

So Stories: A preliminary analysis of texts in a Mon-Khmer language

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A. Linguistic overview

The So language belongs to the Katuic branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) subfamily and is spoken in the northeast Thailand provinces of Sakon Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom. More specifically So may be classified as: Austroasiatic, Mon-Khmer, Eastern Mon-Khmer, Katuic, North Katuic family. Other languages such as Bru, So Tri, and Makong are closely related in the North Katuic grouping with So. Katuic languages are spoken in northeastern Thailand including Kui (Suay) in Sisaket and Surin Provinces and Bru in Mukdahan Province. Katuic languages are also spoken in central Laos and in Vietnam including So, Bru, Kui, Ta-oih, Katang, Makong, Tri, Katu, and Pacoh.

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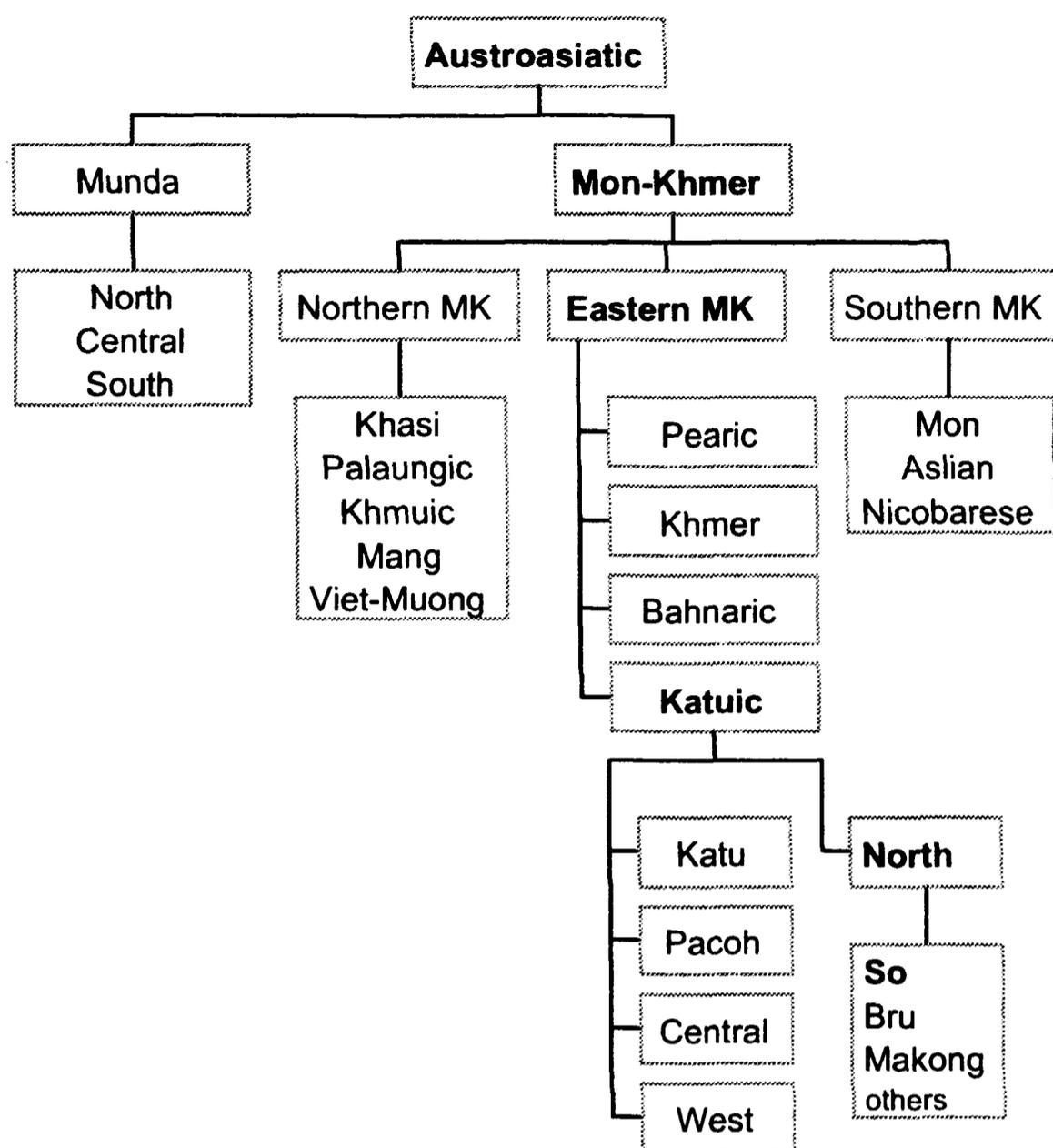


Figure 1. Austroasiatic language family (from Diffloth 1976)

The So people of northeastern Thailand originally came from central Laos within the past 150 years. They came to Thailand as economic and political refugees and also as a result of forced migrations after various battles between the feuding kingdoms of that time period. They have mainly settled in a corridor extending through three consecutive districts: Tha-uthen District (Nakhon Phanom Province) on the Mekong River through Phonsawan District (Nakhon Phanom Province) and ending in Kusuman District (Sakon Nakhon). Many other smaller communities of So speakers are scattered throughout the three-province area of Nakhon Phanom, Sakon Nakhon, and Mukdahan. A few additional So villages and households are located in more widely scattered areas beyond these three provinces. The general population estimates of So people in Thailand ranges from 40,000 to 60,000 and in Laos ranges from 100,000 to 200,000. The So spoken in Kusuman District is considered the prestige dialect on the Thailand side.

The people are mainly animist though strongly influenced by the Buddhism of the surrounding Thai society. Their dominant economic activity is wetland, paddy farming. With the demise of the forested areas not many So people practice their earlier hunting and foraging activities.

In Thailand's hierarchy of languages, So is a marginal language since the majority of the people live on the other side of the border. Most of the So people are bilingual with the regional Isan (Lao) language. A lesser number are also bilingual in the national Thai language.

The So language (especially in Kusuman District) is currently being maintained because of a sufficient critical mass of speakers and a positive attitude towards their own language and culture. It seems that this will continue at least through the next several generations given the current favorable climate towards use of the vernacular. The So people are becoming more bilingual in the national Thai language given the increasing numbers of people attending more years of elementary and secondary schools, the wide impact of the mass media, and the growing numbers who travel to Bangkok for periods of work. But this growing bilingualism does not necessarily mean the extinction of the So language since the current trend in this area seems to be towards multilingualism.

The name of the language

The name 'So' is used for citations in the literature, and is also the common name used by Thai officials in the northeast to refer to the people. In Thai they are called /t^hay sô/.

The word 'So' may be a Lao term (Gainey 1985:16). One explanation (Malai 1980) of the word 'So' is that it comes from the Lao word /so:re:/ with the meaning 'talking together.' A Lao story says that the So people were lazy, living a simple life, not caring for their work or for their future, liking to sit by the fire and talk a lot, so that the Lao called them /so:re:/

Sometimes they are called 'Bru', in an ethnic sense, when they are lumped together with their neighbors living in nearby provinces. There are various Bru lects living in Mukdahan, the next province south of Sakon Nakhon. Other references lump the So together with all minority peoples called /k^ha:/, a word that may also have come from Lao meaning 'slave' (Gainey 1985:13). Seidenfaden (1943) visited some minority peoples living in Kalasin Province and wrote that they called themselves 'So' or in Thai, but the local Thai people called them 'Kha.'

Grimes (1996) lists several languages with the designator of 'So', such as So Makon, Kha So (Thro), and So Tri. The language in this study is the So (Thro) variety as spoken in Kusuman District. The confusion about the name 'So' in the linguistic literature extends to several other groups, which do not speak the So language but have also had the designator 'So' applied to them. There are several reasons for this confusion. First, at times the Thai government officials of various districts and provinces have used the term 'So' as a general cover term for the Mon-Khmer groups in their region. Secondly, some language groups have used the term 'So' to describe themselves (more as an ethnonym) because they were in an area with a large So speaking population. Thus Chollada (1986) and Darunee (1986) have the word 'So' in the titles, though their studies are, in fact, of the Bru language as spoken in Dong Luang District,

Mukdahan Province. Also Suwilai (1995) has the word 'So' in the title though the language spoken is actually Thavung, of the Vietic branch.

The So autonym is usually /lakɯay tʰrɔː/ 'people So', i.e., 'the So people.' The So use this term to distinguish themselves from other language groups, though there are some speakers of the So language in Laos who go by the ethnonym 'Bru.'

The origin and meaning of the term 'So' is somewhat unclear. Diffloth (1991) says that So comes from the word for 'rice' while Bru comes from the meaning of 'mountain', as in the sense of 'we speak the language of the mountains.' The word /thro/ is very close to the word /tʰrɔː/, which can mean 'paddy ears of rice' as in 'unhusked rice', the 'rice seed', or the 'uncooked rice.' With this sense, then /lakɯay tʰrɔː/ has the meaning of 'people rice', that is 'the rice people' or 'people of the rice.' Maybe then the So people were differentiated from the Bru by the fact that the Bru were mountain people and the So were the rice (or lowland) people.

Gainey (1985) says that Kui means 'human being', whereas the Thai word for the Kui is 'Suai' (or its variants Soai, Souei) which has the meaning 'those who pay tribute.' Bru /kuay/ and So /kuəj/ also have a similar word to Kui with the meaning of person, or human being. The Thai and Lao name for these people, as noted earlier, is 'Kha' which has a possible origin in the Lao word meaning 'slave.'

Location and population

The Katuic peoples are spread throughout the four countries of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia, but the majority of them are in southern Laos (Diffloth 1991).

There are estimated to be approximately 100,000 So speakers living in Laos with possibly another 35,000 living in Thailand. In Laos they are mainly located in the provinces of Thakek, Sawannakhet and Kham Muon. In Thailand a few So are reported to live in Mukdahan and Kalasin Provinces, but most of them live in the provinces of Nakhon Phanom and Sakon Nakhon. The So population is concentrated along a corridor stretching from Tha-uthen and Phonsawan Districts in Nakhon Phanom Province to Kusuman District in Sakon Nakhon Province.

Seidenfaden (1943) says the original habitat of the So was in the hilly, jungle parts of Laos around Tha-Khaek. During the Annam-Thailand war in the 1840s, some So moved to Nakhon Phanom (Tha-uthen and Wanonniwat Districts) and Sakon Nakhon (Kusuman District) Provinces. He estimates that in 1912 there were about 7,000 So people in both Sakon Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom Provinces. In 1915 he estimates about 4,250 So people in Tha-uthen District. Apparently some So were also living in Mukdahan Province. There the

So had mixed some with the Phu-thai and were called 'Soai.' Kalasin Province had about 800 So people with most of them living in Warichaphum District (in the southern parts of the PhuPhan hills) and in Kutchinarai District.

Today the So language in Thailand is mainly spoken in three northeastern provinces; Nakhon Phanom, Sakon Nakhon and Mukdahan. There are various reports of So people scattered through other adjacent provinces, though these other So are not necessarily mutually intelligible. The cultural center of the So is in Kusuman district, Sakon Nakhon province. Researchers usually agree on this, and the So people themselves also declare that the So spoken in Kusuman is the 'pure' and 'good' type of So language. The So and Bru speakers in other districts and provinces also refer to the So of Kusuman district as being 'good' So where even the children still speak the language.

Grimes (1996) lists several varieties of So (total population of 157,000 in all countries) living on both sides of the Mekong River, mainly in the central Lao provinces of Thakek and Sawannakhet (about 102,000) and in the northeastern Thai provinces of Nakhon Phanom and Sakon Nakhon (about 55,000). Some So are also reported to be in the Thai provinces of Nong Kai and Kalasin for a total of 53 villages in Thailand. Another estimate (Keele n.d.) shows some 41 So villages on the Thai side with a population of about 25,000, and on the Lao side, about 154 villages with a population of about 200,000.

Additionally there are reported to be about 10,000 So Tri with some 5,000 living in Thailand mostly in Sakon Nakhon Province (Grimes 1996).

B. Overview of So phonology

The So language has a rich phonological inventory similar to that reported for other Katuic languages. Word forms are mostly monosyllabic and disyllabic. Disyllabic words have stress on the second syllable so that the phonological word consists of (σ) + 'σ, i.e., an optional first syllable followed by a stressed second syllable.

Disyllabic words have a short minor presyllable consisting of CV(N) or a syllabic nasal N̩ (which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the major syllable). This minor syllable has a short vowel restricted to /a i u/ though it can be reduced to /a/ as the default in the minor syllable: {Ci/ Cu/ Ca} ~ Ca. This minor syllable is also unstressed, has a short vowel (though there is free variation with the corresponding long vowel), does not have diphthongs, and reduces to a first (clear) register vowel only. It consists of either a short syllable CV(N) or a syllabic nasal N̩ that assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the major syllable. The major syllable has a monophthong (long or short) or diphthong stressed vowel, which

can occur in either register (clear or breathy). Its syllable shape is $C_1 (C_2) V (C_3) (C_4)$.

So has 21 initial consonant phonemes and 14 single final consonants. There are 8 initial consonant clusters C_1C_2 where C_1 can be /p b t t^h k/ and C_2 can be /r l/. There are also 3 final consonant clusters C_3C_4 where C_3 is restricted to /w y/ and C_4 can only be /ʔ h/. The So language has a large inventory of vowels, with 22 single vowels (comprised of 11 basic vowels that can be short or long) and 3 diphthongs. The language still retains a distinctive register consisting of two contrastive phonation types, clear and breathy.

Stress

Most So words are monosyllabic. On disyllabic words, however, the stress is usually on the second (or major) syllable. The preceding short minor syllable is unstressed.

Thus an optional unstressed preceding syllable (σ) may occur before the main stressed syllable ($'\sigma$). The following So examples reflect this disyllabic pattern of stress placement. The period ($\sigma.\sigma$) marks the boundary between syllables.

ku.'ci:t	'die'	ba.'daŋ	'wonder'
ʔa.'ci:t	'to kill'	ca.'riak	'buffalo'
ʔa.'baŋ	'to hide something'	ha.'ma	'how much'

Syllable patterns

Katuic languages (and many other Mon-Khmer languages) have a sesquisyllabic syllable type, in which there is an optional minor (pre-) syllable followed by a major stressed syllable. Thus So words are mostly monosyllabic (major syllable) or disyllabic (minor syllable plus a major syllable). So is predominantly sesquisyllabic with stress placement on the final syllable of the word. Historically, the final syllable is being progressively strengthened with a corresponding weakening of the non-final syllable (Thomas 1992).

Minor syllable

The minor syllable in So corresponds most closely to Thomas' (1992) sesquisyllabic syllable type three in which the vocalic element has a contrast between two or three phonemes. Thus, there are only two or three vowels that can occur in the minor syllable.

The minor syllable (presyllable) in So usually:

- is unstressed
- has a short vowel (though there is free variation with long vowel)
- does not have diphthongs
- reduces to a first (clear) register vowel only

The minor syllable has two common types:

- 1) CV(C)-, a short syllable
- 2) N̩-, a syllabic nasal which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the major syllable

CV(C) minor syllable

The first type of minor syllable is a short syllable C₁ V (C₂) where:

- C₁ = /p p^h t c k k^h ʔ m s h r l/
- V = /a i u/
- C₂ = /m n/
- if C₁ = /ʔ/ then V = /a/

These elements combine in minor syllables of the following So forms:

baŋ.pɛc	‘to work sorcery’	cam.pa:	‘magnolia’
sam.lo:ŋ	‘slipknot’	hun.hay	‘angry and annoy’
ci.cɔ:r	‘to groan’	ci.rah	‘arrow’

If the first consonant of the minor syllable is a glottal stop then the following vowel is only /a/.

ʔa.baŋ	‘to hide something’	ʔa.i:	‘sick; ache’
ʔa.bla:m	‘grasshopper’	ʔa.kar	‘frighten’
ʔa.cɛt	‘small axe’	ʔa.k ^h lah	‘to chip out’

For C₁, /b/ also occurs in a very few words, about four altogether in this corpus. These words could be /p/ or they could be /p/ with breathy voice (in a compound word) or loans with as yet undetermined phonological history.

ba.daŋ	‘wonder (not know)’
baŋ.pɛc	‘to do sorcery’

Likewise, for C₁, /h/ occurs very rarely, in only six examples.

ha.me:n	‘incorrect’
ha.ma	‘how much’
hun.hay	‘angry and annoyed’

For C₁, /k^h/ also occurs very rarely as the initial consonant of the minor syllable:

k ^h a.da	‘probably’
k ^h a.lɛm	‘doesn’t matter’
k ^h a.map	‘temple (of the head)’

The second optional consonant C₂, is also rare in minor syllables since the unstressed CVC pattern is usually reduced to CV or V. The few examples are found in about eight cases, two of which occur with /b/ the suspect minor syllable phoneme above.

baŋ.pɛc	‘to work sorcery’
baŋ.bw:y	‘the edge of something’
cam.pa:	‘magnolia’

The minor syllable vowel, -V-, can be /ai u/, but the most frequently occurring vowel in this position is /a/. Thus, one could posit that there is only one minor syllable vowel /a/, which has two allophones /i u/. The allophone /i/ occurs after /c/, and the allophone /u/ occurs after /k/. But /c/ and /k/ did also occur with the vowel /a/ in the minor syllable. So at this point it seems that the language has three minor syllable vowels /a i u/, though it is in transition to having only one minor syllable vowel /a/ with allophones /i u/.

The vowel /i/ occurs mostly in the syllable /ci/ (about 80 plus times) and a few times in /si/ (about 4 times). The vowel /u/ appears almost exclusively in /ku/ (about 45 plus times). The initial /k/ had an even distribution between /ka/ and /ku/ forms, while /c/ occurred mostly with /ci/. All the rest of the consonants occur only with /a/. In quite a few words there was alternation (free variation) between /ci/ and /si/, between /ci/ and /ca/, and between /ku/ and /ka/. That is, all -V- types could be reduced to /a/ as the default in the minor syllable with free variation among the other vowels: {Ci/ Cu/ Ca} ~ Ca.

