3 Structure of the narrative

The story as written by Mpoaq Saniq has all the features of a good narrative text — title [0], aperture [1–19], stage setting [20–38], several pre-peak episodes [39–224], a peak episode [225–292] in which suspense, setback, hope and climax are evidenced, a post-peak [293–296], a closure [297–300], and a finis [301] (Longacre 1996:36). However, although all of these parts are tied together into a coherent whole, each episode is in itself a story in microcosm with most of the elements — setting, problem, suspense, solution, and closure — of a good narrative text.
Even the aperture and stage-setting sections display this characteristic. For example, while we believe (and the title supports this) that the main focus of the story is on the adventures of the two sons of the half-tiger and half-cow mothers, the story of the unfaithful wife and the husband's clever dispatching of the tiger by trickery in the opening section forms a story within a story. Likewise, the account of the ill-will between the two half-sisters leading to the murder of the younger by the elder, and the subsequent murder of the elder by her own son in the stage-setting section, is told in detail, including conversational interchange.

The four pre-peak episodes each centre around some central figure or figures met by the two heroes (Tasuo, the elder, and Tangu, the younger) in their journey together through life. Central to the whole is their commitment to each other even though in the end they are separated, each to rule in a different sphere, one in the overworld and one in the underworld. Also emphasised throughout the whole by various rhetorical devices is their respectful treatment of others and their concern to help those being mistreated by others.

4 Plot development

Episode One [39–113] involves interaction with Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Catuc. This couple is discovered to have cannibalistic intentions when the test is made of showing them an ostensibly bleeding hand. The two 'brothers' are helped in their escape by a termite and a rat, and the rest of the episode details their flight through various obstacles until at the end Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Catuc are dispatched by sympathetic villagers.

Episode Two [114–164] brings them to Grandfather and Grandmother Seng Toc Seng Lua, where the test of the bleeding hand reveals these two to be good persons. They take the boys in and raise them as their grandchildren, and when the boys want to leave home the Grandfather prepares them with special supernatural abilities and arranges for special weapons to be designed for them.

Episode Three [165–199] brings them in contact with two sisters who have been left as human sacrifices for the fearsome Phep Nhac. The girls, who have accepted their fate to die for the sake of the village, try to get the two visitors to leave. But the guests stay to eventually defeat the Phep Nhac by their extraordinary powers. Though the girls cling to them and beg them to stay, the two heroes fly away, leaving behind the girls, who have managed to hang on to only a fragment of their loincloths.

Episode Four [200–224] finds the girls getting a chilly reception from their parents upon their return to the village. The villagers, initially angry and fearful that the deliverance of the girls will expose them to retribution from the Phep Nhac, have to be persuaded by the girls that the Phep Nhac have been defeated. The boys, meanwhile, fearful of incurring the wrath of the villagers who have for years been under the control of the Phep Nhac, are hiding in the home of a widow. The villagers now want to honour the two young men, and the parents of the girls have promised to give the two girls to them in marriage, but they are not able to be found. Many hopefuls try to pass the test of matching the pieces of loincloth, but only when the two half-brothers are eventually found at the widow's house is the match made. Marriage and material rewards ensue.

Episode Five [225–295], which seems to be the peak episode, involves only the younger brother at the start. He develops the desire to wander, and drawn by a very sweet smell, he manages to find his way to a lower level of earth. (According to Bru cosmology there are multiple levels of earth and the same number of levels of heaven.) Here he finds Miss Creq
Phuom weaving. Enamoured of Miss Creq Phuom he asks her to marry him. She is already engaged to the terrifying Tiau Calang Cloc, but she agrees to the union if he will leave the world above and come to live with her. He goes back and talks to his older half-brother who disapproves but leaves the choice to the younger. A fairly strong Bru value as reflected in the exchange between the two brothers is that of individual personal choice. The brothers exchange flowers (reminiscent of an incident in Episode One where the Cow Mother did this with her son) so that each will know if the other is in danger or need. Younger brother leaves his family, goes to the lower world, and marries Miss Creq Phuom.

The Tiau Calang Cloc, when they come to visit, are not happy to find this man with the woman they claim as their fiancée. They become increasingly abusive (especially after Tangu says he has married the girl) and a fight ensues. Tangu defeats them, but they have a source of healing and eventually wear him out and kill him.

Older brother Tasuo, who knows by the wilting of the flower that Tangu is in trouble, comes to help. He also encounters the boastful and disrespectful Tiau Calang Cloc and learns that they have killed Tangu. Finding Tangu's bones scattered far and wide, Tasuo enlists the help of the animals to bring them back together where he uses special powers to restore Tangu to life.

In the final section of the peak episode, the two protagonists strategise to defeat the dreaded Tiau Calang Cloc. Things very nearly turn out disastrously in a repeat of the earlier battle, but Tasuo has observed the source of renewed strength and healing for the Tiau Calang Cloc and removes the teeth from the Pangolin and the tongue from the Flying Fox. The direction of the battle reverses; the Tiau Calang Cloc are destroyed with the exception of the leader who flees the scene.

In the post-peak section, the king of the Tiau Calang Cloc, when confronted with the misdeeds of his men, apologises for all the harm they have done. In the final resolution, the two heroes separate, Tangu to stay with Miss Creq Phuom and rule the underworld, Tasuo to return and rule the world above.

5 Major markers used in the story

In our study of Kadazan narratives, we found that some of the most commonly used functors and affixes had both syntactic and discourse functions and that these two uses were not unrelated. Bru does not have the same interplay of tense and aspect allowed by the highly inflected Kadazan language, but much the same phenomenon is seen in the use of the time words, grammatical particles, and deictics.

5.1 Time

5.1.1 Chronological progression

Time throughout the story is frequently indicated on the discourse level by time margins. Examples of this are:

(1)  hoyj ce?: e: di: d\w lw? c\x?
   when near want midnight truly already
   '...when it was already midnight...'  [4]
(2) *maho*j bar... moment two 'In a moment or two...' [15]

(3) *kh๐n hoj* le? ma: *muy*j huw:m piar *naj,*... if when which but 2SG see flower this 'Whenever you see this flower,...' [24]

(4) *te:* *hoj* raj *kj,*... from before that '...from before.' [225]

(5) *du:n te:* *kj,*... long.time from that 'A long time later...' [2]

### 5.1.2 Main action time

Time is also indicated by tense markers within the main action clauses of the text. The following chart notes some of these and examples are given below. These do not indicate salience (Longacre 1996), but merely summarise the major tense markers which move the story along. Very frequently the marker for completed action and the marker for perfective action occur together as in example (8) below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed action</th>
<th>NP <em>kh๐j?</em> VP</th>
<th>136 occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective action</td>
<td>NP VP <em>cย,</em></td>
<td>662 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate action</td>
<td>NP VP <em>t๐p</em></td>
<td>40 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealised action</td>
<td>NP NEG VP <em>juah</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imminent action</td>
<td><em>nke?</em> NP VP</td>
<td>41 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future action</td>
<td><em>cu: pa: mat</em> NP VP</td>
<td>5 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary action</td>
<td>NP VP <em>w๐j</em></td>
<td>27 occurrences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) *tiaw kala:n klo:k naj kh๐j?* kaci:it an. PN PST kill 3SG

