussed in Chapter XV.

We see an example of mirative *mơh* 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 *mơh*:

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

        răng   ačô.
        3   REFL
        '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

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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 *mơh* to indicate this unexpectedness. Otherwise, if this were a normal incident using the appropriate sized knife, *yơh* 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 *yơh*:

(11.40) Dhŏng arĭ   ñu   ti   boh   ƀŭk   năn   ñu   madjă,
        knife PN   3   LOC   CLF   hair then 3   PRE-take

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

        ƀuh   yơh   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   mơh.
        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 *yơh*

In contrast to *moʼh*, the *yơh* particle expresses that the information marked

should not be unexpected to the hearer. The information that *yơh* 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 čiăng   sei   siem djăm jăk   yơh.
       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 yơh   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):

(11.43) ŏng   katŭ̃   yơh   pakajăp.
        2   keep.a.lid   PTCL   CAUS-tight
        'You should keep the lid really tight.'(ND007/208)

When the information is out of the listerners' expectation, *mơh* 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:

(11.44) Nei   lah,   ŏng   dlăng imai   mačăm   kâo.
        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:

(11.45) Mâo   ôh   lah,   dŏ   jiăng kâo   brei   lah.
        have   NEG2   IMP   thing   friend 1   give   IMP
        'It is not. These things are from my friend.'(PA011/273)

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11.3.4 . Emphatic *wǎ*

The particle *wǎ* 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 *kâo* 'I' does the action in the event: *lač* 'say' in (11.46) and *madôk* 'get married' in (11.47) respectively. In example (11.48), the speaker doesn't go and the event is emphasized by the *wǎ* particle:

(11.46) Kâo lač năn wǎ.
   1 say DIST PTCL
   'I said so.' (ND009/088)

(11.47) Năn wǎ kâo dê kâo madôk.
   DISTAL PTCL 1 EMPH 1 PRE-stay
   'I got married becaue of that.' (ND009/147)

(11.48) Buh wǎ kâo nao.
   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', *brŭ̆* 'slow' and *brŏ̆k* 'suddenly'. Below are some examples of manner adverbs in clauses:

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(12.1) Đăm   ŏng   phiar   prăl   ôh   hŏ!
       NEG1   2   fly   fast   NEG2 IMP

       huĭ   ñu   mâo   dưi   tiă   ŏng.
       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   inŭng ñu   năn   ɓrữ   prŏng, ɓrữ   prŏng,
       and then   eel   3   DIST   slowly big   slowly big

       ɓrữ   prŏng,   prŏng yơh
       slowly big   big   PTCL

       inŭng   đơgăt~đơgĭn.
       eel   very big
       'Then, his eel gradually got bigger and bigger.'(PA012/081)

Semantically, both *prăl* and *ɓrữ* 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 *ɓrữ* is pre-verbal. On the other hand, *Ɓrŏk* in example (12.3) modifies the whole event, and it is clause-initial:

(12.3) Ɓrŏk   ñu   kra   năn   hmữ
       suddenly   3   monkey   DIST   hear
       'Suddenly the monkey heard.'(ND007/168)

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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 mâo čô anak alŭč,
         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) Bŏ imai dôk ung lăm êar dih….
         as.for sister be.at husband in water FAR.DIST

         ƀuh mâo dje sĭt ôh imai năn,
         NEG1 have die true NEG2 sister DIST

         adôk udĭp.
         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

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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   ñu   aê   akei   năn   ɓŏ   he   pine
       thing   3   grandfather   male   DIST   but   1INCL   female

       dŏ   he   mathâo
       what   1INCL   PRE-know

       tanŏng   he   muân   yơh   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.
       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   wĭt   yơh   ta   imai   ŏng   ƀuôn   dih.
        2   again   return   PTCL   LOC   sister   2   village   FAR.DIST
        'You again return to your sister at our village there.' (ND003/079)

While *ăt* 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 čĭm   blĭ   nao   ăt   sĕnăn   mơh   iêu.
        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, *ăt* in (12.10) and in (12.11) shows an action repetition but with different participants. In (12.10) *ăt* functions as a signal for repetition coming in this case it is an *iêu* 'call' action, but with a different participant: *čĭm 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

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the pigeon when the pigeon called his wife and told her about her brother. When he sees

that the Blĭ bird has come to call his wife (after the pigeon), he himself, not his servant,

goes to shoot it, and *ăt* is used:

(12.11) ăt   mtao   lŏ   panah mơh gǒ.
        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), *ƀuh…aĭ* as in (12.14); and *ajăn* as in (12.15) and

măng ai as in (12.16):

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

(12.13) Kâo paƀlĕ tadi   trlei   kanap mñai amĭ   ama kâo
        1   tell   true   NMZ   poor   poor   mother father 1

        đơm   dê.
        old   EMPH
        'I told truthly about my parents' poverty a long time ago.'(RH003/078)

(12.14) Ƀuh kamei   pagao trlei   amĭ   ama   aĭ.
        NEG 1EXCL   pass   story mother father at.all
        'We always listen to our parents.' (RH003/110)

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(12.15) Dôk   tană   huă   ɓở̌ng ta   năn   yơh   ajăn   ñu.
        sit   cook   eat   eat   LOC   DIST   PTCL   only   3
        'He sits to cook and eat over there himself.' (PA014/118)

(12.16) Ñu   ɓở̌ng   kan   maknuê   năn,   măng ai   ñu.
        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 *lŏ* 'again' and *nanao*

'always':

(12.17) Ɓuh   amǐ   lŏ   padưm   ôh.   Abĭt   mahuǐ   ajih.
        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 ɗuễ   nanao pliă~plia
        3   take   bring carry carry leave   always REDUP

        dua   duôr   čử   tlâo   duôr   čử.
        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

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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) ưm　　ăr　　　　lŏ　　tană　duân　　　　ah,
　　　EXC　work.hard　　again　cook　grandmother　VOC

　　　ntra　he　　wĭt　　huă　ta　　ɓuôn.
　　　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　　　　yơh,　huĭ　ɓlĕ　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) Kâo   căm   aduân   kâo   makunei.
       1   beat   grandmother   1   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) Ñu   tangŭ   atăm măng anôk palei ñu   năn,
        3   get.up   RECP from place wife   3   DIST

        hăng palei ñu   năn.
        with wife   3   DIST
        'The monkey gets up from his wife's place.'(ND007/095)

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(12.26) Đa   tuah   hŏng   karang,
        many   scoop.up   with   fishing.colander

        đa   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   gŏʾ   nao   čŭt   weh   năn,
        Finish   take   worm   then   3   go put.a.string.into fish.hook DIST

        čŭt   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   pukuěč   ađa.
        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 *djĭk~djĭk~djĭk* evokes the image of the whole body shaking:

(12.29) bơ̆ tlăn năn dôk bubuč ti năn mơh dôk,
as.for python DIST sit REDUP LOC DIST MIR sit

ti phŭn kayâo năn mơh gơ̆ dôk.
LOC trunk tree DIST MIR 3 sit
'As for the python, he sits with his body circle around the tree's trunk.'
(ND009/032)

(12.30) Dô gơ̆ mahuĭ yơh yơ̆ng asei~prlei
PROG 3 PRE-scare PTCL want body

djĭk~djĭk~djĭk atăm yơh mahuĭ năn.
REDUP RIC PTCL PRE-scare DIST
'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), *ɓrŭ̆~ɓrŭ̆* 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:

(12.31) Kamei ɓuh wă kamei pađuẽ̆,
1EXCLNEG PTCL 1EXCL CAUS-leave

kamei čung ɓrŭ̆~ɓrŭ̆ goh.
1EXCLwait REDUP IMP
'We do not leave her, we will wait slowly for her.'(PA013/009)

(12.32) Leh-năn ɓrŭ~ɓŭ~ɓrŭ,   oh   imai   kâo   wă   dih,
          and   REDUP   EXC   sister   1   PTCL FAR.DIST

          ơh   yaih   maŭ   asei   inăn.
          oh.no oh.no PRE-hungry   cooked.rice   DIST
          'Slowly, she recognized her sister and since then she did not eat.'(ND009/275)

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 *toʼ/ toʼ-dah* 'if/when', *kyua/ kyua-dah/ɓăng* 'because' and *ɓiă/ ɓiă-dah* 'however, but'. *Dah* in these morphemes also functions as a complementizer on its own, but when it combines with *toʼ* 'if/when', *kyua* 'because' and *ɓiă* '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. *toʼ-dah, kyua-dah, ɓiă-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 *toʼ-dah* may sometime introduce an imperative clause.

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12.2.1 . *Tơ-dah* **conditional clause**

A *Tơ-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) Tơ- dah   di   ih   luăr   kâo   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) Tơ   palư   năn   kâo   lǒ   hrê   nei
       if   lie   then   1   again   come   here

       ǒng   čuh   ɓǒng   tǔ   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) Tơ-dah čieng adei   ǒng   dôk   adei,
       if   want   younger.sister 2   stay   younger.sister

       čieng   imai   ǒng   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) Tơ-dah   kâo   dje   ăt   tuôm hăng mỗ   kâo   mơh.
       if   1   die   also   meet   with   wife   1   MIR
       'If I die, I also meet my wife.'(ND008/621)

(12.37) Tơ-dah   ƀuh   lai   ŏng,   tam-lam   dă   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 ñu   eh   lăm êa   hŏ!

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   đuông ta   yuŏ̆p nei

if   shirt 1   float LOC East   PROX

đăm ŏng   nao   mă   ôh   hŏ!

NEG1 2   go   take NEG2 IMP

Tơ-dah   ao   kâo   đuông 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) Maudĭp   yơh   anak   ñu….
        PRE-alive   PTCL   child   3

        dôk   lăm   ƀuôn   sang   yơh   kyua-dah   mâo
        stay   in   village   house   PTCL   because   COP

        mtâo   dlê   ƀǒng   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) ơ   duôn   ơ   duôn,   ǒng   jum   mơh   kâo
        VOC   grandma   VOC   grandma   2   want   MIR   1

        đa……
        much…

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

        ƀuh   arăng   lǒ   jum   ôh.
        NEG1   people   again   want   NEG2
        'Hey, Grandma, please help me because my cousins do not want to help
        me.'(PA016/082)

(12.42) ơ!,   mă   mă   nao   nao   yơh.
        yes   hold/pick.up hold/pick.up go   go   PTCL

        Si   malŏ   ngă?
        why   PRE-again   make

        ɓăng   kâo   soh   yơh   kâo   blŭ   hŏng   ŏng.
        because   1   wrong PTCL 1   speak with   2

'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 . *Ɓiă-dah* 'however, but' clause

A *ɓiă-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   điêo   nuă   mâo   êa   ɓiă-dah
        side   left   right have water but

        ti   êa   krông năn, ajih   khuŏt leh.
        LOC   water river DIST be.out dry.up PFV
'There is water elsewhere except the river.' (PA011/449)

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(12.44) Ɓuh   kâo   thâo ɓiă-dah kâo   mhừ   mơh
NEG   1   know but   1   hear   MIR

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

(12.45) Truh ta   ɓuôn,   asei   djăm mơh ñu   brei,
Arrive LOC   village cooked.rice soup MIR   3   give

kĭn ñu   paừ   rei.   ɓiă-dah   paanuh,
NEG1 3   CAUS-hungry NEG2 however   CAUS-tie

ăt   ñu   paanuh   mơh.
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 (athough 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

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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 năn/ 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   êmô   kabao,
              3   again roast cow   buffalo

        b.   lŏ   iêu   ƀuôi   iêu   mjâo,
              again call   midwife   call   shaman

c. lǒ   lǒ   ɓǒng huǎ ka   anak ñu   nǎn.
   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 mâo arbŭng* and the

second clause *wĭt yơh* share the same subject argument *drei* 'we' which occurs overtly in

the second clause:

(13.2)   Leh   mâo   arbŭng,   drei   wĭt   yơh.
           Finish COP   bamboo.shoot 1INCL return PTCL
           'After having bamboo shoot, we will return home.' (ND010/007)

Example (13.3c) describes two events: *Leh ɓǒng ŭn* and *lai* in which they both

share *kâo* as their argument:

(13.3) a.   Bơ̌   si-ba   ǒng   angoh?
            but   why   2   sick
            'But what makes you sick?'

       b.   Angoh yơh.   Angoh   rih   ŭn.
            sick   PTCL sick   kill   pig
            'I am sick. This is called sick for pork.'

       c.   Leh   ɓǒng   ŭn,   kâo   lai.
            Finish eat   pig   1   recover
            'After eating pork, I will be no longer sick.'(ND007/102)

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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 *kâo* in the previous chain in (13.4a.) even though there is no overt pronoun or NP mentioning it:

(13.4) a. Ƀuh kâo dưi dôk duôn ah, kâo đuễ leh.
       NEG1 win stay grandmother VOC, 1 leave PFV
         'I can't stay, grandma. I will leave.' (PA014/112)

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b. Dua   tlâo   hruê   ta   năn   lŏ   đuẽ,
    two   three day   LOC   DIST   again leave

    Akăt   mngai hŏng   ala   tinŭng điêo   nuă,
    cover ear   with   leaf   eel   left   right

    đuẽ   matăm   yơh.
    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   čử   dih,   nao   čử   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: *Buh kâo dửi dôk duôn ah* and *kâo*

đuẽ 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 *leh*.

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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 *kâo* 'I' and it occurs in both

clauses:

(13.5) Leh   kâo   mhao năn, năn   yơh,   kâo   mâo
      Finish 1   drink   then, then PTCL   1   COP

      tien   pruêč   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   ñu   lăm   ƀuôn, leh-năn dơng tian   kơ   ñu   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   sĭ   trguah
       3   keep   then,   finish then   get.up as   tomorrow,

       sĭ   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) Pĭt   yơh   dă   kra   yơh   arăng   lač.
        sleep   PTCL   like   monkey   PTCL   3PL   say

        Leh   năn   arăng   Dông-krje   dê,   răng   nao   ba
        finish   then   3   PN   EMPH   3   go   take/bring

        pha   manŭk   ta   palei   răng,   sa   palah   pŏk.
        thigh   chicken   LOC   wife   3   one   half   open
        'The monkeys sleep deeply (people say:"sleep like a monkey"), and then Dông-
        krje takes the other half of the chicken to his wife.'(ND007/074)

 (13.9) Jatarĭt năn   hia   yơh,   ñhă   ñhă   ñhă   ñhă   ñhă,
        PN   then   cry   PTCL   (crying.sound)

        ɓuh   thâo   lŏ   mĭn.
        NEG   know   again   think

        Leh   năn   mõ̌   palei   ñu   năn   lač.
        Finish   then   wife   wife   3   then   say
                                176

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 manŭk 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, ñhă ñhă ñhă ñhă ñhă, ƀuh thâo lŏ mĭn*, and (2) *mŏ palei ñu 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:

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(13.10) (Ñu   ma-tulử   gở.)
         OBV   PRE-submerge   PROX

         Leh   tulử   năn,   dô   adei   gở   ma-hiar   yơh
         Finish   submerge   then   PROG sibling 3   PRE-cry   PTCL
         kiñ   amai   gở, Y-Liêm.
         DAT   older.sister   3   PN
         'Seeing that submerging, the younger brother cried for his older sister, Y-Liêm.'
         (ND003)

The two verbs *tulử* and *hiar* can't share the same subject *adei gở* in (13.10). *Tulử*

has a distinct zero subject coreferential with the subject of the previous sentence: *ñu.*

However, although the anaphoric zero refers back to a preceding clause, the clause *Leh*

tulử is chained with the following clause *dô adei gở mahiar yơh kiñ amai gở, Y-Liêm* 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*

ñu which occurs in the first clause, and *năn* overtly links them together:

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(13.11)   Ama   ñu   jak   nao   brei   mnei,
father 3   invite go   give   bathe,

[Ø (1)nao   brei   mnei ti   êa   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   ñu   năn   [(4) čăm],
then   father 3   then   beat

[Ø (5) čăm] năn,
     beat   then

[Ø (6) mâo   lŏ   čiăng ôh   kơ   mniê năn],
     NEG1 again want NEG2 DAT girl   DIST

anak ñu   pine   năn,
child 3   girl   DIST

[Ø (7) čiăng   kơ   anak akei],
     want   DAT child boy

anak pine   năn, năn ñu [(8) lui hĭ   lăm pin   êa].
child girl   DIST, then 3 forget quit   in   river.head   water

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'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 phenonmenon 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.

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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　　　　ƀuh　　H'Du.
　　　　PN　　　　　look-for　　　see　　PN
　　　　'Y-Kug found H'Du.'

(13.17) Phung ƀuôn sang đru pô sang nao druôm kyâo
       PL village house help owner house go cut tree

       hlăm kmrởng ngă bông
       in forest make coffin
       'People in the village help the house owner to go to cut trees in a forest to make coffin.'

(13.18) Aduôn đru yap brei kơ čô.
        Grandmother help count give to grandchild
        '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 intergration among verbs in sequence is higher than those in which each verb has equal verbal status. The following examples of Ede SVCs show the intergration of verbs in sequence: in (13.19), the two verbs: *dôk* and *mdei* somewhat keep their own meaning while in (13.20), *mă* no longer literally means as 'pick.up/take':

(13.19)   Kâo dôk mdei bhiăo.
          1 sit rest abit
          'I rest shortly.' (UNK20080813.57)

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(13.20)   Sui   sa   bliǐ, arăng hiu   čuă   dlăng mă.
              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', *wǐt* 'return', *truh* 'arrive') and the benefactive *brei* 'give'.

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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 *ƀŏng* share the same arguments: *Dĭng-buăl ñu* and *găp-djuê ñu*.