N̩ syllabic nasals minor syllable

The second type of minor syllable is a syllabic nasal, where N̩ = /m̩ n̩ ŋ̩ ɲ̩/

m̩bɛ	‘2psg’	ŋ̩cak	‘2psg’
m̩pɛ	‘mother’	ŋ̩ci:	‘headlice’
m̩pay	‘flea’	ŋ̩kah	‘male animal’

The syllabic nasal minor syllable can involve any of the four nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ or /ɲ/, with /ŋ/ less frequent than the other three nasals. The nasal

variants /m/ /n/ /ɲ/ /ŋ/ are conditioned, occurring with their homorganic stop counterpart /m̥p/ /n̥t/ /ɲ̥c/ /ŋ̥k/.

The frequency of occurrences are shown below:

/m̥p/	27 words	/n̥t/	15 words
/m̥p ^h /	a few words	/n̥t ^h /	a few words
/m̥pl/	a few words	/n̥t ^h r/	a few words
/m̥pr/	a few words	/n̥tr/	15 words
/m̥b/	a few words		
/ɲ̥c/	7 words	/ŋ̥k/	20 words
/ɲ̥c ^h /	7 words	/ŋ̥k ^h /	4 words
		/ŋ̥kl/	2 words

These presyllable nasals are not a single morpheme {N-} with a unique meaning, so /m/ ~ /n/ ~ /ɲ/ ~ /ŋ/ cannot be labeled allomorphs. Also, they do not contrast in the presyllables since the presyllable instances of the four syllabic nasals only occur in those presyllables and they are always conditioned by the main syllable consonant. Thus, this is what the Prague school linguists called an ‘Archiphoneme’ where there is a neutralization of opposition (contrast). The archiphoneme /N/ is underspecified as to point of articulation as only [+ nasal] and [+ syllabic] is implied. These nasals are contrastive elements in other environments but in this reduced, unstressed, presyllable initial position they are neutralized, assimilating to the following consonant.

Major syllable

The major syllable consists of a consonant or a consonant cluster followed by a vowel nucleus and an optional final consonant or consonant cluster.

The major syllable has the following characteristics:

- it is stressed
- the vowel can be either a long or short monophthong
- the vowel can be a diphthong
- the vowel can occur in either register (clear or breathy)

The major syllable is of the type: C₁ (C₂) V (C₃) (C₄)

C₁ = any consonant of the 21 initial consonants set (shown in Figure 2)

C₂ = /l r/

if C₁C₂ then C₁ can only be = /p b t t^h k/

V = any short or long vowel (22 monophthongs) or complex vowel (3 diphthongs)

C₃ = any consonant of the 14 final consonants set (shown in Figure 4)

C₄ = /h ?/

if C₃C₄ then C₃ can only be = /w y/

The following forms illustrate these combinatory possibilities.

CV major syllable

ba 'a green meadow'

ki: 'that'

CCV major syllable

kla: 'snail'

pra 'money'

CCVC major syllable

pruŋ 'a small hole'

tran 'forest animals'

kla:k 'white'

CCVCC major syllable

blayh 'type of snake'

kla:w? 'raw'

CVC major syllable

su:t 'blind'

pah 'to cut'

CVCC major syllable

ɛw? 'particle (emphasis)'

pɛnc 'to be full'

Syllable reduction

Syllables can be reduced through sandhi reduction and tempo reduction as seen in the following examples.

Sometimes a reduction of two similar adjacent vowels takes place at morpheme (word) boundaries (sandhi reduction), as seen in these forms:

nao wo ⇒ nao o 'he speaks'

cia awah ⇒ cia wah 'eat rice'

men n̄tro:w ⇒ men tro:w 'yes what'

Another reduction phenomenon is the tendency to shorten words in normal (fast) speech (tempo reduction), as contrasted with the same words said in isolation, e.g.:

Words in isolation		Words in normal speech	Gloss
mpiayh di:	⇒	mpɛ di:	‘not good’
mpiayh	⇒	piayh	‘negative’
mbɛʔ	⇒	bɛʔ	‘you -- 2nd person informal’
mpiayh	⇒	mah	‘negative’
mpiayh	⇒	ma	‘negative prefix’

Consonant phonemes

Initial consonant phonemes

There are 21 initial consonant phonemes in the So language as plotted in Figure 2:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops--Voiceless	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Stops--Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
Stops--Voiced	b	d			
Fricatives		s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Flaps		r			
Approximates	w	l	y		

Figure 2. So initial consonants

There is alternation (free variation) between /w/ and /v/ which is probably influenced from Thai and/or Lao. Also some words clearly use /f/ though most of these are obvious loan words from Thai or Lao, some others are not. Malai (1980) reports both /f/ and /tʃ/ though these were rare in this data corpus. Maybe these are words borrowed from other related languages (like So-Tri) or maybe it is just that that individual speaker was borrowing the use of /f/ from Thai and applying it to some So words. More work is needed to check which So words are likely to get this /f/ phoneme and in what contexts.

Initial consonant clusters

There are 8 initial consonant clusters composed of C₁C₂ where:

$$C_1 = /p b t t^h k/$$

$$C_2 = /r l/$$

These elements combine as clusters seen in Figure 3:

	Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Stop-voiceless	pr pl	tr t ^h r	kr kl
Stop-voiced	br bl		

Figure 3. So initial consonant clusters

Final consonant phonemes

There are 14 single final consonants in the So language as arrayed in the figure below:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops--Voiceless	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Fricatives					h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Flaps		r			
Approximates	w	l	y		

Figure 4. So final consonants

Final consonant clusters

There are three final consonant clusters composed of C₃C₄, where:

$$C_3 = /w y/$$

$$C_4 = /ʔ h/$$

These combine as seen in Figure 5:

wʔ
yʔ
yh

Figure 5. So final consonant clusters

Consonant inventory comparison

Another way to look at the consonants is to compare the inventory of initial and final consonant phonemes organized according to the obstruent and sonorant manner of articulation.

The initial consonants (either single or cluster) are shown in Figure 6:

			Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
OBSTRUENTS	Stops	Vl	p	t	c	k	ʔ
		Vd	b	d			
		Asp	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
	Continuants	Flap		r			
		Spirant		s			h
SONORANTS	Nasal		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	Oral		w	l	y		

Figure 6. Initial consonant inventory

Whether the finals are -C or -CC, they are selected from the reduced inventory shown in Figure 7:

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
OBSTRUENTS	Stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Continuant		r			h
SONORANTS	Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	Oral	w	l	y		

Figure 7. Final consonant inventory

An inspection of Figures 6 and 7 shows that in final position both stop obstruents and continuant obstruents are reduced to a single series each. Sonorants stay the same in both initial and final position while obstruents are radically reduced to unvoiced and unaspirated stop series and only the continuants /r/ and /h/.

Vowel phonemes

There are a total of 27 vowels in So, 22 monophthongs (11 basic vowels all of which can be either short or long) and 3 diphthongs (only short).

Monophthongs

There are 22 single vowels (11 basic vowels that can be short or long). These can occur in either register which gives a total count of 44 vowels as shown in Figure 8.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	i:	ɯ	ɯ:	u	u:
Mid	e	e:	ɤ	ɤ:	o	o:
Low-Mid	ɛ	ɛ:	ʌ	ʌ:	ɔ	ɔ:
Low			a	a:	ɑ	ɑ:

Figure 8. So monophthong vowels

Diphthongs

There are three diphthongs that can occur in either register as shown in Figure 9.

	Front Low - glided	Central Glided-mid	Back Low-glided
High	ia	ua	ua

Figure 9. So diphthong vowels

Register

The So language has register distinction consisting of two contrastive phonation types, clear and breathy.

- Register 1 -- clear or normal voice (generally a mid-level pitch)
- Register 2 -- breathy voice (generally a low-rising pitch)

Some clear and breathy register contrasts:

mpi:	‘chili peppers’	mpi:	‘mother’
mat	‘future’	maṭ	‘eye’
palih	‘gather fruit’	paḷih	‘roll over’
haʔ	‘negative (not)’	haʔ	‘to tear’
pan	‘to be’	paṅ	‘to wait’

C. Overview of So syntax

The syntax of the So language includes the grammatical categories of nouns, verbs, auxiliaries, adverbs, pronouns, modifiers, particles, conjunctions, prepositions, and classifiers. So is an isolating language with the morphological processes of reduplication (complete, partial, and semantic), prefixation, and some infixation.

Minor grammatical categories

Classifiers

The classifier is a semantic grouping of nouns which is used when counting. There are many So classifiers which are sometimes divided into general types, such as specific, collective, and measures.

Specific:

na	‘person’
to:	‘body, thing’
nuey	‘small things’
lu:c	‘wood pieces’

Collective:

wi:l 'village'
 doŋ 'house'

Measures:

ci.ŋa:n 'cups'
 kru 'bucket'

Some examples of So classifiers are:

Example 1

m̩i: t^haw m̩uay na
 have old one CLSF_people
 'There was *an* old man.'

Example 2

c̩ɣ: an ba:r tɔ:
 already 3psg two CLSF_body

ka: m̩pɛ:k cɔh p^hu: la bɔ:n

then divide to_plant person per place

'And then they divide the tree and each person plants it in his own place.'

Example 3

pat m̩pi:ayh ɔ:n an ci:a pu:a nuey
 then neg for 3psg eat enough CLSF_small
 '...but (the monkey) wouldn't give him any to eat, not even one little one (banana).'

Example 4

an m̩i: pu:n la:ŋ
 CLSF_it have four leg
 'It (an animal) has four legs.'

The So classifier comes after the numeral in the order [Noun-Numeral-Classifier].

Example 5

wək an ba:r tɔ:
 group 3psg two CLSF_animal
 'The two of them'

Conjunctions

Some conjunctions are:

caŋ	‘so’
cɔn	‘until’
hak	‘but’
bat	‘when’
cɣ:	‘already’
ka:	‘then’
k ^h am	‘because’

This is seen in the following example:

Example 6

cɣ:	ka:	yiaŋ	ka:	m̩pi:ayh	m̩i:a	lɛw?
And then		rain	then	neg rain		PRT_emphasis
‘And then it will not rain.’						

Demonstratives

There are two basic demonstratives:

nay	‘this’
ki:	‘that’

These are usually placed after the noun phrase as seen in these examples:

Example 7

ku.man	ŋkə	nay
daughter-in-law	1psg	this
‘this my daughter-in-law’		

Example 8

nə	hay	ki:
spirit_room	1pin	that
‘that our (inclusive) spirit_room’		

Expressives

Expressives describe the sound or feel of something happening, some of which are seen below. Usually this takes the form of some kind of reduplication. There are many of these in the language.

ak ak	‘the sound of laughing’
ɔ:k a:k ɔ:k a:k	‘the sound of many people screaming’
k ^h ʊp k ^h ʊp	‘the sound of many people doing something together’

An example is seen below where the daughter-in-law is looking and looking, trying hard to find a way out of the room (from ‘The Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text).

Example 9

li.lɿ:.li.lɿ: ʌ:t ti klɔ:ŋ ki:
 sound_looking exist at inside there
 ‘She was still looking everywhere for a way out of the room.’

Another example is where the turtle laughs when he is able to beat the monkey (from the ‘Turtle’ text):

Example 10

an ka: ci.caŋ ak.ak lɛw?
 3psg then laugh sound_laugh PRT_emphasis
 ‘He then laughed and laughed.’

Particles

The particles are usually in clause final position and express the speakers feelings, including affirmation, negation, interrogation, certainty, evaluation, and ability. So (like many Asian languages) uses evidential particles to indicate the source of the information contained in the clause and epistemic particles to indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause. A few are listed below:

aw	‘agreement’
ɿ:	‘agreement’
bah	‘exclamation of anger’
da:k	‘negation – politeness’
ɿ:y	‘exclamation of attention’

This example shows two particles in one sentence:

Example 11

an a.da muɿt pa:y bɛ dɿ: pi:t ɿ:y
 3psg keep mind said 2psg PRT_certain turtle PRT_attention
 ‘He then remembered that ‘you, the turtle, did like this to me.’’

Prepositions

Prepositions function as the head of the preposition phrase, some of which are listed here.

cɔ	‘to’
nɯŋ	‘with/in’
moŋ	‘at’

Prepositions can have a variety of meanings. The preposition /nɯŋ/ normally has a meaning of ‘with’ as in accompaniment or instrumental, but in the example below it connotes location.

Example 12

mi:	mɯay	t ^h ɯɣ	tɛ:.a.ray	nɯŋ	tru:ŋ.tra	mɯay	ba:n
have	one	time	old_days	in	forest	one	place

‘In the old days there was a certain place in the forest.’

Question word

Some clause level content question words are:

ma	‘where/ ‘what’
ha.ma	‘how much’
ma.ma	‘when’

Usually these question words occur at the end of the clause, though as seen in the first example below, they can also occur at the beginning.

Example 13

ha.ma	caŋ	kuci:t	ci
when	so	die	PRT_command

‘When will she die?’

Example 14

mɯy	ci:a	ŋtro:w
2psg	eat	what

‘What are you eating?’

Example 15

aw	ta	sa.ma
PRT_agree	do	how

‘Well, how did this happen?’

*Major grammatical categories**Adverbs*

Some manner adverbs:

k ^h a.na:t	‘very, much’
t ^h ɛ:	‘very’
a.lɿ	‘overly much’

Manner adverbs usually occur toward the end of the clause as seen below:

Example 16

ta.mɯr	an	ka:	i:.ri:a:y	pi:t
monkey	3psg	then	angry	turtle

re:ŋ	k ^h a.na:t	lɛw?
strong	very	PRT_emphasis

‘The monkey, he then was very angry at the turtle.’

Some time adverbs:

a.dʌh	‘just now’
dʌh	‘just a moment ago’
ki:.dʌh	‘just recently’

Time adverbs can be placed towards the beginning of the clause or at the end as the examples below show:

Example 17

a.t ^h aw	ka:	lɔ:n	a.sʌ	ki: dʌh
3pol	then	examine	rice_milled	just_recent

‘He then examined the milled rice from just recently.’

Example 18

tɛ:.a.ray	a.t ^h aw	pʌ cʌ:ŋ	ci.rɿak
old_days	3pol	go buy	buffalo

‘In the old days he went to buy a buffalo.’

Descriptive adjectives

Adjectives are in the middle on a time-stability continuum which runs from active verbs (unstable) to stative verbs, to adjectives, to nouns (stable). There is no formal distinction between stative verbs and adjectives in So. Since there is no other verb used in a descriptive clause, some (Malai 1980) have called these forms ‘descriptive verbs’. In this paper, the forms that modify

nouns are called descriptive adjectives. These modifiers can occur after the noun that they modify, and they can also occur in the predicate.

Some size adjectives are:

a.yo:k	‘tall’
ci.klɯ:ŋ	‘wide’
pɯ:t	‘big’

The following size adjective is placed in an existential clause:

Example 19

ŋtɔŋ	mi:	ci.klɯ:ŋ	ʌ:t
door	have	wide	exist

‘The door was wide (clearly there and easy to see).’

The next example shows the size adjective immediately following the noun that it modifies:

Example 20

lɛ:	hɣ:m	bluh	pɯ:t
and	see	termite_nest	big

‘And he saw a big termite nest.’

The color adjective usually occurs after the noun that it modifies as seen below:

Example 21

pat	hɣ:m	a.sʌ	klɑ:k	ʌ:t ti tuh
then	see	rice_milled	white	exist at there

‘Then he saw the white milled rice still over there.’

Example 22

cɣ:.ka:	mi:	pa.lay ci:n	lɯ:ɑŋ
and then	have	fruit ripe	yellow

‘And then they had ripe yellow fruit.’

The following example shows a value adjective in a verbless (descriptive) clause:

Example 23

ali:k nay	aka:c	lɯ.
pig this	lazy	truly

‘This pig is definitely lazy.’

A texture adjective can be reduplicated to show intensification:

Example 24

tarah	kutɛ:k	ɔ:n an	p ^h i:an p ^h ian
cut	dirt	for 3psg	smooth smooth

‘You cut the dirt so as to make it (the ground) very smooth.’

Non-numeral quantifiers

Some non-numeral quantifiers are:

kwap	‘nearly’
ɲi	‘all’
klɔŋ	‘many (as in people)’

This example shows the placement of a non-numeral quantifier in a noun phrase:

Example 25

a.cɛh	ku:	na
aunt/ uncle	every	CLSF_people

‘All the aunts/ uncles...’

The next example is particularly interesting in that it shows a series of two non-numeral quantifiers occurring together, which are placed after the item that they modify:

Example 26

cɣ:.ka:	mi:	pa.lay ci:n lu:an	ɲi	ku:	ta.lah
and then	have	fruit ripe yellow	all	every	bunch

‘And every bunch of bananas had ripe yellow fruit.’

Numerals

The decimal numeral system can extend up to a hundred, though people will often use Thai terms for counting beyond ten. The numeral quantifier is placed after the noun and before the classifier in the noun phrase, as seen below:

Example 27

mi:	a.cɛh	ta.keh	na
have	aunt/ uncle	nine	CLSF_people

‘He had nine aunt/ uncles.’

Nouns

In So, the most promising morphosyntactic criteria for noun-hood is distributional, such as heads of noun phrases, subjects and objects of clauses,

and text topics. Sometimes proper nouns can take a demonstrative which shows specificity.

Example 28

si:.pɾiɑŋ kɿ: lɑh ta a.lu:a:ŋ nɯŋ mɿi:aʔ an
sipriang that exit do wood with father 3psg

‘Sipriang went out with his father to cut wood.’

Example 29

cɿ: a.cɛh kɯ: na ka: pɛ:ŋ caw kɿ:
already aunt/ uncle every CLSF_people then love nephew that

‘Then all the aunts/ uncles loved the nephew.’

Some examples demonstrating the use of pronouns:

Example 30

hiʔ it nɿʔ cɿ:
1pex bring together already

‘We (exclusive) are married.’

Example 31

hiʔ pan mɿay.ya:k nɿʔ cɿ:
1pex be couple together already

‘We (exclusive) are married already.’

Example 32

nɿ hay kɿ: wək kɑ:n caw hay cɔ:n bw:n
spirit_room 1pin that group child grandchild 1pin come_up can

‘For our (inclusive) spirit room, our (inclusive) grandchildren can enter it.’