'The Tiau Calang Cloc killed him.' [276]

(7) *an sa:n:t cย,* 3SG dry.up already '...it has already withered.' [24]

(8) *mpj? anja kh๐j? ca: cย,* *mpj? he? pa:* saraj kj,* mother 2PL PST eat already mother 1PL(excl) direction field that 'Your mother has already eaten my mother out in the field.' [29]

(9) *kh๐n an t๐? la: he? cil an t๐p.* if 3SG arrive be 1PL(excl) fight 3SG right.away 'If he comes, we’ll fight him immediately.' [68]
if: person whoever but not yet know that test beforehand
‘If anyone doesn’t yet know, let him first try.’ [243]

husband 3SG not yet return from sell buy
‘...her husband had not yet returned from buying and selling.’ [2]

(12) *ŋke? acuajh kəp aja:?$ sok katu:ki ki: satəm ɣij?*
soon grandfather and grandmother PN that catch.up with EMPH
‘Soon Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Catic will catch up with us.’ [74]

(13) *cu: pa: mat, la: kw? tu: bu:n tah məj ma:*,
return direction future be 1SG not leave 2SG NEG-EMPH
aʔem ɣij.
younger.sib. VOC
‘In the future, I will not abandon you, younger brother.’ [233]

5.1.3 Comparative time

Very frequently throughout the text time is indicated by the interplay of dependent and independent clauses. Consecutive time is indicated by /bo:/ in the dependent clause, if the event is viewed as a whole, and /tu:/ in the dependent clause, if the event is viewed as a process leading to a point in time. The following independent clause is usually introduced by either /cχ:/ or /ŋki?:/.

(14) *bo: an səŋ te: saru:ŋ ki:; cχ: an paŋ ne:?,*
when 3SG go.down from loft that then 3SG say like.this
‘When he came down from the loft, he said...’ [10]

(15) *tu: an arg: saʔuːj tro:, ŋki? kula: nəj, an con təŋ saru:ŋ*
when 3SG call many times thus tiger this 3SG go.up in loft
don.
house
‘When he had called many times, then the tiger went up into the loft of the house.’ [4]

(16) *luʔ tu: mə:m kunaj nəj ca: cək pasaj luʔ? cχ:*,
very when finish rat this eat one’s fill very already
ŋkiʔ kunaj nəj paŋ ne:ʔ en cə? aləj bas na?*
thus rat this say like.this in.addition for 3PL two person
sem aŋ nəj.
older.bro. this
‘When the rat had eaten till he was very full, he said to the two brothers...’ [56]

Example (17) shows concurrent time. This example has two dependent clauses: one introduced by /bo: nəm/ and the second by /ntəm/. The independent clause is introduced by /la:/ (See §5.2.3)
In examples (18) through (20), simultaneous action is indicated by the repeated use of the
word /ntɔm/ before each verb which is a part of the action being carried out at the same time.

child mother cow simultaneously say but simultaneously weep
‘The cow child said while weeping...’ [31]

(19) nɔ:tɔm ayɔ:ŋ ma: nɔ:tɔm blyŋ, “ntrɔ:ŋ aŋja e:
simultaneously hold out but simultaneously ask what 2PL want
ta? by: caŋ?”
do huh grandchild
‘As they gave it to them, they asked, “What do you want to do, grandchildren?”’ [57]

(20) ñki? alɔŋ bɔ:r na? sem aj naŋ hu:n bɔ:r na? niŋam
thus 3PL two person brothers this see two person young woman
this simultaneously eat but simultaneously afraid
‘The two brothers saw the girls eating even while they were filled with fear.’ [181]

Other illustrations of comparative time are shown in examples (21) through (24). In
example (21) both clauses contain a time word. In the other examples, only one clause
contains a time word, but the second clause is marked by a deictic or copula.

before be child corpse lack father
ma: sanja haj luŋ kɔ:n tɔ:j en.
but now 1PL(incl) truly become child lacking both parents in addition
‘Before, we were orphans without a father, but now we have become double
orphans.’ [38]

(22) ñke? alɔŋ tɔ:ŋ, ki: he? tampɔ:ŋ alɔŋ cuaj jo:n aŋja.
soon 3PL arrive that 1PL(excl) fight 3PL help for 2PL
“When they come, we will fight them on your behalf.” [68]

(23) teʔ aŋja pɔ:j ma: puauŋ aŋja pɔ:j, la koŋ bu:n
can 2PL go but before 2PL go be must have
“You can go. But before you go, you must have...” [142]

(24) mɔ:n kajak an ci ca: cɔ:ŋ, ñki? an thruːan be?.
finish husband 3SG eat already thus 3SG prepare sleep.
‘After her husband had eaten, he prepared to sleep.’ [7]
Some of the words which commonly occur as time markers have related spatial uses also. For example, /tu:/ not only indicates comparative time leading up to the main action as in examples (15) and (16), it may also indicate ‘up to’ in space as in example (25) below. Similarly, the words for ‘before’ and ‘after’, for ‘arrive’, and for ‘return’ have spatial meanings as illustrated in example (26)

(25) aļyj mbalaj? tu: ntuβaj to:ŋ
3PL just up to chicken male
‘...they had just gotten as far as the male chickens...’ [76]

(26) top kuoaj thaw kyr kuoaj karne:n lγ: lγ: la: puaj ntum
group person elderly and person children small be follow after
kuaj poŋ kiː:
person young that
‘The elderly people and children followed after the young people.’ [203]

5.1.4 Discourse linkage time

By far the most commonly used time marker in Bru narrative is the perfective word /cγ/. It occurs 662 times in this text. It functions on various levels as a boundary marker. A similar feature was noted by Gregerson and Martens (1986) in Uma for the perfective /mi/. It is used in verbal, adverbial or adjectival constructions with the meaning of ‘already’, as illustrated in examples (7) and (8) above and in the two below.

(27) aːt mumjaq cγ.
be.at pregnant already
‘...was already pregnant.’ [3]

(28) yua? rana? mroj ɬki? cγ,
because work 2SG thus already
‘...because you have already done this...’ [19]

Also illustrated in example (14) above as well as in examples (29) through (31) below is its very common use following a clause introduced by another time word such as /tu:/ or /bo:/ ‘when’. In this usage, it marks an action which follows that previously mentioned one. In this position it carries the meaning of ‘then’.

