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Constituent order and participant reference in Dolnia Hani narrative discourse

Karen L. Gainer

CONSTITUENT ORDER AND PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN DOLNIA HANI
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

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

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1 – first person, non-nominative
1:N – first person, nominative
1pe – first person plural exclusive
1pi – first person plural inclusive
2 – second person, non-nominative
2:N – second person, nominative
2p – second person plural
3 – third person
A – Actor
ABL – Ablative
ACC – Accusative
ADD – Additive
AUG – Augmentative
CL – Classifier
COH – Cohortative
CMPR – Comparative
CMPL – Completive
CONT – Continuation
CRS – Currently relevant state
CT – Contrastive marker
DAT – Dative
DIM – Diminutive
DCL – Definite classifier
DM – Development marker
DPL – Definite plural classifier
DUR – Durative
EXP – Experienced
great.grandch – great-grandchild
HCL – Human classifier
HRSY – Hearsay
INC – Incohative
INT – Intention

INTJ – Interjection
LNK – Link
MAN – Manner
NEG – Negative
NEGR – Negative result
OBJ – Objective validational
OP – Opinion particle
OMP – Onomatopoeia
o.bro – older brother
PERF – Perfect
PL – Plural
PIMP – Polite imperative
PROG – Progressive
PROH – Prohibitive
QP – Question particle
QUO – Quotative
RED – Reduplication
SUBJ – Subjective validational
TCL – Time classifier
TOP – Topicalizer
TRAN – Transitivity marker
U – Undergoer
VIP – Very important participant
VOL – Volitional validational
y.bro – younger brother
y.son – youngest son
* – Ungrammatical
# – Inappropriate in this context
_ – Used between two or more
orthographic words glossed as a unit
? – No gloss proposed

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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.[1] 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). [2] 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 Tavqzaoq 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.

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[1] The ISO 639-3 code for Hani is hni.
[2] 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).[3] 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).[4] 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

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[3] For a discussion of the parameters used in the classification of discourses into broad genres, see Longacre (1996).

[4] 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).[5] 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

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[5] 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.[6] 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.[7] 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 Haossul" (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.

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[6] 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.
[7] 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[8] 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:

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[8] 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

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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*. [9]

Presentational sentences have *sentence focus*. In discussing constituent ordering in Hani,

I make frequent reference to these sentence articulations and focus types.

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[9] 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 depature, "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

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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."

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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.[10] 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.

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[10] 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)

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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.[11]

The person toward whom reported speech is directed is marked by either the *yaol* accusative marker (see The Story of Aqpyuq Haossul 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.

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[11] 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.

18

(8a) "**Aqsol nei** 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.[12] The clauses have predicate focus, so

that the entire content of 'was beaten to death by me' constitutes the comment of the third

---

[12] 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

20

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.[13] 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].'

---

[13] 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) **Galma a**,   aqyo   niaq   qiq   pyu   ssuq   qiq   pyu
      road   DAT   3   two.HCL   one   side   walk   one   side

      niaqmuvq_miaqsav   meil   gyuyoq   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.[14]

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[14] 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.[15]

      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):

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[15] 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.[16]

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,

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[16] 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

        niaqmuvq.miaqsav   meil   gyuyoq   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   biaol 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).[17] 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.

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[17] 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?'[18]

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

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[18] 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)).

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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

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focus.[19] 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   zeiq e   hal   jivq nga   laq?"
       most tasty most sweet CMPR LNK what CL   OBJ QP

'What is the sweetest and tastiest [thing]?'"

---

[19] 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

aqqul	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.[20]

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!"'

---

[20] 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**   **gyuyoq**   **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

       niaqmuvq.miaqsav   meil gyuyoq   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

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reference to the actors (the rich man's family), in conformity to the principle that topics

precede comments.

2.3.2.3 AUV order when the actor is marked with the ablative

    The principle of placing clausal topics before comments holds true even in the

rare cases where the actor is marked with the ablative as a local but not higher-level topic

(see 2.2.1.2). This is the case for 'the dragon' in (35):

(35a) Aoqqivq,   **beiyaoq**   **mol**   **nei**   aqssaq   yaol hhoq
        night   dragon   DCL ABL son.in.law   ACC again

        gul   li   alnei, neesoq   saq   leiq zaq   li   movq
        call go.up ADD tomorrow   meat seek DUR go.up want

        al   leil eil.
        CRS QUO say

        'At night, **the dragon** called his son-in-law again and told [the son-in-law]
        that [he] wanted to go look for meat.'

