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THEMATIC GROUPINGS IN MAGPIE MIAO NARRATIVE

by

Won Ho Kim
Bachelor of Arts, Harvard University, 1997

A Thesis
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This thesis, submitted by Won Ho Kim in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

Chair

This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADD	additive
CLF	classifier
CONT	strong continuity
DIST	distal
DM	development marker
IPFV	imperfective
MSR	measure word
NEG	negative
PFV	perfective
POSS	possessive
PROX	proximal
TOP	topicalizer

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ABSTRACT

Magpie Miao is a Hmong-Mien language spoken in Guizhou Province of southwest China. This thesis presents a description of three particles (*jik*, *nid*, and *dik*) and participant reference, which are both useful for understanding boundaries between and climaxes within thematic groupings. The primary data source for this thesis consists of five oral narratives, one of which is included in the appendix.

The three particles function as both aspectual markers and connectives. They function as the former when they occur at the end of a clause and as the latter when they occur at or near the beginning of a clause. *Nid* marks imperfective aspect, while *dik* and *jik* mark perfective aspect. As a connective, *nid* indicates a significant degree of continuity between the added proposition and the previous one: either the propositional content is similar or there is a special reason to emphasize subject continuity. *Dik* is used to indicate a new development or step in the narrative; thus, it implies a degree of discontinuity. *Jik* is the default connective when neither of the other two apply.

Participant reference of one text is examined in detail. Referents in that text may be encoded as zero, pronouns, or noun phrases. The default encodings of referents in various contexts are presented, and then deviations from those defaults are discussed. In that text, greater-than-default encoding occurs after discontinuities and before climactic material; less-than-default encoding occurs when there is a local VIP. Another text, however, uses a different VIP strategy: pronoun encoding is the default for the VIP, regardless of the context.

Finally, thematic groupings are discussed. Various kinds of discontinuities—time, place, action, and participant—are examined. Boundaries for major and minor thematic groupings are explained, as well as the climaxes within these groupings. Both the connectives and participant

reference are helpful in understanding the boundaries as well as the climaxes. Also important to both is the reporting of speech.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to discover objective features that correlate with boundaries between thematic groupings in Magpie Miao discourse. Just as sentences are not simply strings of words, but rather consist of groupings of constituents, so too narratives are not simply strings of sentences, but assortments of groupings of sentences. Storytellers naturally group their narratives into smaller, more manageable chunks of material, which aids in the process not only of telling the story, but also of comprehending the story for the listener.

One purpose of this thesis, then, is to determine boundaries between thematic groupings in Magpie Miao, both major and minor groupings. An additional purpose of this thesis is to describe discourse features of Magpie Miao, a language which has received little documentation.

1.1 The Magpie Miao language and people

Magpie Miao is an SVO Hmong-Mien language. It belongs to the Chuanqiandian cluster, which spans western Guizhou, western Guangxi, southern Sichuan, and Yunnan in China (Lewis 2009). According to Adam Lund (personal communication), Magpie Miao “can be classified as a dialect of Flowery Miao (or Hua Miao) that is related to the standard Western Miao dialect found in Bijie Municipality.” The Magpie Miao people are also known as Six Village Miao, so named because they live in six villages on a mountain bordering Bijie Municipality in Guizhou Province of southwest China. According to Lund (personal communication), the villages are located in Xinglong and Babao townships in Dafang county. The names of the six villages are as follows:

Agongzhai, Qingshanzhai, Zhongzhai, Zekuazhai, Huajiangzhai, and Xinkaitianzhai. Tapp (2002:81), though primarily concerned with anthropology, considers the Magpie Miao dialect to be closely related to Green Hmong of Southeast Asia. According to Ruey (1960:144), the Magpie Miao numbered 10,000—the last published estimate of the population.

A brief note about the Chuanqiandian Miao writing system for the reader's general understanding: the eight tones are represented by means of a final consonant at the end of each syllable.

1.2 Previous linguistic work on Magpie Miao

There has been no recent linguistic work done on Magpie Miao. The most recent work specifically including Magpie Miao is an anthropological one: Tapp (2002) examines the relationship of various Hmong groups of southern China to one another, as well as to the Han Chinese. There are several others before him who also were concerned primarily with anthropology: Ruey (1958, 1960, 1962, and 1967), Ruey and Khan (1962), and Mark (1967) study the origins and culture of the Magpie Miao. In so doing, they, especially Ruey and Khan (1962), include some Magpie Miao terminology in their studies, but their focus is clearly anthropological, not linguistic.

Xiong and Cohen (2005) have written a grammar sketch on a similar dialect of Hmong in the Chuangqiandian cluster. Some of their findings are used in this thesis.

1.3 Data

The primary data source for this study consists of five texts out of 70 collected by linguist Adam Lund in the Agongzhai village. These texts are in pre-publication state and are intended for widespread distribution. I never met the storytellers or interacted with any of them. The five texts were chosen for this analysis because they were the only ones which had free translations

available in English. The stories, which are all folktales, were told by several different male storytellers. Texts 7, 17, and 27 were all provided by the same speaker: a male in his mid-thirties, from my estimation of a photograph. None of the storytellers edited the stories after they were recorded.

The morpheme glosses were done in English by Lund and in Mandarin Chinese by a Miao colleague. Some morphemes in the texts lack English glosses but have Mandarin glosses. For these morphemes, I have supplied English glosses, which are indicated by a dagger (†) at the end of the gloss (e.g. ‘hunt[†]’). Certain morpheme glosses are bracketed, which Lund did to indicate a morpheme’s function. For some of the morphemes, I have supplied a gloss based on my own analysis. To indicate that these are my hypotheses, I tag such glosses with a double dagger (‡). Finally, where the meaning of the morpheme is unknown, I simply write a question mark (?). The appendix includes the unedited version of Text 27, including original glosses and free translation.

The free translations in this thesis were written by Lund. I have edited some of them for minor spelling or typographical errors. In the free translations, Lund also included notes for some of the sentences. In the body of the thesis, these annotations have been removed. The annotations for Text 27 are shown in the appendix.

References to sentences are done in the following manner. The first number indicates the text number according to Lund’s titles; the second number indicates the sentence number, following the sentence divisions made by Lund and his Miao colleague. So a reference like 27:9 would indicate text #27, sentence #9.

1.4 Overview of thesis

Throughout this thesis, I rely heavily on the analytical framework detailed by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2008). This framework does not rigidly apply a particular

theory but instead provides a methodology that addresses issues that field linguists commonly encounter. They follow a functional and cognitive approach which attempts to approximate the production and comprehension of actual discourse. Dooley (1989:1) defines this approach to discourse as “an attempt to discover and describe what linguistic structures are used for: the functions they serve, the factors that condition their use.”

Levinsohn outlines several key concepts in his framework. First is the principle that choice implies meaning. For example, Levinsohn (2008:3) writes that “if the language can report a particular sort of speech either directly or indirectly and there is no grammatical reason for the variation, it is the job of text-analysis to discover the significance of selecting the one form of reporting over against the other.” Another key concept is the distinction between semantic meaning and pragmatic effects. Semantics is concerned with the question, “What does expression X mean?” while pragmatics is concerned with the question, “What does the speaker mean by X?” A final key concept is that of markedness. Levinsohn (2008:4) claims that “when a marked form is used, the meaning associated with the form is conveyed.” It is not necessarily true, however, that when the marked form is not used, the opposite meaning of the marked form is conveyed. Rather, it may be the case that nothing is conveyed with the lack of the marked form.

Chapter 2 focuses on three common particles in Magpie Miao—*nid*, *dik*, and *jik*—and their role in Magpie Miao discourse. Their role as aspect markers is first discussed in order to distinguish this use from their discourse use. Next, their aspect-marking function is examined with reference to tail-head linkage. Then, I discuss their role as non-subordinating connectives linking information of equal importance.

Chapter 3 on participant reference looks closely at the way that subjects are encoded in Text 27. Default encoding values are presented, and deviations from the norm—both more and less encoding than usual—are discussed. Reference is made to spacing out narratives before climaxes

and indicating a discontinuity or a boundary for a new thematic grouping. In addition, VIP strategies are discussed with reference to Text 27 and Text 38.

In chapter 4, I reach the goal of this study: to determine objective criteria by which thematic groupings can be determined. Some of these criteria include findings from chapters 2 and 3. In this chapter, several kinds of discontinuities in narrative are first examined. Second, the role of conversation in determining thematic groupings is examined. Climaxes within groupings are then discussed. Finally, thematic boundaries within Text 27 are presented and justified.

In chapter 5, I provide a brief summary of my findings and make a few final comments regarding the nature of this investigation and areas of further research.

The appendix includes an unedited transcription of Text 27.

CHAPTER 2

THE PARTICLES *NID*, *DIK*, AND *JIK*

2.1 Rationale

In *Magpie Miao*, three particles occur frequently in narrative: *nid*, *dik*, and *jik*. They all occur at or near the beginning of a sentence, in the middle of a sentence joining clauses together, and occasionally at the end of a sentence. Because of the different positions that these particles can occupy, the question of when these particles truly function as discourse markers needs to be answered.

This chapter deals with all of the major functions of these particles. Attention is given to distinguishing the aspectual functions from the discourse functions. The latter is the focus of this chapter and helps us move toward the goal of this thesis: to identify the ways that thematic groupings are presented and packaged.

2.2 Overview of the particles

The particles *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* have two functions depending on their position. When they occur at the end of a clause, they usually function as aspect markers. *Dik* and *jik* both indicate perfective aspect, while *nid* indicates imperfective aspect.

When the particles occur at or near the beginning of a clause, they serve as non-subordinating connectives, which link a linguistic or discourse unit to its context and give instructions as to how to relate it to that context. *Nid* is used to indicate strong continuity between the added sentence and the previous one. *Dik* is a development marker (DM) and is used to

“indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:93). *Jik* is the default connective used when neither of the other two apply.

2.3 Aspect marking functions

In order to understand how the particles function as discourse markers, it is helpful first to understand when and how they function as aspect markers. As aspect markers, the particles almost always occur at the end of a clause within a larger sentence. Occasionally, they occur at the end of a sentence-ending clause. *Jik* and *dik* both mark perfective aspect, while *nid* marks imperfective aspect.

2.3.1 *Nid marking imperfective aspect*

Bybee et al. (1994:317) define imperfective aspect in this way: “the situation is viewed as unbounded in the sense that it is habitual, continuous, progressive, or iterative.” Whaley (1997:210-11) writes that when the imperfective is used, the event is “not cast as being bounded” so that “the event is taken to be a process.” In general, the imperfective in Magpie Miao conforms to these descriptions; in particular, it encompasses both continuous and habitual actions, as illustrated in the next two sections.

2.3.1.1 *Nid signals continuous action*

The following example shows that *nid* signals continuous action.

(1) 27:31

[At manf dod xangb caik dil mol suak , dod mol ib suak **nid**],
then then stretch[†] CLF hand go touch then go one touch **IPFV**[‡]

nil id dod nongl as youk id trot hlaot dod cuix cuib , dong , dong ,
3S DIST[‡] the brother small one DIST[‡] take out[†] the hammer[†]

dong land caik dil dout .
in this way[†] CLF hand give

‘[Then (the tiger) stuck his hand in and was feeling around], and the little brother pulled out the hammer, bam, bam, bam, whacking his hand.’

In the first clause of (1), the tiger sticks his hand into the cave where the brother is hiding (the cave is apparently very small). As he is feeling around in the cave, the brother whacks the tiger’s hand with a hammer. What signals the ongoing nature of the tiger’s action is *nid*, which occurs at the end of the first clause. About half of the 34 occurrences of *nid* in the texts function in a manner similar to this example.

2.3.1.2 *Nid signals habitual action*

Nid marks imperfective aspect to signal habitual action, as the following example shows:

(2) 38:3

[Nil at manf muab dod nik nangl gait hout lob nik yinb hof
3S then pick up the[†] little rat shut in in CLF little cigarette case[†]

nid], nil at manf **zed** jaox mol gangd cangx .
IPFV[‡] 3S then **always**[†] take[†] go go to market

‘[He put a small rat inside of a tobacco box], then **regularly** went to the market.’

This example depicts a habitual action of going to the market. Included in this action is the act of putting a rat in a box, which is indicated as habitual by *nid*. The habituality of going to the market is indicated by *zed* ‘always’, but not by any overt aspectual particle. This, then, also indicates that *nid* has a subordinating function: its meaning would suggest that it could occur in the main clause as well, but it only appears in the subordinate clause.

2.3.2 *Dik and jik marking perfective aspect*

Bybee et al. (1994:317) provide the following definition for perfective aspect: “the situation is viewed as bounded temporally. It cannot be simultaneous with the moment of speech; in the non-past it is sometimes interpreted as the future.” Comrie (1987:4) distinguishes the perfective from the imperfective by noting that “the perfective looks at the situation from the outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation.” The perfective “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole” (Comrie 1987:14). Both *dik* and *jik* mark perfective aspect, with no obvious difference between them.

The following example shows that *jik* can signal perfective aspect:

(3) 7:13

[At manf jaox mol , kaix dout lob al boul reb uak blanb nyongd hlol
then take[†] go scoop obtain CLF ? stone those[†] innerds come

jik], [at manf mual dout dail nyax dail gob dix **jik**], at manf
PFV[‡] then buy obtain bowl gold[†] bowl silver[†] some **PFV**[‡] then

bad jat dangl .
put out [completed] finish

‘[He then returned and scooped some of the rock’s innards], [then went back home and sold it for some gold and silver bowls], then went home set them all out on display.’

Jik occurs at the end of the first and second clauses, each of which describes a step in a process. Each step is viewed as a complete whole, which is consistent with the analysis that *jik* marks perfective aspect. This is the most common use of *jik* in the texts, occurring about 70 times total.

Dik also marks perfective aspect, as the following example illustrates:

(4a) 17:4

Xangf and nyaob nzib mit jik al suad as sab it rongt jik [douk daik dail
then[†] not long[†] PFV[‡] Han heart NEG good[†] PFV[‡] just[†] start a fire

hlaid **dik**], [muab hlaid **dik**],
burn[†] PFV[‡] pick up burn[†] PFV[‡]

‘Not long after, the Han had a bad heart [and set a fire], [burning (the mountain)].’

(4b) 17:5

[As mongb jik ib haf muab pid laif], ad senf lob joub joub
Miao POSS[‡] whole[†] pick up burn[†] end[†] only[†] remain[†] CLF mound

id jat nangs , sanf and al suad jik al boul reb al daif nyaob ,
DIST[‡] [completed] ? then[†] Han POSS[‡] ? stone still at

sanf and as manb jik hlout ib haf muab pid laif .
then[†] Yi PFV[‡] metal whole[†] pick up burn[†] end[†]

‘[Everything the Miao had was burned], leaving only the mound. The rocks of the Han still remained, and all of the (iron) of the Yi was burned.’

In (4a), the first bracketed clause *douk daik dail hlaid* ‘set a fire’ is the cause for the result described in the next clause. That clause in turn is the cause for the first clause of (4b). In other words, the two bracketed clauses in (4a) are like steps in a chain reaction, and each step is viewed as a complete whole. It is *dik* that indicates the perfective in each case. About half of the 64 occurrences of *dik* in the texts function in a manner similar to this one.

2.3.3 *The difference between nid and jik*

Interestingly, the difference between *nid* and *jik* can be seen in an apparent mistake that the speaker makes in one of the stories, as seen below.

(5a) 27:1

As touk id , bib lens muas nongl , xangf and , kaik dod muaf
some time ago three CLF brothers.sisters then[†] let the little sister

id **nid** , dod muaf id **jik** ghuat dout dos as zot
DIST[‡] **IPFV**[‡] the little sister DIST[‡] **PFV**[‡] marry[†] give CLF tiger

‘Once there were three siblings. They let their young sister marry a tiger.’

Notice that *dod muaf id* ‘that little sister’, the direct object of *kaik* ‘let’, is repeated. Perhaps the direct object is repeated because the speaker wants to amend his choice for the aspect at the end of the clause from *nid* ‘IPFV’ to *jik* ‘PFV’. The change is made because *nid* would imply continuous action. The translation could be rendered something like, “They were allowing their young sister to marry a tiger.” The free translation, however, would not be consistent with such an implication. The next sentence in the narrative is also not consistent with such an implication, since it assumes that the marriage has already taken place: ‘Later, her older brother went to visit her. The tiger wanted to eat him’ (27:2).

The right choice here is *jik*. Permission is granted before the marriage takes place, as implied by the free translation. It is *jik*, not *nid*, which would provide this interpretation.

2.4 Discourse marking functions

In the previous section, the aspectual use of the particles was considered for the sake of understanding how they function as discourse markers. In this section, the discourse functions of each particle are presented. The first discourse function is marking the aspect of the head in tail-head linkage. The next function is that of non-subordinating connective.

2.4.1 Tail-head linkage

As aspect markers, the particles are important in tail-head linkage. Tail-head linkage involves “the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the ‘head’) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the ‘tail’)” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:16). In

instances of tail-head linkage, the aspect of the head often determines the purpose of the linkage.

Perfective heads (e.g. those with *dik* and *jik*) are used in oral narratives to associate distinct events in sequence. Imperfective heads (e.g. those with *nid*) are used for overlapping events. Levinsohn (2008:49) notes that such heads are often followed by a significant development.

2.4.1.1 *Nid in tail-head linkage*

There are two instances of *nid* marking the aspect of the head in tail-head linkage. Both occur in Text 38. One example is shown below:

(6a) 38:31.1

Maot id dik nil nbaos at manf zaid dout hlol dik , [nil nbaos at manf
night[†] DIST[‡] DM[‡] 3P then pack obtain come DM[‡] 3P then
dod mol ib but] .
then go one sleep

‘That night, as soon as they returned from hauling (their goods), [they went to sleep.]’

(6b) 38:31.2

[Ib but **nid**] , but zos ib dangs maot dik , Il rangb at manf said
one sleep IPFV[‡] sleep arrive midnight[†] DM[‡] Il Rangb then get up[†]
hlol muab il rangb dod ndid aob drongx ndouk duas , dik , il rangb
come pick up Il Rangb the[†] dog two chair hit die DM[‡] Il Rangb
at manf muab hlaot nzed cuaf hlaot dout ail .
then pick up ? salt[†] smear ? obtain [aspect]

‘[While (they were) sleeping], Il Rangb got up in the middle of the night, grabbed his dog and killed it instantly by hitting it with a chair, then smeared salt on (it).’

The tail at the end of (6a) (bracketed) includes the verb *but* ‘sleep’. The head at the beginning of (6b) (bracketed) also includes the verb *but* ‘sleep’ and ends with *nid*, which marks the aspect of the head as imperfective. This indicates that the action of sleeping is ongoing when the next event takes place. Imperfective heads function like this throughout the texts: they indicate overlap between two events.

Levinsohn (2008:49, emphasis original) writes that events that follow imperfective heads “are often followed by the description of a SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT.” This description is confirmed by this example, where the imperfective head is followed by a description of Il Rangb’s trick in making it appear as though his dog was eaten by horses when in reality, he had killed it himself. In the context of this story, this event is a significant development, since the success of this trick allows Il Rangb to go home with a horse as compensation for his dead dog, one of a series of trades that eventually gains him a wife.

2.4.1.2 *Dik and jik in tail-head linkage*

Perfective heads are used in the texts to associate events together in sequence, which tends to happen in oral narratives, according to Levinsohn (2008:49). An example is shown below:

(7) 38:75

“Nongb at dik at njit houd daox jik [at mol nzol ndongt], [at mol
today DM[‡] will climb mountain PFV[‡] will go chop wood will go
nzol ndongt **jik**], at uat zed .”
chop wood **PFV[‡]** will do house

“Today I will go up the mountain and [chop some timber]. [After I chop my timber], I will build a house.”

In (7), there is an example of tail-head linkage (in brackets) within direct speech. In this case, the linkage functions simply to conjoin the actions of chopping timber and building a house.

Therefore, *jik* is used. Notice that the events of chopping wood and building a house do not overlap. Instead, they are discrete events which occur in sequence.

An example of perfective heads involving *dik* is shown below.

(8a) 27:8

ib git baod jik ib git mol , xangf and , baod dout
at the same time[†] launch ADD[‡] at the same time[†] go then[†] launch obtain

ib dos adjik , dod as zot dod at yaik at juas adjik dod kaik ,
one CLF if[‡] the tiger then will pursue will reach[†] if[‡] then pick up

[nid at manf draod mol zos zed].

CONT[‡] then return go arrive house

‘As he ran he dropped (the chopsticks and spoons). If he dropped one, if the tiger was about to get him, (the tiger) picked it up [and took it back home].’

(8b) 27:9

[Xangf and , mol zos zed laif **dik**] dod yaik draod ghangb duax ,
then[†] go arrive house end[†] PFV[‡] then pursue return[†] from

baod mol baod duax jik draif ad das .

launch go launch from ADD[‡] busy[†]

‘[Then after getting home] he went out again to chase (the brother). Dropping here and dropping there, sure kept busy.’

The tail at the end of (8a) (bracketed) is repeated in the head of (8b) (also bracketed). The head is marked perfective by *dik*, which serves to associate the tiger’s actions of going home and then going out again to chase the brother. Again, these two events do not overlap, but occur in sequence.

2.4.2 *Non-subordinating connectives*

When the particles occur either at or near the beginning of a clause, they function not as aspect markers but as non-subordinating connectives. In this case, the particles associate information of equal importance. Levinsohn (2008:87, emphasis original) provides the following translated and modified definition for a connective, which is taken originally from Reboul and Moschler (1998:77):

A connective is a linguistic marker, drawn from a number of grammatical categories (co-ordinating conjunctions [e.g. but], subordinating conjunctions [since], adverbs [thus], adverbial expressions [after all]), which:

- a) links a linguistic or discourse unit of any **size** to its context
- b) gives instructions as to **how** to relate this unit to its context
- c) constrains conclusions to be drawn on the basis of this discourse connection **that might not have been drawn had it been absent.**

Jik is the default connective and links propositions together. Specifically, the added information elaborates on the previous proposition. Unlike *dik*, *jik* does not indicate a new development. And unlike *nid*, *jik* is used when there is no special reason to emphasize continuity (as defined below). Therefore, with respect to continuity, *jik* indicates moderate continuity.

Dik is a development marker (DM). DM's are used to "constrain the reader to move on to the next point...they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author's purpose is concerned" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:93). An event or speech qualifies as a new development if it significantly advances the plotline. New developments typically involve a change in the setting, subject, or a change to or from background information (Levinsohn 200:72). As a DM, *dik* implies the least degree of continuity.

On the other hand, *nid* is used to indicate a high degree of continuity between the added sentence and the previous one, either because of parallels between the added sentence and the previous one, or because of a special reason to emphasize subject continuity. Now, it is also the case that the subject can remain the same when *jik* is used. But *nid* is used when there is a special reason to emphasize subject continuity, such as when multiple participants from the previous sentence—and not simply one, as in the case of *jik*—appear in the next one. In addition, *nid*

occurs instead of *jik* to counter the expectation that the subject will change or to disambiguate the subject. Therefore, of the three particles, *nid* indicates the greatest degree of continuity.

The following table summarizes the features of the connectives:

Table 1: The connectives

	<i>Nid</i>	<i>Dik</i>	<i>Jik</i>
Function	indicate strong continuity	mark new development	link propositions together
Degree of continuity	most	least	moderate

The default position for the particles when they function as connectives is either at the beginning of a clause or immediately after some other constituent, such as a sentence introducer or a point of departure. A point of departure is defined as a fronted element with two functions: it “establishes a starting point for communication” (Levinsohn 2008:42) and “cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:68). Typical points of departure in the data examined for this thesis include referential points of departure (e.g. nominal constituents which are usually the subject) and temporal ones.

2.4.2.1 *Jik as a non-subordinating connective*

Jik adds the sentence or clause to the preceding one so that they are linked together, as shown below:

(9a) 27:37

Hangb danf sif nid , nil al daif mol yof as nens laif yib houf ail , nil
but[†] but CONT[‡] 3S still go invite[†] person end[†] after[†] [aspect] 3S

ad nzib dik haik dak “ndaik yod nik qet ad jik at duax
PROX[‡] trick[†] PFV[‡] say over there[†] ? place[†] PROX[‡] PFV[‡] will from

yuad daol zes .”

here wait ?