(29) tu: kaja:k an cγ: te: ce? ca:ŋ, cγ kaja:k an
when husband 3SG return from sell buy, then husband 3SG
naj hu:rn:
this see
‘when the husband returned from buying and selling, then he saw...’ [3]

(30) bo: an se:ŋ te: sarumŋ kiː, cγ: an pəŋ ne?:?,
when 3SG go.down from loft that then 3SG say like.this
‘When he came down from the loft, then he said,...’ [10]

(31) ɬki? tu: an daŋ kula naj khoj? ne?: ŋę:ŋ cγ:, cγ:
thus when 3SG know tiger this PST all strength already then
an hour sum...
3SG drag basket
'So when he knew that the tiger had exhausted his strength already, then he dragged the basket...' [17]

Very commonly the word /cry:−/ introduces a sentence within a paragraph. In this usage it indicates continuity of action or sequence of action. In these cases it might be translated 'so', 'so then' or 'next'.

(32) cry: at taj dog e:n, la: an abun kyp ntra?: hi:
then beat in house again be 3SG desire with cow also
'Then back at home again, she wanted to sleep with a cow also.' [2]

(33) cry: an ka: lakua:j p:i?: prh taj yon kaja:k an mut.
then 3SG who wife go open door allow husband 3SG enter
'Then the wife opened the door for her husband to come in.' [4]

As an exclamation, it occurs on its own, where it means 'That's enough already!'

(34) kula: na:j, an pa:j nne:?, "cry: kala: yaj,..."
tiger this 3SG say Thus already friend VOC
'The tiger said, 'That's enough, friend,...'" [14]

On the discourse level /cry:−/ plays an important part in moving the story along. Occurring at the start of a paragraph it indicates closure of one incident and the setting of the new action as following that which precedes in the previous paragraph.

(35) cry: mah pa:ng tarui:p parna:,...
then like light morning tomorrow
'Then the next morning,...' [9]

(36) cry: kon mpu?: ntra?: na:j, an ta:A:j la:h nne:?,...
then child mother cow this 3SG reply again like this
'Then the child of the cow mother answered,...' [27]

5.2 Linkage

A number of devices are used throughout the text to indicate juncture. Some of these are the subordinating markers for purpose, reason, condition, concession, substitution, addition as described by Thompson and Longacre (1985). Others are more coordinating or boundary marking.

5.2.1 Inclusion

Several words are used for joining or indicating inclusion. These are /deh/ 'including', /exn/ 'in.addition', /ha:/ or /te:/ 'also', /kon/ (preceding a verb phrase) 'also', or /nu:n/ 'with'. Sometimes more than one of these is used together. This does not seem to indicate emphasis, but reflects the tendency to give weight to an utterance by doubling or compounding expressions as discussed in §6. The word /nu:n/ is also commonly used with a verb of request to indicate that the one requesting places himself in the position of a supplicant as illustrated in examples (44) and (45).
1PL(excl) afraid mother 2PL eat including body 1PL(excl) in.addition
'I'm afraid your mother is going to eat me too.' [29]

(38) deh ania la: kai: rawe:h ali: j te:,
including 2PL be become soup 3PL also
'...you too are going to become soup for them also...' [52]

thus 3PL sell expensive very including silver gold including
tarijak en ha:
water.buffalo in.addition also
'So they asked a very high price including silver, gold and water buffalo also.' [112]

including 3PL two person brothers that be fall all in water
kro:j ki:
river that
'The two brothers also fell into the river.' [113]

(41) to: p ali: na: then paej deh ku? aj en ha: group 3PL still insult say including 1SG older.bro. in.addition also
'This group insulted even me your older brother also.' [273]

(42) cy: kon ntr: kyp kon kula: na:j, ali: kon bu:n kajak te:
then child cow and child tiger this 3PL also have husband also
'Then the cow child and the tiger child also had husbands.' [21]

(43) he? se?: hi:j? num! ha:
1PL(excl) request play with also
'I want to come up and play with you too.' [28]

(44) se?: aj?: amajh cuaj he? caw num? join
request grandmother awaken help 1PL(excl) grandchild REQ so.that
ali: tama:
3PL wake.up
'We ask you, grandmother, to please help us wake them.' [216]

(45) he? sem aj nai se?: kanum bar lam anj: an
1PL(excl) brothers this request ask.favour two CL uncle 3SG
cuaj amajh he? num.
help live 1PL(excl) REQ
'...we respectfully beg you two uncles to help save our lives.' [84]

The word most commonly used to indicate inclusion and show linkage on various levels is the word /kyp/. This word is used 301 times throughout the text. On the phrase level, /kyp/ is used most frequently to join nouns, but it is also used to join verbs or descriptives in a coordinate way. In this sense it is best translated 'and'. It is used frequently in the expressions /lakuy kyp kaja:k/ 'husband and wife' and /acujh kyp aya?:/ 'grandfather and grandmother', but its use in these expressions is optional, since /lakuy kaja:k/ and /acujh aya?:/ may be used without the joining word /kyp/.
(46) *bwn bar* na? *laku:j* krp kaja:k *la: kadi:t lu*?

have two person wife and husband be poor very

‘There were two persons, a husband and wife, who were very poor.’ [1]

(47) *ta? na? la: sâj* *ta: râj kunja?* *sum* *ki: jon ru*γ

do how be only not able break.open basket that give spoil

krp *raha*?.

and tear

‘Whatever he did he could not break open the basket to make it ruined and
torn.’ [14]

When used in a verbal phrase the meaning of inclusion or accompaniment is best
conveyed by a translation of ‘with’ or ‘toward’.

(48) *nki? kaja:k* *naj* *pa:j* krp *laku:j* *an* *nne:?,

thus husband this say with wife 3SG thus

‘So the husband said to his wife...’ [1]

(49) *mtj ko*? *bu:j* *nik* krp *bar* *lam* *kô:n* *mtj* *naj,

2SG must happy always with two CL child 2SG this

‘...you must be satisfied with these two children...’ [19]

On the sentence level, /krp/ is used to connect clauses which relate to each other in a
coordinate way.

(50) *an ka: âj* kâ:t *kô:n* kula;

3SG who older.sister become child tiger

krp *an* *ka: a?em* kâ:t *kô:n* ntrq:?

and 3SG who younger.sib. become child cow

‘The elder sister was a tiger’s child, and the younger was a cow’s child.’ [19]

At the discourse level, /krp/ is used to bring in additional information which is related to
that previously mentioned, but where time sequence is not in focus. Often it is used to
introduce speech where this is seen as accompanying action, as in example (50). It is also
used to introduce serial questions as shown in example (51).

