SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES
IN BISU NARRATIVE

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 2000
For Andrew and Emily
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals have contributed greatly to the completion of this dissertation. I hope that the limitations of space and time will not eclipse the depth of my gratitude to the individuals mentioned here.

To the Bisu of Doi Chomphuu Village, Chiang Rai, Thailand: They welcomed my wife and and me into their lives, making our time among them delightful. Individuals who have been of special assistance include Headman Duang Jetsadaakaisri, Mr. Noi Tong Wongluwa, Mrs. Phan Tikham, Mrs. Kham Tikham, Mr. Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, Mrs. Can Wannarot, Mr. Nan Kham Wongluwa, Mr. Thon Taajaan, Mr. Tui Tikham, Mr. Ploy Wongluwa, Mr. Com Kangern, and Mrs. Liew Tikham.

To past members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Susan Herring, the original head of the committee, was instrumental in shaping the direction of this work, as well as keeping me focussed. Her patient evaluation of early drafts was crucial to the development of this dissertation. Dr. John Paolillo widened my understanding of linguistics through his readings course. He also convinced me, however unintentionally, that certain statistical approaches to this data would be frustrating and uninformative.

To present members of the committee: Dr. Robert Longacre has been wonderful in agreeing to take on the leadership of the committee. This has fulfilled a long-held dream: I first became familiar with Dr. Longacre’s work in Thailand through a Payap University course taught by Longacre protégé Dr. Fran Woods. I came to UT
Arlington hoping to study under Dr. Longacre, only to find that he had gone to teach at Payap! Inevitably, when I returned to Thailand, he had returned to the United States! Dr. Longacre has been a great encouragement throughout the crucial final months of writing and revising. Likewise, Dr. Jerold A. Edmondson has been a great help through the years; indeed, a conversation with him in 1994 convinced me that UT Arlington was the place I should be. Being known as one of his students has opened many doors for me among the Asian academic community. Dr. Edmondson’s research interests in Southeast Asia also insured that I saw him quite often; news of his exciting discoveries whet my appetite for further linguistic inquiry. Similarly, I benefited greatly from Dr. Ken Gregerson’s extended residence in Chiang Mai. It is impossible to spend much time around Dr. Gregerson without being amazed at his keen interest in all things related to linguistic; I have benefited from his broad knowledge of the field and his perceptive questions. Dr. Shin-Ja Hwang’s discourse class at the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics helped bring me “up to date” in the field, while her insight into another Asian language, Korean, has impacted my thinking about Bisu. Though not a linguist, Dr. Charles Nussbaum has learned much about the language and culture of linguists through guiding many of us through the history of western thought. How many philosophers have to patiently endure linguistic graduate students’ observations of how Longacre and Lakoff shed light on Plato, Aristotle, and the Universe at large?

To Melissa Braley, the linguistics department administrative assistant: She has been helpful to all the graduate students, making sure that, in the midst of our wanderings into the outer limits of linguistic virtual reality, we remember to turn in all the forms needed to keep enrolled in and, finally, graduate from UT Arlington.
To the faculty, staff and students of Yonok College, Lampang,: They invited me to Thailand for a year, then inspired me to stay for ten! Dr. Nirund Jivasantikarn, President of Yonok College, has been a close friend and advisor throughout my sojourn in Siam.

To the administration of Payap University: President Boonthong Poocharoen has been a strong supporter of the Payap University–SIL International program of cooperation, under whose auspices this research was carried out. Dr. Rattanaporn Sethakul, Graduate School Dean, has provided cultural insight throughout this work, and kindly granted me leave from my Payap responsibilities so that this dissertation could be written. Dr. Sinth Sarobol, Payap Research Institute Director, was a valuable source of information on socio-political issues for rural groups such as the Bisu.

To members of the Foundation for Applied Linguistics, Bangkok: Acharn Wanna Tienmee and Dr. Apiluck Tumtavitikul have provided crucial information and support, while Mr. Makkio Katsura’s long-term relationship with the Bisu paved the way for this research.

To the local Thai government officials who have been supportive of our work: Mr. Thanin Suphasaen, Nai Amphoe of Mae Lao; Mr. Boonrawm Nisermrot and Mr. Ongaat Muangosai, Palat Amphoes of Mae Lao; Acharn Chuchay Chaylanka, the principal of Huay San Phlaap Phlaa School; Mr. Duang Sajing, Kamnaan of Tambon Pong Phrae; and Mr. Ngern Siithipeng, Tambong Pong Phrae Community Officer.

To my colleagues in the SIL Mainland Southeast Asia Group: multiple conversations with multiple people over the years have shaped my linguistic intuitions in ways now impossible to trace. I am particularly grateful to past group directors Paulette Hopple, John Miller, and Carolyn Miller, for their inspiration and encouragement, and for current director John Bryant’s support of my study leave.
To Roger and Bonnie Person, my parents: I doubt that I would ever have become interested in Southeast Asia without their critical involvement in finding families for thousands of children orphaned by the war in Vietnam. Their efforts to school my adopted brothers in the culture of their birth–country made me wish I was Vietnamese! They constantly supported and encouraged me through my seemingly endless academic pursuits.

To Justice and Mary Ann Anderson, my in-laws: The logistics of completing a doctoral program while raising two small children would have been overwhelming without grandparents who were nearby and happy to help. They repeatedly went above and beyond the call of duty, ready to change diapers or proof read drafts, whatever was needed at the moment.

To Andrew and Emily, my children: They have kept me humble and happy, filling me with excitement for the new arenas of life which they daily discover.

To Suzie, my soulmate: It’s not every Texan beauty who is willing to marry a guy whose life ambition is to live in a bamboo hut in the wilds of Northern Thailand! Suzie mixes equally well with Bisu farmers and Thai royalty, Western academics and east Texas ranchers, a reflection of her deep insight into the inner workings of human beings. Without her, I would be lost–in more ways than one. I have benefited from her keen phonetic ear, her analytical mind (her thesis work on Northern Thai discourse particles paved the way for this project), and her understanding heart.

To the Creator of the Universe: I have been blessed with a life of rich experiences beyond anything I could ever have imagined. The Being who breathed this vast and endlessly fascinating cosmos into existence has given me joy in the journey. I could not ask for more.

November 20, 2000

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ABSTRACT

SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES
IN BISU NARRATIVE

Publication No._____ 

Kirk Roger Person, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2000

Supervising Professor: Robert E. Longacre

Particles are a vital component of many Asian languages. Nonetheless, they typically receive little treatment in grammatical studies. This may be due in part to the theoretical orientations of generative grammar which, intentionally or accidentally, can tend to skew data collection and analysis toward theory-predicted sentence alignments (Chu 1998, Chan 1999). In addition, the exact meaning and usage of many particles can be anything but obvious. Even educated native speakers often claim that particles are not "true words" and have no "real" meaning.

This dissertation seeks to understand the inner workings of sentence final particles in the Bisu language of Northern Thailand. Thirteen written folktales, six expository texts, and three life histories are examined in an effort to determine the factors influencing particle usage. Variables including place in the discourse, relative transitivity, sentence complexity, occurrence (or non-occurrence) in quotations, and
evidential perspective are addressed in the context of individual particles and their host sentences.

This dissertation draws from the general framework of discourse analysis espoused by Robert E. Longacre (1996). Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson's "transitivity hypothesis" (1980) is applied in an effort to quantitatively represent the different types of sentences in which the various particles occur. James A. Matisoff's work on Lahu grammar (1973) is used in conjunction with the author's research and the intuitions of Bisu native speakers in an effort to "triangulate" the semantic connotations of many particles.

The results of this investigation demonstrate the primacy of text type in Bisu particle usage: those particles that see abundant use in the folktales occur rarely in the expository text and the life stories. In addition, the point in the discourse at which a sentence is used influences particle distribution; certain particles are never used in the opening and closing portions of a story, while sentences in pre-peak episodes typically take many more particles than their counterparts in other points in the discourse. These findings highlight the importance of taking discourse features into account when constructing grammars of languages in Asia and elsewhere.
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<td>First person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ps</td>
<td>Second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ps</td>
<td>Third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pp</td>
<td>Third person plural</td>
</tr>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asp</td>
<td>Aspirated</td>
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<td>Clf</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
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<td>expl</td>
<td>Expletive</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>misc.</td>
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<td>npt</td>
<td>Noun particle</td>
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<td>pt</td>
<td>Particle</td>
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<td>Ability indicating particle</td>
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<td>pt-aff</td>
<td>Affirmative particle</td>
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<td>pt-agreed!</td>
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<td>Agreement seeking particle</td>
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<td>pt-comp</td>
<td>Compleitive aspect particle</td>
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<td>Downward/southerly motion particle</td>
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<td>Causative/purposive/permissive ‘give’ particle</td>
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<td>Intensity of hunger particle</td>
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<td>Positive imperative particle</td>
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<td>Implied request particle</td>
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<td>Invitation particle</td>
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<td>pt-jnt</td>
<td>Joint action particle</td>
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<td>pt-left</td>
<td>‘Left in that state’ particle</td>
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<td>pt-many</td>
<td>Quantitative particle</td>
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<td>pt-natdis</td>
<td>Natural disaster particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pt-neg</td>
<td>Negation particle</td>
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<td>Negative agreement-seeking particle</td>
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<td>pt-neg_emp</td>
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<td>Negative benefit particle</td>
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<td>pt-obv</td>
<td>Readily deducable knowledge particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pt-out</td>
<td>‘Come out’ quotation formula particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-pol</td>
<td>Politeness particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-pos</td>
<td>Ongoing positive process particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pt-prefer</td>
<td>Preference–indicating particle</td>
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<td>pt-quest</td>
<td>Question particle</td>
</tr>
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<td>pt-rep</td>
<td>Repeated action particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pt-rep_ep</td>
<td>Repeated episode particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-report</td>
<td>Reported event particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-result</td>
<td>Result particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pt-st</td>
<td>Stative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-st/abl</td>
<td>Permanent state/ability particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt-unable</td>
<td>Inability indicating particle</td>
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<td>Vd</td>
<td>Voiced</td>
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Linguistic classification
1.0.1 Genetic affiliation

Bisu is a member of the vast Tibeto–Burman family. More specifically, Bisu may be classified as Sino–Tibetan, Tibeto–Burman, Burmese–Yiphoish/Lolo, Yiphoish/Loloish, Southern Yiphoish/Loloish, Bisoid, as shown in figure 1.1:

Figure 1.1. The position of Bisu in Southern Yiphoish/Loloish.
(adapted from Bradley 1981: 3 and 1994: 178)

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1 The term “Loloish” has been applied to this branch for many years, but has fallen out of favor recently because the word itself is Chinese in origin and has derogatory connotations. Yiphoish is a more acceptable alternative (Hale 1998).
1.0.2 Language names

“Bisu” is the autonym used by members of the community. The two syllables of the word “Bisu” are derived from two Tibeto-Burman roots, both of which mean ‘people’ (Matisoff 1999). The Bisu themselves are unaware of this derivation.

The Northern Thai call the Bisu “Lawa” or “Lua.” This term is both derogatory and confusing, for there are at least seven ethnic groups “lumped” into this category. These include the true Lawaa (Mon-Khmer, found in Myanmar as well as Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Song Provinces in Thailand), Mal (Mon-Khmer, Nan Province), Khamet (Mon-Khmer, Chiang Rai Province), Palong (Mon-Khmer, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Provinces), Nyakur (Mon-Khmer, Korat Province), Ugong (Tibeto-Burman, Kanchanaburi, Suphanburi, and Uthaithani Provinces) (Nuamkaew 1987: 10). Apparently, “Lawa” and “Lua” have become catch-all categories for smaller ethnic groups that do not wear the distinctive dress of the larger, better known hilltribes such as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Karen, Hmong, and Yao.

1.1 Ethnography

1.1.1 Location

The Bisu population in Thailand is concentrated in two villages in Chiang Rai Province: Doi Chomphuu (Amphoe Mae Lao, Tambon Pong Phrae)\(^2\) and Doi Pui (Amphoe Muang, Tömbon Sa–a Dong Chai). The headmen of the respective villages report approximate populations of 200 and 500 persons. A handful of Bisu speakers, middle aged and older, live in Pha Daeng Village (Amphoe Phan, Tambon Doi

\(^2\) While Doi Chompuu is the current official name of this village, emblazoned upon the village temple and the government sign at the entrance of the village, the local Northern Thai population usually refer to it as Baan Doi or Baan Lua. This has caused minor descriptive differences among linguists, with Nishida using Baan Lua (a designation considered derogatory by the Bisu)(1973: 56), Bradley Huai Chompuu (a name derived from the nearby stream) (1988: 1), and Beaudouin Baan Doi (1991b: 24). Residents refer to their village by any of the aforementioned names, with the exception of Baan Lua.
Ngam, Chiang Rai Province). In the mid 1970s, David Bradley (1988) found several Bisu speakers in Hui Chomphu Taka (Amphoe Mae Sui, Chiang Rai Province), although the language has since ceased to be spoken there. SIL's *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996) estimates that there are fewer than 1,000 Bisu speakers in Thailand, a figure the Bisu feel to be accurate.
Figure 1.2. Location of Bisu villages in Northern Thailand.
The *Ethnologue* lists an additional 6,000 Bisu in China, where they are called Lao Mien, ‘Old Burmese’ in Yunnanese. From the viewpoint of the Chinese government, these are classified as Lahu because they live in close proximity to the Lahu and have Lahu-like dress (Bradley 1998). It was only in the late 1980s that Fu Maoji’s theory on the existence of Bisu in China was confirmed, resulting in Li Yongsui’s 1991 “Preliminary Investigations of the Bisu Language” (Shixuan forthcoming: 1). The Chinese Bisu are found in southwestern Yunnan Province, near the borders of Myanmar and Laos, in Lancang, Menghai, Ximent, and Menglian counties (Shixuan forthcoming: 1). Bisu speakers in Thailand were able to recognize a number of words recorded by David Bradley among the Chinese Bisu, although tonal and lexical differences, especially where functioners are concerned, would probably hamper communication between the groups.
Figure 1.3. Bisu area in Yunnan Province, People’s Republic of China.
While the Bisu in Thailand traditionally have had no knowledge of their relatives in China, the village elders tell of a related group in Myanmar. Some fifty years ago, a monk from Burma came into Thailand speaking what the Bisu refer to as "unclear Bisu" and saying he came from the "Pin" tribe. Despite dialect differences, the Thai Bisu were able to communicate with this monk. Not long thereafter, a Pin couple came to the Bisu village to elope; they were of the same clan, and therefore their marriage would have been taboo among the Pin. The young man's father pursued them, forcing their return. There has been no additional contact between the groups. It is probably that these "Pin" are the "Pyen" or "Pyin" mentioned in Scott and Hardiman's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (1900), a work that includes a list of approximately 250 Pyen words, many of which have close Bisu cognates.

Other related groups include the Phu Noi of Laos and the Coong of Vietnam. After listening to recorded word lists from one of the Phu Noi dialects, the Bisu of Thailand declared that they are "80% the same language." The immediate reaction to hearing the word lists was one of "We need to rent a taxi and go visit our relatives in Laos!" Recorded Phu Noi folktales, however, proved incomprehensible to the Thai Bisu.

1.1.2 Historical setting

1.1.2.1 The Bisu in China

Xu Shixuan traces the roots of the Bisu in China to the ancient Di and Qiang tribes. While acknowledging that accurate information is necessarily limited by the lack of written records, she connects a first wave of Bisu migration to an unsuccessful local rebellion incited by Lahu leaders Li Wenming and Li Xiaolao:
After the rebellion was crushed in 1801 (6th year of Emperor Jia Qing), the Bisu migrated south taking with them nine horse-loads of cooking pots, cups and iron tripods. Following the Nanku River downstream, they lived for a while at Miema Miemeng (present location unclear), among a group of “big people” with yellow hair, high nose-bridges and long legs. However, the unsuitable climate led them to migrate back, passing through Chongnan Nanshu (which means “pond of hot water,” i.e., hot springs) and arriving at Mengjiao Mengdong (present-day Cangyuan in Yunnan Province) to live among the Wa people for another period. Being such a small group, they could not resist harsh treatment and enslavement by tusi [hereditary headmen] from the other minority groups, and their headman, Ya Makan, led them in an overnight escape. Although the tusi managed to re-capture and enslave those who fled too late, a hundred household did arrive safely at Mug Mengnuo (present-day Muga Xiang in Lancang County), later moving to Dongzhu (in Zhutang Xiang, Lacang County), where they gradually increased to over 300 households (Shixuan forthcoming: 4).

A second rebellion, in the early twentieth century, led to a second wave of Bisu migration:

In 1918 (Year of the Horse) Li Long and Li Hu led the peasants in an armed rebellion in the district of Lancang. With “Kill the Officials; Cancel our Debts” as their slogan, they launched a spirited attack on the tusi system. The Bisu also participated in this conflict. The peasant forces routed most of the armed tusi soldiers and besieged their district headquarters in Lancang. To protect their common interest, the Lahu tusi, Han landlords and local warlords formed an alliance, and, as a united front, finally defeated the peasants. For fear that their villages would be destroyed and their families killed, groups of Bisu decided to flee, moving to areas such as Menglian, Ximeng and Menghai (Shixuan forthcoming: 4–5).

Whether the Bisu entered Thailand as a result of either of these rebellions is difficult to ascertain; the Thai Bisu collective historical consciousness is quite limited. Nonetheless, it is entirely plausible to contend that the forebearers of the Thai Bisu left China under some sort of social distress, following the Mekong River south into Northern Thailand. It is also possible that the Bisu arrived in Thailand involuntarily;
the rulers of the Lanna kingdom, centered in Chiang Mai but with tributary
city–states across contemporary northern Thailand, routinely enslaved occupants of
rival city–states in present–day Yunnan Province (China) and the Shan States

1.1.2.2 The Bisu in Thailand

The Thai Bisu have preserved relatively little of their history. This, claims one
elder, is because the lives of their forbearers were so difficult that they were ashamed
to pass on their experiences.

What remains of the collective consciousness of the Thai Bisu tells of a time
when they cared for large numbers of cattle and water buffalo. Wherever they settled,
they soon encountered problems with the Northern Thai, who felt free to steal
livestock and cheat the Bisu out of their land. Approximately eighty years ago, the
entire group moved to the lower slopes of Doi Chompuu. As this area lacked land
suitable for paddy (wet) rice cultivation, the Bisu felt that they would be left alone.
Still, a bamboo palisade was erected around the village as protection against human,
animal, and spiritual foes. The village became known in Bisu as $k^{h} \dot{\text{t}} \text{ Nghlonkon}$, a
name still used among Bisu today.

Life at $k^{h} \dot{\text{t}} \text{ Nghlonkon}$ was not all that the Bisu had anticipated. Thieves from
other ethnic groups still occasionally victimized the village, as did a small contingent
of Japanese soldiers during the Second World War. The Bisu planted dry (hill) rice,
with little success. This may indicate that that dry rice cultivation was not
traditionally practiced by the Bisu, inasmuch as other hilltribe groups in the area
subsisted reasonably well on this crop through the 1990s. The Bisu thus spent a great
deal of time and energy foraging for food in the nearby forest. They were able to
trade some of these forest products with the Northern Thai for rice. Nonetheless,
many were reduced to begging for rice and clothing in Northern Thai villages, a situation that continued into the 1980s.

The population at Khaokhaokhae expanded to the point that, sometime in the 1940s, a large group of Bisu left and established the village of Doi Pui, some thirty miles to the northeast. Again, the main criterion for the choice of location was how undesirable the area would appear to the Northern Thai. The Bisu were able to plant some wet (paddy) rice here, although a lack of water limited their harvests. While the Bisu of Doi Chompuu gradually became more accepting of internmarriage with the Northern Thai, the people of Doi Pui came to the conclusion that they were the last outpost of “true Bisu” in the world, preferring to marry within the group and forcing mixed couples to live outside the village proper. This statute was tested as late as 1999, when an HIV positive Southern Thai man married to a Bisu woman attempted, unsuccessfully, to spend his final months in Doi Pui.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the overall situation for the Bisu improved somewhat. The Thai government worked to extend more educational opportunities to both villages, and the Bisu were able to take advantage of government clinics in neighboring Northern Thai villages. In addition, the Thai forestry department allowed the Bisu of Doi Chompuu to develop wet (paddy) rice terraces, providing heavy machinery to assist in the process. The Bisu received Thai citizenship cards, a vital prerequisite to meaningful educational and employment opportunities in Thailand. Electricity came to both villages in the 1990s, as well as rudimentary tap water systems drawing from mountainside springs.

With this progress, however, came difficulties. Probably the greatest source of continued frustration for the Bisu are the Northern Thai loan sharks upon whom the Bisu depend for short term capital for fertilizer and seed, as well as long-term capital
for motorcycles, televisions and refrigerators. Interest rates are extremely steep, revenge swift and harsh upon default. Consequently, many Bisu young women have been forced into prostitution, generally being sent to Bangkok under the guise of “working at a restaurant.” The AIDS epidemic of the 1990s has significantly impacted the Bisu, as it has the entire country of Thailand.

1.1.3 Cultural features

1.1.3.1 Dwellings

Traditional Bisu houses were constructed of bamboo and thatch perched on stilts about a meter off the ground. The houses faced east, and were fronted by partially covered porches upon which various agricultural products could be processed and dried. At the foot of the stairway into the house stood a large mortar and pestle used for husking rice.\(^3\) Traditional houses contained two doors, front and back, the latter being used only for the removal of corpses. The walls of the house were to slant outwards, a feature that is unique among Thai hilltribes. The house itself contained one large room, divided between food preparation and family sleeping areas. A meter square firebox made of wood and filled with dirt occupied a corner of the house. Drying racks were suspended over the firebox.

Current Bisu houses follow Northern Thai designs. Wood is preferred over bamboo, although a number of bamboo houses remain.

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\(^3\) Unlike other hilltribe groups in Thailand, who developed less labor-intensive methods of rice husking.
Figure 1.4. The *Baan Boran Bisu* 'ancient Bisu house,' erected in 1999 as a small museum.

Figure 1.5. Contemporary Northern Thai–style Bisu home.
1.1.3.2 Dress

The Bisu abandoned their traditional dress some fifty years ago. One Bisu elder claims that the elders of his father’s generation were very ashamed to be Bisu, and thus tried to appear more “Thai–like.” One elderly Bisu woman is still in possession of her mother’s wedding clothes. The close-fitting, high-collared, blouse is dark blue (the dye of a local plant), with small rivulets of red thread adorning the edges of the garment, and bears some resemblance to Shan attire. The woven red skirt worn with the shirt is Northern Thai–like in weave. The Bisu abandoned weaving decades ago, and recent government efforts to revive this art have failed.

Contemporary Bisu dress follows rural Northern Thai norms, with men and women often wearing the dark blue mahom shirts favored by Thai farmers. Western style clothing is common, although many women wear Northern Thai phasin skirts when they are not laboring in the fields. For religious festivals and other special occasions, many Bisu wear the homespun cotton Northern Thai shirts and, for women, more elaborate phasin skirts that came into vogue in the mid 1990s as part of a Northern Thai cultural revival (Person and Person 1996).

There is some interest among the Bisu leadership in reviving the traditional clothing, in the hope of receiving more recognition from the Thai government and tourist organizations as a bona–fIDE hilltribe. In 1998, a Bisu woman in her thirties took the clothing mentioned above to a Northern Thai tailor, to have a contemporary replica made. Although this rendering lacks the detailed strands of color found in the originals, it was unique enough to garner questions from baffled Northern Thai and members of other hilltribes alike at a local cultural festival.
Figure 1.6. Pounding rice with old motar and pestle.

Figure 1.8. Fire box and drying rack, *Baan Boran Bisu.*
1.1.3.3 Occupation

Agriculture remains the primary occupation of contemporary Bisu, with rice, garlic, feed corn, peanuts, and green beans as cash crops. Unlike other hilltribes in the area, the Bisu do not cultivate opium. Chickens and pigs are raised by most Bisu households for consumption, sale, and sacrifices to the spirits (see 1.1.3.4). A number of Bisu raise cows, continuing a long tradition (see 1.1.2.2). Water buffalo, the traditional beast of agricultural burden in northern Thailand, has lost ground to gas–powered plows; the last water buffalo in Doi Chompuu village were sold in April 2000. During various points in the agricultural calendar, men and women alike hire themselves out to Northern Thai farmers as day laborers, usually for 100 baht (U.S. $2.50) per day.

The forest continues to supply the Bisu with additional food. During the rainy season, the Bisu collect bamboo shoots for their own consumption and for resale in nearby Northern Thai markets. Various other leaves, roots, and wild fruits are likewise collected, along with grass to be woven into roof panels. Various animals are hunted for consumption and sale; a small monitor lizard, for example can sell for as much as 1,000 baht (U.S. $25), half a month’s income. Timber, usually logged illegally at the behest of wealthy Thais, is another source of cash.

Many Bisu young people spend at least several years working outside the village, usually in Bangkok or Chiang Mai. They typically fill less–skilled labor positions in factories. As mentioned earlier, many young women have become involved in the flesh trade.

It is not unusual for Bisu young men to spend several years in the Buddhist monkhood, often to take advantage of opportunities for social and educational advancement.
1.1.3.4 Religion

The Bisu are Buddhist in theory, animist in practice. There is one spirit, the
* APCAO* ‘lord,’ who is considered the main supernatural ruler of the village.4 This
deity has an assistant named *MAA* ‘horse’ who, as the name implies, takes care of the
head spirit’s horses.5 Two small open-air shelters outside the Southeast corner of the
village mark the spot where these spirits receive sacrifices of chickens and whiskey
three times per year. For the purposes of this sacrifice, the village is divided into three
sections, each third responsible for providing chickens for sacrifice for one of the
sacrificial days. The village spirit doctor presides over the ceremony, placing the
slaughtered and boiled chickens on the altar and chanting in Northern Thai. He then
draws bits of broken rice out of a small cup to discover the spirit’s culinary desires:
the number of grains indicates whether the spirit wants more whiskey, salt, broth, and
so forth, as well as telling when it is full. All the villagers are forbidden to work the
fields on sacrifice days; if they are caught doing so, they are fined 100 baht (a day’s
wage). Rather, everyone is to forage for “forest food.”6

4 The Bisu believe that *APCAO* is a loan word; in both Northern and Standard Thai *CAO* means ‘lord,’ and
can refer to supernatural beings or human authority figures.

5 This despite the fact that the Bisu have not had any horses—at least in recent memory. *MAA* is actually a
Chinese word which has been borrowed by numerous languages throughout Southeast Asia.

6 There is something of a similarity here to the ancient Hebrew “Feast of Booths,” during which the
faithful were to live in small shelters in commemoration of their nomadic past. Similarly, foraging on Bisu
sacrifice days recalls the groups not-so-distant history as quasi hunter-gatherers.
Figure 1.09. Shrine of apoao.

Figure 1.10. Shaman presenting sacrifices to apoao, performing rice counting divination.
Additional spirits are thought to abound in the forest, in caves, in fields, and so forth. When offended, these spirits are thought to cause illness and, sometimes, death. The Bisu delineate between illnesses which respond to the modern medicines available at the nearby clinic (their first course of action) and those which do not and are thus attributed to spiritual forces. In the latter case, the sick person or a member of his or her family will consult the meter-long “spirit stick.” Direct yes/no questions are addressed to the spirit stick: “Was it a spirit in the forest? Was it a spirit in the field?” To answer in the affirmative, the stick is said to become several inches longer. Next, questions about appropriate sacrifices are asked: “Should I sacrifice one chicken? Two chickens? A pig?” Again, the stick becomes longer when the correct offering is mentioned. The sacrifices will be performed by the sick person or a member of his or her family in the location revealed by the spirit stick.

The Bisu acknowledge that Buddhism is a relative newcomer to their religious world. Indeed, one young Bisu leader intimated that the Bisu built Buddhist temples in their villages in part to gain the respect of the Northern Thai. Most Bisu men have spent time in the Buddhist priesthood, either as adults making merit for their parents or as young boys in need of education. Even in the 1990s it was not uncommon for particularly destitute Bisu families to have their young sons ordained in Northern Thai temples, where they would be fed and educated by Buddhist priests. The handful of literate Bisu males over age thirty were all educated in temples.

Buddhist holidays are celebrated in the Bisu villages with the same ceremonies used by the Northern Thai. Traditional Bisu funeral customs, which involved burial in the forest at the spot where an egg thrown by the spirit doctor landed, have been replaced by Buddhist cremations.
1.1.3.5 Marriage and family

The Bisu are divided into four patrilineal clans: tsalacee ‘tiger,’ konkukceee ‘owl,’ lapjšjamceee ‘otter,’ and senkentšaacee.\(^7\) The tiger clan is by far the largest group. Clan identification once played a role in settlement patterns. The two main Bisu villages can be divided into clan areas, although those areas are not formally marked nor do they play any administrative role in current village political life. As most people live in extended family compounds, these divisions go on more as a result of historical ownership/residence than any actively enforced rules. In the past, fields were also divided along clan lines—a phenomenon that ended with the coming of salable land deeds.

In theory, one is always supposed to marry outside one’s clan, regardless of whether the person involved is from ego’s village or another village. This rule can be circumvented, however, by having one of the individuals (usually the woman) spend a night or two in the home of someone from another clan. She is then considered a member of that clan, and the marriage can proceed immediately thereafter. Wives always take the clan identification of their husbands. Non-Bisu spouses, however, are not considered part of any clan, and Bisu women who have married outsiders retain their old clan membership.

In recent times, at least, Bisu young people have been permitted to choose their own spouses. The traditional marriage process as still practiced in the more conservative Doi Pui begins on an auspicious evening at the prospective groom’s house, as the senior member of the groom’s extended family is invited to share a meal and discuss the proposed engagement. After nightfall, the groom’s family lights

\(^7\) The village elders say that they do not know of any meaning for senkentšaacee beyond its use as a clan name. Some speculate that the clan may have been formed by a particularly wealthy Bisu man in commemoration of his own greatness. This individual is also said to have left a special silver object that is still secretly possessed and zealously guarded by his descendants.
torches (even in this age of battery powered flashlights) and processes to the prospective bride’s home. The torches may be extinguished at the door or, if the bride’s family is one of the few who still have fireboxes inside their houses, brought into the kitchen area. The elders of the respective families then begin light-hearted negotiations on the details of the arrangement, including bride price, although many of these matters have been determined beforehand. Once an agreement has been reached, the groom is summoned.

Before the marriage ceremony takes place, however, the prospective groom is expected to work for his fiancée’s family for 1–3 years without compensation. He is to live in her parents’ house, often sleeping on the front porch. Sexual relations are permitted during the engagement period, and it is not uncommon for a couple to have one or more children by the time they are finally wed. At the conclusion of this time, the bride’s family still has the right to reject the groom, something that has happened in recent memory. Conversely, the prospective groom has the right to break the engagement, something which likewise has happened in recent memory, when the prospective father-in-law took extreme advantage of the younger man’s slave-like status.

Once the couple has successfully completed their engagement period, an auspicious day is chosen for the wedding. Relatives gather at the family homes of bride and groom alike. In the groom’s bedroom, a bamboo linga is erected. Cotton strings are attached to the linga, thence being tied to various points throughout the bedroom and around the house. Friends and family members file into the room to pour a small amount of lustral water into a basin in front of the linga. Nearby the linga is an antique sword.
Figure 1.10. Detail, old Bisu wedding skirt.

Figure 1.11. Bisu headman with linga in groom’s bedroom at outset of wedding.
When the time for the ceremony arrives, the groom and his party process to the bride’s house. The procession is led by the village headman, carrying the sword. The groom is then escorted into the bride’s bedroom, where her parents and other elderly relatives are waiting. The elders charge the couple to never divorce, and dispense a great deal of marital advice. One of the male elders then takes a lump of sticky rice and rolls it into small balls, claiming that his fingers are very dirty. He then places the rice in the mouths of bride and groom, then compels them to drink water from the same glass. The ceremony concludes with blessings from other elders.

The bride and groom then parade through the village en route to the house of the groom’s family, the bride carrying basic household items in a bag hung from her forehead over her back. The newlyweds will usually move into their own house (even if it is only a small bamboo and thatch arrangement) soon after the ceremony; this contrasts with the Northern Thai custom of living with the bride’s family for at least a year after the marriage (Suzanne Person 1998: 58).

In the distant past, marriage to non–Bisu individuals was forbidden. During the past thirty years, and especially the past ten years, more and more people have married outside of the tribe. This has been especially true in Pha Daeng Village; as this was always a mixed Northern Thai and Bisu village, a high rate of intermarriage has resulted in the young people speaking only Northern Thai, although some have a passive understanding of simple Bisu. All three villages have seen a number of young people, especially young women, seek employment on the outside, some going as far away as Bangkok. Many marry non–Bisu spouses. Doi Pui, the most aggressively conservative of the three villages, does not allow these mixed families to live within the village borders. This was tested as recently as 1999, when an HIV-positive
Southern Thai man and his Bisu wife were unsuccessful in their bid to spend their final months in Doi Pui.

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1 Multilingualism

In his 1994 study, Linguistic diversity and national unity: language ecology in Thailand, William Smalley groups the seventy languages spoken in Thailand into a hierarchy, as shown in figure 1.11:

![Diagram](image-url)

Figure 1.12. The linguistic hierarchy in Thailand.
(adapted from Smalley 1994: 69)

Standard Thai, the national language, occupies the highest level of the hierarchy. This is the language of education, government, and the media, reflecting Central Thai as spoken in Bangkok. It is second in prestige only to English, the global language whose mastery indicates a truly elite position in Thai society. On the next level are the four “regional” languages, Central, Northeastern, Northern, and Southern Thai. These all see vigorous oral use in their respective regions, on the village and
household level, and sometimes in the markets, with a small amount of use in the local media. The regional languages are less prestigious than Standard Thai, despite the fact that many speakers consider their regional tongues superior to the national language in expressing deep thoughts and emotions. The regional languages often serve as the language of wider communication for the sub-regional languages. Enclave languages include most of the northern hill tribes, which represent islands of Mon–Khmer and Tibeto–Burman speakers amidst a Thai sea. Town and city languages include several Chinese dialects and Vietnamese, while displaced languages include Phuan and Song, whose speakers were brought into Thailand during military campaigns. The marginal languages are those whose main population is located outside of Thailand, thus including groups like So and Northern Khmer.

Loan words and grammatical influences necessarily work their way down on the hierarchy. Thus, Standard Thai words are continually making inroads into the regional languages, while the sub-regional languages are impacted by both Standard Thai and their respective regional languages.

While Bisu could be considered a marginal language (since the majority of speakers are in China), Smalley classifies it as an enclave language. This is appropriate, given the fact that the Thai Bisu have no contact with their Chinese cousins who, in turn, live in a vastly different sociolinguistic context. Older Bisu people have a basic grasp of Northern Thai, but often speak with a noticeable accent—for which they were mocked in the “bad old days.” Those in the 25–50 age bracket are bilingual in Northern Thai, fully able to pass themselves off as native speakers. Nonetheless, these individuals often do not have a very firm hold on Standard Thai, often using Northern Thai lexical items and tone patterns when trying to express themselves in Standard Thai. Most Bisu under twenty five have spent at
least six years in the Thai school system (which, in theory, uses only Standard Thai, although in practice teachers often lecture in the regional language) and have been impacted by radio and television. The younger generation is thus able to act with confidence in Standard Thai, Northern Thai, and Bisu.

1.3.2 Contexts of use

Bisu is used in the home, in the village community, and in the fields with other Bisu people. If Northern Thai people are present (such as those who have married Bisu), the group will often switch to Northern Thai. Village meetings in Doi Chompuu village are usually carried out in Northern Thai for the benefit of Northern Thai men married to Bisu women. Nonetheless, meeting participants have been observed to switch to Bisu when problems with Northern Thai people are discussed (land swindles, efforts by a Northern Thai temple to “steal” the village’s sole adult Buddhist monk, etc.). Some Bisu switch to Northern Thai, even in speaking to other Bisu, in Northern Thai villages or cities, while others enjoy the puzzled expressions of Northern Thai passerbys trying to figure out what language they are speaking. The Bisu draw particular satisfaction from having Northern Thai guess they are speaking English or French!

Children are taught both Bisu and Northern Thai from birth. Children may be scolded in either language, although particularly harsh reprimands are often delivered in Northern Thai. It is not uncommon to hear children and parents discussing the day’s events at school in Northern Thai (the most spoken language at school, despite government policy), then switching to Bisu to discuss non–school matters.
1.3.3 Language viability

The numerical weakness of the Bisu and the ongoing linguistic pressures of the larger Thai world place the language in a state of endangerment. The question thus becomes one of how long Bisu will remain viable.

Factors that would seem to mitigate against the long term viability of Bisu include the following (adapted from Suwilai 1995, as cited in Miglizza 1998: 22):

1. Language policy of the Thai government: The school curriculum is in standard Thai, and students are discouraged from using minority languages at school for fear of factionalism and general trouble making.

2. Employment outside the language area: Frustrated by the hard economic realities of village life, many Bisu young people spend at least several years in semi–skilled jobs in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, or other cities. Most hope to eventually return to the village, although it is difficult to guess how many actually will.

3. Marriage outside their language community: As mentioned earlier, intermarriage with non–Bisu speakers is increasing, especially as more young people seek educational and occupational opportunities outside of the village. It is nonetheless interesting to note that offspring of such unions are likely to learn Bisu if they spend the bulk of their childhood in a Bisu village.

4. Pervasive influence of mass media: Since the arrival of electricity in the Bisu villages in the mid–1990s, Standard Thai radio and television broadcasts have become quite influential.

Nonetheless, several other factors indicate that Bisu has a good chance of remaining viable for at least a few more generations. These include:
1. **Interest of the Thai Royal Family:** For many years, the Thai Royal Family has taken an active interest in enhancing the lives of various ethnic minorities, primarily through agricultural projects and the promotion of local crafts. During his younger days, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the “Lord of Life,” frequently visited remote hilltribe villages, working with the villagers to solve local dilemmas. The Bisu had not been part of prior Royal Projects, primarily because of their small numbers and lack of readily identifiable ethnic dress. In 1999, however, a unit of Royal Project medical workers began visiting Doi Chompuu Village on a regular basis. In addition, the author and his wife had the honor of presenting the first Bisu books to Her Royal Highness Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, an event that was broadcast on Thai national news (figure 1.13). The Bisu enjoy telling their Northern Thai neighbors, “The Crown Princess has our words!” That one of the most beloved and revered figures in the kingdom values their language and culture has been a significant source of inspiration for the Bisu.

2. **Growing appreciation of ethnic diversity:** The Thai government has taken some steps toward encouraging the unique cultures of the ethnic minorities. Much of this began in the late 1980s, as Thailand became a popular tourist destination. The Tourism Authority of Thailand has sponsored a number of hilltribe fairs, festivals, and sporting events, some of which have been covered on national television. The Bisu would like to become involved in these activities, and there has been discussion of reviving their ethnic dress to draw the attention of Thai officials.

3. **Language attitude:** Although there is some individual variation, most Bisu value their language. This is manifest by the fact that they still teach it to their
children, and that they have requested help from Thai government and the academic community to preserve their language and culture.

4. **Development of a written language:** In December 1998 some thirty Bisu of all ages gathered in the Doi Chompuu village temple to reach a consensus on how Bisu should be written using the Thai script (Person 1999). Since then, Bisu authors trained in joint Payap University–SIL International workshops have produced nearly forty short books, including folktales, a Bisu–Thai–English picture dictionary, and basic literacy materials.
Figure 1.13. Her Royal Highness Crown Princess Mahi Chakri Sirindhorn receives the first Bima books from the author and his wife.
1.3 Motivation and scope of the study

1.3.1 Research problem

Particles are a vital component of many Asian languages. Nonetheless, they typically receive little treatment in grammatical studies (Chan 1999). This may be due in part to the theoretical orientations of generative grammar which, intentionally or accidentally, can tend to skew data collection and analysis toward theory–predicted sentence alignments. In addition, the exact meaning and usage of many particles can be anything but obvious. Even educated native speakers will often tell the analyst that particles are not "true words" and have no "real" meaning. The fact that particle use is more abundant in the spoken language than the written language also contributes to this neglect; many native and non-native speakers of a language assume that the written form is somehow more "correct" than ordinary, sloppy speech.

Bisu is a case in point. As any cultural outsider who has ever attempted to learn Bisu can attest, it is quite easy to master the basic SOV sentence structure of the language. The greatest challenge comes sentence finally, where one to six syllables can be strung together in a way that profoundly impacts the meaning of the utterance. It is extremely difficult to discover the meaning of these particles, and otherwise identical sentences can take different particle sets in different situations.

In his 1976 paper on "Mystery Particles," Robert Longacre highlights the fact that many particles can only be understood from the discourse perspective. As all three published works on Bisu grammar are limited to discussions on the sentence level, where particle usage seems somewhat unpredictable, a discourse–minded approach is needed.
1.3.2 Research question

The basic question addressed in this dissertation is one of how particles function in Bisu discourse. The working hypothesis is that particle usage in Bisu discourse is affected by a number of factors, including text type, genre, place in the discourse, transitivity, and semantic connotations, and that once these factors are understood, particle usage will become somewhat more predictable.

1.3.3 Scope and limitations

This dissertation has as its primary concern an understanding of the meaning of individual particles and their usage in the context of written folktales. A secondary concern involves the uses of particles in life stories and expository texts. The folktales, life stories, and expository texts are monologues, although some conversation is embedded in the folktales. Thus, this work does not aspire to explain the use of particles in Bisu dialogue. In addition, while Bisu particles are occasionally compared to counterparts in other Asian languages, no attempt is made to formulate systematic cross-linguistic generalizations.
1.4 Outline of Bisu phonology

The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with a basic overview of Bisu phonology such that the examples cited throughout this text will be more readily comprehensible. This section will draw from the fieldwork of the author and other researchers, relying heavily upon the recently developed Bisu orthography (Person 1999).

1.4.1 Syllable structure

Native Bisu syllables (as opposed to Daic loan words) have the canonical form C1 (C2) V T (C3), where C1 represents an obligatory initial consonant, C2 and optional second element in a consonant cluster, V an obligatory vowel, T an obligatory tone, and C3 an optional final consonant. Stress, a relatively minor component of Bisu phonology, does not affect syllable structure. Bisu syllables follow the sonority sequencing principal in featuring a rise in sonority from onset to nucleus, as illustrated in the following words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṇè</td>
<td>to be struck by a falling tree</td>
<td>kɔŋkúp</td>
<td>owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>you (sg)</td>
<td>pʰæləŋ</td>
<td>bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰlúŋ</td>
<td>to expectorate</td>
<td>kʰwáat</td>
<td>water channel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.2 Initial consonants

Bisu has 30 initial consonants, as shown in figure 1.14. Nine of these, /p, t, k/, /r, m, n, ŋ, w, j/, also serve as final consonants.⁸

⁸ The presence of these final consonants is notable; many other languages of the Southern Yiphoish/Loloish branch no longer have final consonants (Edmonds 2000).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stops</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Asp</td>
<td>p\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI Asp</td>
<td>ts\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>Vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{l}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n\textcircled{\texte}</td>
<td>n\textcircled{\textj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td>hn</td>
<td>h\textcircled{\texte}</td>
<td>h\textcircled{\textj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td>Vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>h\textj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.14. Initial consonants.

The following words illustrate each of the initial consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Cons.</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Initial Cons.</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pɔŋ \textsuperscript{h}n\textcircled{\textaa}</td>
<td>water buffalo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tɔoloɔ</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{m}p\textsuperscript{a}j</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>cɔk cɔk</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kɔŋk\textupsilon{ŋ}p</td>
<td>owl</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{m}</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{m}j\textsuperscript{a}a</td>
<td>nm\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?uuh\textupsilon{ŋ}n\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{n}w</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>pʰ\textsuperscript{h}əl\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>tʰh\textupsilon{ŋ}m\textupserscript{h}m\textupserscript{a}k\textupserscript{a}ɔs\textupserscript{a}ɛ</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}e\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{f}h\textupserscript{h}o\textupserscript{ŋ}m\textupserscript{h}m\textupserscript{a}a\textupserscript{s}ɛ</td>
<td>yawn</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s\textsuperscript{ʊ}k\textsuperscript{h}d\textsuperscript{o}</td>
<td>s\textsuperscript{ʊ}k\textsuperscript{h}d\textsuperscript{o}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>kʰh\textupserscript{h}l\textupserscript{a}w</td>
<td>shirt</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j\textsuperscript{ŋ}a\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{i}i</td>
<td>j\textsuperscript{ŋ}a\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{i}i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bɛ</td>
<td>to lick</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{ŋ}o\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{a}m</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{ŋ}o\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{a}m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d\textsuperscript{ɛ}j\textsuperscript{a}a</td>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
<td>s\textsuperscript{ŋ}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.4.3 Consonant clusters

Various researchers have come to different conclusions as to the exact number of consonant clusters in Bisu.\(^9\) The Bisu orthography currently recognizes fourteen, as shown in figure 1.15.\(^{10}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(^h)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(^h)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.15. Consonant clusters.

Consonant clusters only occur in syllable initial position. The following words illustrate each of the consonant clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cons. cluster</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Cons. cluster</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>nàmpləʔ</td>
<td>round cucumber</td>
<td>p(^h)j</td>
<td>p(^h)jaa</td>
<td>to tear down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) Efforts to elicit words for some of the other clusters described by other researchers failed. Most of the sounds concerned were reported to occur very rarely.

\(^{10}\) Nishida and Beaudouin describe some of these as labialized or palatalized sounds, while Nuamkaew terms them clusters. In terms of the Bisu orthography, all are interpreted as clusters.
pʰl  pʰlúp  expectorate  bj  bjáa  to clear a field
bl  blàa  arrow  hmj  loŋ  hmjaŋ  shrimp
kl  klaa  to fall  kj  ʔùukjaŋ  tree-dwelling ant
kʰl  kʰaek  to be broken  kʰj  ʔùukʰjàa  field crab
kw  kwàa  *to hunt  kʰw  kʰwaə  water channel
pj  pjàa  bee  hml  hmlàaŋ  long time

1.4.4 Vowels and diphthongs

Like Thai, Bisu has nine vowels, as shown in figure 1.16:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.16. Bisu vowels.

Unlike Thai, Bisu vowels do not have phonemic length contrast. Length is an issue phonetically, however, and the Bisu have insisted in indicating length in their orthography (Person forthcoming).

Two diphthongs, /aw/ and /aj/ occur frequently in Bisu, and are also found in Thai. The following words illustrate each of the vowels and diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ciŋkoŋmàa</td>
<td>praying mantis</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>jìi</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>làaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Additional diphthongs are mentioned by Beaudouin in STEDT (Namkung 1996). These would seem to be very rare, sometimes the result of borrowing. Only two diphthongs are recognized in the current Bisu orthography.
1.4.5 Tone

Bisu has three contrastive tones, low, mid, and high, as illustrated in the following words (Vatcharee 1987: 110):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic transcription</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hjàa</td>
<td>to itch</td>
<td>lùm</td>
<td>Clf of misc. objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjaa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>lum</td>
<td>to forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjáa</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>lúm</td>
<td>to be hot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All initial consonants are attested in low–tone syllables, with the exception of $hη$ and $ηη$ (which occur rather infrequently on the whole). Similarly, all initial consonants may begin mid–tone syllables. All initial consonants save $n, η, \, hn, \, d, \, \text{tʃ}^h, \, \text{and ts}$ may begin high–tone syllables (Vatcharee 1987: 114).

Vacharee’s analysis of 1,512 major syllables found 422 low–tone syllables, 1,008 mid–tone syllables, and a mere 82 high–tone syllables (1987: 115). This
dramatic distribution curve accounts for the relatively few examples of three-way tonal contrast in identical environments.

1.4.6 Other phonological processes

1.4.6.1 Tone sandhi

There is a limited amount of tone sandhi in Bisu, particularly in the verb phrase and in particle clusters. The low tone preverbal negation marker ba, for example, typically lowers the tone of the immediately following word. Similarly, the mid-toned tʃʰiːi, one of the most frequently occurring sentence final particles, often becomes low-toned under the influence of the preceding word or particle, as shown in example 1.1:

(1.1) cáa aŋjàːa màn tʊɔː jʊu tʃʰiːi jèe
    then child Clf. release go pt pt

Then the child released him to go. (CK 35)

1.4.6.2 The mysterious floating nasals

One of the greatest challenges for outsiders learning Bisu is determining whether or not a word ends in a nasal. This is due to the fact that nasals (usually [n] or [ŋ]) seem to “pop-up” between many words. This phenomenon has not been documented in any published research, something which Makkio Katsura relates to the fact that it is very difficult to understand. In his ten years of thinking seriously about the Bisu language, he has yet to discover any systematic phonological process at work here. Thus, Katsura has dubbed the floating nasals, “One of the two greatest mysteries about Bisu” (Katsura 2000).12 Most Bisu seem unconscious of most of

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12 The second “great mystery,” claims Katsura, is the sentence final particle system.
these nasals, and rarely attempt to transcribe them. This is definitely an area where further research is needed.

(1.2) kwaat
sweep

juum kwaat n bèen ja
house sweep finished pt-aff

[I’ve] finished sweeping the house.

1.4.6.3 Assimilation of initial /j/

When a word ending with a vowel is followed by a word beginning with /j/, a process of assimilation often occurs.

(1.3) tsàa
eat
hàaŋ tsàaj ja
rice eat pt-quest

Have you eaten?

