Chapter 3

Referring expressions

Chapter 2 gave an introduction to Bru KS phonology and grammar. This chapter examines the concept of reference, i.e. how speakers of a language linguistically signal who or what is being referred to in the text-internal world. Lambrecht (1994:38) states that speakers must create a representation for the addressee when referring to an entity or proposition. The linguistic forms that create and maintain representations are called referring expressions. This study defines referring expressions as any linguistic form used by a speaker to communicate to the hearer the identity of a referent.

Referring expressions may be noun phrases, pronouns, subordinate clauses and adverbial phrases (Lambrecht 1994:75). The speaker's choice of what referring expression to use to create and maintain representations depends upon the speaker's construal of what is already in the mind of the addressee and how accessible the representation is. Thus discourse level considerations are one of the criteria that motivate the choice of referring expressions, under the assumption that "discourse-level" considerations entails information about the belief state of the addressees.

The following sections analyze Bru KS narrative discourse in order to define what discourse level phenomena are signaled by various referring expressions. Before this analysis, a review of some of the theories used to analyze referring expressions is given. Then a presentation of the discourse functions of modified NP's, simple NPs, the use of proper nouns and kin terms, pronouns, classifier phrases, demonstratives and zero anaphora is given.

3.1   Literature review

In her study of Kmhmu', Osborne (2009:41) finds that "both grammatical and discourse-pragmatic factors govern the use of referring expressions." She lists individuation and specificity of nouns as the grammatical factors; and referent

identifiability, activation status and thematic salience as the discourse-pragmatic factors.

3.1.1 Individuation and specificity

Rijkhoff (2002:28) argues that typologically, the world's languages generally employ one of four possible noun types to individuate specific entities. His four possible etic noun types are: singular object nouns, set nouns, sort nouns and general nouns. Bru KS (along with Kmhmu', Mandarin, Thai and Burmese) generally use sort nouns; sort nouns are not marked for number, they refer to concepts, and they require a classifier in the NP to individuate a specific entity, i.e. to separate an individual from the generic group/concept. Individuation of Bru KS nouns is realized by using proper nouns, possessors, classifier phrases and demonstratives.

Specificity is a semantic distinction related to identifiability (discussed below) in which referents of an indefinite NP, e.g. 'a book', may be specific or non-specific. Lambrecht (1994:80-81) explains that:

> One way of describing the specific/non-specific
> distinction in pragmatic terms is to say that a "specific
> indefinite NP" is one whose referent is identifiable to
> the speaker but not to the addressee, while a "non-
> specific indefinite NP" is one whose referent neither
> the speaker nor the addressee can identify at the time
> of the utterance.

3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience

Identifiability is the term Lambrecht (1994:77) uses to express the process whereby a speaker creates a representation of an entity (a referent) in the mind of an addressee by means of linguistic description. The creation of this representation is like creating a new file in the mind which can be opened for additional information, and closed but available when not in immediate use. If a representation/file for a referent is assumed by the speaker to be in the mind of the addressee, that entity is assumed to be identifiable and can be pointed to using linguistic devices.

Givón (2001b:254) notes that "the topicality of clausal arguments in connected discourse involves two aspects of referential coherence...." These two aspects are anaphora and cataphora. Anaphoric information is information that is accessible to the hearer because it is identifiable in the immediately preceding discourse.

Anaphoric information "instructs the hearer how to locate the referent within his/her mental representation" (Givón 2001b:254). Cataphoric information is information that points to a referent's importance within the following narrative.

Anaphoric information, the information stored in the cognitive "files" of the speaker and addressee, relies upon the memory and consciousness of speech participants. Once a "file" is created, that file becomes identifiable and can be referred to with less syntactic coding (Lambrecht 1994:78). If no file is created, then the referent is non-identifiable. At times, a referent with no "file", i.e. non-identifiable, may be presupposed by a shared cultural schema and thus in reality is identifiable. In cases of a presupposed referent, the speaker assumes that there is "a certain representation in the mind of the addressee" which is shared by both (Lambrecht 1994:79).

An important grammatical signal of identifiability is the distinction between definite and indefinite noun phrases. Definiteness marks whether "a referent is assumed to be identifiable to the addressee" (Lambrecht 1994:79). It is often syntactically realized by using certain articles, possessive determiners and demonstrative determiners. Other ways to mark definiteness are word order, use of a numeral, or use of a particle.

It is interesting to note that the identifiability status of a referent is normally maintained over the full extent of a discourse (Lambrecht1994:89). Chafe (1976:40) argues that "it would appear that context or scene is all-important, and that definiteness can be preserved indefinitely if the eventual context in which the referent is reintroduced is narrow enough to make the referent identifiable."

Fillmore (1982:111) calls the context a "frame" which he describes as:

> … any system of concepts related in such a way that to
> understand any of them you have to understand the
> whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things
> in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a
> conversation, all of the others are automatically made
> available.

A frame can be very broad in that a large number hearers would be able to identify the existential referent of the NP "the sun", whereas a much smaller number would be able to identify the referent of "the car." Thus a shared frame (or cognitive schema) is essential to the identification of a referent. The shared frame can be created by a shared cultural world or a shared textual world.

A frame is made up of all the knowledge one has stored in the brain. But knowing something and thinking about it are two separate cognitive states. To process information, one must be actively thinking about the frame. If one says, "The stars really shone yesterday," and one was thinking about the night sky while another was thinking of a professional basketball game, the referent "stars" would not be identifiable. A frame must be activated.

Chafe (1987:22) argues that a particular concept, a frame or schema, may be in one of three activation states: active, accessible or inactive. An active state is when a frame/schema is the focus of one's consciousness in short term memory. An accessible state is when a frame/schema is "in a person's peripheral consciousness." An inactive frame/schema is one that is in a person's long term memory and no longer on the periphery.