‘Well, uh, he went to get someone, uuuh, he just tricked his brother-in-law, saying: “Wait for me here.”’

(9b) 27:38

Jik douf sik at yof duax ad nid , douf sik at muab nil dof
ADD[‡] is will invite[†] from PROX[‡] IPFV[‡] is will pick up 3S bite

dout ndaik yuad nangs .

obtain here[†] ?

‘If (he) could get the others to come, then they could (get him/eat him) there.’

The second half of line (9a) describes the tiger’s speech to the brother. Line (9b) elaborates on the direct speech by describing the rationale behind the tiger’s speech. In this example, *jik* groups these propositions together and indicates that the added material elaborates on the previous sentence.

Similarly, in the following example, *jik* links two propositions, the second of which provides further elaboration on the first:

(10a) 27:22

Xangf and dod nongl at manf traik ib drangb dras , jaox ib dos
then[†] the brother[†] then take[†] one CLF[†] knife[†] take[†] one CLF

cuix cuib , jaox mol jik , [dod muaf lal ncait haik dak dod as zot hlol
hammer[†] take[†] go PFV[‡] the little sister also[†] fear[†] say the tiger come

jik ncait pand drous dod nongl ad haos] .
PFV[‡] fear[†] wound[†] [accomplish] the brother[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘Then the brother took a knife and a hammer and went. [The sister was still afraid that the tiger would return and harm her brother].’

(10b) 27:23

Jik dod muaf at manf haik dak : “ nik nongl gaox at
ADD[‡] the[†] little sister then say younger brother[†] 2S will

zuf yif mit les , nyaob nzik mit pand drous gaox les .
pay attention[†] for a while[†] ? afraid wound[†] [accomplish] 2S ?

‘Then the sister said: “Little brother, you need to be careful. (I’m) afraid (he) will hurt you.’

The second clause of (10a) describes the sister’s fear. Line (10b) describes the sister’s expression of that fear to her brother. Because line (10b) provides further elaboration of the second clause of (10a), *jik* is used at the beginning of (10a).

When *jik* occurs after a point of departure, it still links a proposition with the one before it.

An example is shown below:

(11) 17:3

[Bib lens gut zix hlol faib juab faib xis nid], [xangf and
three CLF brothers[†] come divide[†] home[†] divide[†] family[†] IPFV[‡] then[†]

as mongb **jik** , ad mol uat ib lob nas joub joub dout puat sout lob
Miao **ADD**[‡] only[†] go do one CLF big mound at farther on CLF

as nzik daox], xangf and as manb douf sik yaos jaos gongt dongt ,
mountain peak then[†] Yi then COP COP[†] plant tree[†]

xangf and al suad nid , douf sik yaos jaos reb .
then[†] Han CONT[‡] then COP COP[†] plant stone[†]

‘[The three brothers went their own ways], [and the Miao went and made a large mound
on the top of the mountain]. The Yi planted trees, and the Han planted stones.’

In this example, *jik* occurs after the referential point of departure *as mongb* ‘Miao’. Unlike the previous two examples, this example has a change of subject, which is common when there is a referential point of departure. *Jik* still links propositions together by adding further elaboration to the previous clause, in this case providing specific detail about the general proposition in the previous clause.

2.4.2.2 *Dik as a non-subordinating connective*

Dik is a development marker (DM). One clue that *dik* is a DM is that in ten out of the eleven instances when *dik* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, there is a switch of participants from the preceding sentence. (The one time when there is not a clear switch of participants occurs where no free translation is available.) Two examples are shown below:

(12a) 27:26.2

Nyaob jik **as zot** hlol zos juas , as zot douk haik : “ nongb ad jik ,
sit PFV[‡] **tiger** come arrive reach[†] tiger just[†] say today[†] ADD[‡]
zut as nens ncab at les , qib mab ncait gaox id nongl dod duax
aroma person strong smell PROX[‡] ? at least[†] fear[†] your[†] brother[†] then from
les .”
?

‘After (brother) hid, the **tiger** came back and said: “Today, smells like man. I’m afraid your brother must have come again.”’

(12b) 27:27

Dik dod **muaf** douk haik : “ it yaos .”
DM[‡] the[†] **little sister** just[†] say NEG COP[†]
‘**Then** the **sister** said: “No.”’

(12c) 27:28.1

Dik dod **as zot** douk renf weix douk it senf loud .
DM[‡] the[†] **tiger** just[†] think[†] just[†] NEG believe[†] ?
‘**But** the **tiger** did not believe (her).’

(12d) 27:28.2

Dod **as zot** haik dak : “ yaos hlaos .”
the[†] **tiger** say yes[†]
‘The **tiger** said: “Certainly.”’

In (12a), the subject is *as zot* ‘tiger’. In (12b), the subject is *muaf* ‘sister’, resulting in a switch of participant. In (12c), the participant switches back to the tiger. Notice that in (12d), when the subject remains the same as the preceding clause, *dik* is not used.

More importantly, each of the sentences where *dik* occurs is a new step forward in the narrative. Line (12b) is the first time in the narrative that the sister directly deceives the tiger. Lines (12c and d) are the first time that the tiger openly disagrees with his wife. In each of the other instances where *dik* occurs as a non-subordinating connective, a new development in the narrative occurs.

Dik also occurs after a point of departure six times in the texts (all in Text 38). In five of those instances, there is a switch of participant from the preceding sentence, which provides further support for the notion that *dik* serves as a DM. An example is shown below:

(13a) 38:12.1

“Kaik dod il mid ad boux gaox nangs .”
 use the[†] cat[†] PROX[‡] return 2S ?

“Well, just take the cat in return.”

(13b) 38:13.1

Daof ghangb dik nil at manf dod muab dod il mid dod kit dout ,
afterward DM[‡] 3S then then pick up the[†] cat[†] then tie[†] [progressive]
 muab dod bangd dout hout lob as drub , dod muab lob gaif suad dod
 pick up the[†] tie at in CLF cage then pick up CLF basket then
 khaib dout sout id drik
 tie[†] at on DIST[‡] carry on the back

‘**Then** he took the cat, tied it up (leashed it), put it in a cage, and tied the cage on his carrying basket and carried it off.’

In (13a), the last turn in a debate takes place between Il Rangb and sellers at the market that involves his rat and the possibility of the sellers’ cat eating it. In (13b), he takes their cat and puts it in his basket, beginning the next episode in the narrative, where a similar debate about his cat takes place.

In the one case when there is no switch of participant, there is still a new development, as shown below:

(14a) 38:27.1

Nik kaik uak tab nbax at uat git uat git , nil haik dak
 ? use those[†] and these[†] together together 3S say

‘Using it (the dog) together with them, he said...’¹

¹ Unfinished utterance

(14b) 38:28.1

Maot id dik , nil at manf dod sangd ib dos banf fax .
night[†] DIST[‡] DM[‡] 3S then then think[†] one CLF way

‘**One night** he again thought of a plan (a way).’

Example (14a) ends an episode where Il Rangb uses his dog to sell various items. Beginning in (14b), a new episode begins in which Il Rangb plans to have a horse eat his dog so that he can be compensated for it. The interpretation that this is a new episode is supported by the temporal point of departure, *maot id* ‘one night’, as well as by the presence of *dik*, which occurs after it and sets it apart from the rest of the sentence.

2.4.2.3 *The difference between jik and dik*

The difference between *jik* and *dik* can be illustrated with two examples of direct speech. In the following example, *jik* is used prior to the introduction of direct speech:

(15a) 27:19

Dod nongl youk ad at manf haik dak : “jif ranx haik dak dod voud
the[†] brother[†] small PROX[‡] then say since say the[†] husband[†]
ad douk muax zof lif haif louk yib houf jik dout god mol
PROX[‡] all[†] exist like this[†] fearfulness[†] ? after[†] ADD[‡] obtain 1S go
rongx nil ib muas haik aid .”
look 3S quick look[†] once[†]

‘Then the little brother said: “Since this husband is so fierce, let me go and have a go at him.”’

(15b) 27:20

Jik dod as hlob dak haik dak : “gaox jat mol aos , dod zot jik as sab
ADD[‡] the[†] older just[†] say 2S NEG[†] go ah the[†] tiger POSS[‡] heart
jik nyangd zangb das ndob zangb das aos .”
POSS[‡] weight[†] very [emphatic] black very [emphatic] ah

‘Then the older brother said: “Oh don’t go. That tiger’s heart is very hard, it’s very black.”’

In general, *jik* adds elaborating material. In this case, the older brother's direct speech in (15b) elaborates on the younger brother's speech in (15a) by confirming how 'hard' and 'black' the tiger's heart is. But the fact that *jik* is used at the beginning of (15b) indicates that there is no new development there. After this point in the narrative, the older brother is not mentioned again and does not affect the outcome of the story.

In the following example, however, where *dik* introduces the sister's direct speech, a new development is indicated.

(16a) 27:26.2

Nyaob *jik* as zot hlol zos juas , as zot douk haik : “nongb ad *jik* ,
 sit PFV[†] tiger come arrive reach[†] tiger just[†] say today[†] ADD[†]
 zut as nens ncab at les , qib mab ncait gaox id nongl dod duax
 aroma person strong smell PROX[†] ? at least[†] fear[†] your[†] brother[†] then from
 les .”
 ?

‘After (brother) hid, the tiger came back and said: “Today, smells like man. I’m afraid your brother must have come again.”’

(16b) 27:27.1

Dik dod muaf douk haik : “it yaos .”
DM[†] the[†] little sister just[†] say NEG COP[†]

‘**Then** the sister said: “No.”’

In contrast to example (15b), example (16b) is not grouped together with the previous sentence, even though the sister replies directly to the tiger. Instead, as was discussed in (12) above, example (16b) is a new development in the narrative, since this is the first time that the sister openly lies to the tiger about her brother. More importantly, in contrast to the older brother in (15), the sister remains actively involved in opposing the tiger throughout the rest of the story. Therefore, because (16b) significantly advances the plotline of the narrative, *dik* is used.

Another pair of examples illustrates the difference between *jik* and *dik*:

(17a) 27:34.1

Hlol *jik* at manf ndros dod muaf haik *jik* haik dak : “haob , jif ranx
come PFV[‡] then with the[†] little sister say PFV[‡] say okay[†] since

haik dak mit yeuf ndangb douk muax zongf uak bend sif and
say small uncle just[†] exist like this those[†] skill [interjection]

yib houf , nyaox gis nid , god at xik nil mol laid nghaix .
after[†] tomorrow CONT[‡] 1S will take 3S go hunt[†]

‘Then (he) went home and said to his wife: “OK, since your brother is so great/skilled, tomorrow I’ll take him hunting.’

(17b) 27:34.2

Nil uak bend sif ad *jik* , kod yus dout doul uak ad naox as hlaos ,
3S those[†] skill PROX[‡] PFV[‡] can[†] obtain end[†] these[†] eat ? ?

xik nil mol laid nghaix .”
take 3S go hunt[†]

‘With his skill, he’s certain to get something. I’ll take him hunting.’”

(17c) 27:35.1

Xangf and ***jik*** , at manf dif ert daik gil ***jik*** at manf xik mol nas mal .
then[†] **ADD[‡]** then 2nd morning **ADD[‡]** then take go ?

‘So the next day he took him hunting.’

In (17c), *jik* occurs after the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’ and after the temporal point of departure, *dif ert daik gil* ‘next morning’. Because *jik* is used after the temporal point of departure, a new development is not signaled. Notice that there is no change of participant (the tiger is the subject of both (17b and c)) and that there is shared semantic content between the direct speech in (17b) and the subsequent action in (17c) .

Compare this to the next example, where the time gap is still relatively small (perhaps even smaller), but the discontinuity in (18d) is greater than in the previous example:

(18a) 38:29.4

“Bib daif toux nenl dof drous ad dik douk kaik daif toux nenl boux
1P leader horse bite [accomplish] if just[†] use leader horse return

gaox nangs ad .”

2S ? PROX[‡]

“‘If our head horse kills your dog then take the horse in return.’”

(18b) 38:30.1

Nil haik “yaos .

3S say COP[†]

‘He said: “OK.’

(18c) 38:30.2

Ad yuad haik land .”

only[†] only if[†] say in this way[†]

‘If that’s what you say.’”

(18d) 38:31.1

Maot id **dik** nil nbaos at manf zaid dout hlol dik , nil nbaos at manf
night[†] DIST[‡] **DM**[‡] 3P then pack obtain come **DM**[‡] 3P then

dod mol ib but .

then go one sleep

‘That night, as soon as they returned from hauling (their goods), they went to sleep.’

The DM *dik* occurs in (18d) after the temporal point of departure *maot id* ‘that evening’. The reason that *dik* is used is that line (18d) represents a new development in the narrative, as this event contributes significantly to the advancement of the plotline. The new development can also be identified by the change of subject from Il Rangb in (18b and c) to the merchants in (18d). In addition, there is greater discontinuity in terms of semantic content between the event described in (18d) and the speech in (18a-c), which concerns a possible trade.

2.4.2.4 *Nid as a non-subordinating connective*

Nid serves the same basic purpose as *jik*: to link two propositions together. But *nid* occurs instead of *jik* when there is a special reason to emphasize strong continuity. Such reasons include indicating that multiple participants remain the same, countering the expectation that the subject has changed, disambiguating the subject, or indicating significant parallels between the added sentence and the previous one. When *jik* is used, there may also be some continuity between the added material and the previous sentence, but the degree of continuity is not as high as with *nid*: either the parallelism is not as strong, or there is no special reason to indicate that the subject is the same. In short, *nid* is used to when there is a special reason to emphasize strong continuity.

The next three examples illustrate special reasons to emphasize subject continuity. In the following example, where *nid* occurs after the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’, there are multiple participants which remain the same between the added sentence and the previous one:

(19a) 7:1

As touk id , **ndrous nzuas** yaos dos il khuad , **ndrous nbos** yaos dos
 some time ago **orphan** COP[†] CLF pauper[†] **rich man** COP[†] CLF

as nbos .
 rich man

‘**Orphan** was a poor man and **Ndrous Nbos** was a rich man.’

(19b) 7:2

Xangf and **nid** , **ndrous nbos** las muax nas muax zit ,
 then[†] **CONT**[‡] **rich man** family[†] exist mother exist father

ndrous nzuas yaos dos il khuat .
orphan COP[†] CLF pauper[†]

‘Well, **Ndrous Nbos** had a mother and a father, **Orphan** was a poor man.’

The subject of the second clause of (19a) is *ndrous nbos* ‘rich man’, which is also the subject of the first clause of (19b). In addition, *ndrous nzuas* ‘orphan’ also appears as a participant in both sentences. Therefore, the connective *nid* is used after the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’.

In the following example, *nid* is used to counter the expectation that the subject will change:

(20a) 66:12

Nangl naf at manf haik nangl zid : “gaox dob hlob at gaox at
rat mother then say rat father 2S son grow up[†] ah 2S will
 bul gol at sod gaox at ndoux zais doul
 make marriage arrangements ah ignorance[†] 2S will run how much[†] end[†]
 zais zaot ?”
 how much[†] put

‘**Rat Mother** then said to Rat Father: “Your son is grown up, you need to make his marriage arrangements, who knows [how much running around you will need to do]?”’²

(20b) 66:13

Daof ghangb **nid** , **nangl naf** ad nid , dot hlob
 afterward **CONT**[‡] **rat mother** PROX[‡] CONT[‡] raise grow up[†]
 ais , nil at bul cong b nil send il
 [aspect particle] 3S will make marriage arrangements 3S sing[†] [prefix]
 xinl ad nid , nil at mol muab nongb xongb .
 [adverbializer] PROX[‡] CONT[‡] 3S will go pick up seed bamboo

‘Later, as for **Rat Mother**, she raised her son, was making ready his marriage arrangements, continually singing, and prepared (wanted to) to go pick bamboo seed.’

Nangl naf ‘Rat Mother’ is the subject of both sentences. But the expectation created by the direct speech in (20a) is that Rat Father will be the subject of the next sentence, since Rat Mother tells him that he should be the one to make marriage arrangements. To counter this expectation and to

² The translation for bracketed section is uncertain.

indicate that Rat Mother remains the subject of the added sentence, *nid* is used at the beginning of (20a).

There is an instance of *nid* which appears to disambiguate the subject of the added clause:

(21) 27:8

Ib git baod jik ib git mol , xangf and , baod dout
 at the same time[†] launch ADD[‡] at the same time[†] go then[†] launch obtain

ib dos ad jik , dod as zot dod at yaik at juas ad jik dod kaik ,
 one CLF if[‡] the[†] tiger then will pursue will reach[†] if[‡] then pick up

[**nid** at manf draod mol zos zed].

CONT[‡] then return go arrive house

‘As he ran he dropped (the chopsticks and spoons). If he dropped one, if the tiger was about to get him, (the tiger) picked it up [and (the tiger) took it back home].’

In this example, *nid* occurs at the beginning of the last clause (bracketed) and indicates that the subject of the last clause is the same as that of the previous one. The subject of both the second-to-last clause and the last clause is the tiger (zero encoding in both cases). But without *nid*, the subject of the last clause may be misidentified. The first half of (21) describes the brother’s effort to flee from the tiger and get back home. In order to do so, he drops spoons, which the tiger picks up as he chases the brother. As the tiger picks up each spoon, who is it that goes home: the brother or the tiger? *Nid* serves to disambiguate the answer to this question: it must be tiger.

In summary, when *nid* is used as a connective in its default position, not only is the subject is the same as that of the preceding clause, but there is a special reason to indicate that this is the case. This happens in all five instances of *nid* as a connective.

2.4.2.4.1 *Nid* after referential points of departure

Nid also occurs after referential and temporal points of departure. When a referential point of departure is used, the subject of the added sentence is usually different from that of the previous

one. When *nid* occurs after referential points of departure, the added clause as a whole is similar in content to the previous one, so that *nid* can still be said to indicate continuity. This occurs five times in the texts. An example is shown below:

(22) 17:3

Bib lens gut zix hlol faib juab faib xis nid , xangf and
 three CLF brothers[†] come divide[†] home[†] divide[†] family[†] IPFV[‡] then[†]

as mongb jik , ad mol uat ib lob nas joub joub dout puat sout lob
 Miao ADD[‡] only[†] go do one CLF big mound at farther on CLF

as nzik daox , [xangf and as manb **douf sik yaos jaos** gongt dongt] ,
 mountain peak then[†] Yi **then COP COP[†] plant** tree[†]

[xangf and al suad nid , **douf sik yaos jaos** reb] .
 then[†] Han CONT[‡] **then COP COP[†] plant** stone[†]

‘The three brothers went their own ways, and the Miao went and made a large mound on the top of the mountain. [The Yi **planted** trees], [and the Han **planted** stones].’

In the last clause, both *nid* and the pause separate *al suad* ‘Han’ from the rest of the clause, indicating that *al suad* ‘Han’ is a point of departure. Notice that *al suad* ‘Han’, the subject of the new clause, is different from the subject of the previous clause, *as manb* ‘Yi’, but the same language (*douf sik yaos jaos* ‘then plant’) occurs in both clauses. *Nid* is what signals this parallelism of structure.

The following example also shows *nid* after a referential point of departure:

(23a) 66:7

Send il xinl nil uat nenx il xinl nyaob ad
sing[†] [prefix] [adverbializer] 3S livelihood[†] [prefix] [adverbializer] at PROX[‡]

nid , nil ad yos nil dob il youk dik nil **it muax** zaob .
 CONT[‡] 3S only[†] oh[†] 3S son [prefix] small DM[†] 3S **NEG exist** worry

‘She often sang while doing her daily chores. She took care of her young son. She had no worries.’

(23b) 66:8

Nangl zid nid , **lal send il xinl** nangl zid ad
rat father CONT[‡] also[†] sing[†] [prefix] [adverbializer] rat father only[†]

njot nangl zid dob ib lens , led jik nangl zid send
remember[†] rat father son one CLF in that case[†] ADD[‡] rat father sing[†]

il xinl nangl zid **it muax** nongf .
[prefix] [adverbializer] rat father **NEG exist** work[†]

‘As for **Father Rat**, he also continually sang songs about his only son, and about the fact that he [father] had not much to do (not a big burden in life because he only had one son to take care of).’

The subject of (23a) is Rat Mother (zero encoding). *Nangl zid* ‘Rat Father’ is a referential point of departure in (23b) and signals a change in subject. Because there is a change of subject, *nid* in this case indicates that the added proposition in (23b) is similar to the preceding one: both propositions contain the verb phrase *send il xinl* ‘sing songs’ near the beginning, as well as the phrase *it muax* ‘not exist’ near the end. In addition, the additive *lal* ‘also’ occurs after the left-dislocated element in (23b) and indicates some similarity between the two propositions. Finally, both the Rat Father and Rat Mother sing about the fact that they have no worries other than taking care of their son. These parallels motivate the use the *nid* in (23b).

There is one example of *nid* after a referential point of departure that is difficult to explain:

(24a) 38:1

As touk id ... **bad** is sangs nik **il rangb** .
some time ago **tell** one CL little **Il Rangb**

‘Some time ago ...I’**ll tell** a story about young **Il Rangb**.’

(24b) 38:2

Il rangb **nid** , nil sik ib dos nyaob dout xanf zaif ad dik sik ib dos
Il Rangb **CONT[‡]** 3S COP one CLF at at now if COP one CLF

zuanb menx douf sik uat let **haik dak** dos yaok guaif nangs .
especially is as[†] **say** CLF ogre[†] ?

‘If Il Rangb were here now, he is what we would especially **call** an ogre.’

(24c) 38:3

Nil at manf muab dod nik nangl gait hout lob nik yinb hof nid ,
3S then pick up the[†] little rat shut in in CLF little cigarette case[†] IPFV[‡]

nil at manf zed jaox mol gangd cangx .
3S then always[†] take[†] go go to market

‘He put a small rat inside of a tobacco box, then regularly went to the market.’

After the narrator introduces Il Rangb in (24a), Il Rangb appears again as the referential point of departure at the beginning (24b) and is separated from the rest of the sentence by *nid*. In this situation, a similar proposition should be added, but the similarity is not easily discernable. One small similarity is in the verbs *bad* ‘tell’ (24a) and *haik dak* ‘speak’ (24b). Another similarity is the time frame: both (24a) and (24b) are simultaneous with the moment of speaking. (Notice that in (24c), the time frame switches to the narrative setting.) Other than those similarities, however, the two propositions do not parallel each other to the same degree that the other examples do.

Another possible explanation for why *nid* is used here is that multiple participants remain the same. Although the free translation for (24b) indicates that ‘we’ call Il Rangb an ogre, there is actually no overt subject in that line. If a subject of ‘I’ is understood instead of ‘we’, then we have multiple participants that remain the same, in which case this use of *nid* would match its use in (19b).

Perhaps the reason why this example is difficult to explain is that it occurs so close to the beginning of the narrative, where background information is being presented. In this situation, *nid* may function differently from the ways described here.

2.4.2.4.2 Nid after temporal points of departure

When *nid* occurs after a temporal point of departure, as it does in the following example, it still indicates the same forms of continuity discussed above: subject continuity when there is a special reason to emphasize it, and similarity between the added proposition and the previous one.

In the following example, subject continuity is indicated because multiple participants remain the same, as in (19) above:

(25a) 27:1

As touk id , bib lens **muas nongl** , xangf and , kaik dod **muaf**
 some time ago three CLF **brothers and sisters** then[†] use the[†] **little sister**

id nid , dod **muaf** id jik ghuat dout dos **as zot** .
 DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] **little sister** DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF **tiger**

‘Once there were three **siblings**. They let their young **sister** marry a tiger.’

(25b) 27:2

Xangf and daof ghangb **nid** , dod **nongl** mol zos jik , dod **as zot** dak
 then[†] afterward **CONT[‡]** the[†] **brother[†]** go arrive PFV[‡] the[†] **tiger** just[†]

at dof dod nongl as hlob naox .
 will bite the[†] brother[†] older eat

‘Later, her older **brother** went to visit **her**. The **tiger** wanted to eat him.’