Again, as with the mysterious floating nasals, the Bisu seem largely unconscious of this process; the floating /j/s are rarely written. This is yet another area for further research.
1.5 Outline of Bisu syntax

The purpose of this section is to provide a basic syntactic sketch of Bisu. This in no way attempts to be a complete grammar of the language; rather, the ensuing pages will provide the syntactic background necessary for the reader to more clearly understand the particle–related discussions to follow.

1.5.1 Areal features

Bisu grammar is typical of Tibeto–Burman languages on a number of points. Morphemes correlate closely to syllables. An extensive system of classifiers modify nouns. Serial verbs are often used to encode successive events. Nouns do not take any sort of case or gender markers, nor are verbs inflected for voice, tense, gender, or number. There is no subject–verb agreement system. The handful of affixes present in the language have a low functional load, with their utilization being determined more by syntactic contexts than morphological word building. Semantically, there are a large number of distinct lexical items showing various shades of carrying and cutting words (Solnit 1997: 7). Zero anaphora is used extensively in discourse.

1.5.2 The noun phrase

Bisu noun phrases are typically ordered possessor, head, adjective, determiner, numeral, classifier, as shown in the following examples:

\[(1.4) \text{ laŋ§jaam thàu maŋ} \]
\[\text{otter one Clf} \]
\[\text{one otter (AK 3)}^{13} \]

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\(^{13}\) Text abbreviations may be found in sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3. Sentences elicited from the grammatical questionnaire are designated GQS.
(1.5) man ʔæŋʔuʔæŋhùu saam ʔæŋ
tuber large three Clf
three large tubers (GQS 55)

(1.6) gaa anjàa aŋlak manj
1ps child beloved Clf
my beloved child (CW 16)

(1.7) aŋboon tukʰjàam
father skull
father’s skull (FS 1)

(1.8) gaa aŋbloon naamaa
1ps husband this_one
this my husband (CK 25)

(1.9) aŋbaa aŋjìàa máa
mother new Clf
the new mother (OR 6)

(1.10) aŋboon póɔmaaj naŋbaa bàa màan
father widower heart neg. good
bad hearted widower–father (CW 1)

(1.11) laŋʃjaam pùu namàa
otter rotten this
this rotten otter (AK 32)

1.5.3 The verb phrase

The verb phrase is composed of the head verb and any adverbs or sentence final particles (the function of which will be discussed later in this dissertation) which may
accompany it. Adverbs are often non-adjacent to the head verb, as shown in examples 1.12–1.15 (verb phrases underlined):

(1.12) jaŋ juum hëo øen tʰii jëe kjàap jëe
  3ps house at ascend pt pt quiet pt

She thus returned home quietly. (CO 23)

(1.13) jaŋ ànwàaj kʰjaan jëe hùun luun tʰii
  3ps quickly quickly pt run pt pt

The child ran away quickly. (MB 25)

(1.14) cāa ambaa anʃàu màa hæmæ hìmjaan jao anwàj jëe
  then mother new Clf like that see then quickly pt
  juum ?ook hëe plèek klaan luu tʰii
  house exit at jump fall pt pt

Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground. (OR 33)

(1.15) hæm amboon amà gàa làe jao anwàj ankʰjaan
  after father Clf think pt then quickly quickly
  šòŋkʰɔŋ jëo hùun læen tʰii
  forest at run pt pt

After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest. (CW 21)

1.5.3.3 Verbal adjectives

Like many languages in Southeast Asia, Bisu makes abundant use of verbal adjectives.¹⁴ These are morphologically identical to adjectives found in noun phrases, but function as the predicate of the sentence, as shown in examples 1.16–1.18:

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¹⁴ In discussing Lahu, another Tibeto-Burman language, Matisoff (1973: 195) points out:

The fact that Lahu adjectives are simply a subclass of the verbs is a point that Lahu shares with her Sino-Tibetan sisters, as well as with Thai, Cambodian, Japanese, and many other genetically unrelated languages. From a general typological viewpoint, Indo-European seems to be
(1.16) antùk jèe  
poor pt  
(He) was poor. (PB 2)

(1.17) ankʰ luà jèe  
lazy pt  
(He) was lazy. (MB 3)

(1.18) baa nój  חשוב  
Mr. Noi fat  
Noi is fat. (GQS 15)

1.5.3.4 Serial verbs

Like many languages in Southeast Asia, Bisu makes abundant use of serial verbs. Series of actions which would be handled as separate clauses in English are thus handled as single clauses. In the written folktale corpus, a maximum of four serial verbs are used, as shown in the following examples:

(1.19) anjàa màn nàa hèn dùú jìook pòo j lùu  
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay out pt  
He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (CW 22)

(1.20) kamlaŋ hēe pùuhoŋ yān poŋʰ nàa yān  
momentarily at turtle Clf water buffalo Clf
naatúu mànpoŋ cóot kłaaj tāu j paandö  
upper lip mouth enter quickly fall strike pt

Momentarily, the turtle fell down into the mouth of the water buffalo.  
(ST 15)

idiosyncratic in having separate adjective-classes that show, if anything, greater affinity for the nouns than for the verbs.
1.5.4 The clause

Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, the basic clausal order of Bisu is SOV. This is true of all text types.

1.5.4.1 Clauses which may involve the accusative-like naa (nāa–naʔ)

Typical western grammar paradigms make a systematic distinction between direct and indirect objects, transitive and intransitive clauses. Such distinctions are less useful in Bisu, as they are in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 157).

In the Bisu context, it is useful to discuss the role of nāa, which carries something of an accusative-like function. Nonetheless, it is hazardous to try to describe the full functions of nāa with a single designation.¹⁵ James Matisoff’s comments on the Lahu equivalent, tʰâʔ–âʔ–hâ, are relevant here:

Note that we do not assign any very precise meaning to the term ‘object’ in Lahu grammar. It is merely a convenient intuitive label for any NP whose last element is tʰâʔ, or wherein tʰâʔ may grammatically be inserted with no effect on the meaning beyond a certain change of emphasis. tʰâʔ by no means occurs mechanically after every noun that is the ‘recipient of the action of the verb.’ It is, rather, used quite sparingly, only where clarity demands or when special emphasis is desired (1973: 155).

In this spirit, then, the remainder of this section will examine a number of sentences where nāa is or could be used.

The following examples show nāa following the direct object:

¹⁵ Throughout this dissertation, nâʔ is glossed as “ACC” as a matter of convenience, despite the fact that its exact role is somewhat ambiguous.
(1.21) 꼋ин ná? lan̄klao pii 꼋 꼈
baby ACC bath cause pt

(I) bathe the baby (daily). (E 7)

(1.22) an̄jàa màn nàa hùn dùuj 꼋ook pooj lùu
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay out pt

He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (CW 22)

(1.23) cáa an̄bāa an̄jùu màa an̄jàa màn jèet nàa
then mother new Clf child Clf both ACC
bàa soò jèe
neg like pt

And the new mother did not like the two children. (OR 6)

(1.24) naaŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa suan jào naaŋ an̄jàa
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child
maŋ naʔ sàoo pèe
Clf ACC kill IMP

“If you want me, kill your child!” (CW 11)

Examples 1.25–1.26 illustrate how, in discourse, naa–naʔ is frequently absent.

(1.25) hikʰàm lan̄jəam maŋ kàʔtaj maŋ pàoŋkʰàa
that time otter Clf rabbit Clf fart
bumm tʃʰii panǹco
suck pt pt

At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit. (AK 22)

(1.26) hàaŋ jèe moojəŋ làaj 꼙 꼙 tʃʰii
after pt gong get ascend pt

After that (she) went to get a gong. (CK 33)
Sentences 1.27–1.28 illustrate how naa may follow the entire “object complex,” a designation which includes direct and indirect objects:

(1.27) kirk makʰaam suzie naa pii  
(name) tamarind (name) ACC give  
Kirk gave Suzie a tamarind. (F 11)

(1.28) baa suk man jàan ga ná? pii lá?  nyêe  
Mr. Suk Clf 3ps 1ps ACC give pt pt  
Suk gave me a tuber. (GQS 56)

“Intransitive” sentences that do not contain anything that could be construed as an object do not take naa, as shown in examples 1.29 and 1.30:

(1.29) aŋbií aŋbloon tʰàu kùu caŋ jèe  
wife husband one couple have pt  
There was a husband and wife. (CK 1)

(1.30) jaŋ àŋwàaj kʰjaŋ jèe hùun lùun tʰii  
3ps quickly quickly pt run pt pt  
He (the child) ran away quickly. (MB 25)

1.5.5 Time and location

The time and location of events typically is stated at the onset of the clause, usually followed by hée, wë?, jèe, or jóo, as shown in examples 1.35 and 1.36 (time and location phrases underlined):

(1.31) münkʰií jàamlëen hée lánhúaj wë? laŋʃjaam  
dark evening at stream at otter  
tʰàu maŋ cáa kʰaalaj  
one Clf have pt  
When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter. (AK 3)
(1.32) kalòokkalìik hée tʃʰáp lāejàò kìibaa tʰaan
underarm at insert and_then path beside
hée coon tʃʰii jèe
at hide pt pt
(The rabbit) inserted (the stick) under (the rabbit's) arm and went to
hide himself alongside the path. (AK 24)

(1.33) hàænjèè tʃʰææŋkòojkòoj mán bëæe jào hàun
after that Chengkoiko Clf know then run
kʰèe lëæe tʃʰii
follow pt pt
After that, when Chengkoiko realized what had happened, she ran
after him. (CK 23)

(1.34) sùùkʰajlòok pàn jòò kap jàæò kʰòoj tʃʰiiitʃʰajào
(type of tree) Clf. at trap that set leave in place
She set the trap at the suukhajlook tree and left it there. (TS 29)

Movement of a time phrase to a later point in a sentence may serve to
emphasize a point, as in example 1.35, wherein an evil father repeatedly tries to
abandon his children in the forest:

(1.35) càà jàakèe màn jèet mì kuu tʰee jèè juum
then child Clf both well every occurrence pt house
aŋluu lëæe gaa kaa
return pt pt pt
Then both children, well, every time were able to return home. (OR 9)

1.5.6 Zero anaphora

Like many Asian languages, Bisu makes abundant use of zero anaphora in
discourses. Typically, a participant’s identity will be stated only in the first sentence
in a series where the referent is unambiguous, as shown in the first episode of Ai
Kham:
(1.36) mûŋhîi jàamlâøŋ høø lânhúaj wøø lânjjaam
dark evening at stream at otter
thũa maŋ câa kʰaalaj
one Clf have pt

When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter. (AK 3)

Ø naasøon na? hmjaŋ tʃʰii jëe
Ø fish trap ACC see pt pt

(He) saw the fish trap. (AK 4)

Ø jâø naasøon hëø cœø lâœøn tʃʰii jëe
Ø then fish trap at enter pt pt pt

And then (he) went into the fish trap. (AK 5)

Ø lâŋtëøe ñoøŋ tsâa kʰoo pli tʃʰi jëe
Ø fish enter eat completely pt pt pt

(He) ate all the fish completely. (AK 6)

Ø câa kʰoon jâø bàø tœk luã too kàø jëe
Ø then completely then neg. exit pt pt pt pt

Then after the (fish) were all gone, (he) could not get out. (AK 7)

1.5.7 Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses have been observed in a number of positions, as shown in examples 1.37–1.39:

(1.37) gaa wàa naan máã làã tʃʰii mëøø haaj jàà
1ps this 2ps tell pt pt same do pt

"I did what you told me to do." (CW 15)
(1.38) kʰàatsoon mən nəm nap əahaa tsəa ləm coo
self clever pt pt IMP think pt IMP

"I'm clever"—don't think that! (CO 1)

(1.39) ʔəuhooq aŋjəa ʔəu aŋbaa mən ləu na?
turtle child group mother Clf return ACC
hmjaŋ kʌəakkləək jəə
see call out pt

The turtle kids saw that their mother was returning and called out. (TS 23)

Relative clauses do not receive any distinctive markers, but are rather inserted immediately after the nouns they modify, as shown in examples 1.40–1.41:

(1.40) ʔəcəm kʰəu aŋbaa kuu tʰəə nəm kʰəə
in addition dog mother every occurrence npt follow
pləon man bəa caa láfwaə
help Clf neg have pt

In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there. (OR 17)

(1.41) nii nəŋ gaa nəa tsəa làəŋ jəo cəkəu gaa
this 2ps 1ps ACC eat pt then thorn 1ps
ləkʰəu tʰəo ləlatʰinin tʰəə cək ʔook
foot pierce at that place, bite pull exit
ləu laa poonoo
pt pt pt

"If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please!" (TD 17)

1.5.8 Compound sentences

A number of relationships, including condition, causality, and sequence, are not encoded lexically with words such as 'if', 'because', and 'when', but are rather
indicated through the position of two adjacent clauses within the same sentence or across sentence boundaries, as shown in examples 1.42–1.45:

(1.42) nìi nàŋ gaa nàa tɔàì laŋ jao ciikùù gaa
this 2ps 1ps ACC eat pt then thorn 1ps
laʔhùu ʔsìŋ ao ʔməlātʃiŋin tʃiŋìə cǎk ñook
foot pierce at that place bite pull exit
pt pt pt

“If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please!” (TD 17)

(1.43) naŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa sùŋ jao naŋ aŋjàa
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child
naŋ naʔ sìiə péee
Clf ACC kill IMP

“If you want me, kill your child!” (CW 11)

(1.44) phìi kɔäm laʔkáa lɔŋtìŋŋ koŋ jàŋ kɔɔj
grandmother Kham in_front_of fish pile that gather
jao jum həə æen ləə tʃiiì jèe
then house at ascend pt pt pt

[Previous sentence= ‘she knew the technique’] [So], she took those fish that were piled up in front of Grandmother Kham and then went home. (CO 18)

(1.45) həmə kjàaj jao aŋboŋ nàa namləŋw jèe
like_that hear then father Clf finally pt
nəŋbaa plak ʃiin tʃiŋìi
heart break die pt

When he heard that, the father’s heart broke and he immediately died. (OR 32)
1.5.9 Changes in constituent order
(right–dislocation)

Right–dislocation may be utilized for emphasis or clarification, as shown in examples 1.46–1.59. It should be noted that the sentence final particles in these sentences remain adjacent to the verb, rather than following the dislocated element.

(1.46) cáa naan laŋkaa naowaa kaseej ðau
then ask pt pt monkey group

Then they asked each other—the monkeys. (PB 34)

(1.47) joo naŋ kuʔaʔkoo ðaukooj pao baacëe laʔmanmiʔ
well, 2ps take pile gather IMP what which one

“Well, take a pile—whichsoever one (you want).” (CO 16)

(1.48) poo cáj tʃhii jaan têu kʰûn
care_for pt pt 3ps one Clf

(She) raised (just) one (of the two children). (FM 8)

(1.49) wàt dàŋ lêe pìi tʃhii maŋpʰæe maŋ jèe
temple live pt pt pt younger_brother Clf pt

The one caused to live at the temple was the younger brother. (FM 10)
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT INFLUENCES

2.0 Introduction

Any research project begins with certain presuppositions about the nature of the
to be studied. These sometimes masked postulates profoundly impact both the
questions asked by the researcher and the ways in which answers and explanations
are sought.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to lay bare the presuppositions of this
researcher. In doing so, a riverine metaphor will be employed in an effort to
demonstrate how the work of several individuals and their respective theoretical
approaches (streams and tributaries) have, in confluence, affected the course of this
research.

2.1 Longacre and the discourse stream

In his 1978 paper, “Why we need a vertical revolution in linguistics,” Robert E.
Longacre calls for a “radical reorientation” in how linguists think about language.
After praising some of the positive outcomes of the dominant Chomskyian approach
to grammar, Longacre addresses what he perceived as the “blind spots that
[Chomsky] inherited from Bloomfield and never challenged.” He elaborates:

The greatest of these hangups inherited from Bloomfield was inherent
in the definition of grammar as a device for generating sentences. This
perpetuated the Bloomfieldian blindspot in which the independence of
the sentence from its context was over emphasized....This definition
effectively ruled out the possibility of grammar beyond the sentence
Longacre goes on to mention some of the "voices raised against this Bloomfieldian–Chomskyian restriction": various members of the Prague school, Louis Hjelmslev, Rupert Frith, Zellig Harris, Kenneth Pike, Joseph Grimes, and Teun van Dijk, among others (1978: 248). Longacre states that these individuals fired the "opening guns" of a "revolution" based on the following proposition:

It is not simply that systematic analysis and study of units larger than the sentence is possible, nor even that such analysis is desirable, but rather that discourse analysis is a rock bottom necessity, i.e., all linguistic structure must ultimately be related to the structure of context (1978: 249).

In support of his thesis, Longacre discusses several specific grammatical phenomena which he claims cannot find explanatory sufficiency in a sentence–based approach: definitivization and the use of deictics, pronominalization, use of tense, aspect, mode, and voice, word order phenomena, use of location and temporal expressions, uses of adverbial clauses, sequence signals and conjunctions, nominalization and topicalization, variation in reported speech, variation in length of syntactic units, and "mystery particles" and affixes. A full understanding of these and other grammatical concepts can only be understood through examination of the larger context—the discourse context.

The years since Longacre's call for a "vertical revolution" have seen the field of discourse studies expand in a number of ways. As Longacre predicted, linguists from a variety of theoretical backgrounds have made unique contributions. Longacre's vision that discourse analysis would "take us beyond the frontiers of linguistics itself and land us at the crossroads of linguistics, sociology, psychology, and perhaps several other disciplines" (1978: 267) has also been borne out. Still, Longacre's basic thesis remains the central tenet of the field (and, by implication, this dissertation):
many sentence-level phenomena can only be understood in their discourse environment. Or, as Longacre himself put it, “language is language only in context” (1996: 1).

2.1.1 Discourse tributaries

This section comprises an overview of four doctoral dissertations, all within the general stream of discourse theory, which have impacted the present research.

2.1.1.1 Hwang and “structural importance”.

Shin Ja Joo Hwang’s 1981 Ph.D. dissertation, Aspects of Korean narration, represents a thorough analysis of eight Korean folktales and short stories. Hwang begins by defending the study of discourse in general, marshalling evidence from phonology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and even philosophy (1981: 14). After discussing the structure of the texts to be analyzed, Hwang discusses the “structural importance of information”—what Longacre would later term “salience” (Longacre 1996: 7). The levels of importance are encoded through a number of surface structure phenomena.

Unlike Tibeto-Burman languages, Korean encodes for tense. Hwang identifies the past tense as the main indicator of mainline (important) material, with present + kos i-ta construction, present + activitive, and present representing successive departures from the mainline (decreasing in importance) (1981: 138). Korean grammar also utilizes aspectual suffixes. Hwang thus identifies completive aspect as being high in importance, while inchoative, inceptive, repetitive, continuative, progressive, resultative, and incomplete indicate successively less-salient material (1981: 148).

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16 This dissertation was later recast as a book (Hwang 1987).
Drawing from Nida (1949), Hwang discusses one prefix and several suffixes which are used to indicate mode in Korean. Declarative mode indicates mainline, while activitive, quotative, experimentative, retrospective, desiderative, intensive, conjecture, question, and negation all represent decreasing degrees of textual importance (1981: 156). Hwang ranks transitivity in terms of clause types, with ditransitive clauses leading the way, with transitive, passive, intransitive, existential, and equative clauses indicating decreasing transitivity.

Closely related to transitivity is the notion of verb type, which Hwang also analyzes as part of the “importance” schema. She categorizes verbs according to case frames, beginning with action–process followed by action, process, state, existential, and equative (1981: 165).

Hwang’s final factor is sentence structure, with independent clauses at the top of the salience ranking, followed by coordinate clauses + ㄴㄴ, coordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, and modifying clauses (1981: 171).

These six factors, then, interact with one another to indicate importance in Korean narrative. The net effect can be best grasped through a circular chart in which overall sentence importance increases as one moves along the individual spokes toward the center:
This balancing of multiple factors has influenced the course of the present research by pressing the need to think in non-linear terms. That is, factors such as salience should not be construed in terms of one or two features only, but in the confluence of a number of structural phenomena.

2.1.1.2 Burusphat and discourse without tense

While Longacre and Hwang worked primarily with inflectional, agglutinative languages, Burusphat’s dissertation and subsequent book *The structure of Thai narrative* (1991) represented the first attempt to apply Longacre’s theoretical approach to an isolating language that does not mark tense. Burusphat’s work is thus significant in demonstrating how the Longacrean theory can be applied in the Southeast Asian typological context.
Working from a series of Thai folktales, Burusphat claims that such phenomena as salience, which, for many Asian languages, cannot be understood in terms of verb tense, can be observed in the form of sequential markers, temporal adverbs, time phrases, verb type, relative clauses, and so forth. (Burusphat 1991: 113).

The way in which Burusphat thinks through discourse issues in Thai has impacted the present research in a number of ways. Perhaps the prime moral that this researcher has drawn from her work is “To thine own Southeast Asian typology be true,” with the addendum, “Just because you don’t have tense, don’t assume that your life is going to be any easier; dig deeper!”

2.1.1.3 Herring and the quantification of tense and aspect

While Hwang and Burusphat wrote as students of Longacre, Susan Herring’s 1991 “Functions of the verb in Tamil narration” reflects a number of influences, demonstrating an appreciation for Longacre’s emphasis on text type and schema, Paul Hopper’s work on grounding, and Talmy Givón’s concern for supporting discourse generalizations quantitatively.

Unlike Thai, Tamil has a well developed tense–aspect system. Nonetheless, traditional grammars of the language had failed to fully explain the “exceptions”—times when the “textbook” stance on how sentences should be structured was not followed. Herring tackles this problem by looking at the distribution of various verb–related phenomena, including tense, aspect, compound verbs, and modals, in different text types. In doing so, she relies heavily on frequency counts, numerically demonstrating the grammatical trends exhibited by sentences found in different text types.
This correlation of text type to grammatical phenomena, supported by frequency counts, has greatly influenced the approach of the present work. Given the large quantity of Bisu particles and the wide range of contexts in which they occur, some sort of numerical approach was needed to separate trends from exceptions, the intuition of the researcher (and, sometimes, that of native speakers) from the abundance of data.

2.1.1.4 McClelland and the correspondence of prosody and discourse features

Clive McClelland's 1996 dissertation "Interrelations of prosody, clause structure, and discourse pragmatics in Tarifit Berber" examines the connections between prosody, clause structure, and discourse pragmatics. Although such interrelations had long been discussed and even taken for granted by a number of discourse-minded linguists, McClelland endeavored to support theoretical assumption with empirical validation.

To carry this out, McClelland developed a statistical model wherein various discourse factors were correlated with prosodic measurements. Each of the 211 clauses in his corpus of four Tarifit Berber oral texts received codings for a number of variables, including place in the discourse (orientation, inciting incident, mounting tension, climax, lessening tension, denouement, coda), role in the discourse (episode juncture, storyline, topic, focus), clause structure (word order variation, use of clause adverbials, presence of preceding dependent clauses, use of case nouns). These were then correlated with various prosodic characteristics, including clause duration (in milliseconds), amplitude levels, relative width of fundamental frequency contours, rate of delivery (morphemes per second), and duration of pauses. Under statistical analysis, significant correlations between these variables were revealed.
The present work involves neither prosody nor formal statistical analysis. Nevertheless, McClelland’s overall approach, especially in relation to the coding of clauses for discourse properties, has significantly impacted the methodology of this dissertation. McClelland’s influence is clear in the structure of the Excel database (see 3.2) from which many of the conclusions of this dissertation were derived.

2.2 On the banks of the Yangzhe: particles in Chinese

As a world-class language with a long written tradition, Mandarin Chinese has often served as the lens through which the other Asian languages have been viewed. Indeed, ancient Chinese scholars are still frequently cited in discussions of tone, grammar, and historical reconstruction with regard to both Chinese and “barbarian” tongues. Nonetheless, there has been relatively little serious linguistic research into the use of Chinese particles (Chan 1999).

2.2.1 Li and Thompson: auxiliary markers and “mood words”

Li and Thompson’s (1981) reference grammar of Mandarin Chinese represents a common stream of thought that divides what Matisoff (1973) groups as “verbal particles” into discrete categories: auxiliary verbs, aspect markers, and sentence final particles. These groupings are made of the basis of whether the forms at hand “share a set of distributional properties not possessed by any other set of forms” (1981: 172).

As defined by Li and Thompson, auxiliary verbs occur in prepredicate position. Among other limitations, auxiliary verbs cannot be used without a main verb (stated or implied from context), be nominalized, or be modified by intensifiers. They are distinct from adverbs, in that adverbs require stated (not just implied) main verbs. Li and Thompson’s list of auxiliary verbs include the following English glosses: ‘ought
to, should,' 'be able to,' 'has permission to,' 'dare,' 'be willing to,' must, ought to,' and 'will, know how' (1981: 183).

In the absence of tense markers, aspect markers play a vital, albeit difficult to comprehend, role in Mandarin. Four types of aspect are utilized. Perfective is indicated by the suffix –le, while imperfective (durative) may be indicated by either the suffix –zhe or the word zài in pre-predicate position. Experiential is indicated by the suffix –guo, while delimitative is shown through verb reduplication (1981: 185).

Li and Thompson identify six sentence final particles in Chinese, indicating 'currently relevant state,' 'response to expectation,' 'solicitation of agreement,' 'friendly warning,' 'reduction of forcefulness,' and 'question' (1981: 238). Again, these differ in sentence position from auxiliary verbs and aspects markers, and form a vital component of social interaction. As Li and Thompson explain (1981:317):

Traditional Chinese grammar refers to the sentence–final particles as yǔduī cí ‘mood words’; this term aptly suggest that the function of these sentence–final particles is to relate to the conversational contexts in various ways the utterance to which they are attached and to indicate how this utterance is to be taken by the hearer.

Li and Thompson’s analysis has been helpful to this dissertation in several ways. The object of their study is not Chinese grammar in the abstract, but as it is actually used in everyday life. Most of their examples reflect conversational, rather than standardized written usage. As such, they are careful to explain the situational conditions under which a given sentence would be uttered. Thus, while they do not address discourse level issues per se, they open the door to discourse–related issues. Indeed, many other contemporary books and articles on Chinese grammar refer to Li and Thompson in some way, often amplifying, modifying or even challenging Li and Thompson’s interpretations.
2.2.2 Marjorie Chan and the sociolinguistic back-door into discourse

One contemporary Chinese scholar who has been particularly vocal about the necessity of taking particles seriously is Marjorie K.M. Chan of Ohio State University. In several recent conference papers, as well as a graduate seminar syllabus posted on the world wide web, she has expressed amazement at how sentence final particles have been the victims of neglect:

As to the study of sentence-final particles, they never play a prominent role in sentence-based, formal grammar, and those that appear typically serve grammatical functions, such as [those] occurring at the end of yes-no questions....Publications on the semantics and pragmatics of those sentence-final particles that are “optional” (i.e., they are not obligatory for grammatical function), do exist, but they remain relatively rare (Chan 1999).

Chan’s interest in particles stems from sociolinguistic concerns. Her current research project involves analyzing video tapes of a popular Cantonese soap opera seeking clues as to the relationship between particle usage and gender. Among other things, she has discovered that certain particles are more likely to be used by females than males. Thus, particles offer insight into how societal roles are played out.

Chan’s work was helpful to the present author in underlining the importance of particles on every level of linguistic analysis. Although the scope of this dissertation is limited to monologues, Chan’s insistence that particles receive full and fair treatment in grammars has helped maintain the focus of this dissertation.

2.2.3 Chauncy Chu and the “core functions” of particles

One of the most ambitious works on Chinese syntax in recent years is Chauncy Chu’s *A Discourse Grammar of Mandarin Chinese*. 
Like many scholars of Asian languages, Chu finds “the Western theoretical framework that has been imposed on the study of Chinese grammar since...the end of the nineteenth century” unsatisfactory (1998: 1). He protests:

When the criteria of such a sentence grammar is applied to a language like Chinese, it is immediately obvious that the model is far from being adequate for describing the structure of a linguistic system that lacks an elaborate formal apparatus of tense–aspect, case marking, voice, modal auxiliaries, etc., in terms of the familiar structural signals that prevail in Indo-European languages. Chinese, in particular, relies heavily on relative ordering of constituents, inter-clausal coreference, particles, and semantic correlates, among many others, to signal syntactic structure as well as discourse relations. It is therefore indispensable, on one hand, to account for the syntactic structure of Chinese in terms of signals different from the ones familiar to most Western grammarians and, on the other, to utilize discourse notions to uncover the inner workings of the clause/sentence structure of the language (1998: 2).

Chu’s view of how discourse should be analyzed draws heavily from pragmatics and semantics. In approaching Mandarin sentence–final particles, for example, he searches for “core functions at one or more levels.” These core functions, in turn, are used as the base from which the context-sensitive meaning and role of a particle are generated.

Although Chu’s view of discourse is chiefly related to conversation, spending only a few pages discussing the “paragraph and beyond” and never mentioning text type issues, his pragmatically-sensitive approach is helpful in understanding Bisu particles. Most importantly, he recognizes that sentence final particles cannot be neatly and cleanly defined; rather, they are sensitive to contextual, syntactic, and attitudinal variables.
2.3 Following the Mekhong: particles in Southeast Asia

2.3.1 Joseph Cooke and Thai conversational particles

The most comprehensive work on particles in any Southeast Asian language to date is Joseph Cooke's 1989 *Thai sentence particles and other topics*. In his years as learner of Thai, teacher of Thai, and co-compiler of a Thai–English dictionary, Cooke became aware of the vast ocean of Thai particles. Many of these particles were very difficult for native speakers to define or explain. As Cooke (1989: 33) states:

Sentence particles (many of them at least) have no unified, clearly focused meanings; they are so variable from context to context that they can only be explained by describing the range of contexts in which given sentence particles are used.

By analyzing Thai written dialogue as it appears in popular novels and covertly observing the conversations of Thai friends and colleagues, Cooke developed an overall "feeling" for the role of particles in different communicative contexts. Nonetheless, these "feelings" do not align neatly with concise dictionary entries. The following description of the Thai particle *nāa* exemplifies the way in which Cooke was compelled to write not lexical definitions, but context-sensitive descriptions of particles:

These are utterances in which the speaker states a fact, expresses an opinion, tells about his expectations, provides an explanation, or whatever, and then (by his use of nāa) conveys his expectation or request for agreement or acquiescence. The net result is a question much like English questions ending with "huh?", "isn't it?", and "right?", "don't you think so?", "okay?", "are you with me?", "did you get what I'm saying?" and so forth. Such utterances are usually relaxed and friendly, with the speaker fully expecting (though not demanding) the response he seeks.
When the *nāa* occurs following or bracketed by names, nouns, and pronouns that are used as vocatives...it is used to call the addressee’s attention, to render the speaker’s message more intimate and personal, or to highlight the speaker’s baffled complaint (1989: 131, 134).

Cooke’s work has impacted dissertation work on several levels. First, it has affected this researcher’s expectations of the behavior of Bisu particles, as well as the ability of native speakers to explain how the particles work. Without Cooke, this researcher would have probably become extremely frustrated in an attempt to wrench out concise particle definitions from hapless Bisu language assistants. Second, Cooke’s work has proven to be an invaluable resource in understanding Northern Thai particles. As Northern Thai is the language of wider communication in the Bisu region, Bisu language assistants often explained Bisu particles relative to their Northern Thai counterparts. Indeed, some Bisu speakers have incorporated Northern Thai particles into their own speech—loan particles, as it were.

### 2.3.2 James Matisoff and Lahu particles

Nearly 700 pages in length, James Matisoff’s *The grammar of Lahu* (Sino–Tibetan, Tibeto–Burman, Yi–Burmese) is one of the most extensive descriptions of any language in Southeast Asia. Part of this work’s appeal is that it is not bound by any one syntactic theory; rather than seeking to find evidence of allegedly “universal” grammar, Matisoff takes the language as it is, describing in minute detail both “normal” paradigms and “unusual” permutations. In addition, although *The grammar of Lahu* is not written from a “discourse perspective” (something which was just developing when Matisoff was collecting his data in the mid 1960s and early 1970s), the majority of Matisoff’s example sentences are garnered from a large corpus of oral texts representing a variety of text types.
Matisoff dedicates over two hundred pages to the Lahu verb phrase. Some eighty of those pages, in turn, discuss what Matisoff terms "verb particles," "universal unrestricted particles," and "final unrestricted particles," all of which are considered part of the verb phrase in this SOV language. The following explanation of "verbal particles" gives a sense of the great diversity of attributes which these tiny words may contain:

A verb–particle (Pv) is a word which cannot constitute an utterance by itself and which occurs always and only after members of the class of verbs (or after other verb–particles). Semantically, they serve to elucidate the meaning of the verb in a variety of ways, conveying notions of aspect, directionality, subjective attitudes toward the verbal event, etc. Conspicuously absent are any Pv’s referring to tense. Tense–concepts are foreign to the Lahu verb, as they are for the Sino–Tibetan languages in general. (1973: 315)

Matisoff goes on to classify Lahu particles into four divisions, indicating directionality, subjective attitudes/nature of one’s own experience, aspect, and imperatives/interjectives. At the same time, he concedes that there can be significant variation in both the phonetic realization of particles and their semantic role in different contexts. The particle ê, for example, can have an interjective, interrogative, or imperative sense, depending on context, and is easily confused with the particle ê? ‘only/just/even’ and the “adverbializing particle” ê (1973: 382). As designations like “adverbializing particle” illustrate, many aspects of Lahu grammar demand the creation of new English terms.

*The grammar of Lahu* has been invaluable to the dissertation at hand. First, the freedom with which Matisoff coins new terms and the vivid explanations he gives of his nomenclature encouraged the present researcher to explain Bisu on its own terms, rather than trying to fit it into Indo–European descriptive forms. Second, because of
the close genetic affiliation between Bisu and Lahu, learning about Lahu grammar has yielded insight into Bisu grammar. This has been particularly helpful where the particles are concerned. At least fourteen Bisu particles appear to have Lahu cognates, while a number of others are phonologically distinct but functionally similar to Lahu particles.

2.3.3 David Solnit and Eastern Kayah Li

David Solnit’s *Eastern Kayah Li: grammar, texts, glossary* provides a thorough overview of a language that, while related to Bisu, is genetically more distant than Lahu. Eastern Kayah Li is a member of the Karen sub–group of Tibeto–Burman.

Like all Karenic languages, Eastern Kayah Li is SVO. This fact has caused a minority of linguists to expel Karenic languages from Tibeto–Burman, inasmuch as the rest of the family is SOV (Solnit 1997: xiv). Nonetheless, this different word order has implications for the interpretation of particles. Whereas Matisoff considers all sentence final particles under the rubric of the verb phrase, Solnit, is compelled to distinguish several particle categories, based on position. Kayah Li’s “Pre–verbal particles,” include aspect markers, modals, and a few attitudinal markers, while the post–verbal particles include markers of repetition, addition, temporary state, emphatic or unexpected negative, comitative participant involvement, excess, new participant, and benefit. Interrogative, imperative, and assertive particles also occur sentence finally (1997: 102ff, 226ff).

Curiously, some of the particles which occur sentence finally in Kayah Li (and therefore after both verb and object) carry seemingly similar connotations to some of the sentence medial particles. These include particles of negation, past or perfective irrealis, and “possible undesirable event” (1997: 231).
Solnit’s work has been helpful to this dissertation in confirming the “difficult to generalize” nature of some particles. In addition, Solnit acknowledges that the boundaries between particles and other grammatical classes are often fuzzy. For example, some Kayah Li particles under some circumstances behave more like verbs than particles (1997: 100). This is also the case in Bisu.

2.3.4 Inga–Lill Hansson and Akha evidentiality

Swedish linguist Inga–Lill Hansson’s study of Akha (Tibeto–Burman, Yi–Burmese) has resulted in one very concise paper on evidentiality particles (Hansson 1996). Based on over one thousand pages of interlinearized texts, Hansson posits sixteen such particles, with English glosses such as ‘know for sure,’ ‘infer from seeing,’ ‘infer from hearing,’ ‘infer from feeling,’ ‘doubt,’ and so forth.

Unlike Lahu particles, none of the Akha evidential particles have apparent cognates in Bisu. Nonetheless, the fact that a related language has such rich evidential resources has affected the course of this research.

2.4 Overlooking Chompuu Creek: previous work on Bisu

2.4.1 Tatsuo Nishida and the first analysis

Nishida’s “discovery” of the Bisu resulted in a basic profile of the language, published first in Japanese (1966) and later in English (1973). Nishida’s suggestion that Bisu be assigned to the Loloish/Yiphoish subgroup of Tibeto–Burman continues to be widely accepted.

Given the relatively short amount of time Nishida spent with the Bisu, his sketch of Bisu phonology, word formation, and incorporation of Thai loan words is accurate and insightful. His treatment of Bisu grammar is, by his own admission, somewhat sparse. He nonetheless recognizes thirteen “verb forms,” composed of a
verb plus what later linguists would consider particles. These “verb form”
combinations are give such labels as “progressiveness,” “mutualness,” “question,”
“causation,” “perfect tense,” and “experience of the past” (1973: 72–74).

2.4.2 David Bradley and James Matisoff on
Bisu historical development

The bulk of the previous work on Bisu has dealt with issues of basic phonology
and historical development. David Bradley’s Proto–Loloish (1979) discusses Bisu in
relation to other languages in the family, using Bisu as a conservative exemplar of
some of the family traits. Bradley has also examined nasality in Bisu (1985) and Bisu
dialects within Thailand (1988). Drawing on data collected by Nishida and Bradley,
James Matisoff (1976) carried out “microlinguistic” comparisons between Bisu and
the closely–related Mpi. Matisoff coined the term “Bisoid” to encompass such
South–Loloish languages as Pyen, Phu Noi, and Coong, and frequently refers to Bisu
in articles and presentations on Sino–Tibetan history.

2.4.3 Vacharee Nuamkaew on Bisu phonology

Vacharee Nuamkaew’s 1987 Mahidol University thesis represents the first
full–scale phonological analysis of Bisu. Basing her work on the Bisu dialect spoken
at Pha Daeng Village (Amphoe Phan, Tambon Doi Ngam, Chiang Rai Province),
Nuamkaew presents helpful information about syllable type, stress patterns, and
phoneme distribution. Her findings provided the linguistic basis for the development
of a Thai–based Bisu orthography (Person, in press).

2.4.4 Patrick Beaudouin on Bisu grammar

During the late 1980s, French linguist Patrick Beaudouin studied Bisu, resulting
in several conference papers and his 1991 dissertation, Une monographie du Bisu.
This work contains an outline of Bisu phonology, as well as sections on morphology, phrase structure, classifiers, and syntax.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function/meaning</th>
<th>particle</th>
<th>Function/meaning</th>
<th>particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclamative</td>
<td>peja</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>tṣhaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pōjje de</td>
<td>'similarity'</td>
<td>hmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>'wish'</td>
<td>mua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>'must'</td>
<td>su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present aspective</td>
<td>ṇe</td>
<td>'may'</td>
<td>aŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>aŋ+V+to g a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past aspective</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>'go up (or North)'</td>
<td>1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsha</td>
<td>'go down (or South)'</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tṭhi</td>
<td>'come from up (or North)'</td>
<td>1u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative past aspective</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>'come from down (or lá South)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suŋ</td>
<td>'give/causeative'</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future aspective</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>totality</td>
<td>kʰo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naje</td>
<td>'only'</td>
<td>kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>repetition of action</td>
<td>1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with' or 'at'</td>
<td>kọŋ</td>
<td>end of action</td>
<td>pẹn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonetheless, Beaudouin readily reveals some of the questions that remain as to actual particle usage, pointing out several particle–containing sentences of his own construction which Bisu language assistants reluctantly reported as being grammatically acceptable but somewhat different from normal native speaker patterns (1991a: 10). Beaudouin's dissertation contains six expository texts but, again, they are not analyzed from the discourse perspective, and some of the most frequently
occurring particles found in Bisu narratives are altogether absent from his otherwise thorough analysis.

Beaudouin’s work has proven invaluable to this dissertation. While his work does not incorporate a discourse perspective, his documentation of sentence level grammar and at least most of the particles he describes is accurate. Beaudouin’s work thus provides a springboard for the present work.

2.4.5 Xu Shixuan on Bisu in China

The discovery of Bisu in China resulted in the most thorough description of the language to date, Xu Shixuan’s The Bisu language (forthcoming). Shixuan includes an overview of Bisu culture, detailed discussion of Bisu phonology, extensive analysis of Bisu sentence-level grammar and comparison of Bisu dialects and related languages. Shixuan treats Bisu particles as “markers” or “auxiliaries” attached to the verb phrase, limiting her analysis to their use at the sentence level. Many of the “markers” discussed by Shixuan are not present in Bisu as spoken in Thailand, one indication of the seemingly significant differences between the Chinese and Thai dialects.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
This chapter describes the research design and methodology used in this investigation. Section 3.1 describes the texts examined in this research, including information on how those texts were collected and prepared for analysis. Brief summaries of each text are included to provide a context for the example sentences used throughout the dissertation. Section 3.2 discusses the analytical procedures to which the written folktales were subjected in an effort to “tease out” discourse and sentence level features which could provide insight into particle meaning usage.

3.1 Corpus
While the focus of the dissertation is written folktales, several expository texts and life histories were included in the corpus to provide additional insight into Bisu sentence final particles.

3.1.1 Written folktales
The thirteen Bisu folktales examined in this study were all written in March, 1999, at a literacy materials workshop held at the Applied Linguistics Training Center, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand. As a Thai–based orthography for the language had been adopted in December, 1999, this workshop represented the first attempt to actively use the orthography on a wide scale. Workshop participants received instruction in a variety of basic writing concepts, including readability,
naturalness, and vividness. Each text was drafted by an individual author, with other workshop participants reading and commenting upon the drafts. While some of the texts represent age–old Bisu folklore, others were original creations or Bisu renditions of familiar folktales which may have originated with other ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{17} Text names, length, and author information follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative and Abbreviation</th>
<th>Number of Sentences</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ai Kham Goes Fishing</td>
<td>AK 34</td>
<td>Kongkham Wonglua</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man: a Story of Two Chicken Thieves</td>
<td>DB 25</td>
<td>Kongkham Wonglua</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Swans and the Turtle</td>
<td>ST 19</td>
<td>Kongkham Wonglua</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle and Squirrel</td>
<td>TS 38</td>
<td>Moon Tajan</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger and Deer</td>
<td>TD 26</td>
<td>Surasak Puikham</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mischievous Boy</td>
<td>MB 32</td>
<td>Surasak Puikham</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons from Mother and Father</td>
<td>FM 18</td>
<td>Nikorn Buasuwan</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cruel Widower</td>
<td>CW 23</td>
<td>Nikorn Buasuwan</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphan Children</td>
<td>OR 35</td>
<td>Jassadakrysi and Nawalas Tajan</td>
<td>females</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengkoikoi, the Female Spirit</td>
<td>CK 43</td>
<td>Somchai Kaewkhannoi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Dare Think You're Clever!</td>
<td>CO 27</td>
<td>Somchai Kaewkhannoi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Boy</td>
<td>PB 47</td>
<td>Somchai Kaewkhannoi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Skull</td>
<td>FS 17</td>
<td>Somchai Kaewkhannoi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 384

The two older men had learned to read and write Thai while serving as Buddhist monks. They are among the minority of Bisu speakers aged thirty and above who are literate. Both of these men are well–known for their storytelling prowess. The two

\textsuperscript{17} There are a number of essentially similar folktales which are found throughout Southeast Asia. Each ethnic group seems to have a certain local “spin” to these common stories (Gregerson et.al. 1987: xiii).
younger men had been educated through the sixth grade in the Thai school system, and had also taken adult education courses. Two of the teenagers were students at in the agricultural program of a local vocational school (tenth grade equivalent). The third teenaged participant was a secondary school student at the Chiang Mai Blind School, where she had mastered touch typing!

All of the manuscripts were input into Microsoft Word by the Bisu teenagers, none of whom had prior computer experience. The texts were formatted as books, using SIL’s Bookmaker program, while the original rich text format (.rtf) files were saved for this analysis.

To facilitate interlinearization and translation, a teenaged Bisu male, Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, was employed to mark word and sentence breaks in the texts. This proved to be a major undertaking since Bisu, like Thai, does not contain orthographic indications of word and sentence boundaries. A degree of ambiguity remains on some of these divisions, a number of which have been revised as the author’s understanding of the Bisu language has expanded. Somchai also prepared Thai free translations of each sentence. The texts were then imported into Shoebox, a program developed by SIL for text glossing and lexicon construction. Somchai assisted the author in preparing phonetic transcriptions and English glosses for each Bisu word. This resulted in a 1,500 word Bisu–English–Thai lexicon.18

3.1.1.1 Folktales summaries

To enable readers to relate example sentences to their contexts, this section contains brief summaries of each of the folktales studied.

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18 Most of the Bisu particles were not included in this lexicon, inasmuch as Somchai was often unable to suggest any Thai equivalents. Therein lay the genesis of this dissertation!
3.1.1.1.1 "Ai Kham goes fishing" (AK)

Ai Kham places a fish trap in the stream. That evening, an otter climbs into the trap and eats all the fish. He is unable to get back out of the trap. Early the next morning, a rabbit comes hopping along and informs the otter that the trap’s owner will certainly kill him. The otter begs for help, and the rabbit obliges by releasing gas into the otter’s mouth. Later that morning Ai Kham returns and assumes, based on the odor, that the otter is dead. He throws the otter out of the trap then spies the rabbit, who is acting as though he has been impaled on a stick. Ai Kham pursues the rabbit, who throws down the stick and flees. Meanwhile, the otter has escaped.

3.1.1.1.2 "Mr Kiew the deaf man and Mr. Paw the blind man: a story of two chicken thieves" (DB)

Two deaf and blind friends attempt to steal Grandpa Kaew’s chickens. Kiew was to grab the chickens as instructed by Paw. Of course, Kiew cannot hear Paw’s instructions as to which type of chickens to grab, and a great deal of shouting ensues. Grandpa Kaew hears the commotion, and storms onto the scene. Kiew escapes, while Paw, running underneath Grandpa Kaew’s house, steps on a farm implement which flips upward, striking him in the forehead. Thinking he is being beaten by a stick–wielding assailant, Paw confesses all.

3.1.1.1.3 “The Swans and the Turtle” (ST)

A turtle wants to cross a valley to forage for food on another mountain. Two swans agree to help, holding a stick which the turtle grasps with his mouth. Some boys herding water buffalo see the unlikely flying trio, and shout out “The swans are carrying the turtle!” The turtle replies, “No, I’m carrying the swans!” While speaking, he loses his grip on the stick and plunges into the mouth of a startled water buffalo. His shell is shattered, and his internal organs splash onto the arm of a nearby
buffalo boy. This is why water buffalo do not have hard upper lips, and also why human armpits smell bad to this day.

3.1.1.4 “Turtle and Squirrel” (TS)

Two friends head out into the forest to collect firewood. Instead, they end up enjoying the small, red fruit of the sukha jlok tree. The squirrel eats carelessly from the upper branches, while the turtle diligently collects fallen fruit, putting them in her shoulder bag. On the way home, the squirrel claims to have a stomachache, and the kindly turtle offers to carry her friend home in her shoulder bag. Once in the bag, the squirrel feasts and, upon reaching the village, declares that her stomach ache has been cured. The turtle returns home to her excited children, telling them about the wonderful fruit they are about to enjoy. The shoulder bag is now empty, however, and the turtle realizes the squirrel’s deceit. Early the next morning, the turtle returns to the sukha jlok tree, setting a trap at its base. She then returns to the village and invites the squirrel to come walking in the forest. The squirrel walks into the trap and is killed. Thereafter, the turtle skins and minces her friend, feeding her to the squirrel’s children. The squirrel children munch happily until one recognizes the hand of their mother in the stew.

3.1.1.5 “Tiger and Deer” (TD)

A tiger lies in wait beside a stream. A deer comes along, limping. Perplexed, the tiger asks what the deer did to his foot. The deer replies that he stepped on a thorn, which is still embedded in his foot. The tiger realizes that eating the deer could be hazardous—the thorn could become stuck in his throat. The deer suggests that the tiger take out the thorn in exchange for the deer’s willingness to be eaten afterwards. As the tiger extracts the thorn by holding it between his teeth, the deer kicks him in
the mouth, shattering all his teeth and causing the tiger to faint with pain. The deer escapes.

3.1.1.1.6 “The Mischievous Boy” (MB)

A hopelessly lazy boy runs off to the forest to escape his parent’s constant scolding. As evening comes, he begins missing his home, and starts to return. In the shadow of a tree blocking his path, he sees a huge, blood-covered spirit with a long tongue and bulging eyes. The spirit chases the boy through the forest until he collides with his father. The spirit disappears, and the boy becomes a model of diligence and obedience.

3.1.1.1.7 “Lessons from Mother and Father” (FM)

A family is shattered by the death of the father. Thereafter, the mother must care for both children. Eventually, her poverty forces her to send one of her sons to live in a Buddhist temple (something which Bisu families have often had to do). She cares for the remaining son until he grows up, at which time he cares for his aged mother. An ancient proverb says that a son who becomes a Buddhist novice repays the merciful grace of his mother (by “making merit” for her future reincarnations), while a son who becomes a full Buddhist priest repays the merciful grace of his father. The hearers must teach this to their children.