Example 33

hay kap ncak pʌʔ ku.su.ma:n dɿ:
1pin with 2psg go kusuman PRT_certain

‘You and I are going to Kusuman, OK?’

Verbs

An example of a motion verb:

Example 34

cɿ: pi:t an ka: lɔ:y pʌ nɯŋ dʌ sa.ba:y
already turtle 3psg then swim go in water comfortable

‘Then the turtle swam away comfortably in the water.’

An example of an action verb:

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Example 41

m̩pɛ hay ku.ci:t cɣ:
 mother 1pin die already
 ‘Our mother already died.’

The next example shows a transitive verb phrase:

Example 42

si:.pɾiɑŋ hɣ:m m̩pɛ
 sipriang see mother
 ‘Sipriang saw his mother.’

Verb phrases

The main verb occurs at the front of the verb phrase in an S-V-O constituent order as seen in the next example:

Example 43

cɣ: wək an ka: pʌ ra.kɔp ta.nʌ:m pɾiat
 already group 3psg then go meet tree banana
 ‘And then they found a banana tree.’

The next example shows four serial verbs (/a.dw:ŋ/ ‘bring’, /tʰɔ/ ‘pour’, /akɑ:ŋ/ ‘pile’, and /a.dɑ/ ‘save’) occurring right after each other which express various actions that are to be done.

Example 44

bw:n krɛ ci.ɾiɑk cɣ: ϕ a.dw:ŋ tʰɔ akɑ:ŋ
 can dung buffalo already ϕ bring pour pile

a.dɑ ϕ taŋ li:an
 save ϕ in thresh_ground

‘When you’ve found the buffalo dung, then pile it up on the threshing ground area.’

Noun phrases

Noun phrases are many times marked with a demonstrative /ki:/ ‘that’ or /nay/ ‘this’ which comes at the end of the phrase [Noun -- Demonstrative], as seen in the following examples:

Example 45

ali:k nay aka:c lɔ.
 pig this lazy truly
 ‘This pig is definitely lazy.’

The noun phrase with numeral quantifier and classifier is in the order [Noun-Numeral-Classifier] as seen below:

Example 46

wək an ba:r tɔ:
 group 3psg two CLSF_animal
 ‘The two of them’

Example 47

mɨ: mɨ: ci.rɨak mɨay mɨ:
 have group buffalo one group
 ‘There was a group of buffaloes.’

Adjectives are located immediately following the noun that it modifies as illustrated in the next example:

Example 48

lɛ: hɜ:m bluh pu:t
 and see termite_nest big
 ‘And he saw a big termite nest.’

Noun phrases can include a relative clause as seen below:

Example 49

ku.tɛ:k ti pu:n rasɔŋ na kɨ:
 dirt at underneath room spirit_room that
 ‘The dirt which is under the spirit room.’

D. Discourse

Introduction

Discourse analysis

The study of discourse is the study of units larger than the clause and sentence. Sentences are grouped together into units and these units are then grouped into larger units. Every discourse has three basic items; 1) cohesion/coherence, 2) prominence and 3) progress. Cohesion/coherence means that texts hang together in some way so that they fit into a unified whole. Texts do this through surface structure cohesive devices and through semantic/lexical coherence. Prominence refers to the fact that texts highlight some material as more important through foregrounding and salience schemes. Progress means that every well-formed discourse is going somewhere. This progress occurs through the successive stages of development of the text which usually culminates in some type of climactic point.

Thus the discourse level studies how a language handles these three basic items of texts:

- Cohesion/coherence
 - * surface cohesive devices
 - * semantic/lexical devices
- Prominence
 - * foregrounding
 - * salience
- Progress

Cohesion also involves what has been called the macrostructure of a text. Each text type has a predictable sequencing, so that the hearer knows already how this type of discourse will be laid out. This predictable structure of text types has been called by various terms, such as plot, notional structure, schemata, frames or macrostructure. There are various distinct types of texts each with their own unique internal structure. These have traditionally been called 'genres', and include narrative, expository, prophetic, didactic and hortatory types.

Longacre (1996:36) diagrams this structure for narrative discourse as shown in Figure 10:

Surface Structure	Title	Aperture Formulic	Stage Expository or Narrative	Prepeak Episodes Narrative or Dialogue	Peak Highlighted by various devices	Peak' Episode (see Peak)	Postpeak's Episode (see Pre-Peak Episodes)	Closure of varied structure	Finitis Formulaic
Notional Structure	Surface features only	Surface features	1. Exposition	2. Inciting Moment 3. Developing Conflict	4. Climax	5. Denouement	6. Final Suspense	7. Conclusion	Surface Feature Only

Figure 10. Narrative discourse structure

Attention needs to be taken within each discourse type to:

1. account for typical surface structure markings which encode notional parameters
2. allow for skewing between notional and surface structure markings
3. recognize embedding relations among surface structure types
4. realize that emic discourse systems appropriate to particular languages eventually replace the general etic scheme

The schemata (or macrostructure) of some types of discourse are summarized by Longacre (1996:34 footnote 2):

Hortatory (influencing conduct):

- authority or credibility of the text producer
- indication of a problem/ situation
- one or more command elements
- motivation (threats or promises)

Persuasive (influencing beliefs and values):

- presentation of problem or question
- proposed solution or answer
- supporting argumentation (may include appeal to the authority or experience of the text producer)
- appeal to give credence or adopt certain values

Expository (explaining problems and solutions):

- problem
- solution
- supporting argumentation
- evaluation of the solution

Procedural (how to do something):

- problem/ need
- preparatory procedures
- the main efficient procedures
- concluding procedures

Texts can be divided into smaller units. Each of these smaller units is bound to the other units in some fashion so that the overall text coheres. The text is cohesive because the smaller chunks within that text tie together. There are two general ways for knowing where to divide text, 1) boundary features and 2) internal unity features. These two go together as they are the reverse sides of the same idea. A text section should have features that show its external boundaries and that section should then have unity within it (otherwise it wouldn't be a discrete section). Some features that signal text boundaries include: grammatical markers; changes in time, place, and/or participants; topic

sentences or phrases; summary statements; overlap clauses; rhetorical questions; direct address.

Some features that signal internal unity are parallelism; same time, place, and/or participants; logical coherence; lexical coherence.

A text is also cohesive because it is well formed so that it is going somewhere. To be well-formed means that the discourse has progress which culminates in a climactic type of development, called 'peak'. The peak is recognizable in the text by various kinds of surface structure marking:

- 1) rhetorical underlining: the use of extra words (parallelism, paraphrase, tautologies) to slow down the action so that the peak doesn't go by too fast.
- 2) concentration of participants: the bringing on of many of the participants in that story so that you have a crowded stage effect.
- 3) heightened vividness: through a] a shift in the nominal/ verbal balance, b] a shift in the surface structure tense, c] a shift to a more specific person, and/or d] a shift along the parameter: narrator -- pseudo-dialogue -- dialogue -- drama
- 4) change of pace in the story
- 5) change of vantage point/orientation of the narrator
- 6) incidence of particles and onomatopoeia

Finding the text boundary markers, the peak and the features signaling internal unity of text sections provides an accurate method for establishing the discrete units of a text. A language uses a combination of these features to disambiguate where a text is going, as it proceeds from one unit to the next.

Pragmatics

Another term used in text studies is 'pragmatics' (Payne 1992). Pragmatics deals with how a message (text) is structured so as to take into account the context. Pragmatic status relates the discourse content to the discourse context whereas semantic roles are only features of the discourse content. Other terms that are used when talking about pragmatic status include 'given', 'old', 'presupposed', 'focus', 'topic', 'definite' and 'referential'.

Pragmatic information can be lumped under the general term 'pragmatic prominence', which would include all devices for marking unusual pragmatic statuses. Pragmatic prominence is the use of various linguistic devices to give some sort of unusual pragmatic status to a sentence element. The devices and the particular status that they give would vary from language to language.

A major means of conveying pragmatic information (context-related information, discourse relevance) about nominal elements is through grammatical relations. Subjects usually are definite, given, and already available in memory. Direct objects can be given or new. Obliques embody new information, and/or information that is not central to the ongoing development of the discourse. The semantic roles of the nominals in a text also provide pragmatic information. What roles are the nominals taking in a text? Do they occur mainly as agents or patients? Usually agents are the main topics since a discourse focuses on things that exercise power and control.

Pragmatic prominence can be signaled through intonation, word order, particles (morphosyntactic operators) and various kinds of cleft constructions. Special formatives can be used to mark pragmatic prominence such as morphemes or particles which show the special pragmatic status of noun phrases in sentences. Unusual constituent orders can mark pragmatic prominence, as seen by first determining the basic constituent order of the language (for a specific text type). Deviating from the normal constituent order, there are two usual clause-internal positions where pragmatically prominent information can be located: 1) sentence-initial position, and 2) next to the verb. Sentence-initial and immediately pre-verbal positions are possibilities for locating pragmatically prominent patient arguments in an A-V-P (agent-verb-patient) language like So.

Other terms used in assessing pragmatic information are identifiability, referentiality, focus and topic. Identifiability and referentiality refer to the pragmatic prominence of nominals in a text (tracking of participants). Identifiability, traditionally called 'definite', refers to noun phrases that the speaker thinks should be identifiable by the hearer. Noun phrases can be identified through using 1) proper nouns (proper names), and 2) associating the noun phrase with another already identified noun phrase. Objective referentiality, traditionally called 'specificity', refers to entities (nominals) that really exist as an individuated entity in the message world, while discourse referentiality refers to the continuing importance of an entity (nominal) over a span of text.

Focus can 1) be applied to one element of every sentence, so that it is pretty much equated with 'new information' or 'asserted information', or 2) describe a condition of some pragmatically marked sentences, so that other sentences would be called focus-neutral or 'unfocussed'.

Topic is a broad concept with varying meanings. It has been used to describe a 1) dislocated sentence constituent, 2) sentence-level notion (such as 'theme' and 'rheme' from the Prague school) meaning 'what the sentence is about', 3) discourse-level notion meaning 'what the text is about', 4) conceptual frame of the predication, or 5) scalar discourse notion wherein topicality is measured in how often a participant is mentioned over the discourse span.

Genres

Longacre (1996) categorizes the types of discourse by the two dimensions of temporal contingent succession and agent orientation. This provides a four-way breakdown of discourses with +/- agent orientation (participant reference) along one axis and +/- contingent succession (chronological linkage) along the other axis. Adding a third parameter of time projection further divides the original four categories into eight discourse types.

Agent orientation refers to how much of a focus the discourse has toward participant references. Some texts are more focused on participants and others are less so. Temporal contingent succession refers to how dependent the discourse organization is on a time framework, so that each discourse event is contingent on the previous events. Thus the events in some texts proceed from one time episode to another, while the events in other texts are not linked chronologically. Time projection has to do with whether the action or situation in a text is primarily in the future (contemplated, anticipated, not realized) or not.

These three parameters provide eight categories of discourse types, as seen in Figure 11 (Longacre 1996:10).

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation	
+ Contingent Succession	<i>Narrative</i> Prophecy Story	<i>Procedural</i> How-to-do-it How-it-was-done	+ Projection - Projection
- Contingent Succession	<i>Behavioral</i> Hortatory (exhortation) Promissory Eulogy	<i>Expository</i> Budget Proposal Futuristic Essay Scientific Paper	+ Projection - Projection

Figure 11. Types of discourse

Narrative texts are plus agent orientation and plus contingent succession. They are heavily focused on participants whose events are organized chronologically. Typically the participants do things along a temporal continuum, rather than along other continuums (such as geographical). Narratives can be further divided into those that are about the future such as prophecy (which can be marked by future tense) or those about the past such as stories (which can be marked by past tense, historical present, etc.). Drama (all dialogue without quotation markers) is not a different discourse type but is seen as a distinct surface variety of narratives. Narratives can be told as a story or as a drama, with drama being the more vivid style.

Procedural texts are minus agent orientation but still plus contingent succession. They are not necessarily concerned with participants but focus on

goals or activities which occur chronologically. Procedural texts can be set in the future 'how-to-do-it' or they can be set in the past 'how-it-was-done'.

Behavioral texts seek to influence people's behavior; thus they are heavily focused on participants (plus agent orientation). They are not usually organized by time (minus contingent succession) but rather by some type of logical sequence. Hortatory texts (exhortation to change or modify one's values) and some types of political speeches are normally plus projection while a eulogy would be minus projection. Exhortations can be marked by the use of imperatives or some other socially acceptable substitute while eulogies can be marked by the use of the past or customary past.

Expository discourse is minus in both areas. It replaces agent orientation with thematic orientation and replaces contingent succession with logical organization. Expository texts revolve around themes organized in some logical fashion. They can be set in the future (plus projection) such as budget proposals or essays about the future (which can be marked by existential or equative clauses along with considerable nominalization), or they can be set in the past (minus projection) such as a scientific paper.

Corpus

The So discourse corpus consists of twelve texts by various authors. There are eight narrative texts, two procedural texts, and two hortatory texts. Expository texts were not analyzed due to time limitations and the difficulty of collecting clear examples of this type of text.

The narrative texts are:

1. Pig and Dog
2. Daughter-in-law and Mother-in-law
3. Away in Laos
4. Turtle
5. The Silly Fishtrap Weaver
6. The Orphan Child
7. Two People Who Go To Earn Money
8. Sipriang the Liar

The procedural texts are:

1. Threshing Ground
2. Growing Rice

The hortatory texts are:

1. Daughter-in-law and the Spirit Room
2. Tree Conservation

Plot structure

So narrative plot structure

A narrative text recounts some event in a chronological order. The plot structure for narratives moves towards a climax and then tapers off towards the conclusion, with the following components (Longacre 1996: 36):

1. exposition -- ‘lay it out’
2. inciting moment -- ‘get something going’
3. developing conflict -- ‘keep the heat on’
4. climax -- ‘knot it up proper’
5. denouement -- ‘loosen it’
6. final suspense -- ‘keep untangling’
7. conclusion -- ‘wrap it up’

The So narrative texts have a plot (notional) structure of:

Exposition	Inciting moments	Climax	Final Suspension	Conclusion
lay it out	get things going keep the heat on	knot it up	loosen it keep untangling	wrap it up

Figure 12. So narrative text plot structure

Not all So narratives have the post-climax sections of denouement and final suspense. Most of them move straight from the climax to the conclusion.

The narrative plot structure of the ‘*Pig and Dog*’ text:

Exposition: There was an old man who made a rice field but had no workers.

Inciting moment: Then he took the pig and dog and told them whoever worked would eat white rice, but whoever didn’t work would eat chaff.

Developing conflict: So the pig went right to work and cleaned out a tree in the field and then went home to sleep.

Climax: The dog then went out to look, and he stepped around (leaving his footprints) the whole area where the tree had been.

Conclusion: Then the owner went out to look, and he said, ‘The dog has worked diligently while the pig has been lazy. So the pig will definitely eat chaff.’

The narrative plot structure of the ‘*Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law*’ text:

Exposition: In the old days there was a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law was easily angry and wondered when the mother-in-law would die.

Inciting moments:

One day the daughter-in-law roasted a leech and gave it to the mother-in-law to eat. It was very tough to eat and the mother-in-law asked what it was. The daughter-in-law said it was a big fish.

Then the son returned home and asked his mother what she was eating. She said it was a big fish, but that it was very tough. The son exclaimed, 'Oh mother that is a leech.'

The mother then was sorry and cried. Why does she treat me like this? Look how strange she is that she gives me a leech to eat. She prayed asking the gods that when she died only the daughter-in-law would carry her body.

Climax:

Then the mother-in-law died and everyone went to do the funeral. No one was able to carry the body since it was as heavy as earth.

Then the old people said, 'We wonder if the mother wanted the daughter-in-law to carry the body'

Conclusion: So they made the daughter-in-law carry the body. And she could, but when she wanted to put it down, she couldn't. Then the coffin crashed down on her neck and she certainly died.

The narrative plot structure of the '*Away in Laos*' text:

Exposition: In the old days my grandfather went to buy a buffalo on the Lao side. He stayed there for about 6 to 7 nights.

Inciting moment: As for the village, they missed him and wondered how he was doing. They worried when he didn't come back, so they held a spirit ceremony for him.

Developing conflict: The spirit doctor did the ceremony in this house. She scattered the rice here in this house. And the rice hit grandfather on his back over on the Lao side.

Climax: Grandfather then examined that rice (from his back). When he examined his rice he knew the villagers were conducting a spirit ceremony for him at his house. They scattered the rice at his house and he saw the white rice over there.

Conclusion: It is like this. He continued to respect (the spirits). He did not abandon his mother and father. Truly, the spirits (virtue) of our mother and father will take care of us.

So procedural plot structure

A procedural text aims to inform (or instruct) the reader/listener on how to accomplish some specific task by providing an ordered listing of steps telling someone how to do or make something. The plot (notional) structure for procedural texts generally has the following components (Longacre 1996: 34 footnote 2):

1. task announcement
2. procedures
3. summary or concluding procedures

The So procedural texts have a plot (notional) structure as shown in Figure 13:

Exposition	Procedures (1...n)	Conclusion
Optional discussion of task	Procedures from beginning to end of task	Comparison with task today Concluding procedure

Figure 13. So procedural text plot structure

The discussion of the problem or need is optional in that some texts leave the exposition unstated and just plunge right into the procedures. The procedural texts analyzed here do not make a distinction between the 'preparatory' and 'main efficient' procedures since they are just combined into one single listing of all procedures. The conclusion is either just the concluding procedure or a short comparison with how it is done today.

The procedural plot structure of the '*Threshing Ground*' text:

Exposition: This is how they made a threshing ground in the old days.

Procedure 1: First, you clear the ground of grass and stones.

Procedure 2: Then you find buffalo dung.

Procedure 3: Then make the dung liquid and spread it with your foot.

Procedure 4: Then smooth out the dung and let it dry.

Procedure 5: Then you can bring the paddy sheaves and lay them there on the threshing ground.

Conclusion: Nowadays we don't do it this way. We use a net which is not as difficult as it was in the old days.

The procedural plot structure of the '*Growing Rice*' text:

Exposition: (No exposition in this text).

Procedure 1: First we plow the rice field, and rake it, and let it dry.

Procedure 2: Then we sow, transplant, and harvest the rice.

