# What makes a story a story in Plang?

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#### 1. Introduction

What makes a story a story? All of us can quickly identify the key characters, the major events, the important features of a story in our own languages. We have the ability to summarize a lengthy tale into several sentences because of that learned knowledge. Many of us, however, would not be able to tell a non-native speaker just what the clues were that enabled us to do that. That those clues exist is clear, and to gain adequate control of another language those must be identified and controlled.

To the Plang people, as well as the speakers of any language, there are specific features which must be included in the telling of a story in order for it to be a well told story. Several first person oral narratives in the Plang language have been studied to isolate those features in terms of a theory of discourse grammar. These features are discussed after an introduction to the Plang people and a brief summary of the theory of discourse grammar based on Robert Longacre's work.

# 1.1 The Plang People

The Plang people recently arrived (mid 1970's) in Thailand from southern China. They fit into the Thai culture so well that few people know of their uniqueness outside the villages to which they have migrated. They are predominantly Buddhist in their beliefs. In China the Plang are an official minority group called Blang or Bulang. They are described as an agricultural people, and this fact is reflected in the texts studied in this paper. Another piece of evidence of an agrarian heritage is their lifestyle in Thailand, where they remain highly involved in agriculture for their livelihood.

The Plang people are found in northern Thailand, eastern Myanmar, and southwestern Yunnan Province in China. They live in the Sipsong Panna area of Yunnan Province, which is the southwestern-most part of the province. It is situated across from the Shan State of Myanmar and directly north of Thailand. In Myanmar they live in the town of Kengtung and the Muang Yong area in Shan State. In Thailand (Grimes 1992:745) approximately one thousand live in Chiang Rai Province, with another two hundred living west of Bangkok working mostly as gardeners. Data for this research was collected in Baan Huay Nam Khun, Chiang Rai province.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper is a revision of parts of the author's M.A. thesis (Block, 1994).

## 1.2 Classification of Plang

Plang fits into the Northern Division of Mon-Khmer. Within the Northern Division of Mon-Khmer, it is a member of the Waic group of the Western subbranch of Palaungic. Within this sub-branch Plang is included with the Waic group together with the Lawa and the Wa languages. An abbreviated form of the Austro-Asiatic family tree appears in Figure 1 as taken from Diffloth (1980).

Austro-Asiatic
Mon-Khmer
Northern Division
Khmuic
Palaungic
Eastern sub-branch
Palaung languages
Riang dialects
Danau
Western sub-branch
Waic
Bulang (Plang)
Lawa languages
Wa languages

Figure 1. Position of Plang in Mon-Khmer

## 2. Review of the theory

The theory of discourse grammar proposed by Longacre examines features which mark the main-line (storyline/event-line) vs. supportive material. In a narrative text it examines the manner in which the storyline, routine events (script predictable events), backgrounded actions or events, backgrounded activity (durative), the setting, irrealis, evaluation (from the author), and cohesive and thematic elements are marked, which tells us what makes a story a story. In many languages this distinction is marked by tense/aspect/mode in the verb. Longacre (1981:340) refers to the total range of information as the spectrum and introduces it by saying:

the analysis of a narrative text reveals a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the static (depictive) elements; successive positions along the cline correlate well (as a whole) with distinctions among the verb forms of a language (i.e., with the tense/aspect/mode/ voice system), but other features (word order, use of affixes, particles or adverbs) must sometimes be invoked to round out the picture

This spectrum follows the hierarchy of information types which Longacre proposes along the lines originating with Grimes (1975), but ranks the elements as they pertain to the storyline. That is, there is a ranking in terms of "progressive degrees of structural departure from the storyline" (Longacre 1987:52). This ranking has to do with the way a story adds information to the storyline, not with semantic ranking; indeed, an item may be ranked very low in the hierarchy of discourse information and yet be crucial to the understanding of the story.

Longacre defines a storyline in the following way:

it presents actions and events which are (a) sequential, (b) punctiliar, (c) at least in part causally connected. Since a discourse is not a story unless it is so characterized, it follows then that the structurally most important part of the story is its storyline, i.e., the sequence of sequential, punctiliar and (at least partially) causally connected actions and events which are represented in the narrative. A storyline reports not simply events but actions, i.e., voluntary doings of animate (usually human) agents (1987:51).

- 1'. Primary storyline (augmentation of 1)
  - 1. Primary storyline
    - 2. Secondary storyline\*
      - 3. Routine (script predictable)
        - 4. Backgrounded actions/events
          - 5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
            - 6. Setting (exposition)
              - 7. Irrealis
                - 8. Evaluation (author intrusions)
                  - 9. Cohesive and thematic elements

Figure 2. Longacre's Etic Bands of Salience in Narrative (1989:443)

Longacre (1989:443) proposes an etic nine-band hierarchy of information as shown in Figure 2. This information is presented in order of saliency, that is, clauses which advance the storyline are considered of highest importance, followed by those bands which are successively more removed from the storyline.

According to Longacre there is a major break in this hierarchy between that of the primary storyline and all the other bands. This break is due to the desire to isolate the "backbone", that which is absolutely necessary to moving the narrative forward, from all that which is the "flesh", those clauses which add details and color. Longacre has focused on verb morphology as markers of the information bands in narratives, and he has proposed that verb marking can distinguish the various bands in each type of discourse within a given language. But Plang, like many Southeast Asian languages, has very little verb morphology. Therefore, in Plang, factors other than verb morphology must be used as surface markers of this spectrum of information.

<sup>\*</sup> Flashback: as an ill-defined category, it can group with (2) or (4); as a well-defined morphosyntactic category it can be added after (5).

## 3. Plang texts

"Life in China<sup>2</sup>" (LC), the primary text analyzed for this paper, is a narrative. This text, along with the other texts analyzed, are all first person orally narrated experiences gathered in a village in northern Thailand. The narrators of these texts were both grandmothers who had come to Thailand from China in the mid-1970's or so. The narrator of LC was prompted to tell this story through a request for information on what life was like in China.