(51) *cç: an* hoi *sum* kula: *naj* *du:η* *cu: da?:?

then 3SG drag basket tiger this bring return water

krp *an* *pa:j* *nne:?, “*ta:naj anaj* râ:j?*

and 3SG say thus day this EMPH

*la: ta:naj ania* *cu: kru:an* *ia:n* khe:, kru:an *akla:k...*

be day 2PL return country peace country drowning

‘Then he dragged the basket to the river. And he said, “This very day is the day
you return to the country of peace, the country of drowning...”’ [17]

(52) *nki? bar* na? *sem aj* *naj* *blv:η* *nne:?, “*sakx:r naj* *na:w*

thus two person brothers this ask thus drum this someone

da?: *ta? ntrv:w?* krp *mah* *priâ* acu: *ta?naj* *la: na:w*

put do what and PLUR bushhook knife this be someone
want do thing what huh young woman and group PN

naj, alvj klun mahle?? kyp ræp njāŋ alvj la: na?
this 3PL many how many and form likeness 3PL be how

tæp mahle?? tær to: alvj?”
exactly how much big body 3PL

‘Then the two brothers asked, “What is this drum for? And what is this bushhook for, huh girls? And this Phep Nhac group, how many are there? And what do they look like? How big are they?”’ [182]

5.2.2 Adversative

Another important boundary marker used within the text is /ma:/ . The word /ma:/ carries an adversative meaning. It is used on the sentence level in the usual way to contrast two ideas or conditions. In this use, it is best translated ‘or’ or ‘but’.

(53) myj saŋ te:, ma: ta: bu:n?
2SG hear also but not
‘Do you hear it too or not?’ [7]

(54) aŋja khoj? pupa:? te: doŋ, ma: he? co:n tæŋ saruŋ:j
2PL PST walk from house but IPL(excl) go up in loft
doŋ aŋja ŋki?.
house 2PL thus
‘You were gone from home, but I came up into the loft of your house.’ [10]

(55) ŋki? alvj bar na? lu? kæt sem aj te: muaj aja?:
thus 3PL two person truly become brothers from one grandmother
ma: mjær aYuajh.
but different grandfather
‘So those two became brothers from one grandmother but different grandfathers.’
[20]

At the discourse level, /ma:/ is often used to introduce an action or situation which is contrary to expectation. In the opening section of the text, for example, a number of paragraphs begin with /ma/. Where the husband is expected to go away as he said he would, he instead hides and watches his house (56). When the husband asks his wife why she’s so slow opening the door (57), she does not tell him the truth, but instead lies about it (58). She lies again about hearing the noise of the tiger hiding in the loft (59). When the husband confronts the tiger, instead of pouring abuse on him, he speaks to him in a friendly manner (60).

(56) ma: kajak an ta: bu:n lu? pa:? næ:j ce? cæ:j, ma:
but husband 3SG not truly go still sell buy but
an tæ tæ?: mper ki: tæp
3SG be at hide around that right away
‘But the husband didn’t really go to buy and sell, but he hid close by...’ [4]
but husband 3SG this truly PST know already PLUR way 3PL  
cʰː an təː nam bʰː rh lakuʔj an nneːʔ, “nə? mɾj təː buːn”  
them 3SG pretend ask wife 3SG thus why 2SG not  
pɾh caj təː jom kuiʔ?*  
open fast door for 1SG  
‘But her husband already knew what they intended. So he pretended to ask his  
wife, “Why didn’t you open the door quickly for me?”’ [5]

but wife 3SG lie thus 1SG sleep soundly very  
kuiʔ? təː buːn səŋ mɾj arəː kəː an kɾoː xjʔ?”  
1SG not hear 2SG call that 3SG long.time EMPH  
‘But his wife lied and said: “I was sleeping very soundly. I didn’t hear you  
calling. That’s why I was so slow.”’ [6]

(59) *maː* lakuʔj an təʔnaj ləːh neːʔ, “kuiʔ? təː buːn səŋ nəːt  
but wife 3SG reply again like this 1SG not hear noise  
akən ntrəʔw.”  
thing what  
‘But his wife replied, “I don’t hear any noise at all.”’ [7]

(60) *maː* an təː buːn paːj ntrəʔw ak saw?  
but 3SG not say what thing bad  
‘But he didn’t say anything bad at all...’ [11]

In a construction in which a conditional clause is followed by a counter-conditional clause,  
it conveys the idea of ‘if, on the other hand’.

(61) kʰən anjə rajəːjəɾ  neːʔ rəŋuːh rahaː maː suːm nəʃ nəːʔ pətəːt  
if 2PL move.around all strength but basket this still similar  
təʔ?, kəː heʔ eː coʔ alik heʔ taŋ nəʃ xjʔʔ? kʰən maː  
old that 1PL(excl) want put pig 1PL(excl) in this EMPH if but  
an ruŋ, kəː haj təː nam ləːh məʃəj lam tamaj təʔ kʰən  
3SG ruined that 1PL(incl) weave again one CL new make sturdy  
həm teː nəʃ eːn.  
more from this in.addition  
‘If you move around with all your strength but the basket remains as usual, I’ll put  
my pig in it. But if it is ruined, then we’ll weave a new one stronger than that one.’  
[13]

5.2.3 Sentence level linkage

Other important markers of juncture within the text are /kaː/ and /laː/. These are lower  
level linkage markers, but they aid cohesion throughout the text. The marker /kaː/ is used as a  
relative clause marker. It is frequently used in participant reference, not only upon initial  
introduction, but often throughout the narrative. It is sometimes used to contrast one versus
another, as in example (64). And it is frequently used in WH-questions. According to Comrie (1981), a relative clause construction must minimally contain a head and a relative clause. In the Bru text, the head is always present, but the restrictive clause is sometimes very minimal as in examples (64) and (65).

1PL(excl) want want go take pig which 1PL(excl) PST buy already
'I want to go get a pig which I have already bought.' [12]

(63) "xː! nɔ:w ka: li:t tay pala? kiː; ca:y, set nɔ:ət!
Oh someone who be.at in above that VOC go.down implore
'Hey! Whoever you are up there, please come down!'

(64) ca:y; an ka: lakowj paː? pəɬ tɔŋ jɔ:n kajə:k an mu:t.
then 3SG who wife go open door allow husband 3SG enter
'So the wife went and opened the door for her husband to come in.' [4]

(65) an ka: liː... kɔp an kaː a?əm...
3SG who older.sister and 3SG who younger.sib
'The older sister...and the younger sister...' [19]

(66) ca:y; kajə:k an blətəh lakowj neː?; "ntrəw kaː nəɾət taj
then husband 3SG ask wife thus what which noise in
sarən dəŋ haj?"
loft house 1PL(incl)
'Then the husband asked the wife, “What’s that making a noise in the loft of
our house?”' [7]

The form /laː/ functions as a copula in equational sentences. In other cases it marks clause juncture of other types such as topic-comment constructions. A very common use of /laː/ is
with the negative, as in example (72), in which the meaning is ‘or’. The form /laː/ is found
253 times in the text.