(13.21) Dĭng-buăl   ñu   găp-djuê   ñu   trŭn
        servant   3   extended.family   3   go.down

        ƀŏng   bĭt   hŏng   mtao   yŏ   năn.
        eat   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 *hŭn* share not only one argument *ñu* but also an

adverbial marker *lŏ*:

(13.22) Ñu   lŏ   nao   hŭn   hŏng   palei ñu.
        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   ñu.
          1EXCL   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) Ɓuh   dĭng-buăl   ñu   găp-djuê   ñu   trŭn
          NEG1   servant   3   extended.family   3   go.down

          đŏng bĭt   hŏng   mtao   ôh   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   hửn   hŏng   palei   ñu   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   1EXCL return   go   bring/take   eggplant

          kĭn   ñu   ôh.
          DAT   3   NEG2
          'We have not returned to bring eggplants for him yet.'(PA014/141)

(13.27) Kamei wĭt   nao   ba   trŏng   kĭn   ñu   leh.
          1EXCL 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

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negation (13.28), (13.29) and (13.30):

(13.28)*Ɓuh dĭng-buăl ñu, găp-djuê ñu trŭn ôh, ɓuh ɓŏng bĭt hŏng mtao ôh năn.
'His servants and his family do not go down, they do not eat with the village head'

(13.29)*Ñu lŏ nao leh, hử'n hŏng palei ñu leh.
'He again goes to his wife, (and) informs to his wife'

(13.30)*Kamei wĭt leh, nao leh, ba trŏng kĭn ñu 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

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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) ŏng   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   hừn   hŏng   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   ñu.
        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: *nao* in

(13.31) and (13.32), *wĭt* in (13.33); and a posture verb *dôk* in (13.34). The other verb(s)

in a sequence will be from the open class such as *mă* in (13.31) and (13.33), *iêu* in

(13.32) or *tană*, *huă* and *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

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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   ɓŏng atăm yơh   kâo.
     3   roast   eat   REFL PTCL 1
    'He himself kills me.' (PA011/219)

(13.36) nei   yua   mataduah   duiñ   pusei arăng
      now   tell   look.for   pick.up   nail   3
      sĕ   agăr   arăng tah   lui   hĭ   năn   yŏ,
      drum.frame   drum   3   pry.out   forget quit   DIST   PTCL

      taduiñ   matrôk   hŏng kŏ   lŭ.
      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)

(13.37) Di   ih   lông   blǔ   lăng   hǒng   ñu.
    PL   2   try   talk   watch   with   3
    'You all convince him.'(PA013/136)

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 *bǒng* participate as

sequential actions from which the meaning of 'kill' is created. In (13.37), all three verbs:

lông, *blǔ* and *lăng* together mean 'convince' in a context where one person *ñu* 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

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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)　　　(ưm　ăr　　　 lŏ　　tană　duân　　　　ah,)
　　　　　　　INT　work.hard　again　cook　grandmother　VOC

　　　　　　　ntra　he　　wĭt　　huă　ta　　ɓuôn.
　　　　　　　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,
    1EXCLreturn hold/pick.up knife DIST
    'We 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:

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(13.40) Ñ̃u wĭt ayu.

      3   return play

      'He returns from playing (outside).' (Elicitation.HM20120826)

(13.41) Ñ̃u wĭt mă-bruă.

      3   return work

      'He returns from work.'(Elicitation.HM20120826)

(13.42) *Ñ̃u ayu wĭt.
(13.43) *Ñ̃u mă-bruă wĭt.

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) Ɓuh ñu wĭt ayu ôh, ñu wĭt mă-bruă   mơh.

    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 ñu wĭt ayu ôh, (ñu adôk nao ayu mơh.)

    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):

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(13.46)   Ka   ñu   wĭt   ôh.   (Ñu   adôk   nao   ayu   mơh.)
           NEG1 3   return NEG2 (3   still   go   play   MIR
           'He has not returned yet. (He is still out playing.)'

(13.47)   Ka   ñu   wĭt   ôh.   (Ñu   adôk   mă-bruă   mơh.)
           NEG1 3   return NEG2 (3   still   work   MIR
           'He has not returned yet. (He is still at work.)'

The fact that *wĭt* 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, *wĭt* 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 *wĭt* 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 *wĭt*s (both in (13.38); and in (13.40) and (13.41)) both exists in a SVC

in Bih shows wĭt 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:

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(13.48) Kâo   dôk   ha   sang.
        1   stay   LOC   house
        'I stay at home.' (ND008/102)

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

(13.50) Năn   ñu   ma-dôk   đih   ti   anuăr,
        then   3   PRE-PROG   lay   LOC   rotten.wood
        dôk   đih   ta   anuăr   năn   ñu   čiăng pĭt .
        PROG   lay   LOC   rotten.wood then   3   want   sleep

        ƀuh   ar   ñu   lŏ   kalei ubei,
        NEG   diligent   3   again dig   yam

        năn   dôk   pĭt   ti   năn   yơh.
        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-Rĭt gets enough breast

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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. Lŏ　 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

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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 *wĭt* 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 *wĭt* 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   pĭt   đih   năn,   alek   yơh   di   ñu   pĭt.
           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   tangŭ   pĭt.
           3   just   get.up sleep
           'She just got up.' (Elicitation.HM20120826)

Pĭt đih in (13.52) and *tangŭ pĭt* 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.

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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 *đih* 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   ɓŏng năn, năn   gŏ'   maiêu   anak   gŏ'.
         finish eat.rice eat   then, then 3   PRE-call   child 3
               'Finishing the meal, he called his daughter.'(ND009/047)

Huă and *ɓŏng* 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 *ɓŏng* 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 *đih* in a different order from (13.52). The compound verbs can be separated in the same sentence as *pĭt* and *đih* in (13.55) or *huă* and *ɓŏng* in (13.56); or in the case of example (13.57) in which another

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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 arăng lǒ đih pĭt hăng ñu,
NEG   3   again lie sleep with 3

ǒk ñu majuh, ǒk ñu malua,
always 3 encourage always 3 convince

arăng ƀuh arăng pĭt,
3   NEG 3   sleep

ƀuh arăng đih atăm hăng ñu.
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 ƀǒng djăm, ƀuh amĭ brei
1   eat cooked.rice eat vegetable NEG mother give

dôk Duh-ƀơ-ƀrǒt
stay PN

kâo ư asei tăl djê.
1   keep.hungry cooked.rice til die
'I eat, but if Mom does not let me get married to Duh-ƀơ-ƀrǒt, I will stay hungry until I die.' (PA013/160)

(13.57)   Nei   năn   lŏ   si   tlăm,   lŏ   angoh mơh.

Now   then   again as   afternoon,   again sick   MIR

Angoh tangŭ malăm pĭt.

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), *mǐn* is the main verb which takes *dah di ih luǎr* as its object argument. *Di ih* 'you all' in *dah di ih luǎr* functions as a subject argument of the verb *luǎr* 'lie':

(14.1) Kâo   mĭn   dah   di   ih   luăr.
       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 *mĭn*:

(14.2) Kâo   mĭn   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 *mĭn*.

(14.3) Kâo   mĭn   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

mĭn 'think', *thâo* 'know'), then the complement clause is signaled by *dah*. Otherwise, with

other matrix verbs, the language uses different complement clause types.

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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) ŏng   lač   ɓuh   djɞ̆.
        2   say   NEG right
        'You said: [it] is not right.' (ND007/021)

(14.5) Kâo   mĭn   dah   eh   kapaih   mumăng, ñu   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-ăt* is a predicate nominal for the copula *mâo*:

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(14.6) Ƀuh   lǒ   mâo   trlei   angoh a-ăt   ôh   ñu   lač
       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 *čiăng/ čieng* 'want', which takes a verb phrase

complement as its core object argument as shown in (14.7) and (14.8):

(14.7) Năn   tumha ñu   Ƀuh   lǒ   dưi   čiăng Ƀǒng čĭm   năn,
       then   in-law 3   NEG   again win   want   eat   meat   DIST

       mačiăng   Ƀǒng   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) Kâo   čieng Ƀǒng ubei, ǒng   atăt   kâo   duân   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

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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   paƀlĕ   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   adŏ   [kâo   čieng] ôh.
       NEG1 COP   thing   1   want   NEG2
       'There is nothing that I want.' (ND008/050)

(14.11) Di   ih   mŭt   lăm   nei   yơh.
       PL   2   enter   in   PROX PTCL
       .....
       dlăng ti   anôk [êa   pa-puh   pa-đŭng
       watch LOC place water CAUS-hit   CAUS-float

di   ih   yơh].

PL   2   PTCL

'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 *adŏ* 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 pađŭng 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):

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(14.12) Mâo   mnuih mgăt   čiêm ŭn   hlŭn   gai   kpiê
       COP   person keep.bird feed pig   servant   call   wine

       mâo   djăp   lăm   agăr   năn.
       COP   all   in   drum   DIST
       'There are people who raise birds and feed pigs, people (servants) that
       call other people to come for wine. All are in that drum.'(PA011/195)

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 ŭn hlŭn gai kpiê* is a

relative clause which functions as the subject of the sentence. Internally, *mnuih mgăt*

čiêm ŭn hlŭn gai kpiê includes two relative clauses: *mnuih mgăt čiêm ŭn* and *hlŭn gai*

kpiê in which *mnuih* and *hlŭn* are two head nouns for which *mgăt čiêm ŭn* and *gai kpiê*

respectively are relative clause modifiers for.

(14.13) Djăp   leh   adŏ   brei   kĭn   angoh gǒ   năn.
        Enough   PFV   thing give   DAT   sick   3   DIST
        'Things that we gave to his sickness are a lot.' (ND007/268)

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. *adŏ brei kĭn angoh gǒ năn* is a

noun phrase functioning as the object of the sentence). In this NP, there is a relative clause:

brei kĭn angoh gǒ năn. In the internal structure of this particular relative clause, there is a

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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   kơ   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   paɓlĕ   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)

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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 ñu djê năn* and *Ka anak*

ñu udĭp năn are fronted:

(14.16) Ka   anak   ñu   djê năn   dah   leh   ñu ngă   pusat.
       DAT   child 3   die DIST   then   finish 3 make grave.stone

       Ka   anak   ñu   udĭp   năn   ñu   lŏ   čuh   êmô   kabao,
       DAT   child 3   live   DIST 3   again roast cow   buffalo

       lŏ   iêu   ƀuôi   iêu   mjâo,   lŏ   lŏ
       again call   mid.wife   call   shaman   again again

       ƀŏng   huă   kơ   anak   ñu   năn.
       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:

(14.17) (Đăm ŏng akă ôh hŏng krbao lu drei hŏ
NEG1 2 tie NEG2 with buffalo many CL IMP

ŏng akă ajăn….akă bě anôk pukăn.)
2 tie alone tie IMP place different

Djǒ akă mǒng krbao dê, matajuă yơh
true tie from buffalo EMPH PRE-tread PTCL

mnǒng kruăk gǒ areng.
thing smash 3 crab

'(Do not tie this buffalo with other buffalos. Please tie it separately.) (However), it is true that he tied it with other buffalos, so they treaded on it, those buffalos that smashed it-the crab.'(ND007/310)

(14.17) is in the context where Dông-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 Dông-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 *mnǒng kruăk gǒ 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.

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Notice also that *mnŏng*, the head noun which the extraposed relative clause *kruăk gŏ' 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:

(14.18) Di   ih   [mathâodruôm kyâo]₁ [ngă   pŭk   sang]₂.
        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[ngă   pŭk   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 *ngă pŭk 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

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(14.19) shows that *ngă pǔk 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 ɓuôn 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 ɓuôn sang* and *mnăm tape* is

one constituent in which *mnuih ɓuôn sang* is the head noun and *mnăm tape* is a RC. This

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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', *adǒ/dǒ* 'thing', *anôk* 'place'. The following examples (14.22)-

(14.24) demonstrate these generic nouns followed by a RC:

(14.22) Arnei kâo   paƀlĕ   kơ   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   tǒng
         arrive LOC   DIST   LOC   deep.water

        anôk   di   ñu   dôk   kriu   makanuê   năn   mơh
        place PL   3   sit   poison.fish previous   DIST   MIR
        'Arriving at the place where they sat and poisoned the fish before'
        (PA015/018)

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(14.24)   (mang   yơh   nei,)
                 be.pited   PTCL   PROX

                 Adǒ   ǒng   maɓǒng   ntra   nei
                 thing 2   PRE-eat   later   PROX
                 '(Oh, you poor thing), The thing that you will eat later'
                                          (ND007/158)

Examples (14.22)- (14.24) provide constructions in which *mnuih*, *anôk* and *adǒ*

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 ñu dôk kriu makanuê* is a RC for

anôk, and in (14.24), *adǒ* has *ǒng maɓǒng ntra* as its RC. The examples (14.22)- (14.24)

will be ungrammatical without RCs and demonstratives as shown below:

(14.25)   *Arnei kâo   paɓlě   kơ   mnuih
(14.26)   *Truh ha   năn   ta   tǒng   anôk
(14.27)   *(mang   yơh   nei,)   adǒ

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 *adǒ*)

with the head noun in (14.28) , *anuôr* 'rotten trunk', which also has a RC as its modifier.

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However, unlike the generic nouns, *anuôr* can occur without any modifier as shown in example (14.28) below:

(14.28)   Kâo   mâo   anuôr.
           1   have   rotten.trunk
           'I have rotten trunks.'

(14.29)   *Kâo   ƀuh   mnuih.
           1   see   person

(14.30)   Kâo   ƀuh   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 *adǒ*, 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   taduah   adǒ   riah   agǎr.

now   look.for   thing   split   drum

'He was looking for something that splits the drum.'(PA011/120)

(14.32) Ƀuh   năn   wĭt   ta   ƀuôn, wĭt   ta   ƀuôn
see   then   return LOC   village return LOC   village

paƀlĕ   hŏng   mnuih ƀuôn   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), *adǒ riah agǎr* includes a head noun *adǒ* and a RC *riah agǎr* 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

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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 ɓuôn 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   kâo   brei   lah.

        thing   close.friend   1   give   IMP

        'Things that my friend gave to me.' (PA011/273)

(14.34) Kâo   dê   mâo   adŏ   kâo   ɓŏng.

         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)

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(14.36) Tam: Sei   mnuih wăt-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 kâo brei lah*. In (14.34), *adŏ* is also the head noun which is modified

by the RC *kâo ɓŏ̌ng*. *Adŏ* functions as an object argument of the RC *kâo ɓŏ̌ng* in

example (14.34).

Example(14.35) is from a text in which the male monkey brought home Dông-

krje, whom the monkey considered as a prisoner because of Dông-krje's mistake. When

seeing her husband with someone else who she did not know, the monkey wife asked her

husband about Dông-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), *anuôr* 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) Anuôr   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) Ƀuh   mâo   anôk   ñu   nao   ôh,   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) Djăp   anôk   e   ŏng   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 *lĕ*, one with a contrastive focus marker, *mo'h*, 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 *lĕ* marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, *mơh* 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 *lĕ* and *mơh*, NP fronting in

Bih has multiple pragmatic functions including functions which overlap with those of *lĕ*

and *mơh*.

15.1.1 . *Lĕ*-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 *lĕ*. The fact that a subject argument, when topicalized,

is often marked with *lĕ* 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, *lĕ* 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, *lĕ* can mark not only a topic but also a contrastive

topic, depending on context and its position. The following data demonstrate two

functions of *lĕ* 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 Grừ Ak, the crow's village, as he had heard that Grừ Ak had many magic things.

He got married to Grừ 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   ñu   yơh.
               yes   excrement   PL   3   PTCL
               'Yes! Those are their excrement.'

      b.   Eh   ñu   nei   lě   dưi   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 *lě*

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 ñu 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 kâo   prơ   talei   nŭng quăng Jatarĭt.
              now   1   tell   story eel   giant   PN
              'Now I am telling a story about Jatarit's eel.'

     b.   Y-rĭt nei   lĕ   phŭng ñu   năn   arăng jak   nao
              PN   PROX TOP PL   3   DIST 3PL   invite go

              mă   năn,   nao   koh   djrao ngă   krđuôn.
              pick.upDIST go   shortenbamboo   make eel.catcher
              'Y-rĭt, 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, Jatarĭt whose nickname is Y-rĭt. (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, Jatarĭt,

who normally would not be fronted because the grammatical coding is an object

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argument. In other words, when *Y-rĭt 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   ŏng   palư   kâo   Dông-krje   eh?
              EXCL why   2   lie   1   PN   VOC
              'What! why did you lie to me, Dông-krje ?'

              ŏng   lač   aseh   iman   amĭ   aduân   ŏng
              2   say   horse elephant   mother grandmother 2

              ang   maiman   amĭ   aduân   ŏng.
              great   PRE-elephant mother grandmother 2
              'You said your ancestors' elephant was great.'

      b.   Arlâo nǎn lĕ   ŏng   brei   brŏng,
              before DIST TOP   2   give   big.storage.unit
               ŏng   brei   brŏng   kơ   kâo
              2   give   big.storage.unit   DAT   1

              kǎp   angĭn -puih,
              wait   windy.season
              ñu   lač,   gơ   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 *Arlâo 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 *lě*. 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

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the beginning of or before the sentence (Lambrecht ,1994, p. 201). Therefore, in the case

of Bih, when *Eh ñu nei*, *Y-rĭt* and *arlâo 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-rĭt* 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-kađi   ŏng   yơh.
    1   PRE-again   give.compensation.for   2   PTCL

    kâo   brei   krbao,   krbao dơng măng amĭ   aduân .
    1   give   buffalo,   buffalo from   from   mother grandma

    drei   nđơm
    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)

………..[5]

b.　　ŏng　dôk　guân　bě!

　　　　2　　sit　　wait　　IMP

　　　　Kâo　lǒ　　brei　iman　　　　lě.

　　　　1　　again　give　elephant　　TOP

　　　　'Please wait! I will give you an ELEPHANT.' (ND007/320)

………..

'"What! Why did you lie to me, Dông-krje ? You said that your ancestors' elephant was great. Before, you gave me the big rattan storage container and said to wait for the windy season." said the monkey.'(ND007/351)

c.　　Ƀơih　bơ̌　nei　kâo　ƀuh　lǒ　　mâo　nei.

　　　　oh.no　but　now　1　　NEG　again　have　now

　　　　kâo　brei　đuôn　lě.

　　　　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.

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[5] This symbol means the material in the story is going on and on and not important to present.

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

       Kâo   brei   agăr   lĕ   kơ   ŏng.
       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 *lĕ*. 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 *lĕ* 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.), *đuôn*, a hat, and *agăr*, a drum, are object arguments marked with the topic marker *lĕ*. They both follow a verb. In discourse, *đuôn* and *agăr* are introduced to the text as new topics in

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(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. *Lĕ* in this case, indicates a contrastive new topic.