The importance of activation states is that "they have formal correlates in the structure of sentences" (Lambrecht 1994:94). Activated concepts are typically coded with pronouns or zero anaphora. Inactive concepts are often coded with full NPs. It is important to note that while pronouns and zero anaphora necessarily signal activation, a full NP does not necessarily signal inactive status as there is another factor involved, namely salience.

Lambrecht (1994) argues that referring expressions signal who a participant is and their future importance within the narrative (cataphoric information). The relative importance of a participant is termed 'thematic salience' by Longacre (1990), 'persistence as a topic' by Givón (2001b) and 'prominence' by Lambrecht (1994). Thus an active referent may receive more coding than warranted by activation status alone if it is thematically salient.

It is expected that unidentified, thematically salient referents will receive the most coding. The purpose of default coding is to create the correct cognitive frames in which to identify and interpret the participants of a narrative.

3.2   Methodology

On the basis of these theoretical concepts, the texts were examined and analyzed in terms of the functions of referring expressions in discourse. These are described in the following sections.

3.3   NPs with attributive modifiers in discourse

A maximally modified Bru KS NP may include attributive modifiers as well as a
classifier phrase (ClfP), a possessive phrase (PossP) and a demonstrative (DEM).
Attributive modifiers include stative verbs (adjective-like elements denoted as
VP[stat]) and relative clauses (RelC). These attributive modifiers may be divided
into a nonrestrictive class or a restrictive class. The Bru KS NP is represented in a
formula in example (51) below.

(51) NP --> N (VP[stat]) (PossP) (ClfP) (DEM) (RelC)[6]

3.3.1   Nonrestrictive modifiers

Nonrestrictive modifiers are stative verb phrases (VP[stat]) and relative clauses
(RelC) which add descriptive information about a referent, but are not intended to
restrict the range of possible referents. They usually occur in the introduction of
unidentifiable referents. This class of modifier provides information about the new
referent, and also signals what role this referent will have in the narrative. In
example (52) the younger brother (along with the older brother) are first referred to
as the sons of the city ruler. Immediately following this first reference, there is a
background sentence which states "they (mother and father) only loved the younger
brother." The next sentence is made up of a subordinated adverbial clause headed
by the conjunction *ɲuaːn* 'because' with an embedded equative clause followed by
three nonrestrictive relative clauses.

(52) Buyeang Fish Story.003 - 005

m̩.poa   kruaŋ   buːn   kɔːn   baːw   baː   naʔ   aːj   kap   sɛm
father   city   have   child   young man   two   Clf_person   older   and   younger

tɛː   m̩.peʔ   m̩.poa   peːŋ   tɛː   sɛm   ɲuaːn   sɛm   pɛn   kuaj   ɔː
but   mother   father   love   but   younger   because   younger   be   person   good

liːan   pɔːŋ   mak   tʃɯaj   kuaj   ka.nɔh   tʃɯaj   tran   pruam
study   clever   like   help   person   other   help   animal   also

The ruler of the city had two sons who were young men, an older son and a
younger son. But the mother and father only loved the younger brother, because
the younger brother **was a good person who was clever in his studies and who
liked to help other people and animals also.**

The younger brother is the major participant in this narrative. He has the longest
introduction, which consists of four clauses, not counting his first mention as being

---

[6] Discussed earlier in section 2.2.2.3.

the son of the ruler. This extended description points to the younger brother's future actions as the one who is clever and helps others.

Another example of a nonrestrictive modifier is shown in (53). The referent being introduced here is a snake. The noun *ku.t͡ʃʰan* 'snake' is modified by the stative verb *puːt* 'large' and also an unmarked relative clause *a.kɔːŋ ɲɒʔ kuaj a.dɒʔ* '[who] had piled up the mangoes and wrapped itself around them.' Both the stative verb and relative clause are nonrestrictive modifiers.

(53) The_Big_Snake_S-I-L.009

huːm	*ku.t͡ʃʰan*	*puːt*	*a.kɔːŋ*	*ɲɒʔ*	*kuajʔ*	*a.dɒʔ*
see	snake	**large**	CAUS.pile	mango	wrap	COMP

(They) saw a large snake [who] had piled up the mangoes and had wrapped (itself around them).

The attributive modifiers describe the size of the snake and what it had done in the near past. This is particularly relevant as it is the inciting moment of the narrative.

Osborne (2009:45) observes that in Kmhmu', "nonrestrictive modifiers also signal the thematic salience of a referent by the amount of encoding material devoted to describing it for the first time." In examples (52) and (53), the younger son and the snake are introduced with more attributive modifiers than other participants, indicating that they will have a more salient role in the narrative.

3.3.2 Restrictive modifiers

The restrictive class of attributive modifiers serve to narrow down and restrict the range of possible referents. They generally occur with referents who have already been identified. A restrictive adjectival modifier (in Bru KS a VP[stat]) refers to a unique attribute of a referent which uniquely identifies that referent. A restrictive relative clause points back in the text to an event with which the referent is uniquely associated (Givón 2001b:176).

An example of an NP with a restrictive relative clause is found in example (54) below. In this example the head noun is *ka.muːl* 'young adult unmarried female' which is restricted to that particular woman who the brothers had helped in the immediately preceding paragraph. So this woman is identified as the woman associated with the past event of the brothers helping her.

(54) The_Big_Snake_S-I-L.152

p^hɔː	daŋ	nɛw	kiː	aːj	lɤːj	tɛːŋ doːŋ	kap	**ka.muːl**
when	know	thing	that	older	so	marry	with	**female.unmarried**

ma.sɛːm	*a.laj*	*t͡ʃu̯aj*
woman	**3P**	**help**

When he understood the situation, the elder brother married **the young woman who they had helped.**

3.4 Possessive phrases in discourse

Osborne (2009:46) states that the two major functions of Kmhmu' possessive phrases are to anchor unidentifiable referents and to locate identifiable referents within the discourse world. A third function found in the Bru KS data is that otherwise optional possessive phrases add emphasis and focus to an identifiable referent.