Procedure 3: Then we carry it to the threshing ground.

Procedure 4: Then we thresh (beat) the rice.

Procedure 5: Then we store it in the barn.

Conclusion: Then we are finished.

So hortatory plot structure

A hortatory (behavioral) text aims at influencing conduct. The plot (notional) structure for hortatory texts usually has the following components (Longacre 1996: 34 footnote 2):

1. authority or credibility of the text producer
2. indication of a problem/situation
3. one or more command elements
4. motivation (threats or promises)

In the So hortatory texts analyzed here, the first element ‘authority or credibility of the text producer’ is lacking. This may be due to the fact that these texts were originally orally delivered (then taped and transcribed) so that the speaker was present there in front of the hearers and they could visually judge for themselves as to the authority and/or credibility of the narrator. For example ‘The Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text was an oral text spoken by an older man who is a known ‘spirit doctor’ or spirit medium. Thus it would be known to his hearers that this man because of his age, experience and previous practice of spiritism would have the authority to speak about these matters.

The So hortatory texts have a plot (notional) structure as shown in Figure 14:

Exposition (indication of a problem)		Hortatory Points (1...n)	Conclusion (motivation)
Initial Appeal	Presentation		
Prohibitions Conditions	Example Story Summary Statement of results of initial conditions	Analysis Reviews Summaries	Final appeal Final Summary

Figure 14. So hortatory text plot structure

Hortatory plot structure of ‘The Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’:

Exposition (problem description) --

Initial Appeal (to adopt these values): Our grandchildren can enter the spirit room. But the daughter-in-law cannot. She cannot even step on the dirt beneath this room. From the middle pole to the spirit room is forbidden to her.

Presentation (embedded narrative):

Exposition: In the old days there was a daughter-in-law.

Inciting Moment: She didn’t know anything (about these customs) and she sneaked into the in-law’s room (the spirit room).

Climax: Then she didn’t know the way and she couldn’t get out from that area (room).

Conclusion: The in-laws returned home, they came just in time (to rescue her).

Hortatory Point (problem results) --

Hortatory Point 1 (analysis): Inside the room there (she) was actively looking everywhere for a way out. The door was there, but she did not know the way out, when she didn’t respect the spirits.

Hortatory Point 2 (analysis review): The daughter-in-law sneaked into the in-law's room. The door was clearly there and she didn't know the way out. Well, how did this happen? It happens like that, doesn't it?

Hortatory Point 3 (analysis summary): What happened here? If there was no reason (for this situation) then why could she not get out (find the exit)? Surely it's like that, no?

Conclusion (problem resolution -- final appeal to adopt these values): Thus people say: (1) continue to respect [the parent's spirits], (2) continue to bring [the offerings] every day, (3) don't abandon [the parent's spirits]

Hortatory plot structure of *'Tree Conservation'*:

Exposition (problem description) --

Initial Appeal (condition): IF everybody cuts down the trees, makes fires, and makes charcoal

Presentation (summary statement): THEN everything will be finished (ruined)

Hortatory Point (problem results) --

Hortatory Point 1 (results): THEN no more rain

Hortatory Point 2 (results): THEN we cannot do rice fields, cannot do farms and gardens

Hortatory Point 3:

(summary statement) We will be **poor** & have difficulties

(attention) AND what do we do?

(result & condition) THEN worries will increase BECAUSE people depend on rainwater for transplanting and drinking

Conclusion (problem summary):

(condition) IF there is no rainwater

(summary statement) THEN we will be **poor** for sure

This hortatory text consists of the description of a problem followed by a series of consequences resulting from that problem. But the series of consequences are not all tied back directly to the first problem, rather they are embedded within each other so that each consequence results from the previous consequence which in turn results in a further consequence. These series of consequences can be summarized as:

Problem introduction: IF people cut down the trees, THEN everything will be ruined.

(IF people cut down the trees,) THEN there will be no more rain.

(IF there is no more rain,) THEN there will be no rice.

(IF there is no rice,) THEN people will be poor.

Problem reflection: Question --- What to do?

worries will increase because people depend on rainwater

Problem summary: IF there is no rainwater, THEN we will be poor for sure.

Thus there are embedded consequences each resulting from the previous consequences. The rhetorical question serves as a kind of peak to this text, by pausing to reflect on the seriousness of this problem, before the final concluding recapping.

Surface features

The structure of So narrative texts

Introduction

Narrative texts focus on people (plus agent orientation) and have chronological linkage (plus contingent succession). Contingent succession refers to temporal succession in which some (and usually most) of the events are contingent on previous events or doings. Agent orientation refers to the fact that the text is mostly oriented towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse.

Narrative texts can also be plus or minus projection. Projection refers to the time location of the text so that it can be mostly located in the future (situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized) or in the past. Future narratives (plus projection) would be prophecies while past narratives (minus projection) would be stories or histories.

Some narratives have dialogue which usually occurs in quotation sentences with a quotation margin. The difference between narrative and drama is that drama is essentially dialogue paragraphs without the quotation sentences. Other types of narrative are myth, first person, formal stories, and third person (neutral as to vantage point or identifies vantage point with that of one participant). Narratives also have linkage (overlap clauses) which can be head-head, tail-head or summary-head.

Structure

Narrative texts have a schema of an 'introduction', a 'nucleus', and some kind of 'closure'. The So narrative texts generally have the structure shown in Figure 15:

Introduction		Nucleus			Closure	
Title	Aperture	Stage	Prepeak Episodes	PEAK	Postpeak Episode	Closure
phrase clause	Formulaic	Expository or Narrative	Narrative or Dialogue	Highlighted by various devices	Hortatory	of varied structure

Figure 15. So narrative discourse surface structure

The introduction consists of the preparatory materials including a formulaic title, a formulaic opening line or phrase, and then the setting of the scene for that story. The nucleus consists of several episodes which comprise the main bulk of the story. The nucleus can be subdivided into the peak episode

(the high point), and those episodes that come before the peak and those episodes that come after the peak. Longacre includes a peak prime episode in his etic listing, but none of the So narratives in this corpus had this type of episode. The closure has some kind of concluding statement followed by an optional formulaic finishing clause or phrase.

Thus, the So narrative texts have the specific features marking each section as shown in Figure 16:

Title	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compound noun phrase • equative clause
Aperture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • temporal phrase /tɛ:.aray/ 'old days'
Stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • usually existential clause /mi:/ 'have' • sometimes equative clause /pan/ 'be' or directional clause /pʌ/ 'go' • introduce main characters in object noun phrase position
Pre-peak Episodes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • existential clause /mi:/ 'have' to transition to first pre-peak episode • temporal clause, temporal word, and/or sequential marker • change of participants, dialogue/ monologue
Peak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • change of pace • change of number of participants • change in clause length
Post-peak Episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • embedded hortatory discourse • thematic organization • verbs /lɔ:n/ 'examine', /dan/ 'know', /hɣ:m/ 'see'.
Closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • term /cɣ:/ 'already' • summation statement (moral of the story)

Figure 16. So narrative text markers

Title

Most of the So texts didn't have a title, especially if they were originally an oral text. For the others that did, the title consisted of a phrase or clause. The title of the 'Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law' narrative text is a phrase:

Example 50

kuman nuŋ kuya:
 daughter-in-law with in-law
 'The daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law'

The 'Silly Fishtrap Weaver' text has a possessive clause for the title:

Example 51

ŋkan ɲo: k^ha:ŋ cjaŋ ta:ŋ a.ri:a:m
 nom silly belong artisan weave trap_fish
 'The silliness of the fist trap weaver.'

An equative clause is used for the title of the ‘Orphan Child’ text:

Example 52

nay pan rwan̩ kɑ:n.ka.m̩:c
 this be about orphan
 ‘This is the story of the orphan.’

Aperture

The aperture is a formulaic opening statement that is normally a temporal phrase. The phrase /tɛ:.aray mi:/ ‘old days have’ or sometimes just the word /tɛ:.aray/ ‘old days’ is the standard opening for So narrative story texts. The ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text has a temporal phrase about the old days:

Example 53

tɛ:.aray mi: kuya: n̩ŋ kuman
 old_days have in-law with daughter-in-law
 ‘In the old days there was a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law.’

The ‘Away in Laos’ text aperture is located in the first line after a left dislocated element but before the subject noun phrase as seen in the example below:

Example 54

m̩pi:aʔ a hi tɛ:.a.ray a.t^haw pʌ ɕʌ:ŋ ci.riak
 father grandparent 1ppl old_days 3pol go buy buffalo
 Our grandfather, in the old days, he went to buy a buffalo.

Sometimes the aperture phrase is placed somewhere other than the initial clause line. In the ‘Silly Fishtrap Weaver’ text /tɛ:.aray/ is located in a preposition phrase in the third clause line:

Example 55

wɔ: dɑ tɛ:.aray pa:y la.kuay hay nay mi: ŋkan ŋo: ʌ:t
 speak put old_days say human 1pin this have nom silly exist
 ‘They say in the old days that our people have silliness.’

Stage

In the stage section, the text topic is described, the main characters are introduced, and the scenes are set for the remaining episodes to build on. Usually these introductions are done with an existential clause composed of the verb /mi:/ ‘have’, as seen in the ‘Pig and Dog’ text. This is the first clause of the text which introduces the old man who is preparing the rice field and describes his predicament of not having any hired help.

Example 56

mi: t^haw mɔ̌ay na ɕiaw tali:ŋ ha mi: lu:k.ca:ŋ
 have old one CLSF_people make rice_field neg have workers
 ‘There was an old man, who made a ricefield but had no one to help him.’

In most So texts the major participants are introduced in the object noun phrase position of an existential /mi:/ ‘have’ clause. Another example of this is the ‘Turtle’ text where the first existential clause begins the story and sets the scene:

Example 57

mi: mɔ̌ay t^huɣ tɛ:.a.ray nuŋ tru:ŋ.tra mɔ̌ay ba:n
 have one time old days in forest one place
 ‘In the old days there was a certain place in the forest.’

The second existential clause of the ‘Turtle’ story is used to introduce the main participants, the monkey and turtle:

Example 58

mi: tamɔ̌r kap pi:t pan kani:a nuŋ nɣ
 have monkey and turtle be friend with together
 ‘There was a monkey and a turtle who were friends with each other.’

The ‘Orphan Child’ text has two consecutive existential clauses which are used to introduce the first major character, the orphan, and then the second major character, the aunt/ uncles.

Example 59

mi: ka:n.ka.mɔ̌:c mɔ̌ay na
 have orphan one CLSF_people
 ‘There was one orphan child.’

Example 60

mi: a.cɛh ta.kɛh na
 have aunt/ uncle nine CLSF_people
 ‘There were nine aunts/ uncles.’

The stage of some texts is more direct. They immediately use an action clause with the verb /pʌ/ ‘go’ when introducing the participants and setting the scene. The ‘Away in Laos’ text has a double use of the verb /pʌ/ ‘go’ explaining that grandfather went to Laos to buy a buffalo and he slept there six or seven nights.

Example 61

m̄pi:aʔ a hi tɛ:.a.ray a.t^haw pʌ cʌ:ŋ
 father grandparent 1ppl old_days 3pol go buy

ci.riak ti mwaŋ p^hɛ:ŋ.si: n̄toŋ lao tuh
 buffalo at town Phaengsii side Lao there

‘In the old days, our grandfather, he went to buy a buffalo in the town of Phaengsii there on the Lao side.’

Example 62

pʌ bɛc ti ki: tapat tapu:l sa.daw
 go sleep at that six seven night

‘He slept there for six or seven nights.’

As seen in the first clause above, this text uses left dislocation to put prominence on the main participant. Instead of introducing the major character in the normal object noun phrase position, the grandfather is placed in the subject noun phrase position (as a pronoun) and also left dislocated (with a full noun phrase).

The ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text also sets the stage using an existential clause to introduce the two main participants in the object position.

Example 63

tɛ:.aray mi: kuya: nuŋ kuman
 old_days have in-law with daughter-in-law

‘In the old days there was a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law.’

Then the mother-in-law is further described (‘old and blind’) using an equative clause with the copula /pan/ ‘be’.

Example 64

kuya: pan kuya: maʔ su:t t^haw cɣ:
 in-law be in-law eye blind old already

‘The mother-in-law was old and blind already.’

The stage for this text is further developed with monologues (using the quote margin verb /pa:y/ ‘say’) by the daughter-in-law about how bad the mother-in-law has become.

The equative clause with the copula verb /pan/ is also used in the ‘Sipriang the Liar’ text:

Example 65

nay pan pu:n si:.priaŋ
 this be story Sipriang
 ‘This is the story about Sipriang.’

In this text the stage is only this one clause line, and then the story quickly dives into the first episode.

Pre-Peak Episodes

Some texts use a temporal clause with an existential verb /mi:/ ‘have’ clause to begin the pre-peak episode of the story. The ‘Silly Fishtrap Weaver’ text uses a time change to transition from the stage to the first episode which is placed in an existential clause:

Example 66

mi: muay sa.ŋay
 have one day
 ‘There was a day.’

The ‘Turtle’ text also uses a very similar clause (time change put in an existential clause) when moving from the stage to the story episodes:

Example 67

mi: ʌ:t muay ci.ŋay
 have exist one day
 ‘There was a day.’

The ‘Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text uses this same phrase as a transition to the pre-peak episode but places it before the verb:

Example 68

muay saŋay ki: lɛ: pʌ aŋ tehtu:h
 one day that and go roast leech

ɔ:n ci:a hanay aŋ tehtu:h pu:t
 for eat at_ once roast leech big

‘One day the daughter roasted a leech and gave it to mother as food to eat.’

The pre-peak episodes are also marked by the judicious placement of the discourse connectives as discussed above in the discourse boundary markers. The ‘Pig and Dog’ text has two pre-peak episodes where the old man sets the conditions for work and the industrious pig goes right out and does the job. The first episode is marked by /cɣ: .lɛ:/ ‘and then’ and the second episode is marked by /k^hanay ka:/ ‘this time’:

Example 69Episode 1

cɤ: lɛ: φ i:t aɭi:k ɲa a.cɑ:

and then φ take pig and dog

‘And he took the pig and the dog (to the fields).’

Example 70Episode 2

k^hanay ka: aɭi:k ɲʌ katɯ:ɲɔ ɑ:m tanʌ:m aɭi:a:ŋ

time_this then pig go rooting around tree wood

‘At this time the pig went to root around a tree in the field.’

The change between episode one and episode two of the ‘Pig and Dog’ text is also seen by the change in participants. The first pre-peak episode has the old man /t^haw mɯay na/ as the main actor on the scene (as a null referent) which then shifts to the pig /aɭi:k/ in the second pre-peak episode.

The ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text consists of a series of dialogues in the pre-peak episode. The change from one section to another is seen by the change in dialogue participants. The first section has the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law dialoguing, the second section has the son dialoguing with his mother, and the third section has a monologue by the mother.

Peak

The peak is the highlight, the significant climactic point of the story. The devices that mark the peak are usually only recognizable when looked at in contrast to what has been done in the other sections of the text. Thus the peak usually has more or less of whatever the other sections had. If the other episodes had fast-paced action, then the peak may have slow-paced action. If the text has had only a few participants involved in previous episodes, then the peak may have a crowded stage with many or all of the participants on the scene at once.

The peak of the ‘Pig and Dog’ text occurs after two pre-peak episodes which had the normal discourse connectives marking them. The peak itself has no discourse connectives to set off this text boundary but has only a change of participant to show a change of episode. The previous section focused on the pig and now the peak shifts to the dog /acɑ:/ who goes out to look at what the pig has done in the ricefield and while there walks all around the area leaving his footprints on the ground. It has only one action, that of the dog /acɑ:/ walking around the field which is repeated in two clause lines. These clauses are very short consisting only of the verbs themselves.

Example 71

acɑ: pʌ liap lo:n

dog go walk_around examine

‘The dog went walking around checking on things.’

Example 72

φ ti:n pʌ

φ step go

‘He went stepping (walking) out.’

Example 73

φ ti:n cu:

φ step return

‘He came stepping (walking) back.’

Thus in this text, the peak is marked by a slowing down of the action with clauses that are very minimal.

The ‘Away in Laos’ text is marked by the use of action verbs /yaw/ ‘spirit ceremony’, /truɰh/ ‘scatter’, /kʌ:n/ ‘hit’ in three consecutive transitive clauses.

Example 74

mɑ: nɑw yaw ti doŋ nay

doctor 3psg ceremony_spirit at house this

‘The spirit doctor, she conducted the ceremony here in this house.’

Example 75

nɑw lɛ truɰh a.sʌ ʌ:t ti doŋ nay

3psg PRT_emphasis scatter rice_milled exist at house this

‘She scattered the rice here in this house.’

Example 76

a.sʌ lɛ kʌ:n kloŋ a.tʰaw ti ɲtoŋ lao tuh

rice_milled hit back 3pol at side Lao there

‘And the rice hit his back there on the Lao side.’

Each of these three clauses is essentially retelling the same event but from a different angle. The first two clauses are tied together with almost identical preposition phrases /ti doŋ nay/ ‘at the house’. The second two clauses are also connected through the repeated reference of the /a.sʌ/ ‘milled rice’. This overlapping of these clauses serves to slow down the main event of this story by repeating it. The stage and pre-peak episode before have built up to this point and the post-peak episode after this will explain the real meaning of this event through an embedded hortatory discourse.

The peak of the ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text does have a discourse connective marker /mɯ̌ay kumɑː baːr kumɑː/ ‘a few years later’, but it is mainly distinguished by having a crowded stage. Throughout the earlier sections there were only one or two characters at the most on the scene, and these characters were usually having dialogues with each other in the house. But now in the peak the scene shifts to the village and many people are present. There are all the villagers /ŋiː.don.ŋiː.wiːl/, an old person /tʰaw nɔ̌w/ who speaks, the daughter-in-law /kuman/, and the corpse /loːŋ/ of the dead mother-in-law. There is a shift from dialogue to action with event clauses using verbs such as /pʌ/ ‘go’, /asɛːŋ/ ‘go down’, /kraːŋ/ ‘carry’, /acɯh/ ‘put down’, /dɔːl/ ‘carry’, /atɛt/ ‘crush’, and /kuciːt/ ‘die’. Only one quotation is used and it is a rhetorical question which also serves to slow down the action.