(15.5) is another example to support the claim that when *lĕ* 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 Jatarĭt went through challenges created by the village head. Jatarĭt 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 Jatarĭt's wife was more beautiful than any of his wives, he wanted Jatarĭt's wife. In order to have her, he needed to challenge Jatarĭt with other tasks first. The first thing he challenged Jatarĭt 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 Jatarĭt a limited time to obtain what he wanted and often Jatarĭt 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) ɓơih   dĭng-katang   di   ih   lŏ   nao,
       hey   servant   PL   2   again go

       čieng kơ   êa   tusâo lĕ.
       want   DAT   water   breast TOP

'Hey, servants! You all go to (Jataršt'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 *lĕ*. 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 *lĕ* is placed in clausal-final position, it marks a contrastive topic. However, contrastive topic marking with *lĕ* is not limited to sentence-final position. It can also occur at the beginning of a sentence. The following section of text demonstrates *lĕ* as a contrastive topic marker on a NP at the beginning of a sentence. (15.6) is again taken from the tale about Jataršt and the village chief who wanted Jataršt's wife. After the village chief's sons told him that Jataršt'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　　yơh　　dĭng-katang　　ñu.
　　　　　　　　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

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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.   nǎn   sǐ   trguah
      then   until tomorrow

ñu   lě   lǒ   nao,   putao   lě   lǒ   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 *dǐng-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

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double check the information. *Lĕ* 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, *lĕ* 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 *lĕ* 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 *lĕ*-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: *mơh*- construction

If *lĕ* marks a topic or a contrastive topic in discourse, a construction having *mơh* adds information into a proposition contradicting what is presupposed or assumed

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(Lambrecht, 1994, p. 207). The following data provide evidence that *mơh* indicates

contrastive focus (which may be also different from the mirative *mơh* discussed in

Section 11.3.1).

Example (15.7) comes from a section of text describing how a little boy found his

father. *Mơh* 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 *mơh* is used for.

| (15.7) | Nei | aê | | ñu | ngă | kĭn | ñu | čiăng, |
| | now | grandfather | | 3 | make | NEG | 3 | want |

| | miêt | wa | ñu | ngă | kĭn | ñu | čiăng |
| | uncle | uncle | 3 | make | NEG | 3 | want |

| | ăt | hia | kĭn | ama | mơh | ngă | ana. |
| | 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 *mơh* are positioned next to each other in a comparison construction:

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(15.8) Mǒ   ǒng   tilĭt   añuê   ka,   ka   siem
       wife   2   roll   mat   not.yet   not.yet beautiful

       ka   siem   ñu   mơh,   siem   arăng   mơh.
       not.yet   beautiful   3   FOC   beautiful   3   FOC
       ('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

       Mǒ   ǒng   ti   năn   lang   añuê, ngă   abăn,   brei   abăn,
       wife   2   LOC   DIST   spread mat, make   blanket   give   blanket

       ăt   siem   arăng   mơh.
       again   beautiful   3   FOC
       ('Your wife who spreads a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

       Mǒ   phŭn   ǒng,   palei   phŭn   ǒng
       wife   root   2   wife   root   2

       ăt   siem   arăng   mơh.
       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

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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

mơh-constructions: a mirative *mơh* and contrastive focus. In general, constructions

containing the mirative *mơh* have the unexpected information coded in different syntactic

constituents from that of the contrastive focus *mơh*. Syntactically, a mirative *mơh* occurs

in a verb phrase final position (15.9), while a contrastive focus *mơh* occurs at the end of a

NP (examples (15.7) and (15.8)). Pragmatically, *mơh* as a NP operator presents

unpredictable information which contradicts with what is assumed or presupposed while

a mirative *mơh* does not.

(15.9) Dhŏng arĭ ñu ti boh ƀŭk năn ñu madjă,
       knife PN 3 LOC CL hair then 3 PRE-take

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

ƀuh yơh 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 mơh.
PRE-split with knife DIST MIR

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'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 *moh* does in (15.8). Moreover, mirative *moh*, but not contrastive focus *moh*, can be replaced by an anti-mirative particle *yoh* to indicate that the information is not marked as unexpected. Therefore, it is grammatical to replace *moh* by *yoh* (15.10), but then the sentence no longer carries surprising information to hearers. However, it is impossible to replace *moh* by *yoh* in (15.11):

(15.10) (Dhŏng arĭ ñu ti boh ƀŭk năn ñu madjă. Djă nao truh ti kmrởng dih, ƀuh yơh ubei dua kdrŭn tlâo kdrŭn,)
        Nei makhăt alê khăt alê, mablah hŏng dhŏng năn yơh.
        'Then he cut down and split the bamboo with that knife. '

(15.11) *Mõ   ŏng   tilĭt   añuê   ka,   ka   siem

wife	2	roll	mat	not.yet		not.yet	beautiful

ka   siem   ñu   yơh,   siem   arăng   yơh.

not.yet	beautiful	3	PTCL	beautiful	3	PTCL

        ('Your wife who rolls a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

*Mõ   ŏng   ti   năn   lang   añuê,   ngă   abăn,   brei   abăn,
wife   2   LOC   DIST   spread mat,   make   blanket give   blanket

ăt   siem   arăng   yơh.
again   beautiful   3   PTCL
('Your wife who spreads a mat is not as beautiful as her.')

*Mõ   phŭn   ŏng,   palei   phŭn   ŏng
wife   root   2   wife   root   2

ăt   siem   arăng   yơh.
again   beautiful   3   PTCL
('Your head wife is not as beautiful as her.')
'None of your wives is 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 *lĕ*. 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 *lĕ*, they are described in section 15.1.1. (It is necessary to mention here that the fronted object NP with the *lĕ* marker and the fronted object NP without *lĕ* have no pragmatic difference according to Bih speakers,

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.)

a.　Băng-phă　　ngŏk　băng-phă　　yuôp, ŏng　　kađăl.
　　door　　　east　door　　　west　2　　close

b. bŏ, ti　　gŭ　　　　năn ŏng čŭt turŏng uda yơh hŏ.
　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,

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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 ñu 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 taduah   adŏ riah agăr)
      now PRE-find thing pierce drum
      (now he is looking for something to pierce the drum)

      anôk tumha   ñu riah makunei dih,
      place parent.in.law 3   pierce previous FAR.DIST

      arăng   jhĭt 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 *Mabuiñ akâo*, a

referent that the proposition is about, is coded in a fronted NP and syntactically

functions as a predicate nominal of an existential copula *mâo* construction:

(15.14)a. Tơ ñu dôk, madôk   yơh ajăn di ñu lĕ.
    If 3   stay PRE-stay   PTCL only PL 3 TOP
    'If they want to get married, they themselves get married.'

  b. Mabuiñ   akâo ɓuh mâo ôh.

PRE-ask.for   ask.for NEG1 COP   NEG2

'As for asking for permission, there would not be any.'

c.   Ɓuh   mâo   buiñ   akâo   ôh.

NEG1 COP   ask.for ask.for NEG2

'There is no asking for permissions from anyone.'

d. Tŭ	ñu	dôk	yơh,	akei	khăp	pine,	pine	khăp	akei
agree	3	stay	PTCL	boy	love	girl	girl	love	boy

ñu	bi	dôk.
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 ƀơ-ƀrơt. 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 ƀơ-ƀrơt's grandmother expresses Duh ƀơ-ƀrơt'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	ñu	djê	năn	dah	leh	ñu	ngă	pusat.
	DAT	child	3	die	DIST	then	finish	3	make	one.stone

b.	Ka	anak	ñu	udĭp	năn	ñu	lŏ	čuh	êmô	kabao,
	DAT	child	3	live	DIST	3	again	roast	cow	buffalo

lŏ	iêu	ɓuôi	iêu	mjâo,	lŏ	lŏ	ɓŏng	huă
again	call	mid.wife	call	shaman	again	again	eat	eat.rice

kơ	anak	ñu	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 ñu djê nǎn* and *ka anak ñu udǐp nǎn* are syntactically connected to

the verb in (15.15a.) and (15.15b.) as obliques. By fronting, *ka anak ñu djê nǎn* becomes

the referent which the proposition (15.15a.) is about while the proposition of (15.15b.) is

about *ka anak ñu udǐp nǎn*. 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.　　ñu　　plăk　　　　ama　gơ̌　ti　　jơ̌ng　tăm
　　　　　　　3　　pull　　　　　father　3　　LOC　foot　REFL

sawei   ti   gŭ
    throw   LOC   lower.part

    leh-năn   čuh   ama   gǒ   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   ñu   pioh,   akǒ   asei   ñu   ñu   djă.
    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 *akǒ 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 *akǒ 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   ƀhŭk   katăr   năn   kâo   tle   hǒng   putei

corn	smashed		corn	DIST	1		pound	with	banana

năn	kâo	djă	ba.		Kâo	ɓuh	mâo	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 *Katăr ɓhŭk katăr 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, *gǒ*, for other third persons. We will use the terms proximate

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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 Jatarĭt, the protagonist, whose life is the main focus of the story. Jatarĭt 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. Jatarĭt 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 Jatarĭt's tree while he was not at home gave him a magic box as conpensation. Out of the box came Y-Bia, a beautiful woman who became Jatarĭt'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 Jatarĭt 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 ñu* 'his grandmother' with the proximate

pronoun. When his grandmother is referred to by a pronoun in (15.18c.), it is with the

obviative *gǒ*:

(15.18)a.   Kâo   lŏ   paɓlĕ   Jatarĭt.
           1   again   tell   PN
           'I again tell a story about Jatarĭt.'

      b.   Nei   aduân   ñu   aduân   Sun   năn
           now   grandmother PROX grandmother PN   DIST

           nao   yao   yơh   duân.
           go   fishing   PTCL grandmother
           ' His$_{PROX}$ grandmother goes fishing.' (ND008/001)
…………
      c.   Năn   gǒ   dê   gǒ   nao   hăng   arăng mơh,
           then   OBV   EMPH OBV go   with   3PL   MIR

           gǒ   katuai hŏng arăng.
           OBV   follow with   3PL
           'She$_{OBV}$ goes and follows other people.' (ND008/004)

These references, *ñu* for Jatarĭt and *gǒ* for his grandmother, are consistent

throughout the text (examples (15.19) and (15.20) come from the end of the text):

(15.19)   Ai-panao   čô   kâo   ah,   gở   lač.
           luckily   grandchild   1   VOC   OBV   say
           'She_OBV said to her grandson (Jatarǐt) that he was lucky to go home after
           fighting with the village chief.'(ND008/619)

(15.20)   năn   lač   kjar   Y-Đut   yởh   kǐn   ñu   Y-Rǐt   năn
           then   say   husband PN   PTCL   DAT   PROX   PN   DIST

           kǐn   ñu   Jatarǐt.
           DAT   PROX   PN
           'Then (the elephant) recognized him as the husband of Y-Đut, another
           nickname for Y-Bia.' (ND008/644)

This indicates that Jatarǐt 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 Jatarǐt and the two dragons Y-Rǐ 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 Jatarǐt is speaking and presenting someone else as the main character of his discourse, it is the grandmother who is referred to by the proximate *ñu*, although elsewhere in the story she is always obviative:

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(15.21) a.   ŏng   dlăng aduân   kâo   ti   sang,
                2   look   grandma   1   LOC house

        b.   sa   ñu   huĭ   kơ   ŏng, sa   ñu   huĭ   kơ   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 wifeY-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   asei atŭk djăm, ñu   Y-Bia năn,
            Finish cook   rice   cook soup, PROX   PN   DIST,

        b.   Leh-năn ñu   wâng abăn, wâng dŏ   piên   ao   yơh.
            Then   PROX weave blanket, weave thing loin-clothes   shirt   PTCL

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'Then that Ybia, when finished cooking rice and soup, she_PROX then weaves blankets, loin clothes and shirts.' (ND008/251)

(15.23)   Năn   ñu   mayua   dĭng-katang   ñu,
            then   PROX   PRE-tell   servant   PROX

            nao   bě   di   ih   dĭng-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_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):

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(15.24) a. Leh-năn   lǒ   ɓuh   mơ̆h   dĭng-buăl   putao   ñu
          and   again   see   MIR   servant   head.village   PROX

         năn,   dĭng-katang   ñu   lǒ   nao.
         DIST,   servant   PROX   again   go

      b."Si-ba Y-Rĭt ah   ŏng   nao   leh   hĕ?" "Ǒ, kâo nao   leh."
        how PN VOC   2   go   PFV   QP   yes, 1 go   PFV

……

      c. Ya hǒk-krdǒk   yơ̆h   dĭng-katang   gǒ̆   dê.
       what   happy   PTCL   servant   OBV   EMPH
      'Then again his_PROX servants went to Y-Rĭt: "Hey, Y-Rĭt, did you go?"

      '"Yes, I did" Y-Rĭt 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 *ñu*. 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

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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   mỗ   ñu   Y-Rĭt palei ñu   năn   lač,
            then wife PROX PN   wife   PROX then say
            (you told your brother to cook rice and soups)

       b.   Бờ   ñu   putao nei   năn,
            but PROX king   this then

            ƀuh lŏ   thâo   dŏ   ñu   lŏ   čieng.
            NEG again know   thing PROX again want

            'Then Y-Rĭt$_{PROX}$'s wife told her brothers to talk to Y-Rĭt and ask him to
            cook rice and soup. As for him$_{PROX}$, 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-arđŭk mơh, đruah djruah tiă   gờ   năn.
        arrive LOC DIST, slowly MIR   deer   deer   follow OBV DIST
        'When he$_{OBV}$ arrived there, the deer followed him$_{OBV}$.'(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 *ñu*. Therefore, at the beginning of the story

when Dông-krje is the first person introduced to hearers, he is referred to by the

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obviative pronoun *gǒ* 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 *ñu*.

(15.27) a. Kâo   paɓlě tlei   đơm.   Kâo   paɓlě Dông-krje.
           1   tell   story   long.time   1   tell   PN

b. Krje   năn   gǒ   nao   čŭt   weh.
    PN   DIST OBV   go   put   fishing.tool
    'I am telling a story about Dông-krje. He$_{OBV}$ goes fishing.'
    (ND007/001)

c. čŭt   weh   năn,   năn   matuôm   hăng   kra.
    put   fishing.tool   then, then   PRE-meet   with   monkey

d. tuôm   hăng   kra,   năn   ñu   kra   lač:
    meet   with   monkey   then   PROX monkey say

e. ǒ   Dông-krje,   hăng   adǒ   ǒng   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 Jatarĭt'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 *ñu*. The

first is shown in a portion of text, (15.28), in which the monkey and his family are talking

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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-dửm   ma-pa-dửm   lăm   năn   leh-năn   ah
               PRE-CAUS-put PRE-CAUS-put   in   DIST   and   then

b.　lǒ　　nao　iêo　ñu　　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 *gǒ* instead of the proximate *ñu*. Example (15.26) comes from an episode where Jatarĭt 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　　mamă　　　yaih　hǎk-krdǎk　yơh　gǒ.　　Kra　　năn mamă.
　　　　 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　　　 kađah tiă　　hư　　di　　gǒ　　yơh.
　　　　 PROG PRE-follow　bite　follow etc　PL　　OBV　PTCL
　　　　 'They were chasing to bite them_OBV.'(ND007/454)

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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   kăp   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

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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) ƀrăm   ana   yơh   ƀiă-dah   mâo   lŏ   thâo
         arrow crossbow PTCL but   NEG   again know

mâo   panah ñu   năn.
NEG   shoot PROX DIST
'They have their crossbows but do not know how to shoot him$_{PROX}$.'
(PA016/029)

(15.35) Akŏ   ñu   năn   jing   lŏ   jing   yang   yơh.
         head PROX then become again become ghost PTCL
         'His head then becomes the ghost.'(PA016/154)

(15.36)   Apăl   gǒ   năn   adôk, ñu   djă   dă   năn.
             arm   OBV DIST still   PROX hold like   DIST
             'His_{OBV} arms are still left, the ghost_{PROX} holds (to the wife).'
             (PA016/036)

(15.37)   ñu   plăk   ama gǒ   ti   jǒng   tăm.
             PROX pull   father OBV   LOC   leg   REC
             'He pulled the father's legs.'(PA016/033)

(15.38)   Mamăt mamăt   năn   jǒng   arlô,
             dark   dark   then   leg   wild.animal

             pungač   pungač   jǒng jǒng kjar gǒ   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   gǒ   ngă   kuễ   kabŭt   bŭt
         grandma   PN   OBV make scoop grave.stone grave.stone

         msat   năn   ƀǒng êmô ƀǒng 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.

A - a

abao   abao. *large water snail*.
abâo   hbâo. *ashes*.
abrei   mbruê. *yesterday*.
adăng   hdăng. *charcoal*.
adei   adei. *younger sibling*.
adôk   adôk. *still*.
adŭ   adŭ. *room*.
adŭng   adŭng. *nose*.
agăr   hgɔr. *drum*.
akă   kă. *tie*.
akei   êkei. *boy/man*.
akĭt   ruă. *hurt*.
akŏk   kŏ. *head*.
alâo   hlâo. *pestle*.
ale   alê. *medium bamboo*.
alŏng   hlŏng lar. *forever/until*.
anak   anak, êđai. *child, child*.
anăn   anăn. *name*.
anăp   ti -anăp. *front of*.
angĭn   angĭn. *wind*.
angĭt   êngĭt. *sky*.
angu   êngu. *white sesame*.
anông   ênông. *carry on pole*.
añuăr   amung. *stalk of bananas*.
apui   pui. *fire*.
arăng   arăng. *person*.
arbâo   êbâo. *thousand*.

arbŭng   êbŭng. *bamboo shoot*.
ardeh   êdeh. *vehicle*.
are   hriê. *come*.
arip   hrip. *suck in*.
arlang   hlang. *thatch*.
arlin   hlin. *candle wax*.
arluh   êbuh. *collapse*.
arñan   êñan. *ladder*.
arsa   êsa. *Sambhur deer*.
artak   êtak. *bean sprout*.
asah   sah. *sharpen*.
asăm   săm. *cover*.
asâo   asâo. *dog*.
aseh   aseh. *horse*.
asei   êsei, asei. *cooked rice, body, meat of fruit*.
asuk   êsŭk. *ribs*.
asŭng   êsŭng. *mortar*.
ataih   taih. *far*.
ate   tiê. *liver*.
atŭk   tŭk. *cook*.
awa   awa. *white-headed langur, uncle, parent-in-law*.
awak   awak. *ladle*.
awăr   wɔr. *forget*.
awe   hwiê, həwie. *rattan*.
aya   êya. *ginger*.