3.1.1.1.8 “The Cruel Widower” (CW)

A father, mother, and child live in harmony for many years. Then the mother dies. Several years thereafter, the father wants to remarry. The object of his affection declares, “If you want me, kill your child.” He thus takes the child into the forest and buries it alive. The cruel widower returns to the woman, explaining how he carried out her wishes and proposing that they wed immediately. The woman, however,
terminates the relationship, thinking “If he’d kill his own child, what might he do to me?” The father realizes his error, rushes to the forest, and digs up his child. He is too late; the child is dead.

3.1.1.9 “Orphan Children” (OR)

A family of four is traumatized by the mother’s death. Thereafter, the father remarries. The stepmother hates the children, and orders her husband to kill the children. He attempts this by abandoning them in the forest. Time after time, they are able to return home, assisted by a mother dog. The stepmother orders the father to kill the dog and make the children eat its steamed flesh.\(^{19}\) Thereafter, she commands that the father take the children deep into the forest. He complies, and the children wander, hopelessly lost. They eventually come upon a wealthy, childless couple who adopt them as their own. Years later, the stepmother tells the father about news of a wealthy family who help poor people. They arrive at the rich family’s house, but do not recognize the children. The children invite them up into the house to eat specially prepared food. As the dish is set before them, the children say, “Father dear, Mother dear, eat! Steamed dog flesh, like you once gave us!” Upon realizing what has happened, the father immediately dies of a heart attack. The stepmother jumps from the stilt-house and is swallowed up by the earth.

3.1.1.10 “Chengkoikoi, the Female Spirit” (CK)

A married couple are fishing together when Chengkoikoi appears and kidnapsthe husband. She forces him to become her mate, resulting in the birth of one child. Every day the spirit locks the husband in the house while she goes about her business

\(^{19}\) The Bisu as a group claim to have never consumed dog meat, although other hilltribes in the immediate vicinity do.
outside. When she says she’ll be gone only briefly, she stays away for a long time, and vice versa. The child takes after its spirit mother. One day, after Chengkoikoi has left the house, the father convinces the child to unlock the door so that he can go outside to relieve himself. He runs until he collapses with exhaustion in a rice field. He shakes heads of rice over his body, to create the illusion that he has been dead for some time and is now covered in fly eggs. Chengkoikoi returns home to find him missing, and sets out in hot pursuit. She finds her husband lying the field, and thinks that he has indeed died—although she tickles him, just to be sure. She then brings a special gong to the alleged corpse, instructing her husband that, in his next reincarnation, he should beat the gong in order to become wealthy. After she leaves, the man runs home to his wife. Thereafter, whenever he beats the gong, silver and gold appear, and he becomes more and more wealthy.

3.1.1.1.11 “Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever!” (CO)

Grandmother Kham and Grandmother Up go fishing together. They do quite well and, upon returning to the village, begin sorting the fish. But Grandmother Kham becomes greedy, piling the larger fish in front of herself and the smaller ones in front of Grandmother Up. She then tells Grandmother Up to choose whichever pile she wants. Realizing what Grandmother Kham is up to, Up grabs the larger pile and runs home. Grandma Kham runs after her, shouting, “Wait! I didn’t divide those right! Let’s do it again!” The moral of the story: people should live together in harmony and not be greedy. Do good, receive good. Do evil, receive evil.

3.1.1.1.12 “Poor Boy” (PB)

A poor boy plants a hill field in order to ease his poverty. His melons and cucumbers are doing well—such that they attract the attention of a group of monkeys.
Afraid that they will eat all his profits, the poor boy lies down in the field and plays dead. Fearing that his rotting corpse will ruin the melons and cucumbers, the monkeys decide to take him and throw him down a mine shaft filled with treasure. After the monkeys leave, the poor boy helps himself to the treasure and returns home. Later, a friend asks him how he became so wealthy. The formerly poor boy truthfully relates the story. Enthused, the friend attempts to follow in his footsteps. He plants a field, plays dead, and is taken by the monkeys to a mine shaft. The monkeys throw him into the shaft, where he dies on impact.

3.1.1.1.13 “Father’s Skull” (FS)

A poverty–stricken family of three is traumatized by the death of the mother and the decline of the father. Finally, on his deathbed, the father tells his son: “When I die, tie a rope to my skull, drag it along the ground, and wherever it gets stuck, work that hillfield.” The son follows these instructions, and the skull becomes wedged alongside a stone. All efforts to dislodge the skull prove futile. Thus, the boy works that hillfield and becomes richer and richer.

3.1.2 Expository texts

Although the emphasis of this dissertation is upon Bisu narrative discourse, several expository texts were examined. These shed additional light upon the meaning and usage of several of the particles.

All of the expository texts analyzed were published in Patrick Beaudouin’s 1991 dissertation, Une monographie du Bisu. The six texts are:
Table 3.2. Expository texts
(Beaudouin 1991b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title and Abbreviation</th>
<th># sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death rituals</td>
<td>DR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth rituals</td>
<td>BR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineage of the Bisu</td>
<td>LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village construction</td>
<td>BV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The spirit posts</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifices to the village spirit</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beaudouin identifies Moon Tajan as the author of “Sacrifices to the village spirit,” but does not indicate whether the other texts were written by Moon or other authors.

Beaudouin transcribed these texts using the international phonetic alphabet and provided word–by–word and sentence–by–sentence translation into French. Margaret Spielmann, an SIL member who has served in Francophone Africa and French Polynesia, assisted in the translation of these texts into English. To facilitate easier discussion of the texts with Bisu language informants, the author worked with Somchai Kaewkhamnoi to transcribe the texts in the new Thai–based Bisu script, and provide Thai sentence glosses (since less is lost in Bisu–Thai translation than Bisu–English or, one suspects, Bisu–French).

### 3.1.3 Life stories

For additional cross-genre comparison, three life stories were incorporated into the corpus. Told by elderly Bisu women, these stories were recorded, transcribed, and manually interlinearized with Thai glosses and free translations by a group of Bisu teenagers, most of whom had attended the workshop mentioned in 3.1.1. Somchai Kaewkhamnoi re–checked the transcriptions and prepared the manuscripts for Shoebox.
Table 3.3. Life stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker and Abbreviation</th>
<th># sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ui Daa Wonglua</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ui Duang Wonglua</td>
<td>UDG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ui Haa Wonglua&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>UH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content of all three life stories is somewhat similar. Two of the three women had been orphaned at an early age; their childhood recollections are thus of being passed from relative to relative as all struggled to survive. Childhood games are recalled only by the speaker who was not an orphan. All three speakers discuss at length the terrible hardships that reduced the Bisu to begging for rice and clothing in Northern Thai villages. The theme of begging is not limited to any one episode in these discourses, but is often revisited in the course of the stories. All likewise discuss their marriages and children, a number of whom died in infancy, and speak of how, when little food was available, the children would be allowed to eat before the adults. Two opaque deny selling their daughters into prostitution, claiming they intended to send them away to work in other professions. All three agree that life is much easier now.

3.2 Coding of folktale sentences

Each folktale was subjected to a series of analytical procedures, the overall goal being to “tease out” discourse and sentence level features which could provide insight into particle usage.

A coding scheme was established in which each sentence of each folktale received binary ratings based on a series of variables that could potentially impact...

---

<sup>20</sup> "Wonglua" is the surname that the Thai government assigned to all the Bisu of Doi Chompuu village. As this name has derogatory connotations, many younger Bisu have had their surnames legally changed.
particle usage. These included place in the discourse, transitivity, sentence complexity, and whether the sentence contained direct or indirect quotations.

The coding process was carried out with Excel, a computer program ideally suited to the configuration and sorting of large amounts of numeric and alphabetical data. Excel’s charting capabilities facilitated visual confirmation of correlations between some particles and the variables mentioned above.

3.2.1 Discourse profile analysis

Fundamental to what Longacre (1996:2) terms “grammatical profile” is the idea that texts do not have a uniform “texture.” Rather, texts can be divided into various macro–segments, each representing a different stage in the text’s development, as shown in figure 3.1. Evidence from a wide variety of languages strongly supports the notion that each stage of a text’s development will manifest stage–specific grammatical phenomena. This is particularly true of the “peak” of a text, an area Longacre (1996: 38) denotes a “zone of turbulence” inasmuch as dramatic shifts in verb tense, verb density, pronominal reference, quotation formula, and so forth often occur here.

For this reason, each sentence in the written folktales was coded according to the stage of the discourse in which it was found. Those sentences involving a change in place, time, or participant–in–focus were also noted as boundaries between episodes or stages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Aperture</th>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>(Pre-Peak) Episodes</th>
<th>Peak</th>
<th>Peak’</th>
<th>(Post-Peak) Episodes</th>
<th>Closure</th>
<th>Finis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formulaic Phrase/Sentence</td>
<td>Espository paragraph/discourse</td>
<td>Narrative paragraph/discourse</td>
<td>Paragraph/Discourse (usually narrative or dialogue) Articulated by means of:</td>
<td>Rhetorical underlining, concentration of participants, heightened vividness:</td>
<td>See Peak</td>
<td>See pre-peak episodes</td>
<td>Of varied structure especially expository paragraph, but can be expository discourse, narrative discourse, hortatory discourse (=moral?)</td>
<td>Formulaic phrase/sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Time horizons in succession</td>
<td>*Shift of tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Back-reference in paragraph/discourse to the preceding</td>
<td>*Shift to more specific person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Conjunctions</td>
<td>*Narrpseudo-dialogue-drama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Juxtaposition, i.e. clear structural transition to another paragraph of</td>
<td>Change of pace:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>embedded discourse</td>
<td>*Variation in length of units</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Less conjunction &amp; transition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change of</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Vantage point</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Lay it out&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Get something going&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Knot it all up proper&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Loosen it&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Keep untangling&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Wrap it up&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Developing Conflict</td>
<td>A. Climax may encode as peak and denouement as peak</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Keep the heat on&quot;</td>
<td>B. Climax may encode as pre-peak episode and denouement as peak</td>
<td>C. Climax may encode as peak and denouement as post-peak episode</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1. Narrative discourse schema.
(Longacre 1996: 36)
3.2.1.1 Orientation

The orientation stage of a discourse typically introduces the audience to the time, location, and participants of a narrative.\(^{21}\)

The folktale orientations examined in this study begin with a formulatic schema—somewhat like the “once upon a time” opening of English folk tales—with the main verb being *ca*j or *ca*ŋ ‘have’ The orientation may be realized by a single sentence, as in example 3.1, or several sentences, as in example 3.2:

(3.1)  

\[ \text{têu nâuŋ caa kʰaalai ʔaj kʰám naasōn kʰam câj tʃʰi=} \]
\[ \text{day one have pt Ai Kham fish\_trap trap do pt} \]

One day Ai Kham went to trap fish. (AK 3)

(3.2)  

\[ \text{kʰaataaŋ tʃʰaan caaŋ jëe} \]
\[ \text{long\_ago people have pt} \]

\[ \text{kʰaataaŋ məʔ saam kʰùn aŋbaa aŋbōŋ aŋjāa nəə duŋ jëe} \]
\[ \text{long\_ago when three Clf mother father child npt live pt} \]

\[ \text{tʰùugaa laagaanaa duŋ bàa sii bàa ləə kaa jëe} \]
\[ \text{together together live neg quarrel neg fight pt pt} \]

A long time ago there were these people. In the past there were three people—mother, father, and child—living together. They lived together without quarrelling or fighting.  
(CW 2–4)

\(^{21}\) “Orientation,” as used here, corresponds to the “Aperture” and “Stage” portions of Longacre’s narrative schema (1996: 36).
3.2.1.2 Inciting moment

Following the orientation, a single sentence comprises the “inciting moment.” This is the point at which the action of the story truly begins. The participants mentioned in the orientation do something which, in comparison to the orientation, is not routine, and that singular action sets off the chain of events which is the story.

Example 3.3 follows the orientation stage of “The Cruel Widower.” It is the pivotal event which makes the husband a widower and, in turn, a cruel person:

(3.3)
\[
\text{jào bà màọng suáme cás aŋbaa màŋ §iin pìi t§hiiŋjè\ }
\]

then neg long_time when then mother Clf die pt pt pt

And then, not long thereafter, the mother died. (CW 5)

Similarly, example 3.4 follows the description of how the squirrel and turtle are good friends of the same age, and begins the chain of events which leads to the dissolution of the friendship and the death of the squirrel:

(3.4)
\[
\text{tæu nàŋ caalàŋ hoo§t§hén màŋ §ùnhoong màŋ na? t§hàŋ\ }
\]

day one have squirrel Clf turtle Clf ACC invite
\[
\text{ʔæn t§hii jè\ }
\]

ascend pt pt pt

One day the squirrel invited the turtle. (TS 3)

Inciting moments comprise the first sentence of pre-peak episodes (3.2.1.4), and serve, by definition, as episode boundaries (3.2.1.3). Thus, sentences containing inciting moments are coded under three categories.
3.2.1.3 Episode juncture

Sentences marking the juncture between one macrosection and another often have unique linguistic features (Longacre 1996: 37). Although any given episode juncture sentence would naturally be classified as part of the episode it initializes, an additional variable category was established to specifically mark these potentially unique clauses. Episode junctures typically involve any one of the following: change in time, change in location, change in participants.

Example 3.5 marks a juncture between the second and third pre–peak episode of “The Cruel Widower.” The second episode describes the interaction between the widower and a potential new spouse, while the third episode involves the widower and his child, the next day, in the forest:

(3.5)
\[
\text{>jao tʰàu wàn màa aŋboŋ maŋ aŋjàa màŋ naʔ then one day after that father Clf child Clf ACC}
\]
\[
\text{ŋòŋkòŋ sàuŋ læeŋ tʃʰiː jèe forest go_together pt pt pt}
\]

One day after that the father took the child to the forest. (CW 12)

Similarly, in example 3.6, the focus of the story turns from the disappointment of turtle’s children the previous evening to the turtle’s solitary early–morning mission of revenge:

(3.6)
\[
\text{soːtʰáa bàa plæːŋ húu kap haan kʰam læe early_morning neg, light before trap wrap and take trap pt}
\]
\[
\text{tʃʰiː jèe pt pt}
\]

The next morning before it was light (she) took a trap to trap. (TS 28)
As they begin new episodes or stages of their respective discourses, episode juncture sentences are coded under several categories, often including time, location, and place in the discourse.

3.2.1.4 Pre–Peak episodes

Pre–Peak episodes typically follow the orientation clause, and highlight the mounting tension of the story as the peak is approached. Pre–peak episodes typically display what could be termed the “normative” conventions of storytelling prior to the “turbulence” of the peak (Longacre 1996: 38).

In Bisu written folktales, pre–peak episodes are typically two to four sentences long, corresponding to paragraphs.

The following example constitutes the second pre–peak episode of “The Cruel Widower.” Whereas the first and third pre–peak episodes focus on the widower and his child, the second pre–peak episode features a conversation with a prospective spouse:

(3.7)

\[
nik^hâm wàa aŋboon maŋ kʰâabaa aŋsùu gaa læe siŋ jèe
\]
this time this father Clf wife new pt pt pt pt

\[
jào kʰâabaajàa thàu maŋ na? hmjaaŋ caaj tʃʰii jèe
\]
then female one Clf ACC see have pt pt

\[
jào kʰâabaajàa mâŋ måaj tʃʰii jèe jàakèe maŋ aŋboon
\]
then female Clf telll pt pt child Clf father
maŋ na?
Clf ACC

\[
nàŋ gaa na? gaa læa suŋ jào nàŋ aŋjàa maŋ na? sàe
\]
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child Clf ACC kill
pèe
IMP
At this time, the father wanted a new wife. He met a woman. And then the woman told him—that person the father of the child: "If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 8–11)

3.2.1.5 Peak

Peak represents the climax of a story. Longacre (1996: 38) characterizes peak as a "zone of turbulence" in which many of the "normative" grammatical features seen in the pre-peak episodes suddenly seem to go awry. Longacre elaborates:

Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at peak. Thus, the characteristic storyline tense/aspect may be substituted for by another tense/aspect. Alternately, the characteristic tense/aspect of the mainline of a discourse may be extended to unexpected uses at peak. Particles which elsewhere mark rather faithfully the storyline of a story may suddenly be absent. Routine participant reference may be disturbed. In brief, peak has features peculiar to itself and the marking of such features takes precedence over the marking of mainline, so that the absence of certain features or even analytical difficulties can be a clue that we are at the peak of a discourse (1996: 38).

Peak may be marked by rhetorical underlining, concentration of participants, heightened vividness (including a higher concentration of action verbs or a shift to dialogue), change of pace, change of vantage point and/or orientation, and incidence of particles and onomatopoeia (Longacre 1996: 39–48).

Example 3.8 comprises the peak of "Turtle and Squirrel." Aside from the climactic nature of the squirrel's death (resolving, from the standpoint of the turtle, a grave injustice), the sentences are quite long; indeed TS 67 represents something of a run-on-sentence. A great number of action verbs are piled one upon another, compressing a series of events that, in reality, would have taken several hours to accomplish. The squirrel is not mentioned in TS 67; rather, zero anaphora streamlines the sentence from unnecessary mention of the obvious patient.
(3.8)

?an?an jøo kʰee kan læe câŋ hootʃʰén man kap previous_place at arrive pt pt have squirrel CIf trap jàŋ gàŋ sàee làee naowaa that be afflicted die pt pt

?ùuhoon män plîthɔɔ cun ajmâu pʰii kʰút jao juum squirrel CIf fire_wood kindle body_hair burn scrape then house kʰee lâu jao tʰɔɔ baun tsëŋ hmiŋ jao kʰèej ʃaaj arrive return then chop fine cook finish then dish_out give ?àee tʃʰii jèe pt pt pt

At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died. The turtle set (the squirrel) on fire, then burnt and scraped off the body hair, then went back to the house, then chopped (the squirrel) up finely, then cooked it until it was done, then put it in a dish to give. (TS 33–34)

Example 3.9 contains the peak of “Orphan Children.” Years earlier, the father, at the insistence of the evil stepmother, had abandoned his children in the forest. Unbeknownst to the parents, the children were taken in by a good–hearted rich couple. The parents eventually show up at the home of the rich couple, begging for rice. The children treat them kindly before revealing their identities. The overall pace of this peak is relatively slow, but the use of quotations heightens the vividness of the moment:

(3.9)

juum tʰàa hêe hâw taaj laa pii jao hàajʰeen house upstairs at call ascend come pt then tray caan lâu pii tʃʰii prepare prepare pt pt

jao jèet mi haŋ jèe then both well, tell pt
baa wēe boon wēe tsàaj pao
mother pt father pt eat IMP

khǜu hocnuŋ : jàaŋ náj hāamé? tʰaw
dog steam in leaves this you_two in_past wrap
pʰi laʔ tʰiŋ jàaŋ
pt pt pt pt

After that they called them to come up into the house, then they prepared a tray of food and took it out (to them). Then both of them said: "Mother dear, father dear, eat!" "Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us." (OR 28–31)

3.2.1.6 Peak'

Some texts contain an additional zone of peak-like features in post-peak position. The use of peak' seems to be quite popular among Bisu storytellers, tying up loose ends of the discourse and bringing the narrative to a dramatic end. In some cases, peak' has attributes of a denouement (lessening of tension), while in others the peak' involves a sudden, final action or result.

Example 3.10 continues the story of the "Orphan Children," bringing the tale to a sudden, dramatic conclusion:

(3.10)
haṃ ma kjàaj jao anboon máa namləəw jëe nuŋbaa
like that hear then father Clif finally pt heart
plaak jiŋ tʰii
break die pt

càa anboon anʃəu máa haṃ haŋjaŋ jào anwaŋ jëe
then mother new Clif like that see then quickly pt
juum ʔook həə plaak klaan lau tʰii
house go out at jump fall pt pt

nuŋtʃʰəə aŋ kʰəə kancàŋ nuŋtʃʰəə jàaŋ plaak
earth at arrive that_time earth that break
la tʃʰii jèe
pt pt pt

 cúut jèe aŋbàa aŋʃùu manaŋ kaaj æən tʃʰii
enter pt mother Clf fall go pt

When he heard that, their father’s heart broke and he immediately died. Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground. When she hit the ground the earth opened. The new mother fell into (the chasm). (OR 32–35)

Similarly, example 3.11, comprises the peak’ stage of “The Cruel Widower.”
At the story’s peak, the widower’s marriage proposal had been rejected. Coming to his senses, he attempts to save his child, an event related with a concentrated series of verbs in CW 43. The resulting unhappy ending is not uncommon in Bisu folktales.

(3.11)
хаааŋ анбóоŋ ма выше jaa анвàj анкʰjaaŋ
after that father Clf think pt pt then quickly quickly
ʃoŋkóoŋ jóo hùuん læən tʃʰii
forest at run pt pt

аŋjàa màaŋ nàa hùuん dùuŋ ʔook pooj lùu.
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay_out pt

jàaŋ аŋjàa màaŋ sìin tʃʰa jèe
that child Clf die pt pt

After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest. He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child. (But) his child was already dead. (CW 21–23)

3.2.1.7 Post–Peak episodes

In those narratives not containing peak’, a more gradual descent from the climax is utilized, which, like peak’, represents something of a denouement.
In “Chengkoikoi,” a man escapes from his spirit-captor (peak) and returns home to his wife, where, in a final episode, we learn of the magical powers of the spirit’s gong. In the absence of this post-peak episode, the audience would be left wondering whether the instrument was truly capable of doing all that the spirit claimed:

(3.12)

joɔŋ juum wee kʰàabaa maŋ koɔŋ dùŋ ʔæe tʃʰii
3ps house at wife Clf one live pt pt

cáa moojɔŋ tʃʰék jèe
then gong strike pt.

ₗhùukàm tʃʰék kʰàm ʔoɔk
one time strike gold exit

ₗhùukàm tʃʰék pʰluu ʔoɔk
one time strike silver exit

hæenjèe caan laa tʃʰii
after that have pt pt

He went to his house he lived with his wife. Then he struck the gong. He struck it and gold came out. He struck it (the second time) and silver came out. After that, he was rich. (CK 39–43)

In “The Mischievous Boy,” the main character is chased by a spirit (peak), which disappears when the boy runs (literally) into his father. Thereafter, in a post-peak episode, the boy is described as a changed person:

(3.13)

juum wee kʰee ʔæe jəo jaŋ mɨimɨen laa tʃʰii jèe
house at arrive ascend then 3ps good pt pt pt
3.1.1.8 Conclusion

The conclusion in some way “wraps up” the discourse. This may be done in a number of ways. Example 3.14 is structurally similar to sentences in the orientation in describing the ongoing state of the reformed boy. Example 3.15 follows the peak of “The Swans and the Turtle,” wherein the turtle falls from the sky and crashes into the face of a water buffalo with a great splat that splashes onto the arm of a herdsman, relating that event to the current human situation. Example 3.16 contains a typical moral.

(3.14)

hæen caajlaa pii jao aŋbaa nàʔ aŋboon ṭuum bàa that_time since pt then mother and father group neg ṭiš kaŋ jèe scold pt pt

Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again. (MB 32)

(3.15)

jao kɔɔpɛɛptɛɛpt nam ṭaamhukˈhée then armpit stinky up_to_this_time

Thus (our) armpits smell bad to this day. (ST 19)

(3.16)

kʰaataʔėtsʰaŋ wàa ṭuŋ kaa ṭeʔ long_ago people this speak pt pt

praʔ niʔ wàa aŋbaa kùn naa tæən jèe novice monk this this mother meritful_grace ACC repay pt
In the past, people said: The novice monk repays the meritful grace of his mother. And the ordained monk repays the meritful grace of his father. From this, repay the fable. Teach (your) children and grandchildren. (FM 14–18)

3.2.2 Transitivity

In their 1980 article, “Transitivity in grammar and discourse,” Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson set out to expand and quantify the definition of transitivity. Underlying their “Transitivity Hypothesis” is the idea that some grammatical phenomena can be better explained by taking relative transitivity into account. This is especially the case with discourse, where various transitivity factors figure prominently in marking foreground and background material.

For Hopper and Thompson, transitivity can be empirically determined through examining the presence or absence of ten parameters, as shown in table 3.4:
Table 3.4. Categories of transitivity
(Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 252)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>2 or more participants, A and O</td>
<td>1 participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinesis</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Non–Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Telic</td>
<td>Atelic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuality</td>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>Non–punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitionality</td>
<td>Volitional</td>
<td>Non–volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmation</td>
<td>Affirmative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>A high in potency</td>
<td>A low in potency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectedness of O</td>
<td>O totally affected</td>
<td>O not affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuation of O</td>
<td>O highly individuated</td>
<td>O non–individuated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These ten parameters enable researchers to evaluate degrees of transitivity, as opposed categorically stating that a sentence is transitive if it involves an affected object, intransitive if it does not. As Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) state:

It is easy to show that each component of Transitivity involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another.

Just as different levels of transitivity would be expected to frequently correspond to certain English verb tenses, connections between transitivity and Bisu particle choice may be present. The remainder of this section, then, will expand upon Hopper and Thompson’s parameters and their realization in the Bisu texts at hand.22

3.2.2.1 Participants

“No transfer at all can take place unless at least two participants are involved” (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). Thus, the parameter of participants is set in

---

22 In multicausal sentences, only the final clause receives a transitivity score, simply because preposed clauses rarely contain particles.
binary terms, with a “high” reading for two or more participants, low for one participant. Example 3.17 thus illustrates what could be termed a “maximally marked” sentence, with explicit agent and patients, that would receive a score of 1, while example 3.18, with only one participant, would receive a score of 0 for this parameter:

(3.17)

cáa ni kám máa aŋboŋ man aŋjàa jëet naa
then this occurrence that father Clf child both ACC
côŋkôŋ anwëe ʃùnɔ jûŋ lëe tʃii jëe
forest far go_together release pt pt pt

Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them. (OR 15)

(3.18)

cáa aŋɓaa aŋjiu man bëeɛn tʃii jëe
then mother new ! Clf know pt pt

Then the new mother realized it. (OR 11)

Zero anaphora, a phenomenon common in many Southeast Asian languages, presents something of a challenge to this parameter. Hopper and Thompson (1980: 284) acknowledge this, and indicate that implicit reference should be counted as participants, inasmuch as “missing arguments may be supplied with no change in grammaticality.” Thus, example 3.19 would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, inasmuch as the agent, the otter (last mentioned in the previous sentence), is clear from the discourse context:
(3.19)
kaʔtaj maŋ naʔ màn paʔnóo
rabbit Clf ACC tell pt

(The otter) told the rabbit: (AK 16)

3.2.2.2 Kinesis

Hopper and Thompson use kinesis to indicate whether the action “can be transferred from one participant to another” (1980: 252). Thus, example 3.20 would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.21, carrying a more stative sense, would receive a score of 0:

(3.20)
cáa koowaŋ ʔaŋ ʔuŋ pʰōoŋ lāe tʃʰii jèe
then rice_head that shake scatter pt pt pt

And then he shook the rice heads over his body. (CK 22)

(3.21)
naasóon naʔ hmjaŋ tʃʰii jèe
fish trap ACC see pt pt

(He) saw the fish trap. (AK 4)

3.2.2.3 Aspect

Actions which are viewed as having been completed are designated “telic,” while those which are only partially completed or are in the process of being completed are considered “atelic.” These terms roughly correspond to the notions of perfective and imperfective aspect. Example 3.22 thus would receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.23, which reflects an ongoing action, would receive a score of 0:
After that Chengkoik had left, he ran away. (CK 38)

After that, the mother cared for (them)—the two children. (FM 6)

### 3.2.2.4 Punctuality

In defining punctuality Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) point out: “Actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are inherently on-going; contrast kick (punctual) with carry (non-punctual).” Example 3.24 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.25 would receive a score of 0:

(3.24)

bàà mlàan jàò khabaa man ʃiìn tʃʰii jèe
neg long time then wife Clf die pt pt

Not long thereafter the wife died. (OR 4)

(3.25)

jàò anjàa aŋboon nàʔ dàŋ mlàan ʃ tʃʰa jèe
then child father npt live long_time pt pt pt

Then the child and father lived together for a long time. (CW 6)
3.2.2.5 Volitionality

This parameter addresses the question of whether the agent was acting of his or her own accord—whether there was purpose in the action. Example 3.26 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.27, wherein the agent is clearly not purposefully carrying out the action, would receive a score of 0:

(3.26)
càa ni kàm , màa aŋboon màŋ aŋjàa jèet naa
then this occurrence that father Clf child both ACC
còŋkòŋ aŋwèe; ʃùuaj tooj læe tʃhií jèe
forest far go_together release pt pt pt

Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them. (OR 15)

(3.27)
càawàa aŋboon màa ʃiin pií tʃhií jèe
then father Clf die pt pt pt

But (their) father died. (FM 9)

3.2.2.6 Affirmation

This parameter serves to distinguish affirmative from negative sentences. Example 3.28 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.29 would receive a score of 0:

(3.28)
hootʃhén ʔàw aŋjàa ʔàw na ʃoong sàuŋ kaa tsàan
squirrel group child group ACC 3pp go_together pt eat
tʃhií jèe
pt pt

That group of squirrel children, they ate together. (TS 35)
The two children were unable to return together. (OR 16)

3.2.2.7 Mode

This parameter distinguishes between realis and irrealis actions. The latter would seem to overlap with negative sentences (3.2.2.6 affirmation), but also include future projections. Example 3.30 would thus receive a score of 1 for this parameter, while example 3.31 would receive a score of 0.

(3.30)
\[ \text{ts'ha} \text{la} \text{nd} \text{a} \text{man} \text{hoo} \text{ng} \text{jee} \text{pem} \text{la} \text{pee} \text{pi} \text{i} \text{tshii} \]
tiger Clf after that look_upwards pt pt pt

After that the tiger looked upwards. (TD 21)

(3.31)
\[ \text{ci} \text{kuu} \text{ca} \text{k} \text{took} \text{pi} \text{i} \text{jao} \text{saan} \text{tsa} \text{nae} \]
thorn pull exit pt then short_time eat pt

“(I will pull the thorn out and soon thereafter will eat.” (But this intent was frustrated) (TD 22)

3.2.2.8 Agency

By agency, Hopper and Thompson mean the degree to which a participant is able to carry out an action. Thus, non-animate subjects would be considered low in agency. Example 3.32, containing an animate subject, would thus receive a score of 1, while example 3.33, containing an non-animate subject, would receive a score of zero:
(3.32)
cáa hæŋjèe hoorōn màŋ mua lakʰäu jàŋ
then after_that deer Clf well, foot that
jóok laəe tʃʰii
lift pt pt

After that, the deer lifted his foot up. (TD 20)

(3.33)
jaŋ lāʔkáa həə aŋtíi aŋhɔŋ àan jaʔ jèe
3ps in_front_of at self large both pt pt

All the large (fish) were in front of her. (CO 12)

3.2.2.9 Affectedness of object

This parameter refers to the degree to which an action has been carried out on
the object. It addresses the question of whether the object was totally or only partially
affected by the actions of the agent. Example 3.34 would thus receive a score of 1,
while example 3.35 would receive a score of 0:

(3.34)
lɔŋtɔŋ cɔŋ tsaʔ kʰoo piʔ tʃʰii jèe
fish enter eat completely pt pt pt

(He) ate all the fish completely. (AK 6)

(3.35)
laŋʃjaam màŋ naasɔŋ klaw hmjaŋ ləuŋjəo
otter Clf fish trap inside see and_then
laŋʃjaam màŋ naʔ naan tʃʰii jèe
otter Clf ACC ask pt pt

And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter: (AK 11)
3.2.2.10 Individuation of O

This parameter simultaneously refers to "both the distinctness of the patient from the A[gent]...and to its distinctiveness from its own background" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 253). The following characteristics clarify this concept:

Table 3.5. Components of individuation
(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuated</th>
<th>Non-individuated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proper</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human, animate</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concrete</td>
<td>abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>count</td>
<td>mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential, definite</td>
<td>non-referential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under this criterion, example 3.36 would receive a score of 1, while example 3.37 would receive a score of 0:

(3.36)

hikʰām kaʔtaj maŋ lamaaj tu lûm gaaj jào tùu that time rabbit Clf stick one Clf get then one
sook jèe mooŋ ṭææ forearm pt length pt

At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a forearm's length. (AK 22)

(3.37)

laŋ ŋaa tan luu jào
water search for drink pt pt

(He) came looking for water. (AK 10)
Bisu’s abundant use of zero anaphora would seem to present something of a challenge to this parameter. Nonetheless, since the identification of the absent object is always clear from context, sentences like example 3.38, where the husband is the victim of both an evil spirit and zero anaphora, would receive a score of 1.

(3.38)
cáa hëeëëëëëëhaaj  lëe tamëëëë  t'hàalëëëë
then like that    go continue    and then
 t's'hëënkôkôkjôj  man t's'hüu buun  t's'hii jëëë
Chengkoikoi    Clf grab take pt  pt

And as (they) were going along like that, then Chengkoikoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took (him) away. (CK 5)

3.2.3 Sentence complexity

Clive McClelland’s 1996 dissertation on Tarifit oral discourse suggested possible correspondences between clause structure and various prosodic features. Similarly, sentence complexity could have an impact upon particle selection; more complex sentences might require more complex particle clusters.

For this reason, all the sentences in the Bisu folktale corpus were sorted according to the number of clauses contained in each sentence (excluding relative clauses). All the Bisu conjunctions (including zero) employed in joining the clauses were entered into the database in order to determine the frequency with which each conjunction was used. On this basis, further examination of the relationship between sentence complexity and particle usage was carried out.
3.2.4 Quote/non-quote material

Quoted material in Bisu narratives often behaves differently from non-quoted material in terms of particle usage. For this reason, a quote/non-quote category was established, likewise comprising a binary coding for each sentence.

3.2.5 Experiencer/non-experiencer

Bisu exhibits a basic evidential system, indicating whether the speaker was personally involved in the events being related. For this reason, an experiencer/non-experiencer category was established, comprising a binary coding for each particle. The elicited sentence in example 3.39 displays the speech of an experiencer (the speaker speaking about himself), while example 3.40 relates the same event from the vantage of a non-experiencer (speaker reporting information about someone else):

(3.39)
\[
gaa \text{ with}^h \text{aaju\u0131} \ \text{\textit{j\u00e2a\u0131 k\u00e2\u00e1n t}\text{\textsuperscript{h}i}i} \\
1ps \ \text{radio \ \_ \_it \ break \ pt}
\]
My radio, it broke.

(3.40)
\[
som\text{\textsuperscript{h}s}a\text{j} \ \text{with}^h \text{aaju\u0131} \ \text{\textit{j\u00e2a\u0131 k\u00e2\u00e1n t}\text{\textsuperscript{h}i}i \ j\e} \\
Som\text{chaj} \ \text{radio} \ \_ \_it \ break \ pt \ pt
\]
Somchai’s radio, it broke.

3.3 Cloze Exercise

As a further test of the degree to which language community consensus might exist on particle usage, a cloze exercise was developed. A total of 100 particle clusters were replaced with blank spaces in three folktales, “Ai Kham,” “Poor Boy,”
and “Turtle and Squirrel.” Literate Bisu volunteers were then asked to “fill in the blanks.” Several volunteers did not completely fill out the instrument, while several others worked cooperatively on the project. Results from the remaining five valid cloze exercises were transferred to a spreadsheet and discussed at length with Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, the main language assistant for this project.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results drawn from application of the methodology outlined in chapter three, coupled with information gleaned from discussions with native speakers.

The first major portion of this chapter, section 4.1, presents an overview of particle usage in the written folktale corpus. Thereafter, 4.1.1 discusses the frequency with which particles occur in the corpus, while 4.1.2 provides an inventory of folktale particles. In 4.1.3, a degree of contrast is drawn between particles which appear only in isolation, those which only occur in particle clusters, and those which may appear in either context. 4.1.4 highlights the relatively few sentences which do not contain particles, seeking plausible reasons for their absence. 4.1.5 comprises an overview of transitivity rankings throughout the thirteen folktales, providing a framework for interpreting transitivity scores. Similarly, 4.1.6 takes a “big picture” perspective on multicausal sentences and their particles.

The middle sections of this chapter feature profiles of individual particles, highlighting, among other things, their semantic connotations, discourse roles, and transitivity associations. For organizational ease, the particles which see the most frequent use and have the heaviest functional loads are profiled in 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, while less used particles are grouped in 4.5.
The final section of this chapter compares particle usage in the written folktales, the life stories, and the expository texts, demonstrating the co-dependent relationship between text type and particle usage.

A synthesis of these results is presented in chapter five, while a summary chart of the particles found in the folktales is provided as an appendix.

4.1 Overview of particle usage

4.1.1 Particle frequency

The vast majority of sentences in Bisu written folktales contain final particles. The thirteen folktales at hand contain 384 sentences, 338 (88.02%) of which contain particles. This high proportion of particle-containing sentences is found throughout the data, whether one is examining quotation sentences, audience-directed sentences (commands and explicit story morals), or non-quotation sentences, as shown in table 4.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence contents</th>
<th>Number of sentences</th>
<th>Number of sentences containing particles</th>
<th>Percent of sentences containing particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quotation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>85.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience-directed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-quotation</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>88.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>88.02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of this dissertation, percentages are expressed as pure numerical values (rather than being rounded up)
Table 4.2. Number of particles contained in particle containing sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#particles/quote</th>
<th>#particles</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>#particles</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>#particles</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.12%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.26%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.47%</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31.74%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>32.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37.65%</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>33.45%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>34.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.41%</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>19.80%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.35%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.41%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
<td><strong>293</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
<td><strong>384</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples 4.1–4.6 illustrate maximal and minimal particle configurations:

(4.1)

jàakee man jèet mi bàa jùu jàa kaa luµ luµ làµe
child Clf both well, neg go_together pt pt pt
too kaa jèe
pt pt pt

The two children were unable to return together. (OR 16)

(4.2)

хаанг аnjàa tùu k’ун màan na? wàt dûn
that child one Clf Clf ACC temple live
làµe pi t’s’hii jèe
pt pt pt pt

And caused the other child to live in the temple. (FM 9)

(4.3)

cáa aŋjàa màan tooj luµ t’s’hii jèe
then child Clf release pt pt pt pt

Then the child released him to go. (CK 18)
(4.4)  
ʔoo laŋjaam naʔ maa ʃiin tʃʰáʔ màʔ  
Ooh! otter ACC Clf die pt pt  
"Ooh—this otter is dead already!" (AK 27)  

(4.5)  
anjàa tʰàu màŋ gá jëe  
child one Clf get pt  
They had one child (CK 8)  

(4.6)  
tʰàu kàm tʃʰók kʰàm ʔooŋ  
one time strike gold exit  
(He) struck it and gold came out. (CK 41)  

4.1.2 Particle distribution  
As shown on table 4.3, the written Bisu folktales at hand contain seventy-five distinct sentence final particles, occurring a total of 624 times. In looking over the number of times that each particle is actually employed, however, it becomes readily apparent that only a small number of particles occur with great regularity. Indeed, only nine particles are used more than ten times. These nine particles together are used 459 times, thus accounting for 73.56% of all particle occurrences.
### Table 4.3. Particles contained in the thirteen written folktales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th># Occurrences</th>
<th>% of total sent (384)</th>
<th>% sent w/part (338)</th>
<th>% of total particles (624)</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th># Occurrences</th>
<th>% of total sent (384)</th>
<th>% sent w/part (338)</th>
<th>% of total particles (624)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jèe</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>44.53%</td>
<td>50.59%</td>
<td>27.40%</td>
<td>paanaa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj'ii</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>38.54%</td>
<td>43.79%</td>
<td>23.72%</td>
<td>poonoo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lama</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11.46%</td>
<td>13.02%</td>
<td>7.05%</td>
<td>tj'ii2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gama</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.73%</td>
<td>6.51%</td>
<td>3.53%</td>
<td>gamaa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.69%</td>
<td>5.33%</td>
<td>2.88%</td>
<td>gaa1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ii</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.91%</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamel</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.65%</td>
<td>4.14%</td>
<td>2.24%</td>
<td>n'èi?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paanào</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.65%</td>
<td>4.14%</td>
<td>2.24%</td>
<td>t'ii</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llaoa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.39%</td>
<td>3.85%</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>c'aan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'oo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.34%</td>
<td>2.66%</td>
<td>1.44%</td>
<td>gaa2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naowaa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>2.37%</td>
<td>1.28%</td>
<td>lama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
<td>2.07%</td>
<td>1.12%</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjl'á?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
<td>2.07%</td>
<td>1.12%</td>
<td>kanna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'oo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
<td>0.96%</td>
<td>k'aa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
<td>0.96%</td>
<td>k'bu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
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<td>laa4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
<td>0.96%</td>
<td>kj'sap</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
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<td>laqkaa</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1.78%</td>
<td>0.96%</td>
<td>l?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
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<td>lala2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
<td>0.96%</td>
<td>l?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jala1</td>
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<td>1.48%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>l?waa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laa2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>1.48%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>l'aa</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.30%</td>
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<td>0.80%</td>
<td>laaj</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'oo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.78%</td>
<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>laal?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
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<td>t'oo</td>
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<td>0.30%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>laawaa</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
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<td>maama</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>ma</td>
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<td>0.30%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
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<td>naa</td>
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<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'aañđana</td>
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<td>0.48%</td>
<td>p'ëlŁa'</td>
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<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>paan'ä?</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
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<td>wa?</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>paanadäo</td>
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<td>0.30%</td>
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<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td>p'læe</td>
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<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
<td>poj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'aw</td>
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<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
<td>siq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'oo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
<td>jëwaa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3 Particle cluster ordering

As mentioned in 4.1.1, any given Bisu sentence may contain up to six particles.

The basic order of these clusters is illustrated in figure 4.1\textsuperscript{23}:

\textsuperscript{23} Additional information about each of the particles listed in figure 4.1 will be provided later in the dissertation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Action</th>
<th>Motion Component</th>
<th>Intensification</th>
<th>&quot;give&quot; construction</th>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Aspectual Core (Declarative Sentences)</th>
<th>Evidential</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Negative Benefit</th>
<th>End Quote Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaa2 &quot;together&quot;</td>
<td>1m downward/southernly</td>
<td>1æ1 repeated action</td>
<td>pǐi causative/purposive/permisive</td>
<td>kaa1 state/ability</td>
<td>nanna stative</td>
<td>jëe</td>
<td>mäʔ</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td>nəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋkaʔ &quot;come out&quot;/quote form.</td>
<td>1m2 emphasis</td>
<td>1aa4 benefactive</td>
<td>gaalkaal ability</td>
<td>tʃhii completive</td>
<td>jaa2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal incomplete</td>
<td>tʃhiijaal completive</td>
<td>caa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal completive</td>
<td>tʃhiijaal completive</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃhii completive</td>
<td>tʃhiijaal completive</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃhii completive</td>
<td>tʃhiijaal completive</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃhii completive</td>
<td>tʃhiijaal completive</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panoo completive</td>
<td>nanwaa repeated episode</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laalpanoo completive</td>
<td>kʰaaalaʔ existential mkr</td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?m affirmative mkr</td>
<td></td>
<td>cəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1. Basic order of particle cluster components in the written folktales.
4.1.4 Particles in isolation

Relatively few particles may occur in isolation (that is, without any accompanying particles). Fewer still occur only in isolation. The particles which may occur in isolation, and the number of times in which they occur in isolation relative to their total number of occurrences, are listed in table 4.4:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Isolated occurrences</th>
<th>Isolated occurrences in quotes</th>
<th>% Isolated occurrences in quotes</th>
<th>Total occurrences</th>
<th>% Occurrences in isolation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰaalaj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāʔwaa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láā</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laaj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laaláʔ</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöö</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pæe</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47.06%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>77.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pao</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
</tr>
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<td>paanöö</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
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<td>jàal</td>
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<td>100.00%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèe</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jöö</td>
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<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèe</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjaadèe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waʔ</td>
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<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>12.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>næe</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.4 reveals that twenty-three particles occur in isolation a total of 121 times. Eight of these occur only in isolation, while the remaining fifteen may occur in isolation or as part of a particle cluster. Fourteen of the twenty-three particles occur in isolation only in quotations. Indeed, when jàë and ʧïï are removed from consideration, the vast majority of particle-in-isolation-containing-sentences are seen to be quotations.

4.1.5 Sentences that do not contain particles

This corpus contains forty-six particle-less sentences. Eleven of these are titles. Twelve are quotations, with one mild audience-directed command to carry out the moral of the story, as shown in example group 4.7:

(4.7)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FM</td>
<td>17 From this, repay the fable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>12 &quot;You there—What are you doing in the trap?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>13 &quot;In a minute, the owner will come—then what will you do?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>17 &quot;Then what should I do?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>27 &quot;Why is it like this?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>3 &quot;Oh! I'm so poor—what am I going to do?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>14 &quot;What's happening?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>16 &quot;Who said Kajcong chicken and Puutshaa chicken?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>19 &quot;In the gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>43 &quot;The gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>37 &quot;This (will) rot.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD</td>
<td>13 &quot;This thorn—It's been here about a year&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD</td>
<td>18 &quot;Then, if you are going to eat me, you're welcome to do so.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of final particles in the remaining twenty-two sentences (example 4.8) can be explained on the basis of discourse features. Twelve of the particle-less sentences (CK 41, CK 42, CO 24, CW 20, PB 47, DB 18, DB 19, ST 12, ST 13, ST 14, ST 17, ST 18, ST 19) occur in the last few lines of their respective discourses, often reflecting a final suspense. Five of the particle-less sentences (AK 10, DB 2,
DB 3, DB 4, DB 5, DB 7, DB 8) involve introductions (although all of the other folktales utilized particles of some sort in the orientation section). PB 31 may lack a particle because of its context in a familiar series of agricultural actions; that is, the story might have been slowed down had the author “cluttered” the series with particles. Similarly, DB 12 repeats the action of a previous sentence and leads into the peak of the story.

One sentence, OR, 25, may lack a particle for cultural reasons. The verb meaning ‘beg for rice’ is packed with strong emotion. Many Bisu, age twenty–five and older, have told terrible stories of routinely wandering from village to village begging for rice, inasmuch as they themselves had little arable land, subsisting primarily on what they could forage from the nearby jungle. They were often subjected to much verbal abuse while begging, being taunted as “filthy mountain people.” All of the Bisu life histories collected to this point have included extensive, shame-filled descriptions of this aspect of the group’s history. Perhaps, then, this is a case of “Isn’t a word enough?”; that is, the mere mention of this word draws forth such strong emotion that no additional amplification or clarification of the type usually supplied by particles is needed.

(4.8)

| AK | 10 (He) came looking for water |
| CK | 6 Then that woman was afraid and went back to the village |
| CK | 41 He struck it and gold came out. |
| CK | 42 He struck it (the second time) and silver came out. |
| CO | 24 The moral of this story: |
| CW | 20 The woman, well, after that did not take him. |
| DB | 4 Mr. Kiew was deaf. |
| DB | 5 Mr. Paw was blind. |
| DB | 7 At Uncle Kaew’s house, Mr. Khiew was the one responsible for grabbing the chicken. |
| DB | 8 Mr. Paw was the one responsible for telling (him where to grab). |
| DB | 12 Then he went back and asked again. |
4.1.6 Transitivity ranking: a framework for interpretation

As discussed in chapter three, transitivity ranking has been adopted as one method for "teasing out" the meaning of particles in context. Sentences receive transitivity scores ranging from 0–10, depending on the transitivity factors discussed in 3.2.2. On that basis, an effort is made to associate certain particles with different levels of transitivity.

The purpose of this section, then, is to provide an overview of transitivity scores in the written folktales such that the significance of the transitivity discussions relative to each individual particle will be more readily apparent.

Of the 384 sentences in the written folktale corpus, 288 (75%) received transitivity rankings. Those not ranked include quotations and title sentences, neither of which actually involve action and are thus, by definition, low in transitivity.

The average transitivity score for all 288 sentences is 5.839, with the median score standing at 6.0. Nonetheless, the individual sentence scores do not arrange themselves into a neat bell curve; rather, a two–peaked form emerges as sentences garnering scores of 3 and 6 occur forty–one and forty–nine times, respectively (figure 4.2):
Figure 4.2. Overview of transitivity scores in the written folktales.

Ensuing sections will reveal which particles are most likely to occur at the 6 and 3 junctures. Until then, figure 4.2 will serve as a guideline for characterizing the average transitivity scores of individual particles as high (6 and above), mid (4–5), or low (1–3).

4.1.7 Multiple clauses and particles: a framework for interpretation

Sentences containing more than one clause pose something of a challenge for the interpretation of sentence final particles. Only rarely does a sentence final particle occur at the conclusion of preposed clause. Does the sentence final particle cluster then modify the entire sentence, or only the most recent of the clauses?
To address this question, all of the sentences in the written folktale corpus were coded for the number of clauses which they contain. Multiclausal sentences were further categorized on the basis of how the respective clauses are joined.