(67) ca:y; kulaː najo, an taːliː nəʔ, "xː? he? laː, kalaː:"
then tiger this 3SG reply like this all.right 1PL(excl) be friend
'Then the tiger replied, “Okay! It’s I, friend.”' [10]

(68) maː aliːk he? ca:n najo laː təɾ luoʔ tānaj təːl.
but pig 1PL(excl) buy this be big very huge male
'But the pig I bought is a very large male pig.' [12]

(69) ɛːkiʔ tay məːj sadaw kiː; luoʔ pajo an səʔ nəɾ səʔiːj
thus in one night that truly say 3SG hear noise many
troː, laː an taː buːn taʔ boʔ nəːŋ.
times be 3SG not speak any more
'So that whole night, even though he heard the noise many times, he didn’t say
anything more about it.' [8]

(70) haj buːn dəŋ suː laː daːʔ jɔːn jəɬəh baj klah kliː; ca:y;
1PL(incl) have house shelter be put for friends pay.a.visit EMPH
'The reason we have a house is so that friends can visit us.' [11]
(71)  luw? paj he?  ta: bu:r n: t ndon  la: ta: bu:r ntr:nw ka:
       truly say 1PL(excl) not be.at house be not what which
       ta? ma:  kal:  2:j:"
       do  NEG-EMPH friend VOC
       'Even though I'm not at home, there is no problem. friend.' [11]

       wrong or not wrong be 3PL eat EXCL friend VOC
       'Whether you are wrong or not, they will eat you. friend.' [52]

5.3 Deixis

Bru has a well-developed series of deictics, and these play an important role in a Bru narrative. In their prototypical role, they show three levels of distance – 'here', 'there' and 'farther over there'. They also distinguish 'this' and 'that'. In a more abstract way, they may be used to refer to a certain situation or event to a speech act itself. These more abstract deictics may be either anaphoric with 'backward-looking identification' (Grimes 1978:316), or cataphoric, with 'forward-looking reference' (Grimes 1978:317). The table below gives the more common deictics and the number of occurrences within the text under study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Far</th>
<th>Farther</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deictic</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>224</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Bru deictic distinctions and number of occurrences in Bru text

As can be seen from the above table, the term /tih/ 'over there' occurs less frequently and seems to occur only in the simple deictic use of 'over there' or the demonstrative 'that one over there'.

(73)  tih, an  at  kah ania  tih  ny:
       there 3SG be.at side direction there huh
       '...over there, he's over in that direction.' [265]

(74)  tih  ce:? nam alun ka:  ta:r ta:n sarun  atih  ny:
       there near trunk tree which big in young. forest over.there huh
       'Over there near the trunk of the big tree in that forest over there.' [275]

(75)  maja sadaw koh  naij, maja tanaj sarun  atih.
       one night mountain this one day young. forest over.there
       '...one night at this mountain, one day in that forest.' [39]

(76)  pa:  de:r da:w wa:j  ny:
       go forge sword beforehand huh direction place grandfather over.there
       'Go forge swords first, okay, over there at that grandfather's place.' [142]
Forms /naj/ and /ki/ following a noun carry the usual meaning of 'this' or 'that'. Additionally, however, /naj/ is used throughout the text to identify participants who are 'on stage' at a given time. Looking at the start of the text, for example, the husband and wife are brought into the story without a deictic. But very quickly, in the first paragraph, the husband is singled out to be /kaja:k naj/ 'this husband'. The wife, who is not on stage, is referred to as /lakaj an/ 'his wife'.

Other props such as the loft, the pepper, etc. are backgrounded with the use of /kij/. Then in paragraph [10], the tiger also comes on stage and is identified as /kula: naj/ 'this tiger'. Since the main characters in the story are the two brothers, they are identified by the word /naj/ throughout much of the text, sharing the stage from time to time with others.

Used in a number of constructions, /kij/ very commonly introduces a main clause which follows a conditional clause, as in example (77), or a clause which expresses the meaning of 'whatever', 'whenever', 'however much', etc. as in examples (78) through (80).

(77) cye:, an ka: aj paj en nne?:, "khon bu:m an ka: then 3SG who older.bro. say in.addition thus if have 3SG who huj cym haj naj, kij haj pa?: taj p te: naj, singe bird 1PL(incl) this that 1PL(incl) go right.away from this naj em."
right younger.sib.
'So the older brother said, "If there were someone to singe this bird of ours, we'd go right away, wouldn't we younger brother?"' [172]

(78) ntryw ania jo:k e: paj co? acuajh ania, kij ania paj ny: what 2PL want want say for grandfather 2PL that 2PL say huh 'Whatever you want to say to your grandfather, you say, okay?' [123]

(79) acuajh y:j mahle? acuajh jo:k e: paj, kij ta:m grandfather VOC how.much grandfather want want say that it's.up.to acuajh.
grandfather
'Grandfather, however much you want to say, it's up to you.' [156]

(80) ma: hoj le? ania sanja te?: pa?: naj, kij ania but when which 2PL feel not can go any.more that 2PL pih cu: la:h pa: don haj, ny: caw.
go.back return again direction house 1PL(incl) huh grandchild '...but whenever you feel you can't go any more, then you come back to our house, won't you grandchildren?' [163]

In the phrase /ki: na?/, it conveys the meaning 'then only'.

(81) anij: ton y:j. he? se?: anij: panj rana: jon
uncle male VOC 1PL(excl) request uncle make.way road allow
he? bar na? sem aj luh waj ha:. kij na?
1PL(excl) two person.brothers run beforehand also that how
A preliminary look at a Bru epic

*a* /ŋa j a karcit* ləi h sia.
2SG fight together again as before
‘Uncle Roosters, we ask you to make way for us to run first. Then you can go back to fighting.’ [65]

The forms listed in the table above as being demonstrative seem to carry a feeling of more specificity. They occur only following nouns. One might hypothesise that these are a contraction of the relative pronoun /ka:/ plus the deictic /ki:/ since this combination is found to occur with a similar meaning as shown in example (82) below. Further study is needed to confirm this.

(82) *ŋki? kula: nəj, an tə n sum jom kajak mpj? ka:
thus tiger this 3SG weave basket for husband mother who

*ki, la: tər khum lun?.
that be big sturdy very
‘So the tiger wove a basket for the husband of that woman, large and very sturdy.’ [13]

(83) *ju:j aly j cancvm paj la: kuaj nəjŋ be? tən nto? akj:
because 3PL think say be person still sleep in place there
‘...because they thought someone was still sleeping in that place.’ [63]

(84) *cy: an saŋ hajŋ phyam lun? tən sarunŋ akj:
then 3SG smell smell fragrant very in young forest there
‘Then he smelled a very sweet smell in that forest.’ [226]

(85) *taŋj anaj cy:ji? la: taŋj anəj cy: kruŋ jən khej,
day this EMPH be day 2PL return country peace
‘This very day is the day you will return to the peaceful country (i.e. die).’ [17]

thus request 2PL go in addition from place this
‘Please leave this place.’ [168]

The forms which begin with a syllabic nasal convey the meaning of place – /nnəj/ ‘here’ and /ŋki:/ ‘there’. With the use of this form, no noun is required, since place is implied in the form itself. A case might be made for considering the form a contraction of /təŋj/ ‘in/on’ plus the deictic, particularly since the syllabic nasal has this function in a few other contexts such as /ndoŋ/ ‘at home’ or /nnəŋj/ ‘at that place’.