B - b

bĕ   bĕ. *imperative*.
bê   bê. *calf*.
blah   blah. *split*.
blei   blei. *buy*.
boh   boh, boh. *fruit/egg/ CL*

bông   bông. *coffin.*
braih   braih. *rice(husked).*
brei   brei, brei. *give, permit.*
bruă   bruă. *work.*
brŭk   brŭ. *rotten.*

Ƀ - ƀ

ƀăng   ƀăng. *hole.*   ƀiă   ƀiă. *little.*
ƀrăm   ƀrăm. *arrow.*   ƀŏ̌   ƀŏ̌. *face.*
ƀĕ   ƀĕ. *CL for long thin object.*   ƀŏ̌ng   ƀŏ̌ng. *eat.*
ƀŭk   ƀŭk. *head hair.*   ƀŏ̌ng   ƀŏ̌ng. *burn.*

C - c

čhar   čhar. *big gong.*   čŏk   čŏk. *wail.*
čhôk   jhŏk. *scoop up/ladle.*   čuh   čuh. *roast something over fire by hand.*
čhum   čhum. *pants.*

D - d

dar   dar. *encircle.*   dlăng   dlăng, dlăng. *watch, look.*
dôk   dôk, dôk, dôk, dôk. *sit/stay, be at, still.*   dleh   dleh. *tired.*
dŏng   dŏng. *stand.*   dlô   dlô. *brain.*
dua   dua. *two.*   dlông   dlông. *tall, long, above part.*
dră   dră. *hand on hip.*

Đ - đ

đang   đang. *lie supine.*   đuôn   đuôn. *a bamboo conical hat.*
đih   đih. *lie.*   đuông   đung. *float.*
đŭng   đŭng. *wrap up.*

E - e

eh   eh. *excrement/feces.*

Ê - ê

êar   êa. *water*.

G - g

gah   gah. *side*.
găm   găm. *put lid on*.
ge   giê. *stick*.
gŏ   gŏ. *pot*.
grăm   grăm. *thunder*.

grieng   griăng. *fang*.
gŭk   pông. *chicken cage*.
guôp   gŭ. *below*.

H - h

hăng   hăng. *spicy*.
hiar   hia. *cry*.

hŏk   hŏk. *pour out*.

I - i

hông   hông. *wasp*.
ibat   êbat. *walk*.
iêu   iêu. *call*.
ima   ema. *five*.
ina   ana, ênua. *feminine, (class term)*.

ingĭt   êngĭt. *sky*.
ipan   êpan. *centipede*.
ira   hra. *salt*.
irŭm   êrŭm. *needle*.
iwa   êwa. *breath*.

J - j

jak   jak. *invite*.
jĕ   jĕ. *near*.
jhat   jhat. *bad*.
jhĭt   jhĭt. *sew*.

joh   joh, đăk (êman). *break*.
jông   jông. *axe*.
jŭ   jŭ. *black*.

Dj - dj

djŏ   djŏ. *correct*.
djrao   đrao. *bamboo type*.
djruah đruah. *barking deer*.

djuh   djuh. *firewood*.
djŭp   djŭp. *smoke*.

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K - k

kă kă. *tie*.
kal kal. *lock*.
kalei klei. *-ing, dig*.
kamei hmei. *we(ex)*.
kan kan. *fish*.
kanăl.akŏk anăl kŏ. *pillow*.
kang kang. *jaw*.
kâo kâo. *1sg*.
kapal kpal. *thick*.
karăm krăm. *hatch*.
katăk ktăk. *sap*.
katăl ktăl. *itchy*.
katre ktrei. *scissors*.
katŭng ktŭng. *pull*.
kawăt kwăt. *wire*.
kayâo kyâo. *tree*.

k'ho k'ho. *K'ho people*.
không không. *dry*.
kŏ kŏ. *white*.
koh koh. *shorten*.
kông kông. *bracelet*.
kra kra. *monkey*.
krông krông. *river*.
kru êlŭ. *bowl*.
ksuă ksŏ. *lung*.
ktăr ktɔr. *corn*.
kulĭt klĭt. *skin*.
kunăm knam. *black cloud*.
kuñĭt kñĭ. *yellow, tumeric*.
kur ku. *animal tail*.
kura krua. *tortoise*.
kutâo ktâu. *head lice*.

L - l

lač lač. *say*.
lăm hlăm lam. *in*.
lăn lăn. *land*.
lĕ lĕ. *fall down*.

lek liêk. *tickle*.
lôk lôk. *peel*.
luai luê. *swim*.

M - m

mă mă. *hold/use/take/pick up*.
mabui hlô ŭn. *wild pig*.
mabŭk ruă. *drunk*.
malăm mlam. *night*.
malâo mlâo. *ashamed*.
malông lông. *try*.
manei mnei. *bathe*.
măng mŏng. *from*.
marai mrai. *thread*.

marâo mrâo. *new/just now*.
masăm msăm. *sour*.
masĭn msĭn. *salty*.
mata ală. *eye*.
mdŭng adŭng. *nose*.
mhao mhao. *drink*.
miêo miêu. *cat*.
mnŭk mnŭ. *chicken*.
mung amung. *muzzle*.

N - n

năm năm. *six*.
nao nao. *go*.

nei nei. *this*.

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Ñ - ñ

ñeh   ñeh. *elbow*.
ñu   ñu. *3sg*.

ñŭk   añŭ. *necklace/beads*.

NG - ng

ngă   ngă. *make*.

ngŏk   ngŏ. *east*.

P - p

pă   pă. *four*.
pade   mdiê. *unhusked rice/paddy*.
pađuôp   myɔr. *offer*.
pãk   puh. *fan*.
pakă   kuč pui, mkă. *feed a fire, measure*.
pală   plă. *palm*.
palĕ   mplĕ. *drop*.
pamah   mmah. *chew*.
panah   mɔnah. *shoot*.
pasah   msah. *wet*.
patŭk   mtŭk. *cough*.
pĕ   pĕ. *pick/pluck*.
phañ   bhañ, hdrak. *sneeze*.
phĭt   phĭ. *bitter*.
phŭn   phŭn. *trunk*.
pinang   mnang. *betel (areca -palm)*.
pine   mniê. *girl/woman*.
pluh   pluh. *ten*.
pŏk   pŏk. *open*.
pŏng   pŏng. *nail/hammer*.

prăk   prăk. *money*.
prôk   prôk. *squirrel*.
prŏng   prŏng, *elder aunt,* prŏng, *big*.
prtŭ   mtŭ. *star*.
pŭ   pŭ. *carry in one's arms*.
pujeh   mjeh. *seeds*.
pukă   mkă. *measure*.
pukăn   mkăn. *another*.
pula   pla. *plant*.
pulan   mlan. *month*.
pulâo   mlâo. *body hair*.
pumao   mmao. *mushroom*.
puñam   mñam. *weave*.
punga   mnga. *flower*.
pungăt   mngăt. *spirit*.
pusăt   msăt. *belly button*.
pusei   msei. *iron*.
putei   mtei. *banana*.
puya   mya. *crocodile*.

R - r

rang   êɓhu/ɓhu. *spread it out*.
răng   adrăng. *rice straw*.
rãk   rãk. *grass*.
rđê   êđê. *Rade people*.
rông   rông. *raise*.

rŏng   rŏng. *backbone*.
rŏk   adrŏk. *toad*.
rtuh   êtuh. *a hundred*.

S - s

rup   rup. *picture*.
sa   sa. *one*.
sang   sang. *house*.
săp   săp pui. *smoke from fire*.
sei   hlei. *who*.

siem   siam. *beautiful*.
siep   lang. *spread out*.
sroh   hroh. *grind/polish*.
srõ   hrŏ. *subside*.

T - t

ta   ti. *at*.
tă   tă. *chop*.
tabar   kba. *tasteless*.
takung   kkung. *carry*.
talan   êlan. *road*.
talei   klei, klei. *the, string*.
tană   knă. *cook rice*.
tangan   kngan. *hand*.
tangŭ   kgŭ. *get up*.
tanguăr   knguôr. *flat woven tray*.
tape   kpiê. *rice vine*.
tara   êra. *girl(teenage)*.
tarah   êrah. *blood*.
tasă   ksă. *ripe/cooked*.
than   adhan. *branch*.
thâo   thâo. *know*.
thei   adhei. *forehead*.
thõng   dhõng. *knife*.
thŭn   thŭn. *year*.

tiă   tiŏ. *chase*.
tian   tian. *stomach*.
tigei   êgei. *tooth*.
tijuh   kjuh. *seven*.
tikah   hdơr. *remember*.
tikuih   kkuih. *mouse*.
tilah   êlah. *tongue*.
timŭn   kmŭn. *cucumber*.

tlăn   tlăn. *python*.
tlâo   tlâo, êlâo. *three, laugh, formerly*.
tlĕ   tlĕ. *steal*.
tlŏ   tlŏ. *stab*.
tloh   tloh. *break*.
tông   tông. *beat gong*.
trbâo   kbâo. *sugarcane*.
trdei   êdei. *behind*
trei   trei. *full*.
trluič   tuč. *last*.
trmah   kmah. *generous*.
trŏng   trŏng. *eggplant*.
trpăt   kpăt. *hold in hand*.
trpŭng   kpŭng. *flour*.
trŭn   trŭn. *descend*.
tugâo   kgâo. *bear*.
tuhua   khua. *ripe, grown up*.
tukâo   kkâo. *fingernail*.
tuki   ki. *horn*.
tulang   klang. *bone*.
tuleh   kleh. *untie*.
tumeh   kmeh. *post/pillar*.
tupa   êpa. *arm span*.
tupă   kpă, *straight*.
turei   êruê. *thorny bamboo*.
tusâo   ksâo. *breast*.
tu-ŭt   kơ-ŭt. *knee*.

U - u

ubei   hbei. *yam*.
ubuh   ebuh. *fall down*.
ubung   êbŭng. *bamboo shoot*.

udăm   hdăm. *ant*.
udang   hdang. *shrimp*.
udăr   hdơr. *miss*.

udĭp   hdĭp. *alive*.
ujan   hjan. *rain*.
ukhar   agha. *long root*.
ular   ala. *snake*.
ulăt   hluăt. *worm*.
uluăt   hluăt. *worm*.
ulŭn   hlŭn. *servant*.
uma   hma. *mountain field/cultivated field*.

umăk   êmă. *grease*.
unei   hnuê. *honey bee*.
upei   êpei. *dream*.
upih   êpih. *thin*.
ură   hră. *letter*.
urăt   aruăt. *vein*.
urei   hruê. *day*.

W - w

wa   wa. *uncle*.
wăng   wăng. *sickle*.

weh   weh. *turn aside*.
wĭl   wĭl. *round*.

Y - y

yang   yang. *god*.
yap   yap. *count*.
yơh   yơh. *ptcl*.

yơt   pŭ yŏng. *pick a child up*.
yup   ayŭ. *blow*.

A SELECTED TEXT

Text name: **Dông-krje and the monkey family**
Text ID: ND007
Speaker: H'Ngu Đier
Gender: Female
Age: born 1937
Audience: H'Riu Hmǒk, Y-Rah Ƀuôndăp, Tam Nguyen and speaker's children and grandchildren.

ND007_ 001

Dă	nei	čô	ah,	kâo	paƀlě	tlei	đơm.
as	PROX	grandchild	VOC	1	tell/talk	story	old

Kâo	paƀlě	Dông-krje.
1	tell/talk	PN

The story I will tell you, Dông-krje goes like this...

ND007_ 002

Krje	năn	gơ̆	nao	čŭt	weh,	mă	ulăt	mă	ulăt	yơh.
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	gơ̆	nao	čŭt	weh	năn,
Finish	take	worm	then	3	go	put	fishhook	then

čŭt	weh	năn,	năn	matuôm	hăng	kra.
put	fishhook	then	then	PRE-meet	with	monkey

Then he met a monkey.

ND007_ 004

tuôm	hăng	kra,	năn	ñu	kra	lač:
meet	with	monkey	then	3	monkey	say

ND007_ 005

ǒ	Dông-krje,	hăng	adǒ	ŏng	weh?
VOC	PN	with	things	2	go fishing

then the monkey asked him "Hey Dông-krje , What are you using for fishing?"'

ND007_ 006

Kâo	weh	hăng	ulăt.
1	go fishing	with	worm

"I am using a worm", he answered.

ND007_ 007

Ɓuh	djǒ!
NEG	right

"That is not true", replied the monkey.

ND007_ 008

Ɓaih	hăng	ulăt	lah.
EXCL	with	worm	PTCL

"Yes, it is. It is a worm" Dông-Krje answered.

ND007_ 009

Hăng	adǒ	ŏng	weh?
with	things	2	go fishing

The monkey asked again "What are you using for fishing?"'

ND007_ 010

kâo	weh	hăng	ulăt.
1	go fishing	with	worm

Then Dông-krje again said "I am using a worm"'

ND007_ 011

Ƅuh ǎr Ƅuh ǎr!
NEG agree NEG agree
"not true, not true- you aren't telling me the truth"

ND007_ 012

Nǎn Dông-krje nǎn malač:
then PN then PRE-say
so, Dông-krje then said

ND007_ 013

Kâo weh, kâo čŭt weh nei hǎng pruêč kra,
1 go fishing 1 put fishhook PROX with intestine monkey

ND007_ 014

hǎng ate kra, hǎng tiboh kra
with liver monkey with heart monkey

ND007_ 015

hǎng ahŭng kra, hǎng ple kra.
with stomach monkey with penis monkey

"I am using monkey intestine, monkey liver, monkey heart and monkey penis for fishing."

ND007_ 016

Ƅơih, ai ŏng lač kơ kâo dǎ nǎn, Dông-krje heh?
EXCL thing/what 2 say DAT 1 as DIST PN QP?

ŏng dlao-wač, ŏng are wě!
2 abuse 2 come IMP

nao	hŏng	kamei	kâo	mă	ŏng	yơh,	kâo	pă	aluh.
go	with	1EXCL	1	take	2	PTCL	1	arrest	pole

"What! How can you say that to me? You insult me. Come here! We will arrest you."

ND007_ 017

ơ!,	mă	mă	nao	nao	yơh.	Si	malŏ	ngă?
yes	hold/pick.up	hold/pick.up	go	go	PTCL	why	PRE-again	make

ɓăng	kâo	soh	yơh	kâo	blŭ	hŏng	ŏng.
because	1	wrong	PTCL	1	speak	with	2

"Go ahead and do it", Dông-krje said, "What can I do? I was wrong to talk to you like that.

ND007_ 018

Kâo	lač	mă	ple	kra	năn	čŭt	hŏng	ple
1	say	hold/pick.up	penis	monkey	then	put	with	penis

kra	năn.
monkey	DIST

ND007_ 019

Di	ih	rmuh	kâo	nei	lič-lek
PL	2	ask	1	PROX	always

but you all kept asking me what I used for fishing

ND007_ 020

Kâo	lač	ulăt,	di	ih	lač	ɓuh	djŏ.
1	say	worm	PL	2	say	NEG	right

When I said 'a worm', you said 'not true', again and again

ND007_ 021

Kâo	lač	ulăt,	ŏng	lač	ɓuh	djŏ.
1	say	worm	2	say	NEG	right

ND007_ 022

273

năn	kâo	malač	dă	năn,	năn	ŏng	mă	kâo.
then	1	PRE-say	as	DIST	then	2	hold/pick.up	1

Mă	yơh	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

leh	anuh,	snăn	mơh	anuh,	mă	ƀlang
finish	stick/log	so	MIR	stick/log	hold/pick.up	wild kapok

ND007_ 025

drei	madruăm	ƀlang	hŏ!
1EXCL	PRE-cut.down	wild.kapok	IMP

ND007_ 026

lač	ndăng	kra	ñu
say	PL	monkey	3

ND007_ 027

drei	madruăm	ƀlang.
1EXCL	PRE-cut.down	wild kapok

They intended to cut down a tree and tie Dông-krje tightly to the log.

ND007_ 028

ƀưih,	đăm	ŏng	druăm	ƀlang	ôh!
EXC	NEG1	2	cut.down	wild kapok	NEG2

"Oh no, please don't cut down that tree, Dông-krje said

ND007_ 029

ŏng	năn	hang	asei	prlei	drei,	hang	asei	prlei	mỗ	anak	ŏng,
2	then	itchy	body	body	1INCL	itchy	body	body	wife	child	2

amĭ	ama	ŏng,	asei	prlei	drei	ñu	hang	mơh.
mother	father	2	body	body	1INCL	3	itchy	MIR

"because it will make the whole body itchy for you, your wife, your children. Everybody will itch."

ND007_ 030

hăng	adŏ	kâo	mangă,	ơ	Dông-krje?
with	things	1	PRE-make	VOC	PN

"What should I use?" asked the monkey

ND007_ 031

mă	arŭm	tanŭm	djuê ana	drei,	mỗ	anak	ŏng,
hold/pick.up	local.spinach	all	extended family	1INCL	wife	child	2

tanŭm	mơh.
all	MIR

"You take all of Arŭm plants and tie me to them.

ND007_ 032

drei	tanŭm	mơh	djuê ana.
1INCL	all	MIR	extended family

ND007_ 033

năn	paanuh	Dông-krje	hăng	arŭm.
then	CAUS-tie	PN	with	local spinach

Then the monkeys tied Dông-krje to the plants.

ND007_ 034

truh	ta	ƀuôn,	asei	djăm	mơh	ñu	brei.
arrive	LOC	village	cooked.rice	soup	MIR	3	give

ND007_ 035

kǐn	ñu	paŭ̆	rei.
NEG1	3	CAUS-hungry	NEG2

After arriving at the monkey village, although they did give food to Dông-krje , they still kept him tied to the plants.