Out of a total of 384 sentences, seventy-two contained multiple clauses (18.75%). The distribution of multiple clauses in quote and non-quote sentences, as well as the instruments used to join the clauses, are displayed in table 4.5.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{24} The shades of meaning of the conjunctions in figure 4.5 have not yet been determined. Bisu language assistants consistently glossed all of these conjunctions with the same Thai word.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>jao</th>
<th>zero</th>
<th>luu</th>
<th>jao</th>
<th>lae</th>
<th>jao</th>
<th>jao</th>
<th>hlao</th>
<th>jao</th>
<th>jaa</th>
<th>kan</th>
<th>laej</th>
<th>ao</th>
<th>laa</th>
<th>laew</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% occurrences</td>
<td>54.00%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
<td>8.00%</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotes</td>
<td># occurrences</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td># occurrences</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% occurrences</td>
<td>57.75%</td>
<td>12.68%</td>
<td>8.45%</td>
<td>5.63%</td>
<td>4.23%</td>
<td>2.82%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.5. Breakdown of multiple clause occurrence and conjunction usage
As shown in table 4.5, the vast majority of multi-clausal sentences utilize jao ‘and then’ to join clauses. jao-containing sentences usually involve temporal succession (examples 4.9, 4.10), although conditionality may also be implied (examples 4.11, 4.12).  

(4.9)

kaseej ʔua leek kʰoo jào pʰluu jàan han
monkey group finish completely then silver that take
æәn tʃʰiːi
ascend pt

When the group of monkeys had all left, then he took the silver and left. (PB 22)

(4.10)

həʔməʔ məaj jao aŋboon maŋ ʃiin tʃʰiːi jəe
like that tell then father Clf die pt pt

When he told (him) that, then the father died. (FS 10)

(4.11)

naaŋ gaa naʔ gaa làa səŋ jào naaŋ aŋjàa maŋ naʔ səə
2ps 1ps ACC pt pt pt then 2ps child Clf ACC kill
pəə
IMP

"If you want me, kill your child!" (CW 11)

---

25 When pressed to include some sort of overt ‘if’ word in a sentence, Bisu language assistants invariably borrow the Thai/Northern Thai equivalent, tʰaa. Bisu language assistants consistently included tʰaa in their written Thai translations of sentences such as TD 15.
gá hooopòo nii màŋ naʔ tsàːaj jao ciikkùu níʔ tʃʰa
1ps deer this Clf ACC eat then thorn this this
màa gaa màŋpòo nàʔ náaŋ tʃʰa nù tʃʰao làaŋ jáʔ
If 1ps mouth and neck this pierce pt pt

"If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck." (TD 15)

The second most used joining device is no device; the lack of any conjunction
generally indicates temporal succession (much as was the case with like
jao–containing sentences) as shown in examples 4.13 and 4.14:

jàojàa juum pʰàolàuaj kʰàabaajàa màaŋ naʔ
and then house return female Clf ACC
màaŋ lūu tʃʰii
tell pt pt

And then (he) returned home and told the woman. (CW 14)

ʃii kasaːkì kaseqj muuloŋ jàaŋ lùun tʃʰii jèe cāa
die act monkey group that come pt pt pt

(When he) went and acted like he had died, that group of monkeys indeed
came. (PB 11)

The question as to whether sentence final particles related to all or only one of
the clauses in a multicausal sentence will be addressed in the context of the particle
profiles, and summarized in chapter 5.

4.1.8 Place in the discourse

As mentioned in chapter three, all the sentences in the written folktales were
coded for the point in the discourse in which they occurred. The purpose of this
section is to provide an overview of how transitivity, the use of multiple clauses, and the use of quotations relate to each stage of discourse development.

4.1.8.1 Particles per sentence

As mentioned in 4.1.1, Bisu sentences may take up to six sentence final particles. Nonetheless, the number of particles likely to be taken by any given sentence is somewhat constrained by place in the discourse. As shown in figure 4.3, sentences in pre-peak episodes are more likely to take a larger number of particles than are sentences at other stages. This is not surprising; the orientation and conclusion stages contain few actions, and thus few particles. Peak, peak’, and postpeak all are rather dramatic, and the tendency for fewer particles to occur in those places than are found in pre-peak episodes is consistent with the “variation in length of units” Longacre (1996: 36) links to peak. The prepeak episodes, by contrast, do not come under the same demand for dramatic energy, resulting in a more gradual building of the background from which the sudden energy of the peak is launched.
Figure 4.3. Average number of particles per sentence relative to place in the discourse.

4.1.8.2 Transitivity

In comparing the average transitivity of sentences at each point in the discourse, several patterns emerge (figure 4.4). Sentences in the orientation stage are the lowest in transitivity. This is not unexpected, given the fact that orientations usually involve a number of stative verbs, with no appreciable action. Transitivity scores are much higher, as the events of the story unfold. It is somewhat surprising to find peak transitivity scores just slightly higher than those of pre-peak episodes. Peak’, as expected, shows very high transitivity, something which definitely fits the tendency of peak and peak’ stages to contain much concentrated action. Post-peak episodes taper off to near peak levels, while conclusions, as expected, fall to near orientation levels.
4.1.8.3 Multiple clauses

The use of multiple clauses in Bisu folktales would appear to correspond quite directly to the rate at which story’s action is taking place. As seen in figure 4.5, the corpus contains no multiple clauses in the orientation stage. By contrast, nearly 15% of pre-peak episode sentences contain multiple clauses. At peak, that figure jumps to 20% of all sentences, with nearly half of all peak’ sentences containing multiple clauses.26

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26 For purposes of this dissertation, sentences containing serial verbs are not automatically considered “multiclausal.” Multiclausal sentences must contain two distinct clauses, either in juxtaposition or connected by one of the devices mentioned in 4.1.6.
It is interesting to compare figures 4.5 and 4.3. While pre-peak episodes contain an average of 1.9 particles per sentence, the highest of all the discourse stages, they contain relatively few multiple clauses. The peak, peak', and post peak stages, by contrast, contain an average of 1.57, 1.60, and 1.58 particles per sentence, but contain many multClausal sentences.

The implication is that mere presence of more than one clause in a sentence does not indicate that the sentence is likely to have more particles than a monoclausal sentence. In addition, it would appear that Bisu prefers complex sentences in the especially dramatic points in a story. This corresponds to Longacre's contention that sentences may be either dramatically lengthened or shortened at peak and, by implication, peak', which often displays peak-like features (1996: 38, 43).
4.1.8.4 Quote/non-quote material

As shown in figure 4.6, quotations make up a comparable portion of pre-peak episodes, peak, and peak’. This indicates that, while quotations may be utilized to heighten vividness in peak and peak’ with a shift to dialogue (Longacre 1996: 42), their mere presence does not indicate peak. It is nonetheless interesting to note quotation formulae are often absent at peak and peak’, as will be discussed further in 4.4.12 and 4.4.13.

![Figure 4.6. Occurrence of quotations relative to point in the discourse.](image)

4.2 The principal particles: $t\hat{f}^{b}i\hat{i}$ and $j\hat{e}\theta$

The two most-frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales are $t\hat{f}^{b}i\hat{i}$ (148 occurrences) and $j\hat{e}\theta$ (171 occurrences). One of these two particles is present
in 36.2% of all sentences in the corpus, 41.1% of all particle-containing sentences, and 49.2% of all particle-containing non-quotation sentences. These particles are often used together, co-occurring as $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii\text{ʃ}^{h}ìì$ in 23.4% of all sentences, 26.6% of all particle-containing sentences, and 34.6% of all particle-containing non-quotation sentences in the corpus of written folktales.

These particles see much less use in everyday Bisu conversation than they do in written folktales, with $jè\text{ʃ}e$ being used less frequently than $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$. This is reflected in the quotation-containing sentences in the folktales; $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ occurs eleven times in eighty-eight quotations (12.5%), while $jè\text{ʃ}e$ never occurs in a quotation. In addition, on a forty-five sentence grammar questionnaire utilized early in this research, native speaker's usage of these particles differed greatly; one respondent wrote $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ fourteen times and $jè\text{ʃ}e$ seventeen times, while another used $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ nine times and never used $jè\text{ʃ}e$. Beaudouin (1991a: 6), in his otherwise thorough work, classifies $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ as an “aspective particle...for the past,” but does not even mention $jè\text{ʃ}e$.

These facts cry out for an intense investigation into $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ and $jè\text{ʃ}e$ in all their manifestations. The ensuing pages, then, will examine the overall nature of $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ and $jè\text{ʃ}e$, as well as their functions in co-occurrence with one other, in co-occurrence with other particles, and in isolation.

4.2.1 $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ ($t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii\sim t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii\sim t\text{ʃ}^{h}i$) completeive aspect (overall)

$t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ is one of the most frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales. Its 148 occurrences encompass 38.5% of all sentences in the corpus and 43.8% of all

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27 Similarly Xu (1998, 1999) does not list anything corresponding to $jè\text{ʃ}e$ in her treatment of “auxiliary words.” She does, however, list $t\text{ʃ}f$ as a “sentential auxiliary word” indicating a declarative sentence (1999: 58), but does not include it in her list of aspectual markers (several of which have no equivalent in Thai Bisu). On the basis of Xu’s analysis and examples, it is difficult to ascertain whether the Chinese Bisu $t\text{ʃ}f$ and the Thai Bisu $t\text{ʃ}^{h}ii$ are related. This is not surprising; significant dialect differences are readily apparent, especially in the realm of particles and functors, between Chinese and Thai Bisu.
particle–containing sentences. Only ̣e occurs more often (171 occurrences, 44.53% of total sentences, 50.6% of particle–containing sentences).

\textit{tʃ}h\textit{i}i co–occurs with a vast array of other particles. As shown in table 4.6, it most commonly co–occurs with ̣e. So important is \textit{tʃ}h\textit{i}i to written folktale sentences that other particles can often be classified in terms of whether they precede or follow \textit{tʃ}h\textit{i}i in the particle cluster.
Table 4.6 Particles co-occurring with tʃʰii

<table>
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<th>post-tʃʰii</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>luu</td>
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<td>x cáá</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Beaudouin's (1991a: 6) suggestion that \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) is an "aspective particle...for the past," is echoed in this dissertation's designation of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) as an indicator of "completive aspect" Nonetheless, it is important to stress that, in the Bisu aspectual system, it is not necessary to indicate completion on every sentence discussing past events. In fact, the tendency in Bisu conversation is to leave tense–like indications to time phrases (yesterday, tomorrow, next year, etc.). This is in keeping with the typology of many Southeast Asian languages, and Tibeto–Burman languages in particular (Matisoff 1973: 315).

This completive sense, combined with \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \)'s frequency, has caused this researcher to consider \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) the mainline marker of Bisu written folktales, as discussed below.

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

As mentioned previously, any given sentence in a Bisu written folktale has nearly a 40% chance of containing \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \). Nonetheless, the use of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) is somewhat constrained by the stage of the discourse in which the sentence occurs. That is, there are some points in the discourse in which \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) is more likely to occur than others.

The distributional tendencies of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) are detailed on the "\( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) overall" row of table 4.7. The left portion of the chart indicates the overall number of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \)–containing sentences that also contain indications of time and location. The episode juncture and inciting moment columns note the number of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \)–containing sentences which occur at those noteworthy transitional points, while the remainder of the chart plots the occurrences of \( t\cdot h\cdot i\cdot i \) in the various stages of the folktales. The "total # of sentences" row indicates the sum of all
sentences in the written folktale corpus for each of the categories, while "% of total" indicates what percentage of all sentences in each category contain $tʃ^hii$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃ^hii overall</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>62.20%</td>
<td>62.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 4.7, several generalizations can be made. First, $tʃ^hii$ occurs in more than 60% of all sentences containing time indicators, location indicators, episode junctures, and inciting moments. Inasmuch as all of these elements are highly significant to the development of a discourse, we may conclude that $tʃ^hii$ is likewise functionally prominent. In addition, it is apparent that the initial and final stage of the discourse, the orientation and the conclusion, suffer from a $tʃ^hii$ shortage. This is not entirely unexpected, given the nature of these sections and the nature of $tʃ^hii$; orientation stages tend to describe situations rather than chronicle events, while most events have been completed before a narrator begins his or her concluding remarks. That the pre–peak, peak, peak', and post–peak sections contain a high number of $tʃ^hii$–containing sentences is likewise expected.

Table 4.8 sheds additional light on $tʃ^hii$ usage by examining the number of $tʃ^hii$–containing sentences at each stage in relation to the total number of $tʃ^hii$ occurrences (148). Here we see that the vast majority of actual $tʃ^hii$ occurrences
come in the pre-peak episodes—again, something that is not unexpected, given the fact that 227 of the 384 (59%) sentences the entire written corpus occur in pre-peak episodes. It is also interesting to again note the great frequency of \( tʃ^hii \)-containing sentences at episode juncutures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>Inciting mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # tʃ^hii</td>
<td>34.46%</td>
<td>14.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( tʃ^hii \)'s great frequency, coupled with the fact that it tends to occur at points which are highly significant to the overall development of the discourse, has led this researcher to conclude that \( tʃ^hii \) functions as the mainline marker in Bisu written folktales. This contention is supported by example 4.15, which illustrates how a basic abstract of a story, an outline of a story's macrostructure, can be gained by reading all the \( tʃ^hii \)-containing sentences.

(4.15)

| 2 | 4 (The otter) saw the fish trap. | 5 And then he went in to the fish trap. | 6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely. | 11 And then (the rabbit) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter, | 22 At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth). | 24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path. |

\( cǎjtʃ^hii \)
\( tʃ^hijèè \)
\( p̱i \)
\( tʃ^hijèè \)
\( pannòo \)
Variable group 2: Transitivity

$t\text{šii}$–containing sentences in this corpus have garnered transitivity ratings ranging between 3 and 10, with an average transitivity score of 6.57. Thus,
\( t'\text{hi} \)-containing sentences are seen to be high in transitivity. The fact that so many \( t'\text{hi} \)-containing sentences rank so high on the transitivity scale is further indication of \( t'\text{hi} \)’s completive sense; the ten transitivity factors are definitely weighted in favor of concluded actions.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

Forty–three (29.05%) \( t'\text{hi} \)-containing sentences are multicausal, compared to seventy–two (18.75%) of all sentences in the folktales. Thus, \( t'\text{hi} \)-containing sentences occur in multicausal sentences with an above average frequency.

The majority of these involve the conjunction \( jao \), as shown in table 4.9:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( jao )</th>
<th>( luujao )</th>
<th>( \text{zero} )</th>
<th>( caa )</th>
<th>( laejaxao )</th>
<th>( haaqje )</th>
<th>( jao )</th>
<th>( laajao )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that \( t'\text{hi} \) occurs only sentence finally, never following non–final clauses in a multicausal sentence. This lends additional credence to the contention that Bisu sentence final particles tend to modify the final clause in the sentence.

**Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material**

Some 92.67% of \( t'\text{hi} \)-containing sentences are not in quotations, with nine direct and two indirect quotation–containing sentences comprising the 7.43% minority. \( t'\text{hi} \) does not occur in any morals.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

As $\tilde{t}h$ may occur in both quote and non–quote material, the experiencer/non–experiencer distinction does not apply. That is, $\tilde{t}h$–may be used by either event participants or non–participants. A superabundance of $\tilde{t}h$–containing sentences, however, is indicative of the folktale genre, as is discussed in section 4.4.1.3.4

Summary

This section has portrayed $\tilde{t}h$ as a completive aspect marker that indicates the mainline of a folktale. $\tilde{t}h$–containing sentences are typically high in transitivity, reflecting the completive sense of the events described. While $\tilde{t}h$ may be used by experiencers or non–experiencers, a large quantity of $\tilde{t}h$–containing sentences is indicative of the Bisu folktale genre.

Despite its great frequency, $\tilde{t}h$ rarely occurs in isolation; in fact, $\tilde{t}h$ co–occurs with other particles 83% of the time. It thus becomes necessary to evaluate these multi–faceted contexts to assess the validity of the claims made thus far for $\tilde{t}h$. This will be undertaken in sections 4.2.3, 4.2.4, and 4.2.5.

4.2.2 jëe reported event (overall)

jëe is the most frequently used particle in Bisu folktales, its 171 occurrences encompassing 44.5% of all sentences in the written folktale corpus and 50.6% of all particle–containing sentences.

Nonetheless, jëe occurs relatively infrequently in conversational Bisu, and is similarly rare in life histories and expository texts. This uneven distribution is perhaps the reason why Beaudouin, who does not indicate whether he analyzed any Bisu folktales, does not include jëe in his discussion of particles (1991a, 1991b).
Like tʃʰiɪ, jêe occurs with a variety of particles. It is interesting to note that there is only one example in the written folktale corpus of a particle following jêe, as shown in table 4.10:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-jèe</th>
<th>post-jèe</th>
<th># occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laatsʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaal</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pii tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laatsʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lùu tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔ tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káʔtʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làʔepitʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meen tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caajtʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaakaa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaaləameŋ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həəllo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jao</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káʔtʃʰáʔ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaləam</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaluuləe</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooŋəa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanlùutʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàŋŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láʔtʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laaləepii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləŋkaʔlaəe</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləŋkaʔtʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lùutoo kaʔ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luu tʃʰii</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰáʔ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td>x cąa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii tʃʰàŋ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naʔ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several Bisu language assistants have commented that \textit{jēē} indicates that the text is a “retold” story—that is, the narrator was not personally involved in the events related. \textit{jēē} thus reflects a basic evidentiality distinction, one of several Bisu particles which function in this way. The Bisu \textit{jēē} is thus comparable to the Lahu \textit{ce}, as described by Matisoff:

This important [particle] is used to indicate that the preceding material is reported at second-hand. It is encountered especially often in stories or other extended narratives. Some story-tellers use it in almost every sentence....In connected narrative where \textit{ce}, appears very frequently (even ‘automatically’), it has low information value and is usually best left untranslated (1973: 377).

\textit{Variable group 1: Place in the discourse}

Any given sentence in a Bisu written folktale has roughly a 50% chance of containing \textit{jēē}. Nonetheless, the use of \textit{jēē} is somewhat constrained by the stage of the discourse in which the \textit{jēē}–containing sentence occurs.

Table 4.11 shows that \textit{jēē} occurs with great frequency in sentences containing time and location indicators, or comprising episode junctures or inciting moments. The vast majority of orientation stage sentences contain \textit{jēē}, while pre–peak, peak, and peak’ stages exhibit respective reductions in the number of \textit{jēē}–containing sentences.
Table 4.11. Distribution of jêêe overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jêêe overall</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>52.44%</td>
<td>57.14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.12 indicates that the majority of all jêêe–containing sentences are found in pre-peak episodes. This is not surprising, given that 59% of all sentences in the folktales are in pre-peak episodes. Table 4.12 is nonetheless useful in providing balance to table 4.11. In table 4.11, for example, we learn that 76.92% of all inciting moment sentences contain jêêe; in table 4.12, however, we learn that inciting moment sentences only involve 5.85% of the total occurrences of jêêe. The significance of this distinction will become apparent in ensuing sections.

Table 4.12. Distribution of jêêe overall relative to total occurrences of jêêe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jêêe overall</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all jêêe particles</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>25.15%</td>
<td>11.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Were all the jêêe–containing sentences to be extracted from a text, an outline of sort appears, as shown in example set 4.16. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the majority of jêêe–containing sentences listed in example 4.16 co-occur with ï'ï'ï'i,i,
a fact which necessitates the examinations of jëe—in–isolation and jëe—co–occuring
with particles other than $t'sh'i'i$ to be carried out in sections 4.2.6 and 4.2.7.

(4.16)

| AK  | 4 (The otter) saw the fish trap.                      | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| AK  | 5 And then he went in to the fish trap.               | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| AK  | 6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely.            | $piit'sh'iijëe$ |
| AK  | 7 Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not $læu'tooka$ get out. | $jëe$ |
| AK  | 9 (The rabbit) (was) from the forest                  | $jëe$ |
| AK  | 11 And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then $t'sh'iijëe$ asked the otter, | |
| AK  | 15 The otter was afraid.                              | $jëe$ |
| AK  | 24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) $t'sh'iijëe$ arm and went to hide himself alongside the path. | |
| AK  | 26 Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter. $læeet'sh'iijëe$ |
| AK  | 30 The rabbit hopped along.                           | $jëe$ |
| AK  | 31 (The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) $t'sh'iijëe$ and then Ai Kham saw it (and thought that that rabbit was injured, pierced by the stick). | |
| AK  | 33 (Ai Kham) threw away the otter and then struck at $t'sh'iijëe$ the rabbit. | |

| CK  | 1 There was a husband and wife.                       | $jëe$ |
| CK  | 3 When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was $jëe$ a catfish. | |
| CK  | 4 And when they got a catfish, they said it was a $jëe$ punglung fish. | |
| CK  | 5 And as they were going along like that, then $t'sh'iijëe$ Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took him away. | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 7 Chengkoi made him her husband.                      | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 8 They had one child.                                  | $jëe$ |
| CK  | 11 Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.          | $t'sh'iisten$ |
| CK  | 12 After a while, his child did the same.             | $jëe$ |
| CK  | 15 After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child: | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 18 Then the child released him to go.                  | $læu$ |
| CK  | 19 When the child released him he ran away.            | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 20 But he did not make it to his house.                | $jëe$ |
| CK  | 21 He went and lay down in a rice field.               | $t'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 22 And then he shook the rice heads over his body.     | $læeet'sh'iijëe$ |
| CK  | 24 Then she saw him.     | tʃ³hiijèe |
| CK  | 28 And then she tickled him. | jèe |
| CK  | 29 But he did not laugh.  | laajèe |
| CK  | 30 She tickled him and then ordered. | tʃ³hiijèe |
| CK  | 37 When she had told him everything about the tʃ³hiijèe rhythm she left. | jèe |
| CK  | 40 Then he struck the gong. | jèe |

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

The transitivity scores for jèe-containing sentences range from 0 to 10, with an average of 5.5. This would seem to indicate a correlation between the use of jèe and relatively high transitivity. Nonetheless, some incongruities arise. Why, for example, would a particle with an allegedly high transitivity occur in 69.23% of all orientation stage sentences, given that orientations do not feature actions and are thus very low in transitivity? The question must also be asked of whether jèe’s high average transitivity is related to the particles with which it co-occurs—and to the highly transitive tʃ³hii in particular. These issues will be addressed in sections 4.2.6 and 4.2.7.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

Only twenty-nine of the 171 (16.96%) jèe-containing sentences involve more than one clause, compared with seventy-two (18.75%) of sentences overall. These are generally linked with jao, as shown in table 4.13:
Table 4.13. Conjunctions utilized in jèe–containing multiclausal sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jao</th>
<th>luujao</th>
<th>caa</th>
<th>zero</th>
<th>laejao</th>
<th>laajao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material*

Throughout the corpus, jèe never occurs in direct quotations, although it occurs four times in sentences that might be considered indirect quotations. Two of these cases involve summaries of a language game, while the two others are involved in proverbs attributed to past generations of elders.

*Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer*

As mentioned previously, the presence of jèe indicates that the narrator was not involved in the events he or she is reporting. The lack of any jèe–containing sentences in quotations further underscores the fact that jèe–containing sentences reflect information that is not first hand to the speaker.

*Summary*

This section has yielded as many questions about jèe as it has answers. While the status of jèe as the most frequently–occurring particle in Bisu written folktales remains unchallenged, and the relation of jèe to information that is somewhat removed from the speaker's experience has been clearly established, any connection between jèe and transitivity is as yet unclear. This relates to a larger question, that of how jèe (and other particles) interact with other members of particular clusters. It thus becomes necessary to further dissect the co–occurrence of jèe, tsji, and other particles, as is undertaken in the next several sections.
4.2.3 $tʃ^{h}i{i}$ co–occurring with particles excluding $jève$

$tʃ^{h}i{i}$ occurs in combination with particles other than $jève$ some thirty–three times, accounting for 22.3% of the 148 $tʃ^{h}i{i}$–containing sentences.

*Variable group 1: Place in the discourse*

As shown in table 4.14, non–$jève$–containing–$tʃ^{h}i{i}$–containing clusters account for a relatively small number of occurrences. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that 22.86% of location–indicating sentences feature non–$jève$–containing–$tʃ^{h}i{i}$–containing clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tʃ^{h}i{i}$ co w/o $jève$</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>13.41%</td>
<td>22.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15 demonstrates that non–$jève$–containing–$tʃ^{h}i{i}$–containing clusters are most likely to make up a significant portion of the total $tʃ^{h}i{i}$ inventory at episode junctures, as well as in pre–peak episodes and at peak. Thereafter, usage decreases dramatically, at the same time when $tʃ^{h}i{i}$–in–isolation occurrences increase (see section 4.24).
Table 4.15. Distribution of non-jeē-containing tʃʰii-containing clusters relative to tʃʰii overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii co w/o jeē</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰii overall</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of total</td>
<td>21.57%</td>
<td>36.36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 4.17 contains all the non-jeē-containing tʃʰii-containing particle clusters in two folktales. When compared with example 4.15, it becomes evident that non-jeē-containing-tʃʰii-containing particle clusters occur relatively infrequently, and that no meaningful story abstract can be outlined through their extraction.

(4.17)

| AK     | 2 One day Ai Kham went to trap fish. | cājtʃʰii |
| AK     | 22 At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the tʃʰii rabbit (kept it in its mouth). | pannōo |
| AK     | 28 "It stinks and won't be delicious at all." | tʃʰiilaa |
| CK     | 2 They went out fishing. | læatʃʰii |
| CK     | 25 "Ooh! When did my husband die?" | kāʔtʃʰii |
| CK     | 31 "Well, my beloved one has really died." | tʃʰiimaamaa |
| CK     | 43 After that, he was rich. | læatʃʰii |
| CK     | 46 "" |


Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores for non-\(jè\-\)containing \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing clusters range from 3 to 10, with an average of 6.77. In posting this relatively high average, non-\(jè\-\)containing-\(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing clusters are comparable to other manifestations of \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\).

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Of the thirty-three non-\(jè\-\)containing-\(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing clusters, eight (24.24\%) involve more than one clause. Half of these are joined by \(ja\o\).

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

Eleven of the thirty-three (33.33\%) non-\(jè\-\)containing-\(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing particle clusters occur in quotations. Of the eleven \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing direct quotations, nine (81.82\%) do not involve \(jè\). From this, a generalization might be drawn to the effect that, in quotations, \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\) generally co-occurs with other particles. \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-in-isolation is found in only two quotations, while \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\-jè\), by definition, cannot occur in quotations.

Non-\(jè\-\)containing-\(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing particle clusters do not occur in morals.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

As is the case with all manifestations of \(t\bigcup^{h} ii\), all non-\(jè\-\)containing-\(t\bigcup^{h} ii\)-containing clusters may be used by either experiencers or non-experiencers.
Summary

When tʃʰiː is co-occurs with other particles, jēː is most often involved. The relatively few non-jēː-containing tʃʰiː-containing particle clusters are most likely to occur in pre-peak episodes and at peak, often inside quotations. They pattern similarly to tʃʰiː—overall in manifesting high transitivity and seeing relatively frequent use in multiclausal sentences.

4.2.4 tʃʰiː in isolation

tʃʰiː is found in isolation twenty-five times, accounting for 16.89% of all tʃʰiː-containing sentences, 6.51% of all 384 sentences in the written corpus, and 7.40% of all 338 particle-containing sentences.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃʰiː can occur in isolation in virtually the same situations and stages in which other manifestations of tʃʰiː are found. Nonetheless, tʃʰiː in isolation occurs with greatest frequency after peak, in 30% of peak sentences and 16.67% of post peak episode sentences, as shown in table 4.16:

Table 4.16. Distribution of tʃʰiː—in—–isolation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>Inciting mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰiː in isolation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
<td>5.71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The importance of this distribution is amplified in table 4.17, which demonstrates that 52.94% of all $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-containing sentences at peak, and 40% of $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-containing sentences in post-peak episodes, feature $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ in isolation. In addition, $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-in-isolation occurs in only 9% of all pre-peak $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-containing sentences, but in 17.39% of all peak $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-containing sentences. The implication is that, as the pace of action heightens at and following peak, $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ becomes more apt to appear in isolation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.17. Distribution of $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-in-isolation relative to $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sentence Contents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ in isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ overall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of total $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 4.18 extracts all the $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-in-isolation-containing sentences from two written folktales. As was the case with non-$j\hat{e}e$-containing $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-containing sentences, the abstract of a story would not be recoverable from $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$-in-isolation-containing sentences alone:

(4.18)

| AK | 34 At that time the rabbit threw the stick and $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ immediately ran away. |
| CK | 23 After that, when Chengkoi realized what had $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ happened, she ran after him. |
| CK | 33 After that, she went and got a gong. $t{\hat{s}}^{\text{hii}}$ |
Variable group 2: Transitivity

$tʃ^hii$—in—isolation—containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 0 to 10, with an average of 6.16. This relatively high transitivity composite corresponds with the 6.57 average for $tʃ^hii$ overall.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Ten of the twenty—five (40%) $tʃ^hii$—in—isolation—containing sentences involve more than one clause, typically joined by jao.

Variable group 4: Quote/non—quote material

An overwhelming twenty—three of twenty—five (92%) $tʃ^hii$—in—isolation occurrences are found in non—quote material. The two occurrences within quotations are in keeping with the conversational usage of $tʃ^hii$ in explicitly indicating that the action has truly been completed.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non—experiencer

As $tʃ^hii$ may occur in both quote and non—quote material, the experiencer/non—experiencer distinction does not apply. This contention is supported by language assistant intuition. Thus, $tʃ^hii$ may be used by both event participants and non—participants.

Summary

$tʃ^hii$—in—isolation exhibits many features in common with other manifestations of $tʃ^hii$, including high transitivity and quote/non—quote flexibility.
Nonetheless, $tʃ^{h}ii$–in–isolation is seen to occur most frequently following the peak of a discourse. This may be related to the phenomenon observed in many languages of shortening syntactic units to heighten drama (Longacre 1996: 43). $tʃ^{h}ii$–in–isolation may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

### 4.2.5 $tʃ^{h}ii$ $jêe$ co–occurrence

$tʃ^{h}ii$ and $jêe$ co–occur in 23.4% of all sentences, 26.6% of all particle–containing sentences in the folktale corpus. No other particles co–occur nearly as frequently. Indeed, no other single particle occurs nearly as often as $tʃ^{h}ii$ and $jêe$ co–occur. In addition, no other elements are permitted to come between $tʃ^{h}ii$ and $jêe$ in the particle cluster.

As detailed elsewhere, $tʃ^{h}ii$ bears a sense of completion while $jêe$ indicates that the narrator is reporting events in which he or she did not participate. Nonetheless, their consistent co–occurrence raises the question of whether the two together form a unit greater than the sum of its parts.

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

$tʃ^{h}iijêe$ is never found in the opening sentences of a discourse. As shown in table 4.18, the first occurrence of $tʃ^{h}iijêe$ in nine of the thirteen written folktales is in the inciting moment—that point of the discourse in which the action begins. Indeed, roughly 70% of all inciting moment sentences contain $tʃ^{h}iijêe$. $tʃ^{h}iijêe$ is used in every third sentence throughout the pre–peak episodes, every fifth sentence through peak and peak', and every fourth sentence through post–peak episodes. $tʃ^{h}iijêe$ occurs frequently at episode junctures, often adjacent to time and location indicators. Just as $tʃ^{h}iijêe$ never occurs in the orientation stage, it never occurs in a conclusion (a designation which includes story morals).
Table 4.18. Distribution of $tʃʰiijèè$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tʃʰiijèè$</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percent of total</td>
<td>34.15%</td>
<td>34.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.19 amplifies the generalizations of table 4.18 by comparing the number of $tʃʰiijèè$–containing sentences at each point in the discourse to the total number of $tʃʰiijèè$ occurrences. Some 40% of all $tʃʰiijèè$–containing sentences are seen to occur at episode junctures, most of these occurring in the 75% of $tʃʰiijèè$–containing sentences that are found in pre–peak episodes. Only a small percentage of all $tʃʰiijèè$–containing sentences are found at and following peak.

Table 4.19. Distribution of $tʃʰiijèè$ relative to total occurrences of $tʃʰiijèè$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tʃʰiijèè$</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of $tʃʰiijèè$</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of $tʃʰiii$ overall</td>
<td>31.11%</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A reasonable abstract of a folktale may be extracted based on $tʃʰiijèè$–containing sentences. Nonetheless, upon comparing examples 4.15 and
4.19, it becomes evident that a compilation of all ṭʃʰiʃːi—containing sentences provides a clearer developmental skeleton of a story:

| AK  | 4 (The otter) saw the fish trap. | ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe |
| AK  | 5 And then he went in to the fish trap. | ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe |
| AK  | 6 (The otter) ate all the fish completely. | pʃiʃːiʃːe |
| AK  | 11 And then (the rabbit) saw the otter in the trap and ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe then asked the otter, |  |
| AK  | 24 (The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe arm and went to hide himself alongside the path. |  |
| AK  | 26 Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter. ləetʃʰiʃːe |  |
| AK  | 31 (The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe and then Ai Kham saw it |  |
| AK  | 33 (Ai Kham) threw away the otter and then struck at ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe the rabbit. |  |

| CK  | 5 And as they were going along like that, then ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took him away. |  |
| CK  | 7 Chengkoi made him her husband. | ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe |
| CK  | 11 Chengkoi would lock the door as she left. | ṭʃʰiʃː |
| CK  | 15 After that, his father wanted to escape and told the ṭʃʰiʃːiʃːe child: |  |
| CK  | 18 Then the child released him to go. | ləetʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 19 When the child released him he ran away. | ṭʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 21 He went and lay down in a rice field. | ṭʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 22 And then he shook the rice heads over his body. | ləetʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 24 Then she saw him. | ṭʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 30 She tickled him and then ordered. | ṭʃʰiʃːe |
| CK  | 37 When she had told him everything about the ṭʃʰiʃːe rhythm she left. |  |
Variable group 2: Transitivity

tʃʰiijèe-containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 2 to 10, with an average of 6.48. This is similar to the transitivity scores posted for tʃʰiii overall and tʃʰiii—in isolation: 6.57 and 6.16, respectively.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Twenty-five tʃʰiijèe-containing sentences (27.78%) involve more than one clause. These are generally joined by jæo.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

 tʃʰiijèe-containing sentences never occur inside quotations, although there are two quotation-containing sentences which utilize tʃʰiijèe after the close of a quotation. Similarly, tʃʰiijèe-containing sentences are never found in morals. These limitations are related to jëe’s role as indicator of the narrator’s non-participant status.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

While tʃʰiii may be used by experiencers or non-experiencers, jëe cannot. tʃʰiijèe, then, may only be used by non-experiencers.

Summary

The co-occurrence of tʃʰiii and jèe brings together a sense of completion and indication of the narrator’s non-participant status. The great frequency with which the two co-occur is indicative of the Bisu folktale genre. That is, any Bisu text of even moderate length would immediately be judged a folktale if tʃʰiijèe-containing sentences were present. The fact that tʃʰiii and jèe are most likely to co-occur in pre-peak episodes, and less likely to co-occur at and
following peak, is indicative of the way in which the notional structure of a discourse may affect sentence level usage.

4.2.6 *jēe* in isolation

Some fifty-six (32.75%) of the 171 occurrences (32.75%) of *jēe* in the folktale corpus are in isolation. Thus, *jēe* is twice more likely to be used in isolation than *tʃʰiːi*, which occurs in isolation 16.89% of the time.

*Variable group 1: Place in the discourse*

*jēe*-in-isolation-containing sentences may be found throughout any given folktale. *jēe*-in-isolation is particularly favored at orientation, present in more than half of the orientation sentences. *jēe*-in-isolation-containing sentences do not occur with much frequency elsewhere in the folktales.

Table 4.20. Distribution of *jēe*-in-isolation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jēe</em> in isolation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of total</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.21 further highlights the use of *jēe*-in-isolation-containing sentences in the orientation stage, where *jēe*-in-isolation appears much more frequently than any *jēe*-in-co–occurrence sentences. The remaining stages of the discourse reflect a substantial but by no means overwhelming use of *jēe*-in-isolation.
Table 4.21. Distribution of jèe—in—isolation relative to jèe overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèe in isolation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèe overall</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>23.26%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jèe—in—isolation’s distributional tendencies are evident in the extracted sentences in example 4.20. These sentences show that jèe—in—isolation is used primarily when describing characters and situations, and is not helpful in recovering the abstract of a story.

(4.20)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>9 (The rabbit) (was) from the forest</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>15 The otter was afraid.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>30 The rabbit hopped along.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>1 There was a husband and wife.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>3 When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was jèe a catfish.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>4 And when they got a catfish, they said it was a jèe punglung fish.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>8 They had one child.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>12 After a while, his child did the same.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>20 But he did not make it to his house.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>28 And then she tickled him.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>40 Then he struck the gong.</td>
<td>jèe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Whereas the overall transitivity scores for jèe—containing sentences ranged from 0 to 10 with an average of 5.15, scores for jèe—in—isolation—containing sentences range from 0 to 9 with an average of 3.57. This indicates that the high transitivity average stated in section 4.2.2 may be related more to the particles with
which jëe was co–occurring. Sections 4.2.7 and 4.2.8 will carry this line of investigation further.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Some fifty–four (96.43%) of all jëe–in–isolation–containing sentences are monoclausal, compared to 142 (83.04%) of all jëe–containing sentences and 312 (81.25%) of all sentences in the folktales.

The two multiclausal jëe–in–isolation–containing sentences, joined by jao, are somewhat unique in that they involve indirect quotations, as discussed in the quote/non–quote section below.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

jëe–in–isolation occurs four times in sentences that could be considered indirect quotations. Two of these cases involve summaries of a language game, while the two others contain proverbs attributed to past generations of elders.

The remaining jëe–in–isolation–containing sentences encompass strictly non–quote material. jëe–in–isolation is not found in any morals.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

The examination of jëe–in–isolation–containing sentences has not yielded any information that would modify or contradict earlier statements on the evidential nature of this particle.

Summary

This examination of jëe–in–isolation has yielded important information. First, it is quite apparent that the distributional patterns of jëe–in–isolation–containing sentences are different from those of jëe overall. jëe–in–isolation–containing
sentences occur most frequently in the orientation section, while the jëe overall displays limited use in orientation stages, and more frequent usage in pre-peak, peak, and postpeak sections. In addition, it is evident that the high transitivity scores for jëe overall were not reflective of the base implications of jëe usage. Additional work in teasing out the relationship between jëe and its co-occurring particles is thus required. This will be undertaken in section 4.2.7.

4.2.7 jëe co-occurring with particles excluding tʃʰii

jëe occurs in combination with particles other than tʃʰii twenty-four times, accounting for 14.03% of the 171 all jëe-containing sentences, 6.25% of all 384 sentences in the written corpus, 7.10% of all 338 particle-containing sentences.

The question to be posited in this section is one of whether non-tʃʰii-containing jëe-containing clusters behave differently than tʃʰii jëe.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃʰii-less occurrences of jëe-containing particle clusters are most likely to occur in the orientation stage, and to a lesser extent, at peak, as shown in table 4.22:
Table 4.22. Distribution of of $t^h_i i$–less $jē\theta$ particle clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$jē\theta$ w/o $t^h_i i$ co</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>5.71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the relatively small number of $t^h_i i$–less $jē\theta$ clusters makes reliable generalizations difficult, table 4.23 demonstrates that $jē\theta$ is most likely to appear in $t^h_i i$–less clusters in the orientation stage and at peak. That $jē\theta$ appears without $t^h_i i$ in the orientation stage is not surprising; $t^h_i i$ never occurs in orientations. Nonetheless, the frequency of $t^h_i i$–less $jē\theta$ clusters at peak is interesting, given the fact that $t^h_i i$ also appears quite frequently at peak. Further investigation of the context, however, reveals that two of those five $t^h_i i$–less $jē\theta$ clusters at peak refer to negative events (things which did not happen) that significantly affect the outcome of the story, while the remaining three describe states or attributes which are likewise key to textual development.
Table 4.23. Distribution of of $tʃ^hii$–less jèe particle clusters relative to jèe overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèe w/o $tʃ^hii$</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèe overall</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>11.63%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All $tʃ^hii$–less jèe clusters in four folktales are extracted in example 4.21. Once again, the abstracts of the respective stories are not recoverable from this assortment of sentences. In addition, it is likely that $tʃ^hii$ would have been used in AK 14 and CK 58 had the events been actualized (i.e., the otter was able to get out, or the husband had laughed). The examples from “The Cruel Widower” and “The Mischievous Boy” highlight the usage of $tʃ^hii$–less jèe clusters to describe durative states/attributes.

(4.21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AK</th>
<th>7 Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not lùutoo get out.</th>
<th>kaʔjèe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>29 But he did not laugh.</td>
<td>laajèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW</td>
<td>4 They lived together without quarrelling or kaajèe fighting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW</td>
<td>6 Then the child and father lived together for a long kàʔtʃ^háʔjèe time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW</td>
<td>7 The father and child lived together for many years. jàʔjèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW</td>
<td>8 At this time, the father wanted a new wife. gaalàmsiŋ jèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW</td>
<td>23 (But) his child was already dead. tʃ^háʔjèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>4 (The child) was not willing to do any work at all. kaajèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Variable group 2: Transitivity

$t\bar{s}hii$–less $j\dot{e}e$ cluster–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 0 to 6, with an average of 3.21. This is congruent with sentences containing $j\dot{e}e$ in isolation, which average 3.57. This also demonstrates that the average transitivity score of 5.15 for $j\dot{e}e$ overall is somewhat deceiving, doubtlessly skewed by the 6.48 transitivity average posted by $t\bar{s}hii\dot{j}e\dot{e}$.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One $t\bar{s}hii$–less $j\dot{e}e$ cluster–containing sentence contains two clauses, these being joined by $ca\dot{a}$ ‘then’.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

In co–occurrence with particles excluding $t\bar{s}hii$, $j\dot{e}e$ occurs only in non–quotation sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

$t\bar{s}hii$–less $j\dot{e}e$ cluster–containing sentences may only be uttered by non–experiencers.

Summary

$t\bar{s}hii$–less $j\dot{e}e$ cluster–containing sentences exhibit many of the same characteristics as other manifestations of $j\dot{e}e$, including low transitivity, a tendency to occur with greatest frequency in areas of little action (such as the orientation stage), and a prohibition against usage by experiencers.
4.2.8 The argument from absence: where and why do tʃʰi:i or jɛɛ not occur?

The preceding sections have detailed how tʃʰi:i and jɛɛ are used in Bisu written folktales. Nonetheless, the question remains of how they are not used; that is, why do only 41.12% of all particle-containing sentences involve either tʃʰi:i or jɛɛ? What of the remaining sentences?

When quotations, story morals, and story titles are removed from consideration, there remain forty-one particle-containing sentences that involve neither tʃʰi:i nor jɛɛ. These forty-one sentences involve a relatively small number of particles, as shown in example set 4.22:

(4.22)

AK 16 (The otter) told the rabbit: pãʔnɔo
AK 19 The rabbit said: lùu pãanɔo
AK 21 The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit pii pãanɔo farted into the otter’s mouth.
AK 25 Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish trap pãanɔo
AK 29 After that the rabbit came walking out. pãanɔo
DB 13 Mr Paw shouted and said again: l̄̀ɛ̃pãanɔo
DB 15 At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house laapãanɔo heard and suddenly yelled out:
DB 17 Mr. Khiew and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked pãanɔo and fled in different directions.
DB 20 Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an l̄̀ɛ̃pãanɔo implement which flipped up and struck his forehead.
ST 7 Immediately both swans flew across the field. ʔɛɛ pãanɔo
ST 10 Then the turtle heard it and said: lùu pãanɔo
ST 15 The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water pãanɔo buffalo.
ST 16 All the water buffalo's teeth fell out. pãanɔo
AK 23 At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a ʔɛɛ forearm's length.
CK 10 But really she would go for a very long time. ʔɛɛ
CK 14 and then went for a short time. ʔɛɛ
FM 12 Every single day, he would feed his mother rice pii ʔɛɛ? and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her.
This story tells the children causing (them) to know.

In the past, people said:

They had two children

This caused (them) to become even poorer.

Every time he would wait to eat the flock of deer.

The Mother Turtle was very angry.

It was very large.

He took (some things) and went.

Then they asked each other—part. — the monkeys:

(They) carried (him) away.

(When) they finished speaking then they went off together.

When it was almost evening (they) went back together.

(When) the squirrel heard, then they went together.

At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.

A long time ago there were two people.

A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans.

When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter.

Early in the morning, there was a rabbit.

Then both children, well, every time were able to return home.

The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.

Mr. Khiew didn’t hear clearly.

In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there.

He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child

After that he became very rich.

Thirteen (31.71%) of the sentence listed above involve the particle páʔnóo.

As will be discussed in section 4.4.2, páʔnóo is a somewhat more stylized equivalent of tʃʰįįʃe; indeed, cloze exercise participants consistently wrote tʃʰįįʃe where the original author had written páʔnóo.
The seven (17.07%) sentences involving *naowaa* likewise carry a completive sense. As with *páʔnóo*, most cloze exercise participants substituted *tʃʰiijèe* for *naowaa*. This is probably related to *naowaa*'s discourse function as a marker of past actions which are being repeated in the present—something of which a cloze exercise subject concentrating on single sentences would be likely to overlook (see section 4.4.3).

The remainder of the non-*tʃʰiijèe* containing sentences do not carry any sort of completive sense. A total of eleven (26.83%) of the sentences contain *qaa*, which is generally used in conjunction with attributes such as length and time duration (see section 4.4.1). Another four (9.76%) of the sentences contain *laaj* or *kʰaalaj*, which introduce new characters, while three (7.31%) of the sentences contain variations of *kaa*, a particle which indicates permanent state or ability (section 4.4.6). The remaining particles occur once each: *láʔwaa* shows emphasis (section 4.5.32), *lúu* is associated with motion verbs (section 4.4.13) and *laa náocá* is of as yet undetermined meaning.

### 4.2.9 Conclusions on *tʃʰii* and *jèe*

This section has examined the various manifestations of the two most frequently used particles in Bisu written folktales, *tʃʰii* and *jèe*.

*tʃʰii* has been shown to mark the mainline of the folktales, a role in keeping with its semantic connotations of completion. *tʃʰii*-containing sentence are typically high in transitivity, and, as such, are not often found in the orientation or conclusion stages of a folktale. *tʃʰii* may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike, although it occurs more frequently in written folktales than it does in everyday conversation (where it is used only when the speaker feels the need to make the completive nature of the action reported especially explicit). *tʃʰii* is
most likely to occur in isolation in post-peak material, and is most likely to occur in non-\textit{jēē}—containing clusters in quotations or in non-quotations with the particles \textit{laēē} or \textit{piīi}.

\textit{jēē} serves first and foremost as an indicator that the narrator was not personally involved in the events related. Thus, \textit{jēē} is a characteristic evidentiality marker in Bisu folktales. When not co-occurring with \textit{tʃ hii}, \textit{jēē}—containing sentences are typically low in transitivity, occurring in sentences that describe states or negative events (things which did not happen). In keeping with that role, \textit{jēē} occurs most frequently without \textit{tʃ hii} in the orientation and conclusion sections of folktales.

4.3 \textit{laēē}, \textit{lēēē}, and \textit{lēēë}: cacophony of homophony

The particle \textit{laēē} highlights some of the challenges involved in understanding Bisu particles. Occurring sixty-four times in both quote and non-quote material, \textit{laēē} is one of the most frequently found particles in Bisu written folktales. Nonetheless, there remains a degree of ambiguity as to the particle’s exact role. First and foremost is the question of whether all of the manifestations of \textit{laēē} are created equal; that is, do all the occurrences of \textit{laēē}, \textit{lēēē}, or \textit{lēēë} bear the same semantic connotations and discourse functions?

The answer, according to several native Bisu speakers, is no. Although \textit{laēē} occupies the same position in the particle cluster throughout the corpus, in some cases language assistants glossed it as ‘go,’ while in other places it is rendered ‘again.’ Although the relative newness of the Bisu orthography lends itself to considerable spelling variation, thirty-five out of forty-four \textit{laēē} occurrences related to motion
(79.55%) are written as mid tone, while twelve out of fourteen \textit{\textit{la\textae}} occurrences related to repetition (85.71%) are written as low tone.\textsuperscript{28}

A third, less-frequent category of other \textit{\textit{la\textae}}-like particles involves emphasis. In these six sentences, \textit{\textit{la\textae}} indicates that the event truly did happen. Nonetheless, in most of these sentences, \textit{\textit{la\textae}} could be deleted without any loss of meaning or grammaticality. The emphasis \textit{\textit{la\textae}} is written as a low tone in five of these sentences, and as a mid tone in the remaining sentence.

The ensuing sections, then, will examine the motion \textit{\textit{la\textae}}, the repeated action \textit{\textit{\dot{la}\textae}}, and the emphasis \textit{\textit{la\textae}} in their respective contexts.

\textbf{4.3.1 \textit{la\textae} (\textit{\textit{la\textae}} \sim \textit{\textit{l\textae\textae}} \sim \textit{\dot{la}\textae} \sim \textit{\dot{l\textae}\textae})\newline
downward/southerly motion}

With forty-four occurrences in both quote and non-quote material, \textit{\textit{la\textae}} is the third most frequently used particle in written Bisu folktales.\textsuperscript{29} Nonetheless, the exact grammatical category of \textit{\textit{la\textae}} is somewhat ambiguous. In everyday Bisu conversation, \textit{\textit{la\textae}} frequently appears as the main verb of a sentence in its primary meaning of ‘go downward/south.’ In this, it works as the opposite of the verb \textit{\textit{pa\textae}} ‘go upward/northward.’

In forty-two of the forty-four occurrences, however, \textit{\textit{la\textae}} is used in conjunction with other motion verbs, such as run, search, and release as shown in the select examples listed in 4.23. Only once, in a very short sentence (CK 37), is \textit{\textit{la\textae}} the sole verb in a clause.