The Plang texts under evaluation all use a cyclical method of story telling, where each major episode constitutes one cycle. Each cycle focuses on a different aspect of the story.<sup>3</sup> Each major episode is introduced by stating the setting. This is done using virtually the same clause each time "We lived in China." and is closed by another clause, which is repeated almost verbatim each time "It was difficult." Three episodes of "Life in China." deal primarily with the same issue, that of the difficulties encountered in China. The first episode deals with difficulties due to the geography of where they lived, while the second and third episodes deal with the journey from China. The second episode focuses on the difficulties due to traveling with small children, and the third on the lack of food and the journey itself. Each of these three episodes introduces new information while highlighting repeated information, that of how difficult life was. The fourth and final episode deals with life in Thailand and does not state difficulties so much as it recounts how they have prospered there.

## 4. Tentative Plang salience scheme

As stated earlier, Longacre reported salience schemes which are primarily based on the tense, aspect, and mode of the verb in the languages to which they apply (Longacre, 1989). The term salience refers to the relative importance of the clauses included in a given type of text. In narrative, for example, those clauses deemed most crucial to the storyline, or immediately qualifying it, are considered to be highest in saliency. Those clauses which are less crucial to "rounding out" storyline give information in subsidiary lines of development and are considered less salient, although no less necessary to the telling of a story in good form.

Longacre also claims that for many languages affixation of the verb phrase proves to be a method of marking those clauses that present storyline events and actions as opposed to those which are backgrounded. In languages like Plang and Thai, however, which do not regularly mark tense, aspect, or mode (or do so in a very limited manner), one must look for additional clues as to what marks the storyline. (Plang does to a very limited degree mark tense/aspect/mode: tense with a future particle kənang, aspect with a completive particle ac, and mode with a negative particle nang.)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The text "Life in China" was collected in the village of Huay Nam Khun, Chiang Rai province, Thailand. The dialect spoken is Kontoi Plang. See Block (1994) for the complete text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Block (1994) for a complete discussion of the macrostructure of this text.

Figure 3 presents a tentative salience scheme for Plang first-person narrative texts. There are many details of each level which are as yet unknown and will require further research. This figure will be discussed in detail in the following sections of this paper.

- 1. Storyline
  - 2. Backgrounded activities (routine/script predictable actions)
    - 3. Setting (exposition)
      - 4. Irrealis
        - 5. Evaluation (author intrusions)
          - 6. Cohesive and thematic

Figure 3. Plang bands (tentative)

## 4.1 Storyline

Clauses in the storyline (band 1) contain verbs which propel the story forward. Storyline clauses are usually sequential, punctiliar, and at least partially causally connected. In Plang the main verb in a storyline clause occurs in the independent clause and denotes an action, motion, or event (cf. example [1]). The verb phrase is often a series of verbs: a main verb with directional or auxiliary verbs preceding or following it. A complete or finite list of each of these needs to be researched. There are also some instances which do not seem to fit the pattern, again further research will be needed before this tentative salience scheme can be accepted. In example (2) the verb phrase<sup>4</sup> consists of the main verb (action) remx 'weed' and the directional verb hul 'go/walk'. (The portions in focus will appear in bold.)

- (1) LC 7<sup>5</sup>

  iq tə ngrom aq.

  1.p(3+) then burn it

  pron conj v pron

  We then burned it.
- (2) LC 9

  mol ac si hul remx aq.

  plant(drop.seed) compl DCM go/walk weed.(out) it

  v part part v v pron

  Planting finished, (we) go weed it.

# 4.2 Backgrounded Activity

Longacre (1989:440) says that all languages have backgrounded activity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The bold portion of each example is that which is referred to in the prose section—the verb phrase, the marking of irrealis, the evaluation, a conjunction, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See appendix A for chart showing IPA equivalents of the romanized phonemic orthography used for Plang.

(band 2 of Fig. 3). Any activities that are non-punctiliar, repetitive, on-going, prolonged, and gradual, are included in the category of backgrounded activities. Some of these activities are customary or routine. At this point in the analysis of Plang several bands (Fig. 2) have been collapsed into this band (backgrounded activities). More texts need to be analyzed before these details can be sorted out.

Table 1 (only independent clauses shown) demonstrates a "farming" script, from "Life in China." There are clauses in this episode which appear to be storyline clauses (from the criterion given above); however, due to the manner in which they demonstrate ongoing and repetitive activities, these clauses are demoted to the band of backgrounded activities. At this point, pragmatic distinctions come into play in defining the distinction between bands 1 and 2. The order in which the events are presented is both logical and predictable as prescribed by the narrator's culture.

| Table 1. Backgrounded Activity from "Life in Chin | . Backgrounded | Sable 1. | <b>Table</b> |
|---|----------------|----------|--------------|
|---|----------------|----------|--------------|

| S#  | Subject                                  | Verb                                 | Object/Location           |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 6b  | <i>iq t</i> ə<br>1.p (3+) then           | hul käcx<br>go/walk light fire       | <i>aq</i><br>it           |
|     | <i>iq tə</i><br>1.p (3+) then            | ngrom<br>burn                        | aq<br>it                  |
| 8b  | <i>iq tə</i><br>1.p (3+) then            | h <del>ul mol</del><br>go/walk plant | aq<br>it                  |
| 9b  |  | hul remx<br>go/walk weed             | aq<br>it                  |
| 10c | <i>iq kon to</i> 1.p (3+) gradually then | väcx<br>reap                         | aq<br>it                  |
| 11  | <i>iq tə</i><br>1.p (3+) then            | tum to cap<br>pile then thresh       |                           |
| 12  | kon<br>gradually                         | puhx ëng carry on back return/come   | <i>ñaqx re</i> house poss |
| 13  | <i>iq tə</i><br>1.p (3+) then            | <i>tähx</i><br>husk                  | aq<br>it                  |
| 14  |  | plin ne ëhx<br>build refl take       | apol<br>mortar            |
| 15c |  | som add (put in)                     | nang apol<br>loc mortar   |
| 16b | <i>iq</i><br>1.p (3+)                    | kam<br>winnow                        | ngkuq<br>husked rice      |

... we made it burn. <sup>7</sup> We then burned it. <sup>8</sup> ...we went to plant it. <sup>9</sup> ... we weed it. <sup>10</sup> ...we would gradually harvest it. <sup>11</sup>We then piled, then threshed (it). <sup>12</sup> Gradually (we) carried it back to our house. <sup>13</sup> We then pounded it. <sup>14</sup> (We) built a large mortar. <sup>15</sup> ... (we) put (rice) into the mortar. <sup>16</sup> Pounded it... (sound of pounding), we winnowed the rice.