ND007_ 036

ɓiă-dah	paanuh,	ăt	ñu	paanuh	mơh.
however	CAUS-tie	also	3	CAUS-tie	MIR

ND007_ 037

năn	truh	ta	ɓuôn	dih,	năn	mỗ	anak	ñu:
then	arrive	LOC	village	FAR.DIST	then	wife	child	3

ơ̆	sei	mnuih	ŏng	mă	ŏng	dê	nei.
VOC	who	person	2	hold/pick.up	2	EMPH	PROX

When the monkey got home, his wife asked who he brought home with him.

ND007_ 038

kâo	mă	yơh	ñu.	ñu	dlao-wač	ñu	suôi	kâo.
1	hold/pick.up	PTCL	3	3	yell	3	yell	1

"I brought him home because he insulted me.", said the husband, "He said:

ND007_ 039

đa	čŭt	boh	ple,	boh	hư,	čŭt	weh	ñu	lač.
PL	put	(class term)	penis	(classterm)	etc.	put	fish.hook	3	say

he used monkey penises to put on a fish hook.

ND007_ 040

năn	kâo	mă	ñu,	kâo	paanuh
then	1	hold/pick.up	3	1	CAUS-tie

so, I brought him home."

ND007_ 041

ơ.	gơ̆	leh	yơh	năn.
yes	3	finish	PTCL	DIST

"uh huh, he did that already", responded his wife.

ND007_ 042

mỗ	anak	ñu	mabrei	asei	djăm	mahuă	yơh	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

dôk	pǐt	yơh,	sa	tlăm	jăk	mơh.
sit/stay	sleep	PTCL	one	afternoon	good	MIR

ND007_ 044

sa	malăm	jăk	mơh.
one	night	good	MIR

he stayed there one day and nothing happened.

ND007_ 045

pañă	madua	malăm,	pañă	tlâo	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

hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person)
(moaning)

ND007_ 048

năn	sui	ƀiă,	hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh
then	long time	short time	(sound.from.sick.person)

ND007_ 049

arih   manŭk   arih   manŭk
kill   chicken   kill   chicken
"Cook chicken, cook chicken" said Dông-krje .

ND007_ 050

leh-năn   krep ñu   Dông-krje   dôk yơh năn,
and   quiet 3   PN   sit/stay PTCL DIST

ƀuh   lŏ   blŭ   ôh.
NEG1 again speak NEG2
and then he kept quiet.

ND007_ 051

năn   ñu   mhử
then   3   listen
but the monkey had already heard.

ND007_ 052

ơh   nŏng dŏ   ŏng blŭ   makunei   ơh   Dông-krje?
VOC   what things 2   speak PRE-pass   VOC   PN?

nŏng dŏ   ŏng blŭ?
what things 2   speak

ND007_ 053

huǐ   kasắk matâo gử   yơh   ŏng.
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

ƀuh   mâo, kâo năn   angoh, kâo   angoh.
NEG   COP   1   then sick   1   sick
"That is not true. I am sick" Dông-krje answered.

ND007_ 055

bǒ   si-ba   angoh ǒng?
but   why   sick   2
"But what makes you sick?"

ND007_ 056

rih   mnŭk,   leh   ɓǒng mnŭk   năn   kah   kâo   lai,
kill   chicken   finish eat   chicken   then   then   1   be.over

dă   năn   ñu   lač.
as   DIST   3   say
"Cook chicken. after eating chicken then I will not be sick anymore", answered Dông-
krje .

ND007_ 057

ơ
yes
"Ok" the monkey said.

ND007_ 058

năn   ñu   mahửn   hăng palei ñu
then   3   PRE-inform with   wife   3
Then the monkey went to talk to his wife

ND007_ 059

ǒ   palei ǒ   palei?
VOC wife   hey   wife
"Hey, Honey!" said he

ND007_ 060

nǒng adǒ?
what   things
"What's up?" [She replied]

ND007_ 061

nei   lah, Ndông-krje   lač   ñu   angoh,
PROX EMPH   PN   say   3   sick

ñu   lač   rih   manŭk,   leh   ƀŏng manŭk   kah   ñu   lai.
3   say   kill chicken   finish eat   chicken   then 3   be.over
"Here is the story: Dông-krje says that he is sick, and if we cook chicken for him, he will recover."

ND007_ 062

ŏ,   nŏng dŏ   ŏng   malŏ   rmuh, mamă   čuh   gŏ.
EXC   what things 2   PRE-again ask   PRE-take   roast 3
"Why do you need to ask me? Go ahead and cook a chicken for him"

ND007_ 063

năn   mačuh   manŭk   ina   đơgăt, čuh   yơh.
then   PRE-roast   chicken   feminine   big   roast PTCL
Then the monkey took a huge hen and roasted it for him.

ND007_ 064

leh   čuh   năn   sa   palah ƀŏng sa   palah pioh.
finish roast then one   half eat   one   half keep
After it was done roasting, he divided the chicken into two parts: one to eat right then and one to keep for later.

ND007_ 065

nei   Dông-Krje   hŏ,   huĭ   apar ŏng   ntra   malăm.
PROX PN   IMP   scare hungry 2   a.bit.later night

ŏng   huă   sa   palah nei.
2   eat   one   half PROX
"Hey, Dông-krje , eat this half and keep the other half for later in case you are hungry again tonight.

ND007_ 066

nei	drei	ƀɔ̆ng	ajih-jang	drei	wăt	palei	drei	mơh	ƀɔ̆ng,
RPOX	1INCL	eat	all	1INCL	all	wife	1INCL	FOC	eat

wăt	anak	drei	mơh	ƀɔ̆ng.
all	child	1INCL	FOC	eat

Everyone in my family ate already." the monkey said.

ND007_ 067

ơ
yes
"Ok", answered Dông-krje

ND007_ 068

Dông-krje	năn	lač:	ŏng	pioh	pajăk	hŏ!
PN	then	say	2	keep	CAUS-good	IMP

"You keep the other half safe please," Dông-krje continued

ND007_ 069

ơ
yes
"Ok.", said the monkey.

ND007_ 070

leh-năn	huă	ƀɔ̆ng.	Leh	huă	ƀɔ̆ng	madôk	inăn.
and	eat	eat	finish	eat	eat	PRE-sit	then

Leh	dôk	ta	malăm	mapĭt	inăn.
finish	sit	at	night	PRE-sleep	then

After finishing eating, they all slept.

ND007_ 071

Leh pĭt đih năn
finish sleep lie then

ND007_ 072
alek yơh di ñu pĭt.
deeply(in .sleeping) PTCL PL 3 sleep

The monkey family slept deeply.

ND007_ 073
tăm angăr yơh makɓrẽ̌č-makɓrŏk yơh.
REC snore PTCL (sounds.of.snoring.loud.and.regularly) PTCL
they snored loudly and evenly.

ND007_ 074
pĭt yơh dă kra yơh arăng lač.
sleep PTCL as monkey PTCL 3PL say
That is why people say "sleep like a monkey".

ND007_ 075
Leh-năn arăng Dông-krje dê, răng nao ba pha manŭk
then/and 3 PN EMPH 3 go bring thigh chicken

ta palei răng, sa palah pŏk.
LOC wife 3 one half open
So then Dông-krje went and took the chicken thigh-the other half- to his wife.

ND007_ 076
sui ti năn, leh răng huă ɓŏng,
long.time LOC DIST finish 3PL eat eat

ñu wĭt truh ta sang
3 return arrive LOC house
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	năn,	dôk.
finish	arrive	LOC	house	DIST	sit/stay

ND007_ 078

tangŭ	guah	ửm
get.up	morning	early

The following morning

ND007_ 079

ờ	Dông-krje,	ờ	Dông-krje	ɓờ	mnŭk	ŏng?
VOC	PN	VOC	PN	but	chicken	2

"Hey, Dông-krje , where is your chicken?" the monkey asked.

ND007_ 080

ơ,	ɓuh	kâo	lŏ	thâo	ôh,	Jieng	ah,
EXC	NEG1	1	again	know	NEG2	closed friend	VOC

kâo	lŏ	năn	ah.
1	again	DIST	VOC

"Oh no, I don't know. I feel sick again.

ND007_ 081

năn	ah,	ka	Jieng	ah,	kâo	lŏ	ɓlĕ	angoh,
then	VOC	NEG	closed friend	VOC	1	again	rise	sick

ɓlĕ	angoh	lăm	nei.
rise	sick	in	PROX

My whole body feels sick again.

ND007_ 082

Nei	thâo	asâo	ɓờng	bĕ!
PROX	know	dog	eat	IMP

I am afraid that the dog ate it already." said Dông-krje

ND007_ 083

ƀuh	kâo	lŏ	thâo!
NEG	1	again	know

"I don't know either" replied the monkey.

ND007_ 084

ơ̌	mang	anei	ƀuh	yơh	lŏ	mâo	djăm	ŏng	maƀŏng.
EXC	be.pitied	now	NEG	PTCL	again	have	soup	you	PRE-eat

"You poor thing! You didn't have anything to eat" continued the monkey.

ND007_ 085

nao	maư̌	dă	năn	yơh.
go	PRE-keep hungry	as	DIST	PTCL

mâo	djăm	ta	di	ih,	mâo	ta	kâo.
COP	soup	LOC	PL	2	COP	LOC	1

ndŏ	lŏ	čêruah	kĭn	djăm.
what	again	look for	DAT	soup

"Don't worry. If you have something to eat, then I will have that. I can't have nothing!"
Dông-krje said

ND007_ 086

năn	Dông-krje	năn	lač.
then	PN	then	say

ND007_ 087

Leh-năn	ah	madôk	inăn
then/and	EXC	PRE-sit	then

and then Dông-krje stayed

ND007_ 088

lŏ	sĭ	tlăm	ntra	năn
again	until/til	afternoon	a.bit.later	then

through the afternoon

ND007_ 089

lŏ	pĭt	lŏ	angoh	mơh.
again	sleep	again	sick	MIR

When he went to bed, he was sick again.

ND007_ 090

hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person)
.(moaning)

ND007_ 091

hưh-hưh.		arih	ŭn,	arih	ŭn	arih	ŭn.
(sounds.from.sick.person)		kill	pig	kill	pig	kill	pig

"Cook pig, cook pig" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 092

năn	krep	Dông-krje	dôk
then	quiet	PN	sit

Then Dông-krje kept quiet.

ND007_ 093

ɓưih,	ɓrŏk	ñu	lŏ	tikah	mngai	ñu.
EXC	suddenly	3	again	remember	ear	3

ND007_ 094

ɓrŏk	ñu	lŏ	tikah	mngai	ñu	năn.
suddenly	3	again	remember	ear	3	then

ND007_ 095

ñu	tangŭ	atăm	măng	anôk	palei	ñu	năn,	hăng	palei	ñu	năn.
3	get.up	REC	from	place	wife	3	DIST	with	wife	3	DIST

However, suddenly the monkey heard (something). He got up from his bed.

ND007_ 096

ơ̆,	si-ba?	nơ̆ng	dŏ	ŏng	năn	ŏng	karao	alăm	nei

EXC   why   what   things 2   then   2   call   in   PROX

arăng   kasŏk   matâo   gǔ   yơh   ŏng   Dông-krje?
3   ghost   ghost   put.a.spell.on.SO   PTCL   2   PN
"Hey, Dông-krje , Why? What did you say? I am afraid that ghosts are speaking through your mouth." said the monkey.

ND007_ 097
ƀuh!   năn   ơh,   năn   ơh.   kâo   angoh,   lŏ   ƀlĕ   angoh ơ
NEG   then   EXC   then   EXC   1   sick   again   rise   sick   EXC
"No! I am again sick"

ND007_ 098
ƀlĕ   angoh   yỡng   măng   ai   măng   ai   te
rise   sick   want   from   a lot   from   a lot   liver

ND007_ 099
tăm   yơh   asei   prlei   yỡng   gơghŭk-gơghăk.
REC   PTCL   body   body   want   describing.strong and fast shaking
I am sick and my whole body is shaking." answered Dông-krje.

ND007_ 100
bŏ   si-ba   ŏng   angoh?
but   why   2   sick
"But what makes you sick?"

ND007_ 101
angoh   yơh
sick   PTCL

ND007_ 102
angoh   rih   ŭn,   leh   ƀỏng   ŭn   kâo   lai.
sick   kill   pig   finish   eat   pig   1   be.over
My sickness will be over if I eat pig." said Dông-krje

ND007_ 103

dă	năn	ñu	lač.
as	that	3	say

ND007_ 104

ɓuh	ɓǒng	ŭn	ɓuh	lai	ôh,	dôk	angoh	nanao	yɤh.
NEG	eat	pig	NEG1	be over	NEG2	still	sick	always	PTCL

"If I don't eat pig, it won't be over." continued Dông-krje

ND007_ 105

ɤ.	năn	ñu	lǒ	hɯn	hăng	palei	ñu
yes	then	3	again	inform	with	wife	3

"I understand!" answered the monkey. Then he went to inform his wife.

ND007_ 106

ɤ̌	palei	ɤ̌	palei
VOC	wife	VOC	wife

"Hey Honey" said the monkey

ND007_ 107

nɤ̌ng	adǒ?
what	things

"What?" replied his wife

ND007_ 108

nei	lah,	Dông-krje	lǒ	ɓlě	angoh.
PROX	EMPH	PN	again	rise	sick

ñu	lač	rih	ŭn,	leh	ɓǒng	ŭn	kah	ñu	lai.
3	say	kill	pig	finish	eat	pig	then	3	be.over

"Here is the story: Dông-krje is sick again. He said if he eats pig, then he will get well."

ND007_ 109

năn	maɓǒng	ŭn	kreo	đɤgăt	atăm.
then	PRE-eat	pig	castrated animals	big	REC

287

ND007_ 110

ƀŏ̆ng yơh ŭn kreo
eat PTCL pig castrated animals

ND007_ 111

ơ̆, nŏ̆ng dŏ ŏng lŏ rmuh.
EXC what things 2 again ask

Khă malai ñu răng dê, mačuh gŏ̆.
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.

ND007_ 112

năn mačuh yơh ŭn năn.
then PRE-roast PTCL pig DIST
then he roasted a big castrated pig

ND007_ 113

mamă ƀŏ̆ng. Sa palah pŏk ƀŏ̆ng anăn, sa palah pŏk 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.

ND007_ 114

nei năn nei ŏng pioh Jeng hŏ! năn Dông-krje hŏ.
PROX then PROX 2 keep closed.friend IMP then PN IMP
"You keep this half safe please" said the monkey

ND007_ 115

nei năn drei tăm ƀŏ̆ng. ŏng pioh pasiem mơh,
PROX then 1INCL REC eat 2 keep CAUS-beautiful MIR

ŏng 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

ŏng	găm	yơh,	huǐ	ɓlě	angoh	kâo
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	ɓlě	angoh	kâo	ntra	tlăm	ŏng	găm
scare	rise	sick	1	a.bit.later	afternoon	2	put.lid.on

pasiem,	huǐ	asâo	năn	wă,	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

ɓuh	mâo	ôh	asâo	sang	yuôp	sang	ngŏk	wă,
NEG1	COP	NEG2	dog	house	west	house	east	PTCL

ñu	khăng	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

dă	năn	Dông-krje	năn	malač
as	DIST	PN	then	PRE-say

ND007_ 120

nei	năn	ơ.
PROX	then	EXC

"it could be" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 121

nei   năn   mahuă   ɓ̌ng, leh huă   ɓ̌ng năn.
PROX then   PRE-eat   eat   finish eat   eat   then

ND007_ 122

magăm   yơh.
PRE-put.lid.on   PTCL
After finishing eating, he put the lid on and made sure the lid fit well.

ND007_ 123

mara   pha ŭn   năn, mara   ŭn   năn
shoulder   thigh pig   DIST shoulder   pig   DIST
The pork shoulder and thigh were

ND007_ 124

sa   palah pŏk, găm,   ɓuh   kajăp pakajăp,
one   half open put.lid.on   NEG   tight CAUS-tight

ɓuh   kajăp pakajăp
NEG   tight CAUS-tight
under the tight lid.

ND007_ 125

nei   năn   bơ̌ Dông-krje   năn dôk ti   atăm apui năn yơh
PROX then   but PN   then sit LOC REC fire DIST PTCL
While the monkey did that, Dông-krje sat by the kitchen stove

ND007_ 126

padang   apui nanao, pagưt   angoh nanao   mơh
CAUS-dry.hands.by.heat   fire always CAUS-pretend   sick   always MIR

ñu   năn
3   DIST
to warm his hands and acted like he was still sick.

ND007_ 127

ɓuh	thâo	lŏ	lai	angoh	năn
NEG	know	again	be.over	sick	DIST

ND007_ 128

Leh	čuh	ŭn	năn	kah	malai	ɓiă.
finish	roast	pig	then	then	PRE-be over	short time

He acted like he was still sick for a little while.

ND007_ 129

lai	wử h-wử t.
be over	describing.a.sick.person.just.rcovering.a.bit

and then recovered a bit.

ND007_ 130

Leh-năn	madôk	inăn
then/and	PRE-sit/stay	then

through the afternoon

ND007_ 131

dôk	năn	pĭt	yơh	tlăm
sit/stay	then	sleep	PTCL	afternoon

Then in the evening

ND007_ 132

tăm	pĭt	tăm	đih	yơh	palei	kdjar	anak	čô	gở.
REC	sleep	REC	lay	PTCL	wife	husband	child	grandchild	3

All the monkey family went to bed.

ND007_ 133

bở	Dông-krje	dê	ti	gah	gở	pĭt	ajăn	gở
but	PN	EMPH	LOC	guest area	3	sleep	alone	3

kakhŭñ.

sleep.in.a.separate.place

As for Dong-krje, he slept separately at the guest place

ND007_ 134

alek	yơh	di	ñu	tăm	pĭt	đih	năn
deeply(in .sleeping)	PTCL	PL	3	3	sleep	lay	DIST

While the monkeys slept deeply, Dông-krje untied himself

ND007_ 135

Dông-krje	dê	toh	tuleh	heh	anuh	năn.
PN	EMPH	release	untie	QP	tie	DIST

ND007_ 136

nao	lŏ	nao	ba	ŭn	ta	palei	ta	sang.
go	again	go	bring	pig	LOC	wife	LOC	house

and took the other half of pork to his wife at home.