\textsuperscript{28} Of the remaining motion related particles, 8 were written as low tones, 1 as a high tone. The 2 remaining repetitive action particles were written as high tones.

\textsuperscript{29} The final nasal in \textit{\textit{l\textae\textae}}, the most frequent variant of \textit{\textit{la\textae}}, is probably the result of phonological processes. Nonetheless, in example 4.23, it becomes apparent that not all of the Bisu authors were aware of or saw the necessity of adding the nasal in identical phonological contexts. This may be related to the newness of the Bisu orthography.
(4.23)

AK 5 jào naasōon hee coco læen tʃʰiijèe
   And then he went into the fish trap.

AK 34 hikʰáam kaʔtaj maŋ lamaj jaŋ wíi.
   lăuŋjao ʃook jée húun læen tʃʰii
   At that time the rabbit threw the stick and læen tʃʰii
   immediately ran away.

CK 2 lɔɔŋtʃaa suŋ kàʔʃaa læetʃʰii
   They went out fishing.

CK 19 anjàa màŋ tooj lăuŋjao húun læen.
   tʃʰiijèe
   When the child released him he ran away.

CK 23 hæenjtʃee tʃʰæŋkóokjojtʃee maŋ bæenjao.
   húun kʰée læen tʃʰii
   After that, when Chengkoi realized what had læen tʃʰii
   happened, she ran after him.

CK 37 màŋ naʔwaa cǎŋwάʔŋaaŋ màa
   kʰooʔuŋkʰoojao naŋ læen tʃʰiijèe
   When she had told him everything about the læen
   rhythm she left.

CO 3 lɔɔŋtʃaa suŋkaʔ jaa læetʃʰiijèe
   They went out looking for fish together.

CW 12 jào tʰùuwàn màa anʔboon maŋ anjàa.
   màŋ naʔ ʃoŋkɔŋ sùuj læen
   tʃʰiijèe
   One day after that the father took the child to the læen
   forest.

CW 21 hæen anʔboon maŋ kùt gaa lăeŋjao.
   anwàj aŋkʰjaŋ ʃoŋkɔŋ jào húun
   læen tʃʰii
   After that, the father came to a realization and (he) læen tʃʰii
   quickly ran to the forest.

OR 8 kʰabaa maŋ naʔ kʰàaŋ anʔboon maŋ.
   hæen jée cɔŋkɔŋ sùuj tooj
   læetʃʰii
   Out of fear of his wife, the father took the children læetʃʰii
   to the forest and let them go.

OR 14 nikàm wēen̩n̩ tʃʰiiʔúkɔŋ tooj læw.
   bāa pǐi lěu læettoo cōo n̩n̩
   "This time take them to a far place to release them læe too cōo
   and then don't let them be able to come back!"
Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them.

\textit{laæ} co–occurs with a number of particles, many of which are associated with high transitivity. As shown in table 4.24, \textit{laæ} co–occurs twenty–nine times with \textit{tʃʰii} (65.9\% of total \textit{laæ} occurrences), a sum which includes fifteen occurrences with \textit{tʃʰiijèe}. In this corpus, \textit{laæ} never occurs in isolation, and never co–occurs with \textit{jèe} in the absence of some other particle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preceding particle</th>
<th>\textit{laæ} succeeding particle</th>
<th># occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>tʃʰiijèe</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>tʃʰii</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>pii tʃʰii</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>pii tʃʰiijèe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>X tʃʰiijàaŋ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>ñaaa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>X naowaa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>naowaa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{laæ}</td>
<td>X naowaa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>paanaa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>paanè?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>paanadèo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>pjaadèe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>too coo ñaaa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>wà?ñàe?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Variable group 1: Place in the discourse}

As shown in table 4.25, \textit{laæ}–containing sentences are found throughout their respective discourses. That one–third of \textit{laæ}–containing sentences also indicate location is not surprising, given the semantic connotations of \textit{laæ}. \textit{laæ}–containing
sentences also occur in a significant number of inciting moments and episode junctures—again, something that is not surprising, inasmuch as inciting moments ‘get something going’ (Longacre 1996: 36), often with a motion or activity, while many episode junctures contain changes in location accomplished by motion verbs. *law* is most likely to occur in pre-peak episodes, although a handful of occurrences are found at peak and thereafter. The fact that *law* occurs less frequently at peak may be related to the overall tendency to shorten sentences and particle clusters to heighten vividness; as mentioned earlier, *law* almost always co-occurs with some other motion verb, making its existence in the sentence somewhat superfluous.

Table 4.25. Distribution of *law*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>law</em></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of total</td>
<td>13.41%</td>
<td>34.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.26 lends additional light by comparing the number of *law*-containing sentences at each stage to the total number of *law*-containing sentences. It may thus be observed that a significant percentage of *law* occurrences accompany time and location indicators, as well as episode junctures. That 84.09% of all *law* occurrences are found in pre-peak episodes, while only 2–6% occur thereafter, underlines *law*’s somewhat superfluous nature, as mentioned earlier.
Table 4.26. Distribution of *læe* relative to total occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>læe</em></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total #<em>læe</em></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of <em>læe</em> overall</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>27.27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

Transitivity scores for *læe*–containing sentences range from 2 to 10, with an average of 7.12. Thus, *læe*–containing sentences rank as some of the most highly transitive sentences in the folktale corpus.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

Fifteen of the forty-four (34.09%) *læe*–containing sentences involve multiple clauses, making *læe* one of the particles most likely to be utilized in a multiclausal sentence. In such cases, the clauses are generally joined by *ja.o*.

**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material**

Ten of the forty-four (22.72%) occurrences of *læe* are found in quotations. Few other particles in this corpus occur with such frequency in both quote and non-quote situations.

**Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer**

*læe* may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.
4.3.2 lèe1 (lèe ~ lè2 ~ lèeŋ) repeated action

With fourteen occurrences, lèe1 boasts relatively frequent use in the folktale corpus. Although an analyst might be tempted to consider many lèe1 occurrences to be variations of lèe, especially when motion verbs are involved (e.g., CO 27, CW 8, CW 13, PB 41, TS 13, TS 33, MB 11), native speakers are able to clearly and quickly distinguish the two. While lèe often seems somewhat redundant in that it consistently co-occurs with other motion verbs, lèe1 is the sole indicator of repeated action in all save one (CO 20) of the sentences listed in example 4.24:

(4.24)

CO 20 aŋšiu pèen lè2bannoo
    "Let's divide those again."  lè2bannoo

CO 27 háakna2 bāa māen naʔ haaj jəo.
    kʰàatoŋ naʔmee gaaj kʰuŋ lèeŋŋeə
   Do bad to others and it will return to you.  lèeŋŋeə

OR 5 cāa aŋbooŋ māŋ həeŋ jée kʰabaa.
    aŋšiu jùun lěeŋhii
   Then their father married a new wife.  lěeŋhii

OR 9 cāa jàaksee māŋ jëet mi kuuntʰəə jëe.
    jùum aŋšiu ləɛagaaka
   Then both children, well, every time were able to kaaluuləə
   return home.  gaaka

OR 18 həeŋ jëe kəəba sùuj kaajluŋ.
    lěʔtʰi
   After that, they were lost together again.  lěʔtʰi

CW 8 nikʰəm wàa aŋbooŋ māŋ kʰəabaa.
    aŋšiu gəaləɛsiŋjëe
   At this time, the father wanted a new wife.  gəaləɛsiŋ
   jëe

CW 13 jəo aŋjəa māŋ naʔ dùuj pʰuum.
    lěeŋhiijëe
   And (he) dug a hole and buried (the child).  lěeŋhiijëe

CW 18 nikʰəm kʰəabaa jəa māŋ məu kùt.
    lěeŋhiijëe
   Now this woman, well, thought (again):  lěeŋhiijëe
CW 19 kʰanaat aŋjāa maŋnāmmu sëw.
    tʰoonatʰāo gā ʔānāaŋ nām kūt
    ləatʰʰiijēe
    "He'd go so far as to kill his own child--and who ləatʰʰiijēe
    am I?" she thought (again).

PB 41 ləm kəʔ łaʔə cāa naaŋ.
    ʔanakaʔləatʰʰiijēe
    (When they) carried him then they asked each ləŋkaʔləe
    other again.  tʰiijēe

TS 13 mūŋkʰi faataŋ sūŋkaalūm.
    ləɛnaowaa
    When it was almost evening (they) went back ləɛnaowaa
    together.

TS 33 ʔañʔan jō kʰee kanləwaaa hootʰʰén.
    maŋ kap jāŋ gāŋ səw ləɛnaowaa
    At the time that they arrived at the previous place, ləɛnaowaa
    the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.

MB 11 jɑŋ jōj plk ləun ləatʰʰiijēe
    .
    He (started) to walk back again.
    ləatʰʰiijēe

DB 13 bəapóo hāw màaj ləɛpaanoo
    .
    Mr Paw shouted and said again:
    ləɛpaanoo

It is nonetheless somewhat difficult to understand exactly how the designation
"repeated action" applies in a number of the sentences in example 4.24. In these
cases, both discourse factors and cultural elements must be taken into consideration.
In CW 18 and 19, for example, the woman is said to have thought again about
something. The first act of thinking actually occurs many sentences earlier, when she
first receives the proposal of the cruel widower and demands that he kill his child.
Thus, she is thinking twice about the action she proposed. Similarly, the use of ləɛol
in TS 33 appears problematic if ləɛol is assumed to be connected only to the verb
sæə ‘die.’ In this case, the language assistant claimed that the repetitive element of
the sentence is in the arriving at the previous place. Again, this is somewhat unusual
in terms of the normal adjacency patterns of Bisu particles. CW 13 reaches to the
previous sentence, in which the cruel widower takes his child into the forest. The act
of taking the child into the forest is itself a bad thing, indicating either that the father intended to abandon his son (as in “Orphans”) or, at least that he had no regard for the son’s well being. This stems from the Bisu belief that young children should not be allowed to journey into the forest, even when accompanied by an adult, out of concern that a child’s ḫwaan ‘life force’ is weaker than an adult’s, making the child easy prey for forest–dwelling spirits. Thus, the use of ḻawəl in CW 13 in essence is saying, “He did [a bad thing] in taking the child to the forest and then, again, on top of that, did a bad thing by burying the child alive.” In this regard, ḻawəl is used in a way similar to the Northern Thai particle sam, which likewise carries the sense of “on top of all that, he went and did X, too.”

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

As shown in table 4.27, ḻawəl–containing sentences do not make up any appreciable sum of the overall quantity of sentences in a discourse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḻawəl</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.28 demonstrates that roughly two-thirds of ḻawəl–containing sentences occur in pre-peak episodes. Roughly half of those pre-peak occurrences come at
episode junctures, all of which indicate time—unsurprising, given ꀟ̍ clinic’s semantic connotations.

Table 4.28. Distribution of ꀟ̍ clinic relative to total occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꀟ̍ clinic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꀟ̍ clinic overall</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of ꀟ̍ clinic</td>
<td>35.71%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for ꀟ̍ clinic—containing sentences range from 4 to 10, with an average of 6.25. Thus, ꀟ̍ clinic is associated with sentences of relatively high transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Four of the fourteen ꀟ̍ clinic—containing sentences (28.57%) involve more than one clause, these being connected by jao, caa, kanl̃e̍cánt, and juxtaposition, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

The corpus at hand contains one occurrence of ꀟ̍ clinic in a direct quotation, as well as one occurrence of ꀟ̍ clinic in a story moral. The remaining occurrences are in non-quotational sentences.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

As evidenced by its use in both quote and non-quote material, laaye1 may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.3.3 laaye2 (laaye ~ laaye) emphasis

The six laaye2-containing sentences in this corpus are reported by native speakers to reflect emphasis, underlining the fact that the event related really did occur. This emphasis is not regarded as entirely necessary to the host sentence; of the examples listed in 4.25, laaye2 could be deleted from sentences AK 26, FM 13, TD 7, and CK 22 without a loss of meaning or grammaticality.

(4.25)

AK 26 ŋaj ḥām naasōn jok lūujao.
laŋjaam maan naʔ naŋ læstʰijège
Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter. læstʰijège

CO 1kʰāatoon æen ʔæmy nəʔ ʔaahaa.
tsəaləm coo
Don't think you are clever. ʔaahaa...

FM 13 læŋ niimaajàakee naamąaj bæw.
læepeŋŋæ
This story tells the children causing (them) to læə piin know.

TD 7 hooŋpoŋ hæsamąŋ tsʰalàa maŋnaʔ.
hmjaaŋ jao bàa hëun naʔ lakʰäu dáà
tæŋŋ læstʰijège
The deer saw that tiger and then didn’t run because læstʰijège his foot hurt.

DB 20 bàapco vàŋkooolcook w ça tømtàalàak.
jàŋ nąŋ kʰoon mæakʰoon kʰook
læspaanooc
Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an læspaanooc implement which flipped up and struck his forehead.

CK 22 cáu koowmæ hæmŋ þuun ph dój.
læstʰijège
And then he shook the rice heads over his body. læstʰijège
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

1èæ2 occurs twice in pre-peak episodes, once at peak, once at peak’, once in a conclusion, and once in a title. Only one occurrence is at an episode boundary. Given the semantic connotations of 1èæ2, this particle would appear to have a primarily sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for 1èæ2-containing sentences range from 2 to 8, with an average of 6. Thus, 1èæ2 is associated with sentences of relatively high average transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the six 1èæ2-containing sentences are multClausal, joined by jao and luujao, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

The one occurrence of 1èæ2 in a quotation actually occurs in the title of “Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever!” That particular usage highlights the emphatic nature of the particle, inasmuch as it co-occurs with two strong imperatives.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

1èæ2 may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.4 Other frequently occurring particles

This section contains entries for particles from two overlapping categories: those which are used frequently and those which carry a heavy functional load in Bisu folktales.
4.4.1 น้าม (น้าม ~ น้าม?) stative

There are twenty-two occurrences of น้าม in the written folktale corpus. As shown in example 4.26, น้าม is used in sentences describing physical or emotional states. น้าม is also used quite frequently in everyday conversation. Indeed, during wordlist elicitation, Bisu speakers often attach น้าม to adjectives.

The states described in น้าม-containing sentences may be sudden and temporary, such as the squirrel’s feigned stomachache in TS 16, or more durative, such as the fact that the family has two children in OR 3. น้าม can also be used in describing routine events, as in FM 12 when the dutiful son’s daily actions are recorded, and CK 35 and 36 when instructions for getting money at will are given. Perhaps the most culturally potent use of น้าม comes in the moral of “Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever!”; CO 27 essentially restates the eternally fixed law of karma, a fundamental assumption of Buddhism which Konrad Kingshill (1991:10) considers a major “cultural theme” in Northern Thai life.

(4.26)

MB 13 kʰanāaŋ jèe hûn น้าม
It was very large. น้าม

TS 27 naamaatāa jèe ʔuʔhoŋ aŋbaa māŋ.
nugbaa kʰām น้าม
The Mother Turtle was very angry. น้าม

PB 13 ʔasāa naamāŋ pūn jāo mæʔtsàabû.
น้าม
"In a moment this (thing) will be rotten and (make น้าม the cucumbers) not be delicious."

FS 5 kʰaacaŋ kaajèe cáa tūuk lûŋ น้าม.
This caused (them) to become even poorer. น้าม

TS 16 ʔoŋj pōŋhoŋ dāa น้าม?
"Oh! My stomach hurts!" น้าม?

OR 3 aŋjāa scooa kʰûn caaŋ น้าม.
They had two children น้าม
FM 12 kuwān juwān ja?je aŋbaa.
    maŋna?hāŋ tsàalaŋ taŋ?mēŋ?i1ï1
    tï1ï1 pï1ï1?
Every single day, he would feed his mother rice pi1 naŋ?
and give her water to drink and clean her dung and
urine for her.

CK 35 mon jào k'ham 2ook naŋ.  .
    "Beat it (the first time) and gold will come out." naŋ
CK 36 mon nā? jào p'luu 2ook naŋ .
    "Beat it (the second time) and silver will come naŋ
    out."
CO 27 hàakna? bàa mēŋ naŋ haaj jào .
    k'hammon na?maŋ gaaj k'ham laŋŋaŋ
    Do bad to others and it will return to you.    laŋŋaŋ

In these folktales, naŋ occurs in isolation seventeen out of twenty-two times
(77.27%). As shown in table 4.29, it may co–occur with a handful of other particles.
When it does co–occur with other particles, naŋ is the last element of the cluster. The
one apparent exception, where naŋ and naŋ co–occur, is not truly exceptional in that
naŋ merely signals that the quotation, which included naŋ, is finished (see section
4.4.12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding Particle</th>
<th>naŋ</th>
<th>Succeeding Particle</th>
<th># occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pi1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lautï1hi1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋŋaŋ</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋŋaŋ piŋ</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋŋaŋ</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that naŋ does not co–occur with je je, the most
frequently used particle in Bisu written folktales. Possible reasons for this will
emerge below.
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

As shown in table 4.30, ηαεε does not occur in any truly significant proportion of sentences at any place in the discourse except the conclusion, where it is usually associated with the moral of the story. This fits well with its stative sense, inasmuch as story morals often deal with long-held behavioral norms.

Table 4.30. Distribution of ηαεε

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηαεε</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total # sentences</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>4.88%</td>
<td>2.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Still, as shown in table 4.31 nearly 60% of all occurrences of ηαεε are found in pre-peak episodes. The fact that ηαεε occurs so infrequently in the peak, peak’, and post peak stages reflects the fact that those places in the discourse typically involve action, rather than explanations of states.
Table 4.31. Distribution of ֽניֵֽע relative to total occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Contents</th>
<th>Discourse Roles</th>
<th>Place in the Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ֽניֵֽע</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ֽניֵֽע overall</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of ֽניֵֽע overall</td>
<td>18.18%</td>
<td>4.55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is nonetheless interesting to note that ֽניֵֽע does not occur often in discourse orientations, where one would expect statives to be found. This may somehow be related to the fact that ֽניֵֽע does not co-occur with ַֽיֵֽהְ, which is found in 69.23% of all orientation sentences, generally in isolation. Indeed, many of the ַֽיֵֽה—in–isolation—containing sentences in example 4.20 (section 4.2.6) and elsewhere would seem to involve the same type of attributes to which ֽניֵֽע can be attached.

Results from the cloze exercise only add mystery. Only two of the ninety slots which originally held ַֽיֵֽה—containing particle clusters were filled with ֽניֵֽע. Similarly, ַֽיֵֽה—in–isolation was substituted for ֽניֵֽע in only two of ten slots. Thus, ַֽיֵֽה—in–isolation and ֽניֵֽע are anything but freely interchangeable!

A partial answer to this problem may lie with text type. As will be discussed in 4.6.1.2, ֽניֵֽע is the most frequently used particle in both the life stories and the expository texts, occurring in 15.26% and 32.29%, respectively, of all sentences. By contrast, ֽניֵֽע occurs in a mere 5.73% of written folktale sentences. For its part, the reported speech marker ַֽיֵֽה occurs in 44.53% of all written folktale sentences, but a mere 0.35% of life story sentences. The discourse parameters of written folktales thus
prefer .jet over ẹ in situations where either particle would be grammatically possible.

`Variable group 2: Transitivity`

ẹ-containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 3 to 8, with an average of 4.9. Thus, ẹ is most often associated with sentences of mid–level transitivity, something that is not unexpected for a stative marker.

`Variable group 3: Sentence complexity`

A total of six of the twenty–two ẹ-containing sentences (27.27%) involve more than one clause. Some five of these are joined by jao, one by laajèe. In everyday Bisu conversation, ẹ often occurs in very short sentences; indeed, sentences containing only a verbal adjective plus ẹ are common in daily interaction.

`Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote materials`

ẹ occurs in nine quotations, two morals, and fourteen non–quotations. It is thus the only particle that occurs with near even frequency in both quote and non–quote sentences.

`Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer`

ẹ may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.2 ẹ (ẹp–páñò) enhanced completive

With fourteen occurrences in the folktale corpus, ẹ occurs relatively frequently. According to the main language assistant for this project, tʃʰii.jèe may be substituted for all of the ẹ occurrences displayed in example 4.27. This
contention is supported by the results of the cloze test on “Ai Kham”; the respondants consistently used $tʃ^hiijēe$ in place of $paanōo$ in sixteen of twenty slots, never resorting to $paanōo$. Thus, $paanōo$ would appear to carry some of the completive sense of $tʃ^hiijēe$.

Why, then, would an author choose to use $paanōo$ instead of $tʃ^hiijēe$? According to the main language assistant for this project, $paanōo$ seems to add emphasis to a sentence. If the sentence is funny, $paanōo$ makes it funnyer. If one character is saying something to another character, $paanōo$ adds a “he really did say that” element. The particle seems to make the narration more colorful.

It is also interesting to note that all of the $paanōo$–containing sentences in this corpus occur in stories authored by Kongkham Wonglua, a former Buddhist monk who is known as a particularly accomplished and humorous storyteller.

(4.27)

AK 16 kaʔtaj man naʔ māan paʔnōo .
(The otter) told the rabbit: paʔnōo

AK 19 kaʔtaj man cii làu paanōo .
The rabbit said: làu paanōo

AK 21 laŋʃjaam man màanpōŋ ʔáaj jào .
kaʔtaj man ʔɔmŋkʰàa tooj kaan piipaanōo
The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit piii paanōo farted into the otter’s mouth.

AK 22 hikʰàm laŋʃjaam man kaʔtaj man .
ʔɔmŋkʰàa buum tʃʰii paanōo
At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the tʃʰii rabbit (kept it in its mouth).

AK 25 ʔaj kʰàm jùu tʰaa laajao naaʃoːn .
ʔeə praŋcàan paanōo
Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish paanōo trap.

AK 29 hikʰàm kaʔtaj man jàːøj ʔoɔk luun .
paanōo
After that the rabbit came walking out. paanōo
13 bὰapόo hаw mаaj lаәpaanoo.
    Mr Paw shouted and said again: lаәpaanoo

15 hikʰąm puukaew juum sɯŋ mаŋ kjааn.
    jао cii hаwhаw lаапаано
    At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house lаапаано
    heard and suddenly yelled out:

17 baakʰаew nэʔ bаapόo jеet kjааn jао.
    kʰəm lаәjаo sɯŋ kаa həun paано
    tʰəutəŋʰаumаŋ
    Mr. Khieω and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked paано
    and fled in different directions.

20 bаapόo ʔәәŋkəoolоok wеe tаmtаaɬаaɬ.
    jааŋ nаŋ kʰoon məәkʰооŋ kʰоoк
    lаәpaanoo
    Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an lаәpaanoo
    implement which flipped up and struck his
    forehead.

7 hikʰąm nukhuuŋ mаŋ jеet pjaam.
    nаatuŋ kʰаm ʔәә paано
    And both swans flew across the field.

10 hikʰąm ʔuухooŋ mаŋ kjааn jаo ciiɬ.
    lуu paано
    Then the turtle heard it and said:

15 kаŋ lаŋ hеe ʔuухooŋ mаŋ pоoŋʰnaa.
    mаŋ naatuŋ mаnпооŋ cоот kлаaɬ təuŋ
    paано
    The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water paано
    buffalo.

16 pоoŋʰnaa sооpʰеe pjаa kлаa kʰоo.
    paано
    All the water buffalo's teeth fell out.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

paано is most frequent in pre-peak episodes, with eight occurrences, two of
which are found at episode boundaries. There are four occurrences of paано at
peak, two of which are found at episode boundaries. The remaining two occurrences,
one of which is found at an episode boundary, are found at peak'.
Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for paanโด range from 4 to 10, with an average of 6.0. Thus, paanโด-containing sentences boast relatively high transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Five of the fourteen paanโด-containing sentences (35.71%) contain more than one clause. Four of these are joined by jao, one by laajao. paanโด’s relatively high rate of occurrence in multiclausal situations is similar to that of tʃʰiːi, which occurs in multi-clausal sentences roughly 30% of the time.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

paanโด does not appear in quotations, although it may introduce a quotation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

Like tʃʰiːiʃe, paanโด is used only by narrators.

4.4.3 naowaa repeated episode marker

The particle naowaa occurs a total of eight times, but is found only in two of the folktales, “Poor Boy” and “Turtle and Squirrel.” Although written by different individuals, these two stories are similar in that they are the only members of the corpus which have two distinct story cycles. These cycles are somewhat parallel.

In “Poor Boy,” for example, the first cycle tells how a destitute young man becomes wealthy by planting a hillfield and tricking some monkeys. In the second cycle, the first character’s friend tries to do the same thing—albeit with a different final outcome. The three naowaa-containing sentences in this folktale all come in the second cycle, being attached to sentences which mirror events of the first cycle.
“Turtle and Squirrel” likewise contains two cycles, both involving two friends going to the forest together. Here, however, naowaa appears in both first and second cycles, thus seeming to provide contradictory evidence to the “naowaa as repeated episode” hypothesis. This seeming contradiction is eased, however, by a knowledge of Bisu culture. In the opening paragraph of this story, Turtle and Squirrel are described as being “friends of the same age.” As such, they would be considered equals in a society where relative age is encoded in all forms of address. Furthermore, the Bisu gather “forest food” almost daily in small groups that tend to be divided along age and gender lines. Thus, the use of naowaa in the first cycle of this story merely indicates that the Turtle and Squirrel had been doing this type of thing before—that this was just another typical day, just another trip to gather things in the forest. Thus, the first cycle of this story refers back to identical actions in assumed pre-story episodes.30

This contention draws support from responses to the cloze exercise. In seventeen of twenty slots, respondents substituted $tʃ^hiijèe$ or $tʃ^hiijèe$-containing clusters for naowaa. This is not unexpected, given that naowaa-containing sentences often involve actions similar to those that often precede $tʃ^hiijèe$. In addition, the respondents were more likely concentrating on sentence-level matters than wider discourse concerns such as cyclicity as they answered. The three times in which respondents correctly guessed naowaa all occurred in the first cycle of “Turtle and Squirrel,” inasmuch as those sentences reflected the habitual actions of friends, as mentioned above.

(4.28)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PB} & \quad 30 \text{ jaŋ haan læe naowaa} \\
& \text{He took (some things) and went.} \\
& \text{naowaa}
\end{align*}
\]

30 This hypothesis was accepted by Somchai Kaewkhamnoi, the author of “Poor Boy.”
PB 34 cáa naan láŋkaanaowaa kaseej ʔuu .
Then they asked each other—part.—the monkeys: láŋkaa
naowaa

PB 39 lam kaalæen naowaa
(They) carried (him) away. naowaa

TS 5 ʔuuhooŋ maŋ ʔooj læemalæe naowaa .
The turtle said, "O.K., I'll go." naowaa

TS 6 jìiŋ ʔuu peen jao sùun kaalæen.
naowaa
(When) they finished speaking then they went off naowaa
together.

TS 13 múŋkʰíi baataŋ sùunkaaluun.
læenaowaa
When it was almost evening (they) went back læenaowaa
together.

TS 32 hootʃʰén maŋ kjàan jao sùun.
kaalæen naowaa
(When) the squirrel heard, then they went together. naowaa

TS 33 paŋʔan jəo kʰee kanlaçáŋ hootʃʰén.
maŋ kap jáŋ gaaŋ sùun læenaowaa
At the time that they arrived at the previous place, læenaowaa
the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Seven of the eight occurrences of naowaa are found in pre-peak episodes, with
the remaining occurrence being at peak. Seven of the occurrences are found at
episode boundaries (the single exception being during a pre-peak episode). This
strengthens the case for naowaa's discourse-level function, marking not only
repeated actions, but repeated episodes. This episode-boundary link also explains
why naowaa does not occur in every sentence containing a repeated action; the
presence of naowaa in the first sentence of an episode indicates that the events to
follow are all somewhat repetitive. All the episode boundaries in the second cycle of
"Poor Boy," for example, are marked with naowaa, save the final episode, which
ends very dramatically and much differently than the first cycle. Similarly, in "Turtle
and Squirrel," *naowaa* occurs twice at episode boundaries in the second cycle. Again, in those two episodes the characters repeat the events of the previous day. Those second-cycle episodes which contain novel events do not contain *naowaa*.

*Variable group 2: Transitivity*

The transitivity scores for *naowaa*-containing sentences range from 4 to 9, with an average of 6.1. Thus, *naowaa*-containing sentences boast relatively high transitivity scores—something that is not unexpected, given the "repeated action" aspect of the particle.

The transitivity scores for *naowaa*-containing sentences are similar to those posted for *tʃʰiː* -containing sentences. It thus is not surprising that the cloze exercise respondents consistently substituted *tʃʰiːjëe* for *naowaa*.

*Variable group 3: Sentence complexity*

Three of the eight *naowaa*-containing sentences (37.50%) involve more than one clause. Two of these utilize the conjoiner *jao*, while the third uses the much rarer *kanlaːcán*. Again, *naowaa* is comparable to *tʃʰiː*, which likewise occurs in multiclausal sentences roughly one-third of the time.

*Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material*

*naowaa* does not occur in quotations.\(^3^1\)

*Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer*

As *naowaa* may be used only by a narrator, it is a non-experiencer marker.

---

\(^{31}\) *naowaa* is employed in one quotation-containing sentence (TS 10), but actually occurs outside of the quotation proper (see section 4.4.12 on *nwa*, which co-occurs with quotations but is considered outside of the quotation proper).
4.4.4 $t\hat{s}á$ emphatic completion

$t\hat{s}á$ occurs seven times in the written folktales, and consistently carries a sense of emphatic completion. In six of the seven occurrences, the emphasized event or state is an undesirable one. The single case (CW 6) in which a positive situation is described underscores the tragedy about to ensue, as the father and child’s longstanding placid existence is about to be torn apart. That completion is a component of the particle is manifest by one language assistant’s contention that the completive aspect marker $t\hat{s}ii$ can often be substituted for $t\hat{s}á$. This claim is supported by the cloze exercises, in which the respondents substituted $t\hat{s}ii$ for $t\hat{s}á$ in four of ten slots. Beaudouin (1991a: 6) presents $t\hat{s}ii$ and $t\hat{s}á$ side by side as “aspective particles... for the past,” but does not discuss the emphatic connotations of $t\hat{s}á$.

(4.29)

AK 27 2oo ian$á$jaam na? maa $siin$ $t\hat{s}á$má? .
"Ooh—this otter is dead already!" $t\hat{s}á$má?

CK 31 joo aŋsunjaowō’ na? $siin$.
maamaati$á$aa
"Well, my beloved one has really died." maamaati$á$.

PB 12 ʔeemæhənəjə na?maŋ $siin$ $t\hat{s}á$má? .
"Uuuu! This (thing) has died already!" $t\hat{s}á$má?

TS 24 ʔəbaa sau$k$ajłəok gaaj luun.
$t\hat{s}á$nə?
"Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit." $t\hat{s}á$nə?

TS 38 ʔəbaa jii kaat$á$naŋ?
"Mother is dead!" kaat$á$naŋ?

CW 6 jao anjəa aŋboon nə? duŋ mləŋ.
kat$á$ajəe
Then the child and father lived together for a long ká?t$á$ajəe time.

CW 23 jąŋ anjəa maŋ $siin$ t$á$ajəe
(But) his child was already dead. t$á$ajəe
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

tʃ̣ʰáʔ-containing sentences occur in three pre-peak episodes, including one pre-peak episode junction. The two peak occurrences (AK 27, CK 31) are found in quotations, wherein a main character makes a realization that significantly impacts the outcome of the story. Similarly, the two peak occurrences (TS 38, CW 23) are both the final sentences of their respective stories, and constitute dramatic, tragic endings.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The majority of tʃ̣ʰáʔ-containing sentences are quotations, and thus do not receive transitivity scores. The two tʃ̣ʰáʔ-containing sentences that are not quotations have scores of 3 and 5, respectively, for an average of 4. This relatively low average is not surprising, given the fact that these two sentences emphasize accomplished states.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All tʃ̣ʰáʔ-containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote

Five of the seven tʃ̣ʰáʔ-containing sentences (71.43%) are quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

tʃ̣ʰáʔ may be employed by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.4.5 pií (pií ~ piíŋ ~ pi ~ piŋ) ‘give’
causative/purposive/permissive

With fifteen occurrences in the folktale corpus, pií ranks as the sixth most frequently used Bisu particle. When used as a verb, pií literally means ‘give.’
When used as a particle, however, *pii* indicates causality, purpose, or permission, as seen in example set 4.30.32

(4.30)

**AK** 6 ngrxtæe 2ooŋ tsaa kbo piisijee (.piai 
(He) ate all the fish completely. 

**AK** 21 laŋjjaam maŋ mànɁpɔoŋ ʔaaj jəo 
kaʔtaj maŋ ?aŋŋkɔa tooj kaan 
piipaanɔo 
The otter opened its mouth and then the 
rabbit farted into the otter's mouth. 

**FM** 5 câwâaŋboong maa ŋiin pii tșiįįje 
But their father died. 

**FM** 9 nene hæŋŋ aŋja tâ kʰunmàaŋnaʔwât 
duŋ làepitʃiįįje 
And caused the other child to live in the 
temple. 

**FM** 12 kwǝn juwân jaʔjje aŋbaa 
maŋnaʔhaaŋ tsaaʔlaŋ tanʔaʔŋiʔiʃiʃi 
tʃii piŋŋe? 
Every single day, he would feed his mother 
and give her water to drink and clean her dung and 
urine for her. 

**FM** 13 làŋŋ niimaaŋjaaʃee naaŋaŋ baŋa 
lâepiŋŋəə 
This story tells the children causing (them) to 
know. 

**OR** 7 hæŋŋ jee aŋbloon maŋ naʔ maŋ jəe 
piʃiʃi 
After that, she told her husband to kill both of 
the children. 

**OR** 12 hæŋŋ jee aŋbloon maŋ naʔ mâaj sæeq 
hoonŋuŋ tʰaw jąakee maŋ jेet naa 
tʰaw haan câj pii tʃiʃi 
After that, she thus told her husband to kill that 
dog and put it in a steamed leaf bundle and give 
it to both children to eat.

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32 Many Asian languages use of ‘give’ constructions to indicate causality and purpose, causing Randy LaPolla to consider such usage an areal feature (1984: 70).
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Twelve of the fifteen p\textit{i}–containing sentences are found in pre–peak episodes. Eight of those occur at episode junctures, six with time indicators, two with location indicators, and two at inciting moments. Two p\textit{i}–containing sentences are found at peak; one occurs at an episode juncture with time and location indicator, while the other contains a time indicator. One p\textit{i}–containing sentence is found in a conclusion. Given the semantic connotations of p\textit{i}, this particle probably plays more of a sentence level role.
Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for pîi–containing sentences range from a low of 4 to a high of 10, with an average of 7.7. As such, pîi–containing sentences boast some of the highest transitivity rankings. This is not surprising, given that pîi, by its semantic nature, demands some sort of a transfer of action. In addition, pîi usually co–occurs with other highly–transitive particles such as tʃbii (twelve occurrences) and paanòò (one occurrence); pîi occurs only twice with the lower–transitive particle ɲeem–ɲeema?

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only three of the fifteen pîi–containing sentences (20%) involve more than one clause. Two of these are joined by jao, with the remaining sentence utilizing laajao.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

In the folktales corpus, pîi is found only in non–quote material. Nonetheless, it can occur in quotations, and is used quite often in everyday conversation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non–experiencer

pîi may be used by experiencers and non–experiencers alike.

4.4.6 kaa1 (kaa–kaaŋʔ~káʔ~kan)
permanent state/ability

kaa1 primarily relates to the ability or, when preceded by baa Verb too (see section 4.5.24), inablity of a referent to carry out a task. The domain of this particle’s meaning, however, would seem to extend to the description of a durative, if not permanent, state, as demonstrated in example set 4.31:
(4.31)  
OR  9 cáá jáakee mân jëet mi kuut hëe jëe .
  juum anluu làa gaakaa
Then both children, well, every time were able to kaaluulëe
return home.  gaakaa
OR  16 jáakee mân jëet mi bâa 'jâuj .
kaaluulëe tookaajëe
The two children were unable to return together.  kaaluulëe
ookajëe
AK  7 cáá kboon jâo bâa zook làutoo .
kaajëe
Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not kaajëe
get out.
AK  14 náa jii ka?naa?fi
You will die for sure.  ka?naa?fi
CK  25 ?iinëh haañjëe gaa añbloon naamâa .
?aaloon jii ka?ts'ëi
Ooh! When did my husband die?  ka?ts'ëi
CO  8 ëoonjëe gaaj bjëa ka?ts'ëijëe .
They got a lot of fish.  ka?ts'ëijëe
CO  17 cáá p'ëi ëp añbloon k'ëet ka?jëe .
But Grandmother Up knew/realized the technique.  kaajëe
CW  4 ëhâugaa laagaamëe duŋ bâa sii bâa .
lee ka?jëe
They lived together without quarrelling or kaajëe
fighting.
CW  6 jao anjâa añboon nè? duŋ mlâaŋ .
ka?ts'ajëe
Then the child and father lived together for a long ka?ts'ájëe
time.
FS  15 cák bâa cák laa kaajëe
The more he pulled, the less it would come loose.  kaajëe
TS  2 ëuhoong nää hoots'hën jâakhâa .
kaajëe
The turtle and the squirrel were friends of the same kaajëe
age.
TS  10 ?aŋt'hâa pëukjëa ëuhoong màa cuçcûn .
bâa p'hjàa too kaamëe
The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.  kaamëe
TS  22 pëñboon daa jaañ pjow khaanjá
(My) stomach ache has been cured.  kaanja

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33 In OR 9 and OR 16, kaa1 is the final kaa; the kaa earlier in the sentence is kaa2 'together.'
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The eighteen occurrences of kaa1 are spread throughout their respective discourses. The majority (9 out of 18) occur in pre-peak episodes, but there are also instances of kaa1 in the orientation (3 occurrences), peak (3 occurrences), peak’ (1 occurrence) post peak episode (1 occurrence), and conclusion (1 occurrence) slots. There is a single instance of kaa1 being found in an episode juncture. This distribution, coupled with kaa1’s semantic domain, indicates that kaa1 operates more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity rankings for the non-quotatio kaa1 sentences range from 7 (two occurrences) to 1 (two occurrences), with an average of 3.36. These relatively low transitivity scores are not surprising, given the stative nature of kaa1-containing sentences—i.e., very few actions are taking place.
Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

It is interesting to note that, despite the relative high frequency with which this particle occurs in the folktale corpus, there are no instances of its use in a multi-clausal sentence.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

*kaar* is found in both quote (4 occurrences) and non-quote (14 occurrences) sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

*kaar* may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.4.7 *kaar* (*kaa ~ kaaŋ ~ kan ~ ká?*)

joint action

*kaar* is distinct from *kaa* on several points. Semantically, it indicates that the action was carried out by two or more participants—even if those participants are not explicit in the sentence. In terms of constituent ordering, *kaar* occurs earlier in the particle cluster than *kaa*, as evidenced in OR 9 and OR 16, where the two co-occur.

\[(4.32)\]

**CO**  26 *tsʰaan nif tʰungšǎa naf dúŋ jào lák.*

\[huum kaʔjoo\]

We people live together and need to love each other, you know.

**OR**  9 *cáa jàakee maŋ jëet mi kuutʰee jëe.*

\[juum aŋluu làŋgaakaa\]

Then both children, well, every time were able to kaalulàee return home.

**OR**  16 *jàakee maŋ jëet mi bàa ḫuuj.*

\[kaalulàee tookaajëe\]

The two children were unable to return together.

**OR**  26 *cáa ʔəm kʰən ʔəm jào tsʰaan ancaa.*
When they arrived, the two rich people were able to remember.

They were asking each other.

They carried (him) away.

They arrived at the place to cut firewood.

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

Six out of seven kaa2-containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with two of those occurrences coming at episode junctures. There is one instance of kaa2 occurring in a conclusion. This distribution, coupled with kaa2’s semantic domain, indicates that kaa2 operates more on the sentence level.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

Transitivity scores for the kaa2 sentences range from 2 to 7, with an average transitivity of 4.83. Removing OR 32 from the calculations (as it is a sentence of negation) would raise the transitivity average to 5.4. In any event, most kaa2 sentences are mid–range in transitivity.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

Only one of the seven kaa2 sentences contain more than one clause. CO 52, which comprises an audience–directed command at the conclusion of a story, contains two clauses separated by jao.
Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All seven kaa2 occurrences are found in non-quote material. The main language assistant for this project contends that it is not “popular” to use kaa2 in quotations or everyday conversation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

The evidence from the quote/non-quote variable suggests that kaa2 represents something of a non-experiencer statement. That is, the individual telling the story does not include him/herself in its telling. By contrast, the particle k⁴ uu, which occurs in a first person narration of a near-collision with a drunk walking on the road, is used when the narrator is speaking as a member of the group which was involved in the original event.³⁴

4.4.7.1 laŋka? (laŋka? ~ laŋkaa)

Joint action

Like kaa2, laŋka? indicates joint action. According to one language assistant, laŋka? works as an indivisible unit. Nonetheless, it is not readily apparent why kaa2 would be used in any given sentence instead of laŋka?, and vice-versa. Indeed, in the one cloze exercise sentence involving laŋka?, only one respondent guessed laŋka?, while two others wrote kaŋjèe (which, presumably, carries the joint action sense of kaa2).

(4.33)

| CO | 5  aŋdàa  máan  jaʔjèa  plòøŋ  šàan. |
| CO | laŋkaʔtʃíi? |
| At first they helped each other find fish diligently. |

| CO | 9  wàŋ  jào  jëtmi?  pøøŋ  laŋkaʔtʃíiʔ. |
| CO | jèe |

³⁴“The Drunk,” written by Moon Puikham, is not included in the folktale corpus.
When they had quit, then those two divided [the laŋkaʔ tʃʰii fish].

CW 17 nɪkʰ âm gaaj nɪi juun.
laŋkáʔpáʔjáʔdêe
So now let’s get married!
laŋkaʔ
páʔjáʔdêe

PB 34 cáː naːn laŋkaanaowaa kasej ?uːu .
Then they asked each other–part.–the monkeys: laŋkaa
naowaa

PB 41 lâm káʔ ləə cáː naːn.
laŋkaʔləə tʃʰiijêe
(When they) carried him then they asked each laŋkaʔləə
other again.

ST 8 jâːakee pɔoŋʰnaa pɔoːpàː ʔuː huu .
hmjaʔ luujao háʔ laŋkaatʃʰii
The buffalo boys saw it and they shouted out laŋkaatʃʰii
together,

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Five of the six laŋkaʔ–containing sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with three of those occurrences coming at episode junctures. The remaining occurrence is at peak.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

laŋkaʔ–containing sentences post transitivity scores ranging from 4 to 8, with an mid–range average of 4.6.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two of the six laŋkaʔ–containing sentences are multiclausal, with luujao and caa serving as conjunctions.
Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

One of the six occurrences is in a quotation; the remainder are non-quote sentences. This is the only observable difference between lan̂kaʔ and kaaʔ; the latter only occurs in non-quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

lan̂kaʔ may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.4.8 laa1 completion

Like laa̍, the particle laa illustrates some of the challenges involved in understanding Bisu particles. Throughout the thirteen folktales, there are thirty-four instances of particles involving the basic phonemes of laa. Nonetheless, in discussions with native speakers, it has become apparent that not all laa are created equal. In fact, in this corpus there are eleven subgroups of laa̍-like particles, encompassing a wide range of connotations, including negation, completion, and benefactive, among others.

The most frequent of the laa particles, laa1 occurs in six sentences. The main language assistant for this research contends that laa1 carries a sense of completion, as manifest in example set 4.34:

(4.34)

DB 15 hikʰám puukaew juum séuŋ maŋ kjàan.
    jào cíi hàwháw laapaanàò
    At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house laapaanàò
    heard and suddenly yelled out:
DB 21 bàa caaŋ laa
    It's over!
    laa
MB 30 juum wèe kʰee 2wè jao jaan miimèen.
    laa tʃʰiijèè
    When they returned to the house, then he was laatʃʰiijèè
    good.
PB 5 həamŋjèecáa màamàamáamáà sùukʰòò.
námpla kʰlaaj jào súaḵʰɔ̄o jàaŋ
mæøn laatsʰiiʃ ʃe
After that, he truly planted cucumbers and melons laatsʰiiʃe
and then those cucumbers were good.

PB 23 jʊocáa tʰàu màaŋ hmland laatsʰiiʃe.
And then one person saw him. laatsʰiiʃe

CO 10 cáa pʰi kʰàm nærʔtsʰiiʃim áa tæŋháa.
tsan laatsʰiiʃe
Then Grandmother Kham got greedy. laatsʰiiʃe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Five of the six incidences (the quotation is the single exception) of laa cited above occur at episode boundaries. The significance of this discourse role is augmented by one language assistant’s contention that, in every place where laa and tʃʰiiʃe co–occur, laa could be deleted without affecting sentence grammaticality. This claim is substantiated by the cloze exercise, in which respondents substituted non–laa–containing particle clusters in seven of ten slots. One would suspect that laa could also be deleted in the single sentence where it co–occurs with paanɔɔ, inasmuch as paanɔɔ and tʃʰiiʃe are somewhat interchangeable (see section 4.4.2).

Thus, laa would appear to have something of a redundant function in sentences containing other completive markers. This apparent redundancy, coupled with the frequent use of laa at episode boundaries, may point to a discourse level function, although additional data would be required to confirm this.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The five non–quotation sentences above have an average transitivity of 3.75. This relatively low transitivity rank is not surprising, given the nature of the verbs contained in these sentences. Additional data would be required to determine whether
there is a consistent correlation between the use of $l\text{aa}$ and low sentence transitivity. Nonetheless, on the basis of the data at hand, it is plausible to suggest that $l\text{aa}$ is used to indicate completion in low-transitivity situations, while $t\text{\textcircled{h}}ii$ is used in sentences of higher transitivity.

*Variable group 3: Sentence complexity*

Three of the six $l\text{aa}1$ sentences contain more than one clause. The conjunction $\text{ja}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ 'then' appears between the first and second clause of all three sentences. There is no apparent correlation between the use of $l\text{aa}$ and sentence complexity.

*Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material*

Only one out of the six $l\text{aa}1$ sentences contains a quotation.

*Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer*

$l\text{aa}1$ may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.4.9 *l\text{aa}2* negation

$l\text{aa}2$ is distinct from $l\text{aa}1$ on several points. First, $l\text{aa}2$ is connected with negation, consistently co-occurring with the pre-verbal negator $b\text{\textcircled{a}}a$, while $l\text{aa}1$ never co-occurs with negative elements. Second, $l\text{aa}1$ consistently occurs pre-$t\text{\textcircled{h}}ii$, while $l\text{aa}2$ is one of the few particles which occurs post-$t\text{\textcircled{h}}ii$. Third, while $l\text{aa}1$ has only been found once in quotations, four out of the five occurrences of $l\text{aa}2$ are within quotations. Finally, the same language assistant who claimed that $l\text{aa}1$ could be deleted from a sentence without affecting grammaticality said that the absence of $l\text{aa}2$ from the sentences in example set 4.35 would damage grammaticality.
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Three of the five 1aa2 sentences occur in pre–peak episodes, with the remaining two occurring at peak. The 1aa2 containing sentences do not occur at episode junctures, nor do they contain any other elements that would indicate prominence. 1aa2 thus seems to operate more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The one occurrence of 1aa2 which is not in a quotation has a transitivity sum of 2, a low number which is not unexpected, given the negative sense of the particle.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one of the five 1aa2–containing sentences contains more than one clause. The two clauses both contain negated verbal adjectives, and do not contain any intervening conjunctions (such as jao). There is no apparent correlation between the use of 1aa2 and sentence complexity.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

Four of the five 1aa2 occurrences are within quotations.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

1aa2 may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers, although it is more likely to be used by non-experiencers.

4.4.10 1aa3 ongoing positive process

1aa3 reflects neither completion nor negation. Rather, it indicates an ongoing positive process. All of the examples of this particle in the folktales relate to a character becoming wealthy. A more dynamic translation of these sentences might be “he became rich and then continued getting richer.” This definitely reflects the Bisu view on wealth, living as they do in a cultural setting where it often seems that “the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.” The removal of 1aa3 from any of the sentences in example 4.36 would result in a change of meaning—from increasing in wealth to merely being wealthy—but would not adversely affect grammaticality.

According to the main language assistant for this project, 1aa3 can also be used for an increase in height. Ongoing negative processes, such as becoming poorer and poorer, or thinner and thinner, cannot take 1aa3.

(4.36)

| CK  | 43 | hææŋjëe caanlaat$hii |
|     |    | After that, he was rich. |
| PB  | 25 | nää baacëe mææhaaj caalaa?ææ |
|     |    | "How did you get rich?" |
| PB  | 26 | ñøø nëø gaa hjaa bjàaj caalaa?ææ |
|     |    | "Ohh—I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!" |
| PB  | 27 | hjaa bjàaj sàuk$hö nàmpla? khaaj. caalaa?ææ |
|     |    | "After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers and melons—got rich." |
| FS  | 17 | nɔɔŋ hëe caapàaj lанáocá |
|     |    | After that he became very rich. |

1aa náocá
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two non-quotation \textit{laa3} sentences occur as the concluding sentence of their respective folktales. The three quotation-Containing \textit{laa3} sentences occur during the transition between the first and second cycles of "Poor Boy." This, coupled with \textit{laa3}'s close semantic connection to an increase in a given attribute, would argue for \textit{laa3} playing more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two non-quotation \textit{laa3} sentences each have a transitivity score of 3. This low reading is not surprising, given the fact that the predicate of all of these sentences is \textit{ca+a} 'to have,' a word which, in idiomatic Bisu (and Thai), serves as a verbal adjective meaning 'wealthy.'

