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.

¹ 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).

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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
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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.

^{*} 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 China2" (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.³ 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.)

² 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.
³ 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 phrase⁴ consists of the main verb (action) remx 'weed' and the directional verb hell 'go/walk'. (The portions in focus will appear in bold.)

- (1) LC 75

 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

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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 | China" |
|----------|--------------|---------------|----------|--------|
| | | | | |

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

^{...} we made it burn. ⁷ We then burned it. ⁸ ...we went to plant it. ⁹ ... we weed it. ¹⁰ ...we would gradually harvest it. ¹¹We then piled, then threshed (it). ¹² Gradually (we) carried it back to our house. ¹³ We then pounded it. ¹⁴ (We) built a large mortar. ¹⁵ ... (we) put (rice) into the mortar. ¹⁶ 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.

- (3) LC 1

 iq muk nang känghuq.

 1.p(3+) live at China
 pron v-st loc prop.n

 We lived in China
- (4) LC 27 tə koy ςi tə et iq um um iq 1.p(3+)then have water DCM water 1.p(3+)then small conj adi pron conj v part n pron пэу noy. little little adi 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.

(6) LC 6 tə ñüqx iq tə məkx ac then if/when 1.p(3+) then cut compl DCM coni coni pron conj v part part hul käcx aq yuhx aq haq. 1.p(3+) then go/walk light.fire it do/make it burn.(intr) coni v pron v 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.

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

tə **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

hfiap mot.
difficult too
adj adv
It was too difficult!

(10) LC 64

n cəlëtx sun caw kängthuy teqx sə.
neg good same people Thailand here contr.expect.
part adj adj n prop.n adv part
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

mukngkänghuqsohñap.liveatChinapitiabledifficultv-stlocprop.npartadjWe 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: hac 'moment of time', pənsaq 'tomorrow', caw 'early in the morning', khrac 'soon', rətx '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 kon 'gradually' and the temporal particle lət '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

hoc si kon lət viqx pönx äp hun gradually then buy cooked.rice many finish DCM get adv v adi compl 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 *häc pənsaq* '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 pənsaq häc si caw caw moment.of.time tomorrow DCM early.morning early.morning at adv loc n part Sİ hul hmal. m **DCM** go/walk at dry.rice.field loc n part 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) LC 7
 iq tə ngrom aq.
 1.p(3+) then burn it pron conj v pron
 We then burned it.

LC8 tə ngrom hoc si hul ac iq tə 1.p(3+)then burn finish compl DCM then go/walk pron coni part part conj

mol aq.
plant(drop.seed) it
v pron
When we finished burning it, we went to plant it.

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.

⁶ It appears that the particle st 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

hul nang phrëq si congx iq eqx 1.p(3+)go/walk at jungle DCM foot/leg this loc n dem pron part

mähx kat uc. 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
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.

(17) LC 59

muk nang känghug thu hñap paraparoq. na China affirm difficult very live at exclaim adv loc prop.n part part adi (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 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.

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 (i | BAND 1 (in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE) | | | |
|--|--|---|----------|--|
| STORYLINE *7 | $V_{\text{Verb(s)}} \begin{cases} \text{dir} \\ \text{au} \end{cases}$ | | tional } | |
| 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) | | | | |
| IRREAL | irroduced by <i>nugx</i> 'if/when') | | | |
| - negative clause (with or without the particle sə | | | | |
| | 'contrary to expectation') | | | |
| BAN | 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 intens | sifier. | |
| BAND 6 | | (in the DEPENDENT CLAUSE) | | |
| CC | OHESIVE | - backreferencing (ac 'completive' + si | | |
| | | 'dependent clause marker' - DCM), temp | oral | |
| | | 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.

⁷ 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 ^h |
| th | t ^h |
| ch | c ^h |
| kh | k ^h |
| ñ | п |
| ng | ŋ |
| hm | mţ |
| hn | ņ |
| hñ | ņ |
| hl | ļ |
| hy | j |
| ¥ | u |
| х | low tone |
| Ÿ | y (breathy vowel) |

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Appendix 2. "Text of life in China" (LC)
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LC 1

iq muk nang känghuq.