ND007_ 137

ơ	palei	ơ	palei?	Nŏng	adŏ?
VOC	wife	VOC	wife	what	things

"Hey, Honey?" called Dong-krje. "What's up?" his wife responded

ND007_ 138

ŏng	tangŭ	lah,	nei	ŏng	khă	ŭn.
2	get up	EMPH	PROX	2	welcome	pig

"Wake up, please. Here. Have some pork" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 139

oh?	ti-ba	ŏng	thâo	mâo	ŭn?
EXC	why	2	know	have	pig

"Wow! Where did you get the pork?" asked the wife.

ND007_ 140

ư	ŭn
yes	pig

ND007_ 141

ŭn	kâo	angoh	năn	nei	kâo	lač	rih	ŭn,
pig	1	sick	then	now	1	say	kill	pig

leh	rih	ŭn	kah	kâo	lai.
finish	kill	pig	then	1	be over

This pork? From my illness. I said if he roasted a pig, then I would recover from my illness." said Dông-krje

ND007_ 142

ɓưih!	ŏng	ngă	dă	năn,	palei	ñu	lač.
EXC	2	make	as	DIST	wife	3	say

ND007_ 143

djeh-djeh,	ɓưih	ɓuh	dưi	aĭ.
not serious	EXC	NEG	win	at all

"Oh no! You should not have done that. That was not good at all" said his wife.

ND007_ 144

ơ
yes

"You are right" responded Dông-krje

ND007_ 145

Leh-năn	madôk.	leh	huă	năn,	truh	ta	sang
then/and	PRE-sit/stay	finish	eat	then	arrive	LOC	house

huă	ɓŏng	hŏng	palei	ñu.	Leh-năn	lŏ	wĭt	ta	sang.
eat	eat	with	wife	3	then/and	again	return	LOC	house

Ater eating the pork with his wife, he went back to the monkey's house.

ND007_ 146

Truh	ta	sang	pĭt	yơh	Dông-krje	năn.

293

arrive LOC   house   sleep   PTCL PN   DIST
Then he went to bed.

ND007_ 147

pĭt   tula   tangŭ yơh   ñu   phung kra   năn.
sleep   morning   get up PTCL 3   PL   monkey   DIST
In the morning when the monkeys got up

ND007_ 148

tangŭ   rsưp-a-ưi
get up sleepily
they were still sleepy.

ND007_ 149

ơ   Dông-krje,   ơ   Dông-krje?   Nŏng adŏ?
VOC   PN   VOC   PN   what   things
Then the monkey said "Hey Dong-krje!" "What?", said Dông-krje

ND007_ 150

bŏ   ŭn   ŏng? thâo! ŏng   dlăng lăm   para   năn.
but   pig   2   know   2   look   in   traditional.storage.shelf   DIST
"Where is your pork?" asked the monkey. "I don't know", said Dong-krje, "Go look in the storage shelf.", continued Dông-krje

ND007_ 151

kâo   lŏ   ɓlĕ   angoh mơh   lăm   nei.
1   again   rise   sick   MIR   in   PROX
"My whole body feels sick again."

ND007_ 152

arnei   malăm lŏ   ɓlĕ   angoh mơh   kâo
now   night again   rise   sick   MIR   1
Last night I felt sick again

ND007_ 153

ŏng   long   lăm   para   năn

1	try	in	traditional storage shelf	DIST

Try looking on the storage shelf" continued Dong-krje

ND007_ 154

ơh,	ƃuh	lŏ	ƃuh	ôh	nei,	Dông-krje ah,	mang	yơh	nei.
EXC	NEG1	again	see	NEG2	PROX	PN	VOC be pitied	PTCL PROX	

"Oh no! It is not there, Dong-krje. What should we do now?", responded the monkey

ND007_ 155

ƃuh	kâo	thâo,	ƃiă-dah	kâo	mhử	mơh	asâo
NEG	1	know	however	1	listen	MIR	dog

"I don't know either. However, I heard the dogs barking last night

ND007_ 156

marƌuh-marƌah	ñu	tăm	pakaƌah.
sound.from.cats/dogs.walking	3	REC	CAUS-bite

ND007_ 157

ƃuh	kâo	lŏ	thâo,	kâo	ƃuh	lŏ	dưi	tangŭ,
NEG	1	again	know	1	NEG	again	win	get.up

kâo	angoh	yơh	yỡng	pupri	atăm,	lŏ	ƃlĕ	angoh.
1	sick	PTCL	want	shaking	REC	again	rise	sick

but I was sick, and shook so I could not get up" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 158

ƃơih,	mang	yơh	nei	adŏ	ŏng	maƃỡng	ntra	nei
EXC	be pitied	PTCL	PROX	things	2	PRE-eat	a bit later	PROX

dje	kumăp	yơh	nei.
die	seriously	PTCL	PROX

"Oh no! said the monkey, what will you eat later? We will all die because of this."

ND007_ 159

adôk	djăm	aƌăp	dih	mâo	inăn	drei	maƃỡng.

still   soup   long time ago FAR.DIST   COP   DIST   1INCL   PRE-eat
Then Dông-krje said "We still have some soup left, so we can eat."

ND007_ 160
năn   Dông-krje   năn   lač
then   PN   then   say

ND007_ 161
Leh-năn   dôk,   lŏ   sa   tlăm,   lŏ   angoh   mơh.
then/and   sit/stay   again   one   afternoon   again   sick   MIR
Another night passed. Dông-krje was sick again.

ND007_ 162
pĭt   yơh   tlăm   kra   năn
sleep   PTCL   afternoon   monkey   DIST

ND007_ 163
tăm   pĭt   yơh   palei   kjar   yơh   anak   čô   yơh,
REC   sleep   PTCL   wife   husband   PTCL   child   grandchild   PTCL

Dông-krje   pĭt   mơh.
PN   sleep   MIR
The monkey's family slept. So did Dông-krje.

ND007_ 164
lŏ   sa   tlăm   năn
again   one   afternoon   then
Another night passed.

ND007_ 165
hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh   hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person)   (sounds.from.sick.person)

ND007_ 166
angoh mơh, ăt   lŏ   angoh   mơh
sick   MIR   also   again   sick   MIR
He was sick again.

ND007_ 167

rih	krbao	rih	krbao
kill	buffalo	kill	buffalo

"Eat buffalo, eat buffalo" said Dong-krje.

ND007_ 168

Leh-năn	ɓrŏk	ñu	kra	năn	hmŭ̌
then/and	suddenly	3	monkey	DIST	listen

Suddenly the monkey heard.

ND007_ 169

oh,	Dông-krje?	Nŏng	dŏ?
EXC	PN	what	things

"Hey, Dong-krje!" asked the monkey. "What?" answered Dông-krje

ND007_ 170

nŏng	dŏ	ŏng	ngă	dă	năn
what	things	2	make	as	DIST

ND007_ 171

kasŏk	matâo	gŭ̌	yơh	ŏng?
ghost	ghost	put.a.spell.on.SO	PTCL	2

"What did you do last night? Is the ghost speaking through your mouth?" asked the monkey.

ND007_ 172

ɓuh	mâo,	kâo	lŏ	ɓlĕ	angoh.
NEG	COP	1	again	rise	sick

"No. I felt sick" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 173

kơ	yŏng	angoh	yơh	kâo	pablŭ	năn
DAT	want	sick	PTCL	1	CAUS-speak	DIST

297

When I am sick, my body talks like that." said Dông-krje

ND007_ 174

bǒ   si-ba   lǒ   angoh?
but   why   again   sick
"How come you are sick?"

ND007_ 175

bǒ   manǔk,   leh   manǔk.
but   chicken   finish chicken
The monkey asked, "even though you already ate chicken,

ND007_ 176

ǔn,   leh   ǔn   nei
pig   finish pig   PROX
and already ate pork"

ND007_ 177

ɓuh   kâo   lǒ   thâo   kâo   dê   Kra   ah
NEG1   1   again   know   1   EMPH   monkey   VOC
"I don't know why myself, friend!" said Dông-krje,

ND007_ 178

ɓuh   lǒ   thâo   lǎm   asei   prlei   kâo   nei   yơh
NEG   again   know   in   body   body   1   PROX   PTCL
"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body." continued to Dông-krje

ND007_ 179

nǎn   Dông-krje   nǎn   lač
then   PN   then   say

ND007_ 180

ɓuh   kâo   lǒ   thâo   lǎm   asei   prlei   yơh,   angoh   kâo   nei
NEG   1   again   know   in   body   body   PTCL   sick   1   PROX
"I don't know (what's going on) inside my body. I am sick"

ND007_ 181

ơh	lah!	bở	ñu	lač	si-ba	angoh	ŏng	năn?
yes!	EMPH	but	3	say	why	sick	2	DIST

"But did it say what makes you sick?" asked the monkey

ND007_ 182

rih	krbao,		leh	ɓǒng	krbao		năn	kah	kâo	lai.
kill	buffalo		finish	eat	buffalo		then	then	1	be over

It said "Eat buffalo. Then I will get well."

ND007_ 183

ɗưih,	mang		dă	năn,	si-ba	mathâo	pajing		nei.
EXC	be pitied		as	DIST	why	PRE-know	CAUS-become		PROX

"Oh no! What should I do now?

ND007_ 184

năn	ñu	lŏ	nao	hưn	hŏng	palei	ñu
then	3	again	go	inform	with	wife	3

Then he went to let his wife know.

ND007_ 185

si-ba	ñu	lač?
why	3	say

"What did he say?" asked his wife

ND007_ 186

ɓơih	dă	nei	wă	ñu	lač	goh
EXC	as	PROX	PTCL	3	say	IMP

"He said this", replied the monkey

ND007_ 187

ŭn	jih		ŭn,	manŭk	jih		manŭk,
pig	be.gone		pig	chicken	be.gone		chicken

drei	mačuh	lač	malai	angoh	gǒ
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

kǐn	lǒ	lai	rei.
NEG1	again	be over	NEG2

ND007_ 189

nei	rih	krbao,	leh	bǒng	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	tơ	dah	ǒng	mǎ,	čuh	čuh	gǒ.
EXC	if	that	2	hold/pick.up	roast	roast	3

"If so, you get a buffalo and roast it,

ND007_ 192

dlăng	lăng	mabǒng	krbao	đơgăt~đơgǐn.
look	look	PRE-eat	buffalo	big

"roast a big one".

ND007_ 193

leh-năn	mačuh	yơh	krbao	năn,

then/and	PRE-roast	PTCL	buffalo	DIST

leh	čuh	krbao	năn,	pruêč		ate	năn
finish	roast	buffalo	DIST	intestine		liver	DIST

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	ɓŏng,	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	kĭn	Dông-krje	makrem	huă.
keep	DAT	PN	save	eat

ND007_ 198

Leh-năn	matăm	huă	ɓŏng,
then/and	PRE-REC	eat	eat

leh	huă	ɓŏng	madưm	lăm	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

ŏng   katừ   pakajăp   kra   hŏ!
2   keep.ST.in.a.container.with.a.tide.lid   CAUS-tight monkey   IMP

"Please keep it safe." said Dông-krje

ND007_ 200

leh   ntra   malăm   angâp
finish a bit later   night   dark

"I am afraid that later at night

ND007_ 201

huĭ   asâo   lŏ   nao
scare dog   again go

dogs will come again.

ND007_ 202

kâo   nei   huĭ   thâo   ñu   lŏ   ɓlĕ   angoh bĕ   nei
1   now   scare know   3   again rise   sick IMP   now

ŏng   ɓuh   yơh   nei.
2   see   PTCL   PROX

"As for me, as you can see, I am afraid if I am again sick

ND007_ 203

djŏ   kâo   lŏ   kaɓiă   ti   tač   ubang   dê.
right 1   again appear   LOC   outside   outside   EMPH

"and I could go outside.

ND007_ 204

bŏ,   jŏng   tangan kâo   nei,   adôk   anuh ŏng   mơh   nei
but   foot   hand   1   PROX   still tie   2   MIR   PROX

But you already tied my legs and arms

ND007_ 205

năn   kâo   ɓuh   lŏ   dưi   ayu   ibat   nei
then   1   NEG   again win   go play walk   PROX

302

(so) I cannot go outside.

ND007_ 206

anei	ŏng	paanuh,	khă	ŏng	ƀuh	paanuh	dih,
now	2	CAUS-tie	if	2	NEG	CAUS-tie	FAR.DIST

năn	kâo	ƀuh	lŏ	dưi!	angoh	nei.
then	1	NEG	again	win	sick	PROX

"If you do not untie me, I can't go outside. My body is shaking" said Dông-kɪje

ND007_ 207

yŏng	gaghŭk-gaghăk	s'aĭ	angoh	nei.
want	describing strong and fast shaking	completely	sick	PROX

ND007_ 208

ŏng	katừ	yơh	pakajăp.
2	keep.ST.in.a.container.with.a.tight.lid	PTCL	CAUS-tight

"You keep it safe, please" said Dông-kɪje

ND007_ 209

ơ
yes

"Ok" the monkey said.

ND007_ 210

gơ	kra	năn	lač:
3	monkey	then	say

ND007_ 211

leh-năn	makatừ	yơh.
then/and	PRE-keep.ST.in.a.container.with.a.tide.lid	PTCL

Then he went to check the food on the storage shelf.

ND007_ 212

năn	tađeh	krbao		năn
then	flesh	buffalo		DIST

ND007_ 213

leh-năn	mapĭt	yơh	tlăm.
then/and	PRE-sleep	PTCL	afternoon

Then in the evening, they slept.

ND007_ 214

palei	kjar		anak	gơ̆
wife	husband		child	3

ND007_ 215

Dông-Krje	pĭt	mơh,	gơ̆	tăm	pĭt	mơh.
PN	sleep	MIR	3	REC	sleep	MIR

Dông-krje slept and they all also slept.

ND007_ 216

alek		yơh	di	gơ̆	tăm	pĭt	tăm	đih	năn
deeply(in .sleeping)		PTCL	PL	3	REC	sleep	REC	lay	DIST

They slept very deeply.

ND007_ 217

năn	Dông-krje	lŏ	nao	ba	mơh
then	PN	again	go	bring	MIR

Then Dông-krje again took the other half which the monkey kept for later

ND007_ 218

sa	palah	pŏk	krbao		ta	palei
one	half	open	buffalo		LOC	wife

ND007_ 219

pruê̆č	ate	ađŏ	ñu	pioh	kĭn	Dông-krje	mahuă	năn.
intestine	liver	things	3	keep	DAT	PN	PRE-eat	DIST

ND007_ 220

arăng	ba	ajih	mơh	ta	palei	arăng	ta	sang	răng	ačô
3	bring	all	MIR	LOC	wife	3	LOC	house	3	REFL

He took it all to his wife at home.

ND007_ 221

leh-năn	manăn	yơh
then/and	PRE-then	PTCL

ND007_ 222

tangŭ	yơh	palei	ñu	măng	dih
get up	PTCL	wife	3	from	FAR.DIST

His wife got up and they ate together.

ND007_ 223

leh	truh	năn	mahuă,	bơ̆ng.	Leh	huă	bơ̆ng
finish	arrive	then	PRE-eat	eat	finish	eat	eat

When they finished eating,

ND007_ 224

năn	Dông,	năn	Dông-krje	lŏ	wĭt	ta	sang	kra	năn	mơh
then	PN	then	PN	again	return	LOC	house	monkey	DIST	MIR

Dông-krje again went back to the monkey's house.

ND007_ 225

lŏ	truă	anuh	năn	mơh
again	tie	stick/log	DIST	MIR

Again he tied himself to the log.

ND007_ 226

Leh	truă	anuh	năn
finish	tie	stick/log	DIST

and then he slept.

ND007_ 227

pĭt   yơh   Dông-krje
sleep   PTCL   PN

ND007_ 228

pađao   pĭt   đih   yơh,   ɓuh   lŏ   lŏ   hdơr   nei   dih
CAUS-warm   sleep lay   PTCL   NEG1   again again miss   PROX   FAR.DIST

ôh   aĭ.
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 sĭ   trguah   năn,   năn   ñu   kra   rmuh
get up until/til   tomorrow   then   then   3   monkey   ask
the monkey then asked

ND007_ 231

si-ba   Jeng   ah,   lŏ   ɓlĕ   angoh   hĕ   ŏng?
why   close friend VOC   again rise   sick   QP   2
"Hey friend! Are you still sick?"

ND007_ 232

ɓuh   mâo   Jeng   ơh,   lai   leh   wă   kâo.
Neg   COP   close.friend VOC   be over   PFV   PTCL   1

dưi   ɓiă   leh.
win   little PFV
"No. I am good now" said Dông-krje

ND007_ 233

ơ,	ai-panao	Jeng	ah.
yes	luckily	close friend	VOC

"That is good. You are fortunate," said the monkey

ND007_ 234

năn	ah,	malai	ŏng	ah
then	VOC	be over	2	VOC

that you are good now.

ND007_ 235

Dông-krje	ah
PN	VOC

ND007_ 236

tơ	dah	ɓuh	lai	ŏng,	tam-lam	dă	nei
if	that	NEG	be over	2	hard	as	PROX

If you were still sick, we wouldn't know what to do, the monkey said,

ND007_ 237

anei	ñu	lač	arih	krbao
now	3	say	kill	buffalo

Because since we roasted the buffalo, now

ND007_ 238

krai-ɓai	leh
all	PFV

everything is all gone" said the monkey.

ND007_ 239

jing	năn	ah
become	DIST	VOC

Dông-krje then said "I feel good now"

ND007_ 240

kra	ah	năn	ñu	lač
monkey	VOC	then	3	say

ND007_ 241

nei	năn	madôk
PROX	DIST	PRE-sit/stay

Then he stayed on.

ND007_ 242

nei	năn	lŏ	sĭ	tlăm,	lŏ	angoh	mơh.
PROX	DIST	again	until/til	afternoon	again	sick	MIR

Then at nighttime, he became sick again.

ND007_ 243

angoh	tangŭ	malăm	pĭt
sick	get up	night	sleep

The illness came during 'sleeping time'.

ND007_ 244

hưh-hưh-hưh-hưh
(sound.from.sick.person)
(unhhh-unhhh-unhhh-unhhh)

ND007_ 245

rih	aduân	rih	aduân
kill	grandmother	kill	grandmother

"Kill the grandmother! Kill the grandmother!"