The participants of (25a) are *bib lens muas nongl* ‘three brothers and sisters’, *muaf* ‘little sister’, and *as zot* ‘tiger’. These participants also appear in the next sentence. Because multiple participants re-appear in the added sentence, there is a special reason to emphasize subject continuity, so *nid* is used.

In the next example, *nid* also occurs after a temporal point of departure, but instead of the participants remaining the same, the added sentence parallels the previous one.

(26a) 66:8.1

Nangl zid nid , lal **send il xinl** nangl zid ad njot
rat father CONT[‡] also[†] **sing[†] [prefix] [adverbializer]** rat father only[†]

nangl zid **dob** ib lens , led jik nangl zid send il xinl
rat father **son** one CLF PFV[‡] rat father **sing[†] [prefix] [adverbializer]**

nangl zid **it muax** nongf .
rat father **NEG exist** work[†]

‘As for Father Rat, he also continually sang songs about his only son, and about the fact that he [father] had not much to do (not a big burden in life because he only had one son to take care of).’

(26b) 66:9.1

Daof ghangb at **nid** , nangl naf nil **dob** hlob , nangl naf
afterward PROX[‡] **CONT[‡]** rat mother 3S **son** grow up[†] rat mother

send il xinl nangl naf at said mol
sing[†] [prefix] [adverbializer] rat mother will get up[†] go

bul cong b
make marriage arrangements

‘Later, after her son had grown up, (Rat Mother) sang that she needed to make marriage arrangements for her son.’

In this example, *nid* occurs after the temporal point of departure *daof ghangb* ‘afterward’ in (26b). But the subject of (26b), *nangl naf* ‘Rat Mother’, is not the same as the subject of the previous sentence, *nangl zid* ‘Rat Father’. Instead, the added proposition is similar to the previous one: both contain the verb phrase *send il xinl* ‘sing’ and *dob* ‘son’. In addition, both the father and the mother sing about their son: the father sings about having just one son, while the mother sings about making marriage arrangements for her son. Furthermore, making marriage arrangements is an instance of one of the things that a parent would have to do for a child. So in this example, unlike the previous one, *nid* after a temporal point of departure indicates a similarity in the propositions, rather than in the participants.

2.4.2.4.3 Summary of *nid*

The basic function of *nid* is to indicate a substantial degree of continuity. At the beginning of a clause or after the sentence introducer *xangf and* ‘then’, it indicates continuity of subject when there is a special reason to do so, such as to indicate that multiple participants are the same, to counter the expectation that the subject has changed, or to disambiguate the subject. When *nid* occurs after a referential point of departure, it indicates a similar proposition to the previous one. When *nid* occurs in its marked position after a temporal point of departure, it can indicate either subject continuity or similarities in the content. Tying all these uses together is the core meaning of continuity.

2.4.2.5 The difference between *nid* and *jik*

Since both *nid* and *jik* are used when the subject remains the same as in the previous sentence, it is necessary to distinguish the particles in this situation. *Nid* is used when there is a special reason to emphasize the continuity of subject from one sentence to the next. Sometimes, this is done in order to counter the expectation that the subject will change, as in (20) above.

Example (20) is shown again below:

(27a) 66:12

Nangl naf at manf haik **nangl zid** : “gaox dob hlob at gaox at
rat mother then say **rat father** 2S son grow up[†] ah 2S will
bul gol at sod gaox at ndoux zais doul
make marriage arrangements ah ignorance[†] 2S will run how much[†] end[†]
zais zaot ?”
how much[†] put

‘**Rat Mother** then said to **Rat Father**: “Your son is grown up, you need to make his marriage arrangements, who knows [how much running around you will need to do]?”’³

³ The translation for the bracketed section is uncertain.

(27b) 66:13

Daof ghangb **nid** , **nangl naf** ad nid , dot hlob
afterward **CONT**[‡] **rat** **mother** PROX[‡] CONT[‡] raise grow up[†]

ais , nil at bul cong b nil send il
[aspect particle] 3S will make marriage arrangements 3S sing[†] [prefix]

xinl ad nid , nil at mol muab nongb xongb .
[adverbializer] PROX[‡] CONT[‡] 3S will go pick up seed bamboo

‘Later, as for **Rat Mother**, she raised her son, was making ready his marriage arrangements, continually singing, and prepared (wanted to) to go pick bamboo seed.’

As was discussed in 2.4.2.4, *nid* is used here to counter the expectation that the subject will change in (27b) because the subject in fact does not change. In the following example, where *jik* is used, the expectation is that the subject will *not* change, and this expectation is confirmed:

(28a) 27:34.2

“nil uak bend sif ad jik , kod yus dout doul uak ad naox as hlaos ,
3S those[†] skill PROX[‡] PFV[‡] can[†] obtain end[†] these[†] eat ? ?

[xik nil mol laid nghaix] .”
take 3S go hunt[†]

“‘With his skill, he’s certain to get something. [I’ll take him hunting].’”

(28b) 27:35.1

Xangf and **jik** , at manf dif ert daik gil jik at manf xik mol nas mal .
then[†] **ADD**[‡] then 2nd morning ADD[‡] then take go ?

‘So the next day he took him hunting.’

The speaker in (28a), the tiger, tells his wife that he will take his brother-in-law hunting. Based on this speech, our expectation is that the tiger will be the subject of the next clause. In other words, we already expect subject continuity from (28a) to (28b). Therefore, there is no need to emphasize such continuity with the use of *nid* as there is in (27b). Instead, because our expectation that the subject remains the same is confirmed, the default connective *jik* is used.

2.4.2.6 The difference between *nid* and *dik*

We can also see the difference *nid* and *dik* in an example from text 27, where adjacent sentences start with *xangf and nid* ‘then CONT’ and *xangf and dik* ‘then DM’.

(29a) 27:5

ib git qunf dod as yeus jik at manf muab ib
 at the same time[†] persuade[†] the[†] NP marker husband PFV[‡] then pick up one

 dis draif xub ndrads dix it sout dout dod nongl jaox hlol
 grab[†] chopsticks ladel[†] spoon[†] those DIST[‡] accept[†] give the[†] brother[†] take[†] come

 ‘Pleading with her husband, she grabbed a bunch of chopsticks, ladles, and spoons and gave to her brother.’

(29b) 27:6

Xangf and **nid** , dod muaf douk haik dod nongl haos : “ gaox jaox
 then[†] **CONT**[‡] the[†] little sister just[†] say the[†] brother[†] ? 2S take[†]

 mol jik gaox ib baod jik gaox ib git mol haos , nguas nil
 go ADD[‡] 2S one launch ADD[‡] 2S at the same time[†] go ? drop[†] 3S

 yaik it doul gaox .”
 pursue NEG end[†] 2S

‘Then the sister told her brother: “You take these and go. Drop them along the way and he will be unable to catch you.”’

(29c) 27:7

Xangf and **dik** dod nongl douk muab uak draif id tab uak
 then[†] **DM**[‡] the[†] brother[†] just[†] pick up those[†] chopsticks DIST[‡] and those[†]

 ndrads id hlol jik
 spoon[†] DIST[‡] come PFV[‡]

‘Then (her) older brother took the chopsticks and the spoons and left (toward home).’

The subject of (29b), *muaf* ‘little sister’, is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence (zero encoding). Consequently, *nid* is used after the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’ in (29b). *Dik*, on the other hand, is used in (29c) to indicate a new development in the narrative. In this case, the

brother leaves his sister and begins to execute the sister's plan. There is also a change of subject in (29c), so *nid* would be inappropriate.

2.5 Summary of the particles

The particles *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* serve two distinct purposes: to indicate aspect and to serve as non-subordinating connectives between sentences. When the particles indicate aspect, they occur at the end of a clause. *Nid* marks imperfective aspect, while *dik* and *jik* mark perfective aspect. In discourse, the aspect of the head in tail-head linkage has discourse implications. Imperfective heads indicate overlap between two events, while perfective heads indicate non-overlap (discrete events).

As connectives, the default position of the particles is either at the beginning of a clause or after some other sentence introducer, such as *xangf and* 'then' or a point of departure. *Nid* indicates a significant degree of continuity between the added proposition and the previous one: either there is a special reason to indicate subject continuity, or there are parallels in content. *Dik* is a development marker and is used to indicate a new step in the narrative. As such, it indicates discontinuity with the previous material. *Jik* is the default connective used when neither of the other two apply.

The aspectual use of each particle is very different from its discourse use. Indeed, it is possible that for all three particles, there are two homophonous morphemes: one morpheme for aspect, and the other morpheme for discourse.

CHAPTER 3

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

3.1 Rationale

In the previous chapter, the connectives *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* were examined in some detail. As the primary connectives in Magpie Miao, they convey valuable information about the relationship between sentences. They, along with other sentence introducers, can also provide clues about where boundaries between larger groupings lie, as will be discussed in chapter 4.

But the connectives by themselves are not sufficient for determining such boundaries. Levinsohn (2000:271) warns, “Although the presence of a surface feature can be taken as supporting evidence for a paragraph or section boundary, it must be emphasized that the presence of such a feature is seldom a sufficient criterion on which to base a boundary. Rather, if one of the reasons for the presence of a certain feature is because of a boundary between units, almost invariably there will be other reasons why that feature might be present.” Participant reference, then, can be another independent criterion in determining boundaries. Looking at it can either confirm or deny boundaries that are suggested by connectives.

When a participant is referred to with more elaborate coding material than normal discourse patterns would lead us to expect (section 3.4.1), the narrator may introduce a new thematic grouping, indicate that discontinuities exist within a grouping, or slow down the narrative before the climax of a unit. When less encoding occurs than expected (section 3.4.2), the narrator may

maintain continuity within a thematic grouping or indicate that a participant is particularly salient (i.e. VIP encoding).

3.2 Introduction of participants

Before considering the introduction of participants, it is helpful to consider the difference between major and minor participants. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:119) provide a useful distinction: “Notionally, major participants are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation.”

3.2.1 Introduction of first participant

In the texts examined for this study, the first character introduced is always a major participant. Additional major participants are also introduced later.

Regarding the introductions of major participants in narratives, Levinsohn (2008:120, emphasis original) notes that they tend to be introduced “in a non-topic, non-interactive role BEFORE they become the topic of a topic-comment sentence.” Levinsohn does not specifically define what he means by non-interactive, but I understand a non-interactive role as corresponding to the undergoer macrorole in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005:53). The undergoer macrorole includes the thematic relations of patient, theme, recipient, and other passive thematic relations. Levinsohn’s generalization holds true in the texts.

Two of the texts, Text 38 and 66, begin with a statement which announces the main character of the story. The opening of Text 66 is shown below:

(30) 66:1

God haik uak ad nid sik haik dod **nangl** .
1S say these[†] TOP[‡] COP say the[†] **rat**

‘I’ll tell you about some **rats**.’

The first participants, the rats (in bold), are introduced as the object of a speaking verb (*haik* ‘speak’), assuming a thematic role of theme. Text 38 begins in similar fashion, with the speaking verb *bad* ‘tell’ used instead of *haik* ‘speak’. Both Text 38 and 66, then, are consistent with Levinsohn’s generalization that the major participants are introduced in a non-topic, non-interactive role.

Similarly, Text 27 introduces the first participants, the three siblings, as the complement of an implied existential verb, as shown in bold below.

(31) 27:1

As touk id , **bib lens muas nongl** , xangf and , kaik dod muaf
 some time ago **three CLF brothers and sisters** then[†] use the[†] little sister
 id nid , dod muaf id jik ghuat dout dos as zot .
 DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] little sister DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF tiger

‘Once (there were) **three siblings**. They let their young sister marry a tiger.’

Text 17 begins with a few introductory comments by the narrator, who first presents a question that the narrative will answer. Once the narrative proper begins, the main participants are then introduced:

(32) 17:2.1

[**Bib lens gut zix** hlol faib juab faib xis] , [sis yaos **mongb** ,
three CLF brothers[†] come divide[†] home[†] divide[†] family[†] is COP[†] **Hmong**
manb , tab **al suad**] .
Yi and **Han**

‘[**Three brothers** (grew up) and went their separate ways]. [These were the **Miao, Yi, and Han**].’

The brothers are introduced as the topic of the first clause. In addition, as subject of the verbs *hlol* ‘come’ and *faib* ‘separate’, their thematic role is agent. Introducing the main participants in a topic and interactive role is slightly unusual. But Levinsohn’s generalization that major

participants are introduced in non-topic, non-interactive role suggests another generalization: that only after participants are familiar to the audience—either from having been introduced in the same text or from background information—do they appear in topic position and in interactive roles. So perhaps the reason why the brothers appear in topic position and in an interactive role when they are introduced in this text is that they, as representatives of three well-known peoples, are already familiar to the audience.

While the three brothers collectively are not given a typical introduction, they are introduced in non-topic roles as individuals. In the second half of (32), they are each introduced as nominal complements of the copula.

Similar to Text 17, Text 7 introduces the main participants in topic roles of the first sentence:

(33) 7:1

As touk id , **ndrous nzuas** yaos dos il khuad , **ndrous nbos** yaos dos
 some time ago **orphan** COP[†] CLF pauper[†] **rich man** COP[†] CLF
 as nbos .
 rich man

‘**Orphan** was a poor man and **Ndrous Nbos** was a rich man.’

Again, this happens presumably because they are already well-known characters. As a result, they can be introduced as topics both in this text and in another text not included in this corpus.

3.2.2 *Introduction of other major participants*

After the first major participants have been introduced, the texts typically present the other major participants (if they have any) as direct objects of verbs. For example, text 7 presents the Rock (in bold) as the direct object of the verb *sot sad* ‘rest’ (the direct object being understood to be a locative), as shown below:

(34) 7:4

Xangf and mol kaik kaik dail hlol jik , drik hlol
then[†] go pick up pick up firewood come PFV[‡] carry on the back come

yib houf hlol sot sad **lob al boul reb** , zed ghuax hlet
after[†] come rest[†] **CLF ? stone** at the same time[†] cry[†] blow nose[†]

al nzus , ghuax hlet al nzus blend lob al boul reb .
snot[†] cry[†] blow nose[†] snot[†] smear CLF ? stone

‘He went to collect wood, and after carrying it for a while, rested on **a rock**, crying and wiping his nose, crying and wiping his nose, wiping the mucus on the rock.’

The rock is a major participant in the narrative and interacts throughout the narrative with the other two major participants, Orphan and Ndrous Nbos.

Similarly, Text 27 introduces the second and third major participants as direct objects of verbs in the second sentence of the narrative, which is shown again below.

(35) 27:1

As touk id , bib lens muas nongl , xangf and , kaik dod muaf
some time ago three CLF brothers and sisters then[†] let the[†] little sister

id nid , dod **muaf** id jik ghuat dout dos **as zot** .
DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] **little sister** DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF **tiger**

‘Once (there were) three siblings. They let their **young sister** marry a **tiger**.’

The young sister (in bold), who appears throughout the text, is the object of the verb *kaik* ‘let’, while the tiger (also in bold), the main antagonist in the story, is the object of the verb *ghuat* ‘marry’. Both the sister and the tiger, then, are introduced in non-topic, non-interactive roles.

Text 38 has no other major participants. The implications of this observation for participant reference are discussed in section 3.6.

3.3 Further reference to activated participants

Lambrecht (1994:94), following Chafe (1987:22), defines a concept as *active* if it is “currently lit up, a concept in a person’s consciousness at a particular moment.” An inactive or

deactivated concept is one “that is currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active.”

Givón’s (1983:18) Iconicity Principles states that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it.” Levinsohn (2008:124-25) is comfortable to a point applying Givón’s Iconicity Principle to the encoding of subjects, but he notes several areas that the principle fails to consider: the status of participants (i.e. major or minor), the salience of the participant (i.e. whether the participant is a VIP), and whether the reference to a participant follows direct speech.

Therefore, Levinsohn recommends analyzing the system of reference to activated participants using the following contexts. Included in the table are the labels he gives for such contexts:

Table 2: Labels for the contexts in which reference to an activated subject occurs

Label	Context
S1	the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence
S2	the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence
S3	the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
S4	other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3 (hereafter called a new subject)

Levinsohn recommends determining default and marked encoding values for each of these contexts. The default encoding value for each context occurs when there is no great discontinuity or surprise, whereas marked encoding values are those that are either more or less than the default encoding for a specific situation.

3.3.1 Methodology

For investigating further reference to activated participants, I followed the methodology described by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:127-35). Essentially, they recommend creating a text chart showing how references to all subjects and non-subjects are encoded. The chart enabled me to identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs. Dooley and Levinsohn recommend identifying and labeling the contexts for each activated subject with the labels listed in Table 2 above.

Once the context for each reference to an activated subject was identified and labeled, I could easily record the encoding for each of the contexts above. The most frequent encoding was chosen as the default encoding.

This analysis is primarily based on Text 27, which is 52 sentences long. I started with one text for time and consistency considerations. The process of making the chart and recording the encodings for each of the contexts was a time-intensive process, so it would have been difficult to do this for more than one text. More importantly, however, I wanted to ensure that the pattern of encoding I observed was from only one story-teller. The reason for this decision is that I wanted to avoid a situation where idiosyncrasies from different speakers would obscure the default encoding for each context. For example, if I had based this analysis on two different texts from two different speakers, I would have run the risk of mixing the pattern of S1 encoding from one speaker with a *different pattern* of S1 encoding from a different speaker. This might have made it difficult to determine a default encoding for S1.

Therefore, I decided to complete a first draft of an analysis based on one text only. I chose Text 27 because it has three major participants and two minor ones. No other text in my corpus had such a wide range of participants.

After I determined the default encoding for each context based on text 27, I could more easily identify patterns of encoding in other texts that differed from the patterns established by my analysis of Text 27. I note these differences, which were few, in the final section of this chapter (section 3.6).

3.3.2 *Default encoding of subjects*

Based on my study of Text 27, I determined the default encodings for subjects in this text that occur in the contexts listed in Table 3 below. This table excludes subjects in direct speech, the reason for which is explained below.

Table 3: Default encoding for subjects

The subject of a clause is:	Default encoding	Total frequency	Frequency of default encoding (%)
the subject of the previous clause (S1)	zero	49 times	38 times (78%)
the addressee of direct speech (S2)	noun phrase	12 times	10 times (83%)
a referent which was introduced in the previous clause (S3)	zero	6 times	4 times (67%)
different from S2 and S3 (S4)	noun phrase	29 times	22 times (79%)

Although subjects occurring in direct speech need to be accounted for, they were not used in identifying default encoding for subjects in various contexts, since the encoding of subjects in direct speech is very different from the encoding of subjects in theme-line events. To illustrate the difference, let us consider cases of a change of subject that is neither the addressee of direct speech (S2) nor a referent which was used in the previous clause (S3). This context is labeled S4.

In theme-line events, S4 subjects occur 29 times, whereas in direct speech, they occur 19 times. Table 4 below lists the types of encodings for S4 subjects, along with their frequency, both in events and in direct speech:

Table 4: A comparison of S4 subjects in theme-line events and direct speech

Type of Encoding	Frequency in events	Frequency in direct speech
Noun phrase	22 times (76%)	4 times (21%)
Zero	5 times (17%)	6 times (32%)
Pronoun	2 times (7%)	9 times (47%)

As the table shows, the most frequent encoding for new subjects in events is noun phrase encoding; the least frequent is pronoun encoding. In direct speech, the situation is the precise opposite: the most frequent encoding is pronoun encoding; the least frequent is noun phrase encoding. Therefore, the encodings should be analyzed separately.

For now, I simply note that subject encoding in direct speech is different from subject encoding in theme-line events. In section 3.5, I discuss why subjects are encoded differently in direct speech. The sections which immediately follow deal with the encoding of subjects for theme-line events.

3.3.3 *The subject of the previous clause (S1)*

In text 27, the subject is the same as the subject of the previous clause a total of 49 times, excluding direct speech. In this scenario, subjects take zero encoding 38 times (78%). For the remaining 11 cases (22%), S1 subjects take either pronoun or noun phrase encoding (3.4.1.1). An example of zero encoding is shown below:

(36a) 27:8

Ib git baod jik ib git mol , xangf and , baod dout
 at the same time[†] launch ADD[‡] at the same time[†] go then[†] launch obtain

ib dos ad jik , dod **as zot** dod at yaik at juas ad jik [dod kaik] ,
 one CLF if[‡] the[†] **tiger** then will pursue will reach[†] if[‡] then pick up

[nid at manf draod mol zos zed] .

CONT[‡] then return go arrive house

‘If he (the brother) dropped one, if **the tiger** was about to get him, [(the tiger) picked it up] [(the tiger) and took it back home].’

(36b) 27:9

Xangf and , *mol zos* zed laif dik dod *yaik* draod ghangb duax , baod
then[†] go arrive house end[†] PFV[‡] then *pursue* return[†] from launch

mol baod duax jik draif ad das .
go launch from ADD[‡] busy[†]

‘Then after (**the tiger**) arrived at home, (**the tiger**) went out again to chase (the brother).’

Notice that in (36a), *as zot* ‘tiger’ (in bold) appears as the subject of the second of two conditions. The tiger is also the subject of the bracketed clause (specifically of the verb *kaik* ‘pick up’), but with zero encoding. This happens again for the next clause of (36a) (also in brackets), where the subject of *draod mol zos* ‘take it back’ is understood to be the tiger and is encoded with zero. This is repeated again in (36b), where the tiger is the subject of the verb *mol zos* ‘arrive’, as well as of the verb *yaik* ‘pursue’ (both in italics), but again, with zero encoding. The point of this example is that subjects which are the same as the one in the previous clause are normally encoded as zero.

This category of subjects also includes instances when direct speech intervenes between the first and second subjects. In this case, if the first and second subjects have the same referent, the second subject is encoded as zero. An example is shown below:

(37a) 27:34.1

Hlol jik at manf ndros dod muaf haik jik haik dak : “...”
come PFV[‡] then with the[†] little sister say PFV[‡] say

‘Then (he) went home and said to his wife: “...”’

[two clauses of direct speech omitted]

(37b) 27:35:1

Xangf and jik , at manf dif ert daik gil jik at manf xik mol nas mal .
then[†] ADD[‡] then 2nd morning ADD[‡] then take go ?

‘So the next day (he) took him hunting.’

In (37a), the subject of the speech verb is understood to be the tiger with zero encoding. At the end of (37a) is intervening direct speech (not shown), which lasts for two additional clauses. In

(37b), which immediately follows the direct speech, the subject continues to be the tiger and has zero encoding. In this example, then, intervening speech does not interrupt the continuity of the subject. This pattern occurs three times total (including this example) in Text 27, whereas marked encoding (i.e. pronoun or noun phrase encoding) occurs once. Thus, the default pattern for S1 subjects is not affected by direct speech. The reasons why some S1 subjects appear with more than zero encoding are discussed in section 3.4.1.1.

3.3.4 *Subjects which are addressees of direct speech (S2)*

Subjects which are the addressees of direct speech in the previous clause occur 12 times in total in Text 27. Ten of those instances (83%) are encoded as simple noun phrases. For two of the 12 instances (17%), there is more encoding than a simple noun phrase (section 3.4.1.2). A simple noun phrase is seen below:

(38a) 27:6

Xangf and nid , dod muaf douk haik **dod nongl** haos : “gaox jaox
 then[†] CONT[‡] the[†] little sister just[†] say **the[†] brother[†]** ? 2S take[†]
 mol jik gaox ib baod jik gaox ib git mol haos , nguas nil
 go ADD[‡] 2S one launch ADD[‡] 2S at the same time[†] go ? drop[†] 3S
 yaik it doul gaox .”
 pursue NEG end[†] 2S

‘Then the sister told **her brother**: “You take these and go. Drop them along the way and he will be unable to catch you.”’

(38b) 27:7

Xangf and dik **dod nongl** douk muab uak draif id tab uak
 then[†] DM[‡] **the[†] brother[†]** just[†] pick up those[†] chopsticks DIST[‡] and those[†]
 ndrad id hlol jik .
 spoon[†] DIST[‡] come PFV[‡]

‘Then [her] older **brother** took the chopsticks and the spoons and left (toward home).’