1.p live at China
pron v-st loc prop.n

We lived in China.

LC 2

hmal. muk känghug si iq hul mokx ia nang go/walk cut dry.rice.field 1.p live DCM 1.p China at loc prop.n pron v pron v-st part V We lived in China, we went to cut the fields.

LC 3

mokx hmal iq hul yuhx hmal.
cut dry.rice.field 1.p go/walk do/make dry.rice.field
v n pron v v n
Cut fields, we went to work the fields.

LC 4

iq yuhx väcx səlëq.

1.p do/make reap.rice corn
pron v v n
We harvested corn.

LC 5

pönx nə phraq pönx nə iq nəka. som eat/food indeed 1.p get ben food get ben pron v V v/n part n part part We got food to eat.

LC 6

ia tə hul käcx aq yuhx aq haq. then go/walk light.fire it do/make it burn.(intr) pron part v v pron v pron Then if (when) we have cut the fields, then we go set fire to them, making them burn.

LC 7

iq tə ngrom aq.
1.p then burn it
pron part v pron
We then burned it.

pling ne

build refl

part

V

apol

mortar

si

ðСМ

part

tə

ngkəy

part part-v

then neg-have mill

LC 8 si iq tə ngrom hoc ac tə hul finish compl DCM 1.p then go/walk then burn part v part part pron part v mol aq. plant (drop.seed) it pron When we finished burning it, we went to plant it. LC 9 mol ac si hul remx aq. plant(drop.seed) compl DCM go/walk weed.(out) it part part pron Planting finished, (we) go weed it. LC 10 si ñüqx remx ac tə kəy rung ac si weed.(out) compl DCM if/when then have sprout compl DCM coni part part part v n part part iq kən tə väcx aq. 1.p gradually then reap.rice it pron adv pron part v Weeding finished, and then if it had sprouted, we gradually then harvest it. LC 11 iq tə tum tə cäp. then pile then thresh 1.p part v pron part v We then piled it; then threshed it. LC 12 kən puhx ëng ñaqx re. gradually carry.on.back house refl come/return adv part Gradually (we) carried it back to our house. LC 13 iq tə tähx aq. 1.p then husk it 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

ronasi

n

sun

adi

si

part

puyx

n

same person DCM

apol. səm nang add(to.food),put.in at mortar loc Built ourselves a mortar, not having a mill like other people, (we) put (rice) into the mortar. LC 16 tähx ottongklong ottongklong Śİ aa husk sound.of.pounding sound.of.pounding DCM it ono.s ono.s pron part kam ngkuq. iq husked.rice 1.p winnow Pounded it... (sound.of.pounding), we removed the husk from the rice. LC 17 tähx hok. chaff husk Pounded the chaff off. LC 18 iq muk nang känghuq live at China pitiable 1.p pron v-st loc prop.n part We lived in China. (A pitiable situation.) LC 19 iq hul nang phrëq ŚΪ eqx mähx kat congx HС. 1.p go/walk DCM foot/leg to.be thorn all at jungle this loc dem adi pron v part 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 part Stepped in thorns which caught our calves. LC 21 tamoqtameqx. cap kat thorn this.and.that step.in,put.on dem n Stepped in thorns everywhere, here & there. LC 22 ngkəlungxkəleq sə. neg-flatland contr.expect. part-n part This is not flatland.

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

kəlɨmkhüq kətëngx kətëngx məkx aq.
tree big big cut it
n adj adj v pron

Very big trees, (we) cut them down.

LC 25

hulyuhxhmalsingayparaparoq.go/walkdo/makedry.rice.fieldfarveryvvnadjadvWent and worked fields that were very far away.

LC 26

hul singay paraparoq iq ëng rɔtx tah sətung. ac go/walk far very 1.p come/return arrive compl stay tired adi adv adi pron v v part Went very far, we returned tired.