#### 4.3 Setting

In Plang the verb phrase of the clause which denotes the setting (band 3) is often filled by a stative (3), equative, or descriptive verb, i.e., a non-dynamic verb. These verbs usually occur alone as in (3), without any other verbs in the verb phrase. Predicate adjectives in the verb phrase (4) may also be used alone or in conjunction with one or more of the other elements which mark the setting.

- iq muk nang känghuq.

  1.p(3+) live at China
  pron v-st loc prop.n
  We lived in China.
- (4) LC 27 koy Sİ iq iq et は um um tə 1.p(3+) then have water 1.p(3+)water DCM then small conj conj v pron pron adi part n n noy noy. little little adj adi We had water, our water supply was very small.

#### 4.4 Irrealis

Irrealis (band 4) refers to those clauses which express ideas that have not or will not occur. Irrealis may be marked in two major ways. First, irrealis may be marked by stating that the action is yet to occur because it refers to a future event, happening, etc., or that it depends upon some condition to be fulfilled. Secondly, it may be marked by the negation of a clause. There is no sense of completion or punctuality to the verb in these clauses.

There is a conjunction at the clause level,  $\tilde{n}uqx$  'if/when', (6) which conveys that a certain action must occur in order for the next action to be carried out. The sense that this conjunction gives is that the action expressed in the verb phrase of the next clause, is conditional to another. In example (6) the condition which is stated is: if or when the fields are cut.

LC6 **(6)** tə ñűqx məkx Śİ iq tə ac then if/when 1.p(3+)then cut compl DCM conj conj part pron conj part V käcx yuhx h<del>u</del>l iq tə aq aq haq. then go/walk light.fire it do/make burn.(intr) it 1.p(3+)conj v pron V pron v pron Then if (when) we have cut the fields, then we go set fire to them, making them burn.

The future particle did not appear in this corpus of data, but has been found in elicited material (7).

#### (7) elicited sentence

```
khraw ac kənang hul häm ne. moment compl future go.down bathe refl temp part part v v part In a moment, (I) will go bathe myself.
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Negation is the second means by which Plang indicates irrealis. Negation indicates that the state, event, or action in the verb phrase has not and will not occur, as in (8).

## (8) LC 28

```
to ng-khruq cänx.
then neg-enough carry.water
part part-adj v
There was not enough water.
```

#### 4.5 Evaluation

Evaluation (Band 5) is marked by descriptive clauses by which the author addresses the audience directly and expresses a judgment (good or bad). The author of LC interjects five evaluative remarks into her story. These are of two types. The first (9, 10) has the verb phrase filled by a predicate adjective followed immediately by an intensifier or followed by the sentence final evaluative particle so (which indicates that the situation described is one that is contrary to expectation). The second (11, 12) has the verb phrase filled with a stative verb followed by the sentence final evaluative particle so (which indicates that the situation described is one to be pitied).

With four of the occurrences (9 (LC-S# 78) and LC-S#: 37, 38, 59) it is virtually the same remark: hñap mot 'Too difficult!' The fifth evaluation (10) compares China with Thailand.

#### (9) LC 78

```
htiap mot.
difficult too
adj adv
It was too difficult!
```

## (10) LC 64

```
cəlëtx
                             kängthuy
                     caw
                                                teqx
               SUN
                                                        SƏ.
n
               same people Thailand
     good
                                                here
                                                       contr.expect.
neg
part adj
               adj
                             prop.n
                                                adv
                                                       part
                     n
It was not good like the Thai people here have it.
```

There are two instances where the narrator uses a stative verb plus the sentence final particle so 'pitiable' to mark an evaluative statement:

- (11) LC 18

  iq muk nang känghuq so.

  1.p(3+) live at China pitiable
  pron v-st loc prop.n part
  We lived in China. (A pitiable situation.)
- (12) LC 38

  muk ng känghuq so hñap.

  live at China pitiable difficult
  v-st loc prop.n part adj
  We lived in China it was difficult.

#### 4.6 Cohesive band

The cohesive band or thematic band (band 6) is the "glue" that holds a text together. The cohesive band refers to the manner in which a language links each sentence to the next—the manner in which the action is kept moving, through temporals, back referencing, paraphrase, and parallelism.

At this time we have not found many overt conjunctions like 'and', 'or', 'but', 'in order to', etc. in this language. Plang mostly seems to simply juxtapose the clauses and in that way indicate a conjoining of ideas.

#### 4.6.1 Temporals

There are, however, temporal words which serve to mark cohesion between clauses and sentences and episodes in Plang. A few of these are: hāc 'moment of time', pənsaq 'tomorrow', caw 'early in the morning', khrac 'soon', rɔtx 'just then', numaq 'in the past', anloq 'right now', and kən 'gradually'. (Several of these temporal words are also used in the setting band). Plang also uses a series of particles which indicate temporal progression tə, lə, and lət 'then' as a cohesive force. These particles appear to link clauses together in the sequential manner essential for narrative discourse.

In example (12) the temporal adverb  $k \circ n$  'gradually' and the temporal particle  $l \ni t$  'then' serve to link the action of buying a house for themselves with the condition of getting much rice as well as with all that has occurred previous to this sentence.