The brother is the addressee of the speech in (38a); he appears as the subject in (38b). When he appears in (38b), he is encoded as a noun phrase.

Because these subjects are always encoded as noun phrases, noun phrase encoding is chosen as the default for subjects that are the addressees of previous direct speech. Marked S2 encoding is discussed in section 3.4.1.2.

3.3.5 *Subjects introduced in the previous clause (S3)*

In text 27, subjects which are involved in the previous clause in a non-subject or non-addressee context appear six times, excluding those instances in direct speech. Of those six instances, four appear with zero encoding (66%), while two appear with noun phrase encoding (33%). An example of zero encoding is shown below:

(39a) 27:3.1

Dod muaf jik it muax banf fax loud , at **qunf** dod
 the[†] little sister PROM[‡] NEG exist do method[†] ? will **persuade**[†] the[†]
 as **yeus** lak youf **qunf** it doul .
 NP marker **husband** still[†] again[†] **persuade**[†] NEG end[†]

‘The sister could do nothing. She wanted to persuade her husband (not to eat him), but she was unable to persuade him.’

(39b) 27:4.1

Xangf and **at** dof dod nongl naox loud , it muax banf fax louk
 then[†] **will** bite the[†] brother[†] eat ? NEG exist do method[†] ?
 yib houf jik .
 after[†] PFV[‡]

‘Well (he) wanted to eat (him), there was nothing that could be done.’

In (39a), *yeus* ‘husband’ (referring to the tiger) is the object of the verb *qunf* ‘persuade’. The tiger is also the implied object of the second occurrence of *qunf* ‘persuade’ later in the clause. In (39b), the tiger is the subject of the verb *at* ‘will’ and is coded as zero. This happens four times total in

Text 27, so zero is chosen as the default encoding for S3 subjects. The reasons why some S3 subjects appear with more than zero encoding are discussed in section 3.4.1.3.

3.3.6 *All other occasions besides S2 and S3 involving a change of subject (S4)*

A subject that does not occur in the previous clause—either as a subject, addressee, or direct object—occurs 28 times in text 27, excluding instances occurring in direct speech. This type of subject is commonly encoded as a full noun phrase (22 out of 29 instances, or 76%). The second most common encoding for such subjects is zero encoding, which occurs a total of 5 times (17%). An example of noun phrase encoding for S4 subjects is shown below:

(40a) 27:1

As touk id , **bib lens muas nongl** , xangf and , kaik dod muaf
 some time ago **three CLF brothers and sisters** then[†] use the[†] little sister

id nid , dod muaf id jik ghuat dout dos as zot .
 DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] little sister DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF tiger

‘Once there were **three siblings**. They let their young sister marry a tiger.’

(40b) 27:2

Xangf and daof ghangb nid , dod **nongl** mol zos jik , dod **as zot** dak
 then[†] afterward CONT[‡] the[†] **brother**[†] go arrive PFV[‡] the[†] **tiger** just[†]

at dof dod nongl as hlob naox ,
 will bite the[†] brother[†] older eat

‘Later, her older **brother** went to visit her. The **tiger** wanted to eat him.’

In (40a), the subject of the verb *kaik* ‘let’ is *bib lens muas nongl* ‘three siblings’.⁴ In (40b), the subject switches to *nongl* ‘brother’, and a noun phrase is used. In the second half of (40b), the subject again switches, this time to the tiger, which is also encoded as a noun phrase.

⁴ Presumably, the three siblings would not include the sister, who as the object of the verb *kaik* ‘let’ would not at the same time be included as an agent of this verb.

Because noun phrase encoding is the most common form of encoding for S4, it is chosen as the default case. Greater-than-normal S4 encoding is discussed in section 3.4.1.4, while less-than-normal S4 encoding is discussed in section 3.4.2.

3.4 Deviations from default encoding

Of course, not all subjects follow the default encoding patterns. Greater-than-default encoding occurs for all subject contexts. Less-than-default encoding occurs for S4 subjects.

3.4.1 *More encoding than expected*

In the texts, there are three reasons why more encoding than the default is used. First, increased encoding occurs immediately following points of discontinuity (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:134). Second, full noun phrase encoding is used prior to climactic material. Finally, greater-than-default encoding is used to mark the beginning of a narrative unit (Levinsohn 2008:126).

3.4.1.1 *More encoding for subjects that occur in the previous clause (S1)*

First, I consider cases where more encoding occurs for subjects that occur in the previous clause (S1), in which case zero encoding is the default (section 3.3.3). At times, the marked encoding is a pronoun (3.4.1.1.1 and 3.4.1.1.2); at other times, the marked encoding is a noun phrase (3.4.1.1.3). In either case, the form of the marked encoding (i.e. pronoun or noun phrase) is determined by the closest non-zero encoding. In each instance of marked S1 encoding, there is some kind of discontinuity that motivates the greater-than-default encoding.

3.4.1.1.1 Marked encoding for S1: Pronouns

There are five instances in text 27 where pronouns are used instead of zero encoding. In each instance, there is some kind of discontinuity that motivates the use of the pronoun. An example is shown below:

(41) 27:35.3

[Nguas **nil** id dod mit yeuf ndangb at uat ndix haos], [douf sik
let[†] **3S** DIST[‡] the[†] small uncle PROX[‡] in front ? is
haik dak at nyaob ndaik yuad nangs], [yinb weif **nil** it gand dof nil id
say will at here[†] ? since[†] **3S** NEG dare[†] bite 3S DIST[‡]
dod mit yeuf ndangb laix loud] .
the[†] small uncle [completed] ?

‘[(The tiger) let his brother-in-law go in front], [saying, “Just right here,”] [because **he** no longer dared to give him trouble].’

In this example, the subject of the speech verb *haik dak* ‘say’ in the second clause is the tiger and receives zero encoding. After the direct speech, the subject of the third clause is still the tiger, but he is encoded with the pronoun *nil* ‘3S’.

Notice that the first two clauses of (41) describe theme-line events. The third clause, however, provides background information: specifically, the rationale behind the first three clauses. *Yinb weif* ‘since’ is what marks the switch from theme-line events to background information. It is possible that the intervening direct speech necessitates the use of pronoun encoding, but as was noted in section 3.3.3, the other instances of intervening direct speech follow normal S1 encoding (i.e. zero encoding). Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that in this instance, a pronoun for the S1 subject appears after the discontinuity from event to background information.

Notice also that the closest non-zero encoding for the tiger occurs near the beginning of the sentence, *nil* ‘3S’. The marked encoding later in the sentence is the same as the pronoun.

Another instance with greater-than-default S1 encoding is shown below:

(42a) 27:36

Jik nil jik al daif mol yof as nens , yof nil id bangb as zot
ADD[‡] 3S ADD[‡] still go invite[†] person invite[†] 3S DIST[‡] group tiger
ad , at said sib nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb at .
PROX[‡] will punish[†] 3S DIST[‡] the[†] small uncle PROX[‡]

‘Well, he went to get help, (calling together/meeting up with) the other tigers in his family in order to take care of his little brother-in-law.’

(42b) 27:37

Hangb danf sif **nid** , [**nil** al daif mol yof as nens laif yib houf ail] ,
but[†] but **CONT[‡] 3S** still go invite[†] person end[†] after[†] [aspect]

[**nil** ad nzib dik] haik dak “ndaik yod nik qet ad jik at
3S PROX[‡] trick[†] PFV[‡] say over there[†] ? place[†] PROX[‡] PFV[‡] will

duax yuad daol zes .”

from here wait ?

‘Well, uh, [he went to get someone], uuuh, [he just tricked his brother-in-law], saying:
“Wait for me here.”’

With *nid* occurring in (42b) after the two contrasting connectives *hangb danf* ‘but’ and *sif nid* ‘but’, continuity of subject is maintained from (42a). But the first clause of (42b) is a restatement of the first clause of the preceding sentence and so fails to move the narrative forward to the next action in sequence. Levinsohn (2008:31) says that such a failure is a discontinuity of action, since Givón (1983:8) defines continuity of action as actions which follow temporal sequentiality within a paragraph and are presented in sequential order. The discontinuity of action here is responsible for the marked S1 encoding (*nil* ‘3S’) in (42b). Notice also that the closest non-zero encoding to the marked S1 encoding is pronoun encoding at the beginning of (42a).

3.4.1.1.2 More encoding as a result of mistakes

Example (42b) is interesting because there may be two different kinds of discontinuity present that motivate the additional encoding for each time the pronoun is used. As discussed

above, the first discontinuity is one involving a shift from background information to a foreground event. But there is an additional discontinuity present in (42) that Levinsohn has not described: the narrator has a false start and never completes the first idea (the first clause bracketed above). Instead, he begins a new thought. This is discontinuity not in the narrative but in the delivery of the story. Nevertheless, the effect it has on the encoding is the same. The subject of the new thought (the second bracketed clause), despite the fact that it is the same as the subject of the false start, still is encoded as a pronoun. So even though this example involves a type of discontinuity that Levinsohn does not describe, it is still consistent with his generalization.

Another example of a discontinuity in delivery occurs in Text 38:

(43) 38:96

[Muab nil zed zangt dout jik] daof ghangb jik , (**nil** at manf
 pick up 3S house build obtain PFV[‡] afterward ADD[‡] **3S** then
 naf nghais), *al daif dod cuab nyangb al daif it dout nbos loud , it*
 shoot *still then be left straw still NEG obtain roof[†] ? NEG*
dout nbos jik , **nil** at manf zik gof lek dod njit houd daox mol hlaik
obtain roof[†] PFV[‡] 3S then ? then climb mountain go cut[†]
 nangs .
 ?

‘[After he built the house], (**he** then...shoot!)...*the thatch (roof) was still left to be built, not (yet) built, he* then went up the mountain and cut (some grass).’

In this example, there is a false start, indicated by the parentheses: *nil at manf... naf nghais* ‘he then...shoot! (that’s not right)’, according to the transcriber. This starts a series of clauses which give background information (in italics)—information which perhaps the narrator had intended to present either immediately after the first clause (in brackets), or perhaps even before it. Whatever the case may be, the interruption causes a discontinuity in the delivery in the story, after which pronoun encoding is used for the S1 subject (in bold). Notice again that as in (41) and (42), the

closest non-zero encoding is a pronoun; therefore, the form of the marked S1 encoding is also a pronoun in (43).

3.4.1.1.3 Marked encoding for S1: Noun phrases

There are three instances when noun phrase encoding occurs instead of zero encoding (the default for S1 subjects). Usually, there is a discontinuity either of time or action. An example is shown below:

(44a) 27:26.2

Nyaob jik as zot hlol zos juas , as zot douk haik : “ nongb ad jik ,
 sit PFV[†] tiger come arrive reach[†] tiger just[†] say today[†] ADD[‡]
 zut as nens ncab at les , qib mab ncait gaox id nongl dod duax
 aroma person strong smell PROX[‡] ? at least[†] fear[†] your[†] brother[†] then from
 les .”
 ?

‘After (brother) hid, the tiger came back and said: “Today, smells like man. I’m afraid your brother must have come again.”’

(44b) 27:27

Dik dod muaf douk haik : “ it yaos .”
 DM[‡] the[†] little sister just[†] say NEG COP[†]

‘Then the sister said: “No.”’

(44c) 27:28.1

Dik dod **as zot** douk renf weix douk it senf loud .
 DM[‡] the[†] **tiger** just[†] think[†] just[†] NEG believe[†] ?

‘But the **tiger** did not believe (her).’

(44d) 27:28.2

Dod **as zot** haik dak : “ yaos hlaos .”
 the[†] **tiger** say yes[†]

‘The **tiger** said: “Certainly.”’

Marked S1 encoding occurs in (44d) (in this case, the noun phrase *dod as zot* ‘the tiger), where zero encoding would be expected. Lines (44a and b) represent two successive turns in a conversation between the tiger and the sister, his wife. Line (44c) describes the tiger’s disbelief of the sister’s speech in the preceding line, which is basically restated in (44d). Since there is a failure to move the narrative forward, the tiger’s speech in (44d) constitutes a discontinuity of action, as defined in 3.4.1.1.1. This discontinuity is responsible for the marked S1 encoding in (44d). Notice also that the closest non-zero encoding to the marked encoding is noun phrase encoding in (44c).

3.4.1.2 More encoding for a subject involved in an addressee role (S2)

The default encoding for S2 subjects is a noun phrase (see section 3.3.4). Two of those noun phrases, however, are elaborated beyond the simple determiner and noun. In one case, the increased encoding indicates the beginning of a narrative unit. In the other case, the increased encoding is used before climactic material.

The first example of marked S2 encoding involves a demonstrative, shown below:

(45a) 27:25

“ Xangf and , at led jik , jif ranx haik dak gaox haik uak land laob
 then[†] then PFV[‡] since say 2S say those[†] in this way[†] end[†]
 yib houf nand nik id , gaox zid njit mol duax puat sout lob nik
 after[†] now[†] ? DIST[‡] 2S flee[†] climb go from farther on CLF a bit
 khaod bangx nyaob .”
 cave sit

“Well, since you put it that way, flee to that little cave way up there and hide.”

(45b) 27:26

Xangf and **dod nongl as youk id** at manf duax puat sout ndaik yud
 then[†] **the[†] brother[†] small one** DIST[‡] then from farther on over there[†]
 sout lob nik khaod bangx it nyaob .
 on CLF ? cave DIST[‡] sit

‘Then **the little brother** went up there to the cave and hid.’

In this case, the younger brother is the addressee of the sister’s speech in (45a). He is also the subject of (45b) and is encoded as a noun phrase, *dod nongl as youk id* ‘the brother small DIST’. Because of the presence of the distal demonstrative, *id* ‘DIST’, this subject has more encoding than the default case. A demonstrative occurring at the end of a noun phrase occurs infrequently. For S2 subjects, it occurs only in this example and in (46), which not coincidentally is the other instance of marked S2 encoding. The marked encoding in (45b) signals the beginning of a major thematic grouping. The boundary is also signaled by the change of action from speech in (45a) to event in (45b), which constitutes a discontinuity of action, as defined in 4.2.3.

The other example of marked S2 encoding is shown below:

(46a) 27:45

“Gaox rongx mal , gaox al daif it hlol , gaox rongx mal , god duat dout
 2S look ? 2S still NEG come 2S look ? 1S kill[†] obtain
 nbouf ad nghaix nil , boub it boub ?”
 enough PROX[‡] meat ? know NEG know

“‘Look, before you returned (lit. not yet come), look, I got so much meat. Do you understand what I mean?’”

(46b) 27:46

Nil id dod voud id rongx dout jik , yos , ad bof nghaix
 3S DIST[‡] the[†] husband[†] DIST[‡] look obtain PFV[‡] oh[†] PRT1 see meat
 jik bad lex duat dout qunx baf baf loud .
 PFV[‡] also kill[†] obtain whole[†] yard ?

‘**Her (the sister’s) husband** looked. Oh! All he saw was dead (meat / tiger) all around.’

The tiger is the addressee of direct speech in (46a). The tiger is also the subject of the sentence in (46b). But instead of being encoded *as zot* ‘tiger’, the tiger is encoded *nil id dod voud id* ‘her husband’. There are only four instances of this kind of noun phrase, where the encoding has changed from an objective term (*as zot* ‘tiger’) to a relational one (*nil id dod voud id* ‘her [the

sister's] husband'). With this change of encoding, the tiger is seen from the perspective of the younger brother. These noun phrases all occur near the final climax of the narrative. In fact, full noun phrase encoding generally occurs more frequently just prior to climactic material in four of the five texts.⁵ Perhaps such encoding is used before the climax in order to slow down the narrative.

3.4.1.3 *More encoding for subjects involved in a non-subject or non-addressee role in the previous clause (S3)*

For subjects that are involved in a non-subject role or non-addressee role in the previous clause (section 3.3.5), there are two instances of marked encoding (versus four instances of default encoding, which is zero for S3 subjects). In (47b) below, the encoding of the subject 'his little brother' is a noun phrase, even though he is understood to be the direct object of *dof* 'bite' in (47a):

(47a) 27:38

Jik dof sik at yof duax ad nid , dof sik at muab nil **dof**
 ADD[‡] is will invite[†] from PROX[‡] CONT[‡] is will pick up 3S **bite**

dout ndaik yuad nangs .
 obtain here[†] ?

'If (he) could get the others to come, then (they) could **eat** (him) there.'

(47b) 27:39

Xangf and , **nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb** at manf sand dos banf
 then[†] **3S DIST[‡] the[†] small uncle** then think[†] CLF do

fax .
 method[†]

'Then **his little brother-in-law** thought of a plan.'

⁵ The one exception is Text 66, where the action generally alternates between the two main participants. Therefore, noun phrase encoding is used steadily throughout this text, rather than appearing more frequently prior to climaxes.

The marked S3 encoding in (47b) indicates the beginning of a major thematic unit: line (47a) is the end of the tiger’s plan; line (47b) is the beginning of the younger brother’s plan. The fact that (47b) indicates the beginning of a major new thematic unit is also signaled by the discontinuity of action from (47a) to (47b). This example shows that marked additional encoding contributes to indicating the beginning of a major thematic unit. There is one other example of noun phrase encoding being used in an S3 context, 27:19, and it too indicates the beginning of a major thematic unit.

In summary, for S3 subjects, greater-than-default encoding is used at the beginning of a thematic grouping.

3.4.1.4 *More encoding for other changes of subject (S4)*

For all other occasions that involve a change of subject (as discussed in section 3.3.6), the default encoding is a noun phrase. There are three instances when an additional demonstrative occurs at the end of the noun phrase, as in (45b) and (46b) above. Here, marked S4 encoding is used prior to climactic material. An example is shown below:

(48) 27:29.2

[Xangf and at manf ib nat ib nat], **dod nongl id** ib cuix cuib
 then[†] then one smell one smell **the[†] brother[†] DIST[‡]** one hammer[†]
 dout lob khaod nzus dout , lal dod ib tuif .
 give CLF nose [progressive] also[†] then one withdraw[†]

‘[Then the tiger sniffed around], **the brother** smacked him on the nose with the hammer, and the tiger backed out.’

In this case, the bolded subject, *dod nongl id* ‘the brother DIST’, appears in an S4 context, since it does not appear in the previous clause (bracketed) at all. The default for an S4 subject is a noun phrase, but in this case, the noun phrase includes the demonstrative *id* ‘DIST’. This marked S4 encoding is used before climactic material. (For a fuller discussion of climaxes, see section 4.5.)

There is also a complex noun phrase⁶ in Magpie Miao which is larger than a normal noun phrase. The form of this marked encoding is as follows: pronoun + demonstrative + noun phrase + demonstrative. This encoding occurs twice in text 27, once for S4 encoding, which can be seen below in bold:

(49) 27:31.1

[At manf dod xangb caik dil mol suak , dod mol ib suak nid] , [**nil**
then then stretch[†] CLF hand go touch then go one touch CONT[‡] **3S**

id dod nongl as youk id trot hlaot dod cuix cuib] , dong , dong ,
DIST[‡] the[†] brother[†] small one DIST[‡] take out[†] the[†] hammer[†]

dong land caik dil dout .
in this way[†] CLF hand give

‘[Then (he) stuck his hand in and felt around], [and **he, the little brother,**⁷ pulled out the hammer], bam, bam, bam, whacking his hand.’

In (49), the subject of the first and second clause is understood to be the tiger (zero encoding).

The subject in the third clause, the brother, is encoded as *nil id dod nongl as youk id* ‘he, the little brother’. This unique encoding is used before climactic material. But because the default for S4 subjects is noun phrase encoding, the marked case involving additional encoding has to go beyond this standard with a “double” noun phrase. This construction also encodes a direct object in a climactic situation (27:14).

3.4.2 *Less encoding than expected*

The contexts for which the default encoding is not zero are the following: 1) when the subject is the addressee of prior direct speech (S2) and 2) new subjects (S4). For the former, there

⁶ This construction may also be analyzed as a topic followed by a subject, both of which have the same referent, or two topics. The conclusion that this section makes is not affected the structural analysis of the construction.

⁷ Originally, this phrase was translated simply as ‘the little brother’.

are no instances where there is less than default coding. For the latter, there are several instances of zero encoding, which occurs when a participant is considered a VIP (very important participant), or a main character which is particularly salient (the center of attention).

3.4.2.1 *Less encoding for S4: Zero encoding*

Less-than-default encoding occurs in the following example:

(50) 27:29.2

[Xangf and at manf ib nat ib nat], [**dod nongl id** ib cuix cuib
 then[†] then one smell one smell **the[†] brother[†] DIST[‡]** one hammer[†]
 dout lob khaod nzus dout], [lal dod ib tuif].
 give CLF nose [progressive] also[†] then one withdraw[†]

‘[Then (the tiger) sniffed around], [**the brother** smacked him on the nose with the hammer], [and (the tiger) backed out].’

In this example, the first subject is understood to be the tiger, encoded as zero. The subject of the next clause is the brother, which is encoded as a noun phrase (in bold). The subject of the final clause is the tiger again, but instead of being encoded as a noun phrase, which is the default case, he is encoded as zero. One possible reason for this is that in this episode, the tiger is the main participant as the aggressor, and the brother is secondary. The main participant is consistently encoded as zero, while the second character follows the default pattern and is encoded as a full noun phrase. In such situations, the main participant, which Levinsohn (2008:135) calls the VIP, “is distinguished from the rest” (Grimes 1978:viii) in terms of encoding values and other devices used in participant reference. Levinsohn (2008:136) notes that the VIP is usually referred to with less coding material than the other participants. In this episode, the tiger is a local VIP and is encoded as zero, while the brother is encoded in S4 contexts as a noun phrase.

Another example of less-than-normal encoding occurs towards the end of Text 27, when the younger brother kills off the tigers one by one. After each tiger enters separately, the younger

brother kills each one suddenly. During this sequence, the tigers are encoded with noun phrases, while the brother is encoded with zero.

(51a) 27:42.1

Dod ad duax zos , ib jab hod pengf , uat dod as nyangb at
the[†] PROX[‡] from arrive at one blow[†] bump[†] the[†] thatch PROX[‡]

ghous ndat .
 trip[†]

‘**One** came and hit the straw man, causing it to fall down.’

(51b) 27:42.2

Ib dras dod duat dout **ib dos** .
 one knife[†] then kill[†] obtain **one CLF**

‘Then (the brother) killed **one** (tiger) with one stroke from his knife.’

(51c) 27:42.3

Dod duax **dif ert dos** , lal dod muab kot hlaot dout .
 then from **2nd CLF** also[†] then pick up set[†] ? obtain

‘The **second** (tiger) came, and (the brother) took the (straw man) and set it up again.’

(51d) 27:43.1

Duax **dif ert dos** lal tongx yangf id lal ib dras lal dod duat
 from **2nd CLF** also[†] same[†] DIST[‡] also[†] one knife[†] also[†] then kill[†]

dangl .
 finish

‘The **second** (tiger) came and, in the same way, (the brother) killed it with a stroke of his knife.’

(51e) 27:43.2

Xangf and zongb gongf duat dout **juax dos** ail , xangf and jik ,
 then[†] altogether[†] kill[†] obtain **nine CLF** [aspect] then[†] ADD[‡]

senf nil id dod voud ad hlol nangs .
 remain[†] 3S DIST[‡] the[†] husband[†] PROX[‡] come ?

‘Altogether (he) killed **nine**, then her husband came.’

As can be seen in the excerpt above, the brother is always encoded with zero encoding. The tigers, on the other hand, are encoded with noun phrases: *dod ad* ‘this one’ for the first tiger in (51a), or a number followed by classifier for the other tigers in (51b-e). The reason for the asymmetry is that this thematic grouping (27:39-50) describes the execution of the brother’s plan. So the brother is clearly the center of attention in this grouping and also the local VIP of this episode. As the other tigers are introduced, they are introduced as noun phrases, as would be typical for S4 subjects. But there is no need for such encoding with the brother, since he is the local VIP of this episode.