ND007_ 246

ơh
EXC
"Oh no!"

ND007_ 247

ƀrŏ̆k,	kra	lŏ	mhŭ̆	năn
suddenly	monkey	again	listen	DIST

The monkey suddenly heard that

ND007_ 248

kra	lŏ	tangŭ
monkey	again	get up

and got up

ND007_ 249

leh-năn
then/and

ND007_ 250

oh!	ơ	Dông-krje?	si-ba	ŏng	đih,	ŏng	ŏng	năn	ŏng
EXC	VOC	PN	why	2	lay	2	2	DIST	2

krbao	alăm	nei?
buffalo	in	PROX

"Hey, Dông-krje! Why do you still lie there? Where is the buffalo meat?" asked the monkey.

ND007_ 251

kâo	lŏ	ƀlĕ	angoh	Jieng	ah,	năn	năn	ah
1	again	rise	sick	close friend	VOC	then	then	VOC

"I am again sick, friend" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 252

Dông-krje	năn	ah,	kra	ah,	kâo	lŏ	ƀlĕ	angoh.
PN	DIST	VOC	monkey	VOC	1	again	rise	sick

ND007_ 253

ơh	mang	yơh	ŏng	nei,	si-ba
EXC	be pitied	PTCL	2	PROX	why

"Oh no! You poor thing!" The monkey said: "How could that happen?"

ND007_ 254

manŭk	ajih	manŭk,	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

bờ	nei	si-ba	ñu	lǒ	lač?
but	PROX	why	3	again	say

Now, what does (your body) say?" asked the monkey

ND007_ 257

ñu	lač	arih	aduân	yờh	ñu	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-năn	poh	aduân	năn	kâo	lai	ñu	lač.
then/and	beat	grandmother	then	1	be over	3	say

ND007_ 259

ɓuh	lǒ	mâo	dưi	nei	ôh	ñu	lač
NEG1	again	COP	win	PROX	NEG2	3	say

"Oh no! This is not permitted" responded the monkey.

ND007_ 260

ɓuh	lǒ	mâo	trlei	angoh	a-ăt	ôh	ñu	lač
NEG1	again	COP	NMZ	sick	cold	NEG2	3	say

"But I won't ever be sick from now on" said Dông-krje.

ND007_ 261

ơ
yes
"Ok", answered the monkey

ND007_ 262

lŏ   nao   ta   palei   ñu
again   go   LOC   wife   3
Then he again went to his wife.

ND007_ 263

truh   ta   năn,   si-ba
arrive   LOC   DIST   why
When he got to his wife, he said "What should we do now

ND007_ 264

palei   ah?
wife   VOC

ND007_ 265

lŏ   ƀlĕ   angoh   wă   goh   Dông-krje
again   rise   sick   PTCL   IMP   PN
"Hey, Dông-krje is sick again"

ND007_ 266

ñu   lŏ   ƀlĕ   angoh
3   again   rise   sick

ND007_ 267

si-ba   lŏ   angoh?
why   again   sick

"Why is he still sick?" asked his wife,

ND007_ 268

djăp	leh	adǒ	brei	kǐn	angoh	gǒ̆	năn
all	PFV	things	give	DAT	sick	3	DIST

"We gave everything to that illness of his" continued the wife

ND007_ 269

arnei	ñu	lač	rih	aduân,
now	3	say	kill	grandmother

leh	poh	aduân	ñu	lai	ñu	lač
finish	beat	grandmother	3	be over	3	say

"But this time he said if the grandmother is killed, he will completely recover" the monkey answered.

ND007_ 270

năn,	ơ
then	yes

"Ok" his wife agreed

ND007_ 271

năn	madôk	yơh,	dôk	năn	majak	aduân
then	PRE-sit/stay	PTCL	sit/stay	then	PRE-invite	grandmother

Then he said to the grandmother,

ND007_ 272

ơ	duân	ơ	duân?	Nǒ̆ng	adǒ?
VOC	grandmother	VOC	grandmother?	what	things

"Hey,Grandma!"What's up?" responded the grandmother.

ND007_ 273

năn	aduân	ñu	năn	lač
then	grandmother	3	then	say

ND007_ 274

nao	duân	ah,	drei	nao	kalei	ubei

go   grandmother   VOC   1INCL go   dig   yam
"We are going to dig yams, Grandma" the monkey said

ND007_ 275
ơh,   ai   malǒ   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   ñu   lač
grandmother   3   say

ND007_ 278
ư-ưh.   Kâo   čieng bǒng ubei, ŏng   atăt   kâo   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   jak   palei nei   hăng   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   padiă   leh
PTCL   sky   sunshine   PFV

ND007_ 281
leh-anăn   majak   saduân
and/then   PRE-invite   grandmother

"That is why I am asking you to go with me."

ND007_ 282

truh	ta	dih	mapoh	aduân	lăm	ɓăng	ubei	năn
arrive	LOC	FAR.DIST	PRE-beat	grandmother	in	hole	yam	DIST

Then, when they arrived there, he beat the grandma until she died and he buried her in the yam field.

ND007_ 283

leh	poh	aduân	lăm	ɓăng	ubei,	mawĭt	ta	sang.
finish	beat	grandmother	in	hole	yam	PRE-return	LOC	house

Then he returned home.

ND007_ 284

Leh	truh	ta	sang	năn
finish	arrive	LOC	house	DIST

When he got home,

ND007_ 285

leh	leh	jieng	năn	ah
finish	finish	close friend	DIST	VOC

he told Dông-krje that he killed his grandmother.

ND007_ 286

Dông-krje	ah,	leh	kâo	poh	aduân
PN	VOC	finish	1	beat	grandmother

ND007_ 287

leh	kâo	poh	aduân	kâo
finish	1	beat	grandmother	1

"I killed my grandmother" the monkey said

ND007_ 288

ơ

yes

"Ok" Dông-krje replied.

ND007_ 289

leh	poh	aduân	năn
finish	beat	grandmother	DIST

ND007_ 290

năn	madôk	yơh
then	PRE-sit/stay	PTCL

After the monkey killed his grandmother, then Dông-krje stayed there a couple of more days.

ND007_ 291

dôk	yơh	paliă	dua	urei
sit/stay	PTCL	nonstop	two	day

ND007_ 292

tlâo	urei,	leh-năn,	ɓơih
three	day	then/and	EXC

ND007_ 293

kra	ah,	arăp	leh	kâo	madôk	hŏng	ŏng.
monkey	VOC	all	PFV	1	PRE-sit/stay	with	2

Then one day he said "I stayed with you long enough to make up for my mistake

ND007_ 294

arnei	si-ba	mangă
now	why	PRE-make

Now, what should I do next?

ND007_ 295

kâo	malŏ	tuh-ina-ba-kađi	ŏng	yơh.

1	PRE-again	give compensation for	2	PTCL

I will give you something as compensation for my mistake.

ND007_ 296

kâo	brei	krbao,	krbao	dǒng	mǎng	amǐ	aduân		drei	nđơm
1	give	buffalo	buffalo		from	mother	grandmother		1INCL	old

I will give you a buffalo from my great grandmother."

ND007_ 297

arǎng	lǎm	nei	ɓuh	mâo	ôh	krbao		dǎ	krbao	kâo
3PL	in	PROX	NEG1	COP	NEG2	buffalo		as	buffalo	1

amǐ	aduân	kâo
mother	grandmother	1

"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."

ND007_ 298

ɓuh	wǎ	mâo	di	gǒ
NEG	PTCL	COP	PL	3

ND007_ 299

kâo	lǒ	tuh-ina-ba-kađi		ǒng	yơh	kra		ah
1	again	give.compensation.for		2	PTCL	monkey		VOC

"I will give you that buffalo." Dông-krje said again.

ND007_ 300

kâo	brei	krbao	kơ	ǒng
1	give	buffalo	DAT	2

ND007_ 301

ơ,	mǎ	yơh
yes	hold/pick.up	PTCL

"Agreed!" the monkey responded.

ND007_ 302

leh-nǎn	matuleh	Dông-krje,	matah	anuh	inǎn
then/and	PRE-untie	PN	untie	log	DIST

Then they released Dông-krje by untying his legs from the log.

ND007_ 303

tah	anuh	Dông-krje	mawĭt
untie.two.things.together.before	stick/log	PN	PRE-return

ta	sang,	ta	palei	ñu.
LOC	house	LOC	wife	3

Then Dông-krje returned home to his wife.

ND007_ 304

Truh	ta	sang,	arǎng	mamǎ	areng,	manao ba	
arrive	LOC	house	3	PRE-hold/pick.up	crab	PRE-go	bring

Upon arriving home, he took his crab and gave it to the monkey.

ND007_ 305

nei	nǎn	kra	ơi.
PROX	DIST	monkey	VOC

"Hey, monkey!

ND007_ 306

krbao	amĭ	aduân	he	nđơm	nei
buffalo	mother	grandmother	1INCL	old	PROX

This is my ancestor's buffalo.

ND007_ 307

amĭ	aduân	ŏng	ɓuh	mâo	ôh	dǎ	krbao	kâo	nei
mother	grandmother	2	NEG1	COP	NEG2	as	buffalo	1	PROX

Your ancestors didn't have this type of buffalo.

ND007_ 308

kâo	dê	krbao	măng	amĭ	măng	aduân
1	EMPH	buffalo	from	mother	from	grandmother

Only me, who has this buffalo from my ancestors. Therefore,

ND007_ 309

dje	pô	nei	pô	dih,	pioh	krbao	kâo
die	REFL	PROX	REFL	FAR.DIST	keep	buffalo	1

dje	pô	dih	pô	dih	pioh	krbao	kâo
die	REFL	FAR.DIST	REFL	FAR.DIST	keep	buffalo	1

under whatever circumstances that may happen to you, please keep my buffalo (because it is very valuable).

ND007_ 310

năn	năn	mamă,	đăm	ŏng	akă	ôh	hŏng
then	then	PRE-hold/pick.up	NEG1	2	tie	NEG2	with

krbao	lu	drei	hŏ,	ŏng	akă	ajăn.
buffalo	several	CLF	IMP	2	tie	alone/only

Also, please remember, don't tie this buffalo with other buffalos at your house. Please keep him separate." Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 311

ơ
yes

"I understand." the monkey replied.

ND007_ 312

ñu	kra	năn	lač.	năn	maakă
3	monkey	then	say	then	PRE-tie

ND007_ 313

akă	bě	anôk	pukăn,	djǒ	akă	mǒng	krbao	dê	matajuă	yơh.
tie	IMP	place	another	right	tie	from	buffalo	EMPH	PRE-tread	PTCL

ND007_ 314

mnǒng	kruăk	gǒ	areng
thing	smash	3	crab

ND007_ 315

leh-anăn,	leh	dje	areng	năn.	ɓơih,
and/then	finish	die	crab	DIST	EXC

Then that buffalo died then.

ND007_ 316

Dông-krje	ŏng	lŏ	palư	kâo
PN	2	again	lie	1

The monkey then went to Dong-kjre and said "You lied to me"

ND007_ 317

ŏng	lač	krbao	măng	amĭ	măng	aduân	ŏng
2	say	buffalo	from	mother	from	grandmother	2

"You said that was the buffalo from your ancestors. It died already. Therefore,

ND007_ 318

arnei	adôk	anư	kâo	ta	ŏng
now	still	debt	1	LOC	2

"you still have to give me compensation." the monkey emphasized.

ND007_ 319

ɓưih	si-ba	kâo	lŏ	thâo	mâo	nei,	ŏng	dôk	guân	bě
EXC	why	1	again	know	COP	PROX	2	sit/stay	wait	IMP

"Oh no! what should I do now! Please wait!", Dông-krje said,

ND007_ 320

kâo	lŏ	brei	iman	lě.
1	again	give	elephant	TOP

"I will give you our elephant"

ND007_ 321

si-ba	iman?		ɓưih	iman	iman	yuăm,
why	elephant		EXC	elephant	elephant	expensive

iman	bhăn,	atăm	yơh	iman	kâo.
elephant	expensive	REC	PTCL	elephant	1

"What? Your elephant?" The monkey replied. "Our elephant is very valuable because it is from our great grandfather, from our ancestors.", Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 322

iman	dởng	mởng	amĭ	dởng	mởng	aduân,	dởng	mởng	aê.
elephant		from	mother		from	grandmother	from		grandfather

ND007_ 323

dă	nđơm	dih
as	old	FAR.DIST

ND007_ 324

ơ
yes

"That is OK" the monkey responded.

ND007_ 325

năn	mapuñam	brởng
then	PRE-weave	giant.rattan.storage.unit

Then Dông-krje wove a huge rattan storage cylinder (used for storing rice).

ND007_ 326

puñam	brởng
weave	giant.rattan.storage.unit

ND007_ 327

bơ	yơh	bơ	yơh,	makoh	djrao.
(time.expression)	PTCL	(time.expression)	PTCL	PRE-shorten	bamboo type

Leh	koh	djrao	puñam	brởng
finish	shorten	bamboo.type	weave	giant.rattan.storage.unit

First he went for awhile to look for rattan plants and then he cut them down and then took home and started to weave.

ND007_ 328

leh	puñam	brŏng	năn	nao	iêu	ñu
finish	weave	giant.rattan.storage.unit	then	go	call	3

When he finished weaving, he called the monkey.

ND007_ 329

nei	iman	nei
PROX	elephant	PROX

"Here is the elephant" said Dong-krje,

ND007_ 330

đăm	ŏng	đĭ	ôh	dă	nei	hŏ,	ŏng	kăp	angĭn	năn
NEG1	2	go	up	NEG2	as	PROX	IMP	2	wait	wind	then

"Please don't climb up on the elephant right now. You should wait until you

ND007_ 331

angĭn-puih	drei	năn
windy season	1INCL	DIST

see our windy season coming,

ND007_ 332

angĭn	pađuông	ñu	dê,	ñu	nao
wind	CAUS-strong.hit.by.wind	3	EMPH	3	go

tăm	ruruôi	atăm	yơh	năn
REC	fast	REC	PTCL	DIST

When the wind hits it strongly, it will go by itself.

ND007_ 333

ndŏ	mahuĭ	Dông-krje	ah.
what	PRE-scare	PN	VOC

The monkey said "You shouldn't worry about me.

ND007_ 334

jǒng	tangan	kâo	putih	dǎ	pula	pha	dǎ	atǎp
leg	arm	1	shank	as	plant	thigh	as	big

Look! My musles are big, so I can handle a big wind. Don't worry!"

ND007_ 335

ɓuh	mâo	huǐ	ôh.	ơ	nao	yơh
NEG1	COP	scare	NEG2	yes	go	PTCL

"OK, good! You can go now. I paid my debt to you all." Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 336

Leh	kâo	tuh	ina	ba	kaɗi	ǒng
finish	1	pour	feminine	bring	give.compensation.for	2

ND007_ 337

nǎn	ɓuh	yơh	angǐn-puih
then	see	PTCL	windy season

Then, the big wind came.

ND007_ 338

ba	tǎm	lǎm	êar	krông
bring	REC	in	water	river

The monkeys took Dong-krje's elephant to the river

ND007_ 339

ba	lǎm	êar	krông	nǎn
bring	in	water	river	DIST

They all were on top of that elephant.

ND007_ 340

Leh-nǎn,	truh	angǐn-puih,	angǐn	parǒt	atǎm
then/and	arrive	windy.season	wind	strong.blow	REC

And then, the strong wind pushed them along with their rattan elephant away (down the river)

ND007_ 341

drak	dje	lăm	êar
many/a lot	die	in	water

ND007_ 342

gǒ	brǒng	blǔ.
3	giant.rattan.storage.unit	rock

The rattan cylinder shook (rolled) badly

ND007_ 343

brǒng	năn	blǔ
giant.rattan.storage.unit	DIST	rock

ND007_ 344

drak	dje	lăm	êar
many/a lot	die	in	water

Then many of them died in the water.

ND007_ 345

leh-năn	lǒ	wǐt
then/and	again	return

Then the monkey again returned to Dông-krje

ND007_ 346

yaih	ai	ǒng	palǔ	kâo	Dông-krje	eh?
EXC	thing/what	2	lie	1	PN	VOC

"Dong-krje, you again lied to me" the monkey said,

ND007_ 347

ǒng	lač	aseh	iman	amǐ	aduân	ǒng
2	say	horse	elephant	mother	grandmother	2

"You said that was the elephant from your ancestors

ND007_ 348

ăng	maiman	amĭ	aduân	ŏng
because	PRE-elephant	mother	grandmother	2

ND007_ 349

arlâo	năn	lĕ	ŏng	brei	brŏng
before	DIST	TOP	2	give	giant.rattan.storage.unit

Then you gave me your rattan elephant to wait for the strong wind" the monkey continued

ND007_ 350

ŏng	brei	brŏng	kơ	kâo
2	give	giant.rattan.storage.unit	DAT	1

ND007_ 351

kăp	angĭn-puih
wait	windy season

ND007_ 352

ñu	lač,	gŏ	kra	lač
3	say	3	monkey	say

ND007_ 353

ƀơih	bŏ	nei	kâo	ƀuh	lŏ	mâo	nei,	kâo	brei	đuôn	lĕ
EXC	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-kɾje said.

ND007_ 354

đuôn	dŏng	mŏng	amĭ,	dŏng	mŏng	aduân	tăm	yơh,
hat		from	mother		from	grandmother	REC	PTCL

đuôn	kâo	nei
hat	1	PROX

"This hat is from my ancestor" Dông-kɾje said.

ND007_ 355

dǒng	mǒng	aê	dǒng	mǒng	aduân	kâo	yơh.	đuôn	nei,
from	grandfather		from	grandmother	1	PTCL	hat	PROX

ꞇuh	lǒ	mâo	dih	nei	ôh	đuôn
NEG1	again	COP	FAR.DIST	PROX	NEG2	hat

This hat is from my ancestor. Nowadays people don't have one anymore." he continued.

ND007_ 356

leh-nǎn	manǎn	inǎn
then/and	PRE-DIST	then

and then,

ND007_ 357

ǒng	dôk	guǎn	dua	urei	ta	nǎp	nei	hǒ.
2	sit/stay	wait	two	day	LOC	front of	PROX	IMP

Dông-krje said: "Wait for two days please!"