Post-peak episodes

Most of the So narrative texts didn’t have a post-peak episode since they went straight from the peak to the closure section. Only the ‘Away in Laos’ text had a post-peak episode. This was an embedded hortatory discourse which served to explain the meaning of the peak episode. In this section there is a change of participants from the /mɑː/ ‘spirit doctor’ to /a.tʰaw/ ‘he (grandfather)’, and the verbs change to cognition /loːn/ ‘examine (visually)’, /dan/ ‘know’, and /hɣːm/ ‘see’.

Example 77

a.tʰaw kaː loːn a.sʌ kiː dʌh
 3pol then examine rice_milled that ago
 ‘He then examined that same milled rice.’

Example 78

a.tʰaw loːn a.sʌ a.tʰaw
 3pol examine rice_milled 3pol
 ‘He examined his milled rice.’

Example 79

kaː dan paːy nɔ̌w yaw tʰɛːw don
 then know that 3psg spirit_ceremony area house
 ‘Then he knew that they had conducted a spirit ceremony in his home area.’

Example 80

nɔ̌w truɯh a.sʌ tʰɛːw don a.tʰaw φ pat hɣːm
 3psg scatter rice_milled area house 3pol φ then see

a.sʌ klaːk ʌːt ti tuh
 rice_milled white exist at there

‘They scattered rice in his home area, but he saw the white rice over there (on the Lao side).’

The repetition of /a.sʌ/ ‘milled rice’, /lɔ:n/ ‘examine’, and /tʰɛ:w doŋ/ ‘home area’ throughout this section serves to reiterate the lesson to be learned from the events in the peak, that the rice on grandfather’s back was the same as the rice thrown in the spirit ceremony at home.

Closure

The closure section may include the term /cɣ:/ ‘already’ as seen in the ‘Sipriang the Liar’ text (which uses an equative clause):

Example 81

cɣ: si:.priəŋ ki: ka: pan pʰa.ŋi:a tɛ:n pʰa.ŋi:a ki: lɔy
 already sipriang that then be king instead king that PRT_at_all
 ‘Then Sipriang became king in place of the other king.’

The closure for the ‘Sipriang the Liar’ text also uses /cɣ:/ in its concluding summary statement:

Example 82

caŋ cɣ: ----- caŋ bɯ:n tɑ: i:t sia la:bʌ: kʰanay
 so already ----- so can use take fish PRT_polite time_this
 ‘And thus, at this time, you can use the fishtrap to catch fish.’

Some narrative texts also have an exhortation unit (moral lesson) at the end. The exhortations make an appeal to the hearer to change or modify their behavior based on what they heard in the story. The exhortation section is plus agent (directed at the reader/ hearer) but minus contingent succession (logical organization).

This exhortation can be in the form of a summation statement that makes the reader reflect on what this story has taught. The ‘Away in Laos’ text has a summation statement in an equative /pan/ clause that begins the closure:

Example 83

pan sa.nay na:
 be like_this PRT_cmd
 ‘See, it is like this!’

Then the next three clause lines give the moral lesson and commands for this story using the verbs /tʰɯ:/ ‘respect’, /m̩pi:ayh tah/ ‘not abandon’, /rak.sa:/ ‘care’.

Example 84

nəw taŋ tʰɯ: ʌ:t
 3psg so respect exist

‘So they still continue to respect (the spirits).’

Example 85

naw mpi:ayh tah mpi: mpi:a?
 3psg neg abandon mother father
 ‘They don’t abandon the spirits (mother father).’

Example 86

k^hun mpi: mpi:a? rak.sa: hay lu
 virtue mother father care 1pin truly
 ‘The ancestor spirits truly do take care of us.’

Not all texts had a closure as seen in the ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text which finished the story with the peak section. At the peak is where the mean daughter-in-law gets her just dues when she dies just as the mother-in-law had prayed. There are no summation statements, no concluding /cɣ:/ ‘already’ phrases, and no moral lessons reviewed -- the daughter-in-law just dies when her neck is crushed by the mother-in-law’s coffin.

Conclusion

Most So narrative texts do not have a title, since they usually come from texts that were originally oral. If they do have a title then it is a short phrase or an equative /pan/ ‘be’ or possessive /k^ha:ŋ/ ‘belong’ clause. The aperture usually consists of the term /tɛ:.aray/ ‘old days’ placed before the verb though sometimes it could occur elsewhere. The stage introduces the story scene and participants usually in an existential /mi:/ ‘have’ clause. The main participants of the text are introduced in the object noun phrase. Sometimes the transition from stage to pre-peak episode is done with an existential clause and a temporal phrase such as /mi: muay sa.ŋay/ ‘have one day’. Other times the pre-peak episodes are marked by the discourse connective markers and other features (such as change of time, place, or participants). The peak is marked in a variety of ways, since the peak is noticeable only in contrast to the marking of the other discourse sections. Some of the markings in these So narrative texts include crowded stage, change of pace, more action verbs, changes in amount of quotations. In this corpus there is only one text that has a post-peak episode and it consists of an embedded hortatory discourse. The closure usually includes the term /cɣ:/ ‘already’, or an equative /pan/ ‘be’ clause with a summation statement. The summation statement can be a single clause or a series of clauses giving the moral lesson review for what the reader is to learn from this story.

Some of the discourse connective terms used in the So narrative texts to mark text units are.

/cɣ: ka:/	‘and then (already then)’
/cɣ: lɛ:/	‘and then (already and)’
/cɣ:/	‘already’
/bat cɣ:/	‘next (when already)’
/bat nay ka:/	‘and then (when this then)’

Some of the temporal terms used to mark off episodes are:

- /k^hanay ka:/ 'at this time'
- /hanay ka:/ 'at once then'
- /cɣ: cɣ:/ 'end (already already)'

The structure of So procedural texts

Introduction

The purpose of procedural texts is to tell how to do or make something. This requires the listing of a number of ordered procedures which are to be followed for the successful completion of some task. They are plus contingent succession (chronological linkage) but minus agent orientation (not focused on participants). Since they focus on what is done or made, not on who does it, they replace agent orientation with thematic orientation. Coherence in many procedural texts is based on a known macrostructure, so that there does not need to be too many overt surface markers to link the text units.

In procedural texts there are several forms of linkage (head-head, tail-head, and summary-head) but there is a lack of dialogue. Standard types of texts include such things as food recipes, how-to-do-it books, and instructions to a worker as to his activities for the day.

Structure

Procedural texts general schema includes an optional 'introduction' which lays out the task, followed by a 'nucleus' which lists the procedures to be used from beginning to end, and ending with a 'closure' which may summarize the task and its procedures. The nucleus of the procedural text usually has a series of sections, each of which is composed of a sequential step.

The structure of So procedural texts can be diagrammed as shown in Figure 7:

(Introduction)			Nucleus	Closure
(Title)	(Aperture)	(Stage)	Steps (1...n)	Closure
Formulaic	Formulaic	An optional announcement of the task to be explained	Task steps	Concluding statement about task

Figure 17. So procedural discourse surface structure

The title, aperture, and stage units are optional. Some texts do not include this part and simply dive right into the first step of the procedures. This may be a carryover from oral discourse where the hearer already knows the task that they are talking about, but in written form the author would be more careful to lay out the context for the text. The steps are usually a sequentially ordered

series of active clauses starting with some form of /tami/ 'at first'. The closure part may be a complete summary statement of the task topic and its procedures, a statement of the final concluding procedure, or it may be a comparison with some other procedure.

The sections of So procedural texts are marked with the specific features shown in Figure 18.

(Title)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> event clause -- such as, /ta/ 'do'
(Aperture)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> temporal phrase /tɛ:.aray/ 'old days'
(Stage)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> event clause -- such as, /ta/ 'do' introduce task topic
Step 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> phrase /tami/ 'first' or /tami.tami:/ 'at first' event clause with active verbs related to task domain extensive tail-head linkage between clauses props related to semantic domain
Step 2-n	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sequential marker /cɣ: ka:/ 'and then' additional event clauses with active verbs related to task domain extensive tail-head linkage between clauses props related to semantic domain
Closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> term /cɣ: ka: cɣ:/ 'already then finished' or /cinɔ:nay/ 'nowadays' summation statement -- last procedural step or comparison with procedures today

Figure 18. So procedural text markers

Title

The title of a procedural text can be a clause which usually is the name of the procedures to be explained. The title of the 'Threshing Ground' procedural text is in the form of a clause:

Example 87

ta li:an
do thresh_ground
'Preparing a threshing floor'

Aperture

The aperture will use the formulaic term /tɛ:aray/ 'old_days' if the procedural text is about some procedures that were done in times past. This is the case with the 'Threshing Ground' procedural text:

Example 88

tɛ:aray alay ta li:an puh tʰra: sama
old_days 3p do thresh_ground beat paddy how

'In the old days, this is how they prepared the threshing ground for threshing the paddy.'

Stage

The stage introduces the task whose procedures will be explained. As seen in the ‘Threshing Ground’ procedural text, a clause is used with the action verb /ta/ ‘do’ and /puh/ ‘beat’ to introduce the rice threshing procedures topic.

Example 89

tɛ:aray alay ta li:an puh t^hra: sama
 old_days 3p do thresh_ground beat paddy how

‘In the old days, this is how they prepared the threshing ground for threshing the paddy.’

There is no procedural stage for the ‘Growing Rice’ text, as it begins right away with /tami:tami:/ ‘at first’ and moves into the first procedural step. But in this first step there are some elements of the stage, in that the reader is introduced to the text topic, as seen below:

Example 90

tami:tami: hi ka: p^h t^hay tali:ŋ
 at first 1ppl then go plow rice_field

‘At first, we go out to plow the rice fields.’

Steps

The procedural steps lay out the events of the particular task in some sequential order. The first step has the term /tami:/ ‘first’ and the following steps are marked by the term /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’. This is seen in the ‘Threshing Ground’ text which has five sequential steps for preparing a piece of ground so that it can be used to thresh the paddy rice, as seen in Figure 19:

	Sequence	Props
Step 1	/tami:/ ‘first’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● /bat/ ‘grass’ ● /kute:k/ ‘dirt’ ● /p^hon/ ‘dust’ ● /ko:l/ ‘stone’
Step 2	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● /kre/ ‘dung’
Step 3	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● /d^h/ ‘water’ ● /y^w:ŋ/ ‘foot’
Step 4	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● /sa:k/ ‘rice straw’
Step 5	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● /t^hra:/ ‘paddy’

Figure 19. Procedural steps-- ‘Threshing Ground’ text

The first step begins with /tami:/ ‘first’ which provides the transition from the stage section. The following four steps each begin with /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’. The verbs used in these five steps are all active event verbs which show

lexical coherence in that they all have to do with this ‘preparing the threshing ground’ task. The props mentioned in each step also provide lexical coherence for this task. The four props in the first step are all earth-related items that need to be cleared away so as to have a smooth area for threshing the rice.

The ‘Growing Rice’ text has a similar outline of sequence markers for its five procedural steps, though the form /tami:tami:/ ‘at first’ is different from the /tami:/ used in the previous text. The steps following the first one all begin with /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’ as they take the reader all the way from the beginning step of preparing the field to planting the rice, harvesting, threshing, and putting it in the barn.

	Sequence	Verbs
Step 1	/tami:tami:/ ‘at first’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /pʌ tʰay/ ‘go plow’ • /kri:at/ ‘rake’ • /tah/ ‘leave’
Step 2	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /truɸh/ ‘sow’ • /lak/ ‘pull_out’ • /pʌ sabat/ ‘go transplant’ • /ri:a:c/ ‘harvest’
Step 3	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /kʰan adw:ŋ da/ ‘carry take put’
Step 4	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /puh/ ‘beat’
Step 5	/cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /ti:/ ‘carry’

Figure 20. Procedural steps--‘Growing Rice’ text

Lexical coherence is also achieved in this text through the active event verbs which all relate to the ‘growing rice’ task.

A lot of time passes in this text but it is not explicitly marked. Since this is a procedural text the focus is on the sequential ordering of the steps and not time itself. In step two there are two adverbial time phrases located before the main verb occurring with the clause-level connective /ka:/ ‘then’. Both of these occur in the same step which talks about three distinct rice crop activities, sowing, transplanting and harvesting. The author apparently adds these optional phrases to indicate the long time distance between them. There is /i:k muay ŋcʰay/ ‘later one month’ of time between sowing and transplanting, and there is /i:k ba:r pay ŋcʰay/ ‘later two three months’ between transplanting and harvesting.

The procedural texts make extensive use of tail-head linkages when recounting the procedural steps. In the ‘Threshing Ground’ text part of the previous clause is repeated in the following subordinate clause, as seen in the three clauses of Example 91-94:

Example 91*Clause A*

tamit alay ka: k^hua bat alɣh tah li:an
 first 3p then cut grass take_out from thresh_ground
 ‘First they clear the grass from the threshing ground area,’

Example 92

wa:yʔ ϕ tarah kutɛ:k ɔ:n an p^hi:an p^hian
 before ϕ cut dirt for 3psg smooth smooth
 ‘Before cutting the dirt so as to make it very smooth.’

Example 93*Clause B*

i:bw:n li:an la.ʔua: ϕ ka: k^hua bat
 if_want thresh_ground wide ϕ then cut grass

alɣh samk^hi:

take_out compare

‘If you want a wide threshing ground then you can cut the grass back accordingly.’

Example 94*Clause C*

k^hua bat cɣ: tarah kutɛ:k p^hi:an cɣ: ϕ ka: kua:t p^hon
 cut grass already cut dirt smooth already ϕ then sweep dust
 ‘When you have already cut the grass back made the dirt smooth, then you can sweep off the dust.’

The /k^hua bat/ ‘cut grass’ and /tarah kutɛ:k/ ‘cut dirt’ are repeated from the previous clauses. The term /cɣ:/ ‘already’ used here as a clause final particle (of the subordinate clause in example three) also helps to mark this tail-head linkage.

The examples below show tail-head linkage with the repetition of /krɛ ci:riak/ ‘excretion buffalo’ from the previous clauses and the use of /cɣ:/ ‘already’ as a clause final particle. The first two clauses are also linked with the repetition of the verb /pʌ cu:ayʔ/ ‘go search’.

Example 95*Clause A*

cɣ: ka: ϕ pʌ cu:ayʔ krɛ ci:riak
 and then ϕ go search dung buffalo

ta:m karu:m ta:m kɔ mu:ki: na:
 around underneath around fence anywhere PRT_cmd

‘And then you go search for buffalo dung around underneath the houses or around the fences.’

Example 96*Clause B*

ϕ pʌ cu:ay? ϕ tɑ:n samʌ:k caŋ mi: krɛ ci.riak
 ϕ go search ϕ when morning so have dung buffalo
 ‘Go searching in the morning so that you will find the buffalo dung.’

Example 97*Clause C*

bu:n krɛ ci.riak cɣ: ϕ a.du:ŋ tʰɔ aka:ŋ a.da ϕ
 can dung buffalo already ϕ bring pour pile save ϕ

taŋ li:an
 in thresh_ground

‘When you’ve found the buffalo dung, then pile it up on the threshing ground area.’

The ‘Growing Rice’ text also abounds with tail-head linkages (in almost every clause) which are used as a repetitive device (a prominent feature of oral discourse) to help the listener remember each step and its connection with the previous one. Except in only two cases, every clause line in this text overlaps the following line. As seen below, almost every clause line has a tail-head linkage which repeats the main verb from the previous clause and some also repeat the object noun phrase.

	subordinate clause	main clause
1		/pʌ tʰay/ ‘go plow’
2	/pʌ tʰay tali:ŋ/ ‘go plow ricefield’	/kri:at/ ‘rake’
3	/kri:at/ ‘rake’	/tah/ ‘leave’
4		/truɰh/ ‘sow’
5	/truɰh ka:/ ‘sow seedlings’	/lak/ ‘pull out’
6		/pʌ sabat/ ‘go transplant’
7		/ri:a:c/ ‘harvest’
8	/ri:a:c/ ‘harvest’	/kʰan adu:ŋ da/ ‘carry take put’
9	/kʰan da ti li:an/ ‘carry put at thresh_ground’	/puh/ ‘beat’
10	/puh/ ‘beat’	/ti: tʰra: acɔ:n cɔ laŋ/ ‘carry paddy take_up to granary’

	subordinate clause	main clause
11	/k ^h an t ^h ra: aco:n la:w/ 'carry paddy take_up granary'	-----

Figure 21. 'Growing Rice' text linkage

Closure

The closure uses the formula phrase /cɣ: ka: cɣ:/ 'already then finished' or a temporal term which reflects on how things are done today.

The 'Threshing Ground' text uses the term /cina:nay/ 'nowadays' to transition from the last procedural step to the closure section. The closure of this text is achieved by a summary statement explaining today's procedures for making a threshing ground.

Example 98

cina:nay alay ha bw:n ta sanay cɣ:
 nowadays 3psg neg can do like_this already
 'But nowadays people don't do like this anymore.'

Example 99

alay it ɲε:ŋ
 3psg use plastic_net

su:n it mɲi:ayh bw:n ta ra.nuḥ sa: aray
 spread_out use neg can do difficult like back_then
 'They spread out the plastic nets, which is not as difficult as it was in the old days.'

The 'Growing Rice' text closes with the phrase /cɣ: ka: cɣ:/ 'already then finished'. This phrase has the term /cɣ: ka:/ 'and then' but there is no verb and it adds another /cɣ:/ 'already' at the end. The complete phrase /cɣ: ka: cɣ:/ has the meaning of 'and then finished' and is similar to a descriptive clause (no verb and only a modifier in the predicate).

Example 100

k^han t^hra: aco:n la:w cɣ: ka: φ ----- cɣ:
 carry paddy take_up granary and then φ ----- finished
 'After the paddy is carried up into the barn, then it is finished.'

This phrase is used after the tail head linkage in the preceding subordinate clause, which provides the transition from the last step.

Conclusion

Some So procedural texts use a clause for the title, a formulaic term /tɛ:aray/ ‘old_days’ for the aperture, and an event clause for the stage. But the title, aperture, and stage are optional as other procedural texts do not use these but merely begin immediately with the first procedural step which provides the task topic introduction.