(35b) Aqyo aqssaq   yaol milma_hhaqdaoq   qiq   gal   a
        3   son.in.law   ACC mountain.pass   one   place DAT

        saqluvq_luvq leil   eil   miq.
        wait.for.game QUO say   TRAN

        '[He] told his son-in-law to wait for the game.'

(35c) Aqyoq hhuvq yil   alnei aqyo miqma naogo eil   miq.
        3   return go.down ADD 3   wife   with say   TRAN

        'He [the son-in-law] returned [home] and told his wife [about this].'
                                             (Li 1990:220)

In (35a), the local topic 'the dragon' is placed before the undergoer 'the son-in-law,' even

though the dragon is not a higher-level topic. The fact that the son-in-law is given only

pronominal encoding in (35c) indicates that it is assumed that he is readily understood as

a higher-level topic.

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**[21]	meigoq	nei	bavq	pyul
	3	clothing		this	CL	America	ABL	take	across

	la	laq	e	nga.
	toward	PERF	LNK	OBJ

'He brought <u>this clothing</u> over from **America**.'

<div align="right">(elicited)</div>

(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 <u>a piece of gold</u> from **my mouth**."' (spoken by
a talking rock)

<div align="right">(III:91)</div>

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

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[21] 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** <u>naolma   aqbol</u>   yaol bivq movq
      fish   DPL   <u>sun   grandfather</u> ACC   give want

      leil   ngeel jol   a.²²
      QUO   be   exist ?

      'The cat replied, "What I first thought was that [I] wanted to give **the fish** <u>to the respected sun</u>."'

      (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** <u>aqnil xil   hhaq   a</u>   bivq miq   al.
      dog   DCL   <u>y.bro this   HCL   DAT</u> give TRAN CRS

      '...[the dog's owner] gave **the dog** to <u>this little brother</u>.'

      (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

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²² 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)   <u>Noq   a</u>   **alyeiv guvq** e   **aqhhovq**   **qiq**   **xaoq** bivq
        2   DAT   flower sew LNK needle   one   CL   give

        nial.
        first.person.willingness

        '[I'd] like to give <u>you</u> **a needle for sewing flowers.**'
                                                        (I:29)

(41a) '(Alloq asked the god Alniuq to release the cuckoo bird from his cage in the sky, so that the cuckoo bird can tell the Hani when to plant rice.) Alniuq 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   <u>noq</u>   yaol   **zovqdul**   bivq   nial.
       1:N   2   ACC   key   give   willing

       '... In order to make the days of the Hani people comfortable, I will give <u>you</u> **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).[23] 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.[24]

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:

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[23] In Role and Reference Grammar, there are several thematic relations, including "theme" and "recipient," which can be linked to the semantic macrorole "undergoer."

[24] 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.'[25]

(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) <u>Xil-mol</u>   **noq** **a**   bivq nial.
      this-CL   2   DAT   give willing

      'I want to give <u>this</u> **to you**.'
                                                              (overheard)

(44) <u>Tossaq mol</u>   **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)

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[25] 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.[26] 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.[27] 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)[28] are as follows:

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[26] 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).
[27] 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.
[28] 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
1ˢᵗ inclusive	*ngal*	*ngaldu niq hhaq~nga niq hhaq*[29]	*ngaldu*
1ˢᵗ exclusive	---	*ngalya niq hhaq~nga niq hhaq*	*ngalya*
2ⁿᵈ	*nol*	*nolya niq hhaq~no niq hhaq*	*nolya*
3ʳᵈ	*aqyoq*	*aqyo niq hhaq*	*aqyo mavq*

In non-nominative cases, the singular pronominals undergo tonal changes which are beyond the scope of this paper.[30] 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:[31]

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

'The two of them ride the swing.'[32]

                                                           (overheard)

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

'They (three or more) ride the swing.'

---

[29] The two forms of the dual first and second person pronominals are in free variation.

[30] 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.

