

CONSTITUENT ORDER AND PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN DOLNIA HANI  
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

Karen L. Gainer  
Bachelor of Science, Bowling Green State University, 1999

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota  
December 2008

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

---

Chairperson

---

---

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

---

Dean of the Graduate School

---

Date

PERMISSION

Title            Constituent Order and Participant Reference in Dolnia Hani Narrative Discourse

Department    Linguistics

Degree         Master of Arts

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in his absence, by the chairperson of the department or the dean of the Graduate School. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 The Hani people and language.....	2
1.2 Previous linguistic work on Hani.....	3
1.3 Definition of terms.....	4
1.3.1 Narrative discourse .....	4
1.3.2 Information structure .....	4
1.4 Overview.....	5
2. CONSTITUENT ORDER.....	8
2.1 Definition of terms.....	8
2.1.1 Identificational, presentational, and topic-comment articulation ..	8
2.1.2 Topic .....	9
2.1.3 Focus.....	11
2.1.4 Point of departure and topicalization .....	12
2.1.5 Actor and undergoer .....	14

2.1.6 Prominence and highlighting .....	15
2.2 Case markers and topicalizers .....	15
2.2.1 Case markers .....	16
2.2.2 Topicalizers .....	23
2.3 Variations in Hani constituent order .....	26
2.3.1 Principles .....	27
2.3.2 Applications of the principles of 2.3.1 .....	38
3. PARTICIPANT REFERENCE .....	48
3.1 Introduction to participant reference .....	48
3.1.1 Definition of terms .....	48
3.1.2 Pronominal forms .....	50
3.2 Introduction of participants .....	52
3.2.1 Introduction of first participant .....	52
3.2.2 Introduction of other major participants .....	54
3.2.3 Introduction of minor participants .....	56
3.3 Further reference to participants .....	57
3.3.1 Default encoding of topics .....	58
3.3.2 Deviations from default encoding .....	63
4. THE ENCODING OF LEXICAL NPS .....	72
4.1 Overview of lexical NP encoding .....	72
4.2 The indefinite NP .....	75
4.3 The definite NP .....	76
4.3.1 Inanimate referents .....	77

4.3.2 Animate non-human referents.....	79
4.3.3 Human referents.....	80
4.4 NPs marked by demonstratives.....	80
4.4.1 The proximal demonstrative <i>xil</i> .....	80
4.4.2 The distal demonstrative <i>yul</i> .....	83
4.5 The unmarked NP.....	88
4.5.1 Reference to the members of a certain class in general.....	89
4.5.2 Reference to an entity that is not salient in the discourse.....	89
4.5.3 Reference to an already-active major participant.....	92
4.6 Conclusion to participant reference.....	93
5. CONCLUSION.....	95
5.1 Summary.....	95
5.2 Claims for this study.....	95
5.3 Areas for further study.....	97
APPENDIX A: THE OLDER AND YOUNGER BROTHERS.....	99
APPENDIX B: NOT JUST ME.....	109
APPENDIX C: THE STORY OF AQPYUQ HAOSSUL.....	121
REFERENCES.....	140

## LIST OF FIGURES

### Figure

1. Pronominal forms in the nominative case.....	51
2. Default encodings of topics .....	58
3. Lexical NP encoding.....	73

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1 – first person, non-nominative	INTJ – Interjection
1:N – first person, nominative	LNK – Link
1pe – first person plural exclusive	MAN – Manner
1pi – first person plural inclusive	NEG – Negative
2 – second person, non-nominative	NEGR – Negative result
2:N – second person, nominative	OBJ – Objective validational
2p – second person plural	OP – Opinion particle
3 – third person	OMP – Onomatopoeia
A – Actor	o.bro – older brother
ABL – Ablative	PERF – Perfect
ACC – Accusative	PL – Plural
ADD – Additive	PIMP – Polite imperative
AUG – Augmentative	PROG – Progressive
CL – Classifier	PROH – Prohibitive
COH – Cohortative	QP – Question particle
CMPR – Comparative	QUO – Quotative
CMPL – Completive	RED – Reduplication
CONT – Continuation	SUBJ – Subjective validational
CRS – Currently relevant state	TCL – Time classifier
CT – Contrastive marker	TOP – Topicalizer
DAT – Dative	TRAN – Transitivity marker
DIM – Diminutive	U – Undergoer
DCL – Definite classifier	VIP – Very important participant
DM – Development marker	VOL – Volitional validational
DPL – Definite plural classifier	y.bro – younger brother
DUR – Durative	y.son – youngest son
EXP – Experienced	* – Ungrammatical
great.grandch – great-grandchild	# – Inappropriate in this context
HCL – Human classifier	_ – Used between two or more
HRSY – Hearsay	orthographic words glossed as a unit
INC – Incohesive	? – No gloss proposed
INT – Intention	

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Levinsohn, my thesis supervisor, for his encouragement and guidance from the very beginning of this work. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Keith Slater for his guidance in my study of Hani syntax and Dr. Stephen Marlett for his suggestions to improve the clarity of the thesis. In addition, I would like to thank Inga McKendry for her encouragement and patience in reading through several drafts of the thesis and for her input.

I also wish to thank my Hani language teachers, Alba Lacel and Hhyulyeiv for their friendship and eagerness to work with me on this project. I am grateful to the many Hani friends who have generously shared their language and culture with me, and I look forward to continuing to learn from them. *Nolya daov meeq ya!*

## ABSTRACT

Hani is a language in the Loloish family, spoken primarily in Yunnan Province of southwest China. This thesis presents a description of constituent order and participant reference in written Hani narrative discourse. The primary data source for this thesis consists of three narratives, which are included in the appendices.

Constituent order in Hani is largely constrained by the principle of natural information flow. In order to conform to this principle, some constituents may appear in two or more different positions in the clause, depending on the information structure of the assertion being made. Information structure also influences the use and non-use of the ablative case marker.

Referents in Hani may be encoded as zero, with pronominal forms, or as lexical NPs. The default encodings of referents in various contexts are first presented, and then the variations from default encodings are considered. Greater-than-default encoding occurs at discontinuities and in order to highlight the information which follows.

Lexical NPs may be encoded as indefinite, definite, with demonstratives, or be unmarked for definiteness. NPs encoded as definite are salient in the ongoing narrative. The proximal and distal demonstratives are used with reference to the text-internal world in ways which parallel their functions in the text-external world, indicating that referents are near the center of attention of a narrative or away from it, respectively.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to propose a description of the parameters affecting constituent order and participant reference in Dolnia Hani.<sup>1</sup> The primary data source for this study consists of three narrative texts published in the series of books *Hani Dudaq* (*Hani Stories*) volume VI (2004).<sup>2</sup> The larger data source for this study includes 60 more stories published in the same series, volumes I-VI (1988-2004) and one story from the Hani grammar by Li Yongsui (1990:198-222). Although I do not claim to have accounted for all of the phenomena found in the larger data source, I have found it helpful at times to draw examples from these texts.

In addition to this collection of written texts, I occasionally make reference to grammatical paradigms and other insights gleaned from my own study of the Hani language. My Hani language teachers, Lacel of Tavqzaq village and Hhyulyeiv of Alloqna village, worked with me in glossing the written texts and provided me with numerous illustrative examples of the grammatical phenomena found therein. Many other members of the Lüchun community also helped with the glossing of the texts.

---

<sup>1</sup> The ISO 639-3 code for Hani is hni.

<sup>2</sup> These texts are included in the appendices.

## 1.1 The Hani people and language

There are approximately 1.3 million people belonging to the Chinese government-recognized minority called the Hani (Dai and Duan 1994:1). The Hani live in southwestern Yunnan province, primarily in the Honghe Hani-Yi Autonomous Prefecture, the Simao Prefecture, the Xishuangbanna Prefecture, and the Yuxi Prefecture (Lewis and Bai 2002:2). There are also Hani speakers living in Vietnam and Laos (*loc. cit.*). The Hani language belongs to the Loloish branch of the Lolo-Burmese subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages.

Chinese linguists have divided the Hani into three major dialect groups: the Hani-Yani dialect, the Haoni-Baihong dialect, and the Biyue-Kudao dialect (Dai and Duan 1994:5). It is widely recognized that speakers of dialects for different branches cannot communicate effectively with one another (*loc. cit.*). The government-recognized standard for all varieties of Hani is the Dolnia sub-dialect, which belongs to the Hani-Yani group and is the variety spoken in Lüchun county, Honghe Prefecture, Yunnan, as its standard (Lewis and Bai 2002:2). The written texts used for this study follow this standard.

The Hani orthography was developed in 1957 and is used in a number of books, pamphlets, and newspapers. Hani syllables are of the form (C)V, and the letters *q*, *l*, and *f* syllable-finally designate low, high, and rising tones, respectively. The rising tone only occurs with words borrowed from Chinese. Syllables written without tone marking are mid tone. The letter *v*, after a vowel, indicates that the syllable is to be pronounced with glottalization. Some consonants are designated by digraphs.

The data cited in this thesis are written in the 1957 orthography, and I have retained the punctuation from the original printed versions.

## **1.2 Previous linguistic work on Hani**

There are a number of helpful works on Hani linguistics which have made this study possible and greatly facilitated my own acquisition of Hani. The Chinese grammars which guided this study include the following:

Li and Wang (1984). This overview discusses the phonology of Hani and provides a sketch of the word classes, phrase structures, and dialects of the language. The appendices include four Hani texts.

Li (1990). This work describes the etymology of Hani words and then goes on to classify them into ten parts of speech, describing the functions of each one. A description of phrase and sentence structures is provided. The appendix includes the narrative, “The Dragon and the Son-in-Law,” extracts of which are cited in this thesis.

Dai and Duan (1994). This book includes an overview of the languages related to Hani and the recognized dialects of Hani itself.

Xu (2007). This book provides information related to Hani cultural themes, folk songs, sayings, incantations, and other areas of anthropology. It also provides an overview of constructions used in Hani to perform discourse functions.

The two bilingual reference dictionaries that guided my glossing were Dai et al (2000) and Lewis and Bai (1995).

Translations of quotations from Chinese sources in this paper are my own.

Because the specific functions of many grammatical particles in Hani have yet to be described in sufficient detail, the terms and abbreviations I use in the interlinearized glosses are tentative.

### **1.3 Definition of terms**

In this section, I define some general terms related to this study.

#### ***1.3.1 Narrative discourse***

The term “discourse” refers to “a connected series of utterances” (McKean 2006:256). A narrative is a type of discourse which gives an “account of connected events” (ibid. 588).<sup>3</sup> In common parlance, narratives refer to stories – discourses in which one or more participants engage in a series of events. While a narrative discourse may be told for purposes of instruction or exhortation, to the extent that it presents a series of actions by one or more specific participants, it can be said to belong to the narrative genre.

#### ***1.3.2 Information structure***

In this study, it is often necessary to refer to information structure as a parameter affecting both constituent order and participant reference. In Lambrecht’s work in this area, he says that “information structure is concerned with the FORM of utterances in relation to assumed mental states of speakers and hearers” (1994:3).<sup>4</sup> His approach assumes that speakers form hypotheses about the information which their listeners already know and their cognitive representations of this information at the moment of utterance (loc. cit.). He contends that syntax reflects choices made by a speaker to

---

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the parameters used in the classification of discourses into broad genres, see Longacre (1996).

<sup>4</sup> Emphasis in quoted material is retained from the original, unless otherwise noted.

encode a message in a way that is most meaningful to the listener. Consider the following sentences from Levinsohn (2008:21):

(1a) *Dog and Hare made an agreement.*

(1b) *It was Dog and Hare who made an agreement.*

(1c) *Once there were a Dog and a Hare [who made an agreement].*

Although these sentences are propositionally equivalent, in that they convey the same information, they present that information differently. A speaker's choice to use one of these sentences rather than another is based on his assumptions regarding which information needs to be conveyed. Lambrecht uses the term "allosentences" to refer to such groups of propositionally equivalent sentences.

In the following chapters, I will show that with Hani's flexible word order and varied choices for the encoding of participants, a variety of "allosentences" is possible in any given context. I will present the principles which have been found useful in describing the use of one construction rather than another in given situations.

## **1.4 Overview**

Chapter 2 describes constituent order in the Hani language. The default constituent orderings are actor-verb (AV) and undergoer-verb (UV), which is equivalent to Dryer's subject-verb (SV) and object-verb (OV) category (2007:79).<sup>5</sup> Key findings are that Hani uses AUV order when presenting actors as topics and UAV order when presenting undergoers as topics, that the ordering of constituents is related to the "Principle of Natural Information Flow" (Comrie 1989:127) and that the left-dislocation

---

<sup>5</sup> Actor and undergoer are macrorole terms presented by Van Valin (2005:53). See section 2.1.5 of this paper for definitions.

of focal constituents gives “prominence” to these constituents.<sup>6</sup> I also present data related to dative shift in Hani and hypothesize that the effect of this construction is to present a recipient as either new information or of particular interest to the story.

Chapter 3 gives an account of the encoding of references to those participants which are topics of sentences, finding that reference to Givón’s Iconicity Principle and to the concept of “highlighting” are relevant parameters for predicting the encoding of topics (see 3.3.2.1). The chapter also considers the relationship between highlighting and story development, as well as contrastiveness.

Chapter 4 describes the encoding of lexical NPs, finding that the Hani definite classifier indicates the “salience” of a referent, especially when used with inanimate referents.<sup>7</sup> This chapter also shows that the demonstratives, when used for text-internal reference, have meanings which are conceptually similar to their meanings with reference to the text-external world.

Chapter 5 provides a brief conclusion of my findings and suggestions for further areas of study.

The three main texts used in this thesis are presented in the appendices. They include “The Older and Younger Brothers” (Appendix A), “Not Just Me” (Appendix B), and “The Story of Aqpyuq Haossil” (Appendix C). Throughout the thesis, examples drawn from these texts are cited in the form (Story Name, Sentence number). Examples drawn from the series of stories *Haqniq Dudaq I-VI* edited by Yang and Han are cited in the form (Vol.:p), where “Vol” represents the volume number and “p” the page number.

---

<sup>6</sup> See section 2.1.6 for definitions of prominence and highlighting. See section 2.3.1.3 for discussion of the Principle of Natural Information Flow.

<sup>7</sup> See section 3.1.1 for a definition of salience.

When an example from a text consists of more than one clause and the clauses are presented with the same number but different letters (e.g. (7a), (7b)), the clauses immediately follow one another in the text. When ungrammatical examples are presented for comparison with grammatical examples, these are presented with the same numbering system but with the ungrammatical examples indicated by an asterisk. Constituents to which I desire to draw the reader's attention are written in bold. When there are two constituents to which I desire to draw the reader's attention, one is underlined and the other written in bold.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONSTITUENT ORDER

Dai and Duan (1994) indicate that, in Hani sentences, predicates follow subjects and that objects, when present, also precede the verb. They also indicate that “subjects are usually placed before objects, but sometimes, in order to emphasize the patient, it is possible to use helping words<sup>8</sup> to place objects before subjects” (141). While these statements shed some light on the constituent order in Hani, I believe that by applying principles of information structure presented by Lambrecht (1994), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), VanValin (2005), Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2008) to a corpus of narrative texts, it is possible to propose a more thorough description of the forces motivating constituent order in this language.

#### **2.1 Definition of terms**

This section defines some terms needed to discuss variations in constituent order.

##### ***2.1.1 Topic-comment, identificational, and presentational articulation***

In order to describe the ordering of constituents in Hani, it is first necessary to distinguish and define the various methods by which propositions are presented cross-linguistically. I now return to the allosentences from Levinsohn (2008:21) presented in 1.3:

---

<sup>8</sup> The reference to “helping words” is to the ablative marker *nei* and the accusative marker *yaol* (see section 2.2.1).

- (1a) *Dog and Hare made an agreement.*
- (1b) *It was Dog and Hare who made an agreement.*
- (1c) *Once there were a Dog and a Hare [who made an agreement].*

While sentences (1a-c) are propositionally equivalent, the differences between them can be described pragmatically. In sentence (1a), the speaker assumes the existence of Dog and Hare and proceeds to tell the listener something about them. This is known as “topic-comment” articulation, with Dog and Hare forming the topic of the sentence (see 2.1.2) and the fact that they made an agreement forming a comment about them (Lambrecht 1994:121). In contrast, the speaker of sentence (1b) assumes that the listener knows that an agreement was made by some party or parties and identifies those parties. This sentence is said have “identificational” articulation (ibid. 122). Finally, the first clause of sentence (1c) serves to introduce Dog and Hare to the scene being construed in the listener’s mind. This is known as a “presentational” articulation (ibid. 144), as it introduces a new constituent into the listener’s mental representation.

### **2.1.2 Topic**

Lambrecht defines “topic” as follows: “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (ibid. 131). In other words, if the content of a proposition is construed to be *about* a particular referent, then that referent is a topic of the proposition. Following Lambrecht, I use the term topic to refer to the topics of *clauses*. It is very often the case that the overall topic of a passage is coded as a non-topic in clauses within

that passage. Givón refers to constituents which are topics of larger units of discourse as “themes” (1983:8). However, as this term is used with different meanings by a variety of linguists, I have chosen not to use this term. When I refer to a constituent as being a topic of a unit of discourse longer than a single clause, I follow Levinsohn in calling it a “higher-level topic” (personal communication). This distinction will become relevant in 2.2.1.2.

It is essential to note that, while there is a high correlation between clausal topics and clausal subjects for pragmatic reasons, the two terms are distinct, with subject referring to a grammatical relation and topic referring to a pragmatic relation between an constituent and what is said about it (see Lambrecht 1994:118).

It follows from Lambrecht’s definition of “topic” that if a proposition increases the listener’s knowledge about a certain referent, that referent must already be pragmatically accessible to the listener in some way. Based on this observation, Lambrecht proposes a “Topic Acceptability Scale.” Ordering from the most acceptable topics to the least acceptable, this scale is: active referents, accessible referents, unused referents, brand-new anchored referents, and brand-new unanchored referents (ibid. 165). This scale, presented as a continuum, allows for some cross-linguistic variation, but at the same time suggests that those referents classified as least acceptable are unlikely to be accepted as topics in any language. As an example of this unacceptability, Lambrecht cites Perlmutter’s example, “\*A boy is tall” (1970:238) and accounts for its ungrammaticality as follows: “it is difficult to imagine a context in which it would be informative to predicate tallness of an unidentified subject referent. Such sentences

violate the most elementary condition of relevance” (Lambrecht 1994:167). It is important to note that this scale applies *only* to sentences with topic-comment articulation.

### **2.1.3 Focus**

While topics relate to referents which are already existent in the hearer’s representation, or which are readily related to such referents, “focus,” as defined by Dooley and Levinsohn, “is that part [of an utterance] which indicates what the speaker intends as the most important or salient change to be made in the hearer’s mental representation” (2001:29). Thus, while “topic” pertains to information which the speaker assumes to be already shared between himself and the hearer, “focus” pertains to what he wishes to tell the hearer about the topic, so as to affect the hearer’s mental representation of the situation. The focus contains information which is either new to the hearer or which he wishes to re-establish in the hearer’s mental representation.

Lambrecht points out that the different types of sentence articulation described in 2.1.1 differ in terms of their focus structure. Topic-comment sentences, in which the assertion is contained in the comment or predicate, have *predicate focus*. Identificational sentences, in which the assertion is the identification of a certain constituent which is missing from the listener’s mental representation of a predication, have *narrow focus*.<sup>9</sup> Presentational sentences have *sentence focus*. In discussing constituent ordering in Hani, I make frequent reference to these sentence articulations and focus types.

---

<sup>9</sup> Although Lambrecht (1994) uses the term “argument focus,” I follow Van Valin (2005) in using the term “narrow focus.”

#### ***2.1.4 Point of departure and topicalization***

The analysis of texts requires the assumption that speakers desire to communicate *coherently*, a concept which is defined by Dooley and Levinsohn as follows: “A text is said to be COHERENT if, for a certain hearer on a certain hearing/reading, he or she is able to fit its different constituents into a single overall mental representation” (2001:23). Because most texts include changes of situation (time and place), reference (topics and participants), and action (episodes), in order to preserve coherence, it is necessary for speakers to let listeners know how to link new information with what precedes it. At these changes or “discontinuities” (Givón 1984:245), the speaker often makes explicit reference to the relationship between the information which has already been conveyed and the information which he is about to discuss. This linking tells the listener how to join one piece of information to another in his mental representation.

Levinsohn refers to the constituents which encode such relationships as “points of departure,” defining the term as follows:

[an] element that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence with a dual function:

1. to provide a starting point for the communication; and
2. to cohesively anchor the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context. (2000:294)

In the Hani text, “Not Just Me,” a lazy man is invited by two thieves to go steal from a rich man. The sentence following the invitation begins with a point of departure which serves as a bridge between the previous information and what follows:

- (2a) **Navhaoqnei** **aoqqivq** **qiq** **yavq,**  
 black night one TCL
- (2b) aqyo mavq loqbeq-ssaq e laqhyul hhoheiq a  
 3 PL rich-man LOC house door DAT
- lal hev.  
 come.up arrive

‘**One black night**, they arrived at the door of the rich man’s house.’  
 (Not Just Me 3)

The content of (2a) forms a point of departure, informing the listener that the scene is now changing from the time of the conversation in which the lazy man was invited, to another night. Thus, in (2), “one black night” forms the point of departure, “they” is the topic, and “arrived at the door of the rich man’s house” is the comment about them.

It is important to note that while in sentence (2), the point of departure is not the topic of the sentence, at times a constituent functions *both* as a point of departure and as the topic of a sentence. For example:

- (3a) Nyuq leivq maq leivq bei,  
 think recognize NEG recognize EXP
- (3b) **aqkeeq** **e** **hholmol** **yul** **mol** **ngaoq** siqluv luvma  
 dog LNK body that CL TOP millstone AUG
- pievq alnei...  
 change ADD

‘[What happened next] was unexpected; **that body of the dog’s** changed into a big millstone and ...’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 31)

In (3b), the dog’s body is both a point of departure *and* the topic of the following clause (see 2.2.2.1 for discussion of the topicalizer *ngaoq*). It also cohesively anchors what

follows to the context in that it marks a switch of attention from the older brother to the dog. The marked encoding of the reference to the dog will be treated in 4.4.2.

Before ending this section, I need to compare Levinsohn's use of the term "point of departure" with his use of the term "topicalization" and contrast this with Lambrecht's use of "topicalization."

In Levinsohn's terminology, topicalization "takes place when a constituent is moved to the front of a sentence, so that it functions as a point of departure. In other words, the terms 'topicalisation' and 'point of departure' indicate both the **preposing** of the constituent and the **function** of such movement" (2008:46).

Lambrecht, however, says that topicalization occurs when "a non-subject constituent is 'topicalized' – marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject" (1994:194). By this definition, the term "topicalization" is limited in application to non-subjects, and the topicalized constituent must be the topic of the sentence. In this thesis, I follow Levinsohn's use of the term "topicalization."

### ***2.1.5 Actor and undergoer***

In discussing the principles governing the encoding of referents, I find it helpful to use the terms "actor" and "undergoer," as used by Van Valin (2005:53). For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices to say that actor is a generalization across roles such as agent and experiencer, and undergoer a generalization across roles such as patient, theme, and recipient.

I use the more specific term "agent" when it is helpful to distinguish the agents of transitive clauses from other members of the category "actor."

### **2.1.6 Prominence and highlighting**

In discussing the roles of different constituents in a text, I find it helpful to refer to Callow's concept of prominence. Callow argues that "[h]uman beings cannot observe events simply as happenings; they observe them as related and significant happenings, and they report them as such" (1974: 49). Thus, throughout the process of communication, speakers make choices as to which constituents to communicate as more important and which as less important. Callow uses the term *prominence* to refer to "any device whatever that gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context" (ibid. 50).

Crucial to Callow's argumentation is the assumption that "any prominent item is prominent within a certain domain" (loc. cit.). In other words, a participant may be understood as the main character of a story, a section, a paragraph, a sentence, or even a clause. As prominence at the clause level interacts significantly with syntax, I have found it helpful to reserve the term "prominence" for those devices which indicate that a referent is significant on a higher domain than the clause level. When an entire clause, sentence, or sentences is marked as having prominence, I follow Levinsohn in using the term "highlighting" (2008:79).

## **2.2 Case markers and topicalizers**

Having defined the terms which I will use later in this thesis, I now move on to describe the postpositions which I will call case markers and topicalizers. Because these postpositions serve to indicate the roles that NPs have in a sentence, a basic

understanding of the relationships they signal is crucial to any analysis of the variations of constituent order which are possible in Hani.

First, it is important to note that there are many sentences in which none of the NPs take case markers or topicalizers.<sup>10</sup> I refer to such sentences as “unmarked:”

(4) Ngal meigoq col.  
1 America person  
‘I’m an American.’  
(elicited)

(5) Haqniqssaq pyulniul\_niuqdoq zol.  
Hani.people Chinese.language study  
‘Hani people study Chinese’  
(Li 1990:179)

In sentence (4), which is equative, and sentence (5), which is transitive, no case markers are used. Both sentences are understood as having topic-comment articulation, with the actor forming the topic and the rest of the sentence forming the comment.