The procedural steps begin with the use of /tमित/ ‘first’ or /tमित.तमि:/ ‘at first’ as transition from the stage to the first step. Thereafter, all the other steps begin with the term /cखः का:/ ‘and then’. The steps have lexical coherence among the main clause verbs and/or among the props. The verbs and props are all related to the task being explained.

The closure consists of either the term /cखः का: cखः/ ‘already then finished’ or /cिनःनय/ ‘nowadays’. The closure has a summary statement which is the last step of the procedure or is a comparison with how things are done today.

The procedural texts use the following specific markers for their discourse units:

/मित/	‘first’
/मित.तमि:/	‘at first’
/cखः का:/	‘and then (already then)’
/cखः का: cखः/	‘and then finished (already then finish)’
/cखः लः/	‘and then (already and)’
/bat nay ka:/	‘and then (when this then)’
/tɛ:aray/	‘in the old days’
/cिनःनय/	‘nowadays’

The structure of So hortatory texts

Introduction

Hortatory texts attempt to modify behavior. They aim to influence people by giving advice or urging them to change some aspect of their conduct. They are minus contingent succession and plus agent orientation. They are similar to narratives in that they are primarily oriented towards people. They are also similar to expository texts in that they are not organized according to a time line but according to a logical sequence. Hortatory texts are marked by the use of pseudo-dialogue and rhetorical questions. The rhetorical questions are used to reprimand and/or teach. They also use conditional, cause and purpose margins to link the units together. Hortatory discourse types include sermons, pep talks and addresses (speeches).

It is difficult to categorize the two So hortatory texts. At times they look like expository texts in that they seem to lack agent orientation. But they are not completely theme oriented since they are directed towards people and discuss people's conduct. Behavioral texts advocate how people did or should behave, while expository texts teach or explain some situation. They also do not seem to be descriptive discourse which simply describes or catalogues, like a travel brochure. These texts are somewhat persuasive in that they definitely want to influence people's values, and they are didactic in that they want to teach people the right way to go about things. But didactic discourse is more of a notional (plot) concept concerning the text producer's intent, since its surface manifestation can be a variety of text types (procedural, behavioral or expository).

The So hortatory text of 'The Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room' is about So beliefs in the supernatural. The narrator recounts what happened when a daughter-in-law did not follow the So customs regarding proper respect towards the ancestor spirits (the spirits of the mother and father). She either was not too familiar with these customs or didn't care about observing them. The narrator draws on this episode of the errant daughter-in-law to influence the behavior of the listeners, wanting to modify their conduct so that they also will respect the ancestor spirits, continue to bring them offerings and not abandon them.

The 'Tree Conservation' hortatory text exhorts the listener to save the trees. The author argues that if everyone cuts down all the trees to make fires and charcoal then there won't be any rain and any rice. Thus the people will be poor and worries will increase. This text might also be considered as an expository text with a hortatory intent. Some of the markers of a hortatory text seem to be missing, as there aren't any overt (though they are implied) commands, direct prohibitions, forms of direct address (vocative) or any direct imperatives. There is some obliqueness (a marker of hortatory mitigation style) in the presentation method of this environmental awareness text, though obliqueness of address is a general characteristic of southeast Asian culture.

Structure

Person (1993:20) provides an outline of the surface structure of hortatory texts with his analysis of Phra Phayom's sermons (Thai hortatory discourse).

Salutation	Stage			Body	Conclusion	Terminus
	Topic Announce -ment	Global Conflict Situation	Appeal to Buddhism	Mega- sections		
Formulaic Obligatory blessing	Formulaic	Rhetorical Questions	Buddha said... Definition of Pali terms	'Aw!' Stories, commands, jokes	'Aw la!' Commands Summaries	'Aw la!' Formulaic Obligatory blessing Commands

Figure 22. Thai hortatory discourse surface structure

So hortatory texts have a comparable structure which is also similar to that for procedural texts. There is a general schema of an 'introduction' section, followed by the 'nucleus' and ending with the 'closure'.

Introduction		Nucleus	Closure
Stage		Cycles (1...n)	Closure
Topic Announcement	Situation		
Initial Command Presentation of Problem	Embedded discourse Results of problem	Results	Summary of problems

Figure 23. So hortatory discourse surface structure

The hortatory texts follow the basic formula of having an 'introduction' which lays out the problem, followed by a 'nucleus' which further elaborates the results of this problem, and with a final 'closure' which re-summarizes the problem and its consequences.

So hortatory texts use the following specific features:

Stage	
Topic Announcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • commands, prohibitions, problem • sometimes conditional statement using /k^hɛn/ 'if' • sometimes negation verbs such as /m̄pi:ayh/ 'neg'
Situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fuller description of problem • sometimes embedded narrative as example case • sometimes summary statement with descriptive clause presenting consequences
Cycle 1 -- n	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • repetitions of words • parallelism of content • rhetorical or tag questions • changes of topic between cycles • sometimes summary statement using descriptive clause • sometimes used /c̄y: ka:/ 'and then'

Stage	
Closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • term /cɣ: ka:/ ‘already then’ or /caŋ/ ‘so’ • sometimes used conditional term /k^hɛn/ ‘if’ • summation statement of teachings in cycles with final appeal or exhortation

Figure 24. So hortatory text markers

Stage

The hortatory stage consists of a topic announcement and a situation, which provide the basis for the exhortations in the following hortatory cycles.

Topic Announcement

The topic announcement proclaims what this text is all about. In the ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text, the topic announcement has commands and prohibitions regarding who can enter the spirit room. This is an initial appeal to respect the spirits by only having blood relatives enter the spirit room.

Example 101

naw mɔ̃:ayh ɔ:n cɔ:n
 3psg neg give go_up
 ‘She is not allowed to enter it.’

Example 102

ku.tɛ:k ti pu:n rasɔŋ nɔ ki: naw ka: mɔ̃:ayh ɔ:n ti:n
 dirt at under room spirit_room there 3psg then neg give step
 ‘That dirt under the spirit room, she cannot even step on it.’

Two verbs of negation /mɔ̃:ayh/ ‘neg’ are used to describe what the daughter-in-law cannot do. She cannot enter this spirit room and she cannot even step (walk) on the dirt below this room (since the house is up on stilts then the area underneath the house is passable). The negation verbs are prominent throughout this text appearing in every part except for the last closure unit.

The topic announcement in this text also used left dislocation with noun phrases juxtaposed next to each other. Left dislocation has the formula [NP S]S’ so that the noun phrase that is in sentence-initial position for pragmatic highlighting is grammatically adjoined to the sentence but not an integral part of it. The first clause of this text has the noun phrase /nɔ hay ki:/ ‘spirit_room our there’ which is placed immediately before the subject noun phrase /wək kɔ:n caw hay/ ‘group child grandchild our’ (i.e., our grandchildren). This has the effect of highlighting the first noun phrase which in the normal constituent order would be the object noun phrase.

Example 103

nə hay ki:	wək kɑ:n caw hay	cɔ:n bu:n
spirit_room 1pin there	group child grandchild 1pin	go_up can

‘As for our spirit room there, the grandchildren can enter it.’

Following this, another clause in the topic announcement section has the noun phrase /kutɛ:k ti pu:n rasɔŋ nə ki:/ ‘dirt at under room spirit_room there’ placed before the noun /nəw/ ‘3psg’, thus highlighting the first noun phrase while the second noun serves as the subject.

Example 104

ku.tɛ:k ti pu:n rasɔŋ nə ki:	nəw	ka:	mɔi:ayh ɔ:n ti:n
dirt at under room spirit_room there	3psg	then	neg give step

‘As for the dirt under the spirit room, she cannot walk on it.’

The term /ɛ/ ‘PRT_emphasis’ is used in this text after noun phrases, especially those in the subject position. Placing this particle in this position serves to highlight (focus) or bring to prominence that particular noun phrase at that point in the discourse. In the second clause line it occurs after the noun phrase /kɑ:n kuman/ ‘child daughter-in-law’ which is used with the conditional /k^hɛn/ ‘if’ in the prior clause.

Example 105

k ^h ɛn	kɑ:n kuman	ɛ	nəw
if	child daughter-in-law	PRT_emphasis	3psg

mɔi:ayh ɔ:n cɔ:n
neg give go_up

‘If it is the daughter-in-law, she cannot enter (the spirit room).’

A little later in the text, /ɛ/ ‘PRT_emphasis’ is again used after the subject noun phrase, /kuman/ ‘daughter-in-law’.

Example 106

kuman	ɛ	madɑŋ	ŋtrɔ:w
daughter-in-law	emphasis	not_know	what

‘The daughter-in-law didn’t know anything (about the customs).’

The topic announcement for the ‘Tree Conservation’ text is marked with a conditional clause using /k^hɛn pa:y/ ‘if that’.

Example 107

k ^h ɛn pa:y	ɲi doŋ ɲi kruaŋ	kəh tanλ:m aluaŋ ɲi ta ueyh
if that	all house all region	ta kucəh tanλ:m aluaŋ
		do charcoal tree wood

‘If everyone cuts down the trees to make firewood and charcoal,’

This topic announcement presents the general problem to be discussed in this hortatory text, namely, the problem of too many trees being felled.

Situation

The hortatory situation lays out a fuller description of the problem to be discussed and analyzed in the succeeding sections.

The situation in the ‘Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text provides an example of what happens if one does not follow these commands and prohibitions. It does this by using an embedded short narrative which begins with the traditional narrative marker /aray/ ‘old days’ telling the story of the daughter-in-law who didn’t obey the prohibitions mentioned in the topic announcement.

As seen below, the embedded discourse has the normal narrative structure with a stage, one pre-peak episode, and a peak.

Example 108Stage

naw	aray	bu:n	kuman
3psg	back_then	can	daughter-in-law

‘There once was a daughter-in-law.’

The stage subsection is marked off by the temporal word /aray/ ‘old days’. This clause is the point where we are introduced to the daughter-in-law who is the major character as she is introduced in the object noun phrase position.

Example 109Pre-peak -- first clause

ku.man lɛ	ma.daŋ	ɲtro:w
Daughter-in-law PRT_emphasis	not_know	what

‘The daughter-in-law did not know (about the customs).’

Example 110Pre-peak -- second clause

φ lɛ	tuac mu:t	klɔ:ŋ ku.ya:
φ and	sneak enter	inside in-law

‘She sneaked into the in-law’s room.’

Example 111Pre-peak -- third clause

cɣ: ϕ lɛ m̩pi:ayh daŋ ra.na: lah tah klo:ŋ
 already ϕ PRT_emphasis neg know way exit from inside
 ‘So then, she didn’t know the way out from the spirit room (in-law’s room).’

The pre-peak episode begins with the major character /kuman/ ‘daughter-in-law’ in the subject noun phrase position and tells what she did wrong -- she /tɯac mu:t/ ‘sneaked enter’ the in-laws room. This episode is marked by having two negation verbs, /ma.daŋ/ ‘not know’ in the first clause and /m̩pi:ayh daŋ/ ‘neg know’ in the third clause. The ending of the pre-peak episode is marked by the connective /cɣ:/ ‘already’ where the daughter-in-law is trapped inside the in-law’s room and does not know the way out.

Example 112Peak -- first clause

ku.ya: cu:
 in-law return
 ‘The in-laws returned home.’

Example 113Peak -- second clause

ϕ la ci.tʌ:m
 ϕ and time_just
 ‘And they returned just in time (to help her).’

The peak occurs when the in-laws appear on the scene just in time to rescue her from being trapped in the spirit room. It is marked by the change to new participants, the in-laws /kuya:/ (who are now placed in the subject noun phrase position), and the change to a slower pace (with the two short clauses).

The surface features given below of this embedded narrative are similar to that posited for So narratives.

Stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • term /tɛ:.aray/ ‘old days’ • introduces main character /kuman/ ‘daughter-in-law’
Pre-peak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • same participant /kuman/ ‘daughter-in-law’ • opens with verb /ma.daŋ/ ‘not know’ • closes with verb /m̩pi:ayh daŋ/ ‘neg know’ • ends with term /cɣ:/ ‘already’
Peak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • changes participant to /ku.ya:/ ‘in-laws’ • two short clauses (change of pace with short clause length)

Figure 25. Hortatory situation -- embedded narrative discourse

The situation of the ‘Tree Conservation’ text has a descriptive (verbless) clause which presents the results of the conditional statement given in the topic announcement. If all the trees are cut down, then what happens? It begins with the connective /ka:/ ‘then’ which relates it back to the previous conditional statement.

Example 114

ka: ----- dap ni
then ----- finish all

‘Then it will all be finished (i.e., there will be no more trees).’

This summary statement is the first of three summary statements in this text, all of which consist of descriptive (verbless) clauses. The other two are located in third cycle and in the closure section. Each of these is used to summarize the argument up to that point with a generic description of the ultimate results of cutting down all the trees. The results stated here is that everything will be finished so that there will be no more resources.

Cycles

The hortatory cycles lay out the exhortations or teachings of the author in a repetitive, cyclical manner. The ‘Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text cycles consist of a series of results where the narrator attempts to present the consequences of not following the commands or prohibitions regarding respecting the ancestor spirits.

These cycles are persuasive texts in that they use argumentation to demonstrate the validity of the narrator’s teaching concerning the spirits and their power. They are couched in a didactic teaching style which is based on repetition of the content material. In three cycles the narrator analyzes the results of the daughter-in-law entering the forbidden room. In the first cycle he presents the initial consequences of her actions, which is an analysis of the example story from the stage situation. Then in the second cycle he repeats that analysis and finishes with a rhetorical question. Finally in the third cycle he again summarizes the results of the daughter-in-law’s errant behavior.

This repetition is seen in the parallel structure which reinforces the narrator’s teaching. Each cycle has similar features from the cycles before and then adds a few different parts. Cycle 1 and 2 each say something about the daughter-in-law, the door (both use the phrase /ntɔŋ mi:/ ‘door have’), the fact that there was no exit, and then asks a rhetorical question. Cycle 1 says the daughter-in-law is desperately searching for a way out of the room, there definitely was a door there for her, but she still could not find the exit, and then why doesn’t she respect the spirits. Cycle 2 says the daughter-in-law sneaked into the in-law’s room, the door was clearly visible, she did not know the way out, and how could this happen. The phrase /tuac mu:t/ ‘sneak enter’ used is

parallel to the same phrase used in the situation example story. Cycle 2 then adds the tag question ‘it is like this, isn’t it?’ This tag question joins cycles 2 and 3, since both of these sections have a tag question at the end. Cycle 3 starts with the rhetorical question ‘what happened?’ then follows with another rhetorical question, ‘if there was no reason (for this to happen) then why could she not find her way out?’ Finally Cycle 3 concludes with the tag question, ‘it is like this, isn’t it?’

The situation (embedded narrative) and the three cycles all mirror each other with the parallelism of repeated use of the negative /m̩pi:ayh/ as well as the repetition of the phrase ‘not know the way out’.

<i>Situation</i>	/m̩pi:ayh dan/	/rana: lah/
	‘neg know’	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 1</i>	/m̩pi:ayh dan/	/rana: lah/
	‘neg know’	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 2</i>	/m̩pi:ayh dan/	/rana: lah/
	‘neg know’	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 3</i>	/m̩pi:ayh/	/lah/
	‘neg’	‘exit’

Similarly, parallelism and repetition of content mark the hortatory cycles in the ‘Tree Conservation’ text. The author repeats his conclusions three different times in three slightly different ways. And a rhetorical question is also used to highlight the consequences.

In this ‘Tree Conservation’ text both the set of hortatory cycles and the closure section have /c̩x̩: ka:/ ‘and then’ in the first clause line along with the final particle /l̩w?/ ‘PRT emphasis’ at the end of the clause. Thus the whole round of cycles is marked by the use of the discourse connective /c̩x̩: ka:/ at the beginning.

In this text the first cycle has /y̩i̩aŋ/ ‘rain’ in the subject noun phrase and provides further results of cutting down all the trees.

Example 115

c̩x̩: ka: y̩i̩aŋ ka: m̩pi:ayh m̩i:a l̩w?
 and then rain then neg rain PRT_emphasis
 ‘And then it will not rain.’

The second cycle changes to /w̩ak hay/ ‘we’ in the subject noun phrase and adds more negative results of not having any more trees.

Example 116

w̩ak hay ka: ha bu:n ta tali:ŋ
 group 1pin then neg can do ricefield
 ‘Then we cannot make the rice fields.’

Example 117

ha bu:n ta tarəm tasuan tat^hray
 neg can do farm garden garden
 ‘and we cannot make any farms or gardens.’

The last cycle restates the full pronoun /wək hay/ ‘we’ in the subject noun phrase position and begins with a summary statement similar to those at the end of the stage and at the end of the closure section. This is the descriptive (verbless) clause with a generic description of the ultimate results of cutting down all the trees. In this case the ultimate result is that everyone will be poor and have difficulties.

Example 118

wək hay ----- ra.nuḥ lɛ: tək lɛ:
 group 1pin ----- difficult and poor and
 ‘Then we will have difficulties and be poor.’

This final cycle can be seen as the high point of this tree conservation discourse since it is marked by this summary statement which is then immediately followed by a rhetorical question summing up all the frustrations of the narrator ‘What shall we do?’

Example 119

lɛ: ta samə
 and do how
 ‘And then what do we do?’

As this is the only question in this whole text, it serves to show the significance of this section coming as it does just before the closure.

Closure

The closure summarizes the teaching of the hortatory cycles with a final appeal or exhortation.

The ‘Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text hortatory closure finishes the teaching of the hortatory cycles with an appeal to value the spirits and not forget them. In this text it is the only section to have a quote margin /pa:y/ ‘say’ and it begins with the conjunction /caŋ/ ‘so’.

Example 120

naw	caŋ	pa:y	t ^h u: ʌ:t
			a.du:ŋ ʌ:t ku: ci.ŋay nay
			m̩pi:ayh tah
3psg	so	say	respect exist
			bring exist every day this
			neg abandon

‘Therefore they (people) say that they continue to pay respect (to the spirits), continue to bring (offerings) every day, and they do not abandon them.’