```
(12) LC 99
```

Śİ kon viqx hun hoc lət pönx äp gradually then buy cooked.rice many finish DCM get adj compl adv part part v

rə iq ñaqx. ben 1.p(3+) house part pron n

(We) got lots of rice, eventually then (we) bought for ourselves a house.

A sentence initial temporal phrase can also show cohesion across sentences and paragraphs and sections. In (13) the initial phrase hac pensaq 'every day' links the action described in the following clause to that in the previous sentences.

This sentence (13) links the episode which follows to previous references to the field (LC2-17 and 25).

## (13) LC 34

| <i>nac</i><br>momen<br>adv | t.of.time        | tomo<br>n | 4   | DCM part | caw<br>early.morning<br>n | n<br>at<br>loc |  |
|----------------------------|------------------|-----------|-----|----------|---------------------------|----------------|--|
| si<br>DCM                  | h <del>u</del> l | m         | hma |          | 1                         |                |  |

si hul m hmal.

DCM go/walk at dry.rice.field part v loc n

Every day, early in the morning, (we) went to the field.

## 4.6.2 Backreference

Backreferencing in this text consists of tail-head linkage, that is, by the repetition in a dependent clause of the verb from a preceding (or closely preceding) independent clause. Example (14) below consists of three consecutive sentences in which the dependent clause of the next sentence (LC 8, 9), repeats the verb phrase of the independent clause of the preceding sentence (LC 7, 8). The repeated clause usually has the completive particle ac, or occasionally hoc ac (LC 8), added to the end of the verb phrase, followed by the clause final particle si.6

## (14) LC7

iq tə ngrom aq.

1.p(3+) then burn it pron conj v pron

We then burned it.

#### LC8

| tə   | ngrom | hoc    | ac    | si   | iq      | tə   | h <del>u</del> l |
|------|-------|--------|-------|------|---------|------|------------------|
| then | burn  | finish | compl | DCM  | 1.p(3+) | then | go/walk          |
| conj | V     | V      | part  | part | pron    | conj | V                |

mol aq.
plant(drop.seed) it
v pron

When we finished burning it, we went to plant it.

#### LC 9

| mol plant(drop.seed)                | <b>ac</b> compl | <b>si</b><br>DCM | <i>h<del>u</del>l</i><br>go/walk | remx<br>weed.(out) | aq.<br>it |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| V                                   | part            | part             | V                                | V                  | pron      |
| Planting finished, (we) go weed it. |                 |                  |                                  |                    |           |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It appears that the particle sl is acting as a cohesive particle as well as in some way marking the dependent clause. More research is needed before this particle's discourse function is truly understood.

From LC 9 we see that only the main action verb is repeated, for the directional verb is not included in the backreferencing clause.

#### 4.6.3 Paraphrase

Repetition by paraphrase can also serve as a cohesive device. LC 20, example (15), is an expanded paraphrase of the last clause of LC 19.

(15) LC 19 nang phrëq iq h<del>u</del>l SI congx cqx jungle DCM foot/leg go/walk at 1.p(3+)this loc dem pron part n n mähx kat HC.

to.be thorn all v n adj

We went to the jungle, and got thorns all over (our) feet.

LC 20

cap kat rac pukx re.

step.in,put.on thorn caught.in calf refl
v n v n part

Stepped in thorns which caught on our calves.

A predicate adjective can be repeated with different adverbs (16, 17). These show the cohesion of the whole discourse as well as serving to bind various parts of the text together.

(16) LC 37

iq lə khräh hfiap mot.

1.p(3+) then leave difficult too
pron conj v adj adv
We then left, it was too difficult.

LC 38

muk ng känghuq so hñap.

live at China pitiable difficult
v-st loc prop.n part adj
(We) lived in China - it was difficult.

LC 59 **(17)** nang känghuq muk thu hñap paraparoq. na difficult very affirm exclaim live China at adj part adv V loc prop.n part (We-st) lived in China-- Man!--it was very difficult!

#### 4.6.4 Parallelism

Parallel structure is a cohesive device. It is seen in the three sentences below (18), where the parallelism is seen in the statements regarding the various villages that were encountered by the author, Lahu, Akha, and Chinese.

#### (18) LC 42

kaq lə mähx musu.
it then to.be Lahu
pron part v prop.n
There were Lahu.

#### LC 43

kaq kə lə mähx kə.
it also then to.be Akha
pron part part v prop.n
There also were Akha.

#### LC 44

kaq kə mähx huq.
it also to.be Chinese
pron part v prop.n
There also were Chinese.

## 5. Summary

So what is it that makes a story a story in Plang? The tentative salience scheme presented in this paper gives a guideline (Figure 4). The storyline (band 1) verb phrases include a main verb; that is, an action, motion, or event verb. The verb phrase may also have a series of verbs; that is, directional and auxiliary verbs augmenting the main verb.

Band 2, the backgrounded activities, includes the use of script-predictable actions in independent clauses. (In Plang the script-predictable information is treated as cohesive when it occurs in dependent clauses.)

The setting (band 3), in Plang, includes stative verbs, predicate adjectives, and the presence of certain temporal elements, and these usually occur in the independent clause as well.

Band 4—irrealis—in Plang is marked by clauses which have been negated or which indicate that the action or event has not taken place, and may be conditional upon other actions or events.

Evaluations (band 5) are marked by the use of a predicate adjective in a clause in which one makes a judgment statement, such as saying something is good or bad. The particle so, which expresses the judgment of 'a pitiable state', is also used in the evaluation band. In oral (not written) text, intonation and body language (i.e. addressing the audience directly) reinforce that these are evaluative clauses or sentences.

Finally, the cohesive band (6) makes use of repetitive back-referencing, temporal references (using temporal phrases, words or particles), paraphrase, and parallelism.

| BAND 1 (in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE)   |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| STORYLINE  *7Verb(s) { directional auxiliary } +VERB { action motion event } +*Verb { directional auxiliary } + verb { directional auxiliary } + verb { constant auxiliary } + verb { cons |  |  |  |  |
| BAND 2 (usually in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE)   |  |  |  |  |
| BACK- class of verbs - repetitive, ongoing, and gradual activities   |  |  |  |  |
| GROUNDED - customary or routine actions (script-predictable)   |  |  |  |  |
| ACTIVITIES - temporal overlap  |  |  |  |  |
| BAND 3 (often in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE)   |  |  |  |  |
| SETTING - stative verbs and predicate adjectives   |  |  |  |  |
| - temporal elements  |  |  |  |  |
| BAND 4 (in either CLAUSE)  |  |  |  |  |
| IRREALIS - conditional clause (introduced by <i>ñüqx</i> 'if/when')  |  |  |  |  |
| - negative clause (with or without the particle sə   |  |  |  |  |
| 'contrary to expectation')   |  |  |  |  |
| BAND 5 (in either CLAUSE)  |  |  |  |  |
| EVALUATION - predicate adjectives stating a judgment (good   |  |  |  |  |
| or bad) or stative verbs accompanied by an   |  |  |  |  |
| evaluative particle (so 'pitiable' or so   |  |  |  |  |
| 'contrary to expectation') or by an intensifier.   |  |  |  |  |
| BAND 6 (in the DEPENDENT CLAUSE)   |  |  |  |  |
| COHESIVE - backreferencing (ac 'completive' + si   |  |  |  |  |
| 'dependent clause marker' - DCM), temporal   |  |  |  |  |
| particles and words, paraphrase, and   |  |  |  |  |
| parallelism  |  |  |  |  |

Figure 4. Tentative salience scheme and markers for Plang narrative

In these texts the flashback band is not seen to be at work, perhaps because in one sense the entire text is in a 'flashback' mode. The setting of these texts could arguably be said to be completely in a flashback mode since they deal almost exclusively with the past, with a journey made some twenty to twenty-five years prior to this telling.

These features, while needing more clarification, defining, and confirmation, would seem to tell us what makes a story a story in Plang—at least a first person narrative story which was set in the past. Much more research is needed before we can know the finer details and what differentiates between types of narratives and differing genres of discourse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> NOTE: \* denotes an item which is optional but occurs frequently.

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Appendix 1. Orthographic representation of Plang phonemes and equivalent IPA symbols

| Plang orthography | IPA               |  |  |
|-------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| q                 | ?                 |  |  |
| ph                | p <sup>h</sup>    |  |  |
| th                | th                |  |  |
| ch                | ch                |  |  |
| kh                | k <sup>h</sup>    |  |  |
| ñ                 | n                 |  |  |
| ng                | ŋ                 |  |  |
| hm                | ŵ                 |  |  |
| hn                | ņ                 |  |  |
| hñ                | ņ                 |  |  |
| hl                | ļ                 |  |  |
| hy                | j                 |  |  |
| ¥                 | w                 |  |  |
| х                 | low tone          |  |  |
| Ÿ                 | y (breathy vowel) |  |  |