[31] 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.

[32] 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.[33]

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-

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[33] *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,   Tavqcil puvkaq Aqhuq   Laoqsel   leil   gul
      long.ago   Tavqcil village Aqhuq   Laoqsel   QUO   call

      e   miqgaq   qiq   hhaq civzaol-nei   leiv
      LNK   pretty.girl one   HCL often-ABL   market

      zuvq   xul, ...
      attend.market   like

      'Long ago, a pretty girl from Tavqcil village named Aqhuq Laoqsel often
      liked to go to the market.'
                                        (The Story of Aqpyuq Haossul 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   qiq   ssaq   wuqdeiq   meivq alnei,
      tiger   one   CL   stomach   hungry PTC

      aoqhaoq   milhaoq   meil zal   leiq zaq   nga yil.
      heaven   earth   MAN   food seek eat   OBJ 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)

immediately follows example (48), above, and introduces a second major participant to the narrative, using the verb *jol*:

(50)...
Aqpyuq	Haossul	leil	gul	e	haqjil	qiq
Aqpyuq	Haossul	QUO	call	LNK	man	one

hhaq	colmoq	moq	hevnei	miqssaq	maq	seq	meil
HCL	old.person	old	arrive	wife	NEG	marry	MAN

jol.
live

'... there was an old person who at this old age lived without a wife.'
<div align="right">(The Story of Aqpyuq Haossul 2)</div>

However, as shown in (51), major participants are sometimes introduced in relationship with the previously introduced participant(s):

(51a) 'As [the lazy man] was planning that [he] wanted to switch to another way to survive, ...'

(51b)
...cuvlnei	saolhyuq	niq	hhaq	hhoheiq	a	qo
just.then	thief	two	HCL	door	DAT	search

hev	la ...
arrive	toward

'... just then, two thieves found [the lazy man's] door...'
<div align="right">(Not Just Me 2)</div>

In (51), the second sentence of "Not Just Me," the thieves are introduced to an existing scene with an indefinite NP but no existential verb. Rather, they are introduced by a predication which brings them to the location of the previously activated participant (the lazy man). In this text, the lazy man is the first participant to be introduced and the last participant discussed in the narrative, but the thieves fall into the definition of "major participants," active for most of the narrative and taking leading roles.

Sentence (50) is an example of the most common pattern of major participant introduction, with Aqpyuq Haossul 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**.'

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(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

The topic of a clause is	Default encoding is:
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 al!"
	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!"'

<div align="right">(The Older and Younger Brothers 19)</div>

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,	gyuyoq	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.'

<div align="right">(Not Just Me 1)</div>

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) .

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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   cuvlnei 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.[34] 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

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[34] 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.'

<div align="right">(The Older and Younger Brothers 22-24)</div>

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[35] 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.

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[35] 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.

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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
unmarked	N	N
indefinite	N + one + CL	N + *alciiv* (some)
definite	N + DCL or HCL	N + DPL
demonstrative	N + demonstrative + CL	N + demonstrative + number + CL[36] 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).[37]

The definite and human classifiers are the only classifiers found to occur

immediately after a singular noun. While these classifiers are also used with 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.[38] For example, compare the use of

classifiers in (67)-(69), from the same narrative, presented in the order in which they

occur:

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[36] 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.

[37] 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.

[38] 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 zei   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, **gyuyoq** **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)

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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   almil leiq   mil   la   e   hu   mol alnei,
     rat   cat   chase catch toward LNK look see ADD

     teiq_sil_teiq_piav   meil **lulhhuv**   **naolhao**   **jav**   e
     very.hurriedly   MAN   door   behind   exist   LNK

     yavpyul   **mol**   hul'a   xeiv   hhovq taq.
     broom   DCL   under   run   hide   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.

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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).[39] 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	chicken	DCL

	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.

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[39] 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

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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, ...'

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(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:

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(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)

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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.[40]

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:

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[40] 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 Haossul'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 Haossul. 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 Haossul 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 Haossul, 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.

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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.[41]

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.[42] In

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[41] In this thesis, I use the term "specific" with respect to referents with a status of referential or higher on the Givenness Hierarchy.

[42] 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

(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.

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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 Jusal, 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   yoqhhovq   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).