The message of the people is carried with three verbs: /t^hu: ʌ:t/ ‘respect exist’, /adu:ŋ ʌ:t/ ‘bring exist’, and /m̩pi:ayh tah/ ‘neg abandon’. The people say, 1) continue to respect the spirits, 2) continue to bring them offerings, and 3) continue to not abandon them.

The ‘Tree Conservation’ text closure begins with the conditional morpheme /k^hɛn/ ‘if’ similar to that used in the stage. The first clause line also begins with the discourse connective /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’ and ends with the final particle /lɛwʔ/ ‘PRT emphasis’, similar to the clause that begins the hortatory cycles in this text.

The closure finishes the text with a descriptive clause (verbless) summary statement similar to the two previous ones used in the stage situation and in the last cycle. This clause contains a generic description of the ultimate results of cutting down all the trees. The narrator repeats the theme from the two previous summary statements of poverty and ruin being the ultimate consequence.

Example 121

k ^h ɛn	m̩pi:ayh mi: dʌ mi:a	cɣ: ka:	-----
if	neg have water rain	and then	-----
tɔk	lɛwʔ		
poor	PRT_emphasis		

‘If there is no rain, then we will surely be poor.’

Conclusion

So hortatory texts do not have an aperture section but move straight into the stage which consists of a topic announcement and a situation. The topic announcement use the conditional /k^hɛn/ ‘if’ to present the text problem or negation verbs /m̩pi:ayh/ ‘neg’ to specify the commands and prohibitions. The stage situation more fully describes the text topic. In one case this consists of an embedded narrative discourse which presents a sample story for discussion. In another case this consists of a descriptive clause presenting a summary statement of consequences. The hortatory cycles which present the main body

of exhortations and teachings are characterized by repetition, parallelism of content, and rhetorical questions. The cycles have changes of topic (in the subject noun phrase position) and sometimes use the discourse connective /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’. The closure summarizes the teaching of the hortatory cycles with a final appeal or exhortation. It is marked with a discourse connective such as /caŋ/ ‘so’ or /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’.

Hortatory texts have the following specific discourse markers:

/k ^h ɛn/	‘first’
/caŋ/	‘at first’
/cɣ: ka:/	‘and then (already then) ‘

Participant reference

The occurrence and tracking of participants throughout a text is a considerable aid in providing cohesion to that text. Narrative texts tend to have the greatest incident of participants with procedural texts coming next in frequency of participants. Hortatory and procedural texts may have few if any participants, though if they do occur then they greatly increase the cohesiveness of that text. Participants may be mentioned by name, role, pronoun, kin terms, substitution, or zero. The main participants in a text are those with the greatest number of occurrences so that they appear throughout the discourse. Secondary, tertiary and other incidental participants occur in descending order of frequency.

Introducing participants

The focus here is on the main participants in narrative texts since they are the ones most clearly marked in the surface features. Usually in narrative texts the main participants are brought onto the stage in an existential /mi:/ ‘have’ clause. They can normally be identified as the main participants by the fact that they are introduced in the stage section, in an existential clause and in the object noun phrase position.

This is seen in the ‘Pig and Dog’ text where the first clause of the text introduces the main character (the old man who is preparing the rice field) in the object noun phrase position of an existential /mi:/ ‘have’ clause.

Example 122

mi:	t ^h aw mɔ̄ay na	ɕiaw tali:ŋ ha mi: lu:k.ɕa:ŋ
have	old one CLSF_people	make rice_field neg have workers

‘There was an old man, who made a rice field but had no one to help him.’

Another example is in the ‘Turtle’ text, where the existential clause introduces the main participants, the monkey and the turtle.

Example 123

m̩i: tamuɾ kap pi:t pan kani:a nuŋ nɤ
 have monkey and turtle be friend with together

‘There was a monkey and a turtle who were friends with each other.’

The ‘Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ text uses an existential clause to introduce the two main participants in the object noun phrase position.

Example 124

tɛ:.aray mi: kuya: nuŋ kuman
 old_days have in-law with daughter-in-law

‘In the old days there was a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law.’

The equative clause with the copula /pan/ ‘be’ is used to provide additional details (that she is old and blind) about one of the main characters, the mother-in-law.

Example 125

kuya: pan kuya: maɪ su:t tʰaw cɤ:
 in-law be in-law eye blind old already

‘The mother-in-law was old and blind already.’

The ‘Orphan Child’ text has two sets of main participants, the orphan and the aunts/uncles, which are introduced in two consecutive existential clauses. The orphan is the primary main character so he is introduced in the first clause. The aunts/uncles are introduced in the second clause since they are lower ranking participants than the orphan boy.

Example 126

m̩i: ka:n.ka.mu:c muay na
 have orphan one CLSF_people

‘There was one orphan child.’

Example 127

m̩i: a.cɛh ta.kɛh na
 have aunt/ uncle nine CLSF_people

‘There were nine aunts/uncles.’

The ‘Away in Laos’ text introduces the main participant in a different way than the normal narrative text. The major character, the grandfather, is introduced in an event clause using the verb /pʌ/ ‘go’. Then the grandfather is mentioned twice, first he is left dislocated (with a full noun phrase /m̩pi:a? a hi/ ‘father grandparent 1ppl’) to the front of the clause and then he is placed in the subject noun phrase position (as a pronoun /a.tʰaw/ ‘3pol’).

Example 128

mp̄i:aʔ	ɑ hi	tɛ:.a.ray	a.t ^h aw	pʌ cʌ:ŋ
father	grandparent	1ppl	old_days	3pol
				go buy

ci.r̄iak	ti mwanŋ	p ^h ɛ:ŋ.si:	ŋtɔh lao tuh
buffalo	at town	Phaengsii	side Lao there

‘In the old days, our grandfather, he went to buy a buffalo in the town of Phaengsii there on the Lao side.’

The ‘Sipriang the Liar’ text also is a bit different in that it introduces the main participant, Sipriang, in an equative clause with the copula verb /pan/.

Example 129

nay	pan	pɯ:n si:.p̄riang
this	be	story Sipriang

‘This is the story about Sipriang.’

In the ‘The Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law’ hortatory text there is an embedded narrative discourse. The main character, the daughter-in-law, is introduced in the object noun phrase position of the first clause of this embedded narrative.

Example 130Stage

n̄aw	aray	bw:n	kuman
3psg	back_then	can	daughter-in-law

‘There once was a daughter-in-law.’

Tracking participants

After being brought onto the scene, the main character is then referred to in the subject noun phrase position of the next clause that is the beginning of the pre-peak episode. In the following two clauses the main character has zero anaphora since she has already been specified previously.

Example 131Pre-peak – 1st clause

ku.man	ɛ	ma.dan	ŋtrɔ:w
daughter-in-law	PRT_emphasis	not_know	what

‘The daughter-in-law did not know (about the customs).’

Example 132Pre-peak – 2nd clause

ɸ	ɛ	tɯac mɯ:t	klɔ:ŋ ku.ya:
ɸ	and	sneak enter	inside in-law

‘She sneaked into the in-law’s room.’

Example 133Pre-peak – 3rd clause

cɿ: ϕ lɛ m̩pi:ayh dan ra.na: loh tah klɔ:ŋ
 already ϕ PRT_emphasis neg know way exit from inside
 ‘So then, she didn’t know the way out from the spirit room (in-law’s room).’

The peak episode changes participants so the in-laws are referred to by the noun kin term in the subject noun phrase position. The second clause of the peak episode has zero anaphora since the in-laws have already been identified.

Example 134Peak – 1st clause

ku.ya: cu:
 in-law return
 ‘The in-laws returned home.’

Example 135Peak – 2nd clause

ϕ la ci.tʌ:m
 ϕ and time_just
 ‘And they returned just in time (to help her).’

The use of zero anaphora can be seen in the ‘Pig and Dog’ text where it occurs quite frequently. The old man is the main character and he is introduced with a noun phrase /t^haw mɯay na/ ‘old one CLSF_people’ in the object position of the first clause line.

Example 136Stage

m̩i: t^haw mɯay na
 have old one CLSF_people
 ‘There was an old man who made a rice field but he had no one to help him.’

Then since he has already been identified he has zero anaphora in the next three clause lines of the first pre-peak episode. The secondary characters are the pig and the dog who are introduced as /ali:k ɲa a.cɔ:/ ‘pig and dog’ in the first line of this episode. Since they are lower ranking than the old man, they are brought onto the scene after the old man in the object noun phrase position while the old man (as a null referent) is the subject of this clause.

Example 137Pre-peak Episode 1 – 1st clause

cɿ: lɛ: ϕ i:t ali:k ɲa a.cɔ:
 and then ϕ take pig and dog
 ‘And then he took the pig and dog (to the fields to help him).’

Example 138Pre-peak Episode 1 – 2nd clause

..... ϕ ɔ:n cia wəh kla:k

..... ϕ give eat rice white

‘Whoever (of the pig and dog) would work to help make the rice fields, then they would get some white (paddy) rice to eat.’

Example 139Pre-peak Episode 1 – 3rd clause

..... ϕ lɛ: ɔ:n ci:a aluk

..... ϕ and give eat chaff

‘Whoever does not work making the rice fields, then they would get chaff to eat.’

The second pre-peak episode changes participant to the pig and thus the pig is identified in the subject noun phrase position with a full noun /ali:k/ ‘pig’.

Example 140Pre-peak Episode 2– 1st clause

k^hanay ka: ali:k pʌ katɔ:ŋc

time_this then pig go rooting

‘At this time then the pig went to root around a tree in the field.’

Example 141Pre-peak Episode 2– 2nd clause

tanʌ:m alɔ:a:ŋ ka: dɣm asɛ:ŋ

tree wood then fall down

‘Then the tree fell down.’

Example 142Pre-peak Episode 2– 3rd clause

ka: saa:t

then tidy

‘Then it was tidy.’

Example 143Pre-peak Episode 2– 4th clause

hanay ka: ali:k nay ka: cɔ: bic

at_once then pig this return sleep

‘And then the pig went home to sleep.’

The peak episode again changes participant to the dog who is then identified in the subject noun phrase position with a full noun /aca:/ ‘dog’. The dog has zero anaphora in the subject noun phrase position for the next two clause lines.

Example 144Peak Episode – 1st clause

acɑ: pʌ liap lɔ:n

dog go walk_around examine

‘The dog went walking around checking on things.’

Example 145Peak Episode – 2nd clause

φ ti:n pʌ

φ step go

‘He went stepping out (around where the tree had been).’

Example 146Peak Episode – 3rd clause

φ ti:n cu:

φ step return

‘He came stepping back (around where the tree had been).’

The final section of this text (the closure) changes participants back to the old man, so he is specified in the subject noun phrase position with a full noun phrase /acaw ki:/ ‘owner that’. The old man has a zero anaphora in the last clause line where he speaks to the pig and dog.

Example 147Closure – 1st clause

cɣ: acaw ki: lɛ: pʌ lɔ lɔ:n

already owner that and go go_around examine

‘And then the owner went around checking on things.’

Example 148Closure – 2nd clause

φ lɛ: pa:y

φ and said

‘And then he said, ‘Oh this dog has worked very diligently, while this pig is definitely very lazy. You (the pig) will certainly eat chaff.’

Cohesion

Text cohesion means that a discourse fits together into a unified whole. This is accomplished through surface structure cohesive devices, through lexical coherence and through the discourse structure.

Units

A narrative text consists of some events (usually in the past) recounted in a chronological order. A procedural text provides an ordered listing of steps

for telling someone how to do or make something while a hortatory (behavioral) text aims at influencing conduct. The boundaries are usually overtly marked with various grammatical devices though sometimes these are lacking so that the reader must infer that they are in a new section only by a change in time, place, topic, or participants. The boundaries can be overtly marked with various grammatical devices or they can be unmarked so that they are known only by the hearer's knowledge of the macrostructure for this genre. Thus overt or covert linking devices can signal text cohesion. Some of the many of the standard overt devices that signal text boundaries are:

- grammatical markers,
- changes in time, place, and/or participants,
- topic sentences or phrases,
- parallelism of content,
- summary statements,
- overlap clauses,
- rhetorical questions,
- direct address (may be oblique).

For hortatory texts not all of these features are necessarily present and there may be some additional ones specific to this genre. Person (1993), in analyzing Thai hortatory discourse found the following criteria useful:

- the use of ordinal numbers,
- the occurrence of rhetorical questions or jokes that would seem to shift or conclude topics,
- the presence of expressive vocalizations.

Additionally some of these criteria may be more important than others are in establishing boundaries. Person (1993:22 footnote 3) notes that 'boundary markers tend to differ in strength' so that the Thai vocalization 'Aw!' may consist of 'two or three times the strength of, for example, a change in agent orientation'.

Within the boundaries internal unity is maintained through a variety of possible means, such as parallelism, same time, same place, same participants, logical coherence and lexical coherence.

Connectives

The So language texts have the same general discourse connectives (boundary markers) whether they are a narrative, procedural, or hortatory text. If the text has explicit boundary linkage devices then they are usually of the same type. If the text has few overt boundary markers, then it is mainly relying on a genre-specific macrostructure for cohesion.

The discourse connective markers fit into a hierarchy where items on the top end supersede those on the lower end. The higher up on the hierarchy that a marker is located the bigger the discourse section that it marks.

temporal phrase (ka:) →	BEFORE	subject noun phrase
(cɣ:)ka: →		
(cɣ:) lɛ: →		
ka: →	AFTER	subject noun phrase
lɛ: →		

These marker terms can be grouped into those that occur before the subject noun phrase of the main clause and those that occur afterwards. Those that occur before the subject noun phrase, function as discourse level boundary markers whereas if the same markers are located after the subject noun phrase then they are functioning as a clause level connective.

The connective morpheme /ka:/ ‘then’ normally functions on the clause level as an internal linkage device when it is located after the subject noun phrase.

Example 149

krɛ alu:m ka: ahwɔk ahway nam doŋ nam su:
dung urine then sniff all_over in house in hut

‘The stench of excrement and urine could be smelled throughout the house.’

Sometimes /ka:/ occurs alone before the subject noun phrase as seen below where it serves to highlight a new participant:

Example 150

ka: ɲi.doŋ.ɲi.wi:l pʌ ta.sop.ta.mɔn
then everyone go do_funeral_ceremony

‘All the villagers went to the funeral ceremony.’

But when used with another connective such as /cɣ:/ ‘already’, or with a sequential word such as /tamit/ ‘first’, or with a temporal phrase such as /i:k mɔy ɲc^hay/ ‘later one month’, then it is functioning on the discourse level as a text boundary marker. This is seen in the following examples 151-153:

Example 151

cɣ: ka: φ it dʌ t^hɔ cɔ krɛ cirɪak
and then φ use water pour on dung buffalo

‘Then bring water and pour it on the buffalo dung.’

Example 152

tamit alay ka: k^hua bat alɔh tah li:an
first 3p then cut grass take_out from thresh_ground

‘First they clear the grass from the threshing ground.’

Example 153

cɣ: lɛ: i:k mɔ̃ay ɲc^hay ka: lak ka:
 and_then later one month then pull_out seedling
 ‘And then one month later, we pull out the rice seedlings.’

Additional evidence that /ka:/ ‘then’ is functioning on a discourse level is seen in the examples below where it can occur twice in the same clause. The first example has only one /ka:/ morpheme -- a temporal word attached to /ka:/ which is then followed by the subject noun phrase.

Example 154

k^hanay ka: a.li:k ɾʌ katɔ̃:ɲc ɑ:m tanʌ:m alɔ̃:a:ŋ
 time_this then pig go rooting around tree wood
 ‘At this time then the pig went to root around a tree in the field.’

In the second example there are two /ka:/ morphemes -- a temporal word plus /ka:/, followed by the subject noun phrase which in turn is followed by an additional /ka:/.

Example 155

ha.nay ka: a.li:k nay ka: cɔ̃: bic
 at_once then pig this then return lie_down
 ‘And then the pig went home to sleep.’

The connective /cɣ:/ ‘already’ also has a secondary discourse function. Sometimes it comes before the verb and sometimes after the verb. When used before the verb it usually always occurs with /ka:/ ‘then’ and marks a discourse boundary.

Example 156

cɣ: ka: ϕ ɾʌ cu:ayʔ krɛ ci.ɲiak
 and then ϕ go search dung buffalo

ta:m karu:m ta:m kɔ̃ mu:ki: na:
 around underneath around fence anywhere PRT_command
 ‘And then go search for buffalo dung anywhere around houses or around fenced enclosures (animal pens).’

When /cɣ:/ occurs after the verb, it retains its lexical meaning of ‘already’ (completed action, or past tense).

Example 157

kuya: pan kuya: mət su:t t^haw cɣ:
 in_law be in_law eye blind old already
 ‘The mother-in-law was old and blind already.’

This morpheme is frequently used in the last line of the text where it is placed at the end of the clause line along with a time marker serving to reinforce the finality of the closure section.

Example 158

cind:nay	alay	ha bw:n ta	sanay	cɣ:
nowadays	3p	neg can do	like_this	already

‘But nowadays people don’t do like this anymore.’

Additional evidence that /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’ is functioning as a discourse connective is seen in the next example where both it and the clause connective /ka:/ ‘then’ occur in the same clause. Thus /cɣ: ka:/ functions on a discourse level to separate macro units, while /ka:/ by itself functions as an internal connective. In this example /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’ is followed by the subject noun which then is followed by the connective /ka:/:

Example 159

cɣ: ka:	yiaŋ	ka:	m̩pi:ayh	m̩i:a	lɛw?
and_then	rain	then	neg	rain (verb)	PRT_emphasis

‘And then it will not rain.’

The morpheme /cɣ:/ not only goes together with /ka:/ as a discourse connective, but also with the conjunction /lɛ:/ ‘and’. When /lɛ:/ occurs by itself it is functioning as the clause level connective ‘and.’ It can occur alone before the subject noun phrase as seen next where it serves to highlight a new participant:

Example 160

lɛ:	kuman ki:	hun.hu:	hun.hay
and	daughter-in-law there	angry_easy	angry_1pin

The daughter-in-law was easily angry and annoyed.’

The next example shows /cɣ:/ ‘already’ and /lɛ/ ‘and’ occurring in the same clause but they are split with an intervening noun phrase. So the /cɣ:/ and /lɛ/ retain only their lexical meaning as a sequential indicator.