3.4.2.2 *Less encoding for S4: Pronoun encoding*

There is one instance of marked encoding where a new subject is encoded as a pronoun, as seen in (52b):

(52a) 27:40

Muab hlaot nil uak zongl uak caot id nzal hlaot dos
 pick up get up[†] 3S those[†] festival dress those[†] clothing DIST[‡] weave[†] ? CLF
 nas nyangb suk hlaot dos nas nens nangs , zaot hlaot dout , zix zaot lob
 big straw like[†] ? CLF big person ? put[†] ? obtain put[†] CLF
 ghous ndaik yod qet ad nangs .
 corner[†] over there[†] place[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘(The younger brother) took his clothes and made a large straw figure like a large man, and put it in the corner of at that place.’

(52b) 27:41

Xangf and , **nil** mol yof **nbax** as nens **id** jik , nyaob nyaob duax
then[†] **3S** go invite[†] **those[†]** **person** **DIST[‡]** PFV[‡] a while from

is dos , nyaob nyaob duax is dos , qunx buf nil gus laot , bad lex yaos as zot
one[†] a while from one[†] whole[†] 3S friend[†] also COP[†] tiger

nangs .

?

‘Then **he** (the tiger) went to meet **the others**. (The others) came one at a time, all of his friends. They all were also tigers.’

In (52a), the subject is the younger brother (zero encoding), whereas the subject of (52b) is the tiger, which is encoded with the pronoun *nil* ‘3S’. There is no obvious reason why the tiger in (52b) is encoded as a pronoun instead of noun phrase. One possible explanation for the use of the pronoun is to minimize attention on the change of subject and instead to focus it on the tiger’s friends, who are encoded as a full noun phrase with the classifier *nbax* and the deictic *id*. Three additional comments are made about them: the manner in which they come (i.e. one at a time), their relationship to him, and finally, who they are (i.e. tigers). The narrator certainly seems interested in describing them in some detail. It seems plausible, then, that pronoun encoding is used to deflect attention away from the tiger to his friends.

Consistent with this reasoning is Givón’s Iconicity Principle. Perhaps the narrator uses less encoding at (52b) in order to introduce a less disruptive change of topic. Why would the narrator do this? Lines 27:34-38 describe in detail the tiger’s plan to kill his brother-in-law with the help of his relatives. Line 27:39, which describes the brother’s plan in response, begins a major new development as a result of marked S3 encoding, as shown in 3.4.1.3. Line 27:41 marks the entrance of the tigers and so might indicate a new thematic grouping. But it is a minor one within the major grouping of the brother executing his plan. So the reason why pronoun encoding is used instead of noun phrase encoding may be to introduce a less disruptive break, which has the effect

of beginning a minor (as opposed to major) thematic grouping. This is discussed and illustrated in chapter four.

3.5 Direct speech

The pattern of encoding subjects in direct speech is different from the pattern of encoding subjects in theme-line events. There is a strong tendency towards using pronouns in direct speech. For example, when the sister tells the older brother near the beginning of Text 27 to drop the spoons to keep the tiger from overtaking him, she issues her brother a series of commands, each of which has the pronoun *gaox* ‘2S’, as seen below in bold:

(53) 27:6

Xangf and nid , dod muaf douk haik dod nongl haos : “**gaox** jaox
 then[†] CONT[‡] the[†] little sister just[†] say the[†] brother[†] ? **2S** take[†]
 mol jik **gaox** ib baod jik **gaox** ib git mol haos , nguas nil
 go ADD[‡] **2S** one launch ADD[‡] **2S** at the same time[†] go ? drop[†] 3S
 yaik it doul gaox .”
 pursue NEG end[†] 2S

‘Then the sister told her brother: “You take these and go. Drop them along the way and he will be unable to catch you.”’

Similarly, other instances of direct speech also include pronouns, even in unexpected contexts. For example, the excerpt below encodes a pronoun (in bold) for a subject that is the same as the previous clause:

(54) 27:16.1

“Ais , gaox jat paox god qid les , rux gob **gaox** paox
 [Interjection] 2S NEG[†] dig[†] 1S manure[†] ? if[†] **2S** dig[†]
 drous god qid jik god at yuad gaox sad nangs .”
 [accomplish] 1S manure[†] PFV[‡] 1S will demand[†] 2S life[†] ?

“‘Heh, don’t dig in my manure. If you dig in my manure I will want your life.’”

In the example above, the Han is speaking to the tiger. The first pronoun *gaox* ‘2S’ occurs in the command not to dig. Following the command is a conditional clause, which repeats the same pronoun, even though the referent is still the tiger. The default encoding for this situation (S1) in theme-line events is zero encoding (as argued in section 3.3.3). So the use of the pronoun in (54) is noteworthy. But it is not unusual: in fact, within direct speech, the *only* encoding for S1 subjects in direct speech is pronoun encoding (six times in total). This is true even when the repeated subjects occur in sentences other than commands.

Additionally, pronoun encoding occurs once out of three total instances in direct speech for an S3 subject. In the example shown below, the older brother, who is the speaker, addresses the Han:

(55) 27:12

“ [Haob loub , **nix** jaif **god** ib peib jik] , [yib houf jik **god** dod
 okay[†] **2P**[†] help[†] **1S** once[†] PFV[‡] after[†] ADD[‡] **1S** then
 njot nix] .”
 remember[†] 2P

“[Okay, you all help me this once], [later I will certainly remember you].”

In (55), the first pronoun *gaos* ‘2S’ refers to the Han, while the second pronoun *god* ‘1S’, the object of the first clause, refers to the older brother. The older brother is the subject of the second clause and is again encoded as a pronoun. This is the only example within direct speech of an S3 subject, but it is noteworthy that it is encoded as a pronoun. This encoding represents a departure from the default encoding for such subjects for events, which is zero encoding.

For S4 subjects, pronoun encoding occurs 47% of the time (as shown in Table 4), the most common form of encoding for such subjects.

What is the significance of these observations? Unlike the default encoding for theme-line subjects, which varies according to subject context (see Table 3), the default encoding for

subjects in direct speech is pronoun encoding, *regardless of subject context*. Even third person pronouns, which might not ordinarily appear in direct speech, appear in the texts. First and second person pronouns would be expected to appear in direct speech, since the actual words that the characters would say would normally include the pronouns, not zeroes. Third person pronouns, however, can be coded as zero in direct speech. The fact that they do not normally appear as zero in direct speech supports the strong tendency for pronouns to appear in direct speech in the texts.

3.6 Deviations from the pattern observed in text 27

After analyzing participant reference for text 27, I spot-checked other texts to determine whether they use a similar system of participant reference. For the most part, they do, with one notable exception. Text 38 appears to employ a different VIP strategy from the one used in Text 27. In Text 27, less encoding is used for local VIPs. In Text 38, pronoun encoding is generally used for Il Rangb, who is also analyzed as a local VIP. For example, in an S2 context, he is encoded as a pronoun, when a full noun phrase would be expected:

(56a) 38:22

“Kaik nas ndid boux nangs .”

use big dog return ?

““Well, take the big dog in return.””

(56b) 38:23

Daof ghangb jik , **nil** at manf muab dout dod nas ndid boux it dik ,
 afterward PFV[‡] **3S** then pick up obtain the[†] big dog return DIST[‡] DM[‡]

nil at manf muab jangb hlol .

3S then pick up lead come

‘Then **he** took the big dog in return and **he** led it home.’

The addressee of the direct speech in (56a) is Il Rangb. He is also the subject of (56b) and is encoded as a pronoun. This happens throughout the first third of narrative, where the other participants only speak with Il Rangb and are not involved in theme-line events with him.

Similarly, in S1 contexts, he is often encoded as a pronoun, when zero would be expected. This occurs in the second instance of the second instance of *nil* ‘3S’ in (56b) above, as well as in the following example:

(57) 38:3

[**Nil** at manf muab dod nik nangl gait hout lob nik yinb hof
3S then pick up the[†] little rat shut in in CLF little cigarette case[†]
 nid], [**nil** at manf zed jaox mol gangd cangx].
 CONT[‡] **3S** then always[†] take[†] go go to market

‘[**He** put a small rat inside of a tobacco box], [then **he** regularly went to the market].’

Notice that in the first clause, Il Rangb is encoded as a pronoun. He is also encoded as a pronoun in the second clause. This in fact occurs throughout the narrative, where for Il Rangb, the default S1 encoding is not zero but a pronoun.

In summary, the VIP strategy in Text 38 differs from that used in Text 27. Whereas less encoding is typically used for local VIPs in Text 27, pronoun encoding appears to be the default for local VIPs in Text 38. Because Text 27 and Text 38 are spoken by two different speakers, the difference in VIP strategy suggests that Magpie Miao does not use a single VIP strategy. Rather, VIP strategies can vary from speaker to speaker.

CHAPTER 4

THEMATIC GROUPINGS, DISCONTINUITIES, AND HIGHLIGHTING OF CLIMAXES

4.1 Rationale

In chapter 2, the particles *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* were thoroughly examined. In particular, their function as aspect markers was distinguished from their function as discourse markers. As discourse markers, they function as non-subordinating connectives. *Dik* is a development marker (DM) and indicates a new step in the narrative as far as the author's intention is concerned. *Nid* indicates strong continuity with the preceding material. *Jik* is the default connective when neither of the other two apply; it indicates a moderate amount of continuity with the preceding sentence. Understanding the function of these connectives helps in determining the boundaries between thematic groupings, the ultimate goal of this study.

In chapter 3, participant reference was examined. Specifically, default encoding values were determined for subjects occurring in various contexts in Text 27. Then cases of marked encoding—either more or less encoding than the default—were examined in order to determine the narrator's purpose behind such deviations. Among several different purposes, one purpose for additional encoding material is to indicate the beginning of a major thematic grouping. In addition, greater-than-default encoding is used prior to climactic material.

In this chapter, we will see how the connectives and participant reference can be used to identify the boundaries separating thematic groupings, as well as the climaxes that occur within them. First, different kinds of discontinuities are presented. Second, we examine the role of direct

speech in forming thematic groupings. Next, we look at the way that increased subject encoding and other slowing-down devices are used to introduce and highlight climaxes. Finally, the major and minor groupings of text 27 are presented and explained.

4.2 Discontinuities and thematic groupings

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:35) write that in narrative, “the speaker, consciously or not, is grouping sentences into units of text, which we refer to as thematic groupings.” Furthermore, these groupings “can be nested inside each other in a hierarchical arrangement” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:36).

Discontinuities signal the presence of a boundary between thematic groupings. Table 5, which Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:37) adapt from Givón (1984:245), presents four widely accepted dimensions for thematic continuity and discontinuity.

Table 5: Dimensions of thematic continuity/discontinuity of narrative

Dimension	Continuity	Discontinuity
time	events separated by at most only small forward gaps	large forward gaps or events out of disorder
place	same place or (for motion) continuous change	discrete changes of place
action	all material of the same type: event, nonevent, conversation, etc.	change from one type of material to another
participants	same case and same general roles vis-à-vis one another	discrete changes of cast or change in relative roles

In narrative, a new thematic grouping typically begins when there is “significant discontinuity of at least one of these four dimensions, and usually in more than one” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:37). Within a grouping, however, continuity is usually maintained along all four dimensions.

In identifying boundaries between thematic groupings, it is helpful to distinguish between major boundaries and minor ones. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:41) write, “Points of major

reorientation are the easiest to recognize; points of minor reorientation are more questionable. Often, minor groupings occur within major ones.”

Chafe (1980:45) also notes that changes of orientation exist in varying degrees within a narrative. The first reason for this is that, as was just discussed, there are four different dimensions for thematic continuity and thematic discontinuity. Greater changes of orientation generally involve more dimensions of discontinuity. Second, each dimension itself is scalar and may exhibit varying degrees of change.

Each of these dimensions will be illustrated with examples in the sections which follow.

4.2.1 *Discontinuity of time*

A discontinuity of time occurs in text 27.

(58a) 27:34.2

“Nil uak bend sif ad jik , kod yus dout doul uak ad naox as hlaos ,
3S those[†] skill PROX[‡] PFV[‡] can[†] obtain end[†] these[†] eat ? ?

xik nil mol laid nghaix .”

take 3S go hunt[†]

“‘With his skill, he’s certain to get something. I’ll take him hunting.’”

(58b) 27:35.1

Xangf and jik , at manf **dif ert daik gil jik** at manf xik mol nas mal .
then[†] ADD[‡] then **2nd morning** ADD[‡] then take go ?

‘So **the next day** he took him hunting.’

In this example, the tiger speaks to his wife in (58a) about his plans to take her brother hunting. In (58b), the scene shifts to the next morning, as the time words *dif ert daik gil* ‘next morning’ appear at the beginning of the sentence, resulting in a discontinuity of time. Dooley and Levinson (2001:38) point out that time is an especially important factor to consider when discovering thematic groupings in narrative.

4.2.2 *Discontinuity of place*

An example of discontinuity of place is shown below.

(59a) 27:50.1

At manf muab nil id dod muaf id xik draod ghangb hlol laif
then pick up 3S DIST[‡] the[†] little sister DIST[‡] take return[†] come end[†]
nangs mal .
? ?

‘Then the brother took his sister back home.’

(59b) 27:51

Uak ad jik douf sik xangk dangk yux haik dak :
these[†] PFV[‡] is equivalent to[†] say

‘That is all to say.’

(59c) 27:52.1

Nyaob nduab xingf fux sef huif ad louk uat let haik dak yaos dod
at neighborhood[†] blessed[†] society[†] PROX[‡] ? as[†] say COP[†] the[†]
muaf mol dout uat let haik dak dix as sab nyangd id uak haik faf
little sister go obtain as[†] say some heart weight[†] DIST[‡] those[†] say way[†]
id nangs .
DIST[‡] ?

‘In this blessed society, it’s like the saying “sister married a bad man.”’

In (59a), the narrator describes the last event of the story, which is situated in some unspecified place. In (59b), he transitions to the moral of the story in (59c), which begins with a new location, *nyaob nduab xingf fux sef huif* ‘in this blessed society’. This example is not a prototypical discontinuity of place, since the first place is part of the world of the narrative, while the second place is part of the real world. Nevertheless, this example is closest to a prototypical discontinuity of place because this is the only time in the corpus when a location is proposed to the beginning of a sentence.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:39) write that when adverbial expressions like the one above are “present but not preposed, no significant discontinuity is being signaled, and no new thematic grouping is being signaled either.” Example (60a) contains such a non-preposed adverbial expression:

(60a) 38:23

Daof ghangb jik , nil at manf muab dout dod nas ndid boux it dik ,
 afterward PFV[‡] 3S then pick up obtain *the big dog return DIST[‡] DM[‡]

nil at manf muab **jangb hlol** .
 3S then pick up **lead come**

‘Then he took the big dog in return and **led it home.**’

(60b) 38:24.1

[**Jangb hlol lek**], nil at manf zik gof lek dod jaox hlol uat nghaix naox .
lead come ? 3S then ? then *take come do meat eat

‘**When he got home**, he took the dog and prepared some meat to eat (ate the dog)’

In this case, the verb *hlol* ‘come’ appears after the verb *jangb* ‘lead’ in a serial verb construction at the end of (60a).⁸ According to Lund (personal communication), *hlol* is used “because he is going to his own home.” In (60b), however, the serial verb construction is repeated in an instance of tail-head linkage that does not overtly contain a locative expression but implies it. That is, although a locative phrase, as such, is not preposed in (60b), there is an initial clause that expresses the change of location. There are a few other instances of tail-head linkage indicating a new location. I therefore propose that one mechanism used in Magpie Miao to indicate a new location is tail-head linkage.

⁸ Serial verb constructions are well attested in Hmong dialects. Serial verb constructions indicating direction are common. See, for example, Owensby (1985), Riddle (1989), Riddle (1990), Jarkey (1991), Riddle (1994), and Jarkey (2004).

Example (60) above is significant because of the adverb *lek* used in the head (bracketed in (60b)). *Lek* is not glossed by Lund, but it is possible that this morpheme is cognate to the morpheme *let* in Blue Hmong, a related dialect, that differs only in tone. Xiong and Cohen (2005) provide the following example to illustrate the usage and meaning of *let*:

(61) Dangs hmaot dluat beb **let** mol zos zhed.
 half night pass we finally go arrive house

‘It was way past midnight when we finally arrived home.’

Xiong and Cohen (2005:71) write that this morpheme indicates “that the action has happened later than expected.”

If *lek* in Magpie Miao has a similar temporal meaning, then its use in (60b) would represent a discontinuity not only of place, but also of time. Therefore, although one would expect a tail-head linkage to be used to provide cohesion in a text, in Magpie Miao, one of its functions appears to be to flag a discontinuity of place (and possibly of time).

My tentative conclusion based on this observation is that Magpie Miao simply does not follow the expected pattern in using preposed locative phrases to indicate a discontinuity of place. Such phrases are exceedingly rare in the texts. In fact, the only instance of a preposed location is (59c) above, and as has already been noted, it is not a prototypical discontinuity of location. Instead of using preposed adverbial expressions, Magpie Miao appears to use tail-head linkage to introduce a discontinuity of place, as in (60).

However, not all discontinuities of place are signaled in this way. At other times, as in the following example, a locative expression indicating a new location simply appears at the end of a sentence (in bold). In the next sentence, the event described takes place in the new location.

(62a) 27:10.1

Ndrad lak muab baod dangl laix , at duax muab dout nil
spoon[†] still[†] pick up launch finish [completed] will from pick up obtain 3S

as xik id it muax banf fax , at manf mol zos **yif al suad** .
that time NEG exist do method[†] then go arrive **home Han**

‘When all the spoons were dropped, and the tiger was just about to get him, there was nothing he could do, so he went to **the home of a Han.**’

(62b) 27:11.1

It muax banf fax , jik at manf haik yif al suad id :
NEG exist do method[†] ADD[‡] then say home Han DIST[‡]

‘There was no way out, so he said to those at the Han house:’

In (62a), the brother begins in some unspecified location away from the Han’s home but ends up there by the end of the sentence. In (62b), the action continues there as he addresses the Han family. Again, it should be noted that this does not fit Levinsohn’s standard definition of a discontinuity of place, since there is a journey that begins in one place and ends in the next. Therefore, there has been no truly discrete change of location. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which it still is a discontinuity of place, even though it might not count as one in other languages. Perhaps Dooley and Levinsohn’s standard definition does not fit all languages.

4.2.3 *Discontinuity of action*

Levinsohn (2008:30) defines a discontinuity of action in this way: “Discontinuities of action may involve changes in the type of action described or failure to move the narrative forward to the next action in sequence.” One common change of action is from direct speech to nonspeech events (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:39), an example of which is shown below:

(63a) 27:25.1

“Xangf and , at led jik , jif ranx haik dak gaox haik uak land laob
then[†] then PFV[‡] since say 2S say those[†] in this way[†] end[†]

yib houf nand nik id , gaox zid njit mol duax puat sout lob nik
after[†] now[†] ? DIST[‡] 2S flee[†] climb go from farther on CLF a bit

khaod bangx nyaob .”
cave sit

“Well, since you put it that way, flee to that little cave way up there and hide.”

(63b) 27:26.1

Xangf and dod nongl as youk id at manf duax puat sout ndaik yud sout
then[†] the[†] brother[†] small one DIST[‡] then from farther on over there[†] on

lob nik khaod bangx it nyaob .
CLF ? cave DIST[‡] sit

‘Then the little brother went up there to the cave and hid.’

Line (63a) is the sister’s final reply to her brother at the end of an extended conversation. In (63b), he responds by following her instructions, so there has been a change from speech to a nonspeech event. This discontinuity of action is an indicator of a new thematic grouping. A separate indicator of a new grouping is the marked S2 encoding (see section 3.4.1.2).

Another common type of discontinuity of action occurs when there is a shift from events to non-events (or vice versa) (Levinsohn 2008:30). An example is shown below:

(64a) 27:37.1

Hangb danf sif nid , nil al daif mol yof as nens laif yib houf ail , nil
but[†] but CONT[‡] 3S still go invite[†] person end[†] after[†] [aspect] 3S

ad nzib dik haik dak “ndaik yod nik qet ad jik at duax yuad
PROX[‡] trick[†] PFV[‡] say over there[†] ? place[†] PROX[‡] PFV[‡] will from here

daol zes .”
wait ?

‘Well, uh, he went to get someone, uuuh, he just tricked his brother-in-law, saying: “Wait for me here.”’

(64b) 27:38.1

Jik douf sik at yof duax ad nid , douf sik at muab nil dof
ADD[‡] is will invite[†] from PROX[‡] CONT[‡] is will pick up 3S bite
dout ndaik yuad nangs .
obtain here[†] ?

‘If (he) could get the others to come, then they could (get him/eat him) there.’

(64c) 27:39.1

Xangf and , nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb at manf sand dos banf fax .
then[†] 3S DIST[‡] the[†] small uncle then think[†] CLF do method[†]

‘Then the little brother thought of a plan.’

Line (64a) is a combination of an event (the first half) and direct speech (the second half). Line (64b) is a nonevent describing the rationale behind the tiger’s plan. Even though line (64b) is a discontinuity of action, there is no new thematic grouping, since it does not advance the narrative. Levinsohn (2008:31) notes that “[s]uch action discontinuities tend not to form the basis for a new thematic grouping.” Notice too that the connective *jik* occurs at the beginning of (64b), which links elaborating material in the form of the tiger’s thinking to his speech in (64a). Therefore, lines (64a) and (64b) belong to the same thematic grouping. Line (64c), on the other hand, switches back to an event and therefore does begin a new thematic grouping.

4.2.4 *Discontinuity of participants*

A discontinuity of participants usually involves the introduction of a participant with a full noun phrase (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:39).

(65a) 27:26.1

Xangf and dod nongl as youk id at manf duax puat sout ndaik yud sout
then[†] the[†] brother[†] small one DIST[‡] then from farther on over there[†] on
lob nik khaod bangx it nyaob .
CLF ? cave DIST[‡] sit

‘Then the little brother went up there to the cave and hid.’

(65b) 27:26.2

Nyaob jik **as zot** hlol zos juas , as zot douk haik : “nongb ad jik ,
sit PFV[†] **tiger** come arrive reach[†] tiger just[†] say today[†] ADD[†]

zut as nens ncab at les , qib mab ncait gaox id nongl dod duax
aroma person strong smell PROX[†] ? at least[†] fear[†] your[†] brother[†] then from

les .”

?

‘After (brother) hid, **the tiger** came back and said: “Today, smells like man. I’m afraid your brother must have come again.”’

Line (65a) is the younger brother’s response to an extended conversation between him and his sister. Preceding that conversation is a conversation between the younger brother and the older brother. During these conversations, which span six sentences, the tiger is not active as a participant in the narrative. It is only in (65b), which is actually eight sentences after the tiger’s last action, that he becomes an active participant again. Notice that he is introduced as a full noun phrase, *as zot* ‘tiger’, in that sentence.

4.2.5 *More coding material than default encoding values*

More coding material than the default is used for a subject to mark the beginning of a thematic grouping (see chapter 3). An example is shown below:

(66a) 27:21.1

Dod nongl youk haik dak : “jif ranx haik dak yaos mal nongl , xangf and
the[†] younger brother[†] say since say COP[†] ? brother[†] then[†]

nil al daif at uat land louk yib houf jik , zaf haik dak god jax god
3S still will do in this way[†] ? after[†] PFV[†] regardless of[†] 1S live[†] 1S

duas lak god dak at mol rongx nil ib muas .”

die still[†] 1S all[†] will go look 3S quick look[†]

‘The younger brother said: “Brother, even if it’s as you say, and he (tiger) will still do the same (bad stuff), whether I die or live, I still want to give him a go.”’

(66b) 27:22.1

Xangf and **dod nongl** at manf traik ib drangb dras , jaox ib dos
then[†] **the[†] brother[†]** then take[†] one CLF[†] knife[†] take[†] one CLF

cuix cuib , jaox mol jik , dod muaf lal ncait haik dak dod as zot hlol
hammer[†] take[†] go PFV[‡] the[†] little sister also[†] fear[†] say the[†] tiger come

jik ncait pand drous dod nongl ad haos .
PFV[‡] fear[†] wound[†] [accomplish] the[†] brother[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘Then the brother took a knife and a hammer and went. The sister was still afraid that the tiger would return and harm her brother.’