Possessive phrases anchor an unidentifiable referent by linking them to a possessor who has already been identified. Examples of possessive phrases anchoring an unidentifiable referent were rare in the data, occurring only four times. Each time they occurred, they served to anchor a minor referent which played almost no role in the narrative as is shown in example (55) below, where the unidentified referent is *t^hraj* 'field', which plays no active role in the narrative. It is anchored to the identifiable referents *vʔ* 'grandfather' and *t͡ʃaw* 'grandson'. This data leads to the hypothesis that anchoring an unidentified referent by means of a possessive phrase typically signals the relative unimportance of that referent.

(55) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.008

n̪.t͡ʃum	prɛan	lɤːj	ta.jah	t͡ʃuː	doŋ	klaːj	*t^hraj*	*k^hɔːŋ*	*vʔ*
group	hunter	so	walk	return	house	pass	**field**	**POSS**	**grandfather**

kap	*t͡ʃaw*
and	**grandchild**

So the group of hunters walked back home, passing by **the grandfather and grandson's field.**

The second function of a possessive phrase, locating an identifiable referent in the discourse world, is shown in example (56). In this example, the *kɔːn ka.muːl* 'child unmarried young woman' is located in the discourse world as the children of the mother.

43

(56) The_Big_Snake_S-I-L.013

tɛ	kɔːn	ka.muːl	maj	mɯaj	naʔ	mɯaj	naʔ
but	child	female.unmarried	2S.Poss	one	Clf_person	one	Clf_person

tɔŋ	pɛn	m̥.paj	ŋ.koaʔ
must	be	wife	1S.POSS

But one of **your daughters** must become my wife.

The third function of possesive phrases is to add extra emphasis and focus to the possesor. These possesives are not obligatory. Example (57) has the possessive phrase *ŋ.kʰoːl ku.tʃʰan an* 'his snake skin' where the already identified snake skin was used without a possesor in the previous sentence. Using the 3S pronoun emphasizes and reactivates the mental representation of the possesor.

(57) The_Big_Snake_S-I-L.051

pʰɔː	ujh	kaːt	ŋ.kʰoːl	ku.tʃʰan	an	ɲɛʔ	tʃʌ̃ː	an	kaʔ	pɛn
when	fire	burn	**skin**	snake	**3S_POSS**	finish	then	3S	so	be

kuaj	kɯː	kɯ̃ː	si.ŋaj	dɔːk
person	every	every	day	PRT_conclusion

"When the fire burns up **his snake skin**, then he will be a person from then on for sure."

3.5   NPs with classifier phrases in discourse

Classifier phrases not only embody and quantify nouns (see section 2.2.2.3.2), but also have discourse functions. Hopper (1986) argues that the motivation behind using classifier phrases is the relative importance or salience of a referent. Osborne (2009) states that Khmhu' classifiers signal "the specificity, identifiability and thematic salience of a referent."

3.5.1   Specificity

Specificity is the term which describes one of the functions of classifiers. While a sort noun by itself represents a generic concept, the combination of a sort noun and a classifier specifies an individual instance of that generic concept in the real world (Foley 1997). Example (58) shows this function when it uses the classifier phrase *mɯaj naʔ* 'one Clf_person' to specifically refer to one particular child out of the group of seven children. If no classifier phrase had been used, then the referent would be indefinite as either the whole group of children or as one unidentified child.

(58) Seven_Orphans.035

kɔːn	*muaj*	*naʔ*	m̩.poa	m̩.poa	naj	si.muː	huɯk	a.lʌː
child	**one**	**Clf_person**	father	father	here	vine	big	very

One of the children: "Father, father, is a root that is very big."

3.5.2   Identifiability

Osborne (2009:49) argues that in Khmhu' speech a classifier phrase with the number 'one' which is used with a new referent "tells the hearer not to search for an existing mental representation but to create a new one." While this is also the case in the Bru narratives of this study, there are some exceptions where a new referent is not introduced with a classifier phrase using the number 'one'. The lack of a classifier phrase in the introduction may be a clue that the referent is not as salient in the narrative (see section 3.5.3). In example (59) the small village is introduced for the first time with a classifier phrase using *muaj* 'one'.

(59) The_Grandfather_Ghost.002

duːn	tʌʔ	t͡ʃʌː	buːn	vil	kuɯːjʔ	kuɯːjʔ	*muaj*	*vil*
time.long	arrive	PST	EXIST	village	small	small	**one**	**village**

A long time ago there was a very small **village**.

3.5.3   Thematic salience

Classifier phrases are also used to signal thematic salience. In general, referents who are more important to the narrative, i.e. have thematic salience, are introduced with a classifier phase. In example (59) above, the seven daughters have more thematic salience than their father the king who is introduced 2 lines earlier without a classifier phase but with a compound NP and a relative clause as shown in example (60).

(60) Seven_Orphans.174

wɑw	tʌʔ	jah	pa.nea	m̩.poa	*vil*	t͡ʃeʔ	kiː
speak	about	side	**ruler**	**father**	village	close	that

(Now we will) talk about **a village ruler** (who lived) **close** to there.