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one \textit{laa3}-containing sentence, PB 54, involves multiple clauses. Both of the clauses in that sentence feature action verbs, but do not contain intervening conjunctions (such as \textit{jao}). Thus, there is no apparent correlation between the use of \textit{laa3} and sentence complexity.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

\textit{laa3} is used in both quote containing and non-quote containing sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

\textit{laa3} may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.
4.4.11 laa4 (lₐa~lₙʔ~laaŋ~lₐa~lₐaŋ)
benefactive\(^{35}\)

There are six incidences of laa4 in the folktales at hand. In all of these sentences, a completed or contemplated action has or will have impacted one of the interlocutors. That impact is assumed to be beneficial unless laa4 is followed in the particle cluster by jₐa2 (section 4.5.1), as in three of the six sentences in example 4.37 which indicates a negative impact.\(^{36}\) laa4 is one of the few particles that may occur both sentence finally and between the clauses of a multi-clausal sentence (section 4.1.7.3).

(4.37)

CK  16 ʔaaboŋ  naʔ  tooj  láapao
    "Release your father, o.k.??"
    láapao

CK  32 gaa  kʰəm  þaaŋ  láapaanaʔ?
    "I will go search for gold, o.k.??"
    láapaanaʔ?

OR  31 kʰəu  hoongəŋ  jəaŋ  nái  hæeməʔ  tʰaw.
    pii laʔtʃʰii  jəaŋ
    "Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave láʔtʃʰii
    us."
    jəaŋ

TD  15 ɡá  hoopəŋ  niiməŋ  naʔ  tsəaj  jao.
    ciikəu  niʔtʃʰamaa  gaa  məŋpoŋ  naʔ
    nűŋtʃuũ  nú  tʃʰao  laaŋjəŋ
    "If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my laaŋjəŋ
    mouth and neck."

TD  17 nii  naŋ  gaa  naa  tsəa  laaŋjəo.
    ciikəu  gaa  lakʰəŋ  tʃʰao
    ləlatʃʰiniŋ  tsʰəm  cák  ʔook
    luulapoono
    "If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that luulaa
    pierced my foot, please."
    poono
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Three of the six lāaŋjaa sentences occur pre-peak, two at peak, and one post-peak. The lāaŋjaa-containing sentences do not occur at episode junctures, nor do they contain any other elements that would indicate prominence. lāaŋjaa thus seems to operate more on the sentence level.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As all of the lāaŋjaa sentences are contained in quotations, they were not scored for transitivity.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the six lāaŋjaa sentences contain more than one clause. TD 15 and TD 17 are typical Bisu if–then clauses, in that no lexical equivalent of ‘if’ is specified. Instead, the relationship is implied by clausal context. The two clauses in TD 15 are separated by the conjunction jao, while TD 17 employs lāaŋjao.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All of the lāaŋjaa containing sentences occur in quotations. One language assistant asserted that lāaŋjaa cannot occur outside of a quotation, inasmuch as one of the interlocutors must benefit from the stated action.

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37 When pressed to include some sort of overt ‘if’ word in a sentence, Bisu language assistants invariably borrow the Thai/Northern Thai equivalent, tʰaa. Bisu language assistants consistently included tʰaa in their written Thai translations of sentences such as TD 30.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

This particle may only be used when one of the interlocutors is the beneficiary. As an example, one language assistant drew from the recent visit of an American educator interested in sponsoring Bisu youth through high school and college. Were this educator able to speak Bisu, she would have said to the youth, “I will seek scholarship help for Bisu young people ləa4 pənənaa.” Were she to inform a non-potential beneficiary of the project, she would not use ləa4.

This type of particle is not unique to Bisu. Lahu (Tibeto-Burman, Yi-Burmese) features a particle of similar structure, Ɨά, which likewise is used only when a “non-3rd person” (i.e., an interlocutor) benefits (Matisoff 1973: 325).

4.4.12 nəə (nəə ~ ɾəʔ ~ ɾəʔ)
end of quotation marker

nəə occurs nine times in the folktales at hand, making it one of the most frequently used particles. Although nəə occurs only at the end of quotations, the particle itself is considered to be outside of the quotation proper. As such, it is a signal from the narrator that the quotation has ended. Thus, in all the sentences in example set 4.38, all of the words and particles preceding nəə are part of the quotation.

(4.38)

PB 18 jəə kəə wii ʔəə wəa nəʔ? "Well, where are we going to throw (him)?" waʔ nəʔ?
PB 42 cəə̯kəə wii ləə wəaʔ nəʔ? "Where should (we) throw (him)?" waʔ nəʔ?
FS 7 bəa təə tʃiilaanəʔ "I'm not going to live much longer." tʃiila nəʔ?
OR 14 nɪkəm wəənəə tʃiʔiʔakəʔ təʊj ləəw. "This time take them to a far place to release them coo nəə
bəa pəi luu ləətəə coo nəə
and then don't let them be able to come back!"

CK 17 ʔliʃii tʃʰáːn kʰaaná?
"(I) really have to urinate." kʰaa ná?

TD 22 cikíu ná həok pli jao saang tsáa.
"(I will) pull the thorn out and then shortly eat that náa deer," (he thought).

OR 24 tʃʰaan aŋtuuk naa pləŋ náa náa.
"(They) help poor people." náa náa

TS 24 ʔáabaa súukʰajlóok gaaj luun.
"Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit." tʃʰá? ná?

TS 38 ʔáabaa jii kaatʃáŋ ná?
"Mother is dead!" kaatʃá? ná?

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Eight out of nine occurrences of náa are found in pre-peak episodes. náa never occurs at peak, which may indicative of the trend toward shortening sentences at peak for dramatic effect. Indeed, the lack of náa at peak may make the quotations seem more vivid, the shift to drama discussed by Longacre (1996: 42). The remaining example of náa occurs at peak', in the final, dramatic sentence (TS 76) of "Turtle and Squirrel." Its occurrence in that sentence seems to be the most efficient, dramatic way to make clear the fact that "Mother is dead!" is the shocked response of the squirrel children, not the words of the narrator.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in conjunction with quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only two of the nine náa-containing sentences contain more than one clause. The two clauses in OR 28 are joined by jaaw, while TD 44 utilizes jao.
**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material**

\( n\big\uparrow\) is only found at the conclusion of quotations.

**Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer**

\( n\big\uparrow\) is used only by narrators reporting the speech of a character.

### 4.4.13 \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) (\( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow \sim l\big\uparrow u \sim l\big\uparrow p \)) ‘come out’

(quotational formula)

With thirteen occurrences in the written folktales, \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) has a mid-range frequency. It is also the most common of the \( l\big\uparrow u \) variations, which include \( l\big\uparrow p \), \( l\big\uparrow u \) and \( l\big\uparrow n \). Several Bisu language assistants describe \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) as being similar to the Thai \( p\big\uparrow o\big\uparrow k \ ma\big\uparrow a \), ‘come out.’

Nearly half (6 of 13) of the \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \)-containing sentences in the folktale corpus introduce quotations, and could be translated, “[The character] spoke out and said…” In such situations, \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) must be preceded by a verb such as \( m\big\uparrow a\big\uparrow j \) ‘speak’, \( u\big\uparrow u \big\uparrow j \) ‘speak’ or \( c\big\uparrow i \) ‘tell.’ As might be expected, \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) never co-occurs with \( \{n\big\uparrow\} \), which marks the conclusion of quotations.

The seven \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \)-containing sentences which do not involve quotations generally have a component of motion. In non-quotational cases, verbs such as \( t\big\uparrow o\big\uparrow j \) ‘release’, \( p\big\uparrow o\big\uparrow k \) ‘remove’, \( k\big\uparrow l\big\uparrow a\big\uparrow n \) ‘fall’ or \( f\big\uparrow a\big\uparrow t\big\uparrow s\big\uparrow a \) ‘go scavenging’ precede \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \).

It would thus appear that the ‘come out’ aspect of \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) is not independent; \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) amplifies verbs, but does not replace them. According to the main language assistant for this project, the deletion of \( l\big\uparrow u\big\uparrow1 \) in many of these sentences would not affect sentence meaning but would leave the sentence somewhat “unbalanced” or “lacking in weight.”
Although lùu₁ may be used in isolation, it is more often paired with the completeive markers tʃʰii (eight occurrences) or paando (two occurrences).

(4.39)

AK  19 kaʔtaj maŋ cií lùu paando
    The rabbit said:  lùu paando

CK  18 cáá anji₅₆ maaŋ tooj luutʃʰiijèe
    Then the child released him to go.  luutʃʰii

CO  15 pèèŋ pëen jào phₔ₃₆₇₅₁₇₁ kʰám nèʔtʃʰimaʔuuj luutʃʰiijèe
    When they had finished dividing, Grandmother lùu
    Kham spoke and said:  tʃʰiijèe

CW  14 jàojàjá juum ph₄₆₁₅₁₈₂₇₈ kʰàabaajāa
    maaŋ naʔ maaaj luutʃʰii
    And then he returned home and told the woman.  luutʃʰii

CW  22 anji₅₆ maaŋ naa hùun dùuj ʔook pooj  lùu
    He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the lùu
    child

OR 9 cáá jàakée maŋ jëet mi kuutʰee jëe
dyuum aŋluu láaragākāa
    Then both children, well, every time were able to kaaluulāee
    return home.  gaakāa

OR 16 jàakée maŋ jëet mi bāa jëuj
    kaaluulāee tookajèe
    The two children were unable to return together.  kaaluulāee

    tookajèe

OR 33 cáá aŋbāa anʃ₄₆₅ maa h₅₆₅maa
    h₄maaŋj₅₆ ji₅₆ jëet luutʃʰii
    pmēk klaan luutʃʰii
    Then when the new mother saw that, then she luutʃʰii
    quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the
ground.

ST 3 tʃʰuhoon taʔsae niitoon jaa tsāa
    jaa taŋ maaŋ jào nupbaatonoŋ
    nāatūŋ niitoon jaa tsāa luutʃʰii
    The turtle had looked for food and drink on one luutʃʰii  nyae
    mountain for a long time and in his heart wanted to
    go look for food on another side (to go to another
    mountain across a field).
ST  5 hikʰām nuḵhuŋ scoŋ too kjàan jào.
    làmaaj hee màaj kaap pījao ñacām
    màaj lùutʃʰi
    At that time two swans heard and had him grasp in lùutʃʰi
    his mouth a piece of wood held in their feet and
    another thing, they told him:
ST 10 hikʰām ñuŋhoŋ màŋ kjàan jao ciin.
    lùu paanòo
    Then the turtle heard it and said: lùu paanòo

TD 11 čāa hooŋdoŋ màŋ màaj lùu tʃʰiijëe.
    Then the deer told (him): lùu tʃʰiijëe

TS 21 kʰoŋ kʰee lùummaat’hâŋ pëkklaan.
    lùutʃʰiijëe
    (When they) almost arrived back at the village, lùu
    (the squirrel) jumped out. tʃʰiijëe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Nine of the thirteen occurrences of lùu1 (69.23%) are found in pre–peak
episodes, with four of those occurrences coming at episode boundaries. There is one
occurrence in the first sentence (episode boundary) of a peak, and two occurrences at
peak’. In one example, ST 6, lùu1 occurs in the orientation stage.38

lùu1 is used in relation to quotations five times in pre–peak episodes, and only
once at peak, following the pattern mentioned in 4.4.12 of quotation formula being
mostly absent at peak to heighten the vividness of the drama.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

Transitivity scores for lùu1–containing sentences range from 2 to 10 (the 2
stemming from an unrealized goal), with an average score of 6.3. lùu1–containing
sentences thus boast relatively high transitivity scores.

38 ST3 is quite unique, inasmuch as lùu1 is followed by the completive particle tʃʰii and the stative
marker goon, an unusual combination.
Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Seven of the \( l\dot{u}h \)–containing sentences involve more than one clause. With the exception of CW 16, these are all linked by \( j\text{ao} \), the most common clausal conjoiner. CW 16 seems exceptional on other counts as well, inasmuch as \( l\dot{u}h \) is used clause–finally on both clauses of the sentences, the first occurrence making the otherwise unattested phonological modification to \( l\dot{u}hj \).\(^{39}\)

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

\( l\dot{u}h \) is not found in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

According to the main language assistant for this project, \( l\dot{u}h \) can only be used by third-party narrators, an assertion which follows from the lack of \( l\dot{u}h \) occurrences in quotations.

4.4.14 \( f\text{how} \) affirmative marker

\( f\text{how} \) occurs six times in the folktale corpus, always in quotations. According to several language assistants, \( f\text{how} \) shows that the action described truly did take place. \( f\text{how} \) cannot be used in irrealis sentences. Despite the seeming completive aspect of this particle, the more frequently found completive particle \( t\text{hor}\text{i}i \) could not be substituted for \( f\text{how} \). Again, this type of particle is not unique to Bisu. Lahu displays two particles, \( \text{g} \) and \( \text{t} \), which have a similar role in asserting the truth of an event (Matisoff 1973: 333, 367).  

\(^{39}\) Perhaps the final \( j \) represents the remains of \( j\text{ao} \), compressed due to the drama of the moment; CW 28 marks the beginning of the peak of that story.
(4.40)

PB 25 náa baacēē แว้าhaaj caa laaʔēē .
    "How did you get rich?"  laaʔēē

PB 26 ʔoo nēʔ gaa hjaa bjâaj caa laaʔēē .
    "Ooh—I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!"  laaʔēē

PB 27 hjaa bjâaj sùukʰōo nâmplaʔ kʰlaaj .
    caalaaʔēē
    "After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers laaʔēē
    and melons—got rich."

PB 28 caalaaʔēē kaaseej uuloŋ oon jào .
    jii keekeēm laaʔēē
    "And a group of monkeys came in and I acted as if laaʔēē
    I was dead."

TD 10 baacēē hâj lëēʔēē .
    "What have you gone and done?"  lëēʔēē

TD 12 cǐikūu nāŋ lëēʔēē .
    "I went and stepped on a thorn"  lëēʔēē

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All six occurrences of ʔēē are found in pre–peak episodes. None occur at
episode boundaries.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Only one multi–clausal sentence is found for ʔēē. As elsewhere, jāo is used to
join the clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non–quote material

ʔēē occurs only in quotations.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

 Raqæ is used only by experiencers, as evidenced by the fact that it occurs only in quotations in the folktale corpus and by the answers to the question “Where did Somchai go?” shown in 4.41 and 4.42:

(4.41) (Answered by Somchai’s mother)  
tʃʰəŋ məŋ Raqæ 
Chiang Mai go  
(He) went to Chiang Mai.

(4.42) (Answered by Somchai)  
tʃʰəŋ məŋ Raqæ Raqæ 
Chiang Mai go pt  
(I) went to Chiang Mai.

4.4.15 kʰaalaj (kʰaalaj ~ laj) 
estistical marker

kʰaalaj occurs three times in two folktales, while the derivative laj appears once in one folktale. In all of those instances, these particles occur when principal characters are being introduced. kʰaalaj is always preceded by the existential verb caa ‘have’.40

(4.43)  
AK 3 mʊŋkʰii jàamlæŋ həə lánhuaj wəʔ.  
  laŋʔjaam thʰu maŋ cáakʰaalaj  
  When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was kʰaalaj  
  an otter.

AK 8 jəaplæŋ lajəo ʔacəm kəʔtaj thʰu.  
  maŋ cáakʰaalaj  
  Early in the morning, there was a rabbit. kʰaalaj

DB 3 kʰaatæə wəə tsʰaanŋ səŋŋ kʰʊn.  
  cáakʰaalaj

40 Like many other Asian languages, Bisu utilizes ‘have’ at the outset of stories to mark existence, much as English uses phrases such as “There one was a ___.”
A long time ago there were two people.  

**kʰaalaj**

ST 2 kʰatam pūhoŋ thâu maŋ nê2.

nukhunŋ soŋ too caa laaj

A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans.  **laaj**

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

The occurrences of *kʰaalaj* in DB 3 and ST 2 are found in the first sentence (aperture) after the title, and are thus part of the orientation section. The two occurrences in AK appear in the initial sentences of pre-peak episodes wherein major participants are introduced for the first time.

Those folktales which do not use *kʰaalaj* to introduce main characters typically end introductory sentences with *caa* ‘have’ followed by the particle *jee*.

*kʰaalaj* and *jëe* never co-occur, evidence that there are two ways in which main characters may be introduced. The decision to utilize *kʰaalaj* instead of *caajëe* seems to be primarily stylistic.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

All four *kʰaalaj*-containing sentences received transitivity scores of 3, a low mark which is not unexpected given the existential nature of the sentences involved.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

All four *kʰaalaj*-containing sentences contain one sentence—initial temporal phrase and one clause. One *kʰaalaj*—containing sentence includes a locative phrase.

**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material**

All of the occurrences of *kʰaalaj* are in non-quote material.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

Additional data is required to confirm whether $k^{h}alaj$ may be used only by non-experiencers, the definite trend in the folktales at hand.

4.4.16 jàa1 (jàa ~ jàaŋ ~ ja) completive

There are five occurrences of jàa1 in the folktales at hand. jàa1 may occur in isolation, or in conjunction with other particles. jàa1 is somewhat unique in that it is among the nine particles which may follow $t\, sj\, ii$. According to the main language assistant for this project, jàa1 bears a completive sense, emphasizing that the action truly did take place.

(4.44)

| CW  | 15 gaa wàa naŋ máa ləat$^{h}$iiməŋ haaj.  |
|     | jàa                                    |
|     | "I did what you told me to do."       |
| CW  | 16 gaa aŋjàa aŋlak maŋ naŋ dùuj.         |
|     | p$^{h}$uum jàa                         |
|     | "I've dug a hole and buried my beloved child." |
| TS  | 7 mîit$^{h}$òo təə hja$a$ k$^{h}$eə.     |
|     | kanlaət$^{h}$i:jàaŋ                    |
|     | They arrived at the place to cut firewood. |
|     | kanlaət$^{h}$i:jàŋ                  |
|     | jàaŋ                                    |
| TS  | 22 pɔoŋpëoŋ dàa jàaŋ pjòow k$^{h}$aŋja .|
|     | "(My) stomach ache has been cured."   |
|     | kàaŋja                                |
| TS  | 25 p$^{h}$əloŋə jàaŋ t$^{h}$ook.       |
|     | kanlaət$^{h}$ii:jàaŋ                   |
|     | (They) watched as (she) dumped out her shoulder t$^{h}$ii:jàaŋ bag. |

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Two occurrences of jàa1 are pre-peak, with two coming at peak. jàa1 occurs once at an episode boundary. Thus, jàa1 would appear to function chiefly on the sentence level.
Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two jàa1 sentences which do not contain quotations post relatively high transitivity scores of 6 and 7, respectively. This is not unexpected, given the completive nature of the particle.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the occurrences of jàa1 are found in single clause sentences, although CW 29 and TS 49 contain clauses embedded as noun phrases, while CW 31 contains serial verbs.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

Three of the five occurrences of jàa1 are found in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

jàa1 may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.5 Less frequent particles

This section examines particles found 1–3 times in the folktale corpus.

4.5.1 jàa2 (jaa ~ jàaŋ) negative benefit

jàa2 occurs three times in the written folktales. Like jàa1, jàa2 is one of the few particles which may follow tʃbi. Nonetheless, jàa2 carries a distinct semantic component, indicating real or potential negative benefit to one of the interlocutors. In all of the sentences in example 4.45, jàa2 is preceded either immediately or at a short distance by laa4, a particle which, in the absence of jàa2, indicates positive benefit (section 4.4.11).
(4.45)

OR  31 kʰəu hənuŋŋ jàaŋ nàj hámmeʔ tʰaw.
    pli laʔtʃʰiî jàaŋ
    "Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave lâʔtʃʰii jàaŋ
    us."

TD  15 gá həapōng niimànŋ naʔ tsàaj jao.
    ciikûu níʔtʃʰamaa gaa mànpoong nàʔ nà?
    náaŋjàu nû tʃʰao làaŋjáaŋ
    "If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my làaŋjáaŋ
    mouth and neck."

DB  22 tłaʔ làaŋjaa
    "I've been hit!" làaŋjaa

*Variable group 1: Place in the discourse*

The three occurrences are found in peak, pre-peak, and peak' positions, respectively. None occur at episode boundaries, something which is not unexpected, given that this particle occurs in conversational contexts.

*Variable group 2: Transitivity*

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

*Variable group 3: Sentence complexity*

One jàaʔ-containing sentence is biclausal, joined by jao.

*Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material*

jàaʔ occurs only in quotations.

*Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer*

jàaʔ occurs only in quotations in which one of the interlocutors will receive negative benefit from the contemplated event.
4.5.2 *jaa3* result of action

*jaa3* co-occurs with *jèe* in all three of its occurrences. In this it contrasts with *jaa1* and *jaa2*, which never co-occur with *jèe*. In addition, the semantic connotations of *jaa3* indicate that the state described in the sentence is the result of the action carried out in the preceding sentence.

(4.46)
FM 7 anjàa ʔuu kʰɔ̥o jaa jèe
(Until) the two children grew up. jaa jèe
TD 25 salop hàa jaa jèe
(He) fainted. jaa jèe
TS 26 aŋkʰə̃o èeən jaa jèe
It was empty! jaa jèe

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

*jaa3* occurs twice in pre-peak episodes and once at peak. It does not occur at any episode boundaries. All of the *jaa3* sentences do entail some sort of state or event which is predicated in the preceding sentence. It thus serve to "tie together" two sentences, in the action-result relationship described earlier.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

The three occurrences of *jaa3* carry transitivity scores of 4, 6, and 2, respectively, for an average of 4. These low to mid range scores are not unexpected, given the fact that the preceding sentence usually contains a stronger action to which the *jaa3* sentence alludes. The sentences preceding each of the *jaa3* sentences above have transitivity scores of 8, 5, and 6, respectively. Indeed, TD 25 "He fainted" actually refers to a string of events initiated two sentences prior by a sentence with a transitivity score of 10.
Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All three occurrences involve single clause sentences. As mentioned previously, the \textit{jaa3}\-containing sentences are all closely linked to their respective preceding sentences in an action–result relationship.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All three occurrences are in non-quote material. The main language assistant for this project maintains that \textit{jaa3} is not likely to occur in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

The main language assistant for this project claims that \textit{jaa3} occurs only in the words of a narrator, a conclusion which would be supported by the three non-quotation occurrences of \textit{jaa3} in the folktale corpus.

4.5.3 \textit{jáʔ} many

Like \textit{jaa3}, \textit{jáʔ} always co-occurs with \textit{jèe}. \textit{jáʔ} indicates that there are many of whatever is being described in the \textit{jáʔ}\-containing sentence. The fact of this abundance may or may not be indicated elsewhere in the sentence. In CO 12 and CO 13, for example, there is no other lexical item indicating quantity, while in CW 7 the adjective \textit{laajlàaaj}, literally ‘many, many,’ clarifies the matter long before \textit{jáʔ} becomes involved.

\begin{equation}
\text{(4.47)}
\begin{align*}
\text{CO } 12 & \quad \text{jaʔn laʔkáa hee aŋtoo aŋhàu a}\,\text{e̥n} . \\
& \quad \text{jaʔjèe} \\
& \quad \text{All the large ones were in front of her.} \\
\text{CO } 13 & \quad \text{jào pʰiʻ ūp laʔkáa hee lòŋtəm} . \\
& \quad \text{aŋpii a}\,\text{e̥n jaʔjèe} \\
& \quad \text{And then in front of Grandmother Up, there were } jàʔjèe \\
& \quad \text{only small fish.}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences of \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) are found in pre-peak episodes, with no occurrences at episode junctures. These sentences all are somewhat stage-like, in that the overall situation is described. The semantic connotations of \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) thus indicate more of a sentence-level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The transitivity scores of the three \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \)-containing sentences are quite low—2, 2, and 3, respectively, for an average of 2.33. This is not unexpected, given the fact that \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) is associated with quantitative states rather than events.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \)-containing sentences contain only one clause.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

None of the \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \)-containing sentences involve quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

The main language assistant for this project stated that “it is not popular” to use \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) in everyday conversations, a contention supported by the fact that \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) does not appear in any quotations in the folktale corpus. Thus, \( j\ddot{a}\ddot{p} \) is linked to non-experiencer, “narrator” speech.
4.5.4 paanaa (paanaa ~ paana?)
agreement seeker

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, paanaa attempts to evoke agreement from the listener. The main language assistant for this project claims that its function is similar to the Northern Thai nêe, which, in turn, is somewhat like the English tag “o.k.?” The speaker assumes that the listener will indeed agree to the proposed course of action; if the speaker believes that the listener may not agree, a stronger form, such as a command, will likely be employed.

(4.48)
CK 32 gaa kʰâm ːšāj làapaana?
"I will go search for gold, o.k.?”
łaapaana?
PB 38 jào dōw wii lâe paanaa
"Let's go throw it away, o.k.?”
paanaa

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two occurrences of paanaa are found at peak and pre-peak, respectively. Neither are found at episode boundaries. The semantic nature of this particle would argue for more of a sentence-level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both occurrences of paanaa are found in single clause sentences.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

paanaa occurs only in quotations.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

As paanaa is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized only by interlocutors.

4.5.5 poonoo (poonoo ~ paanoo) agreement seeker

Like paanaa, poonoo represents a mitigated positive command. It occurs twice in the written folktale corpus, as shown in example set 4.49:

(4.49)

CO  20  aŋʃùu  pəŋŋ  ləʔpannoo
     "Let's divide those again."  ləʔpannoo

TD  17  níi  naŋ  gaa  naa  tsা঳  làŋjáɔ o
    clikùu  gaa  lakbɔu  tʃɔɔ
    lələtʃʰinîŋ  tsʰɔɔ  cák  ʔoɔk
    luulaapoonoo
    "If you want to eat me, pull that thorn that pierced my foot, please."  luulaapoo
          noo

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The two sentences above occur at peak and pre-peak, respectively. The semantic connotations of this particle would argue for more of a sentence level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

CO 20 is monoclausal, while TD 17 features two clauses joined by làŋjáɔ.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

poonoo occurs only in quotations.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

As poonoo is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized only by interlocutors.

4.5.6 paanē? self-oriented agreement

paanē? occurs only once in the corpus, but has a rather unique function. The one occurrence is found in a sentence wherein the main character is talking to himself, wondering what he should do next. He concludes that he should go clear a hillfield, utilizing paanē? to show that he is, essentially, seeking agreement with himself! In this regard, paanē? is similar to the Lahu particle na, which is used “merely in order to give expression to one’s inner uncertainty or feeling of curiousity” (Matisoff 1973: 375).

(4.50)
P 4 haajwaa hjaa bjàaj lœe paanē? .
"Better to go clear a hillfield." paanē?

4.5.7 paanadêo group agreement seeker

Like paanē?, paanadêo occurs only once in the corpus, and indicates that a group decision is being made. In example 4.51, the monkeys are all running around urging each other to throw away an undesirable object. A more idiomatic English translation might read, “Let’s all go throw this thing away, o.k.?”

(4.51)
P 14 wii lœe paanadêo .
"Go throw it away!" paanadêo
4.5.8 nòo negative agreement seeker

nòo is similar to paana in that it seeks agreement from the listener. Nonetheless, it is only used in a negative sense. That is, the speaker is urging the hearer to accept the validity of a negative proposition. nòo is thus similar to the English tag "you know" when used in a negative sense. nòo must always be preceded by a verb which is in turn preceded by the negation marker bàa, as seen in example 4.52:

(4.52)

CO 21 gaa lòonżìm pàen tʃʰinii bàa gàa.

nòo

"I divided them incorrectly, you know." nòo

DB 24 cii hàwháw gaa tʰâu man bàa? áa.

nòo

(He) blurted out, "It's not only me, you know!" nòo

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the examples cited here, nòo is found at peak' and in a pre-peak episode. Neither occurrences come at episode boundaries. The semantic connotations of nòo would argue for more of a sentence-level function.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both nòo-containing sentences are mono-clausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

nòo is found only in quotations.
Variable group 5: Experimenter/non-experimenter

As ndɔ is found only in quotations, and since it is seeking agreement from the listener, it necessarily is utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.9 laalá? agreement

In combination with láʔ, laa4 indicates that the speaker is agreeing to an action that will benefit the hearer. láʔ may not occur in isolation, nor may it occur with other particles, making it something of a bound form here. The sole example of this particle in the folktale corpus follows:

(4.53)
TD 19 tsʰalàa màŋ hànŋjeccáa ʔóojhée .
ʔook laalá
The tiger then said, "O.K., I'll agree to take it out." laalá?

4.5.10 kanna preference

kanna is found once in the folktale, and generally shows preference for one of two options. In example 4.54, the main character declares his disgust with what he thinks is a dead, rotting otter, at the same time that he spies preferable game—a rabbit:

(4.54)
AK 32 laŋʃjaam pùu namàa bàa jűu kanna .
(I) don't want this rotten otter! kanna

kanna can be used in either a positive or negative sense. The particle itself does not contain a sense of emphasis or strength of emotion, elements which could be conveyed through intonation. A common daily usage of kanna would be in response to a question such as “Do you want to work for wages or for rice?” to which a Bisu
would typically reply “I want to work for rice kanna.” kanna must co-occur
with a true verb of desire such as juu ‘want.’

4.5.11 $k^h$aa implied request

Occurring only once in the folktales at hand, $k^h$aa is used with requests that
are cloaked as statements. Were one to say, “I’m hungry $k^h$aa,” for example, the
implication would be that the speaker wants the hearer to do something to remedy the
situation. In example 4.55, a father, imprisoned in the female spirit’s house, makes a
statement of biological necessity to his son. The implication is that the son (who is
actually half-spirit) should temporarily release the father.

(4.55)

CK 17 zi:zi:i ti$h^h$ee $k^h$aa né?
"(I) really have to urinate." ~ $k^h$aa né?

4.5.12 pjaadèe (pjaadèe ~ pá?!já?!dèe) propositive

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, pjaadèe is an invitation that
carries the sense of “Let’s go do this together, o.k.?” Both speaker and listener are to
be included in the proposed activity. In this sense, it is similar to the Thai particle
ná?!?, used by Bisu language assistants in glossing these texts.

(4.56)

CW 17 nik$h^h$am gaaj níi juun laŋká?.
pá?!já?!dèe
"So now let’s get married!" ~ laŋká?
pá?!já?!dèe

TS 4 $k^h$aa űuhoon wee miinuuŋ piit$h^h$o.
tée læe pjaadèe
"Friend—today let’s go gather firewood." ~ pjaadèe
TS 31kâa hootâén wee suukhajlök.
tâuu læe pjaadèe
"Friend squirrel, let's go get some suukhajlök pjaadèe fruit."

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

**pjaadèe** occurs twice in pre-peak episodes and once at peak.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

All **pjaadèe**-containing sentences involve single clauses, and may include a vocative.

**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material**

**pjaadèe** occurs only in quotations.

**Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer**

This particle occurs only in quotations, and inevitably means that both speaker and hearer are to be involved in the proposed action. As such, it would seem to be experiencer-related.

**4.5.13 lùu2 (lùu~lùu ) positive imperative**

**lùu2** occurs three times in the folktales at hand, always as a positive command. **lùu2** is never used to forbid a stated action (negative imperative).

(4.57)

**AK** 20 t'hîimèajào nàŋ méànpôon 2âaj lùu .
"If it's like that, open your mouth."  lùu
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences are found in pre-peak episodes. The semantic connotations of Luu2 would indicate more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used in only quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two of the three Luu2—containing sentences contain more than one clause. Both of these are conditional sentences, with the two clauses joined by jao and làangjao, respectively.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All three occurrences are found in quotations—a fact which is not unexpected, given the semantic connotations of Luu2.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

Luu2 may only be used by experiencers, in the sense that the speaker is involved in the overall context of the proposed action.
4.5.14 pao mild positive imperative

pao occurs three times in the folktale corpus, but is heard quite regularly in everyday Bisu conversations. pao represents a generally polite way to urge an action, and sees significant use when visitors come (“Sit down, pao,” “Have something to drink, pao,” “Have something to eat, pao,” etc.)

(4.58)

CK 16 ḥaabooŋ naʔ tooj lâapao
   "Release your father, o.k.?” lâapao

OR 30 baa wëe boŋ wëe tsâaj pao
   "Mother dear, father dear, eat!” pao

CO 16 joo naŋ hâʔkoʔ ñuukooj pao baaco’e.
   laʔmaŋmiʔ
   "Well, take whichever pile you want.” pao

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

pao occurs once in a pre-peak episode and twice at peak. The semantic connotations of the particle would indicate more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the pao-containing sentences involve single clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

pao only occurs in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

As an imperative, pao, by definition, is used by an interlocutor.
4.5.15 *jóo* positive command

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, *jóo* is used to command a certain action.

(4.59)

**CO** 26 tsh’aan níi th’ungáa náa dun jào lák.
   huum kaźjoo
   We people live together and need to love each káźjoo
   other, you know.

**FS** 8 càawàa màa? záa boon fiin jào aŋtúu.
   tuk’hjáam jeej kwaan jóo
   "Suppose thet father dies, then walk around jóo
   dragging my skull."

**FS** 9 káa jóo t’héen màa? jélja nàa hjàa.
   wàa câanjóo
   "Wherever it gets stuck, work the hill field there." câanjóo

*Variable group 1: Place in the discourse*

Two of the three occurrences are found in pre-peak episodes, while the third occurs in a conclusion. Given *jóo*’s semantic connotations, this particle would appear to play more of a sentence-level role.

*Variable group 2: Transitivity*

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

*Variable group 3: Sentence complexity*

Two of the *jóo*-containing sentences contain two clauses joined with *jao*. The third contains a relative clause embedded in the subject.

*Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material*

*jóo* occurs only in quotations.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

jôô is found only in quotations, and is necessarily utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.16 łaew positive command

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, łaew is used in making strong requests or commands. The impact of łaew can be mitigated by the use of the polite particle pêe (section 4.5.21), as shown in example set 4.60:

(4.60)

ST 4 gaa nammuu t̂hâu màŋ sùaj ñaad.
    lâwìe
    "Anyone—someone take me there!"  lâwìe

ST 6 màŋ mànncooñ haksaa haa lâwpêe
    "Take care of your mouth!"  lâwpêe

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

One occurrence is found in the orientation stage, while the other occurs in a pre–peak episode. Neither of the occurrences are found in episode boundaries or other particularly significant sentences.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both łaew–containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

łaew occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

łaew is used only by experiencers.
4.5.17 *láP* imperative

Occurring once in the folktale corpus, *láP* is a fairly strong imperative which, in the absence of the politeness particle *pláee* is somewhat rude.

(4.61)

AK  18 plácŋ  láPpláee
      Help me.  láPpláee

4.5.18 *làw1ée* imperative

Occurring once in the corpus, *làw1ée* is a mild imperative used in making requests.

(4.62)

ST  4 gaa nammu  thän  män  såuj  oen.
      làw1ée
    "Anyone—someone take me there!"  làw1ée

4.5.19 *coo* negative command

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, *coo* is used when forbidding a specific action.

(4.63)

CO  1 khàatöon  oen  në  në?  ŋàahaa.
      tsàalöe  coo
    "I'm clever"—don't think that!  ŋàahaa..coo

      coo
    Don't think about being crooked with other people.  ŋàahaa  coo

OR  14 niköm  wëenöe  tìhìúkön  tooj  law.
     bàa  pii  luu  læetöo  coo  nëe
    "This time take them to a far place to release them  coo  nëe
      and then don't let them be able to come back!"
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the folktale corpus at hand, coo is found in both the title and the conclusion of one story, and in a pre-peak episode of another.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One of the three occurrences involves two clauses joined by laew.41

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

coo is found only in quotations (including audience-directed elements, such as the moral of a story).

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

coo is found only in quotations, and is necessarily is utilized by interlocutors.

4.5.20 _splits negative command
strengthener

_splits occurs twice in the folktale corpus, in the title and the conclusion of “Don't Dare Think You're Clever!“_ splits is used only in forbidding specific actions. As such, it would appear to strengthen the command indicated by the ensuing coo, which may occur without _plits (see section 4.5.19)._ splits may occur in the final particle cluster (CO 50), or preceding the verb (CO2).

---

41 _laew_ is a loan word of Daic origin. It fulfills an identical conjunctive function in both Northern and Central Thai.
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

The semantic connotations of this particle suggest a sentence-level role for ṭàahaa.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in the quotation-like title and moral, transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both occurrences of ṭàahaa are in monoclausal sentences.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

Both of the occurrences of ṭàahaa are quotation-like in nature. One would suspect that ṭàahaa is used only in quotations, as is the case with the other Bisu imperative particles.\(^{42}\)

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

Ṭàahaa is found only in quotations, and is necessarily utilized by interlocutors.

----

\(^{42}\) This, of course, relates to the very nature of imperatives as a form of me–you interaction. It is difficult to even imagine an imperative framed in any other sort of interaction.
4.5.21 پةه politeness marker

The particle پةه occurs three times in the folktale corpus. All of these occurrences involve some sort of command. Nonetheless, پةه itself is not an imperative form. Indeed, it is used in such distinctly non–imperative situations as leave taking, wherein the one who is departing announces، ْنْن ْن ن پةه ‘I’m going.’ In the sentences in example set 4.65، پةه is making the commands less harsh، putting them in a more polite light.

(4.65)

CK 34 ْنْن ْنن کتکم ْنْن ْن ن ن په ن تْن هک .
    کاننو په
    (And she said) "Wherever you're reincarnated، کاننو په beat this gong."

CW 11 ْنْن ْن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن ن N ن ن ن N
    "If you love me، kill your child!"

ST 6 ْنْن مانپوچ ْن هاااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااa
    "Take care of your mouth!"

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

In the folktale corpus، پةه occurs in twice in pre–peak episodes and once at peak. Given پةه's semantic connotations، this particle would appear to play more of a sentence–level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle is used only in quotations، transitivity ranking does not apply.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Two پةه–containing sentences involve more than one clause. In both cases، the clauses are joined by ْن د. 
Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

pê is occurs only in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

By definition, pê is used only by experiencers.

4.5.22 gaa1 ability

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, gaa1 affirms the subjects’ ability to carry out a certain action. Unless otherwise modified, gaa1 carries a perfective sense. Thus, it is not as much a matter of a potential ability as one that has been utilized.

As mentioned earlier, kaa1 carries a similar function, involving a ‘permanent state or ability.’ The main language assistant for this project claims that gaa1 and kaa1 are distinct particles, although they often co-occur. All the occurrences of gaa1 in this corpus are followed by kaa1, but there are many cases of kaa1 occurring without gaa1.

(4.66)

OR  9 câa jàakee mân jèet mi kuuthèe jèe.
  juum ânluu làæegaaka
Then both children, well, every time were able to kaaluulàæega
  return home.

  akaa

  âŋpaɑŋ mân jèet mi âŋcam
  gaakaajèe
When they arrived, the two rich people were able gaakaajèe
to remember.
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Both occurrences of gaa1 are in pre-peak episodes. One gaa1-containing sentence comprises an episode boundary. Nonetheless, gaa1’s semantic connotations would argue for more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two gaa1-containing sentences have transitivity scores of 7 and 4, respectively, for a mid-range average of 5.5.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both gaa1-containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

In this corpus, gaa1 occurs only in non-quote sentences. The main language assistant for this project claims that gaa1 is not likely to be used in a quotation.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

Given that gaa1 occurs only in non-quote sentences, it is a non-experiencer particle.

4.5.23 gaa2 + sin ‘desire’

When used in conjunction with sin, ‘want,’ gaa2 indicates a desire. gaa2 is distinct from gaa1 in that the gaa2 precedes làw ‘again’ in the particle cluster while gaa1 follows làw. Moreover, the main language assistant for this project was very insistent on gaa2 being inherently different from gaa1—a proposition which this researcher found difficult to accept until the issue of particle cluster ordering surfaced. It is interesting to note that gaa2 and sin work in conjunction with one another despite being separate by làw—one of the few particle pairs thus deployed.
gaa2 appears similar in structure and function to the Lahu gâ, which Matisoff labels “desiderative” (1973: 332).

(4.67)

\[\text{CW } \text{(n)kʰ\text{âm wàa aŋboon māŋ kʰāabaa.}}\]
\[\text{aŋsùu gaalâêsïnjèe} \]
\[\text{At this time, the father wanted a new wife.} \quad \text{gaalâêsìnjèe} \]

4.5.24 too inability

Occurring three times in the folktale corpus, too usually indicates that the actor is incapable of carrying out some action. too always co-occurs with kaa1 ‘permanent state or ability’, but kaa1 frequently occurs without too (section 4.4.6). tookaa is generally used in conjunction with the preverbal negation marker bàa in describing inability (as is the case in all the sentences in example 4.68). tool can be used to indicate ability (rather than inability) by the addition of the prefix aŋ, yielding aŋtookaa.\(^{43}\)

(4.68)

\[\text{AK } \text{7cāa kʰoon jāo bāa ʔook lùutōo.} \]
\[\text{kaʔjèe} \]
\[\text{Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not lùutōo} \]
\[\text{get out.} \quad \text{kaʔjèe} \]

\[\text{OR } 16 \text{jàakee māŋ jëët mi bāa jùu}j. \]
\[\text{kaaluulèëtookajèe} \]
\[\text{The two children were unable to return together.} \quad \text{kaaluulèë} \]
\[\text{tookajèe} \]

\[\text{TS } 10 \text{ʔaŋtʰàa pàukjàa ʔùuhoong māa cùpcùq.} \]
\[\text{bāa pʰjāa too kaa₃₃₃₃} \]
\[\text{The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.} \quad \text{too kaa₃₃₃₃} \]

\(^{43}\text{This has not been observed in the corpus, but has been attested to by the main language assistant for this project.}\)
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

All three occurrences of *too* are found in pre-peak episodes. There are no occurrences at episode boundaries, nor are there any additional features of discourse significance. Given the semantic connotations of *too*, this particle would appear to have more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The three *too*-containing sentences bear transitivity scores of 2, 2, and 1, respectively, for an average of 1.67. This is not unexpected, given that the particle describes events or states that are not realized.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All three *too*-containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All of the *too*-containing sentences in this corpus are in non-quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

*too* may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike, although there is a marked tendency in conversational Bisu to use the phrase *bàa (activity) súŋ* ‘not yet (able) to (activity)’ to express inability.

4.5.25 *wá?* content question

*wá?* occurs three times in the folktale corpus, always marking a content question. It would appear to be a Daic loan, inasmuch as both Northern and Central Thai utilize *wá?* in asking questions. The Bisu *wá?*, however, does not bear the connotations of informal or even insulting speech carried by the Thai *wá?*. All the
occurrences of wáʔ are found in a folktale written by a teenager; younger Bisu speakers resort to loans much more readily than their elders.

(4.69)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PB} & \quad 9 \text{ gaa mæe haaj wáʔ} & . \\
& \quad "\text{What should I do?}" \quad \text{wáʔ} \\
\text{PB} & \quad 18 \text{ joo keeŋ wii ʔæe wáʔnæʔ} & . \\
& \quad "\text{Well, where are we going to throw (him.)}" \quad \text{wáʔnæʔ} \\
\text{PB} & \quad 42 \text{ ceekkeŋ wii læe wáʔnæʔ} & . \\
& \quad "\text{Where should (we) throw (him)?}" \quad \text{wáʔnæʔ}
\end{align*}
\]

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

All three wáʔ-containing sentences occur in pre-peak episodes. None co-occur with episode boundaries or other prominent discourse features.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

As this particle is used only in quotations, transitivity ranking does not apply.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

All three wáʔ-containing sentences are monoclausal.

**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material**

wáʔ occurs only in quotations, and may be followed by næʔ, which marks the conclusion of a quotation (see section 4.4.12).

**Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer**

wáʔ is used only by experiencers.

**4.5.26 láa interrogative marker**

Although láa occurs only once in the folktale corpus, it is used with great frequency in everyday speech for non-wh questions. Example 4.70 is typical:
(4.70)
DB 10 hjáapʰàa kajóóq nimaŋ tʃʰùu láá.
hjáapʰàa puutʃʰaa nimaŋ tʃʰuu láá
Shall we grab a Kajcong chicken or a Puutshaa láá
chicken?

4.5.27 máʔ negative emphatic

máʔ occurs three times in the folktale corpus, always in sentences containing
declarations of undesirability. According to the main language assistant for this
project, máʔ adds additional emphasis to the declaration. In addition, máʔ cannot
occur in isolation; it must be accompanied by a particle such as tʃʰii or tʃʰá, as
shown in examples set 4.71:

(4.71)
AK 27 ?oo lanʃjaam naʔ maa slin tʃʰáʔmáʔ.
"Ooh—this otter is dead already!" tʃʰáʔmáʔ
PB 12 ?eemæshaʔjëe naʔman slin tʃʰáʔmáʔ.
"Uuuh! This (thing) has died already!" tʃʰáʔmáʔ
PB 36 baa tsàa baa tän bëu tʃʰiilaamáʔ.
"(The cucumbers and melons) won't be delicious!" tʃʰiilaamáʔ

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

máʔ appears twice in pre-peak episodes, and once at peak. It does not
coccur with episode boundaries or other significant features. Given its semantic
connotations, máʔ would appear to play more of a sentence-level role.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

As this particle appears only in quotations in this corpus, transitivity ranking
does not apply.
Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

All of the máʔ—containing sentences involve single clauses.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All the occurrences of this particle are in quotations. Nonetheless, a Bisu assistant claims that máʔ may be used in non-quotation sentences.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

máʔ may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.5.28 cáa positive emphatic

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, cáa emphasizes the preceding verb. In the first sentence of example set 4.72, cáa emphasizes that the monkeys did indeed appear, while the use of cáa in the second sentence indicates that the poor boy indeed told the whole story to his friend:

(4.72)

\[\text{PB } 11 \text{ jii kækkæ kæøq muuloŋ jàaŋ làuŋ.} \]
\[\text{tʃʰiijèecáa} \]
\[\text{(When he) went and acted like he had died, that tʃʰiijèecáa} \]
\[\text{group of monkeys indeed came.} \]
\[\text{PB } 29 \text{ māaŋ tʃʰiicáa} \]
\[\text{(He) told (him) everything.} \]
\[\text{tʃʰiicáa} \]

Cáa is the only particle that occurs after tʃʰiijèe—something which is all the more remarkable for cáa’s close association with the preceding verb.

Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

Both occurrences of cáa are found in pre-peak episodes, with one of the cáa—containing sentences appearing at episode boundary.
Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two *câa*-containing sentences hold transitivity scores of 6 and 7, respectively, for an average of 6.5. This relatively high transitivity ranking is not unexpected, given *câa*'s role as lending emphasis to verbs, as well as *câa*'s co-occurrence with *tʃʰii*.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

One of the *câa*-containing sentences has a clause embedded as a time phrase, while the other sentence is monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

All of the occurrences of *câa* are found in non-quote material.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

*câa* may only be used in the speech of a narrator, immediately indicating that the speaker was not personally involved in the reported event. It is thus a feature of reported account. In this respect, *câa* is similar to *jèe*, which likewise is an immediate indication of non-experiencer status.

4.5.29 *pii* readily deduceable knowledge

Occurring only once in the folktale corpus, *pii* is used in reply to questions. According to the main language assistant for this project, the use of *pii* indicates that the speaker thinks the person who asked the question should know at least something of the answer. It is not that the answer is totally obvious, but that it is logically deduceable, a sort of indirect evidentiality. For example, if someone, upon coming across an unfamiliar kind of fruit, asked, “What do you do with this?”, a friend might reply, “Well, you eat it *pii*.” Similarly, in example 4.73, the rabbit
employs ŋii in reply to his own rhetorical question regarding the fate of the slow-witted otter.

(4.73)

AK 14 náa ̀ii kaʔnàaʔii
"You will die for sure."  káʔnàaʔii

In these functions, ŋii is similar to the siʔ of Central Thai (Cooke 1989: 91), utilized by Bisu speakers in word-by-word glosses, and the kāa of Northern Thai (Suzanne Person 1998: 30).44

4.5.30 ńāʔ1 comprehensive extent

Occurring twice in the folktale corpus, ńāʔ1 emphasizes the extent of a situation. In the first sentence of 4.74, ńāʔ1 indicates that the spirit was completely covered in blood; without ńāʔ1 the sentence would merely read “(It was) bloody.” Similarly, in CO 6 ńāʔ1 emphasizes that they had a great number and variety of fish.

(4.74)

MB 23 ̀ii ñn nàʔjèe
It was completely covered in blood.  nàʔjèe
CO 6 lòŋtékən ąŋnii ąŋhùu ąŋtsaa ñn nàʔjèe
[They] had both large and small fish.  nàʔjèe

44 If the speaker is truly annoyed with the question, and wants to indicate that the answer is entirely obvious, the particle ʔiimaj is utilized. Thus, a normal question such as “What are you eating?”, asked when the food is in plain view and, in the Bisu cultural context, indicating that the speaker would like to join in the meal, could be answered with ŋii if the person was welcome to eat or ʔiimaj if the diners definitely did not want company.
Variable group 1: Place in the discourse

One ñá?1-containing sentence occurs at peak, the other in a pre-peak episode. Neither occurrences involve episode boundaries. This, coupled with the semantic connotations of ñá?1, would argue for more of a sentence-level role for this particle.