(87) *khoj: j dun cy: anəj raŋy: nnəj.
PST long time already 2PL rest this
‘You have rested here for a long time already.’ [168]

(88) *cy: pa:j? lət plan bəŋ koh. sadəw nəle? be? ŋki:
then go wander all over mountain night sleep there
‘So they wandered all over the mountains, sleeping wherever they ended up at night.’ [39]

The two abstract deictics are those with the widest range of uses. The word /nnə?:/ or /nə?:/ (as it sometimes appears) is cataphoric and is used to introduce new information to which attention is being drawn. Sometimes the new information is in the form of a list. At
other times it relates to thoughts or decisions arrived at. Sometimes it is in the form of an
announcement on the part of the narrator.

(89) kɔ:n kula: bu:n muyaj lam kɔ:n samjaŋ, kɔ:p an amuŋh ramuŋh
child tiger have one CL child male and 3SG name name
kɔ:n an nne:?, ajj tasuo.
child 3SG thus older.bro. PN
‘The tiger (mother) had a male child, and she named him this: Tasuo.’ [20]

(90) luw? kuw? ajj hu:m nne:?, to:p tiaw kalaŋ klo:k naj,
truly 1SG older.bro. see thus group PN this
luw? algy uan nik kɔ:p muyj.
truly 3PL unhappy always with 2SG
‘But I have seen clearly this: this Tiaw Calang Cloc group is really angry with
you.’ [273]

(91) cyː: algy cuː? nːeː?, algy it ahaːm cym. cyː: atja taj
then 3PL look.for idea like.this 3PL take blood bird then rub on
atiː an kaː aːeːm.
hand 3SG who younger.sib.
‘Then they got this idea: they took the blood of a bird and rubbed it on the hands
of the younger brother.’ [41]

But the most common use of the word /nneː?/ in the text is to indicate a quote margin. Of
the 224 occurrences in the text, all but twenty mark direct quotations. And of the twenty
which do not, several are used to mark indirect quotations.

(92) ṣkiː kajək nːaj paj kɔ:p lakuːj an nneː?,
thus husband this say with wife 3SG thus
‘Then the husband said to his wife...’ [1]

(93) cyː: an taː nam blvːh lakuːj an nneː?,
then 3SG pretend ask wife 3SG thus
‘Then he pretended to ask his wife...’ [5]

(94) maː lakuːj an kake? nneː?, “kwuː? be? lanŋt luː?.”
but wife 3SG lie thus 1SG sleep soundly very
‘But the wife lied, saying, “I was sleeping very soundly.”’ [6]

(95) cyː: kumːt paj nneː?, “khan ṣkiː, anja coj kɔːŋŋ? ntrvːw.
then termite say thus if thus 2PL don’t fear what
he? teː? cuːj anja.”
1PL(excl) can help 2PL
‘Then the termite said, “If it’s like that, don’t be afraid. We can help you.”’ [48]

The use of /nneː?/ as a quote margin is not required, and a few instances are found where
it does not occur. But the majority of direct quotes are preceded by this word, and the places
where it is omitted, as in the latter part of example (96), seem to be in a context of rejoinder
where speakers have already been identified.
A preliminary look at a Bru epic

(96) cy: to:p phe:p na:k naj lw? ta?:. cy: an saba:w ne?:, then group PN this truly arrive then 3SG call.out like.this

"bat baj asaj sakjow kham cy:, ba: njaj?"
vegetables ginger onion sufficient already huh young.woman

ŋki? alŋi bar ma? se:m aj naj ta?aj la:h ne?:, "χ?:.
thus 3PL two person brothers this reply again like.this yes
kham cy:.” “prja acy: kham cy:, ba: njaj?”
sufficient already bushhook knife sufficient already huh young.woman

“kham cy:.”
sufficient already
'Then the Phep Nhac group arrived. They called out, “Are all the condiments ready, girls?” The two brothers replied, “Yes. Everything is ready.” “Are the bushhooks and knives ready?” “Yes, they are ready.”’ [190]

A similar range of uses is found for the anaphoric deictic word /ŋki?/. As object of a verb or comment in a topic-comment construction, the word is used fairly commonly. It often occurs as the object of verbs of sight or speech.

(97) tuw: kajak an hu:mm raj p kôn an kat ŋki? cy:,...
when husband 3SG see form child 3SG become thus already
‘When the husband saw that his children had an appearance like that,...’ [19]

(98) ma: he? com taj sarwuŋ donŋ anjaŋ ŋki?.
but 1PL(excl) go.up in loft house 2PL thus
‘...but I went up into the loft of your house like that.’ [10]

The word /ŋki?/ is also frequently found after a time clause to introduce the main action of the sentence.

(99) tuw: an arq: sa?wuŋ tro:, ŋki? kula: naj, an com
when 3SG call many times thus tiger this 3SG go.up

taj sarwuŋ donŋ.
in loft house
‘When he had called many times, the tiger went up into the loft of the house.’ [4]

(100) ma:mm kajak an ci ca: cy:, ŋki? an thraun be?.
finish husband 3SG eat already thus 3SG prepare sleep.
When the husband had eaten, he prepared to sleep.’ [7]

(101) khan hoj le? ma: myj hu:mm pjar naj
if when which but 2SG see flower this

an saŋat cy:, ŋki? lju? ku? mpu?: kući:t
3SG dry.up already thus truly 1SG mother die
‘Whenever you see this flower wilt, then surely your mother has died...’ [24]

With the preposition /jua?/, /ŋki?/ is used to denote cause.

(102) he? sanŋ ŋkah lju?: jua? ŋki? ma: he? leh puaj
1PL(excl) feel afraid very because thus but 1PL(excl) run follow
On a discourse level, /ŋkiʔ/ connects ideas or actions which are related more in a cause/result or thought progression sequence than a time sequence. In this usage /ŋkiʔ/ occurs sentence or paragraph initially.

(103) ŋkiʔ, du:n kasaj te: tanaj ki: lakuaj an be? tapeh.

thus long.time month from day that wife 3SG sleep fireplace

'So, a long time after that, the wife went into labour.' [19]

(104) ŋkiʔ, mpiʔ? kɔn ntraʔ? kɔp kɔn kula: naj, luʔ? an cum sjom

thus mother child cow and child tiger this truly 3SG raise

mjaʔ naiʔ? ansaj tajw kɔn an taj kajt kumur.

one person 3SG only until child 3SG big become young.woman

'So the mother of the cow child and the tiger child raised them by herself until the children grew up to become young women.' [20]

6 Compounding

A common feature of Mon-Khmer languages is the use of what has been variously termed expressives, ideophones, binomials, or double words (Watson 1980:76). In some cases these expressions have parts which are either rhyming or phonologically similar in some way. They may be very common expressions or those which are created by the speaker.