Example 161

cɣ:	a.caw ki:	lɛ:	pʌ lɑ lɑ:n
already	owner that	and	go go_around examine

‘Finally, the owner then went around checking on things.’

When /cɣ:/ works as a unit with /lɛ:/ it functions as a single discourse connective marker /cɣ: lɛ:/ ‘and then’ which comes before the subject noun phrase as seen below:

Example 162

cɣ: .lɛ: t^haw nɔw pa:y manɔŋka i: ɔ:n kuman at^haw dɔ:l
 and then old 3p said want for daughter-in-law 3pol carry
 ‘Then they said, ‘We wonder if (the mother) wanted the daughter-in-law to carry (the body).’

Further evidence for /cɣ: lɛ:/ functioning together on the discourse level is seen below where it occurs in the same clause with /ka:/ ‘then’. In this clause /cɣ: lɛ:/ is followed by an adverbial temporal phrase which is followed by /ka:/ before the main verb.

Note that the term /ka:/ is two morphemes with the respective meanings of the clause level connective ‘then’ and the noun ‘rice seedlings’.

Example 163

cɣ: lɛ: i:k mɔy ɲc^hay ka: lɔk ka:
 and then later one month then pull_out seedling
 ‘And then one month later, we pull out the rice seedlings.’

The use of these discourse boundary markers (connectives) is clearly seen in the ‘Threshing Ground’ procedural text outlined below where the discourse connective occurs first, followed by the subject noun (or null referent), and then followed by the clause connective (if any). These three items occur in the order shown and they are then followed by the verb phrase.

	Discourse Connective	Subject Noun	Clause Connective
Stage	tɛ:aray	alay	-----
Step 1	tamit	alay	ka:
Step 2	cɣ: ka:	ϕ	-----
Step 3	cɣ: ka:	ϕ	-----
	batnay	ϕ	ka:
Step 4	cɣ: ka:	ϕ	-----
	batnay	ϕ	ka:
Step 5	cɣ: ka:	ϕ	-----
Closure	cind:nay	alay	-----

Figure 26. Discourse boundaries in the ‘Threshing Ground’ text

The stage is marked by /tɛ:aray/ ‘old days’ while /tamit/ ‘first’ and /ka:/ ‘then’ mark the boundary of the first step. The boundaries of the succeeding steps are marked by /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’ and the closure is set off by /cind:nay/ ‘nowadays’. Note that the connective /batnay/ ‘and then’ (literally ‘when this’) occurs twice in this text, in step 3 and step 4. In both these instances they function as an internal connective, connecting one clause to the previous clause within that same section.

Lexical

Another cohesive device is the repetition of lexical items as a form of reiteration. This repetition is seen in the parallel structure of the ‘Daughter-in-law and The Spirit Room’ text cycles. The hortatory cycles share common features from the previous cycles and then add some new information. Both Cycle 1 and 2:

- say something about the daughter-in-law
- mention the door (both use the phrase /ŋtoŋ mi:/ ‘door have’)
- mention the fact that there was no exit
- ask a rhetorical question.

Cycle 1 says:

- the daughter-in-law is desperately searching for a way out of the room
- there definitely was a door there for her
- but she still could not find the exit
- and then why doesn’t she respect the spirits.

Cycle 2 then says:

- the daughter-in-law sneaked into the in-law’s room
- the door was clearly visible
- she did not know the way out
- and how could this happen.

Cycle 2 and the situation (example story) are joined by the parallel use of the phrase /tuac mu:t/ ‘sneak enter’. Cycle 2 and Cycle 3 are joined by the parallel use at the end of their cycles of the tag question ‘it is like this, isn’t it?’ Actually Cycle 3 has three questions which are used to provide cohesion to the previous text parts:

- beginning -- first rhetorical question
‘what happened?’
- middle -- second rhetorical question
‘if there was no reason (for this to happen) then why could she not find her way out?’
- ending -- tag question
‘it is like this, isn’t it?’

The situation (embedded narrative) and the three cycles have cohesion with the parallelism of repeated use of the negative /m̄pi:ayh/ as well as the repetition of the phrase ‘not know the way out’.

<i>Situation</i>	/m̄pi:ayh dan/	‘neg know’	/rana: lah/	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 1</i>	/m̄pi:ayh dan/	‘neg know’	/rana: lah/	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 2</i>	/m̄pi:ayh dan/	‘neg know’	/rana: lah/	‘way exit’
<i>Cycle 3</i>	/m̄pi:ayh/	‘neg’	/lah/	‘exit’

Figure 27. Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is also seen in the ‘Threshing Ground’ text. In the five procedural steps for preparing an area to be used as a threshing ground there is lexical coherence through the event verbs which all relate to this same activity. The prop nouns mentioned in each step also provide cohesion through their reference to earth-related items.

Steps	Prop Nouns	
Step 1	/bat/ /kutɛ:k/ /p ^h on/ /ko:l/	‘grass’ ‘dirt’ ‘dust’ ‘stone’
Step 2	/krɛ/	‘dung’
Step 3	/dʌ/ /yɯ:ŋ/	‘water’ ‘foot’
Step 4	/sa:k/	‘rice straw’
Step 5	/t ^h ra:/	‘paddy’

Figure 28. Cohesion of nouns

The ‘Growing Rice’ text has cohesion through the event verbs that all refer to the task of ‘growing rice’, from the first step of preparing the fields on through the following steps of planting, harvesting, threshing, and putting the rice in the barn.

Steps	Verbs	
Step 1	/pʌ t ^h ay/ /kri:at/ /tah/	‘go plow’ ‘rake’ ‘leave’
Step 2	/truɯh/ /lak/ /pʌ sabat/ /ri:a:c/	‘sow’ ‘pull_out’ ‘go transplant’ ‘harvest’
Step 3	/k ^h an adw:ŋ da/	‘carry take put’
Step 4	/puh/	‘beat’
Step 5	/ti:/	‘carry’

Figure 29. Cohesion of verbs

Tail-head linkage

Many texts make extensive use of tail-head linkages as a cohesive device. In the ‘Threshing Ground’ text phrases from one clause are repeated in the next clause, as seen in Example 164:

Example 164*Clause A*

tamit alay ka: k^hua bat aləh tah li:an
 first 3p then cut grass take_out from thresh_ground
 ‘First they clear the grass from the threshing ground area,

wa:yʔ ϕ tarah kutɛ:k ɔ:n an p^hi:an p^hiaŋ
 before ϕ cut dirt for 3psg smooth smooth
 before cutting the dirt so as to make it very smooth.’

Clause B

i:bw:n li:an la.ʔua: ϕ ka: k^hua bat
 if_want thresh_ground wide ϕ then cut grass

aləh samk^hi:

take_out compare

‘If you want a wide threshing ground then you can cut the grass back accordingly.’

Clause C

k^hua bat cɣ: tarah kutɛ:k p^hi:an cɣ: ϕ ka: kua:t p^hon
 cut grass already cut dirt smooth already ϕ then sweep dust

‘When you have already cut the grass back made the dirt smooth, then you can sweep off the dust.’

The /k^hua bat/ ‘cut grass’ is highlighted above with the box around it and can be seen to be repeated throughout these clauses. The figure below shows the persistent use of this tail-head linkage that seems to be especially prominent in procedural texts.

Clause				
A	<i>first</i>	/k ^h ua bat/ ‘cut grass’	<i>before</i>	/tarah kutɛ:k/ ‘cut dirt’
B	<i>if</i>	-----	<i>then</i>	/k ^h ua bat/
C		/k ^h ua bat/	<i>then</i>	

Figure 30. Tail-head linkage

The next set of procedural clauses show tail-head linkage cohesion through the repetition of the noun phrase /krɛ ciɾiak/ ‘excretion buffalo’ and the verb /pʌ cu:ayʔ/ ‘go search’.

Example 165*Clause A*

cɣ: ka:	ϕ	pʌ cu:ayʔ	krɛ ci.riak
and then	ϕ	go search	dung buffalo

ta:m karu:m ta:m kə mu:ki:	na:
around underneath around fence anywhere	PRT_cmd

‘And then you go search for buffalo dung around underneath the houses or around the fences.’

Clause B

ϕ	pʌ cu:ayʔ	ϕ	tə:n samʌ:k	caŋ	mi:	krɛ ci.riak
ϕ	go search	ϕ	when morning	so	have	dung buffalo

‘Go searching in the morning so that you will find the buffalo dung.’

Clause C

bw:n	krɛ ci.riak	cɣ:	a.dw:ŋ tʰo akɑ:ŋ a.da
can	dung buffalo	already	bring pour pile save

taŋ li:an
in thresh_ground

‘When you’ve found the buffalo dung, then pile it up on the threshing ground area.’

Tail-head linkage also occurs quite frequently in the ‘Growing Rice’ text. With only a few exceptions almost every clause line overlaps each other by repeating the main verb and sometimes they also repeat the object noun phrase.

#	Clause		
1	<i>first</i>	/pʌ tʰay tali:ŋ/	'go plow ricefield'
2		/pʌ tʰay tali:ŋ/	'go plow ricefield'
	<i>then</i>	/kri:at/	'rake'
3		/kri:at/	'rake'
	<i>then</i>	/tah/	'leave'
4	<i>then</i>	/truɰh/	'sow'
5		/truɰh/	'sow'
	<i>then</i>	/lak/	'pull_out'
6		/pʌ sabat/	'go transplant'
7		/ri:a:c/	'harvest'
8		/ri:a:c/	'harvest'
	<i>then</i>	/kʰan adw:ŋ da ti li:an/	'carry take put'
9		/kʰan adw:ŋ da ti li:an/	'carry take put'
	<i>then</i>	/puh/	'beat'
10		/puh/	'beat'
	<i>then</i>	/ti: tʰra: acɔ:n cɔ laŋ/	'carry paddy take_up to granary'
11		/kʰan tʰra: acɔ:n laŋ/	'carry paddy take_up granary'

Figure 31. Clause tail-head linkage

Structure

Cohesion is also achieved through the discourse structure of a text. Each text type has a predictable sequencing, so that the hearer knows already how this type of discourse will be laid out. This predictable structure of text types involves the plot, notional structure, schemata, frames, and macrostructure. The structure of a discourse aids the audience in knowing where they are in the text and what to expect. There is normally a single unifying theme to a discourse that is hierarchically developed by smaller themes.

All texts usually have a basic formula of 'Introduction' plus a 'Nucleus' plus a 'Conclusion'. The fillers of these basic units depend on the text genre. Genres are distinct types of texts each with their own unique internal structure. Text genres include such types as narrative, expository, prophetic, didactic and hortatory types. There are both grammatical and semantic structures for each genre. Thus cohesion is maintained as the text follows the structure specific to its genre.

Narratives have a predictable semantic and grammatical structure for each part of the text, the introduction, the nucleus and the conclusion. There are also usual section types associated with each part. This is shown below:

<i>Semantic Structure</i>	<i>Grammatical Structure</i>	<i>Section Types</i>
Setting – exposition (who, when, where, what)	Title Aperture Stage	noun phrase Descriptive
Inciting Moment (Developing Conflict)	Episodes	Narrative Dialogue
Climax (Denouement)	Peak (Episode)	Descriptive
Final Suspense		
Final State --conclusion	Closure Finis	Descriptive

Figure 32. Narrative discourse structure cohesion

The semantic structure of the introduction is the setting (exposition) which talks about ‘who’, ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘what’. The semantic nucleus may include such items as the inciting moment, developing conflict, climax, denouement and final suspense. The semantic conclusion is the final state of the narrative.

The grammatical introduction includes such things as the title, an aperture and a stage. The grammatical nucleus has the various episodes and a peak, while the conclusion has a ‘closure’ and possibly a formulaic finis. A usual section type associated with the introduction can be noun phrases or descriptive clauses. The nucleus can have narrative, descriptive or dialogue sections, while the conclusion usually has a descriptive type section.

Procedural texts also have a predictable semantic and grammatical structure for the introduction, nucleus and the conclusion along with common section types associated with each part, as seen in Figure 33.

<i>Semantic Structure</i>	<i>Grammatical Structure</i>	<i>Section Types</i>
Setting – exposition (introduction of task)	Title Aperture Stage	noun phrase Descriptive
Procedures (1...n)	Steps (1...n)	Narrative Descriptive
Final State -- conclusion	Closure Finis	Descriptive

Figure 33. Procedural discourse structure cohesion

The audience knows how to follow a procedural text with very few (or sometimes no) overt linking devices because there is cohesion of the discourse

structure. The procedural text follows a specific preset pattern both semantically and grammatically. The introduction has a semantic setting (exposition) matched by the grammatical structure of the title, aperture and stage. The nucleus has semantic procedures that correlate with the grammatical structure of steps. The conclusion part has a semantic final state and a grammatical closure and sometimes a formulaic finis.

The hortatory texts also show cohesion by following a clear discourse structure of introduction, nucleus and conclusion each with their own semantic and grammatical structure as seen below.

<i>Semantic Structure</i>	<i>Grammatical Structure</i>	<i>Section Types</i>
Setting – exposition (introduction of problem)	Title Aperture Stage	noun phrase Descriptive
Initial Appeal	Topic Announcement Situation	
Presentation		
Elaborations (1...n)	Cycles (1...n)	Narrative Descriptive
Final State – conclusion (motivation)	Closure --Finis	Descriptive

Figure 34. Hortatory discourse structure cohesion

Hortatory texts also follow a clearly delineated discourse structure that provides good text cohesion and allows the audience to keep up without too many overtly stated linking devices. The introduction consists of a semantic setting, which introduces the hortatory problem, and has two subcomponents, the initial appeal and the presentation. The introduction's grammatical structure consists of title, aperture and stage. The stage has two parts, the topic announcement and the situation. The nucleus has a semantic structure consisting of a series of hortatory elaborations, which are usually matched by the grammatical structure of a series of hortatory cycles in which the problem is discussed. Finally the conclusion's semantic structure closes with the final state, the motivation for this problem. The conclusion's grammatical structure has a closure (finis) in which the resolution to the hortatory problem is achieved.

Discourse conclusion

So narrative, procedural and hortatory texts were examined for their discourse structure. Narrative texts have a title, aperture, stage, pre-peak episode, peak, post-peak and closure. Procedural and hortatory texts have similar structures. The title, aperture and stage are optional for procedural texts. Procedural texts have steps and a closure while hortatory texts have a stage,

cycles and a closure. Each text genre has unique surface structure characteristics and uses varying cohesive devices to keep their discourses together.

Discourse boundaries can be ascertained by first examining the clause-initial connectives and conjunctions. Generally there is a hierarchy of boundary markers, as per the following diagram:

temporal phrase (ka:)	→	BEFORE subject noun phrase
(cɣ:)ka:	→	
(cɣ:)lɛ:	→	
	ka:	→ AFTER subject noun phrase
	lɛ:	

The features of 1) a temporal phrase plus an optional /ka:/, 2) /cɣ: ka:/, and 3) /cɣ: lɛ:/ provide good indicators of text boundaries. A secondary source of boundary markers are /ka:/ and /lɛ:/ occurring after the subject noun phrase. Additional text units can then be found by examining the occurrences of full noun phrases, nouns, pronouns and null referents in the subject position. Finally one can examine the changes of time, place or participants to discover lower-level chunks of text.

Some interesting cultural information to come out of the texts relates to the authority and credibility of the text producer. Some of the procedural and hortatory texts were given orally and thus do not have the normal introductory portion of a written text in which the text producer specifies his authority to talk on the topic. With an oral text, the person speaking is seen before the listeners and they can visually judge as to his credibility by knowing his age, experience, status and occupation in the community. Thus the text producer can speak without justification for didactic purposes. Some of the texts relate to the animist belief system wherein the spirits of the departed ancestors linger around the home place to guard and protect the later generations. The living generations are to venerate and care for the departed generations to ensure their cooperation and assistance with material and spiritual needs. Some narrative texts and one of the hortatory texts teach the listener (reader) to pray to the spirits, to care for the ancestors and to not abandon them.

Narrative text surface structure includes aperture, stage, pre-peak episodes, peak, post-peak episodes and closure. Aperture usually is marked by /tɛ:.aray/ ‘in the old days’ and the stage has an existential clause with the verb /mɨ:/ ‘have’. The main text participants are normally introduced in the first few clauses of the text in the object noun phrase immediately following the main verb. Pre-peak episodes are set off by a temporal phrase such as /mɯay sanjaj ki:/ ‘one day that’ or the connective /cɣ: ka:/ ‘and then’. The peak episode usually has similar boundary markers as the other episodes but is additionally marked by a crowded scene (many participants on stage in this

episode), shorter clauses, more action verbs, or many quotations (heavy use of monologue or dialogue). Not many So texts have a post-peak episode since usually they move quickly to the closure. The closure is sometimes marked with the same episode connective markers such as /cɣ̃: ka:/ ‘and then’ or /cɣ̃: lɛ:/ ‘and then’. But it also normally has a summary clause which wraps up the story or which emphasizes the moral point of the text.

Procedural texts usually have only a stage, a series of steps and a closure. Similar to narratives, the stage can be marked by /tɛ:.aray/ ‘in the old days’. Other times it is completely dispensed with and the author moves right into the first step. The steps normally are marked by a series of /cɣ̃: ka:/ ‘and then’ connectives. The closure can either be marked with a temporal word such as /cinɑ:nay/ ‘nowadays’ or by the summation /cɣ̃: ka: cɣ̃:/ ‘and then finished’.

Hortatory texts are similar to procedural texts in that they have a stage followed by a series of hortatory cycles, and end with a closure. The stage is marked by initial topic announcement either as commands or as a conditional using /k^hɛn/ ‘if’. The cycles are marked by repetitions of specific words or phrase structures. Sometimes the cycles have the connective /cɣ̃: ka:/ ‘and then’. The closure repeats the initial command or has a summary clause presenting the main exhortation of this text.

These discourse features should be comparable to that found in other Katuic languages as well as more broadly among the Mon-Khmer language family. Further research among various Katuic texts would be useful as not much cross-language text analysis has been done in any depth. Only recently among Mon-Khmer languages has there accumulated a sufficient body of detailed studies that include some initial text analysis so as to make possible comparative discourse studies.

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