99

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
1pi	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	keeq
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 Miqnieiq xil   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.

103

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 | kovq nal | 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

1   Galhhu,   gyuyoq   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 | niaoq'aol | paoq | lal | laq | e | aqwa, |
| 3 | uncle | 2:N | now | join | come | PERF | LNK | ? |

| niaoq'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.

111

11 Gyuyoq   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 Gyuyoq   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 Gyuyoq   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] spinned and bumped around in a rush;
> [he] touched an empty basket.

112

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   a,
   road   DAT

aqyo	niaq	qiq	pyu	ssuq	qiq	pyu	niaqmuvq_niaqsav
3	two.HCL	one	time	walk	one	time	quietly

meil	gyuyoq	yaol	loqbeqssaq	qovq	nei	lavqdaol	teiq
MAN	lazy.man	ACC	rich.man	family	ABL	catch	grab

wal	leil	gee	zaq	siq.
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.

19 Aoq   suqlu.hhaqlaq meil bia   al,
   sky   slowly   MAN bright CRS

saolhyuq	niq	hhaq	aqyo	mavq	e	puvkaq	a	daov
thief	two	HCL	3	PL	LNK	village	DAT	very

maq	kaq	meil	haolgaoq	puvsiq	qiq	gal	a	lal	hev,
not	far	MAN	mountain	village	one	CL	DAT	come.up	arrive

gyuyoq	xeiv	dov	laq	e	pyultul	tulma	eq	e
lazy.man	run	into	PERF	LNK	basket	AUG	carry	LNK

saolhyuq	yul	hhaq	eil:
thief	that	HCL	say

"Ngal	eq	e	pyuqtul	xil	siq,
1:N	carry.on.back	LNK	basket	this	CL

xilmiav	halmeil	xao	aqkeiq?
this.much	how	heavy	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?

114

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 thieveswere 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!"

115

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   embarrased   VOL   ?

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

   "Ngaldu   aoqqivq   qiq   yavq teiq e,
   1pi   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.

116

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	gyuyoq		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	gyuyoq		e	gul	-teil
thief	two	HCL	NEG	stop	MAN	lazy.man		LNK	scream-sound

meenia		taq	gaq	taoqngaoq,
several		time	hear	DM,

gyuyoq	yaol	piaqhhalnei	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   ziivq.tovq,
   OMP   QUO   strength   strong   tree   DAT   hit

   ziivq_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."

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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[43] Haossul e Dudaq – The Story of Aqpyuq Haossul

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[44] in the Dolnia area, from long ago, on every rat
    day, [people] market [it is said].

---

[43] 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 Haossul" as a name.
[44] 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, | Tavqcil | puvkaq | Aqhuq[45] | Laoqsel | leil | gul | e
---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| long.ago | Tavqcil | village | Aqhuq | Laoqsel | QUO | call | LNK

miqgaq	qiq	hhaq	civzaol-nei	leiv	zuvq	xul,
pretty.girl	one	HCL	often-ABL	market	attend.market	like

Aqpyuq	Haossul	leil	gul	e	haqjil	qiq	hhaq	col-moq
Aqpyuq	Haossul	QUO	call	LNK	man	one	HCL	person-old

moq	hev-nei	miqssaq	maq	seq	meil	jol.
old	arrive-ABL	wife	NEG	marry	MAN	live

> Long ago, a pretty girl named Aqhuq Laoqsel from Tavqcil village often liked to go to market; a man named Aqpyuq Haossul in old age lived without a wife.

3 | Tyul | nao, | Aqhuq Laoqsel | aqha | biaonei | eq | alnei
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| that | day | Aqhuq Laoqsel | chicken | many | carry[46] | ADD

hu'-leiv	zuvq	yi,	Aqpyuq	Haossul	liq	aqyoq
rat-market	attend.market	come	Aqpyuq	Haossul	also	3

naolhao	qo'leiq	alnei	leiv	zuvq	yi.
behind	follow	ADD	market	attend.market	toward

> That day, Aqhuq Laoqsel carried many chickens on [her] back and came to the rat market; Aqpyuq Haossul also followed behind her and came to the market.