In The Seven Orphans narrative, only the main participants, the seven orphans, and the secondary participants, the seven daughters, are introduced with classifier phrases. In The Grandfather Ghost narrative, the only referent to be introduced with

a ClfP was the main participant, the orphan boy. In the Big Snake narrative, the main participant of the first episode, the youngest daughter, is introduced with a ClfP. The main participants of the second episode, the daughter and the two brothers are introduced with ClfPs. In the Buyeang Fish narrative, only the main participant, the younger brother (and his older brother as they were introduced together) are coded with a ClfP. Finally, in the Wild Buffalo Ear narrative, none of the main participants receive a ClfP in their introduction. The wild buffalo which is shot does receive a ClfP, but this is to specify that there was only one wild buffalo killed and not to encode salience.

The only exception to this coding strategy is found in The Big Snake S-I-L narrative where the two brother's grandfather is introduced with a ClfP. This grandfather only appears for one line and then exits the stage. One might account for this anomaly by pointing out that the ClfP for the grandfather occurs in the line where the two brothers are introduced. A possible hypothesis is that the ClfP in the appositive NP *baː naʔ sɛːm aːj* 'two person younger older' influence the use of a ClfP in the grandfather NP. This is shown in example (61) below.

(61) The_Big_Snake.120

wɑw	*tʌʔ*	**baː**	**naʔ**	*sɛːm*	*aːj*	*rːt*	*nʌŋ*	*ɒʔ*	*ra.kɔŋ*
speak	about	**two**	**Clf_person**	younger	older	live	with	**grandfather**	**man**

mu̱aj	*naʔ*
one	**Clf_person**

Now we will talk about **two brothers** who lived with (**their**) **grandfather**.

Thus there is ample evidence that the use of classifier phrases is heavily motivated by thematic salience within a Bru KS discourse.

3.6   NPs with demonstratives in discourse

Himmelmann (1996) describes the discourse functions of determiners as situational and discourse deictic. A determiner functioning in a situational sense points to something outside the world of the text but present in the setting where the speech act was taking place. While Bru KS does not have determiners in the form of definite articles, it does have demonstratives which perform the same deictic functions as determiners. An example of this is shown in (62) where the size of a tree is compared to an unknown post. Either this is the story teller pointing to a house post which is outside the text world or he is using a cultural schema where the only thing the post could refer to would be the post of the orphan's house.

46

(62) Seven_Orphans.071

> *mah*   *ta.nuːl*   *naj*
> equal   **post**   **this**

"Equal to **the post** (of our house)." or "Equal to **a house post**."

The discourse deictic function of demonstratives will be discussed in section 3.11 as demonstratives performing this function are not found within an NP.

3.6.1   Tracking use

NPs with demonstratives are often used to track participants. They track participants by signaling identifiable referents, to specify referents that are ambiguous or to signal thematic salience. Bru KS uses the near proximal demonstrative *kiː* 'that' to track participants that are identifiable. There were no examples in the narratives where the immediate proximal demonstrative *naj* 'this' was used to track identifiable referents. Example (63) shows the tracking function as the *ra.kɔːt* 'squirrel' had already been identified.

(63) Seven_Orphans.105

> *ra.kɔːt*   *kiː*   *kaʔ*   *t͡ʃoːn*   *kal*   *aluaŋ*   *huk*   *pruam*
> **squirrel**   **that**   so   up   tree   stem   big   also

"**The squirrel** will go up a big tree also."

Bru KS gives special salience to referents which have a demonstrative with the additional causative prefix *a.* These salience promoting demonstratives are rare, occurring only three times out of the 129 times demonstratives were used in the narratives under study. In example (64) below, the tree is emphasized as the salient referent because the demonstrative *a.kiː.* 'EMPH-that' is located within the NP.

(64) Seven_Orphans.122

> *poːj*   *kal*   *a.-kiː*   *t͡ʃoːn*   *tet*   *a.mil*
> point   tree   **EMPH-that**   up   stuck   cloud

The tip of **that** tree went up into the clouds.

3.6.2   Recognitional use

Himmelmann (1996) describes the recognitional function of NPs which have a demonstrative. This NP construction points to an inactive referent outside the text world but which is accessible in the memories of the hearers. Osborne (2009:55)

summarizes, "This is distinctive from tracking use in that it is typically the only reference made to this referent in the discourse, and it assumes a particular knowledge shared by the speaker and hearers." In the five narratives analyzed for this thesis, there were only two examples of a demonstrative pointing to a text external referent. Example (65) refers to a house which is not mentioned before this point. The demonstrative either points to a house outside the text world or is a cultural construct where the listeners know that the father is referring to his own house. The storyteller expects the listeners to recognize the house he is speaking of.

(65) Seven_Orphans.118

mah   doŋ   **naj**
equal house **this**

"As big as (**our**) house."

3.7   Proper nouns in discourse

Proper nouns refer to a particular referent without any modification. There were no occurrences of proper nouns in the five Bru KS narratives under study. The sixth narrative, King Paajit, was translated from Isan Thai, which is the language of wider communication. It was added to the corpus for this research to show how Bru KS uses proper nouns in discourse.

Bequette (2008:62) reports that social taboos limit the use of proper names in Bunong. Proper names are avoided by using kinship terms (see section 3.8). Proper names are also avoided by referring to a parent by the name of their eldest child as in *Mother X* or *Father Y*. This phenomenon of avoiding use of proper names was not observed among the Bru of Khok Sa-at village. One hypothesis is that Bru KS has lost this language attitude through contact with the Isan Thai culture. Possibly, the lack of proper names in Bru KS narrative reflects a past taboo.

Proper nouns are used to introduce an unidentifiable referent when they are first mentioned as shown in example (66) where the city of Inthapatha is introduced as a proper noun. Also, the unidentifiable referent *pa.nɛa paː.t͡ʃit* 'King Paajit' is introduced in a presentational clause *buːn kɔːn baːw ra.muh pa.nɛa paː.t͡ʃit* 'there was child young call king paajit'. The use of a proper noun may be a sign that the referent is salient, additional coding such a King Paajit receives is a better indicator that a referent is salient in the narrative. Both proper nouns *in.tʰa.pa.tʰaː* and *paː.t͡ʃit* have labels or titles preceding the proper noun. This is the case with most of the proper nouns in the King Paajit narrative.