Variable group 2: Transitivity

The two ñá?1-containing sentences post transitivity scores of 2 and 5, respectively, for an average of 3.5. This relatively low average score is not unexpected, given ñá?1's apparent role in describing situations or states.

Variable group 3: Sentence complexity

Both ñá?1-containing sentences are monoclausal.

Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote material

The two ñá?1-containing sentences in the folktale corpus are non-quote. There is no information on whether the particle may also appear in quotations.

Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

ñá?1 may be used by experiencers and non-experiencers alike.

4.5.31 tʃʰiː2 + tʃʰaʔ~tʃʰaŋ
'left in that state'

Occurring only twice in the folktale corpus, the combination of tʃʰiː2 and tʃʰaʔ takes on semantic connotations larger than the sum of its parts. As revealed in written Thai glosses and conversations with language assistants, tʃʰiː2 + tʃʰaʔ carries a sense of leaving something in a certain state. In CK 11, the spirit leaves her slave-husband locked in the house whenever she goes out, while in TS 29 the turtle leaves a set trap at the foot of a tree.
(4.75)

**CK**

11 tʃʰiitʃʰajjokɔjoj maŋ laŋkɔo pʰii.

tifii tʃʰaŋjɛe

Chengkoi would lock the door as she left.

**TS**

29 sùukʰajlɔok pán jöo kap jãaŋ kʰɔoj.

tifii tʃʰaŋjɛe

tʃʰiitʃʰajào

(She) set the trap at the suukhajlook tree and left it tʃʰiit there.

tʃʰajào

**Variable group 1: Place in the discourse**

The two tʃʰiitʃʰà–containing sentences are found in pre–peak episodes. Neither of these constitute episode boundaries. It is perhaps significant that both of these sentences effectively set the stage for forthcoming peak events—the escape of the entrapped husband in “Chengkoikoi, The Female Spirit,” and the death of the fruit–stealing squirrel in “Turtle and Squirrel.” Additional examples are needed to determine whether this is a mere coincidence, as could be deduced from the seemingly sentence level semantic connotations of tʃʰiitʃʰà.

**Variable group 2: Transitivity**

These two sentences have transitivity scores of 9 and 8, respectively, for an extremely high average of 8.5. Additional examples would be needed to establish the consistency with which tʃʰiitʃʰà–containing sentences post such high scores.

**Variable group 3: Sentence complexity**

Neither sentence contains more than one clause.45

**Variable group 4: Quote/non-quote**

tʃʰiitʃʰà occurs only in non–quote sentences.

---

45 TS 29 contains serial verbs, not multiple clauses.
Variable group 5: Experiencer/non-experiencer

tʃʰi hitʃʰà can only be used by narrators relating events in which they were not personally involved.

4.5.32 láʔwaa ‘any more’

Occurring only once in the folktale corpus, láʔwaa indicates that a certain condition no longer exists. These two syllables function as one unit; the waa here is different from that discussed in section 4.5.25. láʔwaa is only used in negative situations, following the negative marker bàa, as shown in example 4.76:

\[\text{(4.76)}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{OR } & 17 \text{ ?acām kʰ̀uː aŋbāa kuutʰəo mːə kʰəe}. \\
& \text{plɔŋ mːə bāa caa láʔwaa} \\
& \text{In addition, the mother dog who always followed láʔwaa} \\
& \text{and helped them was not there any more.}
\end{align*}
\]

4.5.33 láʔ natural disaster

One of the more unique Bisu particles, láʔ indicates that the tragic event recalled in the sentence was the result of natural forces, rather than the intentions of human beings. There is only one example of this particle in the thirteen folktales, OR 68, when the evil stepmother is swallowed into the earth:

\[\text{(4.77)}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{OR } & 34 \text{ nuŋʃʰàa həo kʰəo kancəŋ} \\
& \text{nuŋʃʰàa jəŋ plaak latʃʰiijəe} \\
& \text{When she hit the ground the earth opened.} \quad \text{látʃʰiijəe}
\end{align*}
\]

láʔ is not a passive marker, in that it cannot be used with animate participants. An unsolved murder, for example, could not utilize láʔ. láʔ is not limited to
fictional accounts; it could, for example, be used in describing how a bamboo house was blown over by a fierce windstorm.

4.5.34 laalææ intensity of hunger

Occurring once in the corpus, *laalææ* idiomatically emphasizes the intensity of a character’s hunger. It is not used in describing any other attributes.

(4.78)

TS 14 luutamluu hootʃʰén maŋ.

sùukʰajloŋ bæŋ laalææpitʃʰiiʃjé

Not long thereafter, the squirrel got hungry for the *laalææpi* suukhaŋloŋ fruit.

 tʃʰiiʃjé
4.6 Particle usage across genres

The purpose of this section is to compare particle usage in the written folktales with that of the life stories and expository texts.

4.6.1 Life stories

4.6.1.1 Particle frequency

The three oral life stories studied contain a total of 865 sentences, 489 of which (56.53%) contain particles. Thus, the overall frequency of particle usage in the life stories is less than that of the written folktales, wherein 86.2% of all sentences contain particles. This 30% difference may relate to the fact that the written folktales are written; that is, the authors wrote and then edited their texts to fit more "standardized" sentence patterns than might be found in spontaneous oral speech.

The life stories contain an average of one and no more than three particles per particle-containing sentence (table 4.32).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># particles/sentence</th>
<th># sentences</th>
<th>% of total # sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>42.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>38.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>16.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures listed in table 4.32 are comparable to quotation-containing sentences in the written folktales, which likewise contain an average of one and no more than three sentence final particles (see table 4.2, section 4.1.1). This is
nonetheless different from non-quotation containing sentences in the written folktales, which average almost two and may contain up to six particles.

4.6.1.2 Particle distribution

The life stories at hand contain fifty-two distinct particles, occurring a total of 679 times in 498 of the 865 sentences, as shown in table 4.33.
Table 4.33. Life story texts particle inventory (Northern Thai/Thai loans in grey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th># Occurrences</th>
<th>% of total sent (865)</th>
<th>% of total w/part (498)</th>
<th>% of total particles (678)</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th># Occurrences</th>
<th>% of total sent (865)</th>
<th>% of total w/part (498)</th>
<th>% of total particles (679)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
<td>tʃ'ii2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màj</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td>haan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàaj</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td>haaq</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td>noo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td>tʃ'á2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaanee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>k'aaalae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>maaq'ee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sii</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>wàaj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>naa?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāa?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.81%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
<td>maa?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.69%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.69%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.88%</td>
<td>kaa?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
<td>noo?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laalae</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>laalae</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>suuq</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
<td>jëe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In comparing table 4.33 with table 4.3, several differences between the life stories and the written folktales become immediately obvious. First, the written folktales exhibit a much greater variety of particles: Eighty-two in 384 sentences, as opposed to fifty-two in 865 sentences. Second, the life stories utilize more particles borrowed from Northern Thai (grey area of table 4.33), than are found in the written folktales. This may be related to the editorial process; the authors of the written folktales read and commented upon each other's output, with occasional discussions about authentic Bisu words which were losing ground to Thai and Northern Thai loans, while the life stories were oral and spontaneous.

Third, the life stories manifest a more even distribution of frequently used particles, with $n$aa, $jaa$, and $ná$ occurring in 26.51%, 18.88%, and 13.84% of all particle-containing sentences. By contrast, $jé$e and $t$ $ji$ are used in 50.59% and 43.79% of particle-containing sentences in the folktales, while the third most frequent particle, $l$aa, occurs in 13.02% of particle-containing sentences, a sharp decrease. Figure 4.7 chronicles the frequency with which the ten most used particles in each genre occur in particle-containing sentences, demonstrating how the life stories use several particles at similar frequency levels, while the written folktales use relatively few particles with any great frequency.
Figure 4.7. Percent of sentences containing the 10 most frequently used particles in written folktales and life stories.
Most significantly, the particles utilized vary significantly between the two genres. Among the written folktales, \( j̣e \) and \( t \) are used 171 and 148 times, respectively; those same particles are used only three and six times in the life stories. Conversely, \( ñæe \), \( jaa \), and \( ñá? \) are used 132, ninety-four, and forty-seven times in the life stories, while they garner a mere twenty-three, five, and two occurrences in the written folktales. Thus, without even discussing the semantic and discourse-related connotations of the individual particles, it becomes obvious that very different usage patterns are exhibited in the two genres, despite the fact that they both fall under the general "narrative" rubric. These differences in usage will be discussed in section 4.6.1.3.

4.6.1.3 Comparison of frequently used particles

4.6.1.3.1 \( j̣e \); the argument from absence

The most frequently used particle in the written folktales makes a mere three appearances in the life stories, as shown in example set 4.79:

\[(4.79)\]

UDG 215 nàà tùù càn ñæe j̣e
(My husband) hired himself out to dig rice
fields.

UDG 378 ñikee nii ñuum níí hààñ p̣ṛaìe j̣e
This group of children sometimes had only rice
and water.

UDG 379 hààñ bàà dàà j̣e
(The children) sometimes just had plain rice.

UDG 215 occurs in the midst of a discussion about the activities of her husband when the children were small. While many aspects of rice farming are carried out by men and women alike, the matter of clearing land and digging paddy fields is physically demanding, and would have been the work of males. Thus, \( j̣e \) is being
used for an activity beyond the immediate experience of the speaker. Similarly, UDG 378 and 379 occur during a discussion of how the speaker’s family had very little to eat when their children were young, to the point where parents often went hungry themselves so that the children would have something. But even that something was often very little, such as the plain rice and water described here.

The vast difference in the frequency of jêe usage in the third person accounts of the written folktales and the eyewitness accounts of the life stories underlines the evidential nature of jêe, as well as jêe’s discourse level association with the folktale genre.

4.6.1.3.2 ηααε stative

Unlike jêe, ηααε is used frequently in both folktales and life stories. Indeed, it is the most frequently used particle in the life stories, with 132 occurrences (15.26% of all sentences, 26.51% of particle-containing sentences). As mentioned in section 4.4.1, ηααε is used to describe physical or emotional states, as well as routine activities. It is in the latter function that ηααε sees a great deal of use in the life stories, often in describing daily activities and conditions, as shown in example set 4.80:

(4.80)

UDG 317 nnnu heenmæe jên ηααε
We had to sleep like that.

UDG 318 hæan bæe heenmæe 2ot ηααε
(We slept) hungry and lacking, like that.

UDG 331 tsêen haaŋ tsâa ηααε
(We) boiled rice [to make it go further].

UDG 382 nii mæe tsâa kan ηααε
(They) lived and ate together like that.

UD 93 ñaabaa ñaabon næ naptiuaŋaŋ ηααε
(I did so because I) always showed respect to my father and mother.

UH 73 tñii toon kanaat tûk ηααε
Back then (we) were very poor.
Although Ḫax is the most frequently used particle in the life stories, it is difficult to assign it any larger discourse role. While ṣḫi consistently marks the mainline of the written folktales, and the extraction of all ṣḫi-containing sentences provides an abstract of the story, for example, the extraction of all Ḫax-containing sentences from a life story would not provide a satisfactory outline of the discourse.

4.6.1.3.3 Ḫao: cohesion, and completion

As mentioned in section 4.1.6, Ḫao is used with great frequency in the written folktales to join two clauses. As such, it occurs sentence medially in the written folktales.

In the life stories, sentence boundaries are somewhat more difficult to determine. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the life stories represent spontaneous oral performances, rather than written texts which have undergone numerous revisions. Indeed, in the life histories it is not at all uncommon to go for a number of clauses before reaching what would appear to be a sentence final particle cluster. This contrasts with the written folktales, wherein it is extremely rare to observe more than two successive clauses without a sentence final particle cluster.

It is thus not surprising to find the conjunction Ḫao used with much greater frequency in the oral life stories than it saw in the written folktales. Indeed, Ḫao occurs thirty–two times in what language assistants deemed to be sentence final position, and many other times sentence medially.

In the context of the oral life stories, then, it would appear that Ḫao is acting as a cohesive device, binding together a number of successive events, as demonstrated in example set 4.81:
At the same time, jao carries a connotation to the effect that the previous action has been completed, setting the stage for the actions to come. In this sense, jao carries a completive sense, somewhat along the lines of tʃʰii (which never co-occurs with jao). The importance of this aspectual component of jao will become apparent in section 4.6.1.3.4.

4.6.1.3.4 tʃʰii and the completive complex

Like jėe, tʃʰii sees abundant use in the written folktales, and scant mention in the life stories (compare tables 4.3 and 4.33). When tʃʰii does occur in the life stories, it is usually in connection with decisive events, such as death, marriage, and divorce, as shown in example set 4.82:

(4.82)

UDG 5 ʔāabaa naa wàŋ lâʔ tʃʰii
(Father) separated from mother. tʃʰii
UDG 13 pōŋhnaa ʔāamjaaŋ po tʃʰii jàŋ
(I) cared for buffalo and cows. tʃʰii jàŋ
UDG 417 jii tʃʰii
(Mother and father) died (before I could care for tʃʰii
them).
UDG 432 kʰāabaa ʔooŋ kāʔ tʃʰii hēə təŋ
(We) got married like that. kāʔ tʃʰii
UDG 8 ʔāabaa jii tʃʰii
(My) mother died.

UH 71 ʔuubon ʃii tʃhii
(My) husband died.

The fact that \( tʃhii \) is seldom used in the life stories does not mean that any significant sort of complevent aspect is absent. As mentioned in 4.3.2.3, the life stories make abundant use of the conjunction \( jao \), which bears connotations of completion, in both sentence medial and sentence final positions. Furthermore, the life stories fully utilize \( jaa1, náʔ2^{46}, laa1, \) and \( paan̂o \) as complevent markers. This represents a fascinating series of symmetrical relationships, for \( jaa1, náʔ2, \) and \( laa1 \) are used sparingly in the folktales and abundantly in the life stories, as shown in figure 4.8:^{47}

\(^{46}\) \( náʔ2 \) does not occur in the folktale corpus. In the life stories, it plays a role similar to that of \( jaa1 \) in asserting that the related event did indeed take place.

\(^{47}\) \( jao \) is not included in this chart due to the ambiguity of its position in the sentence; whereas \( jaa1, náʔ2, \) and \( laa1 \) clearly and consistently occur in sentence final particle clusters, \( jao \) is more apt to merely join clauses.
A conclusion may thus be drawn to the effect that different types of completives are preferred in different genres.

4.6.2 Expository texts

4.6.2.1 Particle frequency

The six expository texts studied contain ninety-six sentences, sixty-four (66.66%) of which contain sentence final particles. Thus, the overall percentage of particle-containing sentences in the expository texts is slightly higher than that of the life stories (56.53%) and slightly lower than that of the written folktales (86.2%).

Expository text sentences contain up to three sentence final particles, but have fewer than two 75% of the time, as shown in table 4.34:
Table 4.34. Number of particles per sentence in expository texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># particles/sentence</th>
<th># sentences</th>
<th>% of total # sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this, then, the expository text sentences are similar to the life stories and quotation-containing written folktale sentences in containing relatively few particles in the particle cluster. This contrasts with non-quotation-containing written folktale sentences, which feature more than two particles roughly 70% of the time.

4.6.2.2 Particle distribution

The expository texts at hand contain fifteen distinct sentence final particles, occurring a total of eighty-nine times, as shown in table 4.35:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th># Occurrences</th>
<th>% of total sent (96)</th>
<th>% sent w/ part (64)</th>
<th>% of total particles (89)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaææ</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32.29%</td>
<td>48.44%</td>
<td>34.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pii</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>17.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jao</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.38%</td>
<td>14.06%</td>
<td>10.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laa5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
<td>8.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaaææ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
<td>8.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
<td>4.69%</td>
<td>3.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
<td>4.69%</td>
<td>3.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laææ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laææ1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
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4.6.2.3 Comparison of frequently used particles

The expository texts are similar to the life stories in featuring the particle ŋææ in a large percentage of sentences. Also like the life stories, the expository texts contain many clauses joined by jəo. The fact that the stative ŋææ and the completive-scented jəo never co-occur further emphasizes their distinct functions.

The most frequently found particle in the written folktales, jɛɛ, is completely absent from the expository texts, while the second most frequent written folktale particle, tʃʰii, is found only once in the expository texts.

From the perspective of particle usage, then, the life stories and expository texts would appear to have more in common with one another than they do with the written folktales. These similarities stem from two sources. First, both life stories and expository texts are true. Indeed, the authors of the texts had been eyewitnesses to all that they said. Second, the life stories themselves have a significant expository component in that they are explaining life in the "(mostly bad) old days." Regular reference is made in the texts to the fact that life is no longer as miserable as it used to be, that modern children have not had to undergo the same privations, and so forth.

Once again, then, text type is seen to be a powerful force in predestining particle distribution in Bisu discourse.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The goal of this study, as stated in chapter one, was to address the function of Bisu particles in narrative discourse. The results show that particle usage in Bisu discourse is affected in varying degrees by a number of factors, including text type, place in the discourse, transitivity, sentence complexity, and the experiencer/non-experience distinction, as well as the semantic connotations of individual particles.

Discussions of the results pertaining to the goal of this study are presented in 5.1. Section 5.2 discusses the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the study, while section 5.3 discusses the implications of this study. Section 5.4 makes recommendations for further research.

5.1 Factors affecting particle usage

5.1.1 Impact of text type and genre

Different particles are found with different degrees of frequency in different text types and genres. Particles such as $t\tilde{e}h\tilde{i}$, $j\tilde{e}e$, and $l\tilde{a}e$ are used extensively in the written folktales, but rarely in the life stories and expository texts. This illustrates one of the basic tenets of the Longacrean school: text type affects sentence level phenomena. So dramatic are these differing patterns of particle usage that a native speaker of Bisu can quickly ascertain text type based on two or three sentences.
5.1.2 Impact of place in the discourse

A second major factor in particle usage is the point in the discourse at which the sentence appears. Certain particles are never found in the orientation and conclusion stages, for example. In addition, pre-peak episode sentences typically take many more particles than their counterparts at other points in the discourse. Certain particle combinations are unlikely to be found at peak and peak’. This reflects another Longacrean maxim: the “zone of turbulence” that is the peak of a story often features changes in the length of syntactic units—in this case, the number of particles likely to be used in a given peak or peak’ sentence.

5.1.3 Impact of sentence complexity

Somewhat surprisingly, this study found no strong correlation between more complex sentence structures and particle usage. The final particles of multicausal sentences typically relate only to the final clause, following a principle of adjacency. A very few particles may be used in both sentence final and sentence medial position (the latter always in tandem with a conjunction). The more robust, megastructure-defining particles, however, are never found sentence medially.

5.1.4 Impact of the experiencer/non-experiencer distinction

Some Bisu particles reflect a basic experiencer/non-experiencer evidentiality distinction. If a Bisu storyteller is being honest, he or she will periodically, automatically utilize particles that reveal his or her relationship to the events being related. This is exhibited most clearly in the particle jëêe, which clearly indicates speaker non-involvement in the story.
5.1.5 Impact of semantic connotations

While lexical meanings for some Bisu particles are difficult to ascertain, all bear some semantic connotations. These may vary widely in different contexts, around a central semantic core. Nonetheless, the fact that a given particle could be used in a given sentence does not necessarily mean that it will be used. For example, quotation formulae are not used with all quotation sentences, and are conspicuously rare at peak and peak’. Thus, other discourse–level considerations affect the decision of whether to employ a given particle in a given sentence.

5.2 Strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of this study

This study attempted to correlate a large number of factors in order to understand the behavior of individual particles. While a more strictly statistical approach to these correlations may have been helpful, the fact remains that structuring such an analysis would have been extremely complicated, given the number of variables involved. Indeed, such statistical programs as Goldvarb would not have been capable of simultaneously examining all the variables. Even then, there would be no guarantee that the results would have been statistically significant. Thus, this study had to rely partially on the intuition of the analyst, in conjunction with the opinions of native speaker assistants, to establish connections between different variables.

The Excel database utilized in this study proved to be both a boon and a bane. The database proved an excellent way to store a vast amount of information in one place. Similarly, it was relatively simple to modify the database as the research progressed, adding new variable categories and updating sentence level information. It also was quite easy to sort the data in accordance with one, two, or three keys. As
mentioned earlier, the challenge lay in situations where more than three variables could have been at work. A more sophisticated sorting system, such as that employed in the Cellar computing environment would have been helpful, although the different strengths and limitations of Excel and Cellar in their current versions would have necessitated constant manual maintenance of two large parallel databases—a daunting task.

The methodology employed in this research was detailed and time-consuming. It was often difficult to know whether a “guess” on the role of a given particle would “pan out” until several hours of sorting and re-sorting had been carried out. Nonetheless, even when walking in the shadow of “dead ends,” new insights into Bisu constantly sprung up. Some of these realizations were incorporated into the present work, while others remain recorded in a 200 page dissertation-writing journal, seeds for future research.

5.3 Implications for linguistic theory and practice

The methodology utilized in this dissertation represents something of a different direction in the exploration of particles in Asian languages. Previous researchers, such as Cooke, Chan and Chu, have initiated examination into the pragmatics and sociolinguistics of particle usage in conversation. Others, such as Matisoff and Solnit, have looked at particles in the context of a descriptive sentence-level grammar. This represents the first study known to the author in which particles are approached from a text-based discourse perspective. That Bisu particle usage is impacted significantly by text type and point in the discourse underscores the validity of this approach and highlights the necessity of examining texts of a variety of types when writing the grammar of any Asian language.
5.4 Recommendations for further research

As is often the case with projects of this type, more questions were raised during the course of the research than could be properly addressed in a single dissertation.

The understanding of particle nature and usage gleaned from examining the written folktales, life stories, and expository texts has provided the researcher with a base from which to launch more detailed examinations of Bisu particles in conversational settings. Of particular interest is the vast number of imperative or imperative–like particles. What are the pragmatics involved in particle choice when one is trying to give a command? How does mitigation function in the Bisu context? How do the various gradations of Bisu commands correlate to other languages of the area, particularly Northern and Standard Thai?

In addition, the evidentiality system of Bisu is an area for further, deeper investigation. How does the Bisu inventory of evidentiality–indicating particles compare to that of the Akha language? What might this reveal about the Bisu world view?

Finally, it would be interesting to observe particles in additional text types and genres. This would “round out” the perspective on Bisu particles.
APPENDIX 1

FOLKTALE CORPUS
“AI KAM GOES FISHING” (AK)

Ai Kham 001
bisuu blii bån taj kham
Bisu fable Ai Kham
The Story of Ai Kham

Ai Kham 002
tùu nüns caa khaalai taj kham naasön kham câj tšiij
Day one have pt-exis Ai Kham fish trap trap do pt-comp
One day Ai Kham went to trap fish.

Ai Kham 003
münk tšii jáamlëen hee lánhúaj we? lanšjaam tšew mey
Night evening at stream at otter one Clif
have pt-exis
When it was almost dark, at the stream, there was an otter.

Ai Kham 004
naasön na? hmjaaj tšiij jëe
Fish trap ACC see pt-comp pt-report
(He) saw the fish trap.

Ai Kham 005
jão naasön hee tsoŋ leem tšiij jëe
Then fish trap at enter descend pt-comp pt-report
And then he went into the fish trap.

Ai Kham 006
lënqtuun tsoŋ tsaa khou pi tšiij jëe
Fish enter eat completely pt-give pt-comp pt-report
(He) ate all the fish completely.

Ai Kham 007
cää khouon jão bau tsook lui too ka? jëe
Have completely then neg exit pt-out pt-unable pt-st/abl pt-report
Then after the (fish) were all gone, he could not get out.

Ai Kham 008
jaaplœen lajóo ?acäm ka?taj tšew mey cää khaalaj
Early morning then then rabbit one Clif have pt-exis
Early it the morning, there was a rabbit.
Ai Kham 009
caŋkōŋ tsaaŋluu jēe
forest originate pt-report
(He) (was) from the forest

Ai Kham 010
laŋ saa tāŋ luujāo
water search drink and_then
(He) came looking for water

Ai Kham 011
laŋʃjaam maŋ naasōng klaw hmjaŋ lēujāo laŋʃjaam maŋ na?
ottet Clf fish trap inside see and_then otter Clf ACC
naaŋ tʃʰii jēe
ask pt-comp pt-report
And then (he) saw the otter in the trap and then asked the otter:

Ai Kham 012
nāa tʰō baacōŋ hāŋ naasōng klaw
2ps there what do fish_trap inside
“You there—What are you doing in the trap?”

Ai Kham 013
tʰō laŋʃjaam maŋ luun jāo naa maaŋhaaŋmāwē
there momentarily owner Clf return then 2ps what to do?
“In a minute, the owner will come—then what will you do?”

Ai Kham 014
nāa jīi kā? naa līi
2ps die pt-st/abi pt-agreed? pt-obv
“You will die for sure.”

Ai Kham 015
laŋʃjaam maŋ kʰwē jēe
ottet Clf afraid pt-report
The otter was afraid.

Ai Kham 016
kaŋtaj maŋ na? māan pāŋnōo
rabbit Clf ACC tell pt-comp
(The otter) told the rabbit:

Ai Kham 017
tʰāona?māaŋhaajwa
What to do?
“Then what should I do?”

Ai Kham 018
plōŋ lā? plēe
help pt-imp pt-pol
“Help me.” (imperative marker)
Ai Kham 019
kaŋtaj maŋ cfi łu₇ paanòo
rabbit Clf speak pt-out pt-comp
The rabbit said:

Ai Kham 020
thimaa jào maŋ mëmætæŋ tâaj lu₇
if like that then 2ps mouth open pt-imp
"If it's like that, open your mouth."

Ai Kham 021
laŋjaam maŋ mæanòon tâaj jào kaŋtaj maŋ tëmëŋk₇a₇ tocj
otter Clf mouth open then rabbit Clf fart release
kaan pìi paanòo
pt-st/abl pt-give pt-comp
The otter opened its mouth and then the rabbit farted into the otter's mouth.

Ai Kham 022
hik₇am laŋjaam maŋ kaŋtaj maŋ tëmëŋk₇a₇ buum tʃhii paanòo
that time otter Clf rabbit Clf fart suck pt-comp pt-comp
At that time the otter sucked on the fart of the rabbit (kept it in its mouth).

Ai Kham 023
hik₇am kaŋtaj maŋ lamaj tu lım gaj jào tùu soo₇ jëe
that time rabbit Clf stick one Clf get then one forearm pt-report
mooŋ pæw
length pt-st
At that time the rabbit got a stick that was a forearm's length.

Ai Kham 024
kalòkkalik hæe tʃhåp laŋjaà kibaa tḥaan hæe
underarm at insert and then path beside at
coon tʃhii jëe
hide pt-comp pt-report
(The rabbit) inserted the stick under (the rabbit's) arm and went to hide himself alongside the path.

Ai Kham 025
ŋæ k₇am jùu tʰaa laajao naasõn pæw praa càn paanòo
Ai Kham sleep awake and then fish trap ascend look have pt-comp
Ai Kham woke up and went to look at the fish trap

Ai Kham 026
ŋæ k₇am naasõn jok lëhjao laŋjaam maŋ naʔ hmjaan tʃëw
Ai Kham fish trap lift and then otter Clf ACC see pt-emph
tʃhii jëe
pt-comp pt-report
Ai Kham lifted the trap up and then saw that otter.

Ai Kham 027
ʔoo laŋjaam naʔ maa ŋiːn tʃhii maa?
Ooh! otter ACC Clf die pt-comp pt-neg_emp
"Ooh--this otter is dead already!"

**Ai Kham 028**

namjàa bàa tsàabàu tsʰii laa
stinky neg delicious pt-comp pt-neg
"It stinks and won't be delicious at all."

**Ai Kham 029**

hikʰàm kaʔtaj maŋ jìoŋ ʔook luun paanòo
that time rabbit Clf walk exit return pt-comp
*After that the rabbit came walking out.*

**Ai Kham 030**

kʰiitʰõok kʰiitʰõok jèe
hip-hop hip-hop pt-report
*The rabbit hopped along.*

**Ai Kham 031**

lamaj nìp lèmjao ʔaj kʰàm hmjaŋ tsʰii jèe
stick insert and then Ai Kham see pt-comp pt-report
*(The rabbit had) the stick inserted (under its arm) and then Aikham saw it (and thought that that rabbit was injured, pierced by the stick).*

**Ai Kham 032**

laŋšjaam þuú namàa bàa jìu kanna
otter rotten this neg want pt-prefer
"(I) don't want this rotten otter!"

**Ai Kham 033**

laŋšjaam maŋ wìi lùujào kaʔtaj maŋ na? tûun tsʰii jèe
otter Clf throw and then rabbit Clf ACC hit pt-comp pt-report
*(He) threw away the otter and then struck at the rabbit.*

**Ai Kham 034**

hikʰàm kaʔtaj maŋ lamaj jàaŋ wìi lùujào ñõok jèe
that time rabbit Clf stick that throw and then immediately pt-report
hùun lèe'n tsʰiįi
run pt-dnmot pt-comp
*At that time the rabbit threw the stick and immediately ran away.*
“CHENGKOIKOI, THE FEMALE SPIRIT” (CK)

Chengkoikoi 001
aŋbii aŋbloŋ tʰàu kùu caŋ jèe
wife husband one couple have pt-report
There was a husband and wife.

Chengkoikoi 002
Iɔŋtəw suŋ kàŋfàa læe tʃʰii
fish go_together search pt-dnmot pt-comp
They went out fishing.

Chengkoikoi 003
pũŋlung gaaj jào paadûk nàe haaŋ jèe
punglung_fish get then catfish pt-end_qt tell pt-report
When they caught a punglung fish, they said it was a catfish.

Chengkoikoi 004
paadûk gaaj jào pũŋlung nàe haaŋ jèe
catfish get then punglung_fish pt-end_qt tell pt-report
And when they got a catfish, they said it was a punglung fish.

Chengkoikoi 005
cáa hahah ahaj læe tələałem tʃʰàaləa tʃʰæŋkɔ̣ɔjkɔ̣ɔj məŋ tʃʰuu
then like that go continue and_then Chengkoikoi Clf grab
buun tʃʰii jèe
take pt-comp pt-report
And as (they) were going along like that, then Chengkoi came and grabbed (the husband) and took (him) away.

Chengkoikoi 006
cáa kʰàabaa máa kʰæe kʰɔ̣ɔŋ səen
then wife Clf afraid village ascend
Then that wife was afraid and went back to the village.

Chengkoikoi 007
jaowàa tʃʰæŋkɔ̣ɔjkɔ̣ɔj məŋ aŋbloŋ təən tʃʰii jèe
and_then Chengkoikoi Clf husband do pt-comp pt-report
Chengkoi made him her husband.

Chengkoikoi 008
aŋjàa tʰàu məŋ gá jèe
child one Clf get pt-report
They had one child.
Chengkoikoi 009
cáa aaw laajëe miinuŋ tʰátsʰit nʔàp aaw qee
then ascend and then today just_a_second pt-ast ascend pt-st
When she went out, she would say "I'm going out for just a little while."

Chengkoikoi 010
cáa mlàq kaajëe aaw qee
then long_time very ascend pt-st
But really she would go for a very long time.

Chengkoikoi 011
tʃʰawōŋkəŋkoj man lanqkɔo phii tʃʰii tʃʰàq jëe
Chengkoikoi CIf door close pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
Chengkoikoi would lock the door as she left.

Chengkoikoi 012
nəŋq tʰàq aŋjaːa màŋ kʰataa jëe
after that child CIf together pt-report
After a while, his child did the same.

Chengkoikoi 013
miinuŋ aŋmlàŋ kə? qee qee
today long_time pt-st/abl ascend pt-st
"Today I'll go for a long time."

Chengkoikoi 014
jào ka?tʰitkànaʔjëe aaw qee
then short_time ascend pt-st
and then went for a short time.

Chengkoikoi 015
cáa bəsəməwaaj jao ?aŋboong man ?ɔok sùu jao aŋjaːa màŋ na?
then like that then father CIf exit want then child CIf ACC
màŋ tʃʰii jëe
tell pt-comp pt-report
After that, his father wanted to escape and told the child:

Chengkoikoi 016
?aŋboong naʔ tooj làapao
father ACC release pt-imp
"Release your father, o.k.?"

Chengkoikoi 017
ʔiiʔii tʃʰàʔə kʰaa nəʔ?
urine hurt pt-imp_req pt-end_qt
"(I) really have to urinate."

Chengkoikoi 018
cáa aŋjaːa màŋ tooj lùu tʃʰii jëe
then child CIf release pt-out pt-comp pt-report
Then the child released him to go.
Chengkoikoi 019
anjaa maag tooj luujao heun laamn tfsii jee
child Clf release and then run pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
When the child released him, he ran away.

Chengkoikoi 020
joon juum baa khee luukuy jee
3pp house neg arrive return pt-report
But he did not make it to his house.

Chengkoikoi 021
kootee waa juuun baww tfsii jee
rice_field at lie_down ascend pt-comp pt-report
He went and lay down in a rice field.

Chengkoikoi 022
caan koowaa hmean baww phooj laew tfsii jee
then_rice_head that shake scatter pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
And then he shook the rice heads over his body.

Chengkoikoi 023
haujje tfsi jauvkkooj baaan jao heun khee laamn tfsii
after_that Chengkoikoi Clf know then run follow pt-dnmot pt-comp
After that, when Chengkoikoi realized what had happened, she ran after him.

Chengkoikoi 024
caan hmaaaj tfsii jee
then see pt-comp pt-report
Then she saw him.

Chengkoikoi 025
piinaxhaajje gaa anbloop naamaa phaloom jii ka? tfsii
Oooh! Why? 1ps husband this_one when? die pt-st/abl pt-comp
"Oooh! When did my husband die?"

Chengkoikoi 026
maeq pwee
fly_eggs pt-eff
"He’s covered with fly eggs."

Chengkoikoi 027
na?meneenak ne
why_thus?
"Why is it like this?"

Chengkoikoi 028
jao kiilikkhee jee
then tickle pt-report
And then she tickled him.
Chengkoikoi 029
caá báa pāu laa jëe
then neg laugh pt-neg pt-report
But he did not laugh.

Chengkoikoi 030
kiilikkkëe jao haaj māaj caa tʃʰii jëe
tickle then do tell have pt-comp pt-report
She tickled him and then ordered.

Chengkoikoi 031
joo anju̍njaowëe naï fūn maamaa tʃʰaa
well, beloved ACC die truly pt-comp
"Well, my beloved one has really died."

Chengkoikoi 032
gaa kʰâm fāaj lāa paana?
ips gold search pt-ben pt-agreed?
"I will go search for gold, o.k."

Chengkoikoi 033
heenjëe moojog làaj fūm tʃʰii
after that gong get ascend pt-comp
After that, she went and got a gong.

Chengkoikoi 034
naŋ kēŋ kétkám fūm jao hniŋ tʃʰek kanñoō pëe
2nd person where? born pt-aff then strike strike pt-imp pt-pol
(And she said), "Wherever you're reincarnated, beat this gong."

Chengkoikoi 035
mou jao kʰêm pook fūm
sound then gold exit pt-st
"Beat it (the first time) and gold will come out."

Chengkoikoi 036
mou jao pʰluu pook fūm
sound then silver exit pt-st
"Beat it (the second time) and silver will come out."

Chengkoikoi 037
māaj naïwaa cānyāʔnāŋ māa kʰooʔupkʰoo jao jaŋ laaen tʃʰii
tell pt-give rhythm Clf completely then 3ps pt-dnmot pt-comp
jëe pt-report
When she had told him everything about the rhythm she left.

Chengkoikoi 038
heenjëe tʃʰepk̑oŋk̑oŋ maŋ laaen jao hūn fūm tʃʰii
after that Chengkoikoi Clf pt-dnmot then run ascend pt-comp
After Chengkoikoi had left, he ran away.
Chengkoikoi 039
joong juum wee kâabaa maangkoon dung pwee tjîii
3pp house at wife that one live pt-aff pt-comp
At his house he went and lived with his wife.

Chengkoikoi 040
câa moojôn tjîék jèe
then gong strike pt-report
Then he struck the gong.

Chengkoikoi 041
thâu kâm tjîék kâm pook
one time strike gold exit
He struck it and gold came out.

Chengkoikoi 042
thâu kâm tjîék phîuu pook
one time strike silver exit
He struck it (the second time) and silver came out.

Chengkoikoi 043
hawngjèe caan laa tjîii
after that have pt-pos pt-comp
After that, he was rich.
“POOR BOY” (PB)

Poor Boy 001
?iikëe ajtûk jàakee tʰàu màan cáañ jèe
child poor child one CIf have pt-report
There was a poor boy.

Poor Boy 002
ajtûk jèe
poor pt-report
(He) was very poor.

Poor Boy 003
poo née gá jàa tûk pʰàan baacëe
Ooh! pt-end_qt lips like this poor poor what
“Oh! I’m so poor--what am I going to do?”

Poor Boy 004
haajwaa hjaa bjâaj lèe paanë?
do hillfield clear pt-dnmot pt-agreed?
"Better to go clear a hillfield, right?"

Poor Boy 005
hæemjësčàa màamàamàamàa sùukʰòo námplà? kʰlaaj jào
after that true cucumber melon plant then
sùukʰòo jàaŋ mëen làa tfʰìi jèe
cucumber that good pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
After that, he truly planted cucumbers and melons and then those cucumbers were good.

Poor Boy 006
càa mìin laajao kaseej 2oong tsàan pìi tfʰìi jèe
then sprout and then monkey enter eat pt-give pt-comp pt-report
(When) they had sprouted, the monkeys came and ate them

Poor Boy 007
càa haaj jèe
then tell pt-report
Then he said

Poor Boy 008
pëe gaa sùukʰòo námplà? nfi bàa gaa kòon càa tfʰìi làa
Ooh! lips cucumber melon this neg able sell have pt-comp pt-neg
“Oh! I won’t be able to sell these cucumbers and melons!”
Poor Boy 009

gaa nse haaj wá?

lps what do pt-quest

"What should I do?"

Poor Boy 010

lsee jii kasekđe laam tiŋhii jèe
go die act pt-dnmtot pt-comp pt-report

(He) went and acted like he had died.

Poor Boy 011

jii kasekđe kaseej muułoŋ jàŋ luunj tiŋhii jèe cáá
die act monkey group that come pt-comp pt-report pt-emph

(When he) went and acted like he had died, that group of monkeys indeed came.

Poor Boy 012

meeræxhaangjèe na? məŋ jiin tiŋhái má?

UUUUNNN!

ACC Clf die pt-comp pt-neg_emp

"Uuuh! This (thing) has died already!"

Poor Boy 013

fasáa náa məŋ pùun jèo má? tsàabëu náe

momentarily ACC Clf rotten then neg delicious pt-end_qt

"In a moment this (thing) will be rotten and (make the cucumbers) not be delicious."

Poor Boy 014

wii lsee paaŋadëo

throw pt-dnmtot pt-imp

"Go throw it away!"

Poor Boy 015

cungugh tiŋháa lám kaa laam tiŋhii jèe
tree above carry pt-jnt pt-dnmtot pt-comp pt-report

(They) carried (him) up into a tree.

Poor Boy 016

āŋŋûng jèe

slowly pt-report

(They went along) slowly.

Poor Boy 017

jooŋ haeŋ naŋ kaŋ jèe

3pp that ask pt-jnt pt-report

They were asking each other,

Poor Boy 018

joo keŋ wiŋ ʔeex wá? nè?

well, where throw ascend pt-quest pt-end_qt

"Well, where are we going to throw (him)?"
Poor Boy 019
kʰ̥əm kʰɔŋkjaŋ láŋ pʰłuu kʰɔŋkjaŋ
gold shaft or that silver shaft
"In the gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"

Poor Boy 020
pʰłuu kʰɔŋkjaŋ wii kan tʰəm jəəwâa
silver shaft throw pt-jnt ascend pt-better
"(Let's) go throw him down the silver mine shaft."

Poor Boy 021
hām̪ŋjəə cã pʰłuu kʰɔŋkjaŋ kooj̪kɔŋ nēʔ wii tʰii
after that then silver shaft slowly pt throw ascend pt-comp
After that they slowly went to the silver mine and threw (him) in.

Poor Boy 022
k̪aəəj̪ ʔuŋ ləek kʰoo jãŋ pʰłuu jãŋ hâŋ hâm tʰii
monkey group finish completely then silver shaft take ascend pt-comp
When the group of monkeys had all left, then he took the silver and left.

Poor Boy 023
jãp̪o cãə tʰūm mən̪ŋ həmjaŋ ləa tʰii jəə
then one Clf see pt-comp pt-comp pt-report
And then one person saw him.

Poor Boy 024
jãŋ aŋ tʰəŋ jəə
3ps friend pt-report
He was a friend.

Poor Boy 025
nãa baacãə məə hâŋ cã 1əa tʰii
2ps what what do have pt-pos pt-aff
"How did you get rich?"

Poor Boy 026
poo nãə ʔuŋ həŋhə bjàaj cã 1əa tʰii
Ooh! pt-end_pt 1ps hillfield clear have pt-pos pt-aff
"Ohh—I cleared a hill field (and got) rich!"

Poor Boy 027
hâŋ bjàaj sùu kʰ disrespectful nəm płaʔ kʰlaaj cã 1əa tʰii
hillfield clear cucumber melon plant have pt-pos pt-aff
"After (I) cleared the field, (I) planted cucumbers and melons—got rich."

Poor Boy 028
k̪aəəj̪ muuləŋ cøŋ jãŋ šii kəɛnkəə məə tʰii
monkey group enter then die act pt-dnmot pt-aff
"And a group of monkeys came in and I acted as if I was dead."
Poor Boy 029
mâaj tʃhii cǎa
tell pt-comp pt-emph
(He) told (him) everything.

Poor Boy 030
jaŋ haan lswa naowaa
3ps wrap and_take_go pt-rep_ep
He took (some things) and went.

Poor Boy 031
màamàamàamàa hjaa buuŋ
true hillfield clear
Truly (he) cleared a hillfield.

Poor Boy 032
sùukʰà nàmplaʔ kʰlaaj cǎa mëen hveeloo jëe
cucumber melon plant then good same pt-report
(He) planted cucumbers and melons then they were as good as before.

Poor Boy 033
mëen jao hàa jào
good then do then
jaŋ cǎa màamàamàamàa tʃi kwekkëw lswa tʃhii
3ps then true die act pt-dnmot pt-comp
When they were good, then he truly went and acted as if he had died.

Poor Boy 034
cǎa naan làŋkàa naowaa kasej pùu
then ask pt-jnt pt-rep_ep monkey group
Then they asked each other--part--of the monkeys:

Poor Boy 035
baacëehaan tʃhii ðàcàñ
What's that? pt-comp another
"What's that--another one!"

Poor Boy 036
bàa tsàa bë tàŋ bùu tʃhii lëa mà?
eg eat neg drink good pt-comp pt-neg pt-neg_emp
"(The cucumbers and melons) won't be delicious!"

Poor Boy 037
naʔ maŋ pìûn
ACC Clf rotten
"This (will) rot."

Poor Boy 038
jào dëw wii lswa pàanàa
then go throw pt-dnmot pt-agreed?
"Let's go throw it away, o.k.?"
Poor Bov 039
lam kaa lawen naowaa
carry pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(They) carried (him) away.

Poor Bov 040
cupcuq tʰàa han lawen tʃʰii jèe
tree above take pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(They) took (him) up into a tree.

Poor Bov 041
lam ka? lawe cāa naan laŋka? lèe tʃʰii jèe
carry pt-jnt pt-dnmot then ask pt-jnt pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
(When they) carried him then they asked each other again.

Poor Bov 042
cāskœŋ wii lawe wàʔ nèʔ
derow pt-dnmot pt-quest pt-end_qt
"Where should (we) throw (him)?"

Poor Bov 043
kʰ̚əm kʊŋkjaː lāʔ pʰluu kʊŋkjaː
gold shaft or or silver shaft
"The gold mine shaft or the silver mine shaft?"

Poor Bov 044
pʰluu kʊŋkjaː nèʔ māaj tʃʰii jèe
silver shaft pt-end_qt tell pt-comp pt-report
"The silver mine shaft" (they) said.

Poor Bov 045
hæn jèe wii lèu tʃʰii
after that throw pt-out pt-comp
After that (they) threw (him) away.

Poor Bov 046
bboom jèe
Boom! pt-report
Boom!

Poor Bov 047
jìi
die
Dead.
“DON’T DARE THINK YOU’RE CLEVER!” (CO)

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 001
kʰəɑtɔɔŋ məɛn ɣəɛn nɛp Ɂəɑhəɑ ʦɑːlɑːm ɡoo
self clever pt-st pt-end qt pt-neg_imp think pt-neg_imp
Don’t think you are clever.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 002
jəɑmən kʰəɑbaajɑɑ sɑŋ kʰən caɑŋ jɛe
old_person female two Clf have pt-report
There were two old ladies.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 003
ləʊŋtəm suŋ kɑ? ʃaɑ lɛm tʃʰii jɛe
fish go_together pt_search pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
They went out looking for fish together.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 004
cɑŋkəŋ laŋhuaj hɛe jɛet aŋmən jɑɑŋ pʰii kʰəm
forest stream at both names that grandmother Kham
naʔ pʰii ʊp jɛe
and grandmother Up pt-report
At the forest stream the two were named Grandmother Kham and Grandmother Up.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 005
aŋdəa mɛen jaʔjɛe ploŋ sɑŋ lɑŋ kɑ? tʃʰii
initially good that help search that pt-jnt pt
At first they helped each other find fish diligently.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 006
ləʊŋtəm aŋʔii aŋhùu aŋtsaa mɛen nɑʔ jɛe
fish little large have both pt-ast pt-report
[They] had both large and small fish.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 007
tʊʔtʃʰit jɑo jɛetmii ləʊŋtəm ʃaɑ jəɑŋ wæŋ tʃʰii
soon then both fish search that quit pt-comp
jɛe
pt-report
Not long thereafter they both quit looking for fish.

Don’t Dare Think You’re Clever! 008
ləʊŋtəm gaaj bjəa kɑʔ tʃʰii jɛe
fish get many pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report
They got a lot of fish.
Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 009
wǎŋ jào jèetmii pèəŋ laŋkáʔ tʃʰii jée
quilt then both share pt-jnt pt-comp pt-report
When they had quit, then those two divided [the fish].

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 010
cāa pʰii kʰām naʔtʃʰii māa təphəa təsan lāa tʃʰii
then grandmother Kham that Clf greed have pt-comp pt-comp jée
pt-report
Then Grandmother Kham got greedy.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 011
jaŋ kooj pèəŋ tʃʰii jée
3ps person share pt-comp pt-report
She thus was the divider.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 012
jaŋ laʔkáa hëe aŋtoo aŋhùu ëən jāʔ jée
3ps in_front_of of at self large both pt-many pt-report
All the large ones were in front of her.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 013
jào pʰii ūp laʔkáa hëe lóŋtəə aŋʔii ëən
then grandmother Up in_front_of of at fish little all jāʔ jée
pt-mapt-report
And then in front of Grandmother Up, there were only small fish.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 014
tʃʰii pii tʃʰii jée
choose pt-give pt-comp pt-report
(Sh) chose to give (her) those.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 015
pèəŋ pəən jào pʰii kʰām naʔtʃʰii māʔ uuŋ lùu
share finish then grandmother Kham that Clf speak pt-out
pt-comp pt-report
When they had finished dividing, Grandmother Kham spoke and said:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 016
jəʊ naŋ kʰaʔkooj pəəkooj pəə bəəcəə ləʔməŋmíʔ
well, 2nd person pile gather pt-imp what alright
"Well, take whichever pile you want."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 017
cāa pʰii ūp aŋbaə kʰəət kaa jée
then grandmother Up know technique pt-st/abl pt-report
But Grandmother Up knew/realized the technique.
Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 018
pʰii kʰàm laʔkáa l)oŋtām koon jàŋ kooj jào
grandmother Kham in_front_of fish pile that person then
juum hoo even lē̤e tʃʰii jèe
house at ascend pt-dnom pt-comp pt-report
[So], she took those fish that were piled up in front of Grandmother Kham and then went home.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 019
pʰii kʰàm hao kʰèen tʃʰii jèe
grandmother Kham call follow pt-comp pt-report
Grandmother Kham called out after her:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 020
aŋʃàu péeŋ làʔ? panno
new share pt-rep pt-agreed?
"Let's divide those again."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 021
gaa l)oŋtām péeŋ tʃʰini bàa gàa nòo
ips fish share this neg correctly pt-neg_agreed?
"I divided them incorrectly, you know."

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 022
pʰii ụp mi bàa nàa jèe jaŋ tʃii na?
grandmother Up well, neg hear pt-report 3ps speak ACC
Grandmother Up, well, did not hear what she had said.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 023
jaŋ juum hoo even tʃʰii jèe kjàap jèe
3ps house at ascend pt-comp pt-report quiet pt-report
She thus returned home quietly

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 024
biître kàam naʔ mæŋ kàmscoonjàaŋ
fable ACC Clif teaching
The moral of this story:

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 025
hàaknaʔ bàa suu bàa sàj naʔ ?àahaa coo
other_people neg straight neg pure and pt-neg_imp pt-neg_imp
Don't think about being crooked with other people.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 026
tʃʰaaŋ ní tʰungàa naʔ duŋ jào lák huum kaʔ joo
people this together and live then love love pt-jnt pt-imp
We people live together and need to love each other, you know.