Section 2.3 will consider the various constituent orders of Hani and relate them to information structure. First, however, it is necessary to provide a description of the case markers and topicalizers which play a role in this process.

### **2.2.1 Case markers**

This section introduces the case markers: *yaol*, *nei*, and *a*. These are postpositions.

---

<sup>10</sup> In “The Older and Younger Brothers” (Appendix A), 25 out of 33 sentences have no case markers or topicalizers marking the arguments of any main clauses.

### 2.2.1.1 The *yaol* accusative marker

Because the undergoer of sentence (5) above is inanimate, it is unlikely that a listener would have difficulty in interpreting which of the NPs corresponds to actor and which to undergoer. However, in cases in which the undergoer is greater than or equal to the agent in animacy on the scale human > animate > inanimate (see Foley 2007:413), the accusative marker *yaol* is used to mark the undergoer.

(6a) Saolhyuq      **gyuyoq**      **yaol**   hu   loq   naolhao, ...  
 thief                lazy.man      ACC   see   clear   after

‘After the thieves clearly saw **the lazy man**, ...’

(Not Just Me 24)

(6b) \*Salhyuq      gyuyoq      hu   loq   naolhao, ...  
 thief                lazy.man      see   clear   after

\*‘After the thieves clearly saw the lazy man,’

Native speakers indicate that (6b) is unacceptable because it is unclear as to which participant is the actor and which the undergoer.

Where animals are undergoers of actions by human agents, they do not take the accusative marker, but when they are undergoers of actions by other animal agents, they do take it, as in (7a) and (7b):

(7a) Yosaol      aqda   eil,      “Ngaq e      aqkeeq      mol   nei,  
 host                father say      1      LNK   dog                DCL   ABL

**noq**   **e**      **aqha**      **mol**   **yaol**   kovq   e      ngaoq,  
 1      LNK   chicken      DCL   ACC   bite   LNK   TOP

(7b) **aqkeeq**      **mol**   noq   a      bivq   wul   al.”  
 dog                DCL   2      DAT   give   VOL   CRS

‘The host said, “If my dog bites **your chicken**, [I’ll] give **the dog** to you”’  
 (IV:15)

These findings on the use of the accusative marker with animate undergoers support Comrie’s statement that “[T]he most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A[gent] is high in animacy and definiteness, and the P[atient] is lower in animacy and definiteness, and any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction” (1989:128). Where the undergoer is indefinite and/or inanimate, the use of *yaol* is highly marked.<sup>11</sup>

The person toward whom reported speech is directed is marked by either the *yaol* accusative marker (see The Story of Aqpyuq Haossil 11) or the postposition *naogo* ‘with’ (ibid. 21).

### **2.2.1.2 The *nei* ablative marker**

The Hani ablative marker is used to communicate a variety of relations, including price, source, location, instrument, and certain types of attribution. Most relevant to this paper is its function in marking agents in some sentences with topic-comment articulation. When agents occur as non-topics or as clausal but not higher-level topics, they receive the ablative case marker.

#### **Agent is not a topic**

The ablative *nei* occurs with agents that are in narrow focus or which are in the comment of a topic-comment sentence. In the question in (8a) and the reply to it in (8b), the agent is the focus of a narrow focus structure, not the topic of a topic-comment sentence, and therefore is marked with the ablative.

---

<sup>11</sup> The only instance of *yaol* with an inanimate referent in the texts in the appendix is the reference to the bad land in “The Older and Younger Brothers” (Appendix A, sentence 9). The function of this marking may be to give prominence to its referent.

(8a) “**Aqsolnei** nolya dyul yaol aoqtav seq dav laq  
 who ABL 2p DPL ACC sky bring up PERF  
 e nga laq?”  
 LNK OBJ QP

“**Who** brought you up to the sky?”

(8b) “**Algo hucavq** nei seq dav laq e nga.”  
 o.bro rat ABL bring up PERF LNK OBJ

[Spoken in reply] “**Older brother rat** brought [us] up.”

(II:24)

When the agent is part of the comment of a clause with topic-comment articulation, it takes the ablative marker as well, as shown in (9b).

(9a) “Algo, ngaq e aqkeeq eil?”  
 o.bro 1 LNK dog QP

“Older brother, [what about/where is] my dog?”

(9b) “Noq e aqkeeq doqsii maq nalhaq na maq ceil,  
 2 LNK dog words NEG listen willing NEG only

(9c) ngaq e aqkeel buldul liq kovq nal aq nga,  
 1 LNK leg thigh even bite hurt CT OBJ

(9d) ngaq nei diq tov al!”  
 1 ABL beat die CRS

[Spoken in reply] “Not only is your dog unwilling to listen, [it] even bit and injured my thigh; [it] was beaten to death by me!”

(The Older and Younger Brothers 19)

In (9b), ‘your dog’ is the topic of all three clauses.<sup>12</sup> The clauses have predicate focus, so that the entire content of ‘was beaten to death by me’ constitutes the comment of the third

<sup>12</sup> In the last two clauses of (9b), the topic “your dog” is given zero encoding. Because there has been no change in topic from the first clause, it is unnecessary to repeat the reference, in spite of the fact that its role changes from that of actor in the second clause to that of undergoer in the third clause (see section 3.3.1).

clause. The speaker presents his action here as important primarily as it relates to the dog, not as it relates to himself.

In clauses such as the last one of (9b), where the undergoer is presented as topic and the agent as part of the comment, the agent is marked with the ablative. In such clauses, the proposition is not construed as being *about* the agent.

Even when the agent of a transitive verb is unknown, many verbs require reference to an agent, as illustrated in (10).

(10a) Ngaq e aqha dyul **aqyo mavq nei** hyuq zaq al.  
 1 LNK chicken DPL 3 PL ABL steal DUR CRS

‘My chickens were stolen **by them**’ (although the referent of “them” is unknown).

(elicited)

(10b) \*Ngaq e aqha dyul hyuq zaq al.

(10c) \*Ngaq e aqha dyul yaol hyuq zaq al.

Sentence (10a) is the pragmatic equivalent of “My chickens were stolen” in English.

Hani speakers insisted that even when an agent is indefinite and unknown, the third person pronoun must be used to refer to this agent.

Although this section has considered the use of *nei* in clauses of which the agent is not a topic, the ablative is occasionally used in cases where an agent is a clausal topic *only*. It is to such examples that I now turn.

### **Agent as clausal topic, but not a higher-level topic**

As noted in 2.1.2, the concept of “topic” as something *about which* something is being said can apply on several levels. A portion of narrative can be often be said to be primarily *about* one major character, although that character may not be the topic of

every clause within that passage. Thus, in addition to its function of indicating agents which are *not* topics, *nei* can occasionally function to indicate that an agent which is a topic of one clause is *not* a higher-level topic in the passage.<sup>13</sup> Consider the use of *nei* in (11b):

(11a) ‘Aqbiaq asked what [someone] would do if the [host’s] dog bit [his own] chicken.’

(11b) Yosaol            aqda eil,            “**Ngaq e        aqkeeq        mol    nei,**  
 host                father say        1        LNK    dog                DCL    ABL

noq    e        aqha                mol    yaol    kovq    e        ngaoq,  
 1        LNK    chicken            DCL    ACC    bite    LNK    TOP

(11c) aqkeeq mol    noq    a        bivq    wul    al.”  
 dog    DCL    2        DAT    give    VOL    CRS

‘The host said, “If **my dog** bites your chicken, [I’ll] give the dog to you”’  
 (IV:15)

Although ‘dog’ functions as the topic in one clause of (11b), the speech as a whole is about the host and what he will do (see the question of (11a)). Thus *nei* marks the dog as the local topic, but not the higher-level topic.

Next, consider the role of *Jeilseq* in (12):

(12a) ‘Today, no matter how smart the Father of Wisdom was, he couldn’t catch up with *Jeilseq*.’

(12b) Lilpuv\_pyu        meil,        **Jeilseq    nei**    aqyoq yaol    eil  
 on.the.contrary    MAN    Jeilseq    ABL    3        ACC    say

hhaol                zaq.  
 beat                DUR

‘On the contrary, **Jeilseq** beat him at speaking [the answers to riddles].’

<sup>13</sup> The use of *nei* with clausal topics is uncommon, with no such clauses in the three texts in the appendices and only seven such clauses in the larger corpus.

(12c) Xil    meil   nei,   alyeiv guvq   hhovq qiq   xaoq   bavq   duv  
           this   MAN   ABL   flower sew   needle one   CL   take   out  
  
           yiv    alnei   eil ...  
           come   ADD   say

‘So, taking out an embroidery needle [he] said ...’

(I:28)

This passage is primarily about the Father of Wisdom, but in (12b), Jeilseq is presented as the topic of the clause, and the use of *nei* indicates that Jeilseq is not the higher-level topic.

### 2.2.1.3 The *a* dative marker

The case marker *a* occurs following locatives, goals, and recipients. In (13), the constituent followed by *a* is a recipient, defined as an “entity receiving an object”

(Whaley 1997:65):

(13) Noq    e       zovqdul       **ngaq a**    qiq    heiq        bivq.  
           2       LNK   key           1     DAT   one   moment       give

‘Please give **me** your key.’

(overheard)

In (14), the constituent followed by *a* is a locative, which is defined as a “point in space” (loc. cit):

- (14) **Galmaa**, aqyo niaq qiq pyu ssuq qiq pyu  
road DAT 3 two.HCL one side walk one side
- niaqmuvsq\_miaqsav meil gyuyooq yaol loqbeqssaq qovq  
quietly MAN lazy.man ACC rich.man family
- nei lavqdaol teiq wal leil gee zaq siq.  
ABL grab catch VOL QUO say DUR CONT

‘**On the road**, the two of them walked and at the same time were still talking quietly about the lazy man being caught by the rich man’s family.’

(Not Just Me 18)

In (15b) the constituent followed by *a* is a goal, which is defined as an “end point of motion” (loc. cit.):

- (15a) “‘Where did you beat [the dog] to death and leave [it]?’”

- (15b) ‘Ngaq nei **haqbol haqcaoq a** suq  
1 ABL bamboo grove DAT throw
- tao wul\_naq, ...  
into CRS:OBJ

“‘[It] was thrown by me into **the bamboo grove ...**’”

(The Older and Younger Brothers 20-21)

Hani, like English, allows for dative shift in which the recipient of an action is marked with the accusative marker. This phenomenon is discussed in 2.3.2.5.

### 2.2.2 Topicalizers

Points of departure are often followed by the postpositions *ngaoq* or *aq*, which are discussed in the following section. I follow the Hani-English dictionary in referring to them as “topicalizers” (Lewis and Bai 1996:392). It is important to note the distinction between this word and “topic.” Topicalizers are related to topicalization, the process of

establishing background information. Topicalized constituents may or may not be the topics of sentences (see 2.1.4).

### 2.2.2.1 The *ngaoq* topicalizer

As noted in 2.1.4, points of departure in Hani are placed initial in a clause or sentence to provide the topic or starting point for the assertion which follows. These constituents, whether NPs or entire clauses, are often followed by the postposition *ngaoq*. This postposition makes it clear that the preceding information is setting the stage or providing the starting point for the comment to follow.

(16a) ‘[It’s said that] long ago, there were two brothers like this.’

(16b) ‘After their parents died, the two brothers made a home by themselves. [It was] that way,’

(16c) **algo** **ngaoq** zuqyil daov meeq naolngaoq maq niv naol, ...  
o.bro TOP thinking very good only NEG move willing

‘as for **the older brother**, [he] was only very smart but not willing to work; ...’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 1-3)

In (16c), the older brother is both the point of departure and the topic. While the sentence without *ngaoq* would be grammatically acceptable, the marking of the referent of “older brother” signals a switch of attention from the two brothers to the one about whom the comment is to be made.

The usage of the topicalizer *ngaoq* is not limited to following NPs, but in any context it serves to inform the listener that what precedes is a point of departure for what follows.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix B, sentence 13 for an example in which *ngaoq* follows an adverbial clause.

### 2.2.2.2 The *aq* contrastive topicalizer

Like *ngaoq*, *aq* indicates that the constituent preceding it is both a point of departure for the assertions to follow and a topic about which the following comment is to be made. The difference *aq* and *ngaoq* is that *aq* indicates contrast between the previous topic and the one to follow. This can be seen in (16d), the continuation of example (16), above:

(16c) ‘As for the older brother, [he] was only very smart but not willing to work;’

(16d) **aqnil aq**    jilhevqnei    aolzaq hovqdol    movq.  
y.bro CT    honest    work get.water    like.to

‘**the younger brother**, in contrast, was honest and liked to work and get [his own] water (provide for self).’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 3)

The effect of *aq* in (16d) is to encourage a search for a point of contrast between two topical constituents, in this case, between the younger and older brothers.<sup>15</sup>

In the text corpus used for this study, *aq* does not co-occur with the accusative marker *yaol*, so that an undergoer marked with *aq* is not also marked with *yaol*. This is illustrated in (17b):

---

<sup>15</sup> The differences between contrastive topics and contrastive foci are treated in detail in Lambrecht (1994:291-95).

(17a) Aqpyuq      Haossul      e      doq    xil      doq    hha  
 Aqpyuq      Haossul      LNK    word   this    word   receive after

naolhao,      dalja      neema    laolxav\_nei    zilbaq    dol    jil,  
 after      everyone    heart    warm-ABL    alcohol    drink    all

(17b) **ssaqmiq**      **miqgaq**      **Laoqsel**      **aq**      Aqpyuq  
 girl      pretty.girl      Laoqsel      CT      Aqpyuq

Haossul      nei    eqleq    eil      deq      alnei    doq    maq  
 Haossul      ABL    shock    say      wordless      ADD    word    NEG

eil      qivq    meil    saq.  
 say    able    MAN    CMPL

‘After hearing these words from Aqpyuq Haossul, everyone happily drank alcohol; **the pretty girl Laoqsel**, however, was shocked into silence by Aqpyuq Haossul’s speech and was completely unable to say anything.’

(The Story of Aqpyuq Haossul 20)

In (17), the pretty girl is contrasted with everyone else, and therefore is marked with the contrastive topicalizer. Although she is the undergoer, the accusative marker is absent. However, her role as undergoer is easily recoverable from the context and from the fact that the agent is marked with the ablative marker (see sec. 2.3.2.2 for discussion of clauses with UAV order).

Like *ngaoq*, the distribution of the contrastive topicalizer *aq* is not limited to NP-final occurrence. However, for the purposes of this chapter, an understanding of its NP-final function is sufficient.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.3 Variations in Hani constituent order

A superficial study of constituent order in Hani, might lead to the conclusion that although Hani is a verb final language, the relative order of the agent, undergoer and other non-verbal constituents is free. However, as will be demonstrated in this section,

<sup>16</sup> Other functions of *aq* are treated in chapter 3.3.2.1.

variation in constituent order is determined by principles of information structure. In this section, I first introduce six principles related to Hani constituent order and then apply the principles to specific combinations of constituents.

### 2.3.1 Principles

Some constituents in Hani can occur in any of four different positions. Consider the positions of the locatives in (18)-(21):

(18a) ‘Without turning back, [they] snuck away.’

(18b) **Galma a,** aqyoq niaq qiq pyu ssuq qiq pyu  
road DAT 3 two.CL one side walk one side  
  
niaqmuvsq.miaqsav meil gyuyuoq yaol loqbeqssaq qovq  
quietly MAN lazy.man ACC rich.man family  
  
nei lavqdaol teiq wal leil gee zaq siq.  
ABL grab catch VOL QUO say DUR CONT

‘[**On the**] road, the two of them walked and at the same time were still taking quietly about the lazy man being caught by the rich man’s family.’

(Not Just Me 18)

(19) “Ngaq e yolqoq dyul **laqnil pyu** a ngaq  
1 LNK friend DPL outside direction DAT 1  
  
yaol doq siq nga.”  
ACC wait CONT OBJ

“‘My friends are waiting **outside** for me.’”

(III:49)

(20) ...ngaqdeil      xil      mol      **lolbaq a**      pieiq      puvq      miq  
                          fish            this      CL      river    DAT    put      in.water      out

hhuvq al.  
 return CRS

‘...[Alli] went back to put this fish **in the river.**’

(V:72)

(21a) ‘Where are you sleeping tonight?’

(21b) **Yiuvq -duq halgei jav, halgei** yiuvq.  
                          sleep place where exist where sleep

‘**Wherever there is a place to sleep, there** [I will] sleep.’

(elicited)

In (18), the locative phrase “[on the] road” is sentence-initial. In (19), the locative is in the comment of the sentence but not in the immediately pre-verbal position. In (20), it is in the immediately pre-verbal position, and in (21b), it is left-dislocated, with a pro-adverb in the immediately pre-verbal position of the main clause. The principles governing the positions of these constituents are considered in the next sections.

### 2.3.1.1 Points of departure are placed sentence-initially

Because points of departure function as bridges between known information and the information to follow (see 2.1.4), it is appropriate that they occur at the beginning of sentences. In (18), above, the function of the sentence-initial locative is to provide a bridge between the previous scene and the one to follow. In contrast, in (22), the locative forms part of the comment of the sentence:

- (22) Navhaoqnei    aoqqivq            qiq    yavq,    aqyo    mavq    **loqbeqssaq**  
 black            night                    one    TCL    3        PL        rich.man
- qiq    hhaq    e            laqhyul    hhoheiq    a            lal            hev.**  
 one    HCL    LNK    house    door        DAT    come.up    arrive

‘One black night, they arrived at **the door of a rich man’s house.**’  
 (Not Just Me 3)

In (22), the locative phrase, “at the door of the rich man’s house” occurs in the comment of the sentence and as such is to be interpreted as part of the focal domain. This is in contrast to the role of the locative in (18), in which the phrase “on the road” occurs at the beginning of the sentence, to the left of the topic, and is to be interpreted as a point of departure, providing a spatial link between this new event and the previous context.

Temporal phrases can also occur either sentence-initially as a point of departure or as part of the comment, as seen in (23) and (24).

- (23) Aqyoq niq    hhaq    **xeivq    la.siq**    xilgei    lal    ma    leil.  
 3        two    HCL    eight    month    here    come    INT    QUO

‘The two of them [my parents] plan to come here in **August** ([they] say).’  
 (elicited)

- (24) **Naolhao**        **qiq    huvq    e            ceil    la.siq,**  
 after                one    year    LNK    ten    month
- hulbu    alzil    aoqtav    nei    biao    xa    yiv            al.  
 cuckoo    bird    sky    ABL    fly    down    come.down    CRS

‘**The next October**, the cuckoo bird came flying down from the sky.’  
 (I:37)

In (23), the temporal reference is placed in the comment of the sentence and as such is to be interpreted as part of the focal domain of the sentence. In (24), in contrast, it is placed at the beginning of the sentence, to the left of the topic. Thus, it is to be interpreted as a

point of departure, providing a temporal bridge between this new event and the previous context.

By comparing sentence (22) with (18) and sentence (23) with (24), it is clear that the position of temporal and locative phrases is determined by their functions in the discourse. Each of these four sentences has topic-comment articulation. In (22) and (23), the constituents in bold are parts of the comments of the sentences and are within the focal domain, pertaining to what is being asserted in their propositions. Given that topic-comment sentences have predicate focus, these constituents are placed in the predicate position following the topic. In contrast, the situational references in (18) and (24) are points of departure, setting the background for the assertion to follow and relating it to what has preceded. Therefore, they are placed at the beginning of their sentences.

The application of this principle applies also to those points of departure which refer to arguments in the clause. As described in 2.2.2, above, the topicalizers *aq* and *ngaoq* are placed after topics which are also points of departure. In such cases, the point of departure also functions as the topic of the sentence. Although the canonical position for topic is already sentence-initial, these structures also follow the principle of sentence-initial placement of points of departure. In contrast, focal referents are placed later in the sentence.

### **2.3.1.2 Topics precede comments**

Topics precede comments, in accordance with Tomlin's Theme First Principle that "in clauses information that is relatively more thematic precedes information that is

less so” (1986:48).<sup>17</sup> See (23)-(24) above for examples of sentences in which topics precede comments.

### **2.3.1.3 Principle of natural information flow**

In sentences with predicate focus, there may be several constituents in the comment, all of which fall into the focal domain. A principle which proves particularly powerful for describing the ordering of non-topics in Hani is the principle of natural information flow, as described by Comrie (1989:127). Levinsohn states that “When this principle is followed, non-verbal constituents that convey ESTABLISHED information precede those that convey new or NON-ESTABLISHED information” (2008:55). In this context, “established” refers to information which the speaker assumes to be shared by himself and the listener. This principle will be illustrated in 2.3.2.3 with regard to the ordering of theme and recipient and in 2.3.2.4 with regard to the ordering of source and theme.

### **2.3.1.4 Immediately pre-verbal focus position**

Van Valin and LaPolla claim that “many languages have a clearly defined unmarked focus position in the clause; in verb-final languages, it is normally the immediately preverbal position” (1997:209). In this section, I will show that this principle is helpful for Hani.

In sentences with predicate focus, different constituents can occur in the immediately pre-verbal position. In (19), repeated from above, the undergoer ‘me’ is in this position, and (20), also repeated from above, a locative is in this position.

---

<sup>17</sup> Tomlin’s term “thematic” is to be understood as the equivalent of “topic” in this thesis.

- (19) “Ngaq e yolqoq dyul laqnil pyu a ngaq  
 1 LNK friend DPL outside direction DAT 1  
**yaol** doq siq nga.”  
 ACC wait CONT OBJ

“My friends are waiting **for me** outside.”

(III:49)

- (20) ...ngaqdeil xil mol **lolbaq a** pieiq puvq miq  
 fish this CL river DAT put in.water out  
 hhuvq al.  
 return CRS

‘...[Alli] went back to put this fish **in the river.**’

(V:72)

In the context of (19), a child is asking his mother for permission to go out with his friends. Thus, the location of the friends is the not the predominant assertion of the sentence. In (20), however, the river is seen as the goal of Alli’s action and occurs in the pre-verbal position. Thus, (19) and (20) demonstrate that different types of constituents can occur in the pre-verbal position.

Constituents in narrow focus *tend* to be placed in this pre-verbal position but may be placed in other positions. Consider the following sentences:

- (25a) Ngaqe miqnieiq dyul **aqsol nei** aol saq laq e?  
 1 LNK thing DPL who ABL work CMPL PERF LNK

‘**Who** finished my work?’

- (25b) \***Aqsol** ngaq e miqnieiq dyul aol saq laq e?  
 who 1 LNK thing DPL work CMPL PERF LNK

\*’**Who** finished my work?’

(25c) **Aqsol nei** ngaq e miqnieiq dyul aol saq laq e?  
 who ABL 1 LNK thing DPL work CMPL PERF LNK

Acceptable but less usual than (25c):  
 ‘**Who** finished my work?’<sup>18</sup>

Replies to (25a):

(25d) **Ngaq nei** aol saq laq e.  
 1 ABL do CMPLPERF LNK

‘**I** finished [it].’

(25e) Miqnieiq yul dyul **ngaq nei** aol saq laq e.  
 things that DPL 1 ABL do CMPL PERF LNK

‘**I** finished that work.’

(25f) #**Ngal** noq e miqnieiq dyul aol saq laq e.  
 1 2 LNK things DPL do CMPL PERF LNK

#‘I did your work’ (This would be acceptable in other situations)

(25g) #**Ngaq** nei noq e miqnieiq dyul aol saq laq e.  
 1 ABL 2 LNK things DPL do CMPL PERF LNK

# ‘Your work was done by me’ (This would be acceptable in other situations)

The preference native speakers indicate for (25a) rather than (25c) indicates that Hani tends to place constituents which are in narrow focus (in this case, the interrogative expression ‘who’) in the immediately pre-verbal position. Likewise, in (25d) and (25e), ‘by me’ is in narrow focus and is placed in the immediately pre-verbal position.

Sentences (25f) and (25g) would be acceptable in situations where ‘I’ is the topic and the

---

<sup>18</sup> Native speakers indicated that this sentence would only be used in unusual discourse situations but was not ungrammatical. For the grammaticality of a similar sentence in a natural text, see (8a), above.

speaker is informing the listener that the work has been done, but not in answer to a question in which ‘I’ is the focus and the doing of the work is already presupposed.

### 2.3.1.5 Left dislocation to give prominence to a focal constituent

The principle of natural information flow and the preference for immediately pre-verbal placement of constituents in narrow focus accounts for many of the variations of constituent order. However, it is important to note that VanValin and LaPolla’s comments in the previous section referred to *unmarked* focus position. He also allows for *marked narrow focus*, “that falling on an element in a position in the clause other than the unmarked focus position” (1997:209). Levinsohn also indicates that there are often two options for the placement of focal constituents: “The option exists in many languages for focal constituents to be placed *either* late in the sentence *or* preposed (following the point of departure, if present)” (2008:52).