4 | Aqha | aoq | zaq | yi | e | gee | puv | nia | ceiv
---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| chicken | sell | DUR | come | LNK | downstream | village | upstream | place

e	col	biao-nei	zyul,	naolma	ya	tao	heil
LNK	person	many	meet.together	sun	fall	set	away

al	leiv	zuvq	e	col	leiv	zuvq
CRS	market	attend.market	LNK	person	market	attend.market

cil	li	jil.
leave	go.up	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.

---

[45] The word *Aqhuq* means "aunt," but I consider this to be a common title and choose not to translate it.
[46] 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   Haossul   galma qiqgao   ssuq   puq.
   Aqpyuq   Haossul   road together   walk   run.into

    On the way to return home, Aqhuq Laoqsel and Aqpyuq Haossul ran into each other on the [same] road.

7 Haossul   Laoqsel   naogo doqsii xil-meil   gee   qoq:
   Haossul   Laoqsel   with word   this-MAN   say   invite

   "Yuqma,   ngal   noq   e   alyeil eq   haol   nial."
   granddaughter   1:N   2   LNK   burden carry   help   willing

    Haossul 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   e   liq   Aqpyuq   Haossul   maq   eq   haol   maq
   that   LNK   even   Aqpyuq   Haossul   NEG   carry help   NEG

   qivq,   maq   eq   haol   maq   na   meil   qiv   qoq   lal,
   able   NEG   carry help   NEG   willing   MAN   still invite come

   Laoqsel   qiq   jivq   maq   zaol   qivq   ssol   alyeil leiv   xa
   Laoqsel   one   CL   NEG   do   able   so   burden take.off   down

   alnei   Haossul   a   bi   eq.
   ADD   Haossul   DAT   cause   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   Haossul   Aqhuq Laoqsel   e   aqha   alyeil eq
   Aqpyuq   Haossul   Aqhuq Laoqsel   LNK   chicken   burden carry

   alnei   galma gallavq   hev.
   ADD   road   road.fork   arrive

> Aqpyuq Haossul carried Aqhuq Laoqsel's chicken-burden to the fork in the road.

11 Xil-taq,   Laoqsel   aq   Haossul   yaol,
   this-time   Laoqsel   CT   Haossul   ACC

   "aqbol,   xilgei hev-nei   eq   haol   e   ngaoq ngeel al,
   grandfather   here   arrive-ABL   carry help   LNK   TOP   be   CRS

   nol   miqteil hhuvq li   joq"   leil   eil   miq.
   2:N   first   return go   IMP   QUO   say   TRAN

> At this time, Laoqsel said to Haossul, "Grandfather, helping carry [the burden] to here is enough; you go home first."

12 Haossul   "niaoq'aol   xavq   maq   xavq   nga   siq,
   Haossul   now   sleep NEG   sleep OBJ   CONT

   ngal   noq   e   laqhyul   hev-nei   tuvnei   eq   hev
   1:N   2   LNK   house   arrive-ABL   straight.to   carry arrive

   movq   a"   leil   laq   miq.
   want   DAT   QUO   reply TRAN

> Haossul replied, "Now it's still [early] to rest; I want to carry [it] straight all the way to your house."

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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

| 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 | saqloq
| 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 | | meeqzav-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   Haossul   e   doq   xil   doq   hha   naolhao,
    Aqpyuq   Haossul   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   Haossul   nei
    girl   pretty.girl   Laoqsel   CT   Aqpyuq   Haossul   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 Haossul's, everyone happily drank alcohol;
    the pretty girl Laoqsel, however, was shocked into silence by Aqpyuq Haossul'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.

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21 Laoqsel miqseil_seil   wul_naq   leil   hev   naolhao,
   Laoqsel run.from.marriage CRS:OBJ   QUO   know   after