Some of these expressions take a word which has meaning by itself and add a second word which has no meaning of its own simply to add fullness or weight to the expression. In many cases these show some form of reduplication or phonological similarity. For example, in the following list, the first word of the pair may be used on its own with the meaning indicated. The second word only occurs as an extension of the first.

/play, visit/
/强度/
/possessions/
/kiss’ (lit. ‘sniff’)

Other expressions take two words with similar meanings and put them together to strengthen or give emphasis to the whole. For example, both /kɔt/ and /ŋkujʔ/ mean ‘small’. Used together, they mean ‘very small’ or ‘tiny’. The same is true of the other combinations given below. The use of two words which have the same general meaning either intensifies or makes the expression more complete.

/tiny/
/easy, peaceful’
/appearance’
/‘strength, labour’
/‘deceive’
/‘discard’
/‘injury, wound’
/‘confess’

'
In some cases two items of a class are used to indicate the entire category or class (Anderson 1985:40).

/doi:j rave:h/  rice + soup = ‘food’
/prja acu:/  bushhook + knife = ‘utensils’
/alik tarjak/  pig + buffalos = ‘domestic animals’
/doŋ sw:/  house + shelter = ‘family’

Some of these expressions are built up to convey a sense of the superlative or of picturesque speech.

(105) ŋki? top phep na:k kucit: tpm upn tuŋ luŋ than,  tǎ: ᵅxj
     thus group PN  die in.large.numbers completely not able
     na:p  naːŋ.
     count any more
     ‘So the Phep Nhac died in great numbers, so many they couldn’t be counted.’ [192]

     thus all all person under sky covering this request thank again
     ‘So all the people of the covering of the sky want to thank...’ [223]

(107) ɕː: hɛʔ  tampeʔ: mah mən cin tapun raːŋa
     then 1PL(excl) divide PLUR inheritance completely
     məh  sanok ntuːm ɛn  joːn an kjː.
     PLUR wealth in.addition give 3SG that
     ‘Then we will share all our inheritance and property with him...’ [205]

(108) ɕː: aːlːj  tảːr acoːn kʊː  saːdːw taːŋ kəsaːj  kumːː
     then 3PL big lift.up each night day month year
     kəːt  taːːm.
     become young.man
     Then they grew day by day, month by month, year by year until they became
     young men. [132]

Within the text are a few examples of poetic or formulaic speech. This feature often is
found in Bru folk literature. This is illustrated, for example, in the ditties sung by the
craftsmen forging swords for the two brothers.

(109) ŋki? seːm aːj na:j joːn aːcəːj hiː pul lul na:j deːr. ɕː: acəːj hiː
     thus brothers this give grandfather PN this forge then grandfather
     na:j luː? deːr, kʊː  an paːj neːʔ, “pul lul aːraːŋ kliːn
     this truly forge and 3SG say like this curved like anus
     kupet, pet le:t aːraːŋ kliːn kapah.”
     tick flat.&.thin like anus small.insect
     ‘So the brothers allowed Grandfather Pul Lul to forge swords. This man forged, and
     as he worked he sang this ditty, “Curved like a tick’s anus, flat and thin like a bug’s
     anus.”’ [145]

Some phrases seem to be put together with an ear for stylistic elegance. These are found
most frequently in the transition portions between episodes where the narrator is setting the
scene. Several different types of alliteration or sound consonance are involved. One noted for
Rengao by Gregerson (pers. comm.) is of the type where the middle two of four words are made to rhyme in some way. Watson (1977:312-313) calls this 'rhetorical underlining'. This is seen in the poetic phrase used for forest by the narrator in example (110) and in the phrase in (111) which describes the wanderings of the brothers. Example (112) shows a series of three phonologically similar pairs used in one expression to describe the sustenance found by the brothers. Example (113) shows verb reduplication in the common phrase for 'upriver and downriver' for dramatic effect.

(110) njik? bu:w tanaj ki; an sanj jok e: pana]? pupon la:h tan
thus have day that 3SG feel want want go hunt again in
arunj bh arunj sarunj maجن sia,
forest deep forest only as before
‘Then the day came when he wanted to go hunting again in the forest.’ [225]

(111) co:n koh sajon punh, at tanj lenj senj tanl leh.
go.up mountain prance side be.at in pasture go.down in slope
‘They climbed mountains up and down the sides; they went through pastures and down hillsides.’ [40]

(112) tamηη nyη: alaη ηalaj pasaj jua]? palaj palct
live because of tree small.bamboo full because fruit plentiful
tan sarunj sarja?,
in forests
‘They were able to live because of the vegetation, able to eat because of the fruit in the forests.’ [39]

(113) cy: an toj? i:t kyp palah attunj palah atjik
then 3SG get take and turn.toward upriver turn.toward downriver
nejη salii?.
look look
‘So she picked it up and turning first one way and then the other looked inside.’ [114]

7 Indicators of emotion and attitude

Much of the flavour of the narrative is found in the words used either by the narrator or the characters themselves to indicate emotion or attitude. This feature is referred to as 'mood' by Grimes, who notes that this category includes 'communication options, logical status, and attitude of the speaker toward the content of the message' (1978:235). Levels of politeness, certainty, familiarity, surprise and affirmation are indicated by use of various markers in the text under study. Many of them are found only in direct address of which this text has a great deal.

7.1 Confirmation request

One of the most obvious characteristics of the speech found within the text is the range of particles used by speakers to request confirmation or agreement. In some cases the agreement is expected to be in the form of action. In these cases the markers are more of command than question.
It seems to us that of all the modal particles used in the text, these markers which request verification most clearly show the spectrum of formality to informality and politeness demonstrated within the story.

Table 2: Bru modal particles for requesting verification arranged along more formal/polite to less formal/polite continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More formal/polite</th>
<th>Less formal/polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\eta\gamma:$</td>
<td>$\nu:$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form /$\eta\gamma:/$ is used in any setting and level of formality. We note that /$\nu\nu:/$ was used by the brothers when speaking to each other or to the young women in the story, and that /$\nu\nu\eta:/$ also was used by the brothers when talking to each other. The others were mostly used by the ‘bad guys’ to show a certain level of disdain, though the younger brother when aroused by the taunts of the Tiau Calang Cloc responded in kind in example (119).