```
Appendix 2. "Text of life in China" (LC)
LC 1
                 känghuq.
iq muk nang
1.p live
                  China
            at
pron v-st loc
                  prop.n
We lived in China.
LC 2
iq muk nang känghuq
                            Sİ
                                   iq
                                                mokx
                                        h<del>u</del>l
                                                         hmal.
                           DCM 1.p go/walk cut
                                                         dry.rice.field
1.p live
                  China
            at
               prop.n
pron v-st loc
                         part pron v
                                                V
We lived in China, we went to cut the fields.
LC 3
                    iq h<del>u</del>l yuhx
mokx hmal
                                           hmal.
       dry.rice.field 1.p go/walk do/make dry.rice.field
cut
                    pron v
 Cut fields, we went to work the fields.
LC 4
                       səlëq.
iq yuhx väcx
1.p do/make reap.rice corn
pron v
              V
                       n
 We harvested corn.
LC 5
iq pönx nə phraq pönx nə
                                    som
                                            nəka.
1.p get
                 food get ben
           ben
                                   eat/food indeed
pron v
          part
                              part
                                   v/n
                 n
                        V
                                           part
We got food to eat.
LC 6
   ñüqx
tə
             iq tə
                       mokx
                              ac
                                     ŠÏ
then if/when 1.p then cut
                             compl DCM
part conj pron part v
                              part
                                     part
iq
                  käcx
                       aq yuhx
          h<del>u</del>l
                                         aq
                                               haq.
1.p
     then go/walk light.fire it
                                do/make it
                                               burn.(intr)
pron part v
                           pron v
                                         pron
Then if (when) we have cut the fields, then we go set fire to them, making them
burn.
LC
iq
     tə
          ngrom
                  aq.
1.p
     then
          burn
                  it
pron part
                  pron
We then burned it.
```

same person DCM

n

part

adj

n

build refl

V

part

mortar

n

part

```
LC 8
     ngrom hoc
tə
                            Śİ
                                  iq
                                        tə
                                             h<del>u</del>l
                     ac
then burn finish
                     compl DCM 1.p then go/walk
                     part part pron part
part v
             V
mol
               aq.
plant (drop.seed) it
               pron
When we finished burning it, we went to plant it.
LC 9
                      Sİ
mol
                ac
                             h<del>u</del>l
                                     remx
                                                aq.
plant(drop.seed) compl DCM go/walk weed.(out) it
               part part
                                                pron
Planting finished, (we) go weed it.
LC 10
                        ñüqx
                  Si
                              tə kəy rung
                                                         SI
remx
           ac
                                                  ac
weed.(out) compl DCM if/when then have sprout compl DCM
                part conj part v
                                                 part part
           part
                                           n
     kon
iq
                    väcx
               tə
                             aq.
1.p gradually then reap.rice it
pron adv part v
                         pron
Weeding finished, and then if it had sprouted, we gradually then harvest it.
LC 11
iq
               tə
                      cäp.
     tə
           tum
1.p then pile then thresh
pron part v part v
We then piled it; then threshed it.
LC 12
kon p<del>u</del>hx
                                     ñaqx re.
                        ëng
gradually carry.on.back
                       come/return
                                     house refl
adv
                                           part
Gradually (we) carried it back to our house.
LC 13
iq tə tähx
                   aq.
1.p then husk
                  1t
pron part v pron
 Then we pounded it.
LC 14
pling ne ëhx apol.
build refl take mortar
      part v
                 n
(We) built ourselves a mortar.
LC 15
pling ne
            apol
                    Sİ
                          tə ngkəy rongsi
                                                              Si
                                                 s<del>u</del>n p<del>u</del>yx
```

**ŏCM** then neg-have mill

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part part-v

part-n

part