   Aqpyuq   Haossul   ba   maq   cal   meil   lulsul qiq   pul
   Aqpyuq   Haossul   worry   NEG   anxious   MAN   plan   one   CL

   hhoq   nyuq   duv,   aqyoq gee   puv   nia   ceiv   e
   again   think   out   3   downstream   village upstream   place LNK

   col-moq   dama   aqyivq_meilnaol   naogo doqgaq   xil-meil   qiq
   person-old parent relative   with   speech   this-MAN   one

   pul   cavq   miq: Aqkal qiq   leiv   zuvq   jil   e   tyul
   CL   spread TRAN   next   one   market   attend.market   all   LNK   that

   nao,   hu'leiv_deima   nei   niuqtavq_tavq zaq   movq   a,
   day   rat.market.place   ABL   buffalo.share eat   want   DAT

   dalja   qiq   mavq   tyul   nao   deima   a   niuq-saq   zaq
   everyone   one   group   that   day   place   DAT   buffalo-meat   eat

   niuq-zil   dol   lal   jil.
   buffalo-soup   drink   come.up   all

> After [he] knew that Laoqsel was running from the marriage, Aqpyuq Haossul
> 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 qiq   nao   hev   al,   gee   ceiv   nia   ceiv,
   rat one day   arrive CRS   downstream   place upstream   place

   wuq   puv   tavq   puv,   qiq   haoq   qiq   liv   meil
   down   village up   village one   group   one   CL   MAN

   puv'laol   dama,   alyivq_meilnaol   hu'-leiv   zuvq   lal.
   village   parents relatives   rat-market   attend.market   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.

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23 Haossul aqniuq qiq kaol diq alnei hu'-leiv deima nei
   Haossul buffalo one CL hit ADD rat-market place ABL

   zaq-hoq_hoq, leiv zuvq ssaq
   eat-share market attend.market person

   saq-nei aqyoq nei hhei daol laq e
   CMPL-ABL 3 ABL do set.table PERF LNK

   niuq-tavq_tavq zaq lal jil.
   buffalo-divide eat come 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   leil   eil
   quickly-ABL   1   LNK   with   return return come   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   xil   mol   bi   jil   movq   balnei,
       word   this   CL   cause   finish   want   purpose

       ngal   xilgei aqniuq bialnaol   nei   seqtevq_tevq taq,
       1:N   here   buffalo rib   ABL   set.a.symbol   leave

       ngaq   e   miqssaq   Aqhuq Laoqsel   yaol   aqsol   seq   peq
       1   LNK   wife   Aqhuq Laoqsel   ACC   who   take   dare

       aqsol   aqniuq xil   kaol   aqmeil coldol   bi   duv   ma."
       who   buffalo this   CL   like   bad.person   cause   out   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   xil   mol   eil   duv   naolhao,   Aqpyuq   Haossul
       words   this   CL   say   out   after   Aqpyuq   Haossul

       col   taol   col   yal   meiqsi-nei
       person   thousand   person hundred   in.front.of-ABL

       hu'leiv   deima a   aqniuq bialnaol   e   seqtevq   diq   taq.
       rat.market place   DAT buffalo rib   LNK   symbol   hit   leave

         After saying these words, Aqpyuq Haossul 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   naolhao,   Aqpyuq   Haossul   puvkaqqiq   puv   qiq
       that   after   Aqpyuq   Haossul   village one   village one

       puv   meil   Aqhuq Laoqsel   halgei jol   ngaq   leil   qo
       village   MAN Aqhuq Laoqsel   where exist OBJ:QP   QUO   search

       duv   heil.
       out   away

         After that, Aqpyuq Haossul [went] out to search the villages one by one for where
         Aqhuq Laoqsel was.

28

Laoqsel	aq	gee	puv	nei	nia		puv	xeiv	hev,
Laoqsel	CT	downstream	village	ABL	upstream		village	run	arrive

wuvq	puv	nei	tavq	puv	xeiv	dav,
down	village	ABL	up	village	run	up

halgei	xeiv	hev	liq	col-mavq	aqyoq	yaol	doqzaq	qiq
where	run	arrive	even	person-PL	3	ACC	greet	one

hhaq	maq	laq	peq,	aqsol	liq	Aqpyuq	Haossul	naogo
HCL	NEG	answer	dare	who	even	Aqpyuq	Haossul	with

yoceq	zaol	ceq	movq	wul_yaq	leil	guv	ssol,
enemy	make	hate	want	CRS:SUBJ	QUO	fear	so

Laoqsel	yaol	joq	mol	joq	xeiv	yoq	teiqteiq.
Laoqsel	ACC	as.soon.as	see	as.soon.as	run	dodge	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 Haossul, so as soon as [they] saw Laoqsel [they] hurriedly ran away.