(114) sanha mnj $\lambda t$ ndon $\eta\gamma$: kui? $\nu\eta\eta$ e: $\rho a?$ lâ: $\lambda$ hia $\lambda i a$. now 2SG be.at house huh 1SG still want go again as.before ‘Now you stay at home, okay? I still want to go again as before.’ [3]

(115) nki? haj $\rho a?$ tåp te: nto? $\nu a j$, $\nu\nu\nu$: kaj. thus 1PL(incl) go right.away from place this huh friend ‘Then we would leave immediately, wouldn’t we friend?’ [169]

(116) cy$: kui? lu? huum $\lambda t$ kucit tan sarun $\nu a j$, $\nu a j$, $a? e m$: then 1SG truly see be.at die in young.forest this right younger.sib. ‘Then I saw you here dead in the forest, didn’t I, younger brother.’ [270]

(117) $n\nu\varepsilon n$ aw$\nu j$ ma: $n\nu\varepsilon n$ bly$h$, “$n\nu\varepsilon w$ anja e: simultaneously hold.out but simultaneously ask what 2PL want ta? $\beta\gamma$: ca$w?$”
do huh grandchild ‘They held it out and asked, “What do you want to do, huh grandchildren?”’ [57]

(118) khâ$\nu$ jok e: tam$\nu\eta$, if want want to live $k j$: lâ: $\nu a s\nu\eta$ da$\nu h$ te: nto? anja $\delta\gamma$: that get.down take.down EXCL from place this okay ‘If you want to live, then you’d better get down from here, okay?’ [243]

(119) k$\nu p$ he? ta: huum h$\nu j$: lakuaj kuaj ale? $\delta\gamma$: and 1PL(excl) not play wife person whoever okay ‘I don’t fool around with anyone’s wife, okay?’ [244]

(120) ma: ta: k$\lambda$ $c u$: $\nu a\nu\eta$ te: nto? aki: ba$: ta: dan $\beta a$, but not become return any.more from place there huh not know huh he? ta?: jok e: l$\nu j$: e: l$\nu$: k$\nu p$ samp$\mu\eta$ he? $k j$: 1PL(excl) arrive want want play want play with fiancee 1PL(excl) that ‘How come this guy doesn’t leave, huh? Doesn’t he know we want to visit with our fiancee?’ [238]
7.2 Vocative

In a similar way, the vocative expressions show a range of formality and politeness. The form /χːj/ (or its variant form /χːjh/) is used for anyone. Others seem to be used only in informal and in some cases even rude exchanges.

**Table 3:** Bru vocative expressions arranged along more formal/polite to less formal/polite continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More formal/polite</th>
<th>Less formal/polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χːj/χːjh</td>
<td>χː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(121) kːn χːj. sanːŋ it piar nːj daː? kacat tːŋ rataŋ don.  
child VOC now take flower this put hang.up on wall house  
‘Child, you take this flower and hang it on the wall of the house.’ [24]

(122) cχː: alːvj paːj nneː?:, “χː! kːn sarih! khan jɔːk eː;  
then 3PL say thus Oh child illegitimate.birth if want want  
tamːŋ, kːj: laːŋ aseːŋ dajː teː: ntoʔ anːj dχːː.”  
to.live that get.down take.down EXCL from place this okay  
‘Then they said, “Hey you bastard, if you want to live, then you’d better get down from here.”’ [243]

(123) AW! anːj kːn laːkʊːj mːj baːː?  
oh! this child wife 2SG huh  
‘Oh! So this is you wife, huh?’ [245]

(124) nːkiʔ toːp tiːaw kalaːŋ kloːk nːj threːk an nneː?:,  
thus group PN this insult 3SG thus  
“Qːː, nːːw kːj: χː! naʔ maː daːŋ seʔ? tanaŋ nːj cχːː;  
oh someone that VOC how but know how many day this already  
maː tː: kːːt cːː: nːːŋ teː: ntoʔ akiː baːː.”  
but not become return any.more from place there huh  
‘So the Tiau Calang Cloc taunted him, “Hey, you! How many days are you going to hang around before you go back where you came from?”’ [238]

7.3 Terms of address

The terms used by the various characters in the story to address each other are a major indicator of social distance and respect on the part of the speaker. They also evoke emotion on the part of the hearer or reader. Terms of address range from the extremely polite /nːːw karsaːj/ for ‘you’ and /abah/ for ‘me’ through the polite plural pronouns to the more familiar singular pronouns. Kinship terms vary in level of respect, but the addition of the third singular pronoun after the kin term makes the form much more polite. Note example (125) below.
Table 4: Bru address terms arranged along more formal/polite
to less formal/polite continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More formal/polite</th>
<th>Less formal/polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG abah</td>
<td>kinship term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL na:w karsaj</td>
<td>(+) 3SG maj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he? na:w an</td>
<td>he? anja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrast between the extremely polite heroes and the brusque and impolite Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Catuc comes through very clearly in the way the animals are addressed as these characters meet them blocking the way. The Bru value placed on politeness comes through frequently in the speech of the two brothers. As the two brothers meet the buffalo fighting in the road, their request is respectful and urgent, as shown in example (125).

(125) ƞki? bar na? sem aj naj se?: nne?, “yy!” bak an yy!
thus two person brothers this request thus VOC uncle 3SG VOC
REQ 1PL(excl) request two CL uncle 3SG don’t do thus yet
he? se?: tamŋŋ se?: bak an paŋ rana: jo:n he?
1PL(excl) request live request uncle 3SG make.way road for 1PL(excl)
luh mahoj waj.”
run moment beforehand
‘The two brothers asked, “Oh respected uncles, we ask you two uncles to not do this yet. We ask to live. We ask you uncles to make way for a few moments so we can run by.”’ [77]

Coming along a bit later, Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Catuc speak to the pigs brusquely in example (126):

(126) alŋγ yŋ bar lam alık to:l naj paŋ rana: jo:n alŋγ paː?: alŋγ
3PL order two CL pig male this make.way road for 3PL go 3PL
paŋ ne?:, “Aw! anja paŋ rana: he? e: paː?: naj.”
say like.this oh! 2PL make.way road 1PL(excl) want go this
‘They ordered the two male pigs to get out of the way so they could go. They said, “Hey, you get out of the way. We want to go here.”’ [79]

Even in face-to-face encounters with the Tiau Calang Cloc, the brothers continue to speak politely until goaded beyond what they can tolerate. The difference can be clearly seen in the following exchange where Tasuo has come to look for his younger brother’s body. They speak rudely to him, calling him by the shocking term /ko:n aco:/ ‘child of a dog’. But he answers with extremely polite speech, addressing them with the polite /na:w karsaj/ and referring to himself as /abah/. 
Shock and anger are evoked by the use of terms such as ‘child of a dog’ in example (127) and ‘bastard’ in example (122). And when Tangu has finally had all the abuse he can take, he refers to himself defiantly as /n/re:h/, using simply the classifier for long slender objects. But the threat implied by his use of this term in example (128) to refer to himself is obvious to a Bru audience.
(128) \textit{khan ntre:k na:j ma: na:ta tam\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}{}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}}, \textit{ki: co:j ni?: pampla:}

\text{if CL this but still live that don't compare powerful}

\textit{mahle?}.

\text{how much}

\text{‘As long as I am still living then don’t try to compare who is most powerful.’ [278]}

The singular pronoun forms /\textit{ku:?}/ ‘I, me’ and /\textit{ma:j}/ ‘you’ are typically used between peers and those who are well acquainted with each other. For example, at the beginning of the story, the husband and wife used these terms of