In Hani, focal constituents can be given particular prominence by the creation of a left-dislocated constituent which identifies the referent. This referent is then represented by a pronoun and placed in the pre-verbal position of the main clause. An example of this strategy was presented in example (21b), above. This also occurs in sentence (26), where two people are arguing over who will receive some items, and the arbitrator suggests a method for choosing the winner:

(26) **Naolhao**      **hhuvq lal**      **e**      **yul**      **hhaq**, miaoqgaoq  
last                  return come.up    LNK    that                  HCL    thing

dyul    **aqyoq a**      bivq...  
DPL    3                  DAT    give

‘That person who returns last, [I will] give the things to him...’

(II:32)

The left-dislocated, relative clause ‘that person who returns last’ identifies the referent which is to be brought into narrow focus and given prominence. In the main clause, a resumptive pronoun is used in the immediately pre-verbal position.

Sentence (27) is similar. It comes from a story in which three people have shot a hen. One of them proposes a plan to determine which one of them will eat the hen they have shot:

(27) **Ngaldu**      **saol**   **hhaq**   **doqteil**      **maq**   **duv**   **nei**   **aqsol**  
 1pi            three   HCL   sound            NEG   out   ABL   who  
  
**jol**    **nia**    **zeiq**   ngaoq, haniq xil    ssaq   **aqsol**   **yaol**   bi  
 be    able   CMPR TOP   hen   this   CL   who   ACC   cause  
  
 zaq.  
 eat

‘**Whoever** of the three of us is most able to sit here quietly, [we will] allow **him** to eat this hen.’

(IV:1)

The left-dislocated relative clause ‘whoever of the three of us is most able to sit here quietly’ identifies the referent who is to be brought into narrow focus and given prominence. The resumptive pronoun is placed in the pre-verbal position of the main clause.

The above construction involving left-dislocation represents the only situation in Hani that I know of where non-established information (the information in the left-dislocated clause) precedes established information (the ‘things’ in (26) and the ‘hen’ in (27)).

### 2.3.1.6 Using an equative construction to give prominence to a focal constituent

In his list of devices commonly used to give prominence to a focal constituent, Levinsohn includes *be* verbs (2008:59). In accordance with this observation, Hani demonstrates a tendency to express presupposed information in a relative clause, which is followed by the focal constituent and a copula. The effect is to give prominence to the focal constituent. Consider (28) and (29):

(28a) ‘He told her, “You can leave. I want to wait here for someone. After she comes, we can leave together.”’

(28b) [Spoken by the other interlocutor] “‘Can’t you even tell who I am? ...’

(28c) ...Nol doq zaq e col **ngal** maq ngeel,  
2:N wait DUR LNK person 1:N NEG be

(28d) aqsol ngeel siq nga laq, ...  
who be CONT OBJ QP

“‘[If] the person for whom you’re waiting is not **I**, who is [it]?’” (V:63)

Compare:

(29a) Nol ngaq yaol maq doq zaq al-ngaoq,  
2:N 1 ACC NEG wait DUR CRS-TOP

(29b) aqsol yaol doq zaq?  
who ACC wait DUR

‘If you aren’t waiting for me, who are [you] waiting for?’ (elicited)

The constructions in both (28c) and (29b) can be used when the fact that the other speaker is waiting for someone is already known and the identity of this person is in

focus.<sup>19</sup> In (28c), an equative construction is used to give prominence to the identity of the person. The presupposed information is expressed in a relative clause, followed by the focal constituent (bolded) and the negated copula.

The relative clause in (28c) modifies the head noun ‘person.’ However, Hani also allows for headless relative clauses, resulting in a construction of the form *relativized presupposed constituent + focal constituent + copula*. The context for (30) is a conversation between two speakers. The first speaker has asked the other, “What is the sweetest and tastiest thing in heaven and earth?” and the other has given his response. The first speaker then replies that the response was incorrect. The second speaker then says:

(30a) “Ngal eil huvq e bav ngaoq, nol eil joq.  
 1 say return LNK wrong TOP 2 say IMP

‘‘If what I’ve replied is wrong, you say.’

(30b) Hal keel hal qul zeq e hal jivq nga laq??  
 most tasty most sweet CMPR LNK what CL OBJ QP

‘What is the sweetest and tastiest [thing]?’

---

<sup>19</sup> If (29b) is replaced by a question such as “What are you doing?” then a topic-comment reading of (29a) is possible. Following (28c), however, it would be infelicitous to say \* “[if] the person for whom you are waiting is not I, what are you doing?”

(30c) ‘Nol ssaonei nalhaq. Aoq ssol milcaq.haoqbaoq  
 2 carefully listen sky and land

a hal qul zeiq hal keel zeiq e **aqma**  
 DAT most sweet CMPR most tasty CMPR LNK mother

**aqqu** nga ...  
 milk OBJ

[Spoken by the other interlocutor] “‘You listen carefully. The sweetest and tastiest [thing] in heaven and earth is **mother’s milk** ...”

(I:27)

In (30), the identity of the sweetest and tastiest thing on earth is being questioned. In (30c), the focal constituent, ‘mother’s milk,’ is placed in the focus position just before *nga*, a verb phrase constituent.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.3.2 Applications of the principles of 2.3.1

The purpose of this section is to apply the principles described above to selected constituent orderings of the language.

#### 2.3.2.1 AUV order, where A is not marked with the ablative

When the actor of a transitive clause is the topic, it is placed before the undergoer, as in (31b). This ordering conforms to the principle that topics precede comments

(31a) Gyuyoq doqteil teilma meil gul:  
 lazy.man voice AUG MAN call

‘Maq guv sso nga, ngal nga!’  
 NEG fear permissible OBJ 1:N OBJ

‘The lazy man loudly called: “There’s no reason to fear, it’s me!”’

<sup>20</sup> The reasons for using the objective validational (OBJ) and not stating the equative verb in this case relate to the validational role of the proposition in its wider context and are beyond the scope of this paper.

(31b) **Saolhyuq**      **gyuyyoq**      **yaol**    **hu**      **loq**    naolhao,  
 thief                  lazy.man      ACC    see      clear    after

neessil laq-meil      eil: ...  
 anger PERF-MAN    say

‘After **the thieves clearly saw the lazy man**, they angrily said: ...’  
 (Not Just Me 23-24)

In (31b), the actor and undergoer were both stated. However, in many cases where the actor has been a topic of the preceding clauses, no overt reference is made to it (see 3.3.1 for discussion of zero encoding of referents). In (32b), for example, the actor is the topic and is left implicit.

(32a) **Aqnil**      hhaqnaq    maq      daol meil    haqcaoq      a      xeiv  
 y.bro          rest          NEG      TCL MAN    bamboo.grove DAT    run

hev,  
 arrive

(32b) aqkeeq      maq          mol      al.  
 dog              NEG          see      CRS

‘**The younger brother**, without resting any time, ran to the bamboo grove; [he] didn’t see the dog.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 22)

### 2.3.2.2 UAV order

When the undergoer of a transitive clause is the topic, it is placed before the actor. This ordering again conforms to the principle that topics precede comments. In such cases, the actor is marked with the ablative marker because it is not the topic.

Consider (33), in which the young man has asked the snake for some of his body as medicine for his mother:

(33a) ‘The snake agreed. [It] told him [the young man] not to cut out too much, if not....’ [unfinished sentence, implying that something bad will happen].

(33b) ‘He [the young man] did not listen to what the snake said, and cut out a big portion.’

(33c) **Aqyoq yaol** ollol nei wuqdeiq a bi suv  
 3 ACC snake ABL stomach DAT cause swallow

tao zaq.  
 into DUR

‘He was swallowed by the snake.’

(33d) ‘Before long, his [the young man’s] mother died of her sickness.’ (II:55)

In the above passage, ‘he’ is the topic of (33b). He remains the topic of (33c), so that (33c) is presented as information about what happened to the young man, rather than about what the snake did. Thus, the effect of the word order in (33b) is to preserve initial placement of the ongoing topic.

Next, consider (34):

(34) Galma a, aqyoq niaq qiq pyu ssuq qiq pyu  
 road DAT 3 two:CL one side walk one side  
 niaqmuvsq.miaqsav meil gyuyyoq yaol **loqbeqssaq** **qovq**  
 quietly MAN lazy.man ACC rich.man family  
**nei** lavqdaol teiq wal leil gee zaq siq.  
 ABL grab catch VOL.CRS QUO say DUR CONT

‘On the road, the two of them walked and at the same time were still talking quietly about the lazy man being caught by **the rich man’s family**.’

(Not Just Me 18)

In (34), although the lazy man and the rich person have been inactive for relatively equal amounts of time, the speakers indicate that they are more interested in the lazy man than the rich person’s family by choosing him, rather than the rich person, as the topic of their conversation. Therefore, the reference to the lazy man as undergoer precedes the



### 2.3.2.4 Ordering of sources and themes

When sources and themes are both present in a clause, their ordering follows the principle of natural information flow, as can be seen by comparing the orderings in (36) and (37).

- (36) Aqyoq **peilhaoq**      **xil**    **xov**<sup>21</sup>    meigoq      nei    bavq    pyul  
 3      clothing      this    CL      America      ABL    take    across  
 la      laq    e      nga.  
 toward   PERF   LNK   OBJ

‘He brought this clothing over from **America**.’

(elicited)

- (37) “Ngaq e      aqnil, nol    ngaq e      meiqbaoq      nei    **siil**  
 1      LNK    y.bro    2:N    1      LNK    mouth      ABL    gold  
**qiq**    **dev**    bavq    heil    joq.”  
 one    piece    take    away    IMP

“‘My younger brother, take a piece of gold from **my mouth**.’” (spoken by a talking rock)

(III:91)

In (36), the clothing is has been previously mentioned, but the place from which it came has not. In (37), the rock is already talking, so that its mouth is an accessible referent, and existence of a piece of gold has not been previously mentioned. Thus, in both (36) and (37), the constituents are ordered so that established information is mentioned before unestablished information.

### 2.3.2.5 Ordering of themes and recipients

This section considers the ordering of themes and recipients in sentences in which both are expressed. Because Hani allows for dative shift (see below), I first refer to these

<sup>21</sup> In this subsection, sources are underlined and themes are bolded.

entities by their roles as themes and recipients and go on below to consider whether recipients are marked with the dative or accusative markers.

The ordering of themes and recipients relates to the principle of natural information flow. In situations where a theme is more established than a recipient, the theme is stated first, as in (38b) and (39b):

(38a) ‘The cat took the fish to the cloud. The cloud asked, “Why are you bringing fish?”’

(38b) Almil eil huvq miq: “Ngal miqteil nyuq e  
 cat say return TRAN 1:N first think LNK

**ngaqdeil** **dyul** naolma aqbol yaol bivq movq  
 fish DPL sun grandfather ACC give want

leil ngeel jol a.<sup>22</sup>  
 QUO be exist ?

‘The cat replied, “What I first thought was that [I] wanted to give **the fish to the respected sun.**”’

(V:91)

(39a) ‘The younger brother picked up the louse and started to play with it, but a hen came along and ate it. The younger brother cried and chased the hen. A dog came to help. The dog caught the hen and bit it to death. After the dog had killed the hen, the dog’s owner was afraid that since his dog had killed the hen, its owner would bring an official case against him, so ...’

(39b) ...**aqkeeq** **mol** aqnil xil hhaq a bivq miq al.  
 dog DCL y.bro this HCL DAT give TRAN CRS

‘...[the dog’s owner] gave **the dog** to this little brother.’

(V:50)

In (38b), the theme (the fish) had been previously mentioned while the sun was a new referent. Therefore, the theme was placed first in the sentence. Likewise, in (39b), the

<sup>22</sup> In this section, themes are bolded and recipients are underlined.

younger brother has been previously mentioned, but the theme (the dog) is more established in the context and so is placed first.

Conversely, in sentences where a recipient is more established than a theme, the recipient is placed first:

(40) Noq a alyeiv guvq e aqhhoṽq qiq xaoq bivq  
 2 DAT flower sew LNK needle one CL give

nial.  
 first.person.willingness

‘[I’d] like to give you a needle for sewing flowers.’

(I:29)

(41a) ‘(Alloq asked the god Alniug to release the cuckoo bird from his cage in the sky, so that the cuckoo bird can tell the Hani when to plant rice.) Alniug replied, “You are a good-hearted Hani boy. Your courage is also great...”’

(41b) ...Haqniq-ssaq e nao bi jol sal alnei,  
 Hani-people LNK day cause exist good ADD

ngal noq yaol zovqduḷ bivq nial.  
 1:N 2 ACC key give willing

‘... In order to make the days of the Hani people comfortable, I will give you a/the key.’”

(I:38)

In (40)-(41) the recipient is an active referent in the context, having been the topic of previous sentences. In (40), the item being given is a brand-new referent, while in (41) it is only identifiable by means of an assumption that there is a key associated with the cage in which the cuckoo bird is locked. The key has not been mentioned in the conversation up to this point, and the Hani is ambiguous as to whether it is assumed to exist by relationship with the cage, or represents a previously unknown referent.

The examples of this section have not only illustrated the principle of natural information flow, but have also revealed that recipients can be marked with the accusative marker or the dative marker. It is to this phenomenon that I now turn.

### **Dative shift**

Van Valin and LaPolla describe the phenomenon of dative shift in terms of the “variable linking of different [semantic] arguments to [the macrorole of] undergoer” (1997:336).<sup>23</sup> As noted in 2.2.1, when the undergoer of a clause is greater than or equal to the actor in animacy, it is marked with the accusative marker *yaol*. It was also noted that recipients can be marked with the dative marker *a*. Thus, the assignment of the dative marker or the accusative marker to a recipient can be understood in terms of variable linking to undergoer.

Although a thorough accounting of the choice to use one case marker rather than the other is beyond the scope of this paper, having introduced the case markers and a variety of constituent orders found in ditransitive sentences, I here provide a brief summary of my findings with regard to this phenomenon. These observations assume that recipients are highly animate and may therefore receive the accusative marker.<sup>24</sup>

**Observation 1: When the theme is an established constituent, and the recipient is not, the recipient is marked with the accusative marker.**

This observation is demonstrated in (38). As would be expected, in situations in which the theme is unstated, being understood from the context, and the recipient is unknown, the recipient is also marked with the accusative:

---

<sup>23</sup> In Role and Reference Grammar, there are several thematic relations, including “theme” and “recipient,” which can be linked to the semantic macrorole “undergoer.”

<sup>24</sup> I use “highly animate” to refer to humans, plus personified animals and objects in folktales.

(42a) Aldebo            siil    yul    saoq    jil    laqhyul            a    bavq  
 Aldebo            gold    that    three    catties house            DAT    take

heil    li.  
 away    go.up

‘Aldebo took those three catties of gold home.’<sup>25</sup>

(42b) Saq    nei    **ssaqcyuq\_cyuqssaq**    **mavq**    **yaol**    bivq    saq  
 CMPL ABL    poor.people                    PL    ACC    give    completely

al.  
 CRS

‘[He] gave [it] completely away to many poor people.’

(III:28)

I know of no contradictions to observation 1 in Hani. In these cases, the recipients are in focus as new information and take the accusative marker.

**Observation 2: When the theme and the recipient are both established, the marking of the recipient with the accusative marker has not been found to occur.**

(43) Xil-mol            **noq**    **a**    bivq    nial.  
 this-CL            2    DAT    give    willing

‘I want to give this to you.’

(overheard)

(44) Tossaqmol    **ngaq**    **a**    qiq    heiq    bivq.  
 knife    DCL    1    DAT    one    TCL    give

‘Please give the knife to me.’

(overheard)

This observation is demonstrated in (43)-(44) as well as in example (40) above.

Observations 1 and 2 do NOT make any predictions as to which case marking is used for recipients in situations where the theme is not established. Examples (40)-(41)

<sup>25</sup> A catty is a Chinese unit of weight approximately equal to a pound.

above demonstrate that in such cases, the language allows either case marking to occur. In the sentences with dative shift, the syntax of the language indicates that the recipient is to be construed as the undergoer (as in (40)), while in the sentences with default case marking, the theme is so construed (as in (41b)). At this time, I lack sufficient data to analyze the effect of these choices on information flow within a text.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Having discussed the ordering of constituents within the sentence, I now turn to the system of participant reference. Hani allows several methods of encoding participants: zero encoding, pronominal forms, proper names, definite NPs, NPs marked with demonstratives, indefinite NPs, and NPs unmarked for definiteness. In this chapter, I will account for the encoding of participants with zero encoding, pronouns, and lexical NPs. I will show that a description of Hani NP encoding requires reference not only to Givón's Iconicity Principle (see 3.3), but also to highlighting (3.3.2.1). In chapter four, I will turn to the encoding of lexical NPs for definiteness and the use of demonstratives.

The study of participant reference has a long tradition in linguistic literature. My research has been influenced by the insights of many (especially Chafe 1976, Givón 1983, Hawkins 1983, Lambrecht 1994, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005, Lyons 1999, and Levinsohn 2008).

### **3.1 Introduction to participant reference**

#### ***3.1.1 Definition of terms***

In describing participant reference, I find it helpful to use the following terms.

### **3.1.1.1 Salience**

The term “salient” is used to describe that which is the ‘most noticeable or important’ (McKean 2006:789). In this thesis, when I speak of devices marking a referent as salient, I am referring to ones which indicate that the referent is more noticeable than others in the local context because of the part that it plays in the discourse which follows. These devices tell a listener to pay attention to a particular referent because it is important.

### **3.1.1.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness**

I define definiteness and indefiniteness with regard to the Givenness Hierarchy proposed by Gundel et al. Gundel proposes that there are six cognitive statuses relevant to the form of referring expressions in language (1993:275). They are presented in the following order: in focus, activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential, and type identifiable (loc. cit.). She claims that “in using a particular form, a speaker thus signals that she assumes the associated cognitive status is met and, since each status entails all lower statuses, she also signals that all lower statuses (statuses to the right) have been met” (loc. cit.). I follow her in defining the last three terms as follows:

The status “type identifiable” indicates that the hearer can identify the type of referent to which the speaker refers. Thus, by using “dog,” the speaker assumes that the hearer knows what a dog is. This is a minimal requirement for a noun.

The status “referential” indicates that the speaker “intends to refer to a particular object or objects” (ibid. 276). In this text corpus, NPs marked as indefinite are normally referential.<sup>26</sup> The formation of indefinite NPs will be described in 4.1 and 4.2.

The status “uniquely identifiable” indicates that the “addressee can identify the speaker’s intended referent on the basis of the nominal alone” (ibid. 277). This is the requirement for use of a definite NP or NP marked by a demonstrative in Hani.<sup>27</sup> The formation of these NPs will be described in 4.1 and 4.3.

It is important to note that the parameters given above are only the minimal requirements for a NP to receive coding of a certain type. As will be shown below, Hani nouns are often unmarked for definiteness, with a variety of pragmatic effects. Thus, my statement that definite NPs must be uniquely identifiable is *not* a claim that uniquely identifiable referents must be marked for definiteness.

### ***3.1.2 Pronominal forms***

The Hani pronominal forms (listed here in the nominative case)<sup>28</sup> are as follows:

---

<sup>26</sup> Negative sentences with the meaning “not anyone” or “not even a little” use indefinite NPs in non-referential situations. See “He wasn’t able to do even **a little work**” (The Older and Younger Brothers 3).

<sup>27</sup> Although all NPs marked by deictics in the three main texts also satisfy Gundel’s requirements for the category of “familiar,” I have found a situation in another text where the referent of such an NP is *not* familiar. Therefore, I do not make this higher claim.

<sup>28</sup> The nominative case is used for subjects of intransitive sentences, predicate nominatives, and actors of transitive clauses which are not marked with the ablative.

Figure 1: Pronominal forms in the nominative case

person	singular	dual	plural
1 <sup>st</sup> inclusive	<i>ngal</i>	<i>ngaldu niq hhaq~nga niq hhaq</i> <sup>29</sup>	<i>ngaldu</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> exclusive	---	<i>ngalya niq hhaq~nga niq hhaq</i>	<i>ngalya</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>nol</i>	<i>nolya niq hhaq~no niq hhaq</i>	<i>nolya</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>aqyoq</i>	<i>aqyo niq hhaq</i>	<i>aqyo mavq</i>

In non-nominative cases, the singular pronominals undergo tonal changes which are beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>30</sup> It is worth noting that the third person pronoun is only used for people, spirits, and personified animals in folk tales. In everyday life, it is unacceptable to refer to animals or inanimate objects with the third person pronoun, so in such cases lexical nouns are used. In the nominative case it is necessary to use *niq hhaq* ‘two CL’ to form pronominals with reference to only two people:<sup>31</sup>

(45a) Aqyo niq hhaq alhhe ziiq.  
3 two CL swing ride

‘The two of them ride the swing.’<sup>32</sup>

(overheard)

(45b) Aqyo mavq alhhe ziiq.  
3 PL swing ride

‘They (three or more) ride the swing.’

<sup>29</sup> The two forms of the dual first and second person pronominals are in free variation.

<sup>30</sup> When followed by the ablative or accusative case marker or the linking particle *e*, the singular pronouns are pronounced with low tone (and thus written with the low tone indicator ‘q’). The use of the linking word *e* following a pronominal indicates genitive case, but the genitive case of singular pronouns can also be indicated by pronouncing the final syllable of the pronominal with mid-tone.

<sup>31</sup> See “The Older and Younger Brothers,” sentence 2, for an example of the plural form being used for two referents in the genitive rather than the nominative case. I find that the use of the plural form for dual referents is always considered ungrammatical in the nominative case, but not necessarily in other cases.

<sup>32</sup> The traditional way to ride a Hani swing is with two people.

Sentence (45b) cannot have the reading, ‘they (two referents) ride the swing.’ The unacceptability of such sentences with dual reference indicates that the use of the plural applies only to groups of three or more. First and second person plural pronouns can be followed by *mavq*, the animate plural marker, to emphasize the inclusion of all referents.<sup>33</sup>

It is quite common, in the case of plural referents of a finite number, to use a number and the human classifier *hhaq* to express the number of people.

(46) Aqyo            saol    hhaq ...  
        3                three   HCL

‘The three of them ...’

(Not Just Me 3)

### 3.2 Introduction of participants

In considering the introduction of participants in Hani narrative, it is helpful to distinguish between major and minor participants, defined as follows by Dooley and Levinsohn: “Notionally, major participants are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation” (2001:119). In the corpus used for this study, the first person introduced in a narrative is always a major participant, although there may be other major participants introduced later.

#### 3.2.1 Introduction of first participant

Regarding the introductions of major participants in narratives, Levinsohn observes that “most (but not all) **major** participants are introduced in a non-topic, non-

---

<sup>33</sup> *Mavq* is defined as indicating “the plural of people [and] animals” (Lewis and Bai 1996:325)

interactive role, BEFORE they become the topic of a topic-comment sentence” (2008:120).  
I find that this is true in Hani.

Many Hani narratives about people begin with the sentence, ‘Long ago, there was/lived a \_\_\_\_’ or ‘Long ago, there were/lived two \_\_\_\_.’ These sentences refer to the referent with an indefinite NP and use the verb *jol*, the meaning of which encompasses the meanings ‘live’ and ‘exist.’ The function of such sentences is to introduce a character to a story, and this character is the one who is construed as most important throughout the story. Consider (47):

(47a) Gallhu.aqbei col xil-meil niq meilnaol jol nga  
 Long ago, people this-MAN two brothers live OBJ  
 yil.  
 HRSY

‘[It’s said that] long ago there lived two brothers like this.’

(47b) Aqyo mavq e dama sil al naolhao,  
 3 PL LNK parents die CRS after  
 niq meilnaol bulduq yoqhhovq piav laol zaq.  
 two brothers self family make warm DUR

‘After their parents died, the two brothers made a home by themselves.’  
 (The Two Brothers 1-2)

Sentences (47a) and (47b) illustrate a common pattern at the beginning of Hani narratives. The major characters are introduced in the first clause, with subsequent clauses providing background information. Once the characters have been introduced and the necessary background information given, then the events of the narrative can begin.

This is also the case in the text “Not Just Me” (Appendix B). However, the pattern is not without exception. There are occasions where a participant is introduced in

a sentence that gives some information about him or her, rather than simply an existential verb. Such is the case in (48):

(48)	Galhhu, long.ago	Tavqcil Tavqcil	puvkaq village	Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel	leil QUO	gul call
	e LNK	miqgaq pretty.girl	qiq one	hhaq HCL	civzaol-nei often-ABL	leiv market	
		zuvq attend.market	xul, ... like				

‘Long ago, a pretty girl from Tavqcil village named Aqhuq Laoqsel often liked to go to the market.’

(The Story of Aqpyuq Haossil 2)

Likewise, folktales, in which the participants are often animals, gods, or famous people, sometimes do not follow the pattern of introducing the major character with an existential verb. This is the case in (49):

(49)	Haqssiiq tiger	qiq one	ssaq CL	wuqdeiq stomach	meivq hungry	alnei, PTC		
	aoqhaoq heaven	milhaoq earth	meil MAN	zal food	leiq seek	zaq eat	nga OBJ	yil. HRSY

‘A tiger, being hungry, sought food to eat all over the world [it is said].’