48

(66) King_Paajit.001

tɛː	lʌː	duːn	tʌʔ	t͡ʃʌ	kruaŋ	in.tʰa.pa.tʰaː	buːn	kɔːn
from	past	time.long	come	PST	**city**	**Inthapatha**	EXIST	child

baːw	ra.muh	pa.nea	paː.t͡ʃit
young.man	name	**ruler**	**Paajit**

A long time ago in the **city of Inthapahtha**, there was a young man named **King Paajit**.

Osborne (2009:57) argues that proper nouns in Kmhmu' are used for identifiable referents which need to be disambiguated from a group. This text sample contains no examples of proper nouns functioning this way in Bru KS. Referents are disambiguated by using kin terms and modifiers such as *aj huk* 'older.brother big' to distinguish the eldest brother from his siblings. Bru KS can also use proper nouns to disambiguate a specific referent just as it uses kin terms.

Osborne (2009:58) also shows that proper nouns can anchor unidentified referents. This is done using a possessive phrase where the proper noun acts as the anchor to make a referent identifiable. There were no examples in the text where this occurs, though it does occur with kinship terms which are analogous to proper nouns.

Lastly, another function of proper nouns is that they are used as terms of address. This function is often seen in direct speech quotes where a speaker addresses or refers to the listener with a proper noun instead of a second person singular pronoun. This phenomenon was observed to occur infrequently in daily Bru conversation. It may be that bilingualism in Thai is influencing this usage. An example of proper nouns as term of address is found in example (67) below where King Paajit addresses Lady Arapim directly and yet uses her name instead of the second person singular pronoun *maj* 'you'.

(67) King_Paajit.041

t͡ʃʌ	kaʔ	si	ut	sin.sɔːt	tʌʔ	sɛːk	neaŋ	a.ra.pim
then	so	IRR	take	bride-price	come	request	**lady**	**Arapim**

"Then I will get the bride price money and come ask to marry **you**.

3.8   Kin terms in discourse

Kinship terms such as 'father', 'mother', 'elder sibling' and 'younger sibling' among others are ubiquitous in Bru KS discourse. In narratives one through five in this

paper, kinship terms are used to refer to all participants 55% of the time. Of all human participants, kinship terms were used 68%.

Bunong uses kinship terms to convey the relation between two people and to show deference to those who of an older generation (Bequette 2008:62). Kinship terms are fluid within a narrative and may change depending on which participant is on stage. In The Big Snake S-I-L narrative, the youngest daughter is referred to as *sɛm* 'younger' until her husband the snake loses his snake skin and has to be a person. Immediately following that event, the reference to the youngest daughter changes to *m̩.paj* 'wife'.

In Kmhmu', kin terms are used to signal non-major participants, to communicate cultural information, to address another participant, to anchor unidentifiable referents, to reactivate accessible referents and to highlight the relationships between referents (Osborne 2009:79).

Kinship terms do not refer to a specific entity as do proper nouns. Therefore, they need to be modified in some way when they are introduced in a narrative. Often they are introduced with a presentational phrase followed by a relative clause as in (68) below.

> (68) Seven_Orphans.002
>
> | tɛː | lʌː | duːn | tʌʔ | t͡ʃʌ | buːn | a.jea? | tʰaw | a.t͡ʃujh |
> |-----|-----|------|-----|-----|------|--------|------|---------|
> | from | past | long.time | come | PST | **EXIST** | **grandmother** | **old** | **grandfather** |
>
> | tʰaw | m̩.peʔ | ka.dɛːŋ | m̩.poa | ka.dɛːŋ |
> |------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
> | **old** | mother | barren | father | barren |
>
> A long time ago **there was an old grandmother and an old grandfather** who were barren.

While Kmhmu' uses kinship terms to signal non-major participants, Bru KS uses kin terms to refer to both major participants and non-major participants. In (68) above, the old grandmother and old grandfather are local VIPs and are introduced with a presentational phrase. In example (69) below, the *m̩.paj* 'wife' is possessed by the *t͡ʃaw* 'grandson', which according to Osborne would signal a non-major participant. In this case, the wife is also a major participant on par with the grandchild. Thus use of kinship terms in a possessive phrase does not necessarily signal that the possessed participant is less salient.

(69) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.089

m̩.pai͡	t͡ʃaw	ka?	a.bluh	pa:j	lṳh	bat	t͡ʃʌː	t͡ʃʌː	bɔː
wife	grandchild	so	ask	C	pull.up	grass	finish	PST	Q

The grandson's wife asked them, "Have you finished pulling up all the grass?"

Bru KS uses kin terms in discourse to signal cultural information. In example (68) above, the terms *a.jɛa?* 'grandmother' and *a.t͡ʃṳjh* 'grandfather' are understood culturally to refer to any older person. In this case, the 'grandmother' is barren and so technically could not be a real grandmother. Thus this term could be translated as 'old woman' instead of 'grandmother'.

The use of the term *ʋ?* 'grandfather or grandmother' shows special respect for the referent. It can be used for an actual biological grandparent or for an older person. In The Wild Buffalo Ear narrative, *ʋ?* is the actual grandfather. In the Buyeang Fish narrative, *ʋ?* is a term of address and respect as shown in example (70) below.

(70) The_Buyeang_fish.051

an	lɤːj	mṳːt	a.bluh	pa:j	ʋ?	ʋ?	ʋil	maj	m̩.pɛ?
3S	so	enter	ask	C	**grandmother**	**grandmother**	village	2S	why

tʌː	bṳːn	kuaj
NEG	EXIST	person

So he entered the house and asked, "**Grandmother, grandmother**, why aren't there any people in your village?"