In (66a), *dod nongl youk* ‘the younger brother’ is the subject. In the next sentence, the referent of the subject is still the brother. In this situation, where the subject of the preceding sentence is the same as the subject of the next, zero encoding is the default (see section 3.3.4). Yet, the brother in (66b) is encoded as a full noun phrase, *dod nongl* ‘the brother’. This marked encoding is used to mark the beginning of a new thematic grouping.

4.3 The Reporting of Conversation

In order to identify thematic boundaries and climaxes within thematic groupings, it is important to understand what role direct speech has to play in both. This section discusses several features of direct speech that affect their role in discourse.

The most important feature of direct speech is the speech orienter, which often contains elements that indicate the importance of a speech to the theme line. Levinsohn (2008:110) defines a speech orienter as “the clause that identifies the reported speaker and/or addressee.” In almost every instance, conversation in these texts is reported directly. The speech orienter, if there is one, always occurs before the reported speech and usually contains the verb *haik dak* ‘speak’ or simply *haik* ‘speak’, as seen in the example below:

(67a) 7:5

Lob al boul reb at manf **haik dak** :
CLF ? stone then **say**

‘Then the rock said:’

(67b) 7:6

“Gaox yaos laox zis ?”
2S COP[†] who

“‘Who are you?’”

Often, no speech verb introduces the speech, as both lines of (68) show.

(68a) 38:6

“God ib yangf dit douk it muas , ghob sif maif nangl gob .”
1S one CLF[†] anything[†] just[†] NEG sell 1S COP sell[†] rat silver[†]

“‘I’m not selling anything, just a silver rat.’”

(68b) 38:7

“Nangd gaox muas gaox dod nangl gob muab daif bib rongx
in that case[†] 2S sell 2S the[†] rat silver[†] pick up come out 1P look
haik aid ?”
once[†]

“‘Well, why don’t you take that silver rat of yours out and give us a look?’”

At other times, an orienter introduces the direct speech without use of a speech verb, as shown below:

(69) 38:19

[Nil at manf uat zox muab dod nyaof mid ib hait dik], “ncait nix nbaos
3S then pretend[†] pick up the[†] wild cat one pull[†] PFV[‡] fear[†] 2P

al nas ndid dof drous .”
big dog bite [accomplish]

‘He pretended to [start to] pull the cat out (and said), “I’m afraid your big dog will get it.’”

In (69), a speech orienter still introduces the direct speech, since the bracketed clause meets two conditions. First, it contains the speaker, the pronoun *nil* (referring to Il Rangb). Second, the reason why Il Rangb *pretends* to pull out the cat (rather than actually pulling it out) is given in the speech, namely, he is afraid that it will be eaten. Therefore, a speech orienter is still used in (69), even though the speech verb *haik (dak)* ‘speak’ does not occur.

When the speech orienter lacks a speech verb, Levinsohn (2000:112) emphasizes that the these reported speeches “are simply *intermediate steps* en route to the goal of the conversation.” Therefore, such reported speeches usually have lower status than other theme-line events, which in turn means these speeches are not considered a sufficient criterion for a thematic boundary. Instead, the goal of the conversation is considered the boundary.

In addition, instances of reported speech can be considered intermediate steps when the orienters lack the DM *dik* or temporal succession marker *at manf* ‘then’. An example is shown below:

(70a) 27:19

Dod nongl youk ad **at manf haik dak** : “jif ranx haik dak dod voud
the[†] brother[†] small PROX[‡] **then say** since say the[†] husband[†]
ad douk muax zof lif haif louk yib houf jik dout god mol
PROX[‡] all[†] exist like this[†] fearfulness[†] ? after[†] PFV[‡] obtain 1S go
rongx nil ib muas haik aid .”
look 3S quick look[†] once[†]

‘Then the little brother said: “Since this husband is so fierce, let me go and have a go at him.”’

(70b) 27:20

Jik dod as hlob dak **haik dak** : “gaox jat mol aos , dod zot jik
ADD[‡] the[†] older just[†] say 2S NEG[†] go ah the[†] tiger POSS[‡]

as sab jik nyangd zangb das ndob zangb das aos .”
heart POSS[‡] weight[†] very [emphatic] black very [emphatic] ah

‘The older brother said: “Oh don’t go. That tiger’s heart is very hard, it’s very black.”’

(70c) 27:21

Dod nongl youk **haik dak** : “jif ranx haik dak yaos mal nongl ,
the[†] younger brother[†] say since say COP[†] ? brother[†]

xangf and nil al daif at uat land louk yib houf jik , zaf haik dak god
then[†] 3S still will do in this way[†] ? after[†] PFV[‡] regardless of[†] 1S

jax god duas lak god dak at mol rongx nil ib muas .”
live[†] 1S die still[†] 1S all[†] will go look 3S quick look[†]

‘The younger brother said: “Brother, even if it’s as you say, and he (tiger) will still do the same (bad stuff), whether I die or live, I still want to give him a go.”’

Lines (70a, b, and c) all have a speech orienter with the speech verb *haik dak* ‘say’, but only (70a) has a *at manf* ‘then’. Line (70a), therefore, has the same status as a theme-line event, whereas lines (70b and c), do not count as theme-line events. This observation is consistent with the semantic content of the direct speech in each. In (70a), the younger brother declares his intention to kill the tiger, a significant development in the narrative, since this is when the brothers turn from acting defensively to acting offensively. In (70b), the older brother urges his younger brother not to go. But the younger brother repeats his desire to kill the tiger in (70c). Thus, lines (70b and c) do not serve to advance the plot. It is not surprising, then, that these reported speeches are not introduced with *at manf* ‘then’.

In addition, Levinsohn (2008:113) assigns low status to reported speeches that are grouped into couplets. Therefore, such instances of reported speech are not considered for thematic boundaries. The same is true for a reported speech that is paired with its non-speech execution. In

this case, according to Levinsohn (2008:113), the non-speech execution is usually not a new development. But if the non-speech execution has the DM *dik*, then I have considered it a new development, as shown in (71b):

(71a) 27:6

Xangf and nid , dod muaf douk haik dod nongl haos : “ gaox jaox
then[†] CONT[‡] the[†] little sister just[†] say the[†] brother[†] ? 2S take[†]

mol jik gaox ib baod jik gaox ib git mol haos , nguas nil
go ADD[‡] 2S one launch ADD[‡] 2S at the same time[†] go ? drop[†] 3S

yaik it doul gaox .”
pursue NEG end[†] 2S

‘Then the sister told her brother: “You take these and go. Drop them along the way and he will be unable to catch you.”’

(71b) 27:7

Xangf and **dik** dod nongl douk muab uak draif id tab uak
then[†] **DM[‡]** the[†] brother[†] just[†] pick up those[†] chopsticks DIST[‡] and those[†]

ndrad id hlol jik .
spoon[†] DIST[‡] come PFV[‡]

‘Then [her] older brother took the chopsticks and the spoons and left (toward home).’

In (71a), there is reported speech from the sister to her brother. In (71b), there is a nonspeech event where the brother responds to his sister’s instructions. The particle at the beginning of (71b) is the DM *dik*. Therefore, the brother’s nonspeech response represents a new development in the narrative.

4.4 Climaxes and other significant developments

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a climax as “a figure in which a number of propositions or ideas are set forth so as to form a series in which each rises above the preceding in

force or effectiveness of expression.”⁹ Levinsohn (2008:81) points out several ways that a narrative can build up to a climax, such as “introducing non-event (background) information immediately before it” and “backgrounding the event(s) that immediately precede it.” These have the effect of “spacing out” the events that advance the plot before the climactic event is introduced, thereby creating the expectation that something significant is about to happen. Examples of devices that decrease the density of plot-advancing information include tail-head linkage, heavy participant encoding, and a review of past events leading up to the climax (Levinsohn 2008:82).

In addition to spacing out plot-advancing information before a climax, the climactic material itself can be highlighted in numerous ways, according to Levinsohn (2008:82). Examples include a change of aspect or sentence length, or an increased frequency of ideophones and other dramatic features. What they all share in common is that they are “noteworthy because they are different from the norm” (Levinsohn 2008:83).

In this section, two examples of climactic material will be presented. The goal here is to describe what devices are used in the texts to space narratives out before a climax and to mark climactic material.

The first example is from text 27. In this narrative, two brothers let their sister marry a tiger. At first, the tiger wants to eat the older brother, who is able to narrowly escape from the tiger. The younger brother then tries to kill the tiger. At first, he goes to a cave to hide. The following excerpt presents the English free translation with the appropriate Magpie Miao interspersed throughout in order to give a sense of the devices the narrator uses to space out the narrative before a local climax in (72g):

⁹ <http://oed.com>, accessed July 14, 2011

(72) 27:26.1-27:29.2

- a. 27:26.1 Then the younger brother went up there to the cave and hid.
- b. 27:26.2 After (brother) hid *jik*, [the tiger came back] and **the tiger** said, “Today smells like man. I’m afraid your brother must have come again.”
- c. 27:27 Then the sister said, “No.”
- d. 27:28.1 But the tiger did not believe (her).
- e. 27:28.2 **The tiger** said, “Certainly.”
- f. 27:29.1 (He) sniffed here and there (lit. sniff go sniff come) *jik*, sniffing and sniffing *jik* up to the little cave *jik*.
- g. 27:29.2 (climax)
Then (the tiger) at.the.same.time sniffed at.the.same.time sniffed, then **the brother** smacked (him) on the nose with the hammer, and (the tiger) backed out.

The first spacing-out device, which occurs in (72b), is tail-head linkage. *Jik* marks the head with perfective aspect, which associates events together in sequence (see section 2.4.2.1). The tiger in (72b) is encoded as a full noun phrase, even though he is encoded as a noun phrase in the previous clause (in brackets). Recall that for subjects which are also subjects in the previous clause, the default encoding is zero (see section 3.3.4). But in (72b), the encoding for the tiger is a full noun phrase, which has the effect of adding extra linguistic material, thus spacing out the events of the narrative.

Lines (72c) and (72e) present reported speech, which also impede the development of the narrative. Notice first that the exchanges are unusually short, each containing only one word. Rather than using reported speech in (72c and e) to describe the sister and tiger’s attitudes, the narrator could simply have stated that the sister and tiger disagreed with each other. The direct speech in (72e) is repetitive, since the disagreement of the tiger has already been made known in (72d). Lines (72c) and (72e), then, have the effect of impeding the development of the narrative before the local climax in (72g).

In addition, the subject encoding of (72e) is marked: for S1 subjects, the default is zero encoding, but the tiger is encoded as a full noun phrase in (72e). The bolded subject in (72g) also receives additional encoding: the default for this S4 subject is a noun phrase, but the brother in

(72g) occurs with the demonstrative *id* ‘DIST.DEM’ (shown below in (73)). All this additional encoding also has the effect of spacing out the narrative.

Line (72f) presents events which immediately precede the climax of the brother smacking the tiger on the nose. The most striking feature of this material is the amount of repetition involved: the verb *nat* ‘smell’ is repeated a total of six times in a very short span. Furthermore, (72f) is all perfective aspect, which is indicated by the multiple instances of *jik* (whose repetition may also serve to slow down the narrative), whereas (72g) shifts to simultaneous action. The original language of (72g) is shown below:

(73) 27:29.2

xangf and at manf **ib** nat **ib** nat , dod nongl id **ib** cuix cuib dout
 then[†] then **one** smell **one** smell the[†] brother[†] DIST[‡] **one** hammer[†] give

lob khaod nzus dout , lal dod **ib** tuif .
 CLF nose [progressive] also[†] then **one** withdraw[†]

‘Then (the tiger) sniffed around, the brother smacked him on the nose with the hammer, and (the tiger) backed out.’

Regarding simultaneous action, Xiong and Cohen (2005:71) note that *ib get* ‘at the same time’ is used before two verbs to show that the actions occur simultaneously in Blue Hmong. In Magpie Miao, although only *ib* ‘one’ (not the phrase *ib get*) appears before each verb, it still has the effect of indicating simultaneous action. Simultaneous action is akin to one use of the imperfective aspect. Givón (2001:1:335, emphasis original) writes that “the progressive-imperfective aspect...is typically used to depict events as *simultaneous* vis-à-vis a contiguous event-clause.” This shift in aspect from the perfective in (72f) to the functional equivalent of imperfective in (73) serves to highlight the climax of the brother hitting the tiger in (73). Levinsohn (2008:82) notes that a shift or change of aspect can be used to highlight the climax.

One additional factor helps to highlight the sense of expectation before the climax. In (72a) and the first clause of (72b), the main character, the brother, hides and temporarily disappears from the theme line. From (72b-e), there is a conversation between the tiger and his wife. By now, we expect the brother to become active again. In (72f) and the first half of (72g), there are six verbs, all of whose subjects refer to the tiger and are encoded as zero. In the second half of (72g), the main character suddenly reappears prior to the climax.

Another example of climactic material comes from text 7. Specifically, in the second half of (74d), the Rock locks the Rich Man's hands inside of itself. Again, the English free translation is presented with relevant Magpie Miao interspersed for ease of understanding:

(74) 7:23-7:27

- a. 7:23 After the **Rich Man** got permission *jik*, the **Rich Man** (S1) went home *jik*. The **Rich Man** (S1) was greedy. The **Rich Man** (S1) went home *jik*, and sewed a very large bag, a huge bag, then went back.
- b. 7:24 After (he) went back *jik*, (he) **scooped and scooped** (lit. scooped go scooped come), **scooped** and **scooped**, until all of his insides were gone *jik*. The rock said:
- c. 7:25 “Orphan, don't take so much, my insides are completely gone.” (Note: The Rock mistakenly believes that it is Orphan, not the Rich Man, who is taking his insides.)
- d. 7:26 *Xangf and jik* ‘even so’, (he) kept on **scooping** because [the **Rich Man** *jik* was very greedy].
Climax: After **scooping** and **scooping** (lit. scooping go scooping come) *jik*, the Rock had no other choice *jik*, so it closed up *jik*, locking one of Rich Man's hands inside *jik*.
- e. 7:27 That was it!

The first device used to build up to the climax is the repetition in this passage. The noun phrase *ndrous nbos* ‘Rich Man’ appears three times in (74a) after its first occurrence. There is also heavy repetition of the verb *kaix* ‘scoop’, beginning in (74b) and appearing seven times throughout (74b, d). Additionally, the Rock's direct speech in (74c) (“Orphan, don't take so much, my insides are completely gone”) repeats essentially the same information contained in (74b) (‘he scooped...until all his insides were gone’). Finally, (74d) restates the explanatory comment that the Rich Man was very greedy (initially in (74a)).

Another device used before the climax is the full noun phrase encoding of the Rich Man in (74a). In S1 contexts, the default is zero encoding. The greater-than-default encoding has the effect of slowing down the narrative. This happens not only in (74a), but also in (74d), immediately before the climax.

Still another device which spaces out the narrative is the tail-head linkage at the beginning of (74b). The head is marked with perfective aspect, as was the case in (72b). This contributes to the spacing out of plot-advancing information before the climax.

Levinsohn (2008:81) notes that non-events are sometimes introduced immediately before the climax. The bracketed clause of (74d) presents such a non-event: the background information that the Rich Man was greedy.

Finally, to punctuate the climax, there is an interjection by the narrator immediately following the climactic event in (74e). Levinsohn (2008:82) notes that ideophones and other dramatic features may highlight the climax.

4.5 Explanations for the groupings of text 27

In the following subsection, I justify the boundaries all of the major groupings, including detailed explanations for a few. I also explain why certain boundaries do not start a new major grouping. In section 4.5.2, I provide some explanation for the minor groupings.

4.5.1 *Justification for major groupings*

In determining boundaries for major groupings, I decided that such a boundary should have at least two independent criteria to support deeming it one for a major thematic grouping. The primary reason for this is that I wanted to have an objective way of distinguishing major and minor groupings. If there were only one such criterion, then it would be considered a boundary for a minor grouping.

Criteria for major thematic boundaries include the presence of the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’, the DM *dik*, subject encoding that is more than the default for a given context (except for S1 contexts) and a discontinuity of time, place, action, or participant. The reason that marked S1 encoding is not a sufficient criterion for a major thematic grouping is that the participant remains the same. As was discussed in section 3.4.1.1, greater-than-default S1 encoding is used to indicate some kind of discontinuity, whether a discontinuity of time or action. Instances of the former establish a minor boundary. Instances of the latter do as well, unless the narrative is not advanced, in which case no boundary is indicated.

The following table shows the justifications for all of the major boundaries.

Table 6: Justifications for the major thematic groupings

Sentence Number	Reasons
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>xangf and</i> • <i>dik</i> • discontinuity of participant
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discontinuity of participant • discontinuity of place
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marked S3 encoding • discontinuity of place
26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marked S2 encoding • discontinuity of action
39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marked S3 encoding • discontinuity of action

In the remainder of this section, I will examine the following boundaries in more detail: 11 and 26.

One major boundary occurs between sentence 10 and 11, where there is a possible discontinuity of place and a discontinuity of participant.

(75a) 27:10

ndrad lak muab baod dangl laix , at duax muab dout nil
spoon[†] still[†] pick up launch finish [completed] will from pick up obtain 3S

as xik id it muax banf fax , at manf mol zos **yif al suad** .
that time NEG exist do method[†] then go arrive **home Han**

‘When all the spoons were dropped, and the tiger was just about to get him, there was nothing he could do, so he went to the **home of a Han.**’

(75b) 27:11

it muax banf fax , jik at manf haik **yif al suad** id :
NEG exist do method[†] ADD[‡] then say **house Han** DIST[‡]

‘There was no way out, so he said to those at the **Han house:**’

As was noted earlier in section 4.2.2, the texts do not exhibit classic discontinuities of place. But this example is about as close as the texts comes to reorienting a narrative with respect to location. Line (75a) ends with the destination *yif suad* ‘house of a Han’, which is a new location in the narrative (the previous location being the space between the tiger’s home and the older brother’s home). The speech orienter in (75b) is also understood to take place in that new location, which is the setting for the next six sentences. Therefore, line (75b) establishes a new location for the narrative.

In addition to this discontinuity of place, there is a discontinuity of participant in (75b). Although the phrase *yif al suad* ‘home of Han’ appears in both (75a) and (75b), it is only in (75b) where the Han are participants. In (75a), *yif al suad* is understood as the goal of the motion verb *zos* ‘arrive’ and therefore an inactive prop, not an active participant. In (75b), on the other hand, *yif al suad* ‘home of Han’ is the object of the speech verb *haik* ‘speak’ and therefore understood as the addressee. As an addressee, the Han are introduced as a participant in the narrative, thereby resulting in a discontinuity of participant at (75b).

In the next example, the boundary between sentence 25 and 26 is established by marked S2 encoding and discontinuity of action.

(76a) 27:25

“Xangf and , at led jik , jif ranx haik dak gaox haik uak land laob
then[†] then PFV[‡] since say 2S say those[†] in this way[†] end[†]

yib houf nand nik id , gaox zid njit mol duax puat sout lob nik
after[†] now[†] ? DIST[‡] 2S flee[†] climb go from farther on CLF a bit

khaod bangx nyaob .”
cave sit

“Well, since you put it that way, flee to that little cave way up there and hide.”

(76b) 27:26

Xangf and **dod nongl as youk id** at manf duax puat sout ndaik yud
then[†] **the[†] brother[†] small one** DIST[‡] then from farther on over there[†]

sout lob nik khaod bangx it nyaob .
on CLF ? cave DIST[‡] sit

‘Then **the little brother** went up there to the cave and hid.’

In (76a), the addressee of the direct speech is understood to be the younger brother. In (76b), the younger brother is the subject. Because he is understood to be the addressee of the direct speech in (76a), he is an S3 subject in (76b). But instead of being encoded as zero, which is the default, he is encoded as a full noun phrase. This increased encoding occurs to signal that (76b) is the beginning of a new major thematic grouping. In addition, there is a discontinuity of action in (76b), as there is a switch from direct speech (in 27:23-27:25) to event.

Now that boundaries between major thematic groupings have been examined, I will explain why certain instances that look like boundaries for major groupings were not analyzed as such. One example occurs between sentences 1 and 2, which are shown below.

(77a) 27:1

As touk id , bib lens **muas nongl** , xangf and , kaik dod muaf
some time ago three CLF **brothers and sisters** then[†] use the[†] little sister

id nid , dod muaf id jik ghuat dout dos as zot .
DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] little sister DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF tiger

‘Once there were three **siblings**. They ?let their young sister marry a tiger.’

(77b) 27:2

xangf and **daof ghangb** nid , dod **nongl** mol zos jik , dod as zot dak
then[†] **afterward** CONT[‡] the[†] **brother**[†] go arrive PFV[‡] the[†] tiger just[†]

at dof dod nongl as hlob naox ,
will bite the[†] brother[†] older eat

‘**Later**, her older **brother** went to visit her. The tiger wanted to eat him.’

In this example, there appear to be two factors involved in a major boundary: a discontinuity of time, *daof ghangb* ‘later’ (in (77b)), and a discontinuity of participant. But there are two related observations which keep this from being a major boundary. First, the presence of *nid* in (77b) indicates continuity. Second, this continuity is established by the fact that the subject of (77b), *nongl* ‘brother’, is included in the subject of (77a), *bib lens muas nongl* ‘the three siblings’.

Because of *nid*, what might otherwise be a major boundary is instead considered a minor one.

Another example occurs between sentence 21 and 22.

(78a) 27:21

Dod nongl youk haik dak : “jif ranx haik dak yaos mal nongl , xangf and
the[†] younger brother[†] say since say COP[†] ? brother[†] then[†]

nil al daif at uat land louk yib houf jik , zaf haik dak god jax god
3S still will do in this way[†] ? after[†] PFV[‡] regardless of[†] 1S live[†] 1S

duas lak god dak at mol rongx nil ib muas .”
die still[†] 1S all[†] will go look 3S quick look[†]

‘The younger brother said: “Brother, even if it’s as you say, and he (tiger) will still do the same (bad stuff), whether I die or live, I still want to give him a go.”’

(78b) 27:22

Xangf and dod nongl at manf traik ib drangb dras , jaox ib dos
then[†] the[†] brother[†] then take[†] one CLF[†] knife[†] take[†] one CLF

cuix cuib , jaox mol jik , dod muaf lal ncait haik dak dod as zot hlol
hammer[†] take[†] go PFV[‡] the[†] little sister also[†] fear[†] say the[†] tiger come

jik ncait pand drous dod nongl ad haos .
PFV[‡] fear[†] wound[†] [accomplish] the[†] brother[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘**Then the brother** took a knife and a hammer and went. The sister was still afraid that the tiger would return and harm her brother.’

There are two factors in (78b) which make this example appear like a boundary for a major thematic grouping: the introducer *xangf and* and greater than normal subject encoding. Although the default for S1 subjects is zero, in (78b), the subject *dod nongl* ‘the brother’ is encoded as a noun phrase. But since the subject remains the same from (78a) to (78b), there is no true change of participant. Therefore, despite the greater-than-normal S1 encoding and the presence of *xangf and*, (78b) is not considered a boundary for a major grouping.

Another instance which fails to qualify as a boundary for a major grouping occurs in sentence 35.

(79a) 27:34.1

Hlol jik at manf ndros dod muaf haik jik haik dak : ” haob , jif ranx
come PFV[‡] then with the[†] little sister say PFV[‡] say okay[†] since

haik dak mit yeuf ndangb douk muax zongf uak bend sif and
say small uncle just[†] exist like this those[†] skill [interjection]

yib houf , nyaox gis nid , god at xik nil mol laid nghaix .
after[†] tomorrow CONT[‡] 1S will take 3S go hunt[†]

‘Then (he) went home and said to his wife: “OK, since your brother is so great/skilled, tomorrow I’ll take him hunting.’

(79b) 27:34.2

nil uak bend sif ad jik , kod yus dout doul uak ad naox as hlaos , xik
3S those[†] skill PROX[‡] PFV[‡] can[†] obtain end[†] these[†] eat ? ? take

nil mol laid nghaix .”