Don't Dare Think You're Clever! 027
hàaknaʔ bàa mèen naʔ haaŋ jào kʰàatoog naʔ mæe gnaaj
other_people neg good and do then self ACC same get
Khun leep ni
return pt-dmnot pt-st
Do bad to others and it will return to you.
“LESSONS FROM MOTHER AND FATHER” (FM)

Lessons from Father and Mother 001
aŋbaa aŋboŋ kəmsoon
mother father teachings
Father and Mother’s Teachings.

Lessons from Father and Mother 002
ʔiik’aatəə tʂʰaŋ caŋ jëe
long ago people have pt-report
A long time ago there were people.

Lessons from Father and Mother 003
aŋbaa aŋboŋ caŋ jëe
mother father have pt-report
There were a mother and a father.

Lessons from Father and Mother 004
aŋjàa sooŋ kʰùn jëe
child two Clf pt-report
(They had) two children.

Lessons from Father and Mother 005
cəwàa aŋboŋ máa jiin pǐi tʂʰii jëe
then father Clf die pt-give pt-comp pt-report
But their father died.

Lessons from Father and Mother 006
hàmŋjëe aŋbaa maŋ təu kʰùn nma poɔ tʂʰii aŋjàa sooŋ
after that mother Clf day Clf npt care_for pt-comp child two
kʰùn na?
Clf ACC
After that, the mother cared for (them)—the two children

Lessons from Father and Mother 007
aŋjàa ʔəu kʰọo jaa jëe
child 3pp grow_up pt-result pt-report
(Until) the two children grew up.

Lessons from Father and Mother 008
poɔ cāj tʂʰii jaŋ təu kʰùn
care_for watch pt-comp 3ps day Clf
(Sh)e raised (just) one (of the two children).
Lessons from Father and Mother 009
new heaven ajaa the kbi nnaang na? wait duug leem pii
and that child one Clf Clf ACC temple live pt-upmo year
tfhi ji
pt-comp pt-report
And caused the other child to live in the temple.

Lessons from Father and Mother 010
wai duug lee pi tfhi maang pi me maang ji
The one caused to live at the temple was the younger brother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 011
jaoceajaa a?aj maa waa juum duug angbaa maang na?
then older_brother Clf this house live mother Clf ACC
pooy duug kaang ji
care for live pt-st/abl pt-report
And his older brother stayed at home and took care of his mother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 012
ku wai nyi wai jai ji ambaa maang na? haa
every day each day pt-many pt-report mother Clf ACC rice
tsaa laang taap? eepee? effi tfhi pi ng qeem
eat water drink excrement urine clean pt-give pt-st
Every single day, he would feed his mother rice and give her water to drink and clean her dung and urine for her.

Lessons from Father and Mother 013
leey ni mi jakee naa maaj beee lee pi ng qeem
story this Clf child ACC tell know pt-emp pt-give pt-st
This story tells the children causing (them) to know.

Lessons from Father and Mother 014
kbaat ee tfi waa ?uu kaa qeem
long ago people this speak pt-jnt pt-st
In the past, people said:

Lessons from Father and Mother 015
pra a ni waa angbaa kun naa team ji
novice_monk this this mother merciful_grace ACC repay pt-report
The novice monk repays the meritiful grace of his mother.

Lessons from Father and Mother 016
jao saatu ni waa angboon kun naa team ji
then ordained_monk this this father merciful_grace ACC repay pt-report
And the ordained monk repays the meritiful grace of his father.

Lessons from Father and Mother 017
heenjee blithaan kamsoon teen
after that fable teachings repay
From this, repay the fable.
Lessons from Father and Mother 018

?apluuk ?aplaan na? soon naa
children grandchildren ACC teach pt-st
Teach (your) children and grandchildren.
“ORPHAN CHILDREN” (OR)

Orphan Children 001
jåatʃhãojåa
orphans
The orphans

Orphan Children 002
mlåŋ kåtfjajëe aŋbii aŋblooŋ tøu kùu caŋ jëe
long time long ago wife husband one couple have pt-report
A long time ago, there was a husband and wife—one couple.

Orphan Children 003
aŋjåa scoŋ k endl caŋ naa
child two Clf have pt-st
They had two children

Orphan Children 004
bàa mlåŋ jào khabaa maŋ jëen tʃhii jëe
neg long time then wife Clf die pt-comp pt-report
Not long thereafter the wife died.

Orphan Children 005
cåa aŋblooŋ maŋ hæen jëe khabaa aŋjåa jùun lëe tʃhii
then father Clf that pt-report wife new want pt-rep pt-comp
Then their father married a new wife.

Orphan Children 006
cåa aŋblooŋ maa aŋjåa maa jëet naa bàa sco jëe
then mother new Clf child Clf both ACC neg like pt-report
And the new mother did not like the two children.

Orphan Children 007
hæenjëe aŋblooŋ maŋ na? maa jëet scoŋ lëe tʃhii
after that husband Clf ACC tell kill pt-give pt-comp
After that, she told her husband to kill both of the children.

Orphan Children 008
khabaa maŋ na? kendl aŋblooŋ maŋ hæenjëe
wife Clf ACC afraid father Clf after that
coŋkčɔŋ sùuŋ tooŋ lëe tʃhii
forest go together release pt-upmot pt-comp
Out of fear of his wife, the father took the children to the forest and let them go.
Orphan Children 009

cáa jàakee màŋ jëet mi kuu thëe jëe juum
then child Clf both well, every occurrence pt-report house

ápëë làëe gaa kaa
return pt-rep pt-able pt-st/abl

Then both children, well, every time were able to return home.

Orphan Children 010

màj kʰève aŋbaa têu too kʰève plëoŋ jëe
because dog mother one Clf follow help pt-report

Because there was one mother dog that followed and helped them.

Orphan Children 011

cáa aŋbaa aŋjûu màŋ bëën tʃʰii jëe
then mother new Clf know pt-comp pt-report

Then the new mother realized (it).

Orphan Children 012

hëem jëe aŋbloong màŋ nà? mëaj sëw hoo núŋ tʰaw jàakee màŋ
after_that husband Clf ACC tell kill wrap steam wrap child Clf

jëet nàa tʰaw haan caj plëi tʃʰii
both ACC wrap wrap and take eat pt-give pt-comp

After that, she thus told her husband to kill that dog and put it in a steamed leaf bundle and give it to both children to eat.

Orphan Children 013

jao aŋbloong màŋ na? mëaj tʃʰii jëe
then husband Clf ACC tell pt-comp pt-report

Then she told her husband:

Orphan Children 014

ni kàm wëenëe tʃʰëªkōŋ tooj lëaw bàa plëi
this occurrence far far release then neg pt-give

lëw lëaw too oo née
return pt-upmot pt-unable pt-neg_imp pt-end_qt

"This time take them to a far place to release them and then don't let them be able to come back!"

Orphan Children 015

cáa ni kàm màa aŋbloong màŋ aŋjàa jëet nàa
then this occurrence Clf father Clf child both ACC

cōŋkëŋ aŋwëe jëëj tooj lëaw tʃʰii jëe
forest far go_together release pt-upmot pt-comp pt-report

Then this time their father took both children far into the forest together and released them.

Orphan Children 016

jàakee màŋ jëet mi bàa jëëj kaa lëw
child Clf both well, neg go_together pt-st/abl return

lëw too kaa jëe

The two children were unable to return together.
Orphan Children 017
acám kʰànq anjaa kuukʰ qwāw nge kʰēe plōq man bāa
then dog mother every occurrence neg follow help Clf neg
caa láʔwaa
have pt-any
In addition, the mother dog who always followed and helped them was not there any more.

Orphan Children 018
háenjēe kwaqba jūj kaajluŋ lēʔ tsʰii
after that path go_together lost pt-comp pt-comp
After that, they were lost together.

Orphan Children 019
cāa tsʰaŋ apqaa appaŋ apjii apbloq tēu kūu naa hmjaŋ
then people have rich wife husband one couple ACC see
ʔaʔo tsʰii jēe
pt-aff pt-comp pt-report
Then they met a rich, wealthy husband and wife.

Orphan Children 020
jēet mi anjaa bāa caa jēe
both well, child neg have pt-report
Both of them did not have children.

Orphan Children 021
háenjēe jākēe man jēet naa anjaa pʰēej piii tsʰii
after that child Clf both ACC child to_be pt-give pt-comp
After that, they made the two children their children.

Orphan Children 022
cāa jākēe man jēet kʰōon lajōo tēu nang māa anpaa anjëu
then child Clf both grow_up then one day Clf mother new
man kjān tsʰii jēe
Clf hear pt-comp pt-report
The two children both grew up and then one day the new mother heard

Orphan Children 023
tʂʰaŋ apqaa anpaŋ soon kʰun caq na
people have rich two Clf have pt-st
"There were two rich people."

Orphan Children 024
tʂʰaŋ apʔuŋ na plōq nge nge
people poor ACC help pt-st pt-end_gnt
"(They) help poor people."

Orphan Children 025
háenjēe apbloq man na? tʂʰaŋ hāŋ pāa tsāan
after that husband Clf ACC invite rice ask eat
After that, she took her husband to go beg for rice to eat.
Orphan Children 026

cáa kéen jào ts’aan ancaa anpaŋ maŋ jëet
then ascend already ascend then people have rich Clf both
mi ancam gaa kaa jëe
well, remember pt-able pt-jnt pt-report
When they arrived, the two rich people were able to remember.

Orphan Children 027

jëet anbaa anboŋ maŋ hëen jëe
both mother father Clf that pt-report
(that) they were the parents of both children.

Orphan Children 028

juum t’haa hëe háo taaj laa piį jao haaŋpʰeen caam
house above at call go come pt-give then tray have
lëu piį tʃʰii
prepare pt-give pt-comp
After that they called them to come up into the house, then they prepared a tray of food food and took it out (to them).

Orphan Children 029

jao jëet mi haaŋ jëe
then both well, tell pt-report
Then both of them said:

Orphan Children 030

baa wëe boŋ wëe tsàaj pao
mother pt-pol father pt-pol eat pt-imp
"Mother dear, father dear, eat!"

Orphan Children 031

kʰuŋ hòo muŋ jàaŋ náj hëemê t’haw piį
dog wrap steam that you_two in Paso wrap pt-give
ląʔ tʃʰii jàaŋ
pt-ben pt-comp pt-negben
"Dog in a steamed leaf bundle like you once gave us."

Orphan Children 032

hëemê kjàaj jao anboŋ màa namlaxw jëe nuŋbaa plaak
like that hear then father Clf finally pt-report heart break
jiin tʃʰii
die pt-comp
When he heard that, the father's heart broke and he immediately died.

Orphan Children 033

cáa anbaa anʃu muː hëemê həmjaŋ jao anwàj jëe
then mother now Clf like that see then quickly pt-report
juum tʃook hëe plaŋ klaan lěʔ tʃʰii
house exit at jump fall pt-out pt-comp
Then when the new mother saw that, then she quickly jumped out of the house and fell to the ground.
Orphan Children 034
nuuŋtʃà̂a héę kʰée kancàŋ nuuŋtʃà̂a jàŋ g plaaŋ
soil at arrive that_time soil that break
láʔ tʃʰií jèe
pt-natdis pt-comp pt-report
When she hit the ground the earth opened.

Orphan Children 035
cúut jèe aŋḅaa aŋʃà̂u məŋ kəaj mən tʃʰií
enter pt-report mother new Clf fall go pt-comp
The new mother fell into (the chasm).
"THE CRUEL WIDOWER" (CW)

The Cruel Widower 001
апбоон пòоммáй нунбaab ààа мéeн
father widower heart neg good
The bad hearted widower-father.

The Cruel Widower 002
k tàатáа tshæаa ng аан jèe
long ago people have pt-report
A long time ago there were these people.

The Cruel Widower 003
k tàатáа mëf saam k hùн апбaab апбооог аnjàа нëе дуŋ jèe
long ago when three Clf mother father child npt live pt-report
In the past there were three people—mother, father, and child—living together.

The Cruel Widower 004
t hùnggaa laagaаммë дуŋ бэа sìi бэа lëm kaa jèe
together together live neg quarrel neg fight pt-st/abl pt-report
They lived together without quarrelling or fighting.

The Cruel Widower 005
jaa bэа мlааq ñuunмë cáа апбaab маg fiin pii tshëii jèe
then neg long_time well, then mother Clf die pt-give pt-comp pt-report
And then, not long thereafter, the mother died.

The Cruel Widower 006
jao аnjàа апбооог nëe дуŋ mëааq ká? tshë? jèe
then child father npt live long_time pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report
Then the child and father lived together for a long time.

The Cruel Widower 007
sooŋ k hùн аnjàа апбооог nëe дуŋ laajlåaj пиi já? jèe
two Clf child father npt live many year pt-many pt-report
The father and child lived together for many years.

The Cruel Widower 008
nì k hэм wàа апбооог maŋ k hùабaa аŋšùu gaa lëm
this time this father Clf wife new pt-desire pt-rep
sìŋ jèe
pt-desire pt-report
At this time, the father wanted a new wife.
The Cruel Widower 009
jao k'abaaajaa t'âu man na? hmjaaj caaj t'hii jè
then female one Clf ACC see have pt-comp pt-report
He met a woman.

The Cruel Widower 010
jao k'abaaajaa maaj maaj t'hii jè jaakee maaj
then female Clf tell pt-comp pt-report child Clf
aŋboon maŋ na?
father Clf ACC
And then the woman told him—that person the father of the child:

The Cruel Widower 011
naaŋ gaa na? gaa làa
ask lips ACC pt-desire pt-comp
suŋ jao naaŋ anjaa maŋ na? sâa pëe
go together then ask child Clf ACC kill IMP
"If you want me, kill your child!"

The Cruel Widower 012
jao t'âu wân maâ aŋboon maŋ anjaa maan
then one day Clf father Clf child Clf
na? jöök'oon suŋ jëen t'hii jè
ACC forest go_together pt-dmnot pt-comp pt-report
One day after that the father took the child to the forest.

The Cruel Widower 013
jao anjaa maan na? dươj p'üm läe t'hii jèe
then child Clf ACC dig bury pt-rep pt-comp pt-report
And (he) dug a hole and buried (the child).

The Cruel Widower 014
jaojaa
and then
jüum p'ålujj k'abaaajaa maan na? maaj lüh t'hii
house return female Clf ACC tell pt-imp pt-comp
And then (he) returned home and told the woman.

The Cruel Widower 015
gaa wâa naaŋ maâ làa t'hii mëæ haaj jàa
lips this ask Clf pt-comp pt-comp same do like this
"I did what you told me to do."

The Cruel Widower 016
gaa anjaa aŋlak maŋ na? dươj p'üm jàa
lips child prefix love Clf ACC dig bury pt-comp
"I've dug a hole and buried my beloved child."

The Cruel Widower 017
ni k'âm gaaŋ níi juun lagkâ? pâjâ?dëe
this time get this marry pt-jnt pt-imp
"So now let's get married!"

**The Cruel Widower 018**

ni kʰəm kʰaabaajəa màaŋ muu kʰut ləə tʃʰii jëe  
this time female Clf well, think pt-comp pt-report

Now this woman, well, thought:

**The Cruel Widower 019**

kʰanaat anjəa man'am muu səm tʰoonəʔ tʰào gá pəaəšəŋ  
extent child his well, kill as for me lips who

"He'd go so far as to kill his own child—and who am I?" she thought.

**The Cruel Widower 020**

kʰaabaajəa màaŋ muu həəŋjëe bəə jüu  
female Clf well, after that neg marry

The woman, well, after that did not take him.

**The Cruel Widower 021**

həəŋ aŋboong məŋ kʰut gaa ləə jəo aŋwaj aŋkʰjaŋ  
that father Clf think pt-able pt-rep then quickly quickly

ʃəŋkʃəŋ jəo həən ləən tʃʰii  
forest at run pt-dnmot pt-comp

After that, the father came to a realization and (he) quickly ran to the forest.

**The Cruel Widower 022**

anjəa màaŋ naa həən dùuj ʃook pooj laa  
child Clf ACC run dig exit lay-out pt-out

He ran and dug up and took out and laid out the child.

**The Cruel Widower 023**

ʃəŋ anjəa màaŋ ʃiin tʃʰáʔ jëe  
that child Clf die pt-comp pt-report

(But) his child was already dead.
"FATHER'S SKULL" (FS)

Father's Skull 001
aŋboŋ tukʰjàam
father skull
Father's skull

Father's Skull 002
míaŋ kaʔtʃʰajèe anjàa aŋboŋ tùu kiu caŋ
long_time long_ago child father one couple have
jèe
pt-report
Long ago there were two people, father and son, one couple.

Father's Skull 003
aŋtṳuk jèe
poor pt-report
They were poor.

Father's Skull 004
càa tùu nung màa aŋboŋ màŋ dàa klaan tʃʰii jèe
then one day Clf father Clf pain become_ill pt-comp pt-report
One day the father became very sick.

Father's Skull 005
kʰaːcæe kajèe càa tuk lùŋ nàɵ
intensify very then poor fall pt-st
This caused (them) to become even poorer.

Father's Skull 006
càa tùu nung màa jàŋ anjàa màŋ naʔ hao cii tʃʰàŋ tʃʰii
then one day Clf 3ps child Clf ACC call speak together pt-comp
jèe
pt-report
Then one day (he) called that child and (they) spoke together.

Father's Skull 007
bàa tʃʰii laa nèŋ
neg survive pt-comp pt-neg pt-end_gq
"I'm not going to live much longer."

Father's Skull 008
càaawàa nàa aŋboŋ sjiin jào aŋtùu tukʰjàam ʃeej kwaan jòo
suppose that npt father die then head skull drag walk pt-imp
"Suppose tht father dies, then walk around dragging my skull."
Father's Skull 009
kqaj joo thqaj qee joojaa naa hjaa wa
where? at stuck pt-st that_place field hill_field work
caan joo
in_order_to_eat pt-imp
"Wherever it gets stuck, work the hill field there."

Father's Skull 010
hs?m? maaj jao angboq maq siiintjii jee
like_that tell then father Clif die pt-comp pt-report
When he told (him) that then the father died.

Father's Skull 011
anjaa maq maamaa jee
child Clif truly pt-report
That child truly (did that).

Father's Skull 012
aptuu takjaaam latuul puuje jao sjej kwaaan tjii
head skull rope tie then drag walk pt-comp
(He) tied the skull to a rope and walked along dragging it.

Father's Skull 013
sjej kwaa taamkwaa caa loobaa jo thqaj qee
drag walk go_back_and_forth then stone at stuck pt-aff
tjii jee
pt-comp pt-report
He dragged it along (for a while) then it got stuck on a stone.

Father's Skull 014
maqee laa mee
what? do pt-emp
"What's happening?"

Father's Skull 015
cak baa cak laa kaa jee
pull neg pull come pt-st/abl pt-report
The more he pulled, the less it would come loose.

Father's Skull 016
hweoj joo naa hjaa wa daug tjii
after_that at field hill_field work live pt-comp
After that he worked the hill field there.

Father's Skull 017
nqoojaa caa paaq la nqoca
after_that have rich pt-pos pt-comp
After that he became very rich.
“TIGER AND DEER” (TD)

Tiger and Deer 001
\textit{tsh\textipa{a}l\textipa{a} nhu hoo\textipa{d}\textipa{o}n}
tiger and deer
\textit{The Tiger and the Deer}

Tiger and Deer 002
\textit{tsh\textipa{a}l\textipa{a} th\textipa{u} nuh caa\textipa{g} j\textipa{a}}
tiger one Clf have pt-report
\textit{There was a tiger.}

Tiger and Deer 003
\textit{ku\textipa{u} th\textipa{e} ja j\textipa{a} hoo\textipa{d}\textipa{o}n}
every occurrence pt-many pt-report deer
\textit{Every time he would wait to eat the flock of deer.}

Tiger and Deer 004
\textit{ca\textipa{a} th\textipa{u} nhu caa\textipa{g} j\textipa{a}}
then one day have pt-report
\textit{Then there was one day.}

Tiger and Deer 005
\textit{hoo\textipa{d}\textipa{o}n agh\textipa{u} waaj th\textipa{u} to? klaan t\textipa{a}a l\textipa{a}e t\textipa{h}i\textipa{i}}
deer head fast one Clf search_for eat pt-dnmo\textipa{t} pt-comp
\textit{One smart deer went to look for food.}

Tiger and Deer 006
\textit{ca\textipa{a} th\textipa{u} k\textipa{a}mp\textipa{u} tsh\textipa{a}l\textipa{a} nuh luun j\textipa{a}}
then one short_time tiger Clf come pt-report
\textit{Soon the tiger came.}

Tiger and Deer 007
\textit{hoo\textipa{d}\textipa{o}n h\textipa{e}e ma\textipa{a} tsh\textipa{a}l\textipa{a} nuh na? hm\textipa{jaa}\textipa{n} j\textipa{o} b\textipa{a}a hu\textipa{n}}
deer that Clf tiger Clf ACC see then neg run
\textit{The deer saw that tiger and then didn't run because his foot hurt.}
Tiger and Deer 008
kʰuutʰök kʰuutʰök na? jooj tʃʰii jèe
limp limp and walk pt-comp pt-report
(He) walked with a limp.

Tiger and Deer 009
tsʰalàa màŋ həmənə həmjaŋ jao hoopðoŋ màŋ na? naan tʃʰii jèe
tiger Clf like that see then deer Clf ACC ask pt-comp pt-report
When the tiger saw that, he asked the deer:

Tiger and Deer 010
baacəə hāj lèeə Pəee
what do pt-dnomot pt-eff
"What have you gone and done?"

Tiger and Deer 011
çaà hoopðoŋ màŋ màaj luu tʃʰii jèe
then deer Clf tell-out pt-comp pt-report
Then the deer told (him):

Tiger and Deer 012
ciikùu nàŋ lèeə Pəee
thorn step on pt-dnomot pt-eff
"I went and stepped on a thorn" unsure if ae is particle–probably the motion deal

Tiger and Deer 013
ciikùu nii màa tʰuə waasāa naʔtú
thorn this Clf one year suppose
"This thorn—it's been here about a year"

Tiger and Deer 014
tsʰalàa màŋ həmənə kjàaj jao kêt tʃʰii
then hear pt-report
(When) the tiger heard that, he thought:

Tiger and Deer 015
gà hoopðoŋ nii màŋ na? tsàaj jao ciikùu níʔ tʃʰa maa gaa
lps deer this Clf ACC eat then thorn this det. Clf lips
mànpoŋ na? nàʔntʃuə nú tʃʰo laaŋ jáaŋ
mouth and neck this pierce pt-ben pt-negben
"If I eat this deer, then this thorn will pierce my mouth and neck."

Tiger and Deer 016
çaà hoopðoŋ màŋ màaj luu tʃʰii jèe
then deer Clf tell-out pt-comp pt-report
Then the deer told (him):
Tiger and Deer 017
nìi nàŋ  gaa nàŋ tìaŋ jào  ciìkù gaa
this 2nd person lps ACC eat pt-ben then thorn lps
lakhùu tìsìao laal tìhìini ng tisìsì cák tìok lùu laa poonoo
foot pierce at that place bite pull exit pt-imp pt-ben pt-agreed?
"If you want to eat me, pull out that thorn that pierced my foot, please."

Tiger and Deer 018
jào nàŋ tìaŋ tìoollòjìa
then 2nd person eat pt-ben invite
"Then, if you are going to eat me, you're welcome to do so."

Tiger and Deer 019
tisìsì màŋ hàŋjìee cáá tòoqìjìee tìok laalá?
tiger Clf then then O.K. exit pt-agreed!
The tiger then said, "O.K., I'll agree to take it out."

Tiger and Deer 020
cáá hàŋjìee hoopòô muu laakhùu
then after that deer Clf well, foot
jàŋ jìok lìe tìhìi
that lift pt-dnmot pt-comp
After that, the deer lifted his foot up.

Tiger and Deer 021
tisìsì màŋ hàŋjìee màsìam lìì piì tìhìi
pt-st pt-dnmot pt-give clean
After that the tiger looked upwards.

Tiger and Deer 022
ciìkùu cák tìok piì jào saaŋ tìaŋ nàìe
thorn pull exit pt-give then short time eat pt-end qt
"(I) will pull the thorn out and soon thereafter will eat."

Tiger and Deer 023
cáá hoopòô màŋ jòojìee jàŋ mànpoong wìe dët tìhìi
then deer Clf that time 3ps mouth at kick pt-comp
At that time, the deer kicked his mouth.

Tiger and Deer 024
sàoopìì  kùntsùnjìee lát piì kìì tìhìi
teeth every last one fall_out pt-give completely pt-comp
It caused all (his) teeth to fall out.

Tiger and Deer 025
sàlo  hà  jà  jìe
(faint do pt-result pt-report)
(He) fainted.
Tiger and Deer 026

háémjée hoopdoø màaø hùen ts'ii
after that deer CIf run pt-comp
After that that deer ran away.
“TURTLE AND SQUIRREL” (TS)

Turtle and Squirrel 001
Pùuhoog nèf hootʃhén
turtle and squirrel
The turtle and the squirrel.

Turtle and Squirrel 002
Pùuhoog nèf hootʃhén jàakhàa kaa jèe
turtle and squirrel friend-same_age pt-st/abl pt-report
The turtle and the squirrel were friends of the same age.

Turtle and Squirrel 003
tàu
one
nàa caalàŋ hootʃhén máŋ Pùuhoog máŋ na? tʃhàŋ tʃhìi jèe
day have squirrel Clf turtle Clf ACC invite ascend pt-comp pt-report
One day the squirrel invited the turtle:

Turtle and Squirrel 004
kɔa Pùuhoog yìw miinhàŋ piitʃhòo tʃhìi lew pjaadèe
friend turtle at today fire_wood kindling pt-dnmot pt-invite
"Friend—today let’s go cut firewood."

Turtle and Squirrel 005
Pùuhoog máŋ ?òoj laemlax naowaa
turtle Clf O.K. I’ll go if you’re going pt-rep_ep
The turtle said, "O.K., I’ll go."

Turtle and Squirrel 006
jëig Pùu yëen jao sùat kaa laem naowaa
speak talk finish then go-together pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(When) they finished speaking then they went off together.

Turtle and Squirrel 007
miitʃhòo tʃhìa kàab lew tʃhìi jàaŋ
firewood kindling hill_field arrive pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-comp
They arrived at the place to cut firewood.

Turtle and Squirrel 008
sùukajìok amfìq tìe naa câa jìe
small_red_sweet_fruit ripe one Clf have pt-report
There was a tree with ripe suukajìok fruit.
Turtle and Squirrel 009
hootʃɛn man hajañ pjaaj tsaaan læe tʃhii jee
squirrel clf see climb eat pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
The squirrel saw it and climbed up and ate.

Turtle and Squirrel 010
pugkʃaa pukjaaj puuhoog máa ougouŋ baa pʃjaaj too
top area turtle clf tree neg climb pt-unable
kaa naa
pt-st/abl pt-emph
The turtle was unable to climb to that top area.

Turtle and Squirrel 011
pugkʃaa joo tsaaaj dun tʃhii jee
below pt-imp eat sit pt-comp pt-report
(So she) sat and ate down below.

Turtle and Squirrel 012
pawloog plan jee tʃhuij kan læe tʃhii
shoulder_bag full pt-report gather put_in pt-dnmot pt-comp
(The turtle) gathered (the fruits) and filled (her) shoulder_bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 013
mukʃhii baataŋ sunŋ kaa luun læe naowaa
night almost go-together pt-jnt come pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
When it was almost evening (they) went back together.

Turtle and Squirrel 014
lutaamloog hootʃɛn man suukʃajlook bəən laalee
short_time squirrel clf small_red_sweet_fruit hungry very_hungry
pii tʃhii jee
pt-give pt-comp pt-report
Not long thereafter, the squirrel got hungry for the suukhajlook fruit.

Turtle and Squirrel 015
poonpoog daa tsaa kəəkəən tʃhii jee
stomach pain eat act pt-comp pt-report
(The squirrel) acted as if (her) stomach hurt.

Turtle and Squirrel 016
poonpoog daa nəə
Ooh! stomach pain pt-st
"Oh! My stomach hurts!"

Turtle and Squirrel 017
puuhoog màamàamàamàa nəə kʊt jee
turtle true npt think pt-report
The turtle thought it was true.
Turtle and Squirrel 018
jaɑŋ phælɔɔŋ jɛː oɔŋ mɑɔŋ ɗuŋ piŋ tʃʰii jɛe
3ps shoulder_bag at tell enter sit pt-give pt-comp pt-report
She had/allowed (the squirrel) to get in her shoulder bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 019
k’àmaba lín jɛe
road end pt-report
The road ended.

Turtle and Squirrel 020
suukʼajïdɔok hæŋ kʰàŋ tɔnɔŋ jɛe
small_red_sweet_fruit that secretly eat pt-report
(The squirrel) secretly ate the suukhajlook fruit.

Turtle and Squirrel 021
kʰɔɔŋ kʰoŋ luv maatʰàŋ peeq klaaŋ luv tʃʰii jɛe
village arrive return almost jump fall pt-out pt-comp pt-report
(When they) almost arrived back at the village, (the squirrel) jumped out.

Turtle and Squirrel 022
pɔŋqɔŋ dàː jàŋ pjɔw kʰàŋ jàʔ
stomach pain that cured pt-st/ab pt-comp
"(My) stomach ache has been cured."

Turtle and Squirrel 023
pùuhoɔŋ aŋjàː pùu aŋbaa ʍaŋ luv naʔ hɔŋjaŋ klaʃeek klaʃeek
turtle child group mother Clf return ACC see call_out
jɛe
pt-report
The turtle kids saw that their mother was returning and called out.

Turtle and Squirrel 024
pəbaɑŋ suukʼajïdɔok gaaj luvn tʃʰáʔ nàʔ
mother small_red_sweet_fruit get come pt-comp pt-end_qt
"Mother brought some suukhajlook fruit."

Turtle and Squirrel 025
phælɔɔŋ jàŋ tbook kàŋ luv tʃʰii jàŋ
shoulder_bag that dump_out watch pt-out pt-comp pt-comp
(They) watched as (she) dumped out her shoulder bag.

Turtle and Squirrel 026
aŋkʰàŋ æʃən jaa jɛe
empty all pt-result pt-report
It was empty!

Turtle and Squirrel 027
naaammatàːŋ jɛe pùuhoɔŋ aŋbaa ʍaŋ nungbaa kʰàŋ nàʔ
extremely pt-report turtle mother Clf heart angry pt-at
The Mother Turtle was very angry.
**Turtle and Squirrel 028**

sootbáá bàa pláaen húu kap haan kham leem
early_morning neg light before trap wrap_and_take trap pt-dnmot
tʃiitʃii jée
pt-comp pt-report
The next morning before it was light (she) took a trap to trap.

**Turtle and Squirrel 029**

sùukbajlök pàŋ jóo kap jàan kbooj
small_red_sweet_fruit clf at trap that set
tʃiitʃáŋ jao
pt-left then
(Sh) set the trap at the suukbajlök tree and left it there.

**Turtle and Squirrel 030**

hootʃén maŋ nāa tʃāŋ even tʃii jée
squirrel clf ACC invite ascend pt-comp pt-report
(Sh) went to invite the squirrel.

**Turtle and Squirrel 031**

khaa hootʃén wee sùukbajlök tʃuu leem
friend! squirrel at small_red_sweet_fruit grab pt-dnmot
pjaađee
pt-invite
"Friend squirrel, let's go get some suukbajlök fruit."

**Turtle and Squirrel 032**

hootʃén maŋ kjàan jao sùuŋ kaa leem naowaa
squirrel clf hear then go-together pt-jnt pt-dnmot pt-rep_ep
(When) the squirrel heard, then they went together.

**Turtle and Squirrel 033**

ʔaŋʔan jóo khaa kan leem cáŋ hootʃén maŋ
previous_place at arrive pt-jnt pt-dnmot have squirrel clf
kap jàan gàaŋ sàa leem naowaa
trap that be afflicted kill pt-rep pt-rep_ep
At the time that they arrived at the previous place, the squirrel was afflicted by the trap and died.

**Turtle and Squirrel 034**

Pùiùhoon maŋ piitbódó cuŋ aŋmúu phii kút jao juum
turtle clf fire_wood set_fire body_hair burn scrape then house
khaa luu jao tboon buun
arrive return then chop finely
tʃèŋ hmiin jao kboej saaj ?aaj tʃii jée
cook wellcooked then dish_out give pt-aff pt-comp pt-report
The turtle set (the squirrel) on fire, then burnt and scraped off the body hair, then went back to the house, then chopped (the squirrel) up finely, then cooked it until it was done, then put it in a dish to give.
Turtle and Squirrel 035
hootʃʰən ‑ān ajāa pāŋ naa joŋ sūŋ kaa
squirrel group child group ACC 3pp go-together pt-jnt
tsāan tʃʰii jèe
eat pt-comp pt-report
That group of squirrel children, they ate together.

Turtle and Squirrel 036
kʰoo луумаатʰəŋ anbāa maŋ làajūŋ jàŋ hmyaŋ tʃʰii jèe
completely almost mother Clf finger that see pt-comp pt-report
(When) it was almost all gone, (they) saw their mother's finger.

Turtle and Squirrel 037
hiikām jèe bāen kʰu tʃʰii
at that point pt-report know everything pt-comp
At that point, they knew everything.

Turtle and Squirrel 038
ʔabaa ʃii kaa tʃáʔ nàʔ
mother die pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-end qt
"Mother is dead!"
“THE MISCHIEVOUS BOY” (MB)

The Mischiefous Boy 001
bisuu blit’hân jàakee aŋluk
Bisu fable child mischievous
Bisu Fable: The Mischievious Child

The Mischiefous Boy 002
mìaŋ kʰaŋjìe
long.time past_time
jàakee kʰàq’hàjàa tʰùu màŋ caŋ jìe
child male one Clf have pt-report
A long time ago there was a mischievous boy.

The Mischiefous Boy 003
ap’hluu jìe
lazy pt-report
(He) was lazy.

The Mischiefous Boy 004
lakaan bà tìu wàa kaa jìe
work neg willing work pt-st/abl pt-report
(He) was not willing to do any work at all.

The Mischiefous Boy 005
jào aŋbàa nàŋ aŋboŋ mèn jìe mìi tʃʰii jìe
then mother and father Clf both npt scold pt-comp pt-report
And then his mother and father both scolded him.

The Mischiefous Boy 006
càa aŋbàa kʰàa jìe
then heart angry pt-report
Then (he) was very angry.

The Mischiefous Boy 007
càŋk’oon wee hùuŋ làmèn tʃʰii jìe
forest at run pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
(So) he ran into the forest.

The Mischiefous Boy 008
càa mòŋkʰliŋ tʃʰii jìe
then darkness pt-comp pt-report
Then it became dark.
The Mischievous Boy 009
wuah kʰoo tʃʰii jèe
dark completely pt-comp pt-report
It became totally dark.

The Mischievous Boy 010
jaŋ mi aŋbba aŋboong näʔ juum naʔ moŋ tʃʰii jèe
3ps well, mother father and house ACC miss pt-comp pt-report
He, well, missed his mother and father.

The Mischievous Boy 011
jaŋ jɔoj pik luun lâm tʃʰii jèe
3ps walk return come pt-dnomot pt-comp pt-report
He (started) to walk back again.

The Mischievous Boy 012
cáa kiibaa tʰàag cuŋcuŋ tʰèu pāŋ caŋ jèe
then path beside tree one Clf have pt-report
Then there was a tree across the path.

The Mischievous Boy 013
kʰanəət jèe hùu nəə
extent pt-report large pt-st
It was very large.

The Mischievous Boy 014
ʔàacəam kʰaak həməə nəə caŋ jèe
and then fearful npt have pt-report
It looked very scary.

The Mischievous Boy 015
cáa cuŋcuŋ weə kéekéet tʰàag pləŋ nəə caŋ jèe
then tree at shadow black npt have pt-report
Then there was a black shadow at the tree.

The Mischievous Boy 016
jàamànjaatuu jèe
very_large pt-report
(It was) very large.

The Mischievous Boy 017
cuŋ tʃʰii
stand pt-comp
It was standing up.

The Mischievous Boy 018
jaŋ tʰàag jèe coŋ huun laəə tʃʰii
3ps near pt-report enter watch pt-dnomot pt-comp
He got closer to look at it.
The Mischievous Boy 019
caá huu kan lèe tʃhii jèe dæajáa jèe
then watch watch pt-out pt-comp 3ps spirit pt-report
When he watched it, he realized it was a spirit.

The Mischievous Boy 020
camkʰwəŋ məməmup jèe
hair disorderly pt-report
Its hair was very messy.

The Mischievous Boy 021
bânlaa moog jèe
tongue long pt-report
Its tongue was long.

The Mischievous Boy 022
məfnwən pəuməmii soot pook luun tʃhii jèe
eyes completely fall exit pt-out pt-comp pt-report
The spirit's eyes popped out.

The Mischievous Boy 023
ʃii ñeən ná? jèe
blood all pt-comprehend pt-report
It was completely covered in blood.

The Mischievous Boy 024
kʰwəkʰaabooləs jèe
extremely frightening pt-report
Very scary!

The Mischievous Boy 025
jàaŋ ñwëaj kʰjaəŋ jèe hùun luun tʃhii
3ps quickly quickly pt-report run pt-out pt-comp
The child ran away quickly.

The Mischievous Boy 026
dæejáa màaŋ hùun kʰwëen tʃhii jèe
spirit Clf run follow pt-comp pt-report
The spirit ran after him.

The Mischievous Boy 027
càa hùun tam hùun aŋboŋ màŋ naʔ cào ñwə ləə tʃhii ʃ jèe
then run crash run father Clf ACC crash ascend pt-dnmot pt-comp pt-report
Then as he was running around, he ran into his father.

The Mischievous Boy 028
jào dæejáa màaŋ pjoʔ kàʔ tʃhii jèe
then spirit Clf disappear pt-st/abl pt-comp pt-report
And then the spirit disappeared.
The Mischievous Boy 029
The child was very glad.

The Mischievous Boy 030
When they returned to the house, then he was good.

The Mischievous Boy 031
He helped with the work.

The Mischievous Boy 032
Since that time, the father and mother did not scold (him) again.
“MR. KIEW THE DEAF MAN AND MR. PAW THE BLIND MAN: A STORY OF TWO CHICKEN THIEVES” (DB)

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 001
baakʰaew nàsapâŋ nê? bâapôô mîwawa
Mr. Khaew deaf and Mr. Paw blind
Mr. Kiew the deaf man and Mr. Paw the blind man.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 002
jêt hjâa kʰâo tsâa reŋ
both chicken secretly eat story
A story of two chicken thieves.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 003
kʰaatâew wee tsʰaŋ sooŋ kʰun caa kʰaalaj
long ago at people two Clf have pt-exis
A long time ago there were two people.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 004
tʰu maŋ ma aŋmeeŋ baakʰaew nàsapâŋ
one Clf npt name Mr. Khaew deaf
Mr. Kiew was deaf.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 005
tʰu maŋ ma bâapôô mîwawa
one Clf tell Mr. Paw blind
Mr. Paw was blind.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 006
joʔ caajlaa jao jâa tʃʰâŋ kaa jao hjâa
at come from then pt-comp invite pt-jnt then hillfield
suŋ kaa kʰâo laʔ tʃʰii
go_together pt-jnt secretly pt-dmom pt-comp
Who knows were they were from--they invited each other to go steal chicken.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 007
jâamâaŋ puu kaew juum wee baakʰaew hjâa
old person grandfather Kaew house at Mr. Khaew chicken
kʰâo tʃʰûu huumaŋ
secretly grab responsible
At Uncle Kaew’s house, Mr. Khiew was the one responsible for grabbing the chicken.
Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 008

bàap'ó màaj tʃʰùu pii huumag
Mr. Paw tell grab pt-give responsible
Mr. Paw was the one responsible for telling (him where to grab).

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 009

hikʰám baakʰaew bàap'ó naʔ naa tʃʰii
at that time Mr. Khaew Mr. Paw ACC ask pt-comp
Then Mr. Khiew asked Mr. Paw.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 010

hjáa pʰàa kajcōog ni màŋ tʃʰùu làa hjáa pʰàa puutʃʰaa
chicken breed Kaijong this Clf grab or chicken breed Puutshaa
ni màŋ tʃʰuu làa
this Clf grab pt-quest
"Shall we grab a Kaijcong chicken or a Puutshaa chicken?"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 011

baakʰaew bàa kjàa cēŋ káa
Mr. Khaew neg hear clearly pt-st/abl
Mr. Khiew didn't hear clearly.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 012

ʔacäm pik naaj
then return ask
Then he went back and asked again.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 013

bàap'ó hǎw màaj ləw paanoc
Mr. Paw call tell pt-rep pt-comp
Mr. Paw shouted and said again:

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 014

hjáa kajcōog tʃʰii màŋ tʃʰùu làu pǎlaw
chicken Kaijong that Clf grab pt-imp pt-imp
"Grab that kajcong chicken."

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 015

hikʰám puu kaew
at that time grandfather Kaew
juum sūŋ màŋ kjàan jóo cīi hāwhāw ləa paanoc
house owner Clf hear then speak blurt_out_suddenly pt-comp pt-comp
At that point, Uncle Kaew the owner of the house heard and suddenly yelled out:

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 016

ʔasaŋ hə̚e hjáa kajcōog màʔ hjáa puutʃʰaa màʔ haŋ
who at chicken Kaijong and chicken Puutshaa and tell
ni màa
this Clf
"Who said Kajccong chicken and Puutshaa chicken?"
Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 017

baakʰæw nè? bâapóo jëet kjàan jào kʰæw lâmjào
Mr. Khaew and Mr. Paw both hear then afraid and then
sàuŋ kaa hùan pàando tʰàutòoŋtʰùumàŋ
go-together pt-jnt run pt-comp every_man_for_himself
Mr. Khiew and Mr. Paw heard and were shocked and fled in different directions.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 018

baakʰæw pàeplàa
Mr. Khaew flee
Mr. Khiew ran away.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 019

bâapóo pàmŋkòòook pàakjàa cît
Mr. Paw area_under_stilt_house path enter_quickly
Mr. Paw fled undermine the house

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 020

bâapóo pàmŋkòòook wəə tàmtàa lâak jàŋ
Mr. Paw area_under_stilt_house at implement 3ps
nàŋ kʰoon mæmkʰoɔŋ
step_on spring_up forehead
kʰook lâw pàanoo
strike pt-dnmot pt-comp
Under the house, Mr. Paw stepped on an implement which flipped up and struck his forehead.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 021

bàa caŋ làa .
neg have pt-comp
"It's over!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 022

tàuŋ lâŋ jàa
hit pt-comp pt-negben
"(I've) been hit!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 023

næe kuut tʃʰii
npt think pt-comp
He thought.

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 024

cii hàwjàw gaa tʰàu màŋ bàa rəa nəo
speak blurt_out suddenly lps one Clf neg correct pt-neg_agreed?
(He) blurted out, "It's not only me, you know!"

Mr. Kiew the Deaf Man and Mr. Paw the Blind Man 025

baakʰæw nàapàŋ taaṭàa pɔj
Mr. Khaew deaf also pt-empf
"Deaf Mr. Khiew too!"
"THE SWANS AND THE TURTLE" (ST)

The Swans and the Turtle 001
nukhuuŋ nēʔ ŕuhoonŋ aŋlēŋ
swan and turtle story
The story of the swans and the turtle.

The Swans and the Turtle 002
kʰətəm ŕuhoonŋ tʰuŋ maŋ nēʔ nukhuuŋ səŋ too cəa ləaj
long ago turtle one clf and swan two clf have pt-exis
A long time ago there was a turtle and two swans.

The Swans and the Turtle 003
šuhoonŋ təʔsəm nii tooŋ jəa təmə aʃə təŋ
turtle mountain this mountain side search eat search water
məŋ jəo nʊŋbaatəsq nəʔ tuŋ nii tooŋ
long time then worry field one this mountain side
jəa təmə ləu tʃʰii nəm
search eat return pt-comp pt-st
The turtle had looked for food and drink on one mountain for a long time and in his heart wanted to go
look for food on another side (to go to another mountain across a field).

The Swans and the Turtle 004
gəa nəməmə tʰəu maŋ səuŋ əmən ləwəmə
lps self one clf go_together go pt-imp
"Anyone—someone take me there!"

The Swans and the Turtle 005
hikʰəm nukhuuŋ səŋ too kʃən jəo ʃaŋməj həə
that time swan two clf hear then stick at
məŋə jəap pʃi jəo pəcəm ʃaŋməj ləu tʃʰii
tell grasp_in_mouth pt-give at then then tell pt-out pt-comp
At that time two swans heard and had him grasp in his mouth a piece of wood held in their feet and
they told him:

The Swans and the Turtle 006
nəŋ məŋpaatəŋ hakaatəŋ həa ləw pəe
2nd person mouth care for do pt-imp pt-imp
"Take care of your mouth!"

The Swans and the Turtle 007
hikʰəm nukhuuŋ maŋ jəet pjaam nəʔ tuŋ kʰəm ləm
that time swan clf both fly field one cross ascend
paando
pt-comp
Immediately both swans flew across the field.

**The Swans and the Turtle 008**

 jákæe poopʰnaa poopʰaa páu hun hmqap láujao hāw
 child water_buffalo caretaker group watch see and_then call
 lanjaa tjʰii
 pt-int pt-comp

*The buffalo boys saw it and they shouted out together,*

**The Swans and the Turtle 009**

 nukhuun ŋuhoon man naʔ hlâm tjʰii
 swan turtle Clf ACC lift pt-comp

*"The swans are carrying the turtle"*

**The Swans and the Turtle 010**

 hikʰám ŋuhoon man kjān jao ciin lūu paanḍo
 that time turtle Clf hear then speak pt-out pt-comp

*Then the turtle heard it and said:*

**The Swans and the Turtle 011**

 bāa ŋā ŋuhoon nukhuun naʔ hlám ŋeem
 neg correct turtle swan ACC lift pt-st

*"No--it's the turtle who is carrying the swans."*

**The Swans and the Turtle 012**

 mānpoon ŋān jao klaaj lūn
 mouth open then fall come

*When he opened his mouth, he fell down*

**The Swans and the Turtle 013**

 jāo poopʰnaa ŋuum ŋeem huuj
 then water_buffalo group look upward look

*Then the buffalo looked upwards.*

**The Swans and the Turtle 014**

 phlāj poopʰnaa ŋuum ŋeem caaj hēe
 everyone water_buffalo group look upward look_upward at

*All the buffalo in the herd lifted their heads and looked.*

**The Swans and the Turtle 015**

 kamlāŋ hēe ŋuhoon man poopʰnaa
 momentarily at turtle Clf water_buffalo

 man naatūu mānpoon čōt klaaj tāj paanḍo
 Clf upper_lip mouth enter_quickly fall hit pt-comp

*The turtle fell down into the mouth of a water buffalo.*

**The Swans and the Turtle 016**

 poopʰnaa sdroʰne pjāa klaa kʰoo paanḍo
 water_buffalo teeth scatter fall completely pt-comp

*All the water buffalo's teeth fell out.*
The Swans and the Turtle 017
 Jáamukbée tōngbnaa sōpʰée bāa caa
 up_to_this_time water_buffalo teeth neg have
 To this day, water buffalo don't have teeth.

The Swans and the Turtle 018
 Tūuhoog pāqʰjāam jāat būn jao lahlao jao Tūuhoog
turtle shell that finely completely then turtle
Tōqʰ jāat tsʰaan kōolookkaʔlik wēe gāŋ
excrement 3ps people armpit at crash_against
The turtle's shell was completely crushed and excrement of the turtle fell on the upper arm of that person

The Swans and the Turtle 019
 Jao kōorəstrepət nam Jáamukbée
then armpit stinky up_to_this_time
Thus (our armpits) smell bad to this day.
APPENDIX 2

PARTICLE PROFILE SUMMARY CHART
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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Kirk Roger Person was born on June 22, 1967, in Loveland, Colorado. His interest in Asia began in childhood, when his parents adopted two Vietnamese orphans and organized an adoption agency, the Friends of Children of Viet Nam.

In 1987, he graduated from Baylor University with a major in history, an honors program thesis on the philosophy of Michelangelo, and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He dropped his sole undergraduate linguistics course after one week.

In 1988, he was selected as a Baylor-in-Thailand exchange student to teach English at Yonok College, Lampang. He stayed at Yonok for five years (a record for an exchange student), teaching English, history, and linguistics, as well as heading the English department (1989–93), assisting the college president, and marrying Baylor exchange student Suzanne Renee Anderson (1992). Simultaneously, he obtained an M.A. in linguistics from Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand (1993), with a thesis on the discourse style of Thailand’s most popular Buddhist televangelist.

Kirk returned to the United States in 1993, and subsequently began Ph.D. studies at the University of Texas at Arlington. In 1995 he returned to Thailand as a member of SIL International to teach linguistics at Payap University and conduct research on Northern Thai and Bisu. He has presented papers at the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, the Pan-Asiatic Symposium on Languages and Linguistics, the International Thai Studies Conference, the Society for Endangered Languages, the Sino-Tibetan Conference, the Southwestern Social Science Association, and the UT Arlington Student Conference in Linguistics. He has given guest lectures at Chiang Mai University, Baylor University, and the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics.

After receiving his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington in December 2000, Kirk and his family returned to Thailand.