Kin terms often function to highlight the relationship between participants. In The Seven Orphans narrative, the old grandfather is first referred to as *a.t͡ʃṳjh* 'generic old man/grandfather'. Later he is referred to as *a.ja:k* 'husband' when conversing with his wife or when expressing his feelings about her pregnancy. When he talks to his children or is with his children, he is referred to as *m̩.poa* 'father'. In the narrative, the father abandons his children three times. After the first two attempts to abandon the children, the narrator refers to him as *a.t͡ʃṳjh* 'generic old man' instead of 'father', perhaps emphasizing the fact that he no longer wants to be their father. This is shown in example (71) below.

51

(71) Seven_Orphans.047 and 048

m̩.poa	si	pʌʔ	pʰoːt	m̩.pai͡	tɛː	duːn	t͡ʃʌ̀ː	waw	t͡ʃʌ̀ː
father	IRR	go	abandon	2P	from	time.long	PST	speak	PST

a.t͡ʃu̩jh	tʰaw	kaʔ	m̩.prɛːk	pɔŋ	t͡ʃu̩ː	doŋ
grandfather	old	so	carry.pole	root	return	house

"**Father** is going to abandon you forever!" When he had finished speaking, **the old grandfather** carried the root home on a pole.

3.9   Pronouns in discourse

Lyons (1977) argues that pronouns are a spatial phenomena that point to a particular referent within the context of the narrative. This deictic function is best seen in first person pronouns where the speaker points to herself, and in second person pronouns where the speaker points to the addressee. Lyons also points out that pronouns can be used anaphorically to refer back to a referent previously mentioned in the text. This use of pronouns points back in time to a referent that was identified earlier. Therefore, pronouns can be used in a deictic manner or in an anaphoric manner.

3.9.1   Deictic functions of pronouns

Osborne (2009:62) states that the deictic use of pronouns is best seen in first person Khmhu' narratives where the storyteller may point to herself with a first person pronoun. Sometimes there is a narrator who intrudes into the narrative by using a first person pronoun to point to himself without any anaphoric reference. The narratives analyzed by this paper are all second person narratives, and there are no narrator intrusions which point to something outside the text. Thus, examples of the deictic function are rare.

Osborne (2009:64) shows that the generic pronoun *dee* in Kmhmu' has the deictic functions of generic reference, agent backgrounding, a default first person reference and mitigation. Bru KS uses two generic third person pronouns: *na̩w* and *a.mʌ̩ʔ*. There are examples where these pronouns function as a generic reference, but no evidence that they have any other function. Example (72) shows how the generic pronoun *na̩w* points to an unidentified referent. Note how *na̩w* takes a demonstrative in (72) while in example (73) *a.mʌ̩ʔ* does not.

52

(72) The_Big_Snake.016

kʰan	**nạw**	**a.lɛʔ**	t͡ʃaː	ɲʋʔ	ŋ.koaʔ	**nạw**	**a.-kị**	tɔŋ	pɛn	m̩.paj
if	**3S**	**which**	eat	mango	1S.Poss	**3S**	**EMPH.-that**	must	be	wife

ŋ.koaʔ
1S.POSS

"**Whoever** eats my mangos, **that one** must become my wife."

(73) The_Big_Snake.143

pʰɔː	an	waʔ	t͡ʃʌː	an	kaʔ	wạw	paːj	**a.mʌʔ**	t͡ʃṵaj	an	an	si
when	3S	heal	PST	3S	then	speak	C	**whoever**	help	3S	3S	IRR

tɛːŋ	dɔːŋ	kap	**nạw**	**a.kiː**
marry	with	**3P**	**CAUS-there**	

After she had been healed she said that **whoever** had helped her, she would marry **that person**.

Another interesting example of the deictic function of pronouns is shown in examples (74) and (75), where the third person plural *a.laj* is used to point to a certain group of unidentified friends or group. In (74), the unidentified referent is *ka.nẹa* 'friend' which needs to be anchored or identified in some way. The free translation anchors the unidentified referent with the possessive pronoun 'my'. But really, the NP *ka.nẹa a.laj* 'friend 3P' points to some generic group of people. As villagers are sometimes referred to as friends, an alternative free translation could be 'just like **other people** have'. In (75), the unidentified referent is *n̩.t͡ʃṵm* 'group'. The third person plural is pointing to the whole group of people in the city.

(74) Seven_Orphans.007

mṵaj	si.daw	a.jẹaʔ	tʰaw	wạw	kap	a.jaːk	paːj	jʌʔ	bɯːn	kɔːn
one	night	grandmother	old	speak	with	husband	C	want	have	child

bɯːn	t͡ʃaw	kɯː	ka.nẹa	a.laj
have	grandchild	same	**friend**	**3P**

One night, the old grandmother said to her husband, "I want to have children, I want to have grandchildren just like **my friends have**."

(75) The_Buyeang_Fish.020

sɛːm	wạw	ɛn	tɔːn	ɤːt	krṵaŋ	t͡ʃṵaj	n̩.t͡ʃṵm	a.laj	pa.lẹaj	sam	lɛʔ
younger	speak	again	period	live	city	help	**group**	**3P**	very	equal	which

The younger brother said again, "During the time I lived in the city, I helped **the people** so very much."

53

3.9.2 Anaphoric functions of pronouns

Pronouns function anaphorically to reiterate the identity of a referent at paragraph boundaries. This is shown in (76) below where the main character, the youngest daughter is referred to with a third person singular pronoun *an* at the beginning of a text boundary. In the previous section, she had been referred to with a kin term and then a zero reference.