```
nang
                          apol.
som
add(to.food),put.in at
                          mortar
                   loc
                          n
Built ourselves a mortar, not having a mill like other people, (we) put (rice) into the
mortar.
LC 16
tähx
              oftongklong
                                  oftongklong
                                                      Si
        aq
              sound.of.pounding sound.of.pounding DCM
husk
       it
                                  ono.s
                                                      part
               ono.s
     pron
      kam
iq
                ngkuq.
1.p winnow husked.rice
pron
Pounded it... (sound.of.pounding), we removed the husk from the rice.
LC 17
tähx
       hok.
        chaff
husk
Pounded the chaff off.
LC 18
     muk
            nang känghuq
iq
                              SO.
1.p live
                   China
                              pitiable
            at
                   prop.n
           loc
pron v-st
                              part
We lived in China. (A pitiable situation.)
LC 19
iq h<del>u</del>l
            nang phrëq si congx eqx mähx kat
                                                                 HC.
                     jungle DCM foot/leg this to.be
1.p go/walk at
                                                                 all
                                                          thorn
pron v
              loc
                             part
                                             dem v
                                                                 adj
                     n
                                    n
                                                          n
We went to the jungle and got thorns all over (our) feet.
LC 20
cap
              kat
                     räc
                              pükx
                                      re.
step.in,put.on thorn caught.in calf
                                      refl
V
              n
                     V
                               n
                                      part
Stepped in thorns which caught our calves.
LC 21
               kat
                      tamoqtameqx.
cap
step.in,put.on
               thorn this.and.that
                      dem
               n
V
Stepped in thorns everywhere, here & there.
LC 22
ngkəl<del>u</del>ngxkəleq
                  SƏ.
neg-flatland
                  contr.expect.
```

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LC 23

kəlumkhüq kətëngx pənuyə məkx hmal.

tree big this.much cut dry.rice.field

n adj adj v n

Big trees, like.this, (we) cut to make fields.

LC 24

kəlumkhüq kətëngx kətëngx məkx aq. tree big big cut it n adi v pron

Very big trees, (we) cut them down.

LC 25

hul yuhx hmal singay paraparoq.

go/walk do/make dry.rice.field far very v v n adj adv

Went and worked fields that were very far away.

LC 26

singay paraparoq iq ëng tah sətung. h<del>u</del>l rotx ac go/walk far very 1.p come/return arrive compl stay tired adv pron v part adi adi V V V Went very far, we returned tired.

LC 27

kəy si iq tə um um iq tə et noy noy. 1.p then have water DCM water 1.p then small little little adj pron part v part pron part adj adj n n We had water, our water supply was small.

LC 28

to ngkhruq cänx. then neg.-enough carry.water part part-adj v

There was not enough water.

LC 29

yung iq tə hun.
village 1.p then many
n pron part adj
Our village was large.

LC 30

yung iq hun paraparoq.
village 1.p many very
n pron adj adv
Our village was very large.

LC 31

um iq tə et noy noy. water 1.p then small little little n pron part adj adj adj Our water was little.

LC 32 kuq um rə pareq

lëng.

wait water ben each.other long.(time)

v n part adv adv

We had to wait together for water a long time.

LC 33

al 3y chumong kon pönx cänx um ne. two three hour just.until able carry.water water refl num num n adv v v n part

Two to three hours just to get to draw our water.

LC 34

häc pənsaq si caw n caw si moment.of.time tomorrow DCM early.morning at early.morning DCM adv n part n loc n part

h<del>u</del>l m hmal.

go/walk at dry.rice.field

v loc n

Every day, early in the morning, (we) went to the field.

LC 35

hul hot khraq si to hük ngkongx go/walk along path DCM then climb mountain v adv n part part v n

səmüq khroc khroc khrac khrac səmüq khroc khrac khrac. rough rough rough rough rough rough rock rock adj adj adi adj adi adj adj adi n n (We) went along the path and climbed the mountain, the rocks were rough, the rocks were rough.

LC 36

cap aq eqx tə säq rəkə uc. step.in/put.on it this then pain/sick all all v pron dem part adj part adj Walking it caused pain all over.

LC 37

iq lə khräh hñap mot.

1.p then leave difficult too
pron part v adj adv
We then left, it was too difficult.

LC 38

muk ng känghuq so hñap.
live at China pitiable difficult
v-st loc prop.n part adj
(We) lived in China - it was difficult.

iq lə khräh si lə khräh.

1.p then leave DCM then leave pron part v part v

We then left, then left.

LC 40

lëhx khraq hul khraq taloq khraq taloq.
go.down path go/walk path name.village path name.village
v n v n prop n prop
Went down the road to go to the Talo road, Talo road.

LC 41

tah nang yung lahx mähx yung...
stay at village call.(name) to.be village
v loc n v v n
Stayed at a village called... is village...

LC 42

kaq lə mähx musu.

it then to.be Lahu

pron part v prop.n

There were Lahu.

LC 43

kaq kə lə mähx kɔ.

it also then to.be Akha

pron part part v prop.n

There also were Akha.

LC 44

kaq kə mähx huq.
it also to.be Chinese
pron part v prop.n
There also were Chinese.

LC 45

iq lə hul khraq kəte rə cen.

1.p then go/walk path \*\*\* conj truly
pron part v n part part
We went down the road...

LC 46

kəte rə Sİ koy kon ñang ra SƏ. \*\*\* DCM not.yet/still have child contr..expect. conj loc \*\*\* part part part adv part n V At that time, did not have a child yet.

LC 47

kon muk may pareq mmiqx mpun.
gradually live with each other man woman
adv v-st conj adv n n
We lived together (man & woman), just the two of us.

give.birth

V

more

Gave birth to another child.

adj

one

num