LC 27

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

LC 28

tə 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 nəy nəy.
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

albychumong<

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

LC 34

häcpənsaqsicawncawsimoment.of.timetomorrowDCMearly.morningatearly.morningDCMadvnpartnlocnpart

hul m hmal. go/walk at dry.rice.field

v loc n

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

LC 35

helhotkhraqsitohükngkongxgo/walkalongpathDCMthenclimbmountainvadvnpartpartvn

khroc khroc khrac khrac səmüq khroc khrac khrac. səmüa khroc rock rough rough rough rough rock rough rough rough rough adi adi adi adi adi adi n adi (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

mukngkänghuqsohñap.liveatChinapitiabledifficultv-stlocprop.npartadj(We) lived in China - it was difficult.

LC 39

iq lə khräh si lə khräh.

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

We then left, then left.

LC 40

taləq lëhx khraq hul khraq khraq talog. go.down path go/walk path name.village name.village path prop prop n v n n V 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

iqləhulkhraqkəterəcen.1.pthengo/walkpath***conjtrulypronpartvnpartpartpartWe went down the road....

LC 46

kəte rə ra si ñang kəy kən sə.
*** conj loc DCM not.yet/still have child contr..expect.
*** part part part adv v n part
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.

LC 48

kəy kən kətiqx. have child one

v n num (We) had a child.

LC 49

kon puq n fit käq re.
gradually carry.child.on.back at attached back refl
adv v loc v n part
Carried the child on my back.

LC 50

kon et may cay iqx nən.
child small comparison male.child 1.p that
n adj conj pron pron dem(Thai)
(This) child is smaller than our boy.

LC 51

lə khräh.

then leave

Then (we) left.

LC 52

khrac lə hul ntu ntu re ng phrëq. soon/shortly then go/walk stay stay refl at jungle adv part v v v part loc n Soon, then (we) went and stayed in the jungle.

LC 53

it it nang phrëq.
sleep lay.down at jungle
v v loc n
We slept in the jungle.

LC 54

rɔtx tə iq lə lëhx rɔtx nana käna teqx si just then 1.p then go.down arrive **DCM** at country, city here part pron part v loc n adv part

tə kutx them kəfiqx. then born more one part v adj num

Just then, we then arrived in this country, then another child was born.

LC 55

ngat them kətiqx kəy kən.
give.birth more one have child
v adj num v n
Gave birth to another child.

LC 56

tang hñel hot hul. begin pregnant along go/walk adv adj adv v

Then got pregnant along the way.

LC 57

kov lagal tə teax si muk muk tə kəy them here DCM then have more have two then live live three part v-st v-st adv part part v adi num num Had two children then lived here, then had three more.

LC 58

lagal tə vana lagoy kən vumx SO. then die child pitiable two alive three part v/adj num adi num n part Two are dead and three are alive. (This too is pitiable.)

LC 59

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

LC 60

iqtəpönxäpëng1.pthengetcooked.riceDCMthengetcooked.ricecome/returnpronpartvnvnv

puyx tə tiqx re som aq rə iq ₩C. DCM person then take/get/pick.up refl food it ben 1.p all part n adi part v pron part pron 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 eng nəyu. get come/return indeed v v part

Took it.

LC 63

puyx to fiqx re som aq ro iq.
person then take/get/pick.up refl food it ben 1.p
n part v part n pron part pron
Someone took our rice.

LC 64 cəlëtx kängthuy teqx sə. sun caw same people country, city. Thai here contr.expect. neg good part adj adi prop.n adv part n It was not good like the Thai people here have it. LC 65 ią. puvxtiqx re som äp person take/get/pick.up refl food cooked.rice 1.p part n pron n They took our rice. LC 66 iq pönx ëng nang ñagx re ςi 1.p get come/return at house refl DCM part part pron v v loc n khräh. iq rə puyx to tong person then measure.out 1.p ben leave pron part v We brought to our house, the person then put our rice into a bucket and took it away. LC 67 tiqx $p_{H}yx$ re som aq iq. rə person take/get/pick.up refl food it ben 1.p part n pron part pron They took our rice. LC 68 kahx iq som luñ taq khruq рнух som. food little neg enough food person give 1.p pron adi part adj n They gave us a little to eat, but not enough food. LC 69 kən ia hmañ ne som si taq khruq som poc. child 1.p ask.for/request refl food DCM neg enough food neg part adj pron v part n part n part Our children asked for food, there is not enough food. LC 70 kuh äp si kə kuh mähx rə numnÿn iq DCM sometimes 1.p cook cooked.rice ben also cook to.be adv pron part v part part cet. äp

cooked.rice cool

n adj

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

LC 71

kahx kon 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

numnign 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

puyxtlqxäprəiq.persontake/get/pick.upcooked.riceben1.pnvnpartpronThey took our rice.