ND007_ 358

nǎn	kra	gǒ	madôk	guǎn	inǎn
then	monkey	3	PRE-sit/stay	wait	then

Then the monkey sat and waited.

ND007_ 359

ñu	puñam	arlǐn	inǎn
3	weave	wax	DIST

Then Dông-krje wove a hat

ND007_ 360

ngǎ	griǎ	đuôn,	leh	djǎp	griǎ	nǎn,
make	each.circle.layer	hat	finish	all	each.circle.layer	DIST

ñu	ngǎ	arlǐn
3	make	wax

He made the frame of the hat, and then made wax.

ND007_ 361

ñu	puñam	arlĭn	ñu	mắl	arlĭn
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	arlĭn	năn
3	shine	wax	DIST

He buffed the wax.

ND007_ 363

leh-năn	lŭm-arlŭm	dă	đuôn	mơh	dă	đuôn	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

nao	iêu,	nei	kra	ơi
go	call	VOC	monkey	VOC

he went to call to the monkey: "Hey, Monkey!

ND007_ 366

ŏng	nao	mă	yơh	đuôn	nei
2	go	hold/pick.up	PTCL	hat	PROX

Come get the hat.

ND007_ 367

leh	đuôn	kâo	siem	măng	ai	măng	ate	tăm	yơh,
finish	hat	1	beautiful	from	a lot	from	liver	REC	PTCL

đuôn   amĭ   aduân   kâo   nđơm
hat   mother grandmother   1   old
This is a very beautiful hat from my grandmothers.

ND007_ 368
dǒng mǒng   aê   dǒng mǒng   aduân   kâo   yơh,
            from   grandfather   from   grandmother   1   PTCL

kâo   pioh   kâo   dê   kĭn   amĭ   aduân   kâo   nđơm
1   keep   1   EMPH DAT   mother   grandmother   1   old
I kept it from my ancestors.

ND007_ 369
nǒng   kâo   mayu   tuƀě
what   1   go play   quit/leave
and never wanted to let go of it" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 370
ơ
yes
"Yes!" The monkey replied.

ND007_ 371
Dô   mamă   yaih   hǎk-krdǎk   yơh   gǒ.
PROG   PRE-hold/pick.up EXC   very happy   PTCL   3
The monkey took it and was really happy

ND007_ 372
kra   năn   mamă
monkey   DIST   PRE-hold/pick.up
So the monkey took it

ND007_ 373
đăm   ŏng   đua   ôh   hǒ.

NEG1 2   put on NEG2 IMP
"Please don't put it on, Dông-krje said,

ND007_ 374

ŏng	kăp	năn	arăng	huă	plăm,	pinăm	thŭn,
2	wait	then	3PL	eat	big	drink	year

răng	bŏ̆ng	ŭn	krbao		năn
3PL	eat	pig	buffalo		DIST

Wait until the season of celebration comes, when people eat pigs and buffalos to
celebrate the end of the cropping season (final harvest),

ND007_ 375

ŏng	đua	yơh	hăng	krah	pađiă,
2	put on	PTCL	with	middle	sunshine

ŏng	brei	palei	ŏng	đua	đuôn	năn
2	give	wife	2	put on	hat	DIST

then put it on at high noon on a sunny day. Then let your wife put it on.

ND007_ 376

huĭ	pađiă		anak	ŏng	hŏ.
scare	sunshine		child	2	IMP

Let your children put it on, otherwise they will get a sunburn." Dông-krje reminded.

ND007_ 377

ơ
yes
"OK" the monkey answered.

ND007_ 378

tăm	dôk	yơh	anak	čô		ŏng
REC	sit/stay	PTCL	child	grandchild		2

Dông-krje continued "All of your children and your wife will stay cool under the hat."

ND007_ 379

paanguôm		hŏng	palei	ŏng	năn	mơh.
CAUS-stay with		with	wife	2	DIST	MIR

ND007_ 380

năn	ƀuh	arăng	pinăm,	arăng	paleh		bruă	năn
then	see	3PL	drink	3PL	CAUS-finish		work	DIST

Then, when people were celebrating the end of the cropping season [final harvest],

ND007_ 381

matăm	nao	inăn
PRE-REC	go	then

they all went

ND007_ 382

manao,	truh	ta	năn	năn
PRE-go	arrive	LOC	DIST	then

to the celebration place.

ND007_ 383

dôk	hăng	karah	pađiă	atăm	yơh	madôk
sit	with	middle	sunshine	REC	PTCL	PRE-sit

They sat under the high sun (with the hat on).

ND007_ 384

ƀrữ		ƀrữ	ƀrữ	ƀrữ,	arlĭn	maliêk	inăn
slowly		slowly	slowly	slowly	wax	PRE-melt	so/then

Slowly the wax melted.

ND007_ 385

liêk	dô	arlĭn	maguăm,	ƀỗ	mata	palei	ñu
melt	PROG	wax	PRE-stick	face	eye	wife	3

anak	čô	ñu	ajih.
child	grandchild	3	all

The melted wax got on all of the faces of the monkey's children and his wife.

ND007_ 386

dlăng	pĕ	ti	năn	ƀlĭt	pĕ	ti	năn
watch	touch.through	LOC	DIST	stick	touch.through	LOC	DIST

ƀlĭt	ƀlĭt	arlĭn
stick	stick	wax

It stuck all over on their faces.

ND007_ 387

Leh-năn	lŏ	wĭt	ta	Dông-krje	mơh.
then/and	again	return	LOC	PN	MIR

ƀơih	Dông-krje	ah,	ai	ŏng	palư
EXC	PN	VOC	thing/what	2	lie

Then the monkey again returned to Dong-krje: "Hey, Dong-krje! Why did you lie to me?" The monkey asked,

ND007_ 388

ŏng	lač,	đuôn	măng	amĭ,	măng	aduân	măng	aê	ŏng
2	say	hat	from	mother	from	grandmother	from	grandfather	2

"You said that the hat came from your ancestors,

ND007_ 389

dă	nđơm
as	old

from a long time ago."

ND007_ 390

arnei	ti	ƀuh.
now	LOC	see

Now look!, the monkey continued.

ND007_ 391

ɓlĕ ŏng palư arlĭn
rise 2 lie wax

You lied again about the wax

ND007_ 392

ŏng lač: đuôn ŏng siem jăk măng aê măng aduân.
2 say hat 2 beautiful good from grandfather from grandmother

that you said was your ancestor's hat.

ND007_ 393

ɓaih dŭm năn lah, gǒ hañ đei ŏng dôk hŏng
EXC how much DIST PTCL 3 several many/much 2 sit with

pađiă.
sunshine

"Oh no! Dông-krje said, "It was because your children and wife sat too long in the sun.

ND007_ 394

anak palei ŏng dôk hăng pađiă.
child wife 2 sit with sunshine

ND007_ 395

dôk gǒ hăng pađiă ađa, ư năn tađăp đa
sit 3 with sunshine many keep.hungry then cool many

krei gǒ nei dôk hăng pađiă paliă-palia, năn
wrong event/thing EMPH PROX sit with sunshine nonstop then

jing gǒ 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 ɓuh dưi aĭ.

331

then/and   NEG   win   at all

That was why it was not successful that way" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 397

ăt	kâo	lŏ	đǔ	mơh	ŏng	Dông-krje	ah.
also	1	again	conpensate	MIR	2	PN	VOC

đǔ	đǔ	mơh	si	malŏ	ngă.
conpensate	conpensate	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

ăt	kâo	gĭr	mơh.
also	1	try	MIR

"I will try" Dông-krje continued.

ND007_ 399

kâo	tuh~ina~ba~kađi	ŏng
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	lĕ	kơ	ŏng.
1	give	drum	TOP	DAT	2

332

I will give you a drum.

ND007_ 403

ŏng	dôk	guan	hŏ!
2	sit	wait	IMP

Sit and wait please!

ND007_ 404

dua	tlâo	urei	tanăp	nei	ɓiă-dah	ŏng	čieng	arnei
two	three	day	enough/exact	PROX	however	2	want	now

ɓuh	mâo	ôh.
NEG1	have	NEG2

[Wait] about two or three days. But if you want it now, I don't have anything to give you."Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 405

ơ
yes

"That is fine" said the monkey.

ND007_ 406

leh-năn	mađŭng	yơh	agăr,	mangă	sĕ	agăr.
then/and	PRE-make	PTCL	drum	PRE-make	as	drum

Leh	ngă	sĕ	mađŭng
finish	make	as	PRE-make

And then, Dông-krje made a drum.

ND007_ 407

leh	đŭng	năn
finish	make	then

after wrapping the outside

ND007_ 408

padử̆m   nӑn   krĭp
CAUS-put   then   be covered
Dông-krje put it aside.

ND007_ 409

mӑ   êguӑt,   êpan,   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, kumruӑt   pamŭt   lӑm   agӑr nӑn   gӑ-agơi   yơh
wasp   hive   CAUS-enter   in   drum DIST extremely/a lot   PTCL
harmful insects inside the drum.

ND007_ 412

leh-anӑn
and/then
Then

ND007_ 413

djӑp-djik-lik-anao   yơh   ñu   mapadử̆m   mapadử̆m   lӑm   nӑn
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-nӑn   ah
then/and   EXC
and then

ND007_ 415

lŏ	nao	iêu	ñu	kra	nǎn
again	go	call	3	monkey	DIST

he went and called to the monkey

ND007_ 416

ơ	kra	ơ	kra?	ơi
VOC	monkey	VOC	monkey	VOC

"Hey, Monkey!" Dông-krje called "Yes!" the monkey responded.

ND007_ 417

leh	ŏng	nao	mǎ	yơh	gǎr	dê
finish	2	go	hold/pick.up	PTCL	drum	EMPH

"Come and take the drum" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 418

ơ
yes

"OK!" the monkey said.

ND007_ 419

siem	sa	mơh	agǎr
beautiful	one	MIR	drum

"It is really beautiful." the monkey said.

ND007_ 420

mǐn	dah	gǎr	tadi
think	COMP	drum	true

He thought that it was a real drum.

ND007_ 421

gǒ	dê	dǎ	arǎng	dǎ	ačô

335

3 EMPH as 3 as grandchild
The monkey is not like other people. (This means he is stupid).

ND007_ 422
mađă arăng tadi i
PRE-guess 3 true EXC
"That is a real drum" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 423
năn mamă yơh agăr
then PRE-hold/pick.up PTCL drum
Then the monkey took the drum

ND007_ 424
nei kâo pată-patăn ŏng
PROX 1 tell 2
"I am reminding you about one thing" Dông-krje said

ND007_ 425
tuit dŭm nei yơh hŏ!
end how.much PROX PTCL IMP
"this fulfills all of my debt to you, said Dong-krje,

ND007_ 426
kâo tuh-êna-ba-kađi ŏng, ɓuh kâo lŏ mâo ôh.
1 give compensation for 2 NEG1 1 again have NEG2
"I have paid you all of my debt. No more. OK?"

ND007_ 427
brei ngăn nei ŏng lač, ɓuh djơ
give property PROX 2 say NEG right
"I gave you one thing, you said, "It's not right"

ND007_ 428

brei	ngăn	nei	ŏng	lač,	ƀuh	djǒ
give	property	PROX	2	say	NEG	right

"I gave you another thing, you said, "It's not right""

ND007_ 429

kadrăng	kâo	lǒ	thâo	mâo	ngăn	tuh-êna-ba-kađi	ŏng
what	1	again	know	have	property	give.compensation.for	2

kra	ah?
monkey	VOC

"How could I know how to pay you back." Dông-krje continued.

ND007_ 430

arnei	sa	boh	agăr	leh	măng	nei	hǒ
now	one	CLF	drum	PFV	from	PROX	IMP

"Now, just this one drum and I have repaid my debt to you."

ND007_ 431

ƀuh	lǒ	mâo	ôh.
NEG1	again	have	NEG2

"Nothing more. OK?" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 432

đa	čô	ŏng	anak	ŏng	lǒ	karuh	trguah
many	grandchild	2	child	2	again	ask/request	tomorrow

guah	dih
morning	FAR.DIST

"Your children and grandchildren should not ask for anything any more."

ND007_ 433

kâo	ba~kađi	ŏng	ajih	leh	nei
1	give.compensation.for	2	all	finish	now

ruǒi	leh	nei	hǒ.

end.debt   PFV   PROX IMP

"Now I paid you back everything already. OK?"

ND007_ 434

ơ

yes

"I agree!" the monkey answered

ND007_ 435

ŏng	pinăm	pe	huă	plăm	pinăm	thŭn	ƀŏng	ŭn	krbao
2	drink	rice.vine	eat	big	drink	year	eat	pig	buffalo

Dông-krje continued "When you celebrate the end of the season with pigs, buffalos.

ND007_ 436

ơ	ƀăng-phă	yŭ,	ƀăng	ƀăng-phă	ngŏk
yes	main.door	west		main.door	east

"Yes!" The monkey responded. "The main doors on the west and on the east [ends of your house] --

ND007_ 437

ƀăng-phă	yuôp
main.door	west

ND007_ 438

ŏng	kađăl
2	close

[Be sure to] close them all!" Dông-krje said.

ND007_ 439

bŏ	ti	gŭ	năn	ŏng	čŭt
but	LOC	below.part	DIST	2	put.a.string.into

"And in the area under the house floor, put

ND007_ 440

turŏng	uda	yơh	hŏ.

stake   stake   PTCL IMP

many pointed stakes please"

ND007_ 441

năn	kah	ŏng	pinăm	atông	yơh	agăr	ŏng
then	then	2	drink	play	PTCL	drum	2

tông	yơh	čing	čhar	ŏng
play	PTCK	small.gong	big.gong	2

And then drink wine and play gongs and play this drum.

ND007_ 442

nak	čô	ŏng,	găp-djuê	ŏng,	imai	dei	ŏng
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	aprŏng	ŏng,	amĭ	aduân	ŏng
aunt	elder.aunt	2	mother	grandmother	2

all of your extended family members--

ND007_ 444

dưm	lăm	sang	kđăl	ƀăng-phă	ôk	gah.
put	in	house	close	main.door	owner.area	guest.area

should stay inside the house with all of the doors locked.

ND007_ 445

kđăl	yơh	ƀăng-phă	ôk	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.

ND007_ 447

ti	lăn	năn	čŭt	turŏng	uda	djăp	anôk	mơh	hŏ.
LOC	land	DIST	put.a.string.intostake		stake	all	place	MIR	IMP

"Remember to put pointed stakes everywhere in the ground, please" Dông-krje emphasized

ND007_ 448

ơ
yes
"Yes!" the monkey answered.

ND007_ 449

leh-năn	mačŭt	mačŭt	yơh	turŏng	uda
then/and	PRE-put.a.string.into	PRE-put.a.string.into	PTCL	stake	stake

leh-năn	makađăl	yơh	ƀăng-phă
then/and	PRE-close	PTCL	main.door

So then, the monkey put the pointed stakes under the first floor of his house and then he closed all of the doors

ND007_ 450

leh	kđăl	ƀăng-phă	năn
finish	close	main.door	DIST

after closing all of the doors,

ND007_ 451

dôk	năn	atông	agăr
sit	then	play	drum

they sat and played the gong and beated the drum.

ND007_ 452

tông	pinăm	yơh	tape	huă	plăm	thŭn,

play	drink	PTCL	rice.vine		eat	big	year

ɓǒng	ŭn	krbao	năn	atông	agăr
eat	pig	buffalo	DIST	play	drum

They drank wind and ate and then beat the drum.

ND007_ 453

măng	mamăng	prŭt		arluh	agăr	năn	yaih
from	PRE-from	(sound.of.a.drum.surface.broken)		break	drum	DIST	EXC

And then, the drum broke.

ND007_ 454

êguăt	êpan	ular	udieng
scorpion	bedbug	snake	a.reptile.type

dô	matiă	kađah	tiă	hu	di	gǒ	yɔh
PROG	PRE-chase	bite	chase	etc.	PL	3	PTCL

and then all creatures got out. They chased and bit everyone

ND007_ 455

tiă	ɓǒng	tiă	nei	dih	yɔh
chase	eat	chase	PROX	FAR.DIST	PTCL

they pursued them to eat them

ND007_ 456

đa	khiêt,	đa	nei	đa	dih	yɔh,	ɓuh	lǒ	thâo	ôh.
many	wasp	many	PROX	many	FAR.DIST	PTCL	NEG1	again	know	NEG2

The monkeys did not know what to do.

ND007_ 457

prtŭk-prtŭl	mɔh
many	MIR

ND007_ 458

Dô	matăm	đuě̌	mapǒk	băng	năn
PROG	PRE-REC	go	PRE-open	main.door	DIST

mapǒk	băng	makadâo	ta	năn
PRE-open	main.door	PRE-jump down	LOC	DIST

They ran to the doors and tried to open the doors and jumped onto the ground.

ND007_ 459

brŭk-brăk	brŭk-brăk	madjǒ	turǒng	năn
(sounds)	(sounds)	PRE-right	stake	DIST

Snap-crack. Snap-crack. Their backs broke on the pointed stakes.

ND007_ 460

ajih
all
All of them died.

ND007_ 461

Leh	ajih	năn,	ɓuh	lǒ	mâo	lǒ	dưi,
finish	all	then	NEG	again	have	again	win

ɓuh	dưi	karuh	ôh.
NEG1	win	ask/request	NEG2

After all of them had died, no one came to ask for (debt) payment from Dông-kɪje anymore.

ND007_ 462

dưi	leh	Dông-krje.
win	PFV	PN

Finally, Dông-krje won.

APPENDIX C

ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person singular
1INCL	First people plural inclusive
1EXCL	First people plural exclusive
2	Second person singular
3	Third person singular

ADV	Adverb
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distal
EXC	Exclamation
EMPH	Emphatic
FAR.DIST	Far distal
FOC	Focus
IMP	Imperative

LOC	Locative
MIR	Mirative
NEG	Negation
NMZ	Nominalization
OBL	Oblique
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PN	Proper name
PRE	Prefix
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximate/Proximal
PTCL	Particle
QP	Question particle
REC	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
REDUP	Reduplication
TOP	Topic
VOC	Vocative

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