```
LC 48
kəy kən kətiqx.
have child one
v n
         num
(We) had a child.
LC 49
kon puq
                               tit
                                        käq re.
                           n
gradually carry.child.on.back at
                               attached back refl
                           loc v
                                        n
                                          part
Carried the child on my back.
LC 50
kon et
           may
                                   iqx
                    cay
                                         nən.
child small comparison male.child
                                   1.p
                                         that
     adj
                      pron
                                   pron dem(Thai)
         conj
n
(This) child is smaller than our boy.
LC 51
lə khräh.
then leave
part v
Then (we) left.
LC 52
khrac
                 h<del>u</del>l ntu ntu re
           lə
                                       ng phrëq.
soon/shortly then go/walk stay stay refl at jungle
     part v v v part loc n
adv
Soon, then (we) went and stayed in the jungle.
LC 53
it it
         nang phrëq.
sleep lay.down at
                     jungle
               loc
We slept in the jungle.
LC 54
             iq lə lëhx
                                        nang
                                               käng
                                                           teqx si
rotx
         tə
                              rətx
just then then 1.p then go down arrive at
                                               country, city here DCM
      part pron part v
                                                           adv
                                        loc
time
                                                                part
                                               n
  k<del>u</del>tx them kətiqx.
then born
           more
                 one
           adj
part v
                 num
Just then, we then arrived in this country, then another child was born.
LC 55
          them
                kətiqx
                        kəy kən.
ngat
```

have child

n

V

tang hñel hot hul.
begin pregnant along go/walk
adv adj adv v
Then got pregnant along the way.

LC 57

kəy laqal tə muk muk teqx si tə kəy them laqəy. here DCM then have more live then live have two three v-st adv part part v-st adj part num V num Had two children then lived here, then had three more.

LC 58

to yumx laqal vang laqoy kon so. then die two alive three child pitiable part v/adj num adj num n part Two are dead and three are alive. (This too is pitiable.)

LC 59

muk nang känghuq na thu hñap paraparoq. live at China affirm exclam difficult very v-st loc prop.n part part adj adv (We) lived in China--Man!--it was very difficult!

LC 60

iq tə pönx äp si tə pönx äp ëng 1.p then get cooked.rice DCM then get cooked.rice come/return pron part v n part part v n v

si puyx to tiqx re som aq ro iq uc.

DCM person then take/get/pick.up refl food it ben 1.p all
part n part v part n pron part pron adj

We then got rice, then got rice, the person took the food that was ours.

LC 61

puyx to tong kahx iq som nang can.
person then measure.out give 1.p food at bag/sack
n part v v pron n loc n
Someone measured out and gave us food in a bag.

LC 62

pönx ëng nəyu.
get come/return indeed
v v part
Took it.

LC 63

tiqx p<del>u</del>yx iq. tə som re aq rə person then take/get/pick.up refl food it 1.p ben pron part part part n pron n Someone took our rice.

cooked.rice cool

adj

(We) cooked our rice, sometimes we had cold rice.

```
LC 64
                   caw kängth<del>u</del>y
    cəlëtx
                                           teqx
                                                  SƏ.
             s<del>u</del>n
neg good
             same people country, city. Thai here adi n prop.n adv
                                                 contr.expect.
                 n prop.n
             adj
part adj
                                                 part
It was not good like the Thai people here have it.
LC 65
p<del>u</del>yx tiqx
                                            iq.
                      re som äp
person take/get/pick.up refl food cooked.rice 1.p
                      part n n
n
                                            pron
They took our rice.
LC 66
iq pönx ëng nang ñaqx re
                                        SI
1.p get come/return at
                             house refl DCM
pron v
                      loc
                                   part part
           V
                             n
puyx tə tong
                        iq rə khräh.
person then measure.out 1.p ben leave
               pron part v
n part v
We brought to our house, the person then put our rice into a bucket and took it
away.
LC 67
p<del>u</del>yx tiqx
                      re som aq rə
                                           1q.
person take/get/pick.up refl food it ben 1.p
                      part n pron part
                                          pron
They took our rice.
LC 68
puyx kahx iq som luñ taq khruq som. person give 1.p food little neg enough food
                         adj
                              part adj
            pron n
n v
They gave us a little to eat, but not enough food.
LC 69
kən iq hmañ
                        ne som si taq khruq som poc.
child 1.p ask.for/request refl food DCM neg enough food neg
                         part n
                                part part adj
     pron v
                                                           part
                                                      n
Our children asked for food, there is not enough food.
LC 70
                      Si
                                                  kuh
                                                        mähx
kuh
     äp
                            numnän
                                             kə
                                       iq
                 rə
cook cooked.rice
                                             also cook to.be
                      DCM
                            sometimes
                                       1.p
                ben
                            adv
                      part
                 part
                                       pron
                                             part v
V
                                                        V
     n
äp
           cet.
```

```
LC 71

kahx kən ne som äp cet.

give child refl eat cooked.rice cool

v n part v n adj

(We) gave our children cold rice to eat.
```

#### LC 72

numnön iq kə pönx som äp səlul. sometimes 1.p also get eat cooked.rice warm adv pron part v v n adj Sometimes we also got to eat warm rice.

#### LC 73

puyx tiqx äp rə iq.
person take/get/pick.up cooked.rice ben 1.p
n v n part pron
They took our rice.

#### LC 74

nüqx iq pönx əy pun sun kəle si if/when 1.p get three f1.p parts like.this DCM conj pron v num num n part part

puyx lə tiqx enki khräh yen.
person then take/get/pick.up they.(group) leave truly
n part v pron v part
If we got 3, 4 parts of it, the person then took it away (most).

#### LC 75

puyx lə kahx iq som en yen.
person then give 1.p food this truly
n part v pron n dem part
They then gave us some food indeed!

## LC 76

puyx tiqx khräh rə iq laqəy.
person take/get/pick.up leave ben 1.p three
n v v part pron num
They took away from us 3 (parts).

#### LC 77

puyx kahx iq som kətiqx.

person give 1.p food one

n v pron n num

They gave us food one (part).

## LC 78

hñap mot.
difficult too
adj adv

It was too difficult!