(76) The_Big_Snake.043

pʰɔː	*tʌʔ*	*muː*	*ta.maj*	**an**	*kaʔ*	*waw*	*muaj*	*naʔ*		*saː*	*kiː*	*ɛn*	*t͡ʃon*
when	come	day	new	**3S**	so	speak	one	Clf_person		like	that	again	until

t͡ʃom	*si.aːk*	*nʌŋ*	*kal*	*aluaŋ*	*sʌŋ*
bird	crow	on	tree		hear

The next day, **she** said the same thing to herself (out loud) until a crow up in the tree heard her.

Pronouns are also used anaphorically to give prominence to the referent. When a pronoun is used instead of a 'zero' reference, except at boundaries, it signals that the referent is in particular focus. Generally the referent is referred to with a kin term in a sentence initial adverbial phrase and then is referred to again with a pronoun before the subject marker *kaʔ* 'so'. This second reference comes before the main storyline verb. Example (77) and example (78) illustrate this construction.

(77) The_Grandfather_Ghost.009

buːn	*muaj*	*si.ŋaj*	*vʔ*		*aʔ.iː*	*t͡ʃʌ̀ː*	**an**	*kaʔ*	*ku.t͡ʃìːt*	*pʌʔ*	*t͡ʃàm*
EXIST	one	day	**grandfather**		sick	then	**3S**	so	die	go	Prt_sympathy

One day the **grandfather** became sick and then **he** went and died.

(78) The_Big_Snake_S-I-L.039

sɛːm	*a.lʌh*	*huːm*	*saː*	*kiː*	**an**	*kaʔ*	*si.ɔm*	*mìt*	*pa.lẹaʔ*
younger	**youngest**	see	like	that	**3S**	so	happy	very	

(When) **the youngest sister** saw that [ie. what he was like], **she** was very happy.

3.9.3 Pronominal constructions

The pronominal constructions which were found in the texts were pronouns used in apposition to a clarifying noun phrase and pronouns used with a classifier phrase. Very few pronominal constructions contained demonstratives.

3.9.3.1   Appositional pronoun constructions.

Appositional pronoun constructions are formed by a pronoun immediately proceeding a NP. Example (79) below is the only case of an appositional pronoun construction in the texts under study. It is used to disambiguate the reference and to add emphasis that the hunters had played a trick on the grandson and grandfather.

(79) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.024

ʋʔ	lɤːj	wɑw	a.t͡ʃoːn	paːj	ka.tuːr	si.ŋuːr	mṳaj nam	naj	bɔː
grandfather	so	speak	up	C	ear	buffalo.wild	one CLF_thing	this	Q

tʰiː	a.laj	n̠.t͡ʃṳm	prɛan	atɤːŋ	haj
REL	**3P**	**group**	**hunter**	say	1P_inc

The Grandfather spoke up saying, "Is it just one wild buffalo ear which **they, that group of hunters**, were telling us about?"

3.9.3.2   Pronoun phrases with classifiers

The function of a classifier phrase in a pronominal construction is to disambiguate the referents and to remind the listener who the referents are. In example (80), the use of the classifier phrase *baː naʔ* 'two people' is motivated by the need to reiterate the referents as it occurs at the beginning of a new section. Previous to sentence 031, the third person plural *a.laj* had been used in both sentences 029 and 030. In sentence 28, the referring expressions were the kin terms 'grandfather' and 'grandson'. The classifier phrase is not needed to disambiguate the referents as that is clear with the continual use of *a.laj* '3P'.

(80) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.031

pʰɔː	pa.lɛajʔ	n̠.t͡ʃʰaj	tɔː pʌʔ	a.laj	baː naʔ	kaʔ	lṳh	bat	ʌː
when	many	month	next	**3P**	**two Clf_person**	so	pull.up	grass	NEG

ɲɛʔ
complete

After many months passed by, the **two of them** had not pulled up all the weeds.

The same motivation to reiterate and emphasize the referents at a text boundary is shown in example (81) below. Note that in the sentence initial adverbial phrase, the third person pronoun *a.laj* has no modification. But *a.laj* is modified with a classifier phrase before the main storyline verb.

55

(81) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.066

phɔː	*a.laj*	*taʔ*	*nɛːw*	*kiː*	*t͡ʃʌː*	*a.laj*	*baː*	*naʔ*	*lɤːj*	*loah*	*tɛː*
when	**3P**	do	like	that	PST	**3P**	**two**	**Clf_person**	so	out	from

doŋ	*pʌʔ*	*t͡ʃoʔ*	*tʰraj*
house	go	to	field

When **they** had done as they planned, then **they both** went out of the house and went to the field.

3.10 Classifier phrases as referring expressions

Classifier phrases are used anaphorically to track referents in Bru KS discourse. They are analogous to pronouns in their use, particularly when tracking two referents as a couple. This is seen in both the Seven Orphans and Big Snake narratives where the mother and father in each are referred to as *baː naʔ* 'two Clf_person' 12 times. The use of the classifier phrase emphasizes that both the participants are the subject of the verb. An example of a classifier phrase used as a referring expression is found in (82) below.

(82) Seven_Orphans.003

baː	*naʔ*	*taʔ*	*doŋ*	*ka.tuːp*	*ɤːt*	*him*	*sʌk*
two	**Clf_person**	make	house	shack	LOC	edge	forest

They made a little house on the edge of a forest.

Classifier phrases as referring expressions sometimes have a unique word order at text boundaries. In example (83) below, sentence 022 starts a new section of text with a long adverbial phrase which focuses the narrative on a particular time. Then it focuses in on the two participants with the classifier phrase *baː naʔ* 'two Clf_person' followed by the noun phrase *m̩.paj kap a.jaːk* 'wife and husband'. This case of NP apposition is apparently motivated by the boundary of a new section of text.