LC 74

puyx lo 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

ptyx 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

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

LC 77

ptyx 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!

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LC 79
 lət
      khräh.
 then leave
 part v
  Then (we) left.
 LC 80
 ia
      lə
              l<del>u</del>c
                     luc
                            1<del>u</del>c
                                    lис
                                                     h<del>u</del>l.
                                           phrëq
                                                     go/walk
 1.p then enter
                     enter enter jungle
 pron part v
                     v
 We then entered the jungle!
 LC 81
 ntay
         ngreh
                    ₩C.
 sarong tear
                    all
                    adi
          v
 The sarongs all tore!
 LC 82
 phröqx
               ngreh
                          ₩C.
 shirt/blouse
                          all
               tear
                          adi
 The shirts all tore!
 LC 83
 chëkx
            chëkx
                      chëkx
                                          kəl<del>u</del>mkhüq
                                nang
                                                           h<del>u</del>l
                                                                     yen.
                                                           go/walk truly
 rip
            rip
                      rip
                                at
                                          tree
                                loc
                                                                     part
            v
                                          n
                                                           v
 v
 (The clothes) ripped on the trees as (we) went!
 LC 84
 chëkx
            chëkx
                                kat
                                        h<del>u</del>l.
                      nang
 rip
            rip
                      at
                                thorn
                                        go/walk
                      loc
                                        v
 They ripped on the thorns!
 LC 85
 khräh
            khräh
                      khräh
                                h<del>u</del>l.
 leave
            leave
                      leave
                                go/walk
                                ν
 We left!
LC 86
rətx
           tə
                 hul
                           rotx
                                     nang
                                             kängthuy
                                                            teqx
                                                                     rə
just then then go/walk arrive
                                     at
                                             Thailand
                                                            here
                                                                    ben
time
          part
                                     loc
                                             prop.n
                                                            adv
                                                                    part
mawx
             ςi
                    lət
                           mähx
                                     kəl<del>u</del>ngx
                                                 <del>и</del>С.
amazed
            DCM then to.be
                                     flatland
                                                 all
adi
            part
                    part
                                                 adi
Then we arrived here in Thailand, we were amazed! it was all flatland!
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LC 87 si puyx pañ kənəq hul rɔtx teqx lə uС SO. definitely DCM person then sell what go/walk arrive here all adv part v inter adi part part n (We) arrived here, people then had to sell everything! LC 88 koy mälx tiqx aq have silver/money take/get/pick.up it contr..expect. pron part (We) didn't bring any money. LC 89 ewcang ne. go.out/look.for hire refl part (we) hired ourselves out. LC 90 cang ne pok hmal taqhuq kia. refl dig dry.rice.field grandfather-Chinese 3.p part v pron Hired ourselves out to dig the fields of a Chinese man. LC 91 hul ςi rɔtx söq numaq go/walk arrive new in.the.past DCM adi adv part ne pok hmal cang taqhuq kia. hire refl dig dry.rice.field grandfather-Chinese they.(3+) v part v prop.n pron LC 92

Just newly arrived, (we) hired ourselves out to dig the fields of a Chinese man.

kahx rə iq sip vatx. give ben 1.p ten baht part pron num n (He) gave to us 10 baht.

LC 93 ñicx sip sip vatx. baht day ten ten num num n 10 - 20 baht per day.

LC 94 kə äy kən rəka. ne also raise.(child/animal) child refl all part part Also (we) raised our children.

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

iq si tə kahx iq khräh si ñaqx риух сэр go.through house 1.p DCM person then give 1.p leave **DCM** pron part n part v pron 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

tə hul muk teqx. then go/walk live here part v v-st adv (We) had to move here. LC 109 kən teqx pönx tə muk numx. here eventually live able one year adv v-st adv V num n (We have) just lived here one year.

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