```
LC 79
 lət khräh.
 then leave
 part v
 Then (we) left.
LC 80
                  l<del>u</del>c l<del>u</del>c
 iq
                                 l<del>u</del>c
                                     phrëq
                                               h<del>u</del>l.
      lə
             luc
 1.p then enter enter enter jungle go/walk
pron part v
                          V
                                 V
                                        n
                    V
 We then entered the jungle!
LC 81
 ntay ngreh
                  ₩C.
 sarong tear
                  all
                  adj
 n
         V
 The sarongs all tore!
LC 82
phröqx
         ngreh
                       HC.
 shirt/blouse tear
                       all
                       adj
              V
 The shirts all tore!
 LC 83
                  chëkx nang
 chëkx chëkx
                                       kəl<del>u</del>mkhüq
                                                      h<del>u</del>l
                                                                yen.
                                                      go/walk truly
 rip
          rip
                    rip
                              at
                                       tree
                             loc
                    V
                                                      V
                                                                part
                                       n
 V
 (The clothes) ripped on the trees as (we) went!
LC 84
 chëkx chëkx
                  nang
                              kat
                                     h<del>u</del>l.
rip
          rip
                             thorn go/walk
                    at
                    loc
           V
                              n
                                     V
 They ripped on the thorns!
LC 85
khräh
          khräh
                    khräh
                              h<del>u</del>l.
                              go/walk
leave
                    leave
          leave
           V
                    V
                              V
 We left!
LC 86
rotx
                hul
                                          kängthuy
                         rotx
          tə
                                   nang
                                                        teqx
                                                               rə
just.then then
                go/walk arrive
                                          Thailand
                                  at
                                                       here
                                                               ben
time
                                  loc
                                          prop.n
         part
                                                       adv
                V
                          V
                                                               part
mawx
           Śİ
                         mähx
                                  kəlungx
                   lət
                                              HC.
           DCM then to.be
amazed
                                              all
                                  flatland
adj
                   part v
           part
                                              adj
                                  n
Then we arrived here in Thailand, we were amazed! it was all flatland!
```

part v

```
LC 87
hul rotx teqx si puyx lo pañ konoq uc go/walk arrive here DCM person then sell what all
                                                           SO.
                                                       all definitely
                                               inter
                    part
                             n part v
               adv
                                                       adj part
        V
(We) arrived here, people then had to sell everything!
LC 88
koy mälx
                  tiqx
                                   aq
                                        SƏ.
have silver/money take/get/pick.up it
                                        contr..expect.
                                pron part
(We) didn't bring any money.
LC 89
ew
               cang
                       ne.
go.out/look.for hire
                      refl
                      part
V
               V
(we) hired ourselves out.
LC 90
cang ne pok hmal taqhuq
                                                 kia.
hire refl dig dry.rice.field grandfather-Chinese 3.p
      part v
                n
                                                  pron
Hired ourselves out to dig the fields of a Chinese man.
LC 91
h<del>u</del>l rotx söq n<del>u</del>maq
                               Śİ
go/walk arrive new in.the.past DCM
               adj adv
                            part
       V
cang ne pok hmal
      ne pok hmal taqhuq kiq.
refl dig dry.rice.field grandfather-Chinese they.(3+)
hire
                              prop.n
      part v
                                                  pron
V
Just newly arrived, (we) hired ourselves out to dig the fields of a Chinese man.
LC 92
kahx rə iq sip vatx.
       ben 1.p ten baht
give
       part pron num n
(He) gave to us 10 baht.
LC 93
ñicx
     sip
           sip
                 vatx.
                 baht
day
      ten
            ten
n
      num
            num n
10 - 20 baht per day.
LC 94
                                  rəka.
kə
     äy
                       kon
                             ne
also raise.(child/animal) child refl
                                  all
```

part part

Also (we) raised out children See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.

n

```
LC 95
hul mokx re ëhx hmal.
go/walk cut refl take dry.rice.field
v v part v n
Went to cut fields.
LC 96
                   ne ëhx hmal
lət hmañ
                                          rə p<del>u</del>yx.
then ask.for/request refl take dry.rice.field ben person
                  part v n
                                          part
Then we asked for our own fields.
LC 97
        mokx re ëhx hmal.
lət h<del>u</del>l
                     refl take dry.rice.field
then go/walk cut
                     part v n
part v v
Then went to cut our fields.
LC 98
iq kə lət pönx äp
1.p also then able cooked.rice many
pron part part v
                                adi
                     n
We then got lots of rice.
LC 99
pönx äp hun hoc si kon get cooked.rice many compl DCM gradually
                 adj part part
                                      adv
v n
let viqx re iq ñaqx.
then buy ben 1.p house
part v part pron n
           part pron n
part v
Got lots of rice, eventually then bought for ourselves a house.
LC 100
viqx rə ëhx tukaq.
buy ben take property
      part v
V
                 n
Bought ourselves property.
LC 101
     pling ñaqx
lət
                  ka.
then build house it
part v
           n
                  pron
Then built a house on it.
LC 102
iq
           teqx
      muk
                                                     lëng
                   lëng
                              lëng
                                         lëng
      live
                   long.(time) long.(time)
                                                    long.(time)
1.p
             here
                                                     adv
             adv
                   adv
                              adv
                                         adv
pron
      v-st
       Sİ
                                 koy koy ñaqx.
hoc
             iq
                  kon
                            lət
                  gradually then have have house
       DCM
             1.p
compl
             pron adv
part
       part
                            part
                                       V
```

We had lived here a very long time, we then gradually got a house.

LC 102

iq kon lot koy koy mälx sun puyx.

1.p gradually then have have silver/money same person pron adv part v v n adj n

We gradually made money, like others.

LC 103

anloq kon iq ew ro mähx hmay.
right.now child 1.p go.out/look.for ben to.be hired.hand
n n pron v part v n
Now our children go get jobs.

LC 104

puyx lət muk may puyx uc. person then live with person all n part v-st conj n adj They all go and live with their employers.

LC 105

pling ñaqx re nang lakxcolx n aysët si build house refl at below at there.(down) DCM v n part loc adv loc adv part

khraq eqx tə cəp ñaqx iq.
path this then go.through house 1.p
n dem part v n pron

We built a house down there, this road then went through our house.

LC 106

cop ñaqx iq si puyx to kahx iq khräh si go.through house 1.p DCM person then give 1.p leave DCM v n pron part n part v pron v part

puyx tə pling iq ëhx teqx yen.
person then build 1.p take here truly
n part v pron v adv part

Going through our house, someone then had us move, someone then built for us here.

LC 107

kahx iq hul muk teqx. give 1.p go/walk live here v pron v v-st adv (They) had us move here.

LC 108

to hul muk teqx. then go/walk live here part v v-st adv

(We) had to WKOVE: 152785 (c)1996 See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.

LC 109

kon muk teqx pönx tə numx. eventually live here able one year adv v num n (We have) just lived here one year.

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