3S go hunt[†]

‘With his skill, he’s certain to get something. I’ll take him hunting.’”

(79c) 27:35

Xangf and jik , at manf **dif ert daik gil jik** at manf xik mol nas mal .
then[†] **ADD**[‡] then **2nd morning** **ADD**[‡] then take go ?

‘**So the next day** he took him hunting.’

In this case, there are two criteria for a major thematic grouping: the presence of *xangf and* and a discontinuity in time, which results from the time expression *dif ert daik gil* ‘next day’. But because the gap in time is relatively small, this is not considered a major grouping, especially since the action described in (79c) is so closely connected with the direct speech in (79a and b). The presence of *jik* in (79c) indicates that (79c) provides elaboration of the preceding material and thus provides some continuity. Therefore, this is considered a minor boundary, not a major one.

Support for treating *xangf and jik* as a marker of continuity rather than discontinuity is found in sentence 43.2. In this example, *xangf and jik* occurs in the middle of the sentence, joining two clauses, rather than occurring at the beginning of a sentence.

(80) 27:43.2

xangf and zongb gongf duat dout juax dos ail , **xangf and jik** , senf
then[†] altogether[†] kill[†] obtain nine CLF [aspect] **then**[†] **ADD**[‡] remain[†]

nil id dod voud ad hlol nangs .

3S DIST[‡] the[†] husband[†] PROX[‡] come ?

‘Altogether he killed nine, **then** his sister’s husband came.’

4.5.2 Explanation for minor groupings

The beginning of a minor grouping is signaled with the presence of one criterion. Such criteria include the presence of the DM *dik*, discontinuities of time, place, participant, and action, and greater-than-default subject encoding. The most common criterion for minor groupings is the introducer *xangf and* ‘then’ when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence.

When *xangf and* occurs in this position, it indicates temporal succession. When it occurs in the middle of a sentence, its function is usually that of a verbal filler. *Xangf and* is glossed as *ranhou* ‘then’ in Mandarin. Su (1998), Wang and Huang (2006), and Liu (2009) all argue that in Mandarin, *ranhou* can function as verbal filler (among other things). Su (1998:167) defines this as a “conceptual planning operation” that is translated into linguistic form.” This function appears in the Magpie Miao texts as well.

Notice the effect that *xangf and* has on the narrative in the following excerpt:

(81a) 27:1

As touk id , bib lens muas nongl , [**xangf and** , kaik dod muaf
 some time ago three CLF brothers and sisters **then**[†] use the[†] little sister
 id nid , dod muaf id jik ghuat dout dos as zot] .
 DIST[‡] IPFV[‡] the[†] little sister DIST[‡] PFV[‡] marry[†] give CLF tiger

‘Once there were three siblings. [They let their young sister marry a tiger].’

(81b) 27:2

xangf and daof ghangb nid , dod nongl mol zos jik , [dod as zot dak
then[†] afterward CONT[‡] the[†] brother[†] go arrive PFV[‡] the[†] tiger just[†]
 at dof dod nongl as hlob naox] ,
 will bite the[†] brother[†] older eat

‘Later, her older brother went to visit her. [The tiger wanted to eat him].’

(81c) 27:3

dod muaf jik it muax banf fax loud , at qunf dod
the[†] little sister PROM[‡] NEG exist do method[†] ? will persuade[†] the[†]

as yeus lak youf qunf it doul .
NP marker husband still[†] again[†] persuade[†] NEG end[†]

‘The sister could do nothing. She wanted to persuade her husband (not to eat him), but she was unable to persuade him.’

(81d) 27:4

xangf and at dof dod nongl naox loud , it muax banf fax louk
then[†] will bite the[†] brother[†] eat ? NEG exist do method[†] ?

yib houf jik ,
after[†] PFV[‡]

‘Well (he) wanted to eat (him), there was nothing that could be done.’

Line (81a) sets the scene for text 27. *Xangf and* occurs in the middle of (81a). Pauses both before and after *xangf and* suggest that the narrator needs time to search for the next words. Huang (1993), Su (1998), and Liu (2009) all note that *ranhou* in Mandarin, when occurring before or after a pause, serves as a verbal filler, which I believe *xangf and* does in (81a).

Line (81b) describes the next event in time in the narrative and so begins with *xangf and*. Notice that the second clause of (81b), which describes the Tiger’s desire to eat the brother, lacks *xangf and*. The absence of *xangf and* has the effect of portraying the second clause as occurring at the same time as the first clause. The same is true for (81c), where the sister tries to persuade her husband but is unable to do so. This event also occurs at the same time, so *xangf and* is not used in (81c). Line (81d), on the other hand, which describes the Tiger’s continued desire to eat the brother, does occur after the sister’s attempts to persuade him. Therefore, *xangf and* is used at the beginning of (81d).

Discontinuities like a discontinuity of time can signal a new minor thematic grouping, as shown below:

(82a) 27:14

at manf muab lob nas yal hlout jik , muab nil id dod nongl id
then pick up CLF big pot[†] metal PFV[‡] pick up 3S DIST[‡] the[†] brother[†] DIST[‡]
jik kub dout hout lob nas yal hlout jat jik , jik ghol aob
ADD[‡] cover[†] at in CLF big pot[†] metal [completed] PFV[‡] ADD[‡] pull[†] two
ndrangk nas qid jaox mol vud jat .
MSR[†] big manure[†] put on[†] go top[†] [completed]

‘Then they grabbed a large iron wok, grabbed the brother and covered him with it, then put two loads of manure over it.’

(82b) 27:15

[Dod as zot duax zos jik] **dod as zot** das ad bof muab qid
the[†] tiger from arrive PFV[‡] **the[†] tiger** [emphatic] only[†] see pick up manure[†]
id nins al das , uat jangl douk at muab dof naox , xangf and ,
DIST[‡] grab[†] [emphatic] how all[†] will pick up bite eat then[†]
al suad at manf haik dak :
Han then say

‘When the tiger got there, he kept digging through the manure because the only thing he wanted was to eat (the brother). Then the Hans said:’

In (82b), the bracketed clause represents a discontinuity of time. But there is no other criterion present to establish this as a boundary for a major thematic grouping. There is greater-than-normal S1 encoding (in bold), but as was argued in section 3.4.1.1.3, this instance of marked subject is caused by the discontinuity of time. The marked subject encoding is thus not an independent criterion, and therefore, it cannot be involved in establishing a major boundary.

In 27:41, shown below in (83b), there is an introduction of a new participant and thus a discontinuity of participant, as well as the presence of *xangf and*. In such a case, we might expect the beginning of a major thematic grouping.

(83a) 27:40

muab hlaot nil uak zongl uak caot id nzal hlaot dos
pick up get up[†] 3S those[†] festival dress those[†] clothing DIST[‡] weave[†] ? CLF

nas nyangb suk hlaot dos nas nens nangs , zaot hlaot dout , zix zaot lob
big straw like[†] ? CLF big person ? put[†] ? obtain put[†] CLF

ghous ndaik yod qet ad nangs .
corner[†] over there[†] place[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘He took his clothes and made a large straw figure like a large man, and put it in the corner of at that place.’

(83b) 27:41

Xangf and , **nil mol** yof nbax as nens id jik , nyaob nyaob duax
then[†] **3S go** invite[†] those[†] person DIST[‡] PFV[‡] a while from

is dos , nyaob nyaob **duax** is dos , qunx buf nil gus laot , bad lex yaos as zot
one[†] a while **from** one[†] whole[†] 3S friend[†] also COP[†] tiger

nangs .
?

‘Then he (the tiger) went to meet the others. (The others) came one at a time, all of his friends. They all were also tigers.’

In (83b), the Tiger’s relatives, ‘the others’ (zero encoding), take an active role for the first time in the narrative as the subject of *duax* ‘come’. When there is such a discontinuity of participant, there is also the beginning of a major thematic grouping, as in 27:11 (see (75) above). In this case, however, only a minor thematic grouping is signaled because of the less-than-default subject encoding. Not only is the subject of *duax* ‘come’ encoded as zero, but the subject of *mol* ‘go’ is encoded as the pronoun *nil* ‘3s’ (referring to the Tiger). Both are less than the default for S4 subjects, since the subject of the last clause of (83a) (bracketed) is the younger brother (encoded as zero). The less-than-default subject encoding for both subjects in (83b) has the effect of creating less disruption. Therefore, (83b) is considered a boundary for a minor grouping, not a major one.

There are a few instances where I do not recognize a boundary for a minor grouping where it might otherwise be expected. One example is shown below:

(84a) 27:22

[Xangf and **dod nongl** at manf traik ib drangb dras , jaox ib dos
 then[†] **the[†] brother[†]** then take[†] one CLF[†] knife[†] take[†] one CLF
 cuix cuib , jaox mol jik] , [dod muaf lal ncait haik dak dod as zot
 hammer[†] take[†] go PFV[‡] the[†] little sister also[†] fear[†] say the[†] tiger
 hlol jik ncait pand drous dod nongl ad haos .]
 come PFV[‡] fear[†] wound[†] [accomplish] the[†] brother[†] PROX[‡] ?

‘Then **the brother** took a knife and a hammer and went. The sister was still afraid that the tiger would return and harm her brother.’

(84b) 27:23.1

jik dod muaf **at manf** haik dak : ” nik nongl gaox at
 ADD[‡] the[†] little sister **then** say younger brother[†] 2S will
 zuf yif mit les , nyaob nzik mit pand drous gaox les .
 pay attention[†] for a while[†] ? afraid wound[†] [accomplish] 2S ?

‘Then the sister said: “Little brother, you need to be careful. (I’m) afraid (he) will hurt you.’

In the first half of (84a), we are told that the brother leaves to go after the Tiger. In the second half, we are told of the sister’s fear. In (84b), the sister expresses her fear to her brother. If this is the case, however, the brother cannot be understood to have left; instead, he must still be with his sister. In essence, (84b) is a restatement of the second half of (84a). In addition, (84b) has not advanced the narrative. Levinsohn (2008:31, emphasis original) writes regarding such situations, “Sentences describing simultaneous events or restating a proposition usually belong to the **same** thematic grouping.” Therefore, even though the presence of *at manf* ‘then’ in (84b) might indicate the beginning of a new minor grouping, it is not analyzed as such because of the failure of (84b) to advance the narrative.

There is one other instance like this when the narrative is not advanced (from 27:35.1 to 27:35.2) and therefore, a new minor grouping is not recognized.

One other instance when a minor grouping might be expected to begin occurs in 27:33, shown in (85b) below.

(85a) 27:32

“yos , yos , nand zed mit yeuf ndangb as ndris douk daid zangb luax at os ?”
oh[†] oh[†] how small uncle fist just[†] hard[†] very ? ah oh

“‘Ouch, Ouch. How can little brother’s fist be so hard?’”

(85b) 27:33

Xangf and jik , at manf it gand dof mit yeuf ndangb laif nangs mal .
then[†] **PFV[‡]** then NEG dare[†] bite small uncle end[†] ? ?

‘Then he didn’t dare eat / go after his brother-in-law.’

In (85a), the Tiger has just had his paw hammered by the brother, and he expresses his pain. (85b) describes the result of the Tiger’s pain. (85b) begins with *xangf and*, which would normally indicate the beginning of a new thematic grouping. But *jik*, which occurs after *xangf and*, adds (85b) to (85a) (see section 2.6.3.2), thus providing a measure of continuity over against the effect of *xangf and*. In addition, (85b) is a non-event, marked with the negative *it gand* ‘not’, and describes the result of the preceding section. (85b), then, does not advance the narrative as much as it concludes the current thematic grouping. Therefore, a new minor grouping is not found at (85b).

4.6 The groupings of text 27

The following diagram shows the divisions I propose between major and minor groupings for Text 27 (included in the appendix). The minor groupings occur within the major ones.

Background	1	Introduction	<i>xangf and</i> a filler in sentence 1
	2	The older brother's visit	discontinuity of time, but <i>nid</i> indicates continuity, so a minor grouping, not a major one
	3		
	4	The setup for the sister's plan	<i>xangf and</i>
	5		
	6	The sister explains	<i>nid</i> in sentence 6 indicates continuity, but marked S1 encoding and <i>xangf and</i> in sentence 6 forms new minor grouping
The chase	7	The older brother executes the plan	<i>dik</i> and discontinuity of participant in sentence 7 indicates new grouping
	8		
	9	The chase continues	<i>xangf and</i>
	10		
At the Han's house	11	The older brother requests help from the Han family	major because of a discontinuity of participant (the Han as addressee) and a discontinuity of place
	12		
	13	Han grab manure and cover the brother with it	<i>xangf and</i>
	14		
	15a	Tiger digs	discontinuity of time
	15b	the Han speak	<i>xangf and</i> + <i>at manf</i> ; marked S1 encoding in 17 is a result of discontinuity of action
	17		
18	Older brother goes home	<i>xangf and</i>	
At home	19	Conversation between brothers	major because of marked S3 encoding and change of location; <i>jik</i> in 20 links it with 19
	21		
	22	Conversation between sister and younger brother	<i>xangf and</i> ; marked S1 encoding; but failure of 22 to advance narrative makes this a minor grouping
	25		

Figure 1: The major and minor groupings of Text 27

Fig. 1 cont.

The battle intensifies	26.1	The little brother hides	major because of marked S2 encoding, discontinuity of action
	26.2 29.1	The tiger questions the sister	discontinuity of participant
	29.2 30.2	The tiger gets smacked on the nose	<i>xangf and</i> ; marked S4 encoding before climax
	31 33	The tiger gets whacked in the hand	<i>at manf</i> ; marked S4 encoding in 31 before climax; <i>jik</i> in 33 overrides <i>xangf and</i>
	34.1 34.2	The tiger goes hunting with the brother	discontinuity of place
	35.1 38	The tiger gets help from his relatives	NOT a major, despite the discontinuity of time, because <i>jik</i> provides continuity
	The brother's plan	39 40	The beginning of the brother's plan involving the straw man
41 43.2		The brother begins to kill the tiger's relatives	discontinuity of participant; but less encoding than normal for S4 (see chapter 3) causes this to be a minor grouping
44 46		The sister returns	less than expected S4 encoding signals a new minor grouping, not a major one
47.1 48		The brother goes up a tree	<i>dik, xangf and</i> ; marked S1 encoding in 47.2 because of the discontinuity of action
49		The tiger is killed	<i>xangf and</i>
50 52		Everyone goes home and lives happily ever after (except the tiger!)	discontinuity of participant, but less encoding than normal because the brother is VIP

4.7 Summary of findings

In this chapter, criteria for determining major and minor groupings have been examined.

This section presents some generalizations of the observations.

For major groupings, two independent criteria are necessary in order for a boundary to delineate the beginning of a new major grouping. Greater-than-normal subject encoding (except

for S1 contexts) is most commonly correlated with the beginning of a new thematic grouping. Greater-than-normal S1 encoding is not considered a criterion for the beginning of a major thematic unit since the subject remains the same, thus reducing the degree of discontinuity of participant. Instead, such encoding occurs after other discontinuities, such as discontinuity of action or time.

For minor groupings, a single criterion is sufficient to create a boundary for a new grouping. The introducer *xangf and* 'then', when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, is the most common indicator for such a grouping. Other criteria include a discontinuity of time, participant, or action. A few exceptions to these generalizations include failure to move the narrative forward or the presence of *jik* and *nid* at or near the beginning of the sentence.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

In this thesis, I have discovered features that correlate with boundaries for thematic groupings in Magpie Miao texts. These features include the DM *dik*, the sentence introducer *xangf and*, greater-than-normal subject encoding, and discontinuities of time, place, participant, and action. When two such features are present, a major grouping begins. When one such feature is present, a minor grouping begins. The most common feature is the use of the introducer *xangf and*.

I have also argued that the connectives *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* are involved in Magpie Miao discourse, specifically as connectives. Their default position as connectives is either at the beginning of a clause or immediately after some other constituent. *Nid* is used to indicate strong continuity with the preceding material. *Dik* is used as a development marker and indicates a new development in the narrative. *Jik* is the default connective used when neither of the other two apply.

Finally, I have described patterns of participant reference in a Magpie Miao text. Greater-than-normal encoding occurs before a climax or after some kind of discontinuity, including a thematic boundary. Less-than-normal encoding occurs because salient participants receive VIP encoding.

5.2 The value of mistakes and other idiosyncrasies in analysis

As was noted in the introduction, a collection of five unedited Magpie Miao texts was used for this study. The fact that these texts were unedited may appear to be a flaw in the study, perhaps weakening some of the arguments made in the body of this paper. According to Grimes (1976:33), “the texts that yield the most consistent analysis are edited texts.” I cannot claim that every argument made here has been unaffected by the presence of possible mistakes in the texts. But as noted earlier, especially in chapters 2 and 3, some of these mistakes have actually yielded insight into the way that the connectives and participant reference work in Magpie Miao.

In addition, some of the stories included expressions that, while not mistakes, might have been removed in the process of editing. For example, line 27:15 includes the expression *ad bof* ‘just see’, which Lund (personal communication) finds difficult to deal with. Even the Miao speaker appears uncertain about how to deal with it. It could have been edited out of the text without loss of grammaticality. But its presence, according to Lund (personal communication), indicates “some kind of continuous/persistent action by the tiger” and would therefore be consistent with the presence of an emphasis particle in that sentence. This description might have been lost had the texts been edited.

So while I would affirm the value of editing texts, I would also affirm the value of mistakes and/or expressions unique to oral texts in the analysis of such texts. Of course, the ideal situation would be to use edited texts alongside the original unedited texts. But it would be unwise, to the say the least, to completely discard the original recordings in favor of edited versions.

5.3 Areas for further study

This thesis has focused on determining boundaries between thematic groupings in Magpie Miao texts. But one question that has not been addressed is what function these groupings play within a narrative (e.g. setting the stage, introducing a complication, or telling the moral of the

story). Since we expect narratives cross-linguistically to include most of these elements, is it possible to correlate certain linguistic features at the boundaries of such groupings with their function? Are there other linguistic features within the groupings that correlate with their function?

In addition, the method utilized in this thesis looked for objective linguistic criteria to correlate with major and minor boundaries. This study did not include the intuitions of the storytellers or other native Magpie Miao speakers in identifying such boundaries. It would therefore be useful to repeat a study on thematic groupings while relying heavily, though not exclusively, on native speaker intuitions. Perhaps such divisions can be included in an edited text. It would also be useful to check whether native speaker intuitions confirm or deny my hypotheses about where breaks are signaled.

Another question that remains from this thesis concerns discontinuities of place in Magpie Miao. In chapter 4, various discontinuities within Magpie Miao were examined. All of them except discontinuity of place are typical of those found in other languages. Discontinuity of place is unlike the typical discontinuity of place described by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:38). Preposed locative expressions are rare in the texts; instead, new locations are introduced into narratives by way of tail-head linkage and by locative expressions at the end of a sentence. So the texts lack examples of discontinuities of place that fit Levinsohn's definition. One area for further study, therefore, would be this particular area: do other Magpie Miao texts include examples of classic discontinuities of place?

Participant reference was examined in some detail for Text 27. Comparisons were also made between the patterns discovered there and the pattern of subject encoding in Text 38. While this discussion was valuable for determining thematic groupings for Text 27, it would be useful to investigate patterns of participant reference in other texts. Also useful in such an investigation

would be a description of the determiner *dod* ‘the’. I was unable to discover a coherent explanation for the use of *dod* in Magpie Miao.

In addition, while the connectives *nid*, *dik*, and *jik* were examined in some detail in chapter 2 because they are the most common of the connectives in the texts, there are a number of other particles which are probably important to discourse structure. The demonstratives *id* ‘DIST’ and *ad* ‘PROX’ are chief among these.

One unresolved matter related to the aspectual use of the particles is the difference between *jik* and *dik*. I have argued that both indicate perfective aspect. But is there a difference between these particles as aspect markers?

While this thesis has focused on five folktales to provide a preliminary description of certain aspects of Magpie Miao discourse, a fuller description could be obtained by examining other types of narratives. Levinsohn (2008:12) notes that “certain verb forms or other features may be peculiar to folktales (e.g. the opening *Once upon a time* in English).” He also notes that the tracking of participants may not be typical, since such participants may already be familiar to the audience. It is likely that more thematic boundary features would become apparent if a broader range of genres were studied.

APPENDIX

MMT027

The following is a complete, unedited version of Lund's transcription and glossing of the story MMT027. The story was collected in the Agongzhai village. The storyteller is male and probably in his mid-thirties, according to my estimation of a photograph.

- 1 As touk id , bib lens muas nongl , xangf and , kaik dod
some time ago three CL¹⁰ brothers and sisters let
从前; 那时 三 (人的量词)个 兄弟姊妹 然后 用, 拿 个
muaf id nid , dod muaf id jik ghuat
little sister (of a brother) PRT little sister (of a brother)
(哥哥的)妹妹 语气 语气 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 语气 语气 嫁
dout dos as zot .
to give CL tiger
给 个 老虎

Once there were three siblings. They ?let their young sister marry a lion. [Note: It's unclear why 'kaik' was used. This seems like it could be that she willingly married the lion, or it could be that the brothers let her marry.]

¹⁰ Lund uses CL instead of CLF 'classifier'. In addition, he uses Part. 'particle', PRT 'particle', and Q 'question word'.

2 xangf and daof ghangb nid , dod nongl mol zos jik , dod
 then; afterward PRT again; then; also to go to arrive CL
 然后 后来 语气 又 兄弟 去;走 到 语气 个

as zot dak at dof dod nongl as hlob naox ,
 tiger all will to bite CL older to eat
 老虎 就;都要 咬 个 兄弟 大的 吃

Later, her older brother went to visit her. The tiger wanted to eat him.

3 dod muaf jik it muax banf fax loud , at
 little sister (of a brother) not there exists to do will
 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 语气 不要; 没有;不 有 办 法 语气 要

qunf dod as yeus lak youf qunf it doul .
 a NP marker husband Q not
 劝 个 [名词] 丈夫 都;都是;还是 又 劝 不要; 没有;不 了

The sister could do nothing. She wanted to persuade her husband (not to eat him), but she was unable to persuade him.

4 xangf and at dof dod nongl naox loud , it muax banf fax
 will to bite CL to eat not there exists to do
 然后 要 咬 个 兄弟 吃 语气 不要; 没有;不 有 办 法

louk yib houf jik ,

语气 (了..) 以后 语气

Well (he) wanted to eat (him), there was nothing that could be done.

- 13 Xangf and , al suad it muax banf fax , jik zenf ghol qid jik .
 not there exists to do
 然后 汉族 不要; 没有; 不有 办 法 语气 正 拉 粪 语气

Then the Han had nothing they could do, so (they) grapped some manure.

- 14 at manf muab lob nas yal hlout jik , muab nil
 then; only then to pick up CL big metal to pick up him
 才;就 拿, 取;把 个; 件; 条... 大 锅 铁 语气 拿, 取;把 他;她

id dod nongl id jik kub dout hout lob nas yal hlout
 [deictic?] at in CL big metal
 [名词] 个 兄弟 语气 语气 盖 在; 到 里 个; 件; 条... 大 锅 铁

- jat jik , jik ghol aob ndrangk nas qid jaox mol vud jat .
 [aspect] two big to go [aspect]
 放, 搁 语气 然后 拉 二; 两 背 (量词) 大 粪 拿 去; 走 盖 放, 搁

Then they grabbed a large iron wok, grabbed the brother and covered him with it, then put two loads of manure over it. [*Note: When they covered him with the wok, the phrase 'kub...jat' goes together.]

- 15 Dod as zot duax zos jik dod as zot das ad bof
tiger from to arrive tiger [emphatic] PRT1 see
个 老虎 从; 来到 语气 个 老虎 [强调] 只; 才 看到 (见)
- muab qid id nins al das , uat jangl douk at muab dof
to pick up [deictic?] [emphatic] how will to pick up to bite
拿, 取; 把 粪 [名词] 抓 [强调] 怎么 都; 就 要 拿, 取; 把 咬
- naox , xangf and , al suad at manf haik dak :
to eat then; only then to say, speak
吃 然后 汉族 才; 就 说

When the tiger got there, he kept digging through the manure because the only thing he wanted was to eat (the brother. Then the Hans said: [*Note: 'ad bof' is difficult to know how to deal with. My helper says that it is not what the tiger saw, but it is more of what either the speaker of the story saw, or what possibly the Han in the story saw. It seems to indicate some kind of continuous/persistent action by the tiger. Perhaps could be translated something like, 'that's the only thing you could see him do, he was doing it so intensely.']