(VI:233)

Sentence (49) is the first sentence in the folktale, ‘The Tiger and the Frog.’ The existence of the tiger may have been evoked from the title, therefore allowing the tiger to be directly introduced into the narrative. In the text corpus under consideration, this way of beginning a narrative is not common.

### 3.2.2 Introduction of other major participants

In subsequent introductions of major participants, the grammatical structures used are often similar to that of a first major participant: the verb *jol* is used. Example (50)



Sentence (50) is an example of the most common pattern of major participant introduction, with Aqpyuq Haossil introduced in a non-topic, non-interactive role before he interacts with the other major participant. However, in the case of (51), the participants are introduced by way of their relationship with a previously-introduced major participant.

### 3.2.3 Introduction of minor participants

Dooley and Levinsohn claim that “major participants commonly have a formal introduction, whereas minor participants do not” (2001:119). This observation is confirmed in the text corpus used for this study, where minor participants are never introduced with existential verbs. Rather, they are introduced with indefinite nouns in predications as they relate to a major participant, or else they are assumed to exist as part of a schema associated with a major participant.

(52) Aqbiaq **miqma**      **aqda** **niq**      **hhaq** xaldei duq      zaq      e  
 Aqbiaq wife              man two      HCL field plow      DUR      LNK

hu      mol  
 look      see

‘Aqbiaq saw **a couple** plowing in the field.’

(IV:20)

In (52), the couple are minor participants, having a brief conversation with Aqbiaq before the story follows him to another scene.

(53a) Xil      meil      qiq      nao,      aqyo      niaq              aqpiq  
 this      MAN      one      day      3      two:HCL              grandmother

**ssaq-moq**      **qiq**      **hhaq**      taoq      puq      al.  
 person-old      one      HCL      meet      bump      CRS

‘One day like this, the two of them met **an old grandmother**.’

(53b) ‘That old grandmother asked, “Son, where are you two going?” The two of them answered her, “Old woman, we are searching for god.” The old grandmother said, “My grandchildren, if you search to the ends of the earth you will not find god. God lives in your family home.” The two of them returned to their home and looked around.’

(V:168)

In (53), the old grandmother is not a major participant in the story. She appears on the scene long enough to interact with the major participants and then disappears.

### **3.3 Further reference to participants**

Turning from the introduction of participants, I now consider the encoding of further reference to these participants. Givón’s Iconicity Principle states that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (1983:18). Thus, while a topic which is expected may be given zero encoding or encoded as a pronoun, a new or unexpected topic is likely to be represented by a noun phrase. Van Valin proposes a continuum of encoding in the following order: zero, clitic/bound pronoun, unstressed pronoun, stressed pronoun, definite NP, indefinite NP (2005:73). The left-most constituents on this continuum are the least marked to encode topics and the most marked to encode foci, while the right-most constituents are the most marked to encode topics and the least marked to encode foci.

In his work on approaches to participant encoding, Clark compares Givón’s, Tomlin’s, and Levinsohn’s approaches, concluding that Levinsohn’s approach is most helpful for describing Sio (Papua New Guinea) (2000:75). I also follow this approach by first establishing the default encoding of topics in 3.3.1 and then discussing deviations from the default encoding in 3.3.2.

### 3.3.1 Default encoding of topics

The default encodings for Hani are as follows:

Figure 2: Default encodings of topics

<b>The topic of a clause is</b>	<b>Default encoding is:</b>
the topic of the previous clause	zero
a referent which was introduced in the previous clause	zero
the topic of the previous clause, with an intervening discontinuity	a pronominal form
any other referent	lexical NP

In this thesis, I do not account for the participant reference in the clauses following the rare situations in which the topic is given the ablative case marker and therefore is marked as not being a higher-level topic (see 2.2.1.2).

#### 3.3.1.1 Topic of the previous clause

Hani referents are often given zero encoding across clauses which have the same topic. This is possible because of an assumption that the topic of the immediately previous clause is the likely topic of the next clause. There are many cases in which a topic which was in the role of actor in previous clauses is encoded with zero anaphora even when it changes roles to become an undergoer in the next clause, as in (54c):

- (54a) “Noq e aqkeeq doqsii maq nalhaq na maq ceil,  
 2 LNK dog words NEG listen willing NEG only
- (54b) ngaq e aqkeel buldul liq kovq nal aq nga,  
 1 LNK leg thigh even bite hurt CT OBJ
- (54c) ngaq nei diq tov all!”  
 1 ABL beat die CRS

“Not only was your dog unwilling to listen, [it] even bit and injured my thigh; [it] was beaten to death by me!”

(The Older and Younger Brothers 19)

In this case, the dog is the topic throughout (54a)-(54c). Between (54a) and (54b), the dog remains in the role of actor, but in (54c), it changes to the role of undergoer. Even with this change of role, it is given the minimal encoding.

### 3.3.1.2 A referent which was introduced in the previous clause

Referents which were introduced in one clause can be given zero encoding in the following clause.

- (55a) Galhhu, gyuyoyq qiq hhaq jol,  
 long.ago lazy.man one HCL exist
- (55b) miqnieq alciiv liq maq aol zaq naol.  
 thing some even NEG do DUR willing.

‘Long ago, there was a lazy man; [he] wasn’t willing to do even a little work.’

(Not Just Me 1)

In clause (55a), the lazy man was introduced in a clause that had sentence focus, and he is given zero encoding in (55b).

### 3.3.1.3 The topic of the previous clause, with an intervening discontinuity

When there is a point of departure intervening between two sentences which have the same topic/actor, a pronoun is used to refer to that entity in the second sentence.

(56a) ‘... the two thieves quickly took one basket each on their backs and without turning back snuck away.’

(56b) Galma a,      **aqyoq**      **niaq ...**  
road    DAT    3                      two:HCL

‘On the road, the two of them ...’

(Not Just Me 17-18)

In (56b), the discontinuity is one of place. The location of the events of the narrative has changed from the roof of the house, where the thieves previously were, to the road.

(57a) Yul    meil    taoqngaoq,    aqyoq    ngaqdeil    mol    maq  
that    MAN    DM                      3    fish                      DCL    NEG  
  
zaq    peq    meil,  
eat    dare    MAN

(57b) hovqtuv                      hholqei                      pieiq    tao    alnei    bi    jol.  
wood.container                      inside                      put    in    ADD    cause    live

‘In that way [because the fish was beautiful], he, not daring to eat the fish, put it inside a wooden container and let [it] live.’

(57c) Naolhao                      qiq    nao,  
after                      one    day

(57d) **aqyoq** xalsul    hhuvq    lal                      e    aq,  
3    work    return    come.up                      LNK    CT

(57e) aqsol    nei    ngeel    maq    hev,  
who    ABL    be    NEG    know

(57f) hoq    laol    zal    laol    xei                      nei    susi  
rice    hot    food    hot    fragrant                      ABL    prepare

miao                      taq    alnei    jav.  
cooked                      leave    ADD    exist.

‘The next day, **he** returned home from work; there was fragrant hot food and hot rice prepared and left there.’

(Li 1990:201)

Clause (57c), signals a lapse of time between the previous events and the events to follow. In both (56b) and (57d), the reference to the continuing topic is a pronoun. In addition, in situations where there is no overt point of departure, but there is a discontinuity, the principle of encoding the topic as a pronoun still holds, as shown in (58).

(58a) Albol hultav kavq ceq laq e tusiil Aljoqniq nei  
 tree on tie hang PERF LNK official Aljoqniq ABL  
 hheivq sso al leil hev taoqngaoq,  
 trick permissible CRS QUO know DM

(58b) neessil neehav meil kul.  
 anger extremely MAN scream

‘When the official, who had been hung on the tree, realized that [he] had been able to be tricked by Aljoqniq, [he] screamed in fury.’

(58c) **Aqyoq** Aljoqniq yaol nieivq teiq alnei,  
 3 Aljoqniq ACC grab catch ADD

(58d) qiq lavq nei seivq movq leil nyuq.  
 one hand ABL kill want QUO think

‘He was wanting to grab Aljoqniq and kill [him] with one hand.’  
 (The Hani Father of Wisdom 59-60)

Between (58b) and (58c), there is a discontinuity of action as defined by Givón (1983:8). Whereas the content up to (58b) is a series of actions occurring in temporal sequence, (58c-d) leave the temporal sequence of the narrative to indicate background information about why the official screamed. Thus, the concept is not that he first screamed and then wanted to kill Aljoqniq, but rather that he screamed because he was wanting to kill Aljoqniq. This discontinuity of action is accompanied by greater encoding as predicted by Givón’s Iconicity Principle (see also Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:37).

### 3.3.1.4 Any other referent

Topics which appear in a non-topic, non-introduction role in the previous clause, or which are unmentioned in the previous clause are encoded as lexical NPs.

- (59a) Aqnil siil tov alnei hhuvq daol puv e  
 y.bro gold wrap ADD return back turn LNK
- tyul-taq cuvnei galma nei algo taoq\_zyul.  
 that-time just.then road ABL o.bro run.into

‘Just as the younger brother wrapped the gold and turned around, [he] ran into the older brother on the road.’

- (59b) Algo tuvqluvq\_mav-nei nalhaq:  
 o.bro mystified-ABL ask
- “aqnil, siil tyul-miav pamiavnei,  
 y.bro gold that-much very.much
- nol halgei nei bavl la wul aq?”  
 2:N where ABL bring toward VOL QP

‘The older brother asked in a surprised way: “Younger brother, so much gold, where did you get [it] from?”’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 27-28)

In (59a) the older brother appeared in a non-topic role, so in (59b) he is encoded as a lexical NP. Thus, the change of topic is marked by greater encoding than occurs when the topic remains the same, in accordance with Givón’s Iconicity Principle.

When topics that were not topics of previous clauses are encoded by common nouns, rather than proper names, they may or may not be marked with a classifier or demonstrative. The choice of use or non-use of these devices is described in chapter 4.

### ***3.3.2 Deviations from default encoding***

We have seen in 3.3.1 that the default encoding of NPs is in agreement with Givón's predictions. Having presented the default encodings, I now go on to describe the situations in which participants are given more or less encoding than the default.

#### **3.3.2.1 More encoding than expected**

While Givón's Iconicity Principle accounts for most of the encoding phenomena in Hani, there are places where a topic which could hardly be described as "surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process" receives greater-than-default encoding. Referents which are already topics in the immediately preceding context are sometimes encoded as pronouns or as lexical NPs, although such reference is not necessary to establish them as topics.

Levinsohn finds that "Givón's Iconicity Principle works up to a point ..."  
(2008:123). His own argument states that "[w]hen more coding material is used than the default rules predict, this typically occurs for one of two reasons: to mark the beginning of a narrative unit [or] to highlight the action or speech concerned" (ibid. 125). With regard to the beginnings of narrative units, I have shown in 3.3.1.3 that pronominal forms, rather than zero encoding, are used following a discontinuity, in agreement with this statement. In this section, I move on to discuss "highlighting" as a reason for greater-than-default encoding of referents.

The term "highlighting" is somewhat difficult to evaluate, so I find it helpful to discuss the *reasons* why a statement is highlighted. Levinsohn says that a sentence may be highlighted through greater-than-default encoding of referents because the event concerned is disruptive or surprising, or "when the information concerned is important

but neither disruptive nor surprising (e.g., a key speech)” (2000:136). Clark suggests that Levinsohn’s “highlighting” can be viewed as having three purposes: “[the introduction of] significant information,” “countering or contra-expectation,” and “pre-climax slow down” (2000:77). I would like to further describe these terms with reference to story development.

Levinsohn refers to “development” as a parameter of discourse, which he claims “relates to the *purpose* of the story or argument” (2000:7). He makes use of the term “developmental unit” (DU) to refer to groups of propositions which, taken together, represent a step along the way to accomplishing the speaker’s purpose. As DUs relate to narratives, the “burst[s] of closely related actions” referred to by Heimdinger seem to communicate a similar concept (1999:124).

Two words seem to be used to communicate story development in Hani – *taoqngaoq* and *aq*, with the latter indicating story development of a particularly contrastive or surprising nature. I refer to these as “development markers” here, although fuller explanation and justification of them must be deferred to a later time. Both of them indicate that what follows is the beginning of a new developmental unit.<sup>34</sup> Development relates to the purpose of a story or argument, it can be said to indicate “significant information” – one of Clark’s suggested purposes for highlighting. Because *aq* marks contrastive topics and surprising developments, it indicates “countering or contra-expectation” – another of Clark’s suggested purposes for highlighting. At climaxes, the norm is for greater encoding of a referent to occur at the beginning of a section, with one

---

<sup>34</sup> This word *aq* was introduced as a “contrastive topicalizer” in sec. 2.3.2.2. In this section, I refer to its use between clauses.

or more clauses separating the instance of greater encoding and the use of a development marker. This encompasses Clark’s third purpose for highlighting: “pre-climax slow-down.”

As will be seen in the examples below, greater-than-default encoding of a topic often occurs in close proximity to a development marker. Because discussion of “highlighting” is admittedly subjective, I take this proximity to a development marker to be confirmation of Levinsohn’s hypothesis. Consider (60):

(60a) ‘At this time, everyone in the village went outside to look.’

(60b) Hazeq miavcyuq liq duv yiv alnei sal.hu.  
Hazeq short.sighted even out come ADD watch

‘Even though Hazeq was shortsighted, he came out to watch.’

(60c) **Aqyoq** Yaqdee ssolnei Yaqceiq yaol hu mol  
3 Yaqdee and Yaqceiq ACC look see

**taoqngaoq,**  
DM

(60d) “eiq” leil qiq heiq gyuq taoqngaoq  
OMP QUO one TCL sound(v) DM

nyuq: “Sazyuq\_aqhhol\_hhol, ngaq yaol xil meil maq  
think wretched.person 1 ACC this MAN NEG

hheivq haoq wul\_yaq.  
trick proper CRS:SUBJ

‘**He** saw Yaqdee and Yaqceiq, **then** “eiq” [he] grunted for a moment and thought: “It’s not proper for that wretched person to trick me like that.”’

(III:16)

In (60), Hazeq’s seeing Yaqdee and Yaqceiq’s return is the beginning of a realization. Because he believed that Yaqdee killed a man, he refused to go help him. When he finds out that it was actually a bear that was killed by Yaqdee, he realizes he has been tricked.

Thus, his view of their return is significant in that it introduces a new series of developments (see the presence of *taoqngaoq* at the end of (60c)). The greater encoding of the reference to Hazeq in (60c) is not due to difficulties in processing the actions or the identity of the referent, but rather is a device to highlight the significance of the next event.

Next, consider (61):

(61a) Aqnil      hhaqnaq      maq      daol meil      haqcaoq      a  
           y.bro        rest            NEG      rest MAN        bamboo.grove DAT  
  
           xeiv        hev,            aqkeeq      maq mol      al.  
           run        arrive        dog        NEG see      CRS

‘The younger brother, without resting any time, ran to the bamboo grove; [he] didn’t see the dog.’

(61b) **Aqyoq**      ngyul      naol      sil la      **taoqngaoq**  
           3            cry        sniff      very INC    DM

(61c) xevq      meil      xevq      nei      ngyul tul      dav.  
           bawl      MAN      bawl      ABL      cry stand up

‘**He** began sniffing and crying hard, **then** [he] got started bawling.’

(61d) ‘Suddenly “tili tili,” several sounds came from inside the bamboo grove; he rubbed open [his] eyes and went over to look in a panic; a pile of gold fell into a pile in the bamboo grove and lay there.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 22-24)

The greater encoding in (61b) is accounted for by the fact that the younger brother’s starting to bawl initiates a new set of key developments. The younger brother’s speech, later in the narrative, indicates that he views the bawling as highly significant to the events which occur in (61d), to the extent that the older brother believes that if *he* cries in the bamboo grove, he will also receive gold. The older brother’s crying in the bamboo grove, in turn, leads to the climax of the story.

Next, consider (62):

- (62a) ...aqyo niaq            doqhhaq            maq    leiq    meil    lolgov a  
3            two.HCL            respond            NEG    say    MAN    creek    DAT
- ssavq            yil.  
descend            go.down

(The lazy man suggested the thieves go down to the creek to get bamboo tubes) ‘...the two of them went down to the creek without saying anything.’

- (62b) **Saolhyuq**    **niq**    **hhaq**    alpieil            boqlo    bavq    alnei    dav  
thief            two    HCL    bamboo            tube    carry    ADD    up
- li    movq    a    leil    zaol    haqhaq            e    tyul-taq, ...  
go.up    want    DAT    QUO    do    PROG            LNK    that-time

‘Right as the two thieves were getting ready to go up carrying the bamboo tube(s), ...’

- (62c) ‘... suddenly [they] heard from above the lazy man’s shouting voice and the sound of a person being hit: “Piaq ... Piaq.”’

(Not Just Me 29-30)

In (62b), the two thieves are encoded as a lexical NP because they occur at a discontinuity *and* the following information is also of particular significance. The discontinuity is one of time, in that some time must have passed between going down to the creek and coming back up. The discontinuity alone would result in encoding of the referent as a pronoun. In this case, they are given even greater encoding for the purpose of highlighting, as (62c) introduces a major development in the story. After hearing the sounds, the thieves believe the lazy man has been caught, and then run away.

Next, I consider an example of greater encoding in proximity to the contrastive marker *aq*:

(63a) ‘However, the ruler did not think it was enough. The more he pulled the chain out the more excited [he] got. The more [he] pulled it out the more [he] wanted the gold.’

(63b) **Aqyoq**            naolhao            hhaqhav            tivq            alnei    cavtev    qiq  
 3                            after                    strength            use            ADD    pull    one

tev    tev    **aq,**    siil    e            aqhhavq            qiq    ssaq    hhe  
 pull   pull   CT    gold   LNK   pig                    one    CL    pull

duv    yi    al.  
 out    toward CRS

‘**He** then, using all his strength pulled and pulled; [he] pulled out a gold pig.’

(63c) Siil    aqhhavq            yul    ssaq    meiqbaoq            baoqma            nga  
 gold   pig                    that    CL    mouth                    AUG                    OBJ

nei,    qiq    kovq    ngeel    taoqngaoq,            soqpaq            yul    hhaq  
 ABL   one   bite   be    DM                    ruler                    that    HCL

yaol    kovq    sil    al.  
 ACC   bite   die    CRS

‘That gold pig with its big mouth, in one bite bit that ruler to death.’

(63d) ‘After this, Alli and all the villagers did not have to pay taxes any more.’  
 (V:76)

The encoding of the ruler in (63b) illustrates highlighting to indicate information which is unexpected. Prior to this point in the story, there has been mention only of a gold chain, not of a gold pig which eats people. Thus, the information in (63b) is unexpected and is given extra encoding as such. Sentence (63c) is also included as an additional example of increased encoding near a development marker.

### 3.3.2.2 Less coding than expected

I find two situations in which a referent is given less encoding than expected: to convey continuity with the preceding context and to keep attention on a patient. I here consider each in turn.

#### To convey continuity with the preceding context

Clause (64b) presents an example of less-than-default encoding:

(64a) When the dog opened its mouth to answer the cat, the golden gourd really fell into the river.

(64b) Lol-zeil        a        hev    taoqngaoq,  
river-side        DAT arrive DM

(64c) aqyo    niaq                    qiq    hhaq    ngaoq    qiq    hhaq    zyul    nga  
3        two:HCL<sup>35</sup>        one    HCL    TOP    one    CL    blame OBJ  
  
leil    deiq    zaq.  
QUO   scold   DUR

‘[They] arrived at the river bank; the two of them blamed each other.’  
(V:153)

In (64), the identity of the referents who arrived at the river bank is left unmentioned. This is possible because the function of (64b) is to provide a transition between (64a) and (64c). The dog and cat blaming each other in (64c) represents the beginning of a new developmental unit (the dog and cat fight). The zero encoding of (64b) is in contrast to the encoding in (61c), above, where the topic of the clause marked with the developmental marker was given greater-than-default encoding for the purpose of highlighting. The difference lies in the fact that the event of (64b) is expected, whereas the events in (61b) were not.

---

<sup>35</sup> This is the classifier used for humans. Since the characters involved are highly personified, its use with animals in this folktale is not unexpected.

Another example of less-than-default encoding in order to provide continuity with the context is seen in (65):

(65a) Suddenly “tili tili,” several sounds came from inside the bamboo grove,

(65b) aqyoq      miav      leiq      biei alnei   hu      pyul      li,  
          3            eye           rub        open ADD   look      over      go.up

deivqniv\_honei,  
 panic

(65c) haqcaoq                      hholqei              siil      qiq      qu      ya      qu  
          bamboo.grove            inside                gold      one      CL      fell      pile

taq.  
 remain

‘he rubbed open [his] eyes and went over to look in a panic; a pile of gold fell into a pile in the bamboo grove and lay there.’

(65d) Cavyil      aqtav      pyu      hu      dav.al li,...  
          also        above      side      look up      go.up

‘Also, [he] went to look up; ...’

(65e) ‘... it turned out that the gold had fallen down toward [him] from the dog’s stomach.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 24-25)

In (65d), the younger brother is given minimal encoding, even though there is an intervening clausal topic, the gold, between the last mention of him and this one. This is possible because the conjunction “also,” the usage of which is quite marked in Hani, serves to encourage a comparison of the content of (65d) with that of (65b). Both clauses use the same verb, ‘look,’ a parallelism which draws attention the relationship between the gold and the dog’s body.

**To keep attention on a patient**

(66a) Gyuyoq joq ssavq yil taoqngaoq,  
 lazy.man just down go.down DM

(66b) pyuqtul tulma qiq siq sov hhaq.  
 basket AUG one CL touch get

‘As soon as the lazy man went down, [he] touched a big basket.’

(66c) **Pyuqtul tulma** suvnei hhe dav li qav al,  
 basket AUG successful pull up go.up leave CRS

(66d) alcav hhoqleivq huqteil galquv nei pieiq xal yi.  
 string once.again before place LNK put down toward

‘**The big basket** was successfully pulled up and away, the string was once again put down toward [him] from the place [where it was before].’

(66e) Gyuyoq aqnu pyuqtul qiq siq kavq.tovq li  
 lazy.man also basket one CL tie go.up

movq a leil zaol haqhaq e tyul-taq, ...  
 intend DAT QUO do PROG LNK that-time

‘Just as the lazy man was going to tie up another basket, ...’

(Not Just Me 11-13)

In (66c-d), the agents are the unstated thieves on the roof. As the directionals in this section indicate, all events in this section are presented as they relate to the lazy man, so the mention of the basket and the string are also presented in this way, rather than with reference to the thieves who are agents in these actions.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ENCODING OF LEXICAL NPs

In this chapter, I consider the various methods of encoding lexical NPs for definiteness, indefiniteness, and with demonstratives. In 4.1, I introduce the types of NPs. In 4.2, I discuss the indefinite NPs. I go on in 4.3 to describe the definite NPs. Next, NPs marked by demonstratives are discussed in 4.4. Because it is a default category, unmarked NPs are considered last, in 4.5.

For the sake of clarity, I have reflected English conventions of article usage in the free translations of examples throughout this thesis. In this chapter, however, I use square brackets around those English articles which are not reflected in the Hani.

#### **4.1 Overview of lexical NP encoding**

The types of lexical NP encoding can be summarized as follows:

Figure 3: Lexical NP encoding

NP type	Singular NPs	Plural NPs
<b>unmarked</b>	N	N
<b>indefinite</b>	N + one + CL	N + <i>alciv</i> (some)
<b>definite</b>	N + DCL or HCL	N + DPL
<b>demonstrative</b>	N + demonstrative + CL	N + demonstrative + number + CL <sup>36</sup> N + demonstrative + DPL

The definite classifier (DCL) mentioned in the table refers to the classifier *mol* (for non-humans). The human classifier (HCL) refers to the classifier *hhaq* (for humans). In some cases where the human classifier is used, the head noun is unmentioned (see Appendix B, sentence 31 and Appendix C, sentences 13, 29, and 30).<sup>37</sup>

The definite and human classifiers are the only classifiers found to occur immediately after a singular noun. While these classifiers are also used with certain indefinite NPs and NPs marked by demonstratives, they are only a small subset of the wide variety of classifiers used in other environments.<sup>38</sup> For example, compare the use of classifiers in (67)-(69), from the same narrative, presented in the order in which they occur:

<sup>36</sup> The ordering of constituents in the demonstrative NP is different from the preferred order observed by Dryer: “one cross-linguistic generalization governing the order of Dem, Num, and Adj is that when all three appear on the same side of a noun and one order is preferred, the demonstrative typically is furthest from the noun and the adjective is the closest ... the same generalization applies to any pair of these elements if two occur on one side of the noun” (2007:112). See Appendix B, sentence 27: “those two thieves” for an example of the Hani constituent ordering.

<sup>37</sup> These examples of the use of a number and the human classifier, with no head noun, are ambiguous as to their referentiality. At this time, I am unable to account for the choice of use versus non-use of the head noun “person” in such constructions.

<sup>38</sup> Li (1990:73-78) finds 46 different classifiers, not counting reduplications which function as classifiers (i.e. *aqkeeq yul keeq* ‘dog that dog’).

(67) Aqda **alsiq** **qiq** **siq** cev xal yi ...  
 father fruit one CL pick descend toward

‘[The] father picked **a fruit** [for his son]’

(68) ‘Ngal **alsiq** **yul** **siq** maq zaq alngaoq,  
 1 fruit that CL NEG eat if

sil lal movq yaq.”  
 die possible want CRS:SUBJ

“‘If I don’t eat **that fruit**, [I] think [I’ll] die.’” [spoken by the son to the father, pointing out a particular fruit at the top of the tree]

(69) Naqneil a dav hev alnei, aqlavq zeı nei **alsiq**  
 treetop DAT ascend arrive ADD hand stretch ABL fruit

**mol** cev movq a leil zaol haqhaq e tyul  
 DCL pick want DAT QUO do PROG LNK that

taq ...  
 time

‘As [the father], having ascended to the treetop, reached out his hand to pick **the fruit** ...’

(IV:75)

In (67) and (68), the classifier *siq* for round items is used with an indefinite NP and a NP marked by a demonstrative, respectively. However, in (69), the definite classifier *mol* is used.

The difference between the range of classifiers occurring with definite nouns, on the one hand, and with nouns marked by demonstratives, on the other, provides evidence for considering definiteness and demonstrative marking to be two different types of constructions, rather than subsets of the same category, as has been claimed in some grammatical traditions. Van Valin and LaPolla make the same observation: “While distinguishing articles from demonstratives might seem odd from an English perspective,

there is good cross-linguistic evidence for it” (1997:62). Thus, I follow them in treating the two categories as distinct. Nevertheless, it is true that the cognitive status “uniquely identifiable” is a minimal requirement for the use of either form.

The *definite plural* (DPL) classifier *dyul* is used both with definite plural nouns and plural nouns marked by demonstratives.

## 4.2 The indefinite NP

As described in 3.1.1.2, the indefinite NP is used when introducing a new referent which is not uniquely identifiable in relation to other, previously-introduced referents, as in (70):

- (70) Galhhu,            **gyuyyoq**            **qiq**    **hhaq**    jol,    miqnieiq            alciiv  
          long.ago            lazy.man            one    HCL    exist    things            some
- liq    maq    aol    zaq    naol.  
          even    NEG    do    DUR    willing

‘Long ago, there was **a lazy man**; [he] wasn’t willing to do even a little work.’

(Not Just Me 1)

Sentence (70) is the introduction of the lazy man at the beginning of the narrative. In the first clause, he is not uniquely identifiable. The use of the indefinite NP tells the listener *not* to search in his mind for a previously mentioned lazy man, but rather to add this new participant to his mental representation.

The same is true of the mule in (71), which is introduced as an undergoer in a different narrative:

- (71) Aqyoq moq    **lalzii**    **qiq**    **kaol**    ciil    alnei    ...  
          3        horse    mule    one    CL    lead    ADD ...

‘He, leading **a mule** ...’

(II: 30)

When the referent is not singular or mass, the language does not indicate whether or not that referent is previously identifiable. The encoding for “[the] two thieves” is the same as that for “two thieves” at the first reference (compare Appendix B, sentences 2 and 17). For this reason, I treat such cases as “unmarked” and discuss them in 4.5.

### 4.3 The definite NP

The definite NP is used to indicate that a referent is uniquely identifiable and constrains an interpretation that the referent is a specific one which is identifiable *either* through previous mention *or* through descriptive content included in the nominal itself (Gundel 1993:277). Consider (72) and (73):

(72) Aldebo xil taq **moq lalzii mol** hultav ziiq dav ..  
 Aldebo this time horse mule DCL on ride on

‘Aldebo, at this time, got on **the mule** ...’

(II: 32) – from the same narrative as (71)

(73a) Galhhu.aqbei, col saol hhaq qiqgao meil xaldei duq  
 long.ago person three HCL together MAN field dig  
 alnei, piul qiq duq duq mol.  
 ADD silver one CL dig see

‘Long ago, as three people dug [a] field together, [they] dug out a pile of silver.’

(73b) Aqyo saol hhaq **piul-duq mol** mol ngaoq ...  
 3 three HCL silver-pile DCL see TOP

‘The three of them saw **the pile of silver** ...’

(IV:49)

The referents of “the mule” in (72) and “the pile of silver” in (73b) are readily identifiable from the context. Next, consider (74):

(74)	Hucavq rat	almil cat	leiq chase	mil catch	la toward	e LNK	hu look	mol see	alnei, ADD
	teiq_sil_teiq_piav very.hurriedly	meil MAN	<b>lulhhuv</b> door	<b>naolhao</b> behind	<b>jav</b> exist	<b>e</b> LNK			
	<b>yavpyul</b> broom	<b>mol</b> DCL	hul'a under	xeiv run	hhovq hide	taq. stay			

‘As [the] rat saw [the] cat catching up with [it], [it] hurriedly hid under **the broom [that] was behind [the] door.**’

(II:25)

In (74), the broom has not been previously mentioned, but the listener knows that the cat and the rat are in a house. Thus, the broom becomes uniquely identifiable in relationship with the other items in the house.

It is notable that in (74), the door, while uniquely identifiable, is not marked as definite. The reasons for this will be described below, as I turn to the pragmatic effects of definite marker usage. These vary significantly according to the animacy of the referent.

#### **4.3.1 Inanimate referents**

With inanimate referents, the use of the definite classifier is quite rare, with the unmarked NP form being the default. The use of the definite classifier with such referents marks them as having salience in the narrative.

Looking back at example (73), the pile of silver, marked as definite, also plays a key role in the story. Having found the silver, each of the three protagonists conspires to kill the other two, so that he can keep all of the silver for himself. Likewise, the broom in example (74) falls on the cat, making him dizzy and allowing the rat to run away. This story is then presented as an explanation for the fact that cats become angry when they

see brooms. In contrast, the door in (74) is not salient in the ongoing story, and as such is not marked as definite.

Next, consider (75):

- (75) **Alpavq**            **dyul**    milcaq\_daqhhaq            a    ya    xa    heil  
leaf                    DPL    ground                    DAT   fall    down   away
- yi            ngaoq,    saq    nei    piul    pievq    saq    al.  
toward    TOP            CMPL    ABL    silver    change    CMPL    CRS

‘As **the leaves** fell away [from the tree] toward [the] ground, they all changed into silver.’

(V:52)

The salience of the leaves in (75) is clear from the context. These are not any typical leaves, to be seen as peripheral, but rather play an important role in the discourse, because they change into silver.

This use of definiteness marking can be contrasted with the lack of such marking for the basket in (76):

- (76a) Gyuyoq            joq    ssavq    yil                    taoqngaoq,  
lazy.man            just    down    go.down                    DM
- (76b) pyuqtul            **tulma**            **qiq**    **siq**    sov    hhaq.  
basket                    AUG            one    CL    touch    accomplish

‘As soon as [the] lazy man went down, [he] touched **a big basket**.’

- (76c) **Pyuqtul**            **tulma**    suvnei            hhe    dav    li    qav    al, ...  
basket                    AUG    successful            pull    up    go.up    away    CRS

‘[The] **big basket** was successfully pulled up and away ...’

(Not Just Me 11-12)

In (76), the basket is introduced with an indefinite NP, but the author chooses not to mark it as definite in (76c). The reasoning for this decision is quite clear from the context. The basket here is only relevant in the reporting of what the lazy man did and is not salient.

Hani’s use of a classifier to mark definiteness is not without precedent. Daley indicates that “White Hmong uses classifiers to individuate, or to direct the hearer’s attention to a particular focus. Speakers indicate the higher salience of one referent relative to the other referents in the local context by marking the most salient NP with a classifier” (1998:81).<sup>39</sup> Daley also concludes that the function of Vietnamese classifiers can be described similarly, with reference to referential salience (ibid. 88).

#### 4.3.2 *Animate non-human referents*

With animate referents, the use of the definite classifier is much more common. In the majority of non-folktales, animals are props which may or may not be particularly salient. In such cases, the definite marker is used any time that the referent is specific and recoverable from the context and is NOT a major participant (see 4.5.3 for a discussion of the lack of such marking for major participants).

(77) “Ngaq e        **aqkeeq**        **mol** nei, noq e        **aqha mol**  
           1        LNK dog                    DCL ABL 2        LNK chickenDCL  
  
           yaol kovq e        ngaoq, **aqkeeq**        **mol** noq a        bivq  
           ACC bite LNK TOP dog                    DCL 2        DAT give  
  
           wul al.”  
           VOL CRS

““If **my dog** bites **your chicken**, I’ll give you **the dog**.””

(IV:15)

In (77), the dog and the chicken are identifiable, specific entities and therefore take the definite marker.

---

<sup>39</sup> For another similar discussion of Hmong, see Bisang (1999:147-152).

### 4.3.3 Human referents

There are two instances of a human marked as definite in my corpus. In both cases, reference is to ‘the person’ in a folktale with talking animals, where the animals are major participants and the person is not. In this story the person is marked as animals commonly are in other stories, except that the person receives the human classifier.

(78a) ‘The elephant picked up and brought a huge log; [it] put [it] on the scale.’

(78b) **Col** **hhaq** daoqma mol hal miav nei xao leil  
person HCL log DCL how much ABL heavy QUO  
buvq teiq.  
write down

‘**The person** wrote down how much the log weighed.’

(I:8)

## 4.4 NPs marked by demonstratives

As noted in 4.1, NPs can be marked with demonstratives. In Hani, there are three demonstratives: *xil* ‘this,’ *tyul* ‘that (closer to listener than to speaker),’ and *yul* ‘that (far from both locutors).’ The demonstratives most commonly used in narrative are *xil* and *yul*. Because the occurrence of *tyul* in my data set is extremely limited, it is not treated in this paper.

I will demonstrate below that both *xil* ‘this’ and *yul* ‘that’ have discourse roles which are in many ways parallel to their roles in the text-external world. I first introduce the use of *xil*, and then go on in 4.4.2.1 to compare the two types of demonstratives.

### 4.4.1 The proximal demonstrative *xil*

The proximal demonstrative *xil* has several roles which can be broadly described as “current center of attention.” Just as, in the text-external world, it refers to something

near the speaker, within a text it constrains an interpretation that its referent is currently “in or near the spotlight.” Following Levinsohn (2008:136), I use the term “local VIP” to refer to a major participant who is a center of attention for some portion of a narrative.

The demonstrative *xil* is used to refer to something in the immediately preceding context that is salient. In some cases, it functions as a bridge between preceding information and the events which follow, and in other cases it serves to introduce a new participant to the narrative.

#### 4.4.1.1 Relating to the immediately preceding context

(79a) ‘The land harrowed by the younger brother was bigger and better than [the land] harrowed by the older brother.’

(79b) Miqnieiq    **xil**        **dyul**    mol    taoqngaoq,    algo    aqnil    naogo  
 Things        this        DPL    see    DM            o.bro    y.bro    with

(79c) eil        miq.  
 say        TRAN

‘When [he] saw **these things**, [the] older brother said to [the] younger brother: ...’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 12)

In (79b) the reference is to the immediately preceding context, forming a bridge between the information which precedes and that which follows. In this case, the referent of “these things” is salient in that it provides an explanation for what follows, but is not a new center of attention.

#### 4.4.1.2 Following introductions of new referents

*Xil* is also used just after a new referent has been introduced to the narrative with a presentational structure, to give more information about it. In these cases, the referent

of *xil* is a salient prop or participant who is of particular importance for this section of the narrative.

- (80a) Aqyoq hulbu leil kul e alzil qiq qa jol  
 3 cuckoo QUO call LNK bird one kind exist  
 nga leil gaq.  
 OBJ QUO hear

‘He had heard that there was a kind of bird called a cuckoo.’

- (80b) **Alzil xil qa** huvq ssol nao hev nia.  
 bird this kind year and day know able

‘**This kind of bird** knew [the] days and years ...’

(I:36)

Sentence (80) introduces the bird, which plays a key role in the rest of the narrative, as suggested by the title of the story, “Alloq Searches for a Cuckoo.”

Next, consider (81):

- (81a) Xil gei laqhyul xaolcyuq qiq yaol jav.  
 this place house broken.down one CL exist

‘There was a broken-down house here.’

- (81b) Col niq ma-ssaq jol.  
 person 2 mother-son exist

‘There were a mother and son [here].’

- (81c) **Xil niq ma -ssaq** taolnao\_nei moqdev duq alnei,  
 this two mother-son daily yam dig ADD  
 wuqdeiq leiq deiv zaq.  
 stomach seek full eat

‘**This mother and son** ate by digging yams.’

(II:4)

Once the mother and son have been introduced with in this way, they function as local VIPs in the next section of the narrative, and are not marked by any demonstrative. The effect of *xil* here is to mark them as salient, since they will be major participants in the next section.

#### 4.4.2 *The distal demonstrative yul*

While use of the proximal demonstrative *xil* constrains an interpretation that its referent is near the current center of attention, its counterpart, the distal demonstrative, is used in conjunction with referents who are outside the current center of attention. Following the analogy of a spotlight, if *xil* is a message that the spotlight is on the referent, *yul* indicates that the referent is somewhere away from the spotlight, and that the spotlight should not be turned to it.

##### 4.4.2.1 Comparison of *xil* and *yul* with newly introduced participants

Although, as noted above, *xil* is found with newly introduced participants, *yul* is also found in this position. The difference between the two is that *xil* indicates that the referent is salient enough to warrant status as a local VIP. This difference is illustrated in the story “Searching for God”:

(82) ‘So one day the two of them met an old woman. **That** old grandmother asked, “Son, where are you two going?” The two of them answered her, “Old woman, we are searching for god.”’

‘**That** old grandmother said, “My grandchildren, if you search to the ends of the earth you will not find god. God lives in your family home.” The two of them returned to their home and looked around. They did not see any god there. They went again to find god outside the home.’

‘One day they met an old man. **That** old man also told them that God lived in their family home. The two of them went back home and looked all around, but they still found no god there. The two of them very patiently went back outside to search for god.’

‘The two of them just would not quit looking for god. One day as they did this they met a man their own age. **This** man also told them that

god lived in their family home. The two of them said, “Oh goodness brother, how can this possibly be? Prior to this we met an old woman and an old man, and when we asked them they said that god lived in our home, but when we looked there we did not find god anywhere.”

‘**This** man their own age said, “Oh my friends, god is not someone else. God is none other than the old, whitehaired people who live in our homes...’

(English translation from Lewis and Bai (2000:70-71), with demonstratives added to reflect the original, in (V:169-170))

In this story, the main characters are the two people who are searching for god. When new referents are brought into the narrative, they are first introduced with an indefinite NP, and are referred to with demonstratives in further references. The first two people whom they ask are introduced with *yul* and do not play a role in solving the central conflict of the story. The last person they ask is introduced with *xil* and gives the information which holds the key to solving their problem. The author uses a change between the distal and proximal demonstratives to mark the third referent as salient.

#### **4.4.2.2 The use of *yul* with participants who are not local VIPs**

When an activated referent referred to by a common noun is a major participant but not a local VIP in a section, the demonstrative *yul* is used with reference to it. The effect of this choice is to report on a participant who is not a local VIP without switching attention to that referent. This usage is well-illustrated in the narrative, “Not Just Me,” in which the center of attention shifts several times between one major participant, the lazy man, and another pair of participants, the thieves. Where the center of attention has been on the lazy man, the demonstrative is used to refer to the two thieves:

(83a) ‘...After the lazy man, tying a slip knot with the string, tied up the basket, he got in the basket and yanked the string, ...’

(83b) ... hoqbyu    hultav jol    e    **saolhyuq**    **yul**    **niq**    **hhaq**  
 roof            on    be    LNK    thief            that    two    HCL

yaol    hhe    dav    joq    leil    zaol    moq            miq.  
 ACC    pull    up    IMP    QUO    do    command    TRAN

‘... to command **those two thieves** on [the] roof to pull up [the] string.’  
 (Not Just Me 16)

In this section, the local VIP is the lazy man, and the thieves are participants outside the main center of attention. In other sections, when the thieves become the center of attention, they are referred to by a lexical NP and thus activated as new local VIPs. A pattern emerges in which referents are referred to with *yul* when they are not VIPs and in other sections, where they are VIPs, no demonstrative is used, causing them to be construed as a center of attention rather than as forces affecting a center of attention. This is seen in the continuation of (83), below, where the thieves are once again the center of attention:

(83c) ‘The basket was pulled up; ...’

(83d) ... **saolhyuq**    **niq**    **hhaq**    laqcal    qiq    hhaq    qiq    siq    eq  
 thief            two    HCL    fast    one    HCL    one    CL    carry

(83e) alnei    naolhhuvq    maq    puv    meil    hyuqxeiv.  
 ADD    back            NEG    turn    MAN    sneak.away

‘[the] **two thieves** quickly took one basket each on their backs and without turning back snuck away.’  
 (Not Just Me 17)

This passage is followed by a narrative unit which takes place on the road, with the two thieves as the local VIPs. As such, they are not referred to with the demonstrative, until a later unit in which the lazy man once again takes over as the local VIP:

(84a) Gyuyoq      **saolhyuq**      **yul**      **niq**      **hhaq**      savqdol      wul  
 lazy.man      thief      that      two      HCL      embarrassed      VOL

ssaq    leil    mol    taoqngaoq    xil-meil    eil    miq:  
 ?    QUO    see    DM      this-MAN    say    TRAN

‘Since [the] lazy man saw that **those two thieves** were embarrassed, he said this:’

(84b) “‘We’ve been busy all night, we’re all definitely hungry. You two bring up some bamboo from the creek down there; let’s use bamboo tubes to cook rice to eat.’”

(84c) Saolhyuq      niq      hhaq      ngeeljil      meil      meivq al,  
 thief      two      HCL      trully      MAN      hungry CRS

‘[The] **two thieves** were truly hungry ...’

(Not Just Me 27-29)

In (84a-b), the lazy man is the local VIP, but in (84c), the center of attention turns to the thieves and what they do next. Following this point, the thieves remain the center of attention for the duration of their presence in the narrative, and the demonstrative is not used again with reference to them.

The effect of the use of the demonstrative is to allow non-VIPs to interact with a VIP without turning attention away from that VIP. This system is remarkably similar to that of Cerma (Gur, Burkina Faso), as described in Levinsohn (2008:138).

#### 4.4.2.3 *Yul* in reactivations

Consider (85):

(85) Hal      hyuq      laq      e      **yul**      **dyul**      gyuyoq      qaq  
 all      steal      PERF      LNK      that      DPL      lazy.man      one:CL

sol    hha    zaq    e    liq ...  
 only   got   DUR   LNK   also,

‘Although one lazy man alone got all **those things** that had been stolen ...’

(Not Just Me 36)

In (85), the fact that things were stolen is known from earlier in the story, but the stolen items have been only peripheral to the narrative. When they are re-activated at this point, the use of the deictic instructs the listener to relate the referent to what he already knows. Because the center of attention is not the stolen items, but the lazy man, the distal demonstrative is chosen.

#### 4.4.2.4 *Yul* in selection

The use of the demonstrative *yul* is normal when there is a definite referent of a restrictive relative clause:

- (86) ... gyuyoq xeiv dov laq e pyultul tulma eq  
 lazy.man run into PERF LNK basket AUG carry
- e saolhyuq **yul** **hhaq** eil: ...  
 LNK thief that HCL say

‘... **that thief** who was carrying the [basket] into which [the] lazy man had run said: ...’

(Not Just Me 19)

Here, the listener is already aware that there are two thieves who are carrying baskets, and that the lazy man is in one of the two baskets. Therefore, the function of (86) is to point out one of these two men as a topic of further discussion.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.4.2.5 *Yul* at points of departure

*Yul* is also used to mark points of departure as worthy of special attention, as in the following passage, where God wants his son, Aqpyuq Haossul, to come home, and sends two servants to go get him. The servants know that God’s son is very old, but aren’t sure what he looks like:

---

<sup>40</sup> Levinsohn (personal communication) considers the lazy man to be the local VIP here, so that the reference to “that thief” also fits the use of the distal demonstrative as “away from center of attention.”

(87a) ‘These two servants of God descended and arrived at Aqpyuq Haossil’s house,’

(87b) **laqhyul**      **yul**    **yaol**    hholqei,  
house            that    CL    inside

‘inside **that house**,’

(87c) ‘there were ten old grandfathers who all looked alike, with silver beards and white hair; each of the ten old people was holding a smoking pipe; they were there smoking in a thick cloud of tobacco smoke; it was impossible to tell which one was Aqpyuq Haossil. So, God’s two servants returned to report to god that they couldn’t select which one [he] was and therefore couldn’t bring [him].’

(The Story of Aqpyuq Haossil 35-36).

The marking of the house in (87b) with a demonstrative indicates that something important will be said in reference to the house. In this case, the servants of God had assumed that Aqpyuq Haossil, being an old man, would be easy to identify. The presence of many old men raises a new problem for the servants, and the rest of the episode centers on solving this problem. The choice of *yul* rather than *xil* is appropriate because the house is other than the center of attention. The “stage” of the story does not shift to the house but rather immediately returns to heaven.

#### 4.5 The unmarked NP

The unmarked NP is used in a variety of reference situations, including when the speaker wishes to:

- 1) refer to the members of a certain class in general
- 2) refer to an entity that is not salient in the discourse
- 3) refer to an already-activated VIP

The fact that the same form is used for several unrelated functions provides evidence for my claim that the unmarked NP is, in fact, the default encoding.

#### 4.5.1 Reference to the members of a certain class in general

The unmarked NP is used to refer generally to the members of a certain class:

- (88) Xil naolhao, **meilnaol** yovq bil zaq e neema  
 this after brother home divide DUR LNK heart
- daov maq hha xievq hhaq, **col** jollalhha e  
 very NEG should greedy certainly person generally LNK
- neema hha meeq nga leil e doq,  
 heart should good OBJ QUO LNK speech
- Haqniq-ssaq** alkaq a gee zaq jil wul\_naq  
 Hani-people among DAT say DUR all CRS:OBJ

‘Since this, the saying that [when] **brothers** divide homes, [they] must certainly not be very stingy and that **people** should be generally good hearted, is said among all the **Hani people**.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 33)

In (88), the references to ‘brothers,’ ‘people,’ and ‘Hani people’ are all understood to refer to the members of those classes in general, rather than any specific referents.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.5.2 Reference to an entity that is not salient in the discourse

Because, as noted in 4.3, the use of definiteness marking varies significantly according to the animacy of the referent, in this section I consider reference to animate and inanimate entities separately.

##### 4.5.2.1 Reference to animate entities

As noted above, animate referents are usually marked either for definiteness (sec. 4.3) or for indefiniteness (sec. 4.2). However, in cases where it is not necessary to specify that the reference is to (a) specific entity/entities, a bare NP can be used.<sup>42</sup> In

<sup>41</sup> In this thesis, I use the term “specific” with respect to referents with a status of referential or higher on the Givenness Hierarchy.

<sup>42</sup> In other words, bare NPs are not marked as having a status higher than “type identifiable” on the Givenness Hierarchy.

such cases, the status of the referent as plural or singular, identifiable or unidentifiable, is not presented as relevant to the discourse.

- (89) algo loldei loqma a niuqpeel laqyil  
o.bro riverside.field river DAT water.buffalo bull  
  
nei xal aol ...  
ABL field work

‘...the older brother [was] at the riverside field(s) using water buffalo bull(s) to do fieldwork.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 9)

In (89), the ‘water buffalo bull’ is non-referential. The sentence does not indicate whether the bull(s) are singular or plural, identifiable or unidentifiable. Rather, ‘water buffalo bull(s)’ simply tells the listener the method by which the field is being worked.

Phenomena such as these are well-documented cross-linguistically. For example, Lambrecht states that in Turkish, it is possible to say “Ahmet bought ox” without marking “ox” for definiteness or indefiniteness, so that the question of how many oxen were bought is entirely irrelevant. This sentence is roughly equivalent to “Ahmet did some ox-buying” (1994:85).

#### 4.5.2.1 Reference to inanimate entities

Any time that the speaker has not chosen to *mark* reference to an inanimate item as referential or salient, a bare NP is used. Its status as singular or plural, identifiable or unidentifiable is locally ambiguous, though it might be clear from the context.

- (90) ...**xal** aol e hhyuq seq e **niuqkav** ngavq  
 field work LNK nine tooth LNK harrow five
- seq zaol pievq alnei,  
 tooth make change ADD
- aqkeeq a levq\_cuvq taoqngaoq **xal** aol zaq.  
 dog DAT put.on.harness DM field work DUR
- ‘[he] made [the] 9-tooth **field**-working **harrow** into [a] 5-tooth [one], and put [the harness] on [the] dog, then worked [the] **field(s)**.’

(The Older and Younger Brothers 10).

In (90), both the harrow and the land are referents unmarked for specificity. Based on Hani culture, it is quite likely that there is more than one field, but the number of fields is irrelevant to the discourse. While common sense suggests that there is probably only one harrow, the status of the harrow is presented as irrelevant to the discourse.

This phenomenon can also be seen when the referent has previously been mentioned in the discourse. This is the case with the bamboo containers in “Not Just Me” (Appendix B). In sentence 28, two thieves are sent to the river by the lazy man, in order to get bamboo tube(s) to use in cooking rice. The bamboo tube(s) are mentioned again twice in the narrative, but at no point are they marked for number or specificity. This is because the identity or number of the bamboo tube(s) is irrelevant to the narrative. Rather, they figure only as a reason for the thieves to go down to the river. Common sense suggests that the bamboo tube(s) they pick up in sentence 30 are the same tube(s) they throw away in sentence 34, but the language does not explicitly code this relationship.

Another example of an unmarked NP occurs in (91c):

(91a) Gyuyoq        joq    ssavq   yil            taoqngaoq,  
       lazy.man        just    down   go.down        DM

(91b) pyuqtul        **tulma**        **qiq**    **siq**    sov    hhaq.  
       basket        AUG            one    CL    touch   accomplish

‘As soon as [the] lazy man went down, [he] touched **a big basket**.’

(91c) **Pyuqtul**        **tulma**    suvnei        hhe    dav    li    qav    al,...  
       basket        AUG    successful    pull    up    go.up   away   CRS

‘[The] **big basket** was successfully pulled up and away ...’

(Not Just Me 11-12)

In (91), the basket is introduced with an indefinite NP, but the author chooses not to mark it as definite in (91c), as it is not salient in the subsequent story.

Sentence (91) is perhaps the best evidence for considering the unmarked NP to be the default category for lexical NP marking. I previously claimed that definite marking on inanimate referents is a choice to *mark* the referent as salient. Thus, as the “elsewhere” case, the unmarked NP is used to encode the greatest variety of definiteness levels.

#### ***4.5.3 Reference to an already-active major participant***

When a referent is already an active participant in a narrative, it will often be encoded by a pronoun or zero encoding, in accordance with the principles presented in section 3.3. However, when those principles lead to a decision to present the referent as a lexical NP, and when there is no reason to mark that NP deictically, it is encoded as an unmarked NP. This is the case with common nouns referring to major participants within a narrative: ‘younger brother,’ ‘older brother,’ ‘lazy man,’ etc.

Such references are possible based on an assumption that the referent is active enough in the listener’s mental representation that he associates the reference with the

referent without any linguistic clues reminding him to do so. This is similar to a phenomenon reported in Cerma (Gur, Burkina Faso) in which “the article may be omitted when the referent is a major participant occupying an **active role**” (Levinsohn 2008:141). In folktales, where animals are sometimes props and sometimes major participants, this observation has interesting implications. A Cerma example is given in which the major participants are a field owner and a fish. When the fish is an inactive object, it takes the article, but when it is an active participant, it does not take the article (loc. cit.).

Similarly, the varying pragmatic effects associated with encoding can be reviewed in connection with the references to the dog in “The Older and Younger Brothers” (Appendix A). Following its introduction to the narrative in sentences 7-8, the dog is a major participant and is encoded as simply ‘dog’ until it is a dead body, where it is encoded as a definite noun (sentence 17). The next use of ‘dog,’ in sentence 22, is unmarked for definiteness and is ambiguous as to its referentiality, as it occurs in the negative sentence, ‘He didn’t see [a/the] dog.’ In the next reference (sentence 25), the dog is again unmarked because it is an active “participant” in that it brings gold to the younger brother. In this case, it is not marked as “away from center of attention” because it is behaving on the brother’s behalf and is therefore viewed as close to him. Finally, in sentence 30, the dog’s body is marked with the distal demonstrative, as it is “other than” the local VIP (the older brother).

#### **4.6 Conclusion to participant reference**

I showed in chapter three that Givón’s Iconicity Principle accounts in large part for the encoding of participants in Hani, and that reference to highlighting as a parameter increases our ability to account for participant encoding. I also showed that the use of

increased encoding is closely related to the parameters of development, unexpectedness, and the creation of suspense before a climax.

In this chapter I have shown that Hani uses definite marking to indicate that referents are salient and that it uses demonstrative marking to encourage a listener to relate a referent to previous mentions of that same referent. I have also shown that the choice of demonstrative is related to the status of the referent as conceptually *near* the current center of attention or conceptually *other than* the current center of attention.

At first glance, the conclusions reached in chapter three seem to conflict with those reached in chapter four. The first set of conclusions states that important participants usually receive minimal encoding. The second set of conclusions, with regard to salience, indicates that more important referents receive greater encoding. The solution to this paradox lies in reference to the parameter of VIP status. A VIP is assumed to be prominent and therefore does not need such marking to be understood as important. When extra encoding is used, it serves to highlight what he will do next, not to indicate his importance. A non-VIP, however, is not readily recognized as important unless it is given special marking for definiteness or with demonstratives.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### **5.1 Summary**

In this thesis, I have described several devices used in Hani to indicate topic-status, contextual accessibility, focus, and prominence. I have also shown that Hani uses greater-than-default participant encoding to highlight certain portions of a narrative, building suspense or indicating that what follows is of particular significance. I have further shown that Hani uses definite classifiers to indicate salience, and argued that demonstratives are used in the text-internal world with meanings similar to their function in the text-external world, setting up a narrative in a conceptual space, with participants marked either as “near center of attention” or “new center of attention” (proximal), or as “other than center of attention” (distal).

#### **5.2 Claims for this study**

Any study of discourse pragmatics involves subjectivity. Because native speakers are generally unable to articulate, for example, the effects which the usage of various demonstratives have upon their mental representation of a text, attempts to translate or hypothesize the status of this mental representation encounter difficulty. Therefore, we must be careful to draw data from a wide variety of texts and to continually re-evaluate our hypotheses.

Nevertheless, the fact that salience marking on an inanimate object always indicates that the object will play a key role in the story at a later point can also be cited as clear objective insight gained in this study. Likewise, the correlation seen between increased participant encoding and the use of the development and contrastive markers provides evidence for a relationship between these two phenomena. It has been encouraging throughout this research to engage in conversation with native speakers and discover that they are able to articulate a sense that “something new or important” is going to happen after the use of a development marker. Such observations provide evidence for the validity of my study.

As my body of texts indicates, different authors demonstrate different levels of preference for the use of various devices. For example, while some authors use the proximal demonstrative only rarely, others use it in nearly every paragraph. I do not consider this to be a problem for my analysis, as I have sought to compare the usage and non-usage of these devices first within texts before comparing them with one another. I believe that it is possible to propose, for example, that the proximal development marker indicates that a referent is conceptually near a current center of attention without predicting how many items will be so marked in a given discourse situation. Indeed, it seems likely that different authors would demonstrate different levels of preference for changing the center of attention of a story.

While this thesis cannot claim to have accounted for all usages of the constructions discussed herein, I know of no unambiguous contradictions in my data to the constraints described above. I believe that my analysis accounts substantially for these phenomena and will provide a framework for further study.

### **5.3 Areas for further study**

Now that constraints have been proposed related to the use of demonstratives with NPs, it would be useful to consider the numerous examples of ‘in this manner,’ ‘in that (close to you) manner,’ and ‘in that (far from both) manner’ across my texts. The same is true of the demonstratives in relation to time (i.e. ‘at this time’ etc.). These constructions are commonly used to link sections of text, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the usage of demonstratives in these contexts may be conceptually related to the other extensions of meaning I have shown for these demonstratives. If more data using ‘that (close to you)’ with reference to the text-internal world becomes available, it would also be instructive to study usage of these terms in relation to the other two already studied.

Another informative area for further study would be the creation of objective measures to determine the activation states of various referents in the minds of listeners and their understanding of development as they hear narratives. While the observations I have heard that “something exciting is going to happen” or “it sounds more interesting to say it this way,” have certainly been helpful, I have not made any attempt to quantify or formally record these observations.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Algo ssolnei aqnil – The Older and Younger Brothers

Han Ningran 寒凝然, compiler. 2004. *Hani Dudaq Vol. VI*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社. (pp. 58-62)

Story teller: Xi Jilceiq, 许几才

Writer: Beiq Jusai, 白金山

- 1 Galhhu\_aqbei col xil-meil niq meilnaol jol nga yil.  
 ancient.times person this-MAN two brothers exist OBJ HRSY  
 [It's said that] long ago there were two brothers like this.

- 2 Aqyo mavq e dama sil al naolhao,  
 3 PL LNK parents die CRS after  
 niq meilnaol bulduq yoqhhoqv piav laol zaq.  
 two brothers REF family make warm DUR  
 After their parents died, the two brothers made a home by themselves.

- 3 Tyul-meil e,  
 that-MAN LNK  
 algo ngaoq zuqyil daov meeq naolngaoq maq niv naol  
 o.bro TOP thinking very good only NEG move willing  
 aqnil aq jilhevqnei aol zaq hovq dol movq.  
 y.bro CT honest work DUR fetch drink want  
 [It was] that way, as for the older brother, [he] was only very smart but not willing to work; the younger brother, in contrast, was honest and liked to work and get [his own] water (provide for self).

4 Yul-meil qiq nao, algo aqnil yaol eil miq:  
 that-MAN one day o.bro y.bro ACC said TRAN

“Aqnil, huqteil nol ssaqguq guq,  
 y.bro before 2:N child child

yoqhhaq qaq sol maq jol nia siq.  
 own one:HCL only not exist able CONT

One day, the older brother told the younger brother: “Little brother, before [this] you were a child, [you] were unable to live by yourself.

5 Niaoq’aol nol heeq dav al,  
 Now 2:N big up CRS

ngaldu niq meilnaol yoqhhovq bil zaq kal\_yoq  
 lpi two brothers family divide DUR COH

Now you have grown up, let us two brothers divide our homes.

6 ‘Albol heeq e allavq lavq leil bo,  
 tree big LNK branch RED QUO exist

meilnaol heeq e yoqhhovq hhovq leil bo.  
 brothers big LNK family RED QUO exist

‘It is said that [when] trees are big, they divide into branches; it is said that when brothers are big, they divide homes.’

7 Ngal noq a xalgov yul koq ssolnei aqkeeq xil keep  
 1:N 2 DAT dry.land that piece and dog this CL

bivq wal,  
 give VOL.CRS

aqnu dyul aq zeilnei ngaq e ngeel al.”  
 other DPL CT all 1 LNK be CRS

I’ll give you that piece of poor land and this dog; all the other things, in contrast, are mine.”

8 Aqnil algo e doq xil heiq gaq taoqngaoq,  
 y.bro o.bro LNK speech this CL hear DM

neema gav\_sil\_gav\_lo  
 heart very.cold

tyulliq doqteil maq duv meil aqkeeq yul keeq  
 but sound NEG out MAN dog that CL

ciil alnei duv yil qavq al.  
 lead ADD out go leave CRS

After the younger brother heard this speech of the older brother, [his] heart [felt] very cold (sad), but without a sound, leading that dog, [he] left.

9 Tyul-taq cuvlnei hhocuv ba'la hev,  
 that-time just.then transplant.rice month arrive

aqnil miav bieicuv cuv alnei algo loldei loqma a  
 y.bro eyes open.wide open ADD o.bro waterside.land river DAT

niuqpeel laqyil nei xal aol e halhu  
 water.buffalo bull ABL field work LNK look

hhoqleivq yoqhhaq e xalgov dyul yaol halhu hu  
 also own LNK dry.land DPL ACC look look

taoqngaoq,  
 DM

neema gavyov\_payov-nei ngeel  
 heart extremely.cold-ABL be

That was exactly the time for transplanting rice, the younger brother, with wide open eyes, looked at the older brother at the riverside field(s) using water buffalo bull(s) to do fieldwork; when [he] also looked at his own dry land, his heart was very cold (sad).

10 Aqyoq qiq jivq maq nyuq qivq ssol,  
 3 one CL NEG think able and

xal aol e hhyuq seq e niuq-kav ngavq seq  
 field work LNK nine tooth LNK buffalo-harrow five tooth

zaol pievq alnei,  
 make change ADD

aqkeeq a levq\_cuvq taoqngaoq xal aol zaq.  
 dog DAT put.on.harness DM field work DUR

There was nothing he could think of [to do] so, [he] made the 9-tooth field-working harrow into a 5-tooth [one], and put [the harness] on the dog, then worked the field(s).

11 qiq nao, niq nao.....  
 one day two day

aqnil nei kav duv laq e xaldei,  
 y.bro ABL harrow out PERF LNK land

algo nei kav duv laq e xaldei  
 o.bro ABL harrow out PERF LNK land

hultav miaq zeiq meeq zeiq siq.  
 more many CMPR good CMPR CONT

One day, two days .... the field(s) harrowed by the younger brother was greater in quantity and better than the one(s) harrowed by the older brother.

12 Miqnieiqxil dyul mol taoqngaoq, algo aqnil naogo eil miq:  
 things this DPL see DM o.bro y.bro with say TRAN

“Aqnil, nol aqkeeq nei kav laq e xaldei,  
 y.bro 2:N dog ABL harrow PERF LNK land

ngal niuqpeel laqyil nei kav laq e xaldei hultav  
 1:N water.buffalo bull ABL plow PERF LNK land more

liq hal-meil miaq zeiq meeq zeiq nia ngaq eil?  
 even what-MAN more CMPR good CMPR able QP QP

When he saw these things, the older brother said to the younger brother:  
 “Younger brother, how is it that the field(s) you harrowed with the dog is so much better and greater than the land I harrowed with [the] water buffalo?

13 Noq e aqkeeq ngaq a qiq heiq bi aol naoq.”  
 2 LNK dog 1 DAT one TCL cause work PIMP

How about making your dog work for me?”

14 Aqnil neema yeil e col ngeel ssol,  
 y.bro heart good LNK person be so

algo heiqmi dal lal e mol taoqngaoq,  
 o.bro request depend come.up LNK see DM

hhyulniei-nei laq miq al.  
 happy-ABL agree TRAN CRS

The younger brother was a good-hearted person, so, because [he] saw the older brother coming to request in dependence, [he] happily agreed.

15 Algo paoqkeeq aqkeeq hultav levq\_cuvq lov maq mi  
 o.bro yoke dog on put.on.harness time NEG have.time

aqkeeq zei puv la alnei aqyo buldul a kovq cuv.  
 dog body turn toward ADD 3 thigh DAT bite grasp

The older brother didn't have time to put the yoke on the dog; the dog turned [its] body and bit his thigh.

16 Algo civq\_peiv taoqngaoq, aqkeeq diq tov al.  
 o.bro angry DM dog beat die CMPR

The older brother was angry, so [he] beat the dog to death.

17 Diq tov e liq aqyoq civq.peiv maq jaoq siq,  
 beat die LNK even 3 angry NEG complete CONT

seqpeiq neeziiv taoqnei aqkeeq mol haqbol wuqneil  
 gums sneer ? dog DCL bamboo top

a zei ceq.  
 DAT throw hang

After beating [it] to death, he was still angry, rolling back his lips, [he] threw the dog [so that it] hung on the top of a bamboo.

- 18 Qivqto pyu, aqnil aqkeeq hhuvq lal e maq  
 night across y.bro dog return come.up LNK NEG
- mol taoqngaoq,  
 see DM
- algo laqhyul yil alnei nalhaq:  
 o.bro house go.down ADD ask
- “Algo, ngaq e aqkeeq eil?”  
 o.bro 1 LNK dog QP

As night approached, because the younger brother didn't see the dog returning, going down to the older brother's house, [he] asked: “Elder brother, [what about/where is] my dog?”

- 19 “Noq e aqkeeq doqsii maq nalhaq na maq ceil,  
 2 LNK dog words NEG listen willing NEG only
- ngaq e aqkeel buldul liq kovqnal aq nga,  
 1 LNK leg thigh even bite hurt INTJ OBJ
- ngaq nei diq tov al!”  
 1 ABL beat die CRS

“Not only is your dog unwilling to listen, [it] even bit and injured my thigh; [it] was beaten to death by me.”

- 20 “Aq? Nol halgei diq tov taq wul aq?”  
 INTJ 2:N where beat die leave VOL QP
- “What?! Where did you beat it to death and leave [it]?”

- 21 “Ngaq nei haqbol haqcaoq a suq tao wul\_naq,  
 1 ABL bamboo grove DAT throw into CRS:OBJ
- nol xalzeil e haqcaoq yulgei salhu yil joq.”  
 2:N field.side LNK bamboo.grove there look go.down IMP

“[It] was thrown by me into the bamboo grove, you go down there to the field-side bamboo grove to look.”

22 Aqnil hhaqnaq maq daol meil haqcaoq a xeiv  
 y.bro rest NEG rest MAN bamboo.grove DAT run

hev, aqkeeq maq mol al.  
 arrive dog NEG see CRS

The younger brother, without resting any time, ran to the bamboo grove; [he] didn't see the dog.

23 Aqyoq ngyul naol sil la taoqngaoq  
 3 cry sniff extreme INC DM

xevq meil xevq nei ngyul tul dav.  
 bawl MAN bawl ABL cry stand up

He began sniffing and crying hard; then [he] got started bawling.

24 Qiq-heiq laltov meil haqcaoq hholqei“tilil.tillil”  
 one-TCL right.away MAN bamboo.grove inside OMP

leil meenia doq gyuq lal,  
 QUO several sound sound come

aqyoq miav leiq biei alnei hu pyul li, deivqniv\_honei,  
 3 eye rub open ADD look over go.up panic,

haqcaoq hholqei siil qiq qu ya qu taq.  
 bamboo.grove inside gold one CL fell pile remain

Suddenly “tili tili,” several sounds came from inside the bamboo grove, he rubbed open [his] eyes and went over to look in a panic; a pile of gold fell into a pile in the bamboo grove and lay there.

25 Cavyil aqtav pyu hu dav.al li,  
 also above side look up go.up

siil yul dyul aqkeeq e wuqdeiq nei ya.xa  
 gold that DPL dog LNK stomach ABL fall.down

yi laq e ngeel laq.ssa  
 toward.down PERF LNK be it.turned.out

Also, [he] went to look up; it turned out that the gold had fallen down toward [him] from the dog's stomach.

26 Aqyoq hhyul qaq al,  
3 happy very CRS

peilbeil nei siil yul dyul laqhyul a  
apron ABL gold that DPL house DAT

tov huvq wul li  
wrap return ? go.up

He was extremely happy; [he] went to wrap that gold with [his] apron to return home.

27 Aqnil siil tov alnei hhuvq daol puv e tyul-taq  
y.bro gold wrap ADD return back turn LNK that-time

cuvlnei galma nei algo taoq.zyul.  
just.then road ABL o.bro run.into

Just as the younger brother wrapped the gold and turned around, [he] ran into the older brother on the road.

28 Algo tuvqluvq\_mavnei nalhaq:  
o.bro mystified ask

“aqnil, siil tyulmiav pamiavnei,  
y.bro gold that.much much

nol halgei nei bavl la wul aq?”  
2:N where ABL bring toward VOL QP

The older brother asked in a surprised way: “Younger brother, so much gold, where did you get [it] from?”

29 “Ngal haqbol haqcaoq nei qiq quq ngyul e aq,  
1:N bamboo.tree forest ABL one CL cry LNK CT

halmeil leil-nei leil maq hev,  
how QUO-ABL QUO NEG know

aqkeeq e wuqdeiq nei qiq jivq maq ngeel meil  
dog LNK stomach ABL one CL NEG be MAN

xil dyul ya xa yi ssyuq eil.”  
this DPL fall down toward ? INTJ

“I cried for a while at the bamboo forest, [I] have no idea how, out of the dog’s stomach, with nothing, these came falling down from the sky.”

30 Algo gaq al naolhao,  
o.bro hear CRS after

hhyulleiq hhyulsil meil,  
happy very MAN

kolkol\_laqcal meil haqcaoq a xeiv hev,  
very.fast MAN bamboo.grove DAT run arrive,

neema daov gav wul leil zaol pievq alnei ngyul,  
heart very cold VOL QUO do change ADD cry

neema laqhyul ngeel naohaoq aqkeeq e wuqdeiq nei  
heart inside be if dog LNK stomach ABL

siil bi ya xa yi movq a leil nyuq.  
gold cause fall down toward want DAT QUO think.

After the older brother heard [this], [he] very happily ran to the bamboo grove; [he] pretending to be very sad, made [himself] cry; in [his] heart [he] was thinking about whether gold would be caused to come out of the dog's stomach.

31 Nyuq leivq maq leivq bei,  
think recognize NEG recognize EXP

aqkeeq e hholmol yul mol ngaoq siqluv luvma  
dog LNK body that CL TOP millstone AUG

pievq alnei “daoq” leil haqbol naqneil nei ya xa yi,  
change ADD OMP QUO bamboo top ABL fall down toward

gee maq yil nia maq li,  
downstream NEG go.down upstream NEG go.up

qav'qav-nei algo wuqduq a ya dav.  
exact-ABL o.bro head DAT fall on

[What happened next] was unexpected; that body of the dog's changed into a big millstone and [with a sound like] “daoq!” [it] came falling down from the top of the bamboo; [the stone] didn't fall in the downstream or upstream direction [from the older brother], [it] fell exactly on the older brother's head.

32 Joq            ngeel taoqngaoq,  
 immediately be    DM

algo      yaol zahhov            pieiv-nei    teil            pieiv            al.  
 o.bro    ACC pieces            change-ABL pound            change            CRS

Immediately, [it] pounded the older brother into pieces.

33 Xil          naolhao,  
 this          after

meilnaol      yovq bil      zaq      e            neema daov    maq    hha    xievq  
 brothers      home divide DUR    LNK    heart very    NEG    should stingy

hhaq,          col            jollalhha    e            neema hha    meeq    nga  
 certainly    person            generally    LNK            heart    should good    OBJ

leil      e    doq,            Haqniq-ssaq      alkaq            a      gee  
 QUO    LNK speech,      Hani-people      between            DAT    say

zaq      jil    wul\_naq.  
 DUR    all    CRS:OBJ

Since this, the saying that when brothers divide homes, [they] must certainly not be very stingy and that people should generally be good hearted is spread among all of the Hani people.

## APPENDIX B

### Ngal Qaq Maq Ceil Nga – Not Just Me

Han Ningran 寒凝然, compiler. 2004. *Hani Dudaq Vol. VI*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu  
 Publisher. 云南民族出版社. (pp. 88-92)

Story teller: Ceiq Hhyu'qu, 陈伟秋

Writer: Beiq Jusal, 白金山

- 1 Galhhu, gyuyuoq qiq hhaq jol,  
 long.time.ago lazy.man one HCL was
- miqnieiq alciiv liq maq aol zaq naol.  
 work some even NEG do DUR willing

A long time ago, there was a lazy man, [he] wasn't willing to do even a little work.

- 2 Aqyoq aqnu byuldeivq deivq e galquv qiq qa qo  
 3 other be.alive live LNK path one kind look
- pal movq a leil lulsul sul e tyul-taq,  
 trade want DAT QUO plan RED LNK that-time
- cuvlnei saolhyuq niq hhaq hhoheiq a qo hev la  
 just.then thief two HCL door DAT search arrive toward
- aqyoq yaol loqbeq-ssaq qiq hhaq e miaoqgaoq hyuq li  
 3 ACC rich-person one HCL LNK thing steal go.up
- kal leil qoq lal.  
 COH QUO invite come.up

As he was planning that [he] wanted to switch to another way to survive, just then, two thieves found [his] door, [they] invited him to come steal a rich man's things.

- 3 Navhaoqnei      aoqqivq      qiq      yavq,  
 black              night              one      TCL
- aqyo      mavq      loqbeq-ssaq      e      laqhyul      hhoheiq      a  
 3              PL      rich-person      LNK      house              door              DAT
- lal              hev.  
 come.up      arrive.

One black night, they arrived at the door of the rich man's house.

- 4 Loqbeq-ssaq      qovq      e      lulhhuv      siivqnei      piq      kavq      laq  
 rich-person              family LNK      door              closed.tight      close      shut      PERF
- e              ngeel      taoqngaoq,  
 LNK              be      DM
- aqlavq      maq      dov      qivq.  
 hand              NEG      enter      able

Since the rich family's door was closed tightly, [they] couldn't get [their] hands in.

- 5 Qiq              jivq      maq      nyuq      qivq      haqhaq      e      tyul-taq,  
 one              CL      NEG      think      able      PROG              LNK      that-time
- gyuyoq              yiqqeiq      qiq      pul      nyuq      duv:  
 lazy.person              method              one      CL      think      out
- hoqbyu      piav      byu      alnei      tao      yil.  
 rooftop      break      hole      ADD      enter      go.down

Just at the time that [they] couldn't think of anything [to do], the lazy person thought of a way: breaking a hole in the roof to go in.

- 6 Xil-meil      taoqngaoq,  
 this-MAN DM
- aqyo              saol      hhaq      "ceivq"      nei      maq      gyuq              meil  
 3                      three      HCL      OMP              ABL      NEG      sound              MAN
- xaol              hoqbyu              piav      dav      al      li.  
 roof              top                      climb      up      CRS      go.up

In this way, the three of them, without [even] a sound such as "ceivq", climbed up to the top of the roof.

- 7 Qiq jivq aqma ssaq liq maq lav\_nyuq,  
 one CL mom child even NEG wake.up
- miavmiv.miv saqhaol nei hoqbyu piav byu duv.  
 wink.eye moment ABL rooftop break hole out
- Without waking even a mother or child, in the blink of an eye [they] broke a hole through the top of the roof.

- 8 Saolhyuq qiq hhaq gyuyoq e bavqtavq a diq  
 thief one HCL lazy.man LNK shoulder DAT hit
- alnei gaqsaq.neecei aol wul leil zaol.ssol eil:  
 ADD sympathetic make VOL QUO pretend say
- “Aqyo alsuq, nol niaaq’aol paoq lal laq e aqwa,  
 3 uncle 2:N now join come PERF LNK ?
- niaaq’aolqivq noq yaol salhu.hu nial.  
 tonight 2 ACC watch willing
- One of the thieves, hitting the lazy man on the shoulder, pretending sympathy said: “His uncle [term of respect], now you’ve come to join [us], tonight [we] can watch you.”

- 9 Nol tao yil, ngalya xilgei jol alnei,  
 2:N enter go.down 1pe here exist ADD
- alcav nei hhe dav nial, nol hu e kaq maq kaq?”  
 string ABL pull up willing 2:N look LNK good NEG good
- You go in, we’ll be here to pull [things] up with the string, do you think that’s good?

- 10 Gyuyoq eil jo e doqsii maq jav alnei,  
 lazy.man say okay LNK words NEG exist ADD
- maq tao yil maq taq qivq.  
 NEG enter go.down NEG stay able
- The lazy man, having nothing to say, was unable not to go in.

11 Gyuyoyq joq ssavq yil taoqngaoq,  
 lazy.man just down go.down DM

pyuqtul tulma qiq siq sov hhaq.  
 basket AUG one CL touch receive

As soon as the lazy man went down, [he] touched a big basket.

12 Pyuqtul tulma suv-nei hhe dav li qav al,  
 basket AUG successful pull up go.up away CRS

alcav hhoqleivq huqteil galquv nei pieiq xa yi.  
 rope once.again before place LNK put down toward

The big basket was successfully pulled up and away, the rope was once again put down toward [him] from the place [where it was] before.

13 Gyuyoyq aqnu pyuqtul qiq siq kavq.tovq li  
 lazy.man other basket one CL tie go.up

movq a leil zaol haqhaq e tyul-taq,  
 want DAT QUO do PROG LNK that-time

aqtav pyu a doqsav gee zaq e gaq yi:  
 above side DAT whisper speak DUR LNK hear toward

“Aqyoq pyuqtul aqnu qiq siq hhe dav e ngaoq,  
 3 basket other one CL pull up LNK TOP

alcav taq pieiq xa huvq heil kal.”  
 rope PROH put down return away COH

Just as the lazy man was going to tie up another basket, [he] heard whispers being spoken above: “Once [we’ve] pulled up another of his baskets, let’s not put the rope back down.”

14 Gyuyoyq doq xil doq gaq taoqngaoq bacal alnei,  
 lazy.man speech this speech hear DM impatient ADD

huqquq\_naqhhaq meil quq e aq,  
 spinning.around MAN bump LNK CT

pyuqtul aqnieivq qiq siq quq hhaq.  
 basket empty one CL hit receive

When the lazy man heard these words, [he] spun and bumped around in a rush; [he] touched an empty basket.

15 Niuqteil    zuvqnei        qiq    heiq    nyuq-hu        taoqngaoq,  
 forehead    wrinkle        one    CL    think-look     DM,

          yiqqeiq    qiq    pul    nyuq    duv.  
 solution    one    CL    think    out.

After thinking with a wrinkled forehead for a short time, [he] thought of a solution.

16 Gyuyoq    alcav    taoqsuv        suv    alnei    pyuqtul        a        kavq\_tovq  
 lazy.man    rope    slip.knot        tie    ADD    basket        DAT    tie

          naolhao,  
 after,

          pyuqtul    a        xeiv    dov    ssol    alcav    teev    niv,  
 basket    DAT    run    in    and    string    yank    move

          hoqbyu    hultav    jol    e        saolhyuq        yul    niq    hhaq    yaol  
 roof        on        exist    LNK    thief            that    two    HCL    ACC

          hhe        dav    joq    leil    zaol    moq            miq.  
 pull        up    IMP    QUO    do    command        TRAN

After the lazy man tied a slip knot with the string and tied up the basket, [he] got in the basket and yanked the string to command the those thieves on the roof to pull up [the box].

17 Pyuqtul    hhe    dav    al,  
 basket    pull    up    CRS

          saolhyuq    niq    hhaq    laqcal    qiq    hhaq    qiq    siq    eq            alnei,  
 thief        two    HCL    fast    one    CL    one    CL    carry.on.back    ADD

          naolhhuvq    maq    puv    meil    hyuqxeiv.  
 back        NEG    turn    MAN    sneak.away

The basket was pulled up; the two thieves quickly took one basket each on their backs and without turning back snuck away.

18	Galma road	a, DAT							
	aqyo 3	niaq two.HCL	qiq one	pyu time	ssuq walk	qiq one	pyu time	niaqmuvsq_niaqsav quietly	
	meil MAN	gyuyoq lazy.man	yaol ACC	loqbeqssaq rich.man	qovq family	nei ABL	lavqdaol catch	teiq grab	
	wal VOL:CRS	leil QUO	gee say	zaq DUR	siq. CONT				

On the road, the two of them walked and at the same time were still talking quietly about the lazy man being caught by the rich man's family.

19	Aoq sky	suqlu.hhaqlaq slowly	meil MAN	bia bright	al, CRS					
	saolhyuq thief	niq two	hhaq HCL	aqyo 3	mavq PL	e LNK	puvkaq village	a DAT	daov very	
	maq not	kaq far	meil MAN	haolgaol mountain	puvsiq village	qiq one	gal CL	a DAT	lal come.up	hev, arrive
	gyuyoq lazy.man	xeiv run	dov into	laq PERF	e LNK	pyultul basket	tulma AUG	eq carry	e LNK	
	saolhyuq thief	yul that	hhaq HCL	eil: say						
	“Ngal 1:N	eq carry.on.back	e LNK	pyuqtul basket	xil this	siq, CL				
	xilmiav this.much	halmeil how	xao heavy	aqkeiq? QP						

The sky slowly became bright; the thieves arrived at a mountain village not far from their own village; that thief who was carrying the basket into which the lazy man had run said: “This basket I’m carrying on my back, how is [it] so heavy?”

20 Hhaqnaq qiq taq naq kal,  
rest one time rest COH

ngal haljivq bavq dov laq e  
1:N what put in PERF LNK

nga laq leil hha salhu ya.”  
OBJ QP QUO should look SUBJ

Let’s rest for a moment, I must see what has been put in [it].”

21 Pyuqtul joq hhe pao taoqngaoq,  
basket just pull open DM

gyuyoq eelseq\_niqnei wuqduq byuq cei la.  
lazy.man laughing head stick out toward

As soon as [he] pulled open the basket, the lazy man laughingly stuck his head out.

22 Saolhyuq naqhhaq.savnei,  
thief surprised

neivqhaq quq.puq wul.yaq leil guv ssol naoldi.di.  
spirit touch CRS:SUBJ QUO scared and go.back

The thieves were surprised; [they] were scared as though [they] had run into a spirit, and [they] turned away.

23 Gyuyoq doqteil teilma meil gul:  
lazy.man voice AUG MAN. call

“Maq guv sso nga, ngal nga!”  
NEG fear permissible OBJ 1:N OBJ

The lazy man loudly called: “There’s no reason to fear, it’s me!”

24 Saolhyuq gyuyoq yaol hu loq naolhao,  
 thief lazy.man ACC see clear after

neessil laq-meil eil:  
 anger PERF-MAN say

“Gyuyoq nol, xil-meil haljivq zaol wal,  
 lazy.man 2:N this-MAN what do VOL:QP

hal-meil leil-nei pyuqtul a dov li wal?”  
 what-MAN QUO-ABL basket DAT enter go.up VOL:QP

After the thieves clearly saw the lazy man, they angrily said: “You lazy man, what are you doing, how did you get into the basket?”

25 “Xil-meil maq ngeel ngaoq,  
 this-way NEG be TOP

ngal hha duv huvq yi nia nga aq?”  
 1:N should out return come able OBJ QP

Gyuyoq nalhaq puv huvq.  
 lazy.man ask turn return

“If not this way, would I be able to come out?” the lazy man asked in return.

26 Saolhyuq baqba nilhonei doqzaq maq laq nia.  
 thief face red reply NEG ? able

The thief, red faced, was unable to answer.

27 Gyuyoq saolhyuq yul niq hhaq savqdol wul ssaq  
 lazy.man thief that two HCL embarrassed VOL ?

leil mol taoqngaoq xil-meil eil miq:  
 QUO see DM this-MAN say TRAN

“Ngaldulpi aoqqivq qiq yavq teiq e,  
 night one CL busy LNK

dalja hal-meil liq wuqdeiq meivq wal.  
 everyone what-MAN even stomach hungry VOL:CRS

Since the lazy man saw that those two thieves were embarrassed, he said this: “We’ve been busy all night, we’re all definitely hungry.”

28 No niaq                    aqwuv pyu    lolgov a        alpieil        bavq yil        joq,  
 2 two:CL                    down side    creek DAT    bamboo        bring go.downIMP,

alpieil    boqlo                    nei    hoqcoq\_coq    zaq    movq    ssa.”  
 bamboo    tube                    ABL    cook.rice        eat    want    ?

You two go down and bring up bamboo from the creek down there, let's use bamboo tube(s) to cook rice to eat.

29 Saolhyuq niq    hhaq    ngeeljil                    meil    meivq al,  
 thief        two    HCL    truly                    MAN    hungry CRS

qiq            pyu.baq                    ngaoq gyuyoq            yaol    savqdol            alnei    liq  
 one            side                    TOP    lazy.man            ACC    embarrassed    ADD    also

jolqil        maq    xa        sal,  
 rest        NEG    stay    good

yul-meil    nei,  
 that-MAN LNK

aqyo            niaq                    doqhhaq            maq    leiq    meil    lolgov a            ssavq  
 3                two:HCL                respond            NEG    say    MAN    creek    DAT    down

yil.  
 go.down

The thieves were truly hungry, in addition, being embarrassed of the lazy man, [they] didn't want to stay there, so, the two of them went down to the creek without saying anything.

30 Saolhyuq niq hhaq alpieil boqlo bavq alnei dav li movq  
 thief two HCL bamboo tube hold MAN up go.up want

a leil zaol haqhaq e tyul-taq,  
 DAT QUO do PROG LNK that-time

aqtav pyu qiqheiq\_laltov meil gyuyoyq e gul-teil  
 above side suddenly MAN lazy.man LNK shout-sound

ssolnei col yaol diq e diq-teil gaq yi:  
 and person ACC hit LNK hit-sound hear toward

“Piaq.....Piaq.....”  
 OMP OMP

Right as the two were ready to go up carrying the bamboo containers, suddenly [they] heard from above the lazy man’s shouting voice and the sound of a person being hit: “Piaq.....Piaq.....”

31 “Ayov.eiq..... Ngaq yaol pieiq..... Ngal qaq maq ceil  
 INTJ 1 ACC put 1:N one:CL NEG only

nga, aqwuv pyu lolgov a niq hhaq jol nga siq.  
 OBJ below side creek DAT two HCL exist OBJ CONT

“Ayo! ... Let go of me ... I’m not only one person, there are two more people at the creek below.

32 Ayov.eiq..... Ngaq yaol pieiq.....”  
 INTJ 1 ACC put

Ayo! ... Let go of me ...”

33 Saolhyuq niq hhaq maq naq meil gyuyoyq e gul -teil  
 thief two HCL NEG stop MAN lazy.man LNK scream-sound

meenia taq gaq taoqngaoq,  
 several time hear DM,

gyuyoyq yaol piaqhhhalnei ceil la laq e loqbeq -ssaq  
 lazy.man ACC foot.print follow toward PERF LNK rich man

qovq e col nei nieivq teiq wul.ssaq leil nyuq.  
 family LNK person ABL catch grab ? QUO think

The two thieves heard the lazy man’s endless screams several times and [they] thought that the rich family had, following the footprints, caught the lazy man.

34 Xil-meil taoqngaoq,  
this-MAN DM,

aqyo niaq alpieil boqlo suq alnei,  
3 two:CL bamboo tube throw.away ADD

sa'-quq maq gaoq meil coq ssiq al.  
direction NEG determine MAN jump fast CRS.

So, the two of them, throwing away the bamboo tube(s), ran away directionlessly and quickly.

35 Gyuyoq yaol qiq hhaq nei maq nieivq teiq nga,  
lazy.man ACC one HCL ABL NEG catch grab OBJ

aqyoq nei hheivq laq e nga.  
3 ABL trick PERF LNK OBJ

The lazy man wasn't really caught by anyone; he had tricked [the thieves].

36 Aqyoq albol alhov yov xa alnei,  
3 tree bark peel down ADD

“piaq\_piaq\_piaq” leil hhaqhav tivqnei albol a ziiqv.tovq,  
OMP QUO strength strong tree DAT hit

ziiqv\_tovq nieiq\_meil “Ayov.eiq, ngaq yaol pieiq” leil doq  
hit at.the.same.time INTJ 1 ACC put QUO speech

yul dyul gul duv.  
that DPL shout out

He, peeling down the tree bark, used his strength to hit a tree [with a sound like] “piaq, piaq, piaq,” and while hitting, [he] shouted out those words “Ayov eiq, let go of me.”

37	Hal	hyuq	laq	e	yul	dyul	gyuyoq	qaq	sol
	all	steal	PERF	LNK	that	DPL	lazy.man	one.CL	alone
	hha	zaq	e	liq,					
	got	DUR	LNK	even					
	aqyoq	wuqhol	pa	jil	nei	guv	sso	al	taoqngaoq,
	3	life	very	all	ABL	scared	?	CRS	DM
	xil-taq	naolhao,							
	this-time	after,							
	aqyoq	saolhyuq	maq	hyuq	zaq	al,			
	3	thief	NEG	steal	DUR	CRS			
	cavyil	byuldeivq	deivq	e	galquv	liq			
	also	be.alive	live	LNK	path	also			
	qo	pal	movq	a	leil	maq	nyuq	al,	
	seek	exchange	want	DAT	QUO	NEG	think	CRS	
	aqyoq	aolzaq	hovq	dol	movq	laq	meil	xal	aol-ssaq
	3	work	fetch	drink	want	PERF	MAN	field	work-person
	qiq	hhaq	pievq	wul_naq.					
	one	HCL	change	CRS:OBJ					

Even though one lazy man alone got all those things that had been stolen, because he feared for his life, after this, he didn't steal anymore like a thief, [he] also didn't think anymore about seeking another way to make a living, he turned into a working, fetching-[his-own] water person.

## APPENDIX C

### Aqpyuq<sup>43</sup> Haossil e Dudaq – The Story of Aqpyuq Haossil

Han Ningran 寒凝然, compiler. 2004. *Hani Dudaq Vol. VI*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社. (pp. 156-163)

Story teller: Alssil

Writer: Alzel

1 Dolnia		milcaq		hu'-leiv-deima		xilgei,				
Dolnia		place		rat-market-place		here				
galhhu	nei_kavq	e	hu	qiq	nao	hal	hev	lal	nei	
long.ago	since	LNK	rat	one	day	every	arrive	come	ABL	
leiv	zuvq	nga	yil.							
market	attend.market	OBJ	HRSY							

Here around the rat market place<sup>44</sup> in the Dolnia area, from long ago, on every rat day, [people] market [it is said].

---

<sup>43</sup> The word *Aqpyuq* means “great-grandfather,” but because such titles commonly function as part of giving respectful names, I have chosen not to translate it, rather treating “Aqpyuq Haossil” as a name.

<sup>44</sup> The Hani use a twelve-day calendar in which every twelfth day is a Rat day. Markets are held in different areas on different days of the twelve-day cycle. Thus, the Rat market is the place where market is held on Rat days.

2	Galhhu, long.ago	Tavqcil Tavqcil	puvkaq village	Aqhuq <sup>45</sup> Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel	leil QUO	gul call	e LNK
	miqgaq pretty.girl	qiq one	hhaq HCL	civzaol-nei often-ABL	leiv market	zuvq attend.market	xul, like	
	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	leil QUO	gul call	e LNK	haqjil man	qiq one	hhaq HCL
	moq old	hev-nei arrive-ABL	miqssaq wife	maq NEG	seq marry	meil MAN	jol. live	col-moq person-old

Long ago, a pretty girl named Aqhuq Laoqsel from Tavqcil village often liked to go to market; a man named Aqpyuq Haossil in old age lived without a wife.

3	Tyul that	nao, day	Aqhuq Laoqsel Aqhuq Laoqsel	aqha chicken	biaonei many	eq carry <sup>46</sup>	alnei ADD
	hu'-leiv rat-market	zuvq attend.market	yi, come	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	liq also	aqyoq 3
	naolhao behind	qo'leiq follow	alnei ADD	leiv market	zuvq attend.market	yi. toward	

That day, Aqhuq Laoqsel carried many chickens on [her] back and came to the rat market; Aqpyuq Haossil also followed behind her and came to the market.

4	Aqha chicken	aoq sell	zaq DUR	yi come	e LNK	gee downstream	puv village	nia upstream	ceiv place
	e LNK	col person	biao-nei many	zyul, meet.together	naolma sun	ya fall	tao set	heil away	
	al CRS	leiv market	zuvq attend.market	e LNK	col person	leiv market	zuvq attend.market		
	cil leave	li go.up	jil. all.						

Many people selling chickens from both upstream villages and downstream places were all there; when the sun set; the people who had come to the market all left the market.

<sup>45</sup> The word *Aqhuq* means “aunt,” but I consider this to be a common title and choose not to translate it.

<sup>46</sup> The word *eq* refers specifically to carrying something on one’s back. For the sake of space, it is glossed as “carry” in this appendix.

5 Aqhuq Laoqsel aqha qiq ssaq liq maq aoq neevq  
 Aqhuq Laoqsel chicken one CL even NEG sell gone

meil laqhyul a hhuvq-daol puv huvq li movq al  
 MAN house DAT return-back turn return go want CRS

yil.  
 go.down

Aqhuq Laoqsel, without selling even one chicken, went to turn back toward home.

6 Laqhyul a hhuvq huvq li pyu, Aqhuq Laoqsel ssolnei  
 house DAT return return go direction Aqhuq Laoqsel and

Aqpyuq Haossil galma qiqgao ssuq puq.  
 Aqpyuq Haossil road together walk run.into

On the way to return home, Aqhuq Laoqsel and Aqpyuq Haossil ran into each other on the [same] road.

7 Haossil Laoqsel naogo doqsii xil-meil gee qoq:  
 Haossil Laoqsel with word this-MAN say invite

“Yuqma, ngal noq e alyeil eq haol nial.”  
 granddaughter 1:N 2 LNK burden carry help willing

Haossil offered to Laoqsel: “Granddaughter, I will help [you] carry your burden.”

8 Laoqsel col-moq aqbol qiq hhaq yaol alyeil maq bi  
 Laoqsel person-old grandfather one HCL ACC burden NEG cause

eq movq leil nyuq alnei maq bi eq haol na.  
 carry want QUO think ADD NEG cause carry help willing

Laoqsel didn’t want to let an old grandfather carry a burden and wasn’t willing to let [him] help carry [it].

9	Tyul that	e LNK	liq even	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossul Haossul	maq NEG	eq carry	haol help	maq NEG	
	qivq, able	maq NEG	eq carry	haol help	maq NEG	na willing	meil MAN	qiv still	qoq invite	lal, come
	Laoqsel Laoqsel	qiq one	jivq CL	maq NEG	zaol do	qivq able	ssol so	alyeil burden	leiv take.off	xa down
	alnei ADD	Haossul Haossul	a DAT	bi cause	eq. carry					

Even so, Aqpyuq Haossul wouldn't not help carry [it]; he still offered in an unwilling-not-to-help way; Laoqsel couldn't do anything, so [she] took down the burden and let Haossul carry [it].

10	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossul Haossul	Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel	e LNK	aqha chicken	alyeil burden	eq carry
	alnei ADD	galma road	gallavq road.fork	hev. arrive				

Aqpyuq Haossul carried Aqhuq Laoqsel's chicken-burden to the fork in the road.

11	Xil-taq, this-time	Laoqsel Laoqsel	aq CT	Haossul Haossul	yaol, ACC				
	“aqbol, grandfather	xilgei here	hev-nei arrive-ABL	eq carry	haol help	e LNK	ngaoq TOP	ngeel be	al, CRS
	nol 2:N	miqteil first	hhuvq return	li go	joq” IMP	leil QUO	eil say	miq. TRAN	

At this time, Laoqsel said to Haossul, “Grandfather, helping carry [the burden] to here is enough; you go home first.”

12	Haossul Haossul	“niaoq’aol now	xavq sleep	maq NEG	xavq sleep	nga OBJ	siq, CONT		
	ngal 1:N	noq 2	e LNK	laqhyul house	hev-nei arrive-ABL	tuvnei straight.to	eq carry	hev arrive	
	movq want	a” DAT	leil QUO	laq reply	miq. TRAN				

Haossul replied, “Now it's still [early] to rest; I want to carry [it] straight all the way to your house.”

- 13 Aqha alyeil xil yeil nei,  
 chicken burden this burden ABL
- niq hhaq e yeilheiq qiqgao eq paoq  
 two HCL LNK fate together carry come.together
- wul\_yaq leil Laoqsel maq dul maq mav bei.  
 CRS:SUBJ QUO Laoqsel NEG seem NEG dream EXP

Laoqsel had never thought or dreamed that two people's fate could be carried together by this chicken-burden.

- 14 Aoqqivq pyu, puvkaq e col xalsul hhuvq lal jil,  
 night direction village LNK person labor return come all
- Aqpyuq Haossul Aqhuq Laoqsel e aqha alyeil  
 Aqpyuq Haossul Aqpyuq Laoqsel LNK chicken burden
- laqhyul hev-nei tuvnei eq tao miq.  
 house arrive-ABL straight.to carry into TRAN

Night was approaching, the village people had all returned from [their] labor; Aqpyuq Haossul carried Aqhuq Laoqsel's chicken burden straight into the house.

- 15 Ssaqmiq miqgaq Laoqsel Aqpyuq Haossul yoqdu hhaq  
 girl pretty.girl Laoqsel Aqpyuq Haossul self HCL
- e laqhyul hev-nei alyeil eq haol mil hev aq  
 LNK house arrive-ABL burden carry help reach arrive CT
- yaol, hoq qiq biol maq lol miq meil maq kaq  
 ? rice one meal NEG offer TRAN MAN NEG okay
- wul\_yaq leil nyuq ssol, Haossul yaol  
 CRS:SUBJ QUO think so Haossul ACC
- aqha seivq alnei bi zaq nial leil eil miq.  
 chicken kill ADD cause eat willing QUO say TRAN

The pretty girl Laoqsel thought, Aqpyuq Haossul had helped carry the burden all the way to her house and it wasn't okay not to offer [him] a meal, so [she] told Haossul [she] was willing to kill a chicken for [him] to eat.

- 16 Xil-meil nei, aoqqivq tyul qivq, Aqhuq Laoqsel  
 this-MAN ABL night that night Aqhuq Laoqsel  
 Laoqsel  
 zaolpeil\_lolqoq aqyivq.aqnil kul zyul alnei hoq-biol lol.  
 neighbor relative call meet ADD rice-meal offer  
 So, that night, Aqhuq Laoqsel called [her] neighbors and relatives to meet and offered [them] a meal.

- 17 Puv’laol hovqma.ssaqmeeq Aqhuq Laoqsel qovqbee  
 village all.the.villagers Aqpyuq Laoqsel house  
 ssaoq lal jil alnei hoq zaq zil dol haqhaq.  
 get.together come.up all ADD rice eat alcohol drink PROG  
 All of the villagers, getting together at Aqhuq Laoqsel’s house, were eating rice and drinking alcohol.

- 18 Xil-taq, Aqpyuq Haossul doqteil naqhaoq.ssiq-nei xil-meil  
 this-time Aqpyuq Haossul voice very.loud-ABL this-MAN  
 gee duv: “Puv’laol dama aqyivq.aqnil,  
 say out village parents relatives,  
 niaolqivq dalja kul zyul alnei hama daol ceiv saqlaq  
 tonight everyone call meet ADD hen wing agree testimony  
 zaq e aq, ngal ssolnei Aqhuq Laoqsel yeilheiq  
 eat LNK CT 1:N and Aqhuq Laoqsel fate  
 hev alnei qiq hhovq cuv ssol zaq e ngeel al,  
 arrive ADD one family make so eat LNK be CRS  
 nolya mavq aq nga niq hhaq e yeilmoq\_yeilgaol  
 2p PL CT 1 two HCL LNK witness  
 ngeel wul\_naq, dalja zilbaq meeqvav-nei dol.”  
 be CRS:OBJ everyone alcohol well-ABL drink.”  
 At this time, Aqpyuq Haossul very loudly called out this: “Village parents and relatives, tonight [we] call everyone to meet and and eat this hen wing as a testimony; Aqhuq Laoqsel and I, having reached our fate, are making a family, so [we] eat; you, then, are witnesses for us two; everyone drink well.”

- 19 Aqpyuq Haossil e doq xil doq hha naolhao,  
 Aqpyuq Haossil LNK word this word receive after
- dalja neema laolxav-nei zilbaq dol jil,  
 everyone heart warm-ABL alcohol drink all
- ssaqmiq miqgaq Laoqsel aq Aqpyuq Haossil nei  
 girl pretty.girl Laoqsel CT Aqpyuq Haossil ABL
- eqleq eil deq alnei doq maq eil qivq meil saq.  
 shock say wordless ADD word NEG say able MAN CMPL

After hearing these words of Aqpyuq Haossil's, everyone happily drank alcohol; the pretty girl Laoqsel, however, was shocked into silence by Aqpyuq Haossil's words and was completely unable to say anything.

- 20 Puv'laol hovqma.ssaqmeeq aoqzaq\_bia-nei yulzil dol,  
 village people overnight-ABL wedding.alcohol drink
- Aqhuq Laoqsel aq laqnil pyu qiq heiq duv  
 Aqhuq Laoqsel CT outside direction one CL out
- yil wul leil zaol\_leivq alnei miqseil.seil duv  
 go.down VOL QUO pretend ADD run.from.marriage out
- heil qav al.  
 away leave CRS

The village people drank wedding alcohol all night; Aqhuq Laoqsel, however, pretending to go out for a moment, ran away from the marriage.

21	Laoqsel Laoqsel	miqseil_seil run.from.marriage		wul_naq CRS:OBJ	leil QUO	hev know	naolhao, after			
	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	ba worry	maq NEG	cal anxious		meil MAN	lulsul plan	qiq one	pul CL
	hhoq again	nyuq think	duv, out	aqyoq 3	gee downstream	puv village	nia upstream		ceiv place	e LNK
	col-moq person-old	dama parent	aqyivq_meilnaol relative		naogo with	doqgaq speech		xil-meil this-MAN	qiq one	
	pul CL	cavq spread	miq: TRAN	Aqkal next	qiq one	leiv market	zuvq attend.market	jil all	e LNK	tyul that
	nao, day	hu'leiv_deima rat.market.place		nei ABL	niuqtavq_tavq buffalo.share	zaq eat	movq want	a, DAT		
	dalja everyone	qiq one	mavq group	tyul that	nao day	deima place	a DAT	niuq-saq buffalo-meat	zaq eat	
	niuq-zil buffalo-soup		dol drink	lal come.up		jil. all				

After [he] knew that Laoqsel was running from the marriage, Aqpyuq Haossil calmly thought of another plan; he spread this announcement among the old people, parents, and relatives in all the upstream villages and downstream places: on the next day that everyone went to market, at the Rat market place [he] wanted to share a buffalo to eat; on that day at the [market] place everyone [should] all come together to eat buffalo meat and drink buffalo soup.

22	Hu rat	qiq one	nao day	hev arrive	al, CRS	gee downstream	ceiv place	nia upstream	ceiv, place
	wuq down	puv village	tavq up	puv, village	qiq one	haoq group	qiq one	liv CL	meil MAN
	puv'laol village	dama, parents	alyivq_meilnaol relatives		hu'-leiv rat-market		zuvq attend.market		lal. come.up

Rat day arrived; [people from] downstream places and upstream places, villages above and villages below, in one group at a time the village parents and relatives came up to attend the Rat market.

23	Haossul Haossul	aqniuq qiq buffalo one	kaol CL	diq hit	alnei ADD	hu'-leiv rat-market	deima place	nei ABL
	zaq-hoq_hoq, eat-share	leiv market		zuvq attend.market	ssaq person			
	saq-nei CMPL-ABL	aqyoq 3	nei ABL	hhei do	daol set.table	laq PERF	e LNK	
	niuq-tavq_tavq buffalo-divide	zaq eat	lal come	jil. all				

Haossul killed a buffalo and spread out food to eat, all the people at the market came to share and eat the buffalo that he had prepared.

24	Dalja	hhyulleivq_hhyulsil	meil	niuq-saq	zaq,	niuq-zil	dol	
	everyone	extremely.happy	MAN	buffalo-meat	eat	buffalo-soup	drink	
	jil e	tyul-taq,	Aqpyuq	Haossul	doqteil	teilma	guljiq_luq-nei	
	all LNK	that-time	Aqpyuq	Haossul	voice	AUG	yell-ABL	
	xil-meil	eil	duv:	“Yeiqnao	xilgei	nei	niuq-tavq.tavq	zaq
	this-MAN	say	out	today	here	ABL	buffalo-share	DUR
	e,	aqnu	qiq	jivq	alnei	maq	ngeel	nga,
	LNK	other	one	CL	ADD	NEG	be	OBJ
	ngal	col-moq	dama	aqyivq.aqnil	naogo	doqgaq	qiq	mol
	1:N	person-old	parent	relative	with	word	one	CL
	cavq	movq	taoqngaoq	nga,	ngaq	e	miqssaq	Tavqcil
	announce	want	DM	OBJ	1	LNK	wife	Tavqcil
	Aqhuq	Laoqsel	miqseil_seil		duv	heil	qav,	
	Aqhuq	Laoqsel	run.from.marriage		out	away	leave	
	aqyoq	gee	puv	nia	puv	halgei	xeiv	hev
	3	downstream	village	upstream	village	where	run	arrive
	liq	aqyivq.meilnaol	mavq	qiq	hhaq	liq	taq	lavsiv,
	even	relative	PL	one	HCL	even	PROH	get.in.way
	puv’lav.cev-nei		ngaq	e	naogo	hhuvq	huvq	lal
	quickly-ABL		1	LNK	with	return	return	come
							leil	eil
							QUO	say

miq.  
TRAN

At the time when everyone was very happily eating buffalo meat and drinking buffalo soup, Aqpyuq Haossul in a loud voice yelled out this: “Today [I] am sharing buffalo meat; there is no other reason, I want to announce a word to old people, parents, and relatives that my wife Aqhuq Laoqsel of Tavcil has run away from marriage; wherever she goes, to an upstream or a downstream village, none of [you] relatives may get in the way; tell her to quickly return back to me.

25	Doqgaq word	xil this	mol CL	bi cause	jil finish	movq want	balnei, purpose		
	ngal 1:N	xilgei here	aqniuq buffalo	bialnaol rib		nei ABL	seqtevq_tevq set.a.symbol	taq, leave	
	ngaq 1	e LNK	miqssaq wife		Aqhuq Laoqsel Aqhuq Laoqsel	yaol ACC	aqsol who	seq take	peq dare
	aqsol who	aqniuq xil buffalo this	kaol CL	aqmeil like	coldol bad.person		bi cause	duv out	ma.” INT

In order to finish this word, I leave a buffalo rib here as a symbol; may anyone who dares to take my wife Aqhuq Laoqsel turn out like this buffalo.

26	Doqgaq words	xil this	mol CL	eil say	duv out	naolhao, after	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	
	col person	taol thousand		col person	yal hundred		meiqsi-nei in.front.of-ABL		
	hu'leiv rat.market	deima place	a DAT	aqniuq buffalo	bialnaol rib	e LNK	seqtevq symbol	diq hit	taq. leave

After saying these words, Aqpyuq Haossil hit the buffalo rib symbol [into the ground] and left it at the Rat market place in front of a thousand or a hundred people.

27	Yul that	naolhao, after		Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	puvkaqqiq village one	puv village one	qiq one
	puv village	meil MAN	Aqhuq Laoqsel Aqhuq Laoqsel		halgei jol where exist	ngaq OBJ:QP	leil QUO	qo search
	duv out	heil. away						

After that, Aqpyuq Haossil [went] out to search the villages one by one for where Aqhuq Laoqsel was.

28	Laoqsel Laoqsel	aq CT	gee downstream	puv village	nei ABL	nia upstream	puv village	xeiv run	hev, arrive
	wuvq down	puv village	nei ABL	tavq up	puv village	xeiv run	dav, up		
	halgei where	xeiv run	hev arrive	liq even	col-mavq person-PL	aqyoq 3	yaol ACC	doqzaq greet	qiq one
	hhaq HCL	maq NEG	laq answer	peq, dare	aqsol who	liq even	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	naogo with
	yoceq enemy	zaol make	ceq hate	movq want	wul_yaq CRS:SUBJ	leil QUO	guv fear	ssol, so	
	Laoqsel Laoqsel	yaol ACC	joq as.soon.as		mol see	joq as.soon.as	xeiv run	yoq dodge	teiqteiq. hurriedly

Laoqsel, however, ran from downstream villages to upstream villages, from villages below up to villages above; no matter where she ran, the people did not dare to greet her; everyone feared making an enemy of Aqpyuq Haossil, so as soon as [they] saw Laoqsel [they] hurriedly ran away.

29 Xil-meil nei,  
this-MAN ABL

ssaqmiq girl	miqgaq pretty.girl	Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	naogo with			
qiq one	hhovq family	maq NEG	cuv make	movq want	ya SUBJ	leil QUO	miqseil run.from.marriage	maq NEG	seil leave
leev get.loose	qivq able	al. CRS							

So, the pretty girl Aqhuq Laoqsel ran from the marriage [thinking] that [she] didn't want to make a family with Aqpyuq Haossil, but couldn't get away.

30	Hu'leiv rat.market	deima place	aqha hen	alyeil burden	qiq one	yeil CL	nei ABL	niq two	hhaq HCL	e LNK
	yeilheiq fate	maq NEG	hhoq part	qivq able	meil MAN	eq carry	hev arrive	wul_yaq CRS:SUBJ	leil QUO	
	naol-ngaoq, after-TOP		Aqpyuq Aqpyuq		Haossil Haossil		baq-moq white-old	baqseil whisker		ssuv, exist
	alhuvq age	aqyoq 3	e LNK	hultav more	heeq big	zeiq CMPR	gaoq high	e LNK	liq, even	
	col person	aq CT	maq NEG	bav bad	meil MAN	yaol ?	leil QUO	liq also	nyuq think	alnei, ADD
	miqgaq pretty.girl	Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel		laqhyul house	a DAT	hhuvq return	lal. come.up		

[She] [thought] that now two people's destinies had been carried together by a hen-burden from the rat market place so that they could never be separated; moreover, [she] also thought that although Aqpyuq Haossil had old white whiskers and [his] age was much greater than hers, as a person [he] wasn't bad, so the pretty girl Aqhuq Laoqsel returned home.

31	Xil this	naolhao, after		niq two	hhaq HCL	gaq_nia good	yeilheiq fate	maq NEG		
	hhoq separate		meil MAN	yoqhhovq home		laolxav-nei warm-ABL	cuv. build			

After this, two people, with built a warm house with good, inseparable fate.

32	Haqniq Hani	doq word	yeilheiq fate	leil QUO	xil this	doq, word			
	galhhu.aqbei long.ago		Dolnia Dolnia	milcaq village	hu'leiv rat.market	deima, place			
	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossul Haossul		Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel	e LNK	aqha chicken	alyeil burden	eq carry
	alnei ADD	yeilheiq fate	eq carry	hev arrive	taoqngaoq, DM				
	xil-meil this-MAN	gee say	duv out	laq PERF	e LNK	ngeel be	wul_naq. CRS:OBJ		

This word “fate” in the Hani language came from long ago in the Dolnia village Rat market place [when] Aqpyuq Haossul, carrying Aqhuq Laoqsel’s chicken burden, carried fate to its fulfillment.

33	Col-moq person-old	dama parent	eil say	e, LNK	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossul Haossul	aq CT	aoq-tav sky-above	
	molmil god	ssaqli y.son	qiq one	hhaq HCL	nga OBJ	yil, HRSY	3 3	Aqhuq Aqhuq	Laoqsel Laoqsel
	yoqhhoq home	cuv make	naolhao after		ssil lifespan	bo have	saoq three	yal hundred	kuvq six
	ceilhuvq ten year	hev-nei arrive-ABL	jol, exist	aqyoq 3	e LNK	yuq grandchildren	ssol and	leiq, great.grandch	
	yuq grandchildren	ssol and	leiq great.grandch		e LNK	yuq grandchildren	ssol and	leiq great.grandch	
	liq even	aqyoq 3	miav-nei more-ABL	ssil lifespan		maq NEG	bo. have		

[What] the old people say [is], Aqpyuq Haossul was one of God’s youngest sons;<sup>47</sup> [it is said], after he made a home with Aqhuq Laoqsel, he lived until the age of 360; even his great-grandchildren’s grandchildren and [his] great-grandchildren’s great-grandchildren didn’t live longer than he.

<sup>47</sup> The word *ssaqliq* usually refers to the youngest son in a family. I am unsure whether the phrase ‘one of God’s younger sons’ implies that there is more than one “youngest son” in this story.

34	Naolhao, after	molmilaqbol god grandfather	yoqhha his.own	ssaqli y.son	yaol ACC	gaq desire	lal, INC		
	molmil god	ssaqguq servant	niq two	hhaq HCL	heil send	duv out	alnei ADD	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	
	Haossil Haossil	yaol ACC	seq bring	huvq return	yil go.down	leil QUO	eil say	miq. TRAN	

Afterwards, grandfather god started to want his own youngest son; [he] sent out two of his servants and told them to go down to bring back Aqpyuq Haossil.

35	Molmil god	ssaqguq servant	xil this	niq two	hhaq HCL	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	e LNK		
	laqhyul house	a DAT	ssavq descend	yiv come	hev, arrive	laqhyul house	yul that	yaol CL	hholqei, inside	
	meiqmoq beard	meiq RED	piul silver	janei, having	wuqduq head	ceilkaol hair	banei white	qiq one		
	hhaq HCL	naldul_dul resemble	e LNK	col-moq person-old	aqbol grandfather	ceil ten	hhaq CL	jol, exist		
	col-moq person-old	ceil ten	hhaq HCL	meil MAN	yahyuqbalpul smoke pipe	janei having	qiq one	hhaq CL	qiq one	
	pul bavq, CL carry	hyuqniul tobacco	yahyuqxavqnei smoke very.thick	suv smoke	suv smoke	meil MAN	jol, exist			
	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	hal which	hhaq HCL	nga OBJ	leil QUO	maq NEG	hu see	duv out	qivq. able

These two servants of god descended and arrived at Aqpyuq Haossil's house; in that house, there were ten old grandfathers who all looked alike, with silver beards and white hair; each one of the ten old people was holding a smoking pipe; [they] were there smoking in a thick cloud of tobacco smoke; it was impossible to see which one was Aqpyuq Haossil.

36 Xil-meil ngeel taoqngaoq, molmilssaqguq niq hhaq  
 this-MAN be DM god servant two HCL

molmil aqbol naogo hal hhaq leil maq hu ceil qivq,  
 god grandfather with which HCL QUO NEG see select able

yul-meil nei seq caq maq siq ya leil doqqaq.zol huyl  
 that-MAN ABL bring correct NEG CONT SUBJ QUO report return

li.  
 go.up

So, god's two servants returned to report to grandfather god that they couldn't select which one [he] was and therefore couldn't bring [him].

37 Molmil aqbol ssaqguq xil niq hhaq naogo meiqbivq  
 God grandfather servant this two HCL with command

xil-meil bivq miq:  
 this-MAN command TRAN

“no niaq qiq taq ssavq yil pal,  
 2 two:CL one time descend go.down instead,

xil-taq, aqyoq qovq e xaldei lolgal caolheiq yulgei nei,  
 this-time 3 family LNK field ditch gate there ABL

nolya qiq hhaq laoq haqhheq ciq,  
 2p one HCL ? marble wash

qiq hhaq laoq luqbul ciq, col-moq aqbol qiq hhaq nolya  
 one HCL ? coal wash person-old grandfather one CL 2p

naogo doqqoq\_qoq lal nia nga, Aqpyuq Haossil  
 with greet come able OBJ Aqpyuq Haossil

hal hhaq nga leil hev qivq wul\_naq.”  
 which HCL OBJ QUO know able CRS:OBJ

Grandfather god commanded these two servants this way: “You two go down another time, this time, at the gate to his [Aqpyuq Haossil's] family's field waterway, one of you wash marble, and one [of you] wash coal; an old grandfather will come to greet you; you will know which one is Aqpyuq Haossil.”

38 Aqbol                    molmil e            meiqbivq    lo'qo,  
 grandfather            god            LNK    command    follow

molmil    ssaqguq            niq    hhaq    Aqpyuq            Haossil  
 god        servant            two    HCL    Aqpyuq            Haossil

qovq        e            xaldei lolgal caolheiq            yulgei,  
 family     LNK    field    ditch    gate                    there

qiq    hhaq    haqhheq            ciq,    qiq    hhaq    luqbul ciq.  
 one    HCL    marble            wash    one    CL    coal    wash

Following grandfather god's commands, one of the servants of god washed marble, and the other washed coal there at the gate to Aqpyuq Haossil's field waterway.

39 Daov            maq    gal    meil    col-moq            aqbol            qiq    hhaq    ceiq  
 very            NEG    long    MAN    person-old        grandfather    one    HCL    hoe

qiq kaol    bavq    alnei    lolgal    hu    lal,    aqyoq    haqhheq            ciq    e  
 oneCL     carry    ADD    ditch    look    come    3        coal                    wash    LNK

ssaqguq    yaol    "yuqpaq,            haqhheq            tyul    mol    haljivq zaol    movq  
 servant    ACC    grandson            coal                    that    CL    what    do    want

leil            ciq    wal"            leil    nalhaq.  
 QUO        wash    VOL:QP            QUO    ask

Not long after, an old grandfather, carrying a hoe, came to look at the ditch; he asked the servant who was washing coal, "Grandson, what do you want to do washing that piece of coal?"

40 Haqhheq    ciq    e            ssaqguq            "aqbol,            ngal    haqhheq            xil  
 coal        wash    LNK    servant            grandfather    1:N    coal                    this

mol            ciq    ba    movq    leil    ciq    wul"    leil    eil    miq.  
 CL            wash    white    want    QUO    wash    VOL    QUO    say    TRAN

The servant who was washing coal said, "Grandfather, I want to wash this piece of coal white."

41	Aqyoq 3	luqbul marble	ciq wash	e 3	ssaqguq servant	yaol ACC	“yuqpaq, grandson	nol 2:N	luqbul marble	
	tyul that	mol CL	haljivq what	zaol do	movq want	leil QUO	ciq wash	wal” VOL:QP	leil QUO	hhoq again
	nalhaq ask	miq. TRAN								

Again, he [the grandfather] asked the servant who was washing the marble,  
“Grandson, what do you want to do washing that piece of marble?”

42	Luqbul marble	ciq wash	e LNK	ssaqguq child	“aqbol, grandfather	ngal 1:N	luqbul marble	xil this	mol CL
	ciq wash	nav black	ma INT	leil QUO	ciq wash	wul” VOL	leil QUO	eil say	miq. TRAN

The servant who was washing the marble said, “Grandfather, I want to wash this  
piece of marble black.”

43	Xil-taq, this-time	aqbol grandfather	xil this	hhaq HCL	doqsii speech	xil-meil this-MAN	gee say	duv; out			
	“Yuqpaq grandson	niq two	hhaq HCL	eil_eiq, INTJ	aqbol grandfather	col-ssil person-lifespan	saoq three				
	yal hundred	kuvq six	ceil ten	huvq year	jol live	biao be	al, CRS	haqhheq coal	ciq wash	ba white	
	qivq, able	luqbul marble	ciq wash	nav black	qivq able	nga OBJ	leil QUO	maq NEG	gaq hear	bei EXP	maq NEG
	mol see	bei, EXP	nav black	e LNK	haqhheq coal	aq CT	maq NEG	ba white	qivq, able		
	ba white	e LNK	luqbul marble	aq CT	maq NEG	nav black	qivq able	nga.” OBJ			

At this time, this grandfather said these words: “[You] two grandsons,  
grandfather’s lifespan is now at three hundred sixty years; I’ve never heard or  
seen that coal can be washed white or that marble can be washed black; black coal  
cannot be white; white marble cannot be black.

44	Molmil God	ssaqguq servant	niq two	hhaq HCL	col-moq person-old	aqbol grandfather	xil this	hhaq HCL
	e LNK	doqsii xil speech this	doq word	joq just	hha gaq receive hear	joq, just	molmilssaqli god y.son	xil this
	hhaq HCL	ngeel al be CRS	leil QUO	hev know	alnei, ADD	Aqpyuq Aqpyuq	Haossil Haossil	yaol ACC
	molmil god	aqbol grandfather	naogo with	aoqtav a heaven DAT	seq bring	dav up	huvl li return go	qav leave

al.  
CRS

As soon as god's two servants heard these words from this old grandfather, [they] knew this person was god's youngest son; [they] took Aqpyuq Haossil away to return to heaven and [be with] grandfather god.

## REFERENCES

### **Hani data sources<sup>48</sup>:**

Yang Yangjiu 杨羊就, editor. 1988. *Hani Doqdaq Vol. I*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

-----, 1990. *Hani Doqdaq Vol. II*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

-----, 1991. *Hani Doqdaq Vol. III*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

-----, 1992. *Hani Doqdaq Vol. IV*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

-----, 1993. *Hani Dudaq Vol. V*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

Han Ningran 寒凝然, compiler. 2004. *Hani Dudaq Vol. VI*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.

### **Other references cited in this document:**

Bisang, Walter. 1999. Classifiers in southeast Asian languages: counting and beyond. In *Numeral Types and Changes Worldwide*, edited by Jadranca Gvozdanović, 113-186. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Callow, Kathleen. 1974. *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In *Subject and Topic*, edited by C.N. Li, 25-55. New York, San Francisco, and London: Academic Press.

---

<sup>48</sup> Data from this series of books by Yang Yangjiu and Han Ningran are cited in the form (Vol: p) where Vol. represents the volume number, and p the page number.

- Clark, Stephen A. 2000. *Participant Reference in Narrative Discourse, A Comparison of Three Methodologies*. Unpublished master's thesis. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dai Qingxia 戴庆夏 and Duan Kuangle 段颢乐. 1994. *哈尼语概论 (Haniyu Gailun) An Introduction to the Hani Language*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.
- Dai Qingxia 戴庆夏, Duan Kuangle 段颢乐, Luo Shuwen 罗书文, and Li Piran 李批然. 2000. *汉哈尼词典 (Han-Hani Cidian) Chinese-Hani Dictionary*. Yunnan: Yunnan Minzu Publisher. 云南民族出版社.
- Daley, Karen Ann. 1998. *Vietnamese Classifiers in Narrative Texts*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Dooley, Robert A. and Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2001. *Analyzing Discourse*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Word order. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume I: Clause Structure*, edited by Timothy Shopen, 61-130.
- Foley, William A. 2007. A typology of information packaging in the clause. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume I: Clause Structure*, edited by Timothy Shopen, 362-446.
- Givón, Talmy. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: an introduction. In *Topic Continuity in Discourse*, edited by Talmy Givón, 1-42. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1984. *Syntax: A Functional/Typological Introduction*. 2 vols. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Hedberg, Nancy, and Zacharsky, Ron. 1993. Referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69.2:274-307
- Hawkins, John A. 1983. *Word Order Universals*. New York and London: Academic Press.

- Heimdinger, Jean-Marc. 1999. *Topic, Focus and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 295. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinsohn, Stephen. 2000. *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*. Dallas: SIL International.
- . 2006. Toward a typology of story development (repeatedly naming the subject: The Hebrew equivalent of Greek Δέ). *Journal of Translation* 2.2.
- . 2008. *Self-Study Materials for Narrative Discourse Analysis*. Downloaded June 30, 2008 from <https://mail.jaars.org/~bt/files.htm>.
- Lewis, Paul and Bai Bibo (Piu Bo). 1996. *Hani-English English-Hani Dictionary*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- . 2000. *51 Hani Stories*. Thailand: White Lotus Press.
- . 2002. *Hani Cultural Themes*. Thailand: White Lotus Press.
- Li Yongsui 李永燧 and Wang Ersong 王尔松. 1984. *哈尼语简志 (Haniyu Jianzhi) A Brief Introduction to the Hani Language*. Minzu Publisher. 民族出版社.
- Li Yongsui 李永燧. 1990. *哈尼语法 (Hani Yufa) Hani Grammar*. Minzu Publisher. 民族出版社.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1996. *The Grammar of Discourse*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Plenum.
- Lyons, Christopher. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKean, Erin, editor in chief. 2006. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of American English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Perlmutter, David M. 1970. On the article in English. In *Progress in Linguistics*, edited by Manfred Bierwisch and Karl Erich Heidolph, 233-248. The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Tomlin, Russell S. 1986. *Basic Word Order: Functional Principles*. London, Sydney, and New Hampshire: Croom Helm.

- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr and Vincent LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whaley, Lindsay J. 1997. *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language*. Thousand Oaks, London, and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Xu Xianming 许鲜明. 2007. *哈尼语话语分析 (Haniyu Huayu Fenxi) Hani Language Discourse Analysis*. Australia: La Trobe University.