(83) Seven_Orphans.022

phɔː	*tʌʔ*	*si.daw*	*tʰaːŋ*	*dɤk*	*ɲaŋ*	*kiː*	*baː*	*naʔ*	*m̩.paj*	*kap*
when	come	night	period	dark	day	that	**two**	**Clf_person**	*wife*	and

a.jaːk	*lɤːj*	*waw*	*kan*	*paːj*
husband	so	speak	RECIP	C

When the dark of night came that day, **both the wife and husband** then said to each other ....

3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions

Osborne (2009:75) observes that demonstratives without an NP have a situational deictic function in Kmhmu', a participant tracking function and a discourse deictic function. In the Bru KS texts analyzed in this paper, there are no examples of demonstratives functioning alone, outside of an NP, pointing to something outside the text world, i.e. situational deixis. Nor are there any examples of demonstratives outside of an NP functioning to track participants. But there are many examples of demonstratives outside of an NP pointing anaphorically to an event or situation which occurred previously in the text, i.e. discourse deictic function.

Osborne (2009:51) shows that discourse deictic use points to a previous segment in the text. In Kmhmu' this is realized as *nɛɛw ni?* 'like this.' In Bru KS the discourse dietic use is realized as *nɛːw kiː* 'thing that' or *saː kiː* 'like that'. Example (84) shows both realizations using the relatively far distal demonstrative *kiː*. They both point back to the previous revelation that the wild buffalo ear had been transformed into a beautiful woman.

(84) The_Wild_Buffalo_Ear.088

pʰɔː	*ʋʔ*	*daŋ*	*nɛːw*	*kiː*	*ka?*	*waw*	*paːj*	*kʰan*	*pɛn*	*saː*	*kiː*
when	grandfather	know	**thing**	**that**	so	speak	C	if	be	**like**	**that**

ŋ.koa?	*si*	*ɔːn*	*maj*	*tɛːŋ dɔːŋ*	*kap*	*tʃaw*	*kʰɔːŋ*	*ŋ.koa?*
1S	IRR	allow	2S	marry	with	grandchild	POSS	1S

When the grandfather understood **the situation**, he said, "If it is **like that**, I will have you to marry my grandson."

Demonstratives can also be used to point forward (cataphoric) to a new situation coming in the text. When the near distal demonstrative *naj* 'this' is used, it points forward. This is shown in example (85) where the big bird introduces its plan by pointing to what he is about to say with *saː naj* 'like this'.

(85) Seven_Orphans.144

tʃom	*huuk*	*iːt*	*saː*	*naj*
bird	big	take	**like**	*this*

The big bird - "You can do something **like this**."

3.12   Zero anaphora in discourse

Zero anaphora is used to maintain a referent which has already been activated. It is used until a new referent is activated or until there is a discontinuity within the text. This is illustrated in example (86) where the referent *aːj* 'older brother' is activated in line 006 and then referred to with zero anaphora for the next four clauses.

(86) The_Buyeang_fish.006-010

aːj	*pɛn*	*kuaj*	*tʌː*	*ɔː*	*Ø*	*kuɨt*	*tʌː*	*ɔː*	*kap*	*an*	*du*	*du*
older	be	person	NEG	good	older	think	NEG	good	with	3S	often	often

Ø	*ŋ.kɔh*	*an*	*buɯːn*	*luɨːn*	*Ø*	*ŋ.kɔh*	*m̩.poa*	*a.jʌʔ*	*kruaŋ*	*ɔːn*
older	afraid	3S	have	inheritance	older	afraid	father	offer_up	city	for

sɛːm	*lɤːj*	*Ø*	*kuɨt*	*a-t͡ɕɨ̀ːt*	*sɛːm*
younger	so	older	think	CAUS-die	younger

The older brother was not a good person. Often, **(he)** thought evil about him (younger brother). **(He)** was afraid that he would receive a better inheritance. **(He)** was afraid that his father would give the city to his younger brother. So **(he)** thought about killing the younger brother.

3.13   Summary

Bru KS has a wide range of referring expressions that signal to the listener a referent's identifiability, activation status and salience. The basic rule that the amount of linguistic coding material used to refer to an inactive referent is what signals that referent's relative salience. The more coding material used, the more salient the referent. Conversely, the amount of coding material used to refer to an already activated participant signals its identifiability. The more identifiable a referent is, the less coding it receives.

Table 13 below contains the inventory of referring expressions in Bru KS and their functions in the discourse.

Table 13: Inventory of Bru KS referring expressions

Referring Expression	Discourse Function
NP's with nonrestrictive attributive modifiers	To introduce unidentifiable referents To signal salience by the amount of coding To signal the role of the referent
NP's with restrictive attributive	To identify accessible referents using unique

modifiers	attributes or events
Possessive phrases	To anchor unidentifiable referents To locate identifiable referents in the discourse world
NPs with classifier phrases	To individuate a specific referent. To emphasize the salience of a referent To quantify referents
NPs with demonstratives	To point to referents in the world of the To point to referents outside the world of discourse To signal identifiable referents To disambiguate accessible referents To signal thematic salience of referents
Proper nouns	To introduce unidentifiable referents To act as terms of address
Kin terms	To introduce unidentifiable referents To communicate cultural information To act as terms of address To re-activate accessible referents To show the relationship between two referents
Pronouns	To identify unidentifiable referents To reiterate participant identity at text boundaries To emphasize a participant
Pronominal constructions -Appositional pronoun phrases -Pronoun phrases with classifiers	To reiterate participant identity at text boundaries To disambiguate accessible referents To emphasize referents

Classifier phrases	To track participants To mark text boundaries
Demonstratives	To point to a previous or future action or event in the text
Zero anaphora	To signal an active referent