- 16 "ais , gaox jat paox god qid les , rux gob gaox paox drous god qid
PRT4 2S me 2S [accomplish] me
哎 你 不要 刨 我 粪 语气 如果 你 刨 着 我 粪
- jik god at yuad gaox sad nangs ."
me will 2S
语气 我 要 要 你 命 语气

"Heh, don't dig in my manure. If you dig in my manure I will want your life."

- 17 As zot it muax banf fax jik as zot at manf zid daod
tiger not there exists to do tiger then; only then
老虎 不要; 没有; 不 有 办 法 语气 老虎 才; 就 立刻
- draod ghangb laif .
Part.
回去 了

The tiger had no way out, so he immediately went home.

- 18 Xangf and dod nongl hlob it at manf hlob zos zed ,
 [deictic?] then; only then to come to arrive house
 然后 个 兄弟 长大;大的 [名词] 才;就 来 到 房子;家
 at manf bad khat dod nongl as youk ad .
 then; only then tell again; then; also small one here
 才;就 摆 告诉 又 兄弟 小的 [这]

Then the older brother went home and told his younger brother.

- 19 Dod nongl youk ad at manf haik dak : "jif ranx haik dak dod voud
 small here then; only then to say, speak to say, speak
 个 兄弟 小 [这] 才;就 说 既然 说 个 丈夫
 ad douk muax zof lif haif louk yib houf jik dout god mol
 here there exists me to go
 [这] 都;就 有 这么 厉害 语气 (了..) 以后 语气 得 我 去;走
 rongx nil ib muas haik aid ."
 to look; to see him
 看 他;她 一眼 一下

Then the little brother said: "Since this husband is so fierce, let me go and have a go at him." [*Note: 1) 'Dod...ad' This is the same as the phrase 'dod ad' meaning this, the stuff in the middle is the referent (in this case 'nongl youk'). There are many words that behave this way in Miao that I didn't necessarily pick up on before. Certainly 'dod ...id' would be another of these combinations. 2) 'jif ranx', 'lif haif', 'yib houf', 'zof' -- these are all Chinese words. 3) The phrase I translated as 'have a go' ('rongx nil ib muas haik aid') literally means to have a look at him.]

- 20 Jik dod as hlob dak haik dak : "gaox jat mol aos , dod zot jik
 older to say, speak 2S to go tiger
 然后 个 大的 就;都 说 你 不 要 去;走 啊 个 老虎 语气
 as sab jik nyangd zangb das ndob zangb das aos ."
 heart very [emphatic] black very [emphatic]
 心; 心肠 语气 重 很 [强调] 黑色 很 [强调] 啊

The the older brother said: "Oh don't go. That tiger's heart is very hard, it's very black."

- 21 Dod nongl youk haik dak : "jif ranx haik dak yaos mal nongl ,
to say, speak to say, speak
个 弟弟 说 既然 说 是,好的 嘛 兄弟
xangf and nil al daif at uat land louk yib houf jik , zaf haik dak
him will to do
然后 他;她 还 要 做 这样 语气(了..) 以后 语气 无论
god jax god duas lak god dak at mol rongx nil
me me to die Q me all will to go to look; to see him
我 活 我 死 都;都是;还是 我 就;都 要 去;走 看 他;她
ib muas ."

一眼

The younger brother said: "Brother, even if it's as you say, and he (tiger) will still do the same (bad stuff), whether I die or live, I still want to give him a go."

- 22 Xangf and dod nongl at manf traik ib drangb dras , jaox ib dos
then; only then one one CL
然后 个 兄弟 才;就 别; 带; 插 一 把 刀子 拿 一 个
cuix cuib , jaox mol jik , dod muaf lal ncait haik dak
to go CL little sister (of a brother) to say, speak
锤子 拿 去;走 语气 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 也 怕 说
dod as zot hlol jik ncait pand drous dod nongl ad haos .
tiger to come [accomplish] here PRT
个 老虎 来 语气 怕 碰; 伤到 着 个 兄弟 [这] (语气)

Then the brother took a knife and a hammer and went. The sister was still afraid that the tiger would return and harm her brother. [Note: 'haik dak' is stuck in here not as part of the story itself, but just as something the speaker sticks in as a habit, so in this case it does not mean that the sister said anything. Perhaps the phrase could be translated something like, "I say, the sister was still afraid..."]

- 23.1 jik dod muaf at manf haik dak : "nik nongl gaox at
 little sister (of a brother) then; only then to say, speak 2S will
 语气 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 才;就 说 弟弟 你 要
 zuf yif mit les , nyaob nzik mit pand drous gaox les .
 small afraid [accomplish] 2S
 注意 小;点 语气 怕 碰; 伤到 着 你 语气

Then the sister said: "Little brother, you need to be careful. (I'm) afraid (he) will hurt you. [Note: Up until this point I only knew that there were 3 siblings, and the older brother was the first to visit the sister's home. Obviously the other brother was younger to the sister, but only with the phrase 'nik nongl' did I know that the younger brother is the youngest of the 3.]

- 23.2 cenf nil it nyaob zed jik gaox kad sait mol id ."
 him not at house 2S to go
 趁 他;她 不要; 没有;不 在 房子;家 语气 你 赶快 去;走 语气

"You hurry back while he's not at home."

- 24 Dod nongl haik dak : "jif ranx haik dak nil muax zongf gof fenf
 to say, speak to say, speak him there exists
 个 兄弟 说 既然 说 他;她 有 这么过分
 jik , god duax zos jik qib zuaf haik dak nongb ad god duas laif
 me from to arrive to say, speak me to die Part.
 语气 我 从; 来到 语气 即使 说 这天 我 死 了
 lak , god douk cenx renf ."
 Q me admit; confess
 吗 我 都;就 承认

The little brother said: "Since you say he is that *bad, if my coming today means my death, I can accept that." [Note: 'zongf gof fenf' is Chinese. It doesn't really mean bad, but I'm not sure how to make a smooth translation for it off the top of my head. It's probably closer to 'over the top', or 'too much.']

- 25 “Xangf and , at led jik , jif ranx haik dak gaox haik uak land
then to say, speak 2S say; speak; tell
然后 那么 语气 既然 说 你 说, 告诉 那些 这样
- laob yib houf nand nik id , gaox zid njit mol duax
2S to climb to go from
了 以后 现在 语气 语气 你 跑 (逃跑) 爬 去; 走 从; 来
- puat sout lob nik khaod bangx nyaob .”
farther on CL a bit cave to sit
那 (远远的) 上 个; 件; 条... 点 山洞 坐

"Well, since you put it that way, flee to that little cave way up there and hide." [Note: This sentence has a lot of unnecessary speech, as if the speaker was thinking through this as he was going. 'Xangf and', 'jif ranx', 'haik dak', 'laob yib houf nand' -- these are like the 'ums' 'ahs' and 'let's see' that an English speaker might put in while he's thinking about what to say next.]

- 26.1 Xangf and dod nongl as youk id at manf duax puat sout
small one [deictic?] then; only then from farther on
然后 个 兄弟 小的 [名词] 才; 就 从; 来 那 (远远的) 上
- ndaik yud sout lob nik khaod bangx it nyaob .
on CL cave to sit
那里 上 个; 件; 条... 语气 山洞 [名词] 坐

Then the little brother went up there to the cave and hid. [Note: 'dod nongl as youk id' --> 'id' is used instead of 'ad' because the sister was speaking in the previous sentence, so the speaker uses this to make a distinction between the sister and the brother.]

- 26.2 nyaob jik as zot hlol zos juas , as zot douk haik : “nongb ad
to sit tiger to come to arrive tiger say; speak; tell
坐 然后 老虎 来 到 到 老虎 都;就 说, 告诉 这天
jik , zut as nens ncab at les , qib mab ncait gaoux id nongl
aroma person aroma; strong smell PRT3
语气 味道 人 气味; 腥味 [呢] 语气 起码 怕 你家 兄弟
dod duax les ?”
again; then; also from
又 从; 来 语气

After (brother) hid, the tiger came back and said: "Today, smells like man. I'm afraid your brother must have come again."

- 27 Dik dod muaf douk haik : “it
PRT little sister (of a brother) say; speak; tell not
呢 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 都;就 说, 告诉 不要; 没有; 不
yaos .”

是, 好的

Then the sister said: "No."

- 28.1 Dik dod as zot douk renf weix douk it senf loud .
PRT tiger not
呢 个 老虎 都;就 认为 都;就 不要; 没有; 不 信 语气

But the tiger did not believe (her). [Note: 'renf weix douk' does not need to be here. This is extra stuff spoken by the storyteller.]

- 28.2 dod as zot haik dak : “yaos hlaos .”
tiger to say, speak
个 老虎 说 是的

The tiger said: "Certainly."

29.1 Nat mol nat hlol jik , nat nat jik , nyaob puat
to smell to go to smell to come to smell to smell at farther
闻 去;走 闻 来 语气 闻 闻 语气 在 那(远远的)

sout lob nik khaod bangx it jik .
up CL little cave
上 个; 件; 条... 小 山洞 [名词] 语气

(He) sniffed here and there, sniffing and sniffing up to the little cave.

29.2 xangf and at manf ib nat ib nat , dod nongl id ib
then; only then one to smell one to smell [deictic?] one
然后 才;就 一 闻 一 闻 个 兄弟 [名词] 一

cuix cuib dout lob khaod nzus dout , lal dod ib
to give CL nose [progressive] again; then; also one
锤子 给 个; 件; 条... 鼻子 着 也 又 一

tuif .

退

Then the tiger sniffed around, the brother smacked him on the nose with the hammer, and the tiger backed out. [Note: from the context, the listener gets the idea that the tiger is too big to fit in the cave, so he sticks his head in and sniffs around. He gets smacked by the hammer and pulls his head out.]

30.1 "yis , uak ad it xingx , uak ad sod yaos ib yangf
[exclamation] not one
咦 这些 不要; 没有;不 行 这些 不知道 是,好的 一 样

jit ?

什么(可以是人可以是物)

"Heh, that's not right, what does he have?" (lit. I don't know what it is)

30.2 sod mit yeuf ndangb jaox ib yangf jit ?"
 small uncle; mother's brother one
 不知道 小;点 舅舅 拿 一 样 什么(可以是人可以是物)

"What does little uncle have?" (lit. don't know what he has) [Note: 'yanf dangb' literally means mother's brother, but it is customary for the husband to use this title to refer to his wife's brother. It is the same title that his kids would use for their uncle.]

31 At manf dod xangb caik dil mol suak ,
 then; only then again; then; also CL hands to go to touch
 才;就 又 伸 只(一只手) 手 去;走 摸

dod mol ib suak nid , nil id dod nongl as youk
 again; then; also to go one to touch PRT him [deictic?] small one
 又 去;走 一 摸 语气 他;她 [名词] 个 兄弟 小的

id trot hlaot dod cuix cuib , dong , dong , dong land caik dil
 [deictic?] CL hands
 [名词] 抽出 个 锤子 这样 只(一只手) 手

dout .
 to give
 给

Then he stuck his hand in and felt around, and the little brother pulled out the hammer, bam, bam, bam, whacking his hand.

32 "yos , yos , nand zed mit yeuf ndangb as ndris douk daid zangb
 small uncle; mother's brother fist very
 唷 唷 怎么 小;点 舅舅 拳头 都;就 硬 很

luax at os ?"

? 啊 哦

"Ouch, Ouch. How can little brother's fist be so hard?"

33 Xangf and jik , at manf it gand dof mit yeuf ndangb laif
 then; only then to bite small uncle; mother's brother Part.
 然后 语气 才;就 不敢 咬 小;点 舅舅 了

nangs mal .

语气 嘛

Then he didn't dare eat / go after his brother-in-law.

34.1 Hlol jik at manf ndros dod muaf haik
 to come then; only then with little sister (of a brother) say; speak; tell
 来 语气 才;就 和(跟着)个 (哥哥的)妹妹 说,告诉

jik haik dak : "haob , jif ranx haik dak mit yeuf ndangb
 to say, speak to say, speak small uncle; mother's brother
 语气 说 好 既然 说 小;点 舅舅

douk muax zongf uak bend sif and yib houf , nyaox gis
 there exists like this ability; skill [interjection] tomorrow
 都;就 有 这样 那些 本事 啊 以后 明天

nid , god at xik nil mol laid nghaix .
 PRT me will take him to go
 语气 我 要 带; 娶 他;她 去;走 狩猎; 打猎

The he went home and said to his wife: "OK, since your brother is so great/skilled, tomorrow I'll take him hunting.

34.2 nil uak bend sif ad jik , kod yus dout doul uak ad naox as
 him ability; skill here to obtain to eat PRT5
 他;她 那些 本事 [这] 语气 可以 得 了 这些 吃 语气

hlaos , xik nil mol laid nghaix ."
 take him to go
 的? 带; 娶 他;她 去;走 狩猎; 打猎

With his skill, he's certain to get something. I'll take him hunting." [Note: 'uak...ad' goes together.]

35.1 Xangf and jik , at manf dif ert daik gil jik at manf xik
 then; only then 2nd morning then; only then take
 然后 语气 才;就 第二 早上 语气 才;就 带; 娶

mol nas mal .

to go

去;走 语气

So the next day he took him hunting.

35.2 at manf xik mol nas mal .
 then; only then take to go
 才;就 带; 娶 去;走 语气

Then took him.

35.3 nguas nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb at uat ndix haos ,
 him [deictic?] small uncle; mother's brother will in front PRT
 让 他;她 [名词] 个 小;点 舅舅 [这] 在前 (语气)

douf sik haik dak at nyaob ndaik yuad nangs , yinb weif nil it gand dof
 is to say, speak will at him to bite
 就是 说 要 在 这里 语气 因为 他;她 不敢 咬

nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb laix loud ,
 him [deictic?] small uncle; mother's brother PRT.
 他;她 [名词] 个 小;点 舅舅 了 语气

He let his brother-in-law go in front, saying, "Just right here [to hunt]," because he no longer dared to give him trouble.

- 36 jik nil jik al daif mol yof as nens , yof nil id bangb as zot
 him to go person him [deictic?] a group tiger
 语气 他;她 语气 还 去;走 约 人 约 他;她 [名词] 群 老虎
 ad , at said sib nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb at .
 here will him [deictic?] small uncle; mother's brother here
 [这] 要 收拾 他;她 [名词] 个 小;点 舅舅 [这]

Well, he went to get help, (calling together/meeting up with) the other tigers in his family in order to take care of his little brother-in-law.

- 37 hangb danf sif nid , nil al daif mol yof as nens laif yib houf
 but PRT him to go person Part.
 但是 但是 语气 他;她 还 去;走 约 人 了 以后
 ail , nil ad nzib dik haik dak "ndaik yod nik qet ad
 [aspect particle] him PRT1 PRT to say, speak here
 了 他;她 只;才 欺骗 呢 说 那边 语气 地方 [这]
 jik at duax yuad daol zes ."
 will from here wait
 语气 要 从; 来 这里 等 语气

Well, uh, he went to get someone, uuuh, he just tricked his brother-in-law, saying: "Wait for me here." [This sentence has a lot of repetition and uncertainty on the part of the speaker as he thinks of what to say next.]

- 38 Jik douf sik at yof duax ad nid , douf sik at muab nil dof
 is will from PRT2 PRT is will to pick up him to bite
 语气 就是 要 约 从; 来 的话 语气 就是 要 拿, 取;把 他;她 咬
 dout ndaik yuad nangs .
 to obtain
 得 这里 语气

If he could get the others to come, then they could (get him/eat him) there. [Note: 'dof' literally means bite, but in this story and other stories it means to kill or to hurt/harm. The context will tell which exactly it means. Here it certainly means to kill.]

39 Xangf and , nil id dod mit yeuf ndangb at manf sand
 him [deictic?] small uncle; mother's brother then; only then
 然后 他;她 [名词] 个 小;点 舅舅 才;就 想

dos banf fax .

CL to do

个 办 法

Then the little brother thought of a plan.

40 muab hlaot nil uak zongl uak caot id nzal hlaot dos
 to pick up him festival dress clothing [deictic?] CL
 拿, 取;把 起 他;她 那些 服饰 那些 衣服 [名词] 编 了 个

nas nyangb suk hlaot dos nas nens nangs , zaot hlaot dout , zix
 big thatch; straw CL big person to obtain
 大 茅草 像 了 个 大 人 语气 放(放牛) 了 得 到

zaot lob ghous ndaik yod qet ad nangs .

CL

here

放(放牛) 个; 件; 条... 角, 角落 那边 地方 [这] 语气

He took his clothes and made a large straw figure like a large man, and put it in the corner of at that place.

41 Xangf and , nil mol yof nbax as nens id jik ,
 him to go person [deictic?]
 然后 他;她 去;走 约 那些 (指人) 人 [名词] 语气

nyaob nyaob duax is dos , nyaob nyaob duax is dos , qunx buf nil
 a while; a moment from a while; a moment from him
 一会 从; 来 一个 一会 从; 来 一个 全部 他;她

gus laot , bad lex yaos as zot nangs .

also; all tiger

朋友 也, 都 是, 好的 老虎 语气

Then he (the tiger) went to meet the others. The others came one at a time, all of his friends. They all were also tigers.

42.1 Dod ad duax zos , ib jab hod pengf , uat dod as nyangb at ghous ndat .
 here from to arrive thatch here
 个 [这] 从; 来 到 一下子 碰 把 个 茅草 [这] 摔倒

One came and hit the straw man, causing it to fall down. [Note: This phrase would be better said as 'ib jab hod pengf dod as nyangb at. uat ghous ndat.']

42.2 ib dras dod duat dout ib dos .
 one again; then; also to obtain one CL
 一 刀子 又 杀 得 一 个

Then (the brother) killed the tiger with one stroke from his knife.

42.3 dod duax dif ert dos , lal dod muab kot hlaot
 again; then; also from 2nd CL again; then; also to pick up
 又 从; 来 第 二 个 也 又 拿, 取; 把 放 了
 dout .
 to obtain
 得

The second tiger came, and the (brother) took the (straw man) and set it up again.

43.1 Duax dif ert dos lal tongx yangf id lal ib dras lal dod duat
 from 2nd CL one again; then; also
 从; 来 第 二 个 也 同样 语气 也 一 刀子 也 又 杀
 dangl .
 finish; complete
 完

The second (tiger) came and, in the same way, (the brother) killed it with a stroke of his knife.

43.2 xangf and zongb gongf duat dout juax dos ail , xangf and jik ,
 to obtain NUM CL [aspect particle]

然后 总共 杀 得 九 个 了 然后 语气

senf nil id dod voud ad hlol nangs .
 him [deictic?] here to come
 剩 他;她 [名词] 个 姐夫, 妹夫 [这] 来 语气

Altogether he killed nine, then his sister's husband came.

44 Nil id dod voud ad hlol jik nil id dod
 him [deictic?] here to come him [deictic?]
 他;她 [名词] 个 姐夫, 妹夫 [这] 来 语气 他;她 [名词] 个

voud ad haik :
 here say; speak; tell
 姐夫, 妹夫 [这] 说, 告诉

His sister's husband came and said: [Note: the speaker said this incorrectly. Based on the context, it should have been the brother that spoke. The correct way would have excluded the second occurrence of 'id dod voud ad'.]

45 "gaox rongx mal , gaox al daif it hlol , gaox rongx
 2S to look; to see 2S not to come 2S to look; to see
 你 看 嘛 你 还 不要; 没有; 不 来 你 看

mal , god duat dout nbouf ad nghaix nil , boub it boub ?"
 me to obtain enough here meat PART know not know
 嘛 我 杀 得 够 [这] 肉 语气 知道 不要; 没有; 不 知道

"Look, before you returned (lit. not yet come), look, I got so much meat. Do you understand what I mean?"

46 Nil id dod voud id rongx dout jik , yos ,
 him [deictic?] [deictic?] to look; to see to obtain
 他;她 [名词] 个 姐夫, 妹夫 [名词] 看 得 语气 唷

ad bof nghaix jik bad lex duat dout qunx baf baf loud .
 PRT1 see meat also; all to obtain yard
 只; 才 看到 (见) 肉 语气 也, 都 杀 得 全 院坝 语气

His sister's husband looked. Oh! All he saw was dead (meat / tiger) all around.

47.1 dik , xangf and uat let haik dak dod nongl id lak , suk
 PRT to say, speak [deictic?] Q
 呢 然后 就像, 就如 说 个 兄弟 [名词] 都; 都是; 还是 像

as nens tab nens it nangs .
 person and person
 人 和 人 语气 语气

Well, it's like the brother (and the tiger) are like man contesting against man. [Note: The speaker didn't speak the thought completely. He dropped the term 'tiger' out of the comparison. Also, the idea of men contesting with one another is implicit because of the context of the story.]

47.2 al yeus yout mit mit laif , nil at manf ib ngous dout
 man small small small Part. him then; only then one at
 词头 男人 小 小;点 小;点 了 他;她 才;就 一 跳 在; 到

sout zaob dongk .
 on CL
 上 棵 树

The brother (lit. 'man') was a bit smaller, so he sprung up a tree.

48 Jik nil haik dak : "as vout , nand nuaf
 him to say, speak brother-in-law; husband of older sister
 语气 他;她 说 姐夫 现在 看

bus haik dak gaox at dod at njit hlol
 Q to say, speak 2S will again; then; also will to climb to come
 指示问句 说 你 要 又 要 爬 来

lak , god at nghel hlol ?"
 Q me will to come
 都;都是;还是 我 要 下 来

Then he said: "Brother-in-law, see, should you come up now or should I go down?"

49 Xangf and dod as zot jik rongx jik muab nil nbaos gud zix jik
 tiger to look; to see to pick up 3P
 然后 个 老虎 语气 看 语气 拿, 取;把 他们 兄弟 语气

ib haf duat dout cenx baf baf laix loud , douk ib hlous njit daoX mol ,
 to obtain yard Prt. one
 全部 杀 得 成 院坝 了 语气 都;就 一 爬 爬上去

dod dangl land , ais , lal ib haf muab duat
 again; then; also finish; complete PRT4 to pick up
 又 完 这样 哎 也 全部 拿, 取;把 杀

il gaid .

完;(跑光 光)完

Then the tiger looked and saw that the brother had killed all of his brothers, filling the whole area (with the bodies). Then he suddenly sprang up (the tree), and just like that, he was finished. Ah, all of the (tigers) were killed.

50 At manf muab nil id dod muaf id
 then; only then to pick up him [deictic?] little sister (of a brother) [deictic?]
 才;就 拿, 取;把 他;她 [名词] 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 [名词]

xik draod ghangb hlol laif nangs mal .
 take to come Part.
 带; 娶 回去 来 了 语气 嘛

Then the brother took his sister back home.

51 uak ad jik douf sik xangk dangk yux haik dak :
 is to say, speak
 这些 语气 就是 相当于 说

That is all to say:

52 nyaob nduab xingf fux sef huif ad louk uat let haik dak
 at here to say, speak
 在 里 幸福 社会 [这] 语气 (了..) 就像, 就如 说

yaos dod muaf mol dout uat let haik dak
 little sister (of a brother) to go to obtain to say, speak
 是, 好的 个 (哥哥的)妹妹 去;走 得 就像, 就如 说

dix as sab nyangd id uak haik faf id nangs .
 those; some heart say; speak; tell [deictic?]
 那些 心; 心肠 重 语气 那些 说, 告诉 法 [名词] 语气

In this blessed society, it's like the saying "sister married a bad man." [Note: This is a typical situation and corresponding saying regarding a woman that married to a man with a bad heart: 'uat let haik dak yaos dod muaf mol dout dix as sab nyangd id']

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