29

Xil-meil	nei,
this-MAN	ABL

ssaqmiq	miqgaq	Aqhuq Laoqsel	Aqpyuq	Haossul	naogo
girl	pretty.girl	Aqhuq Laoqsel	Aqpyuq	Haossul	with

qiq	hhovq	maq	cuv	movq	ya	leil	miqseil	maq	seil
one	family	NEG	make	want	SUBJ	QUO	run.from.marriage	NEG	leave

leev	qivq	al.
get.loose	able	CRS

So, the pretty girl Aqhuq Laoqsel ran from the marriage [thinking] that [she] didn't want to make a family with Aqpyuq Haossul, but couldn't get away.

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30
Hu'leiv	deima	aqha	alyeil	qiq	yeil	nei	niq	hhaq	e
rat.market	place	hen	burden	one	CL	ABL	two	HCL	LNK

yeilheiq	maq	hhoq	qivq	meil	eq	hev	wul_yaq	leil
fate	NEG	part	able	MAN	carry	arrive	CRS:SUBJ	QUO

naol-ngaoq,	Aqpyuq	Haossul	baq-moq	baqseil	ssuv,
after-TOP	Aqpyuq	Haossul	white-old	whisker	exist

alhuvq	aqyoq	e	hultav	heeq	zeiq	gaoq	e	liq,
age	3	LNK	more	big	CMPR	high	LNK	even

col	aq	maq	bav	meil	yaol	leil	liq	nyuq	alnei,
person	CT	NEG	bad	MAN	?	QUO	also	think	ADD

miqgaq	Aqhuq	Laoqsel	laqhyul	a	hhuvq	lal.
pretty.girl	Aqhuq	Laoqsel	house	DAT	return	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 Haossul 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	naolhao,	niq	hhaq	gaq_nia	yeilheiq	maq
this	after	two	HCL	good	fate	NEG

hhoq	meil	yoqhhovq	laolxav-nei	cuv.
separate	MAN	home	warm-ABL	build

After this, two people, with built a warm house with good, inseparable fate.

32 Haqniq   doq   yeilheiq   leil   xil   doq,
    Hani   word   fate   QUO   this   word

    galhhu.aqbei   Dolnia milcaq hu'leiv   deima,
    long.ago   Dolnia village rat.market   place

    Aqpyuq   Haossul   Aqhuq Laoqsel   e   aqha   alyeil eq
    Aqpyuq   Haossul   Aqhuq Laoqsel   LNK   chicken   burden carry

    alnei   yeilheiq   eq   hev   taoqngaoq,
    ADD   fate   carry   arrive   DM

    xil-meil   gee   duv   laq   e   ngeel   wul_naq.
    this-MAN   say   out   PERF   LNK   be   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   dama   eil   e,   Aqpyuq   Haossul   aq   aoq-tav
    person-old parent   say   LNK   Aqpyuq   Haossul   CT   sky-above

    molmil   ssaqli   qiq   hhaq   nga   yil,   aqyoq Aqhuq Laoqsel   naogo
    god   y.son   one   HCL   OBJ   HRSY   3   Aqhuq Laoqsel   with

    yoqhhovq   cuv   naolhao   ssil   bo   saoq   yal   kuvq
    home   make   after   lifespan   have   three   hundred   six

    ceilhuvq   hev-nei   jol,   aqyoq e   yuq   ssol   leiq,
    ten year   arrive-ABL   exist   3   LNK   grandchildren   and   great.grandch

    yuq   ssol   leiq   e   yuq   ssol   leiq
    grandchildren   and   great.grandch   LNK   grandchildren   and   great.grandch

    liq   aqyoq miav-nei   ssil   maq   bo.
    even   3   more-ABL   lifespan   NEG   have

> [What] the old people say [is], Aqpyuq Haossul was one of God's youngest
> sons;[47] [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.

---

[47] 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, molmil aqbol yoqhha ssaqli yaol gaq lal,
   after god grandfather his.own y.son ACC desire INC

   molmil ssaqguq niq hhaq heil duv alnei Aqpyuq
   god servant two HCL send out ADD Aqpyuq

   Haossul yaol seq huvq yil leil eil miq.
   Haossul ACC bring return go.down QUO say 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 Haossul.

35 Molmil ssaqguq xil niq hhaq Aqpyuq Haossul e
   god servant this two HCL Aqpyuq Haossul LNK

   laqhyul a ssavq yiv hev, laqhyul yul yaol hholqei,
   house DAT descend come arrive house that CL inside

   meiqmoq meiq piul janei, wuqduq ceilkaol banei qiq
   beard RED silver having head hair white one

   hhaq naldul_dul e col-moq aqbol ceil hhaq jol,
   HCL resemble LNK person-old grandfather ten CL exist

   col-moq ceil hhaq meil yahyuq balpul janei qiq hhaq qiq
   person-old ten HCL MAN smoke pipe having one CL one

   pul bavq, hyuqniul yahyuq xavqnei suv suv meil jol,
   CL carry tobacco smoke very.thick smoke smoke MAN exist

   Aqpyuq Haossul hal hhaq nga leil maq hu duv qivq.
   Aqpyuq Haossul which HCL OBJ QUO NEG see out able

> These two servants of god descended and arrived at Aqpyuq Haossul'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 Haossul.

36
Xil-meil	ngeel	taoqngaoq,	molmil	ssaqguq		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	doqgaq.zol	huvl
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	Haossul
with	greet	come	able	OBJ	Aqpyuq	Haossul

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 Haossul'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 Haossul."

38 Aqbol   molmil e   meiqbivq lo'qo,
   grandfather   god   LNK command follow

molmil	ssaqguq	niq	hhaq	Aqpyuq	Haossul
god	servant	two	HCL	Aqpyuq	Haossul

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 Haossul'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	luqbul	ciq	e	ssaqguq	yaol	"yuqpaq,	nol	luqbul
3	marble	wash	3	servant	ACC	grandson	2:N	marble

tyul	mol	haljivq	zaol	movq	leil	ciq	wal"	leil	hhoq
that	CL	what	do	want	QUO	wash	VOL:QP	QUO	again

nalhaq	miq.
ask	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	ciq	e	ssaqguq	"aqbol,	ngal	luqbul	xil	mol
marble	wash	LNK	child	grandfather	1:N	marble	this	CL

ciq	nav	ma	leil	ciq	wul"	leil	eil	miq.
wash	black	INT	QUO	wash	VOL	QUO	say	TRAN

The servant who was washing the marble said, "Grandfather, I want to wash this piece of marble black."

43 | Xil-taq, | aqbol | xil | hhaq | doqsii | xil-meil | gee | duv;
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
| this-time | grandfather | this | HCL | speech | this-MAN | say | out

"Yuqpaq	niq	hhaq	eil_eiq,	aqbol	col-ssil	saoq
grandson	two	HCL	INTJ	grandfather	person-lifespan	three

yal	kuvq	ceil	huvq	jol	biao	al,	haqhheq	ciq	ba
hundred	six	ten	year	live	be	CRS	coal	wash	white

qivq,	luqbul	ciq	nav	qivq	nga	leil	maq	gaq	bei	maq
able	marble	wash	black	able	OBJ	QUO	NEG	hear	EXP	NEG

mol	bei,	nav	e	haqhheq	aq	maq	ba	qivq,
see	EXP	black	LNK	coal	CT	NEG	white	able

ba	e	luqbul	aq	maq	nav	qivq	nga."
white	LNK	marble	CT	NEG	black	able	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 | ssaqguq | niq | hhaq | col-moq | aqbol | | xil | hhaq
God | servant | two | HCL | person-old | grandfather | | this | HCL

| e | doqsii | xil | doq | joq | hha | gaq | joq, | molmil | ssaqli | xil |
| LNK | speech | this | word | just | receive | hear | just | god | y.son | this |

| hhaq | ngeel | al | leil | hev | alnei, | Aqpyuq | | Haossul | | yaol |
| HCL | be | CRS | QUO | know | ADD | Aqpyuq | | Haossul | | ACC |

| molmil | aqbol | | naogo | aoqtav | a | seq | dav | huvl | li | qav |
| god | grandfather | | with | heaven | DAT | bring | up | return | go | 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 Haossul away to return to heaven and [be with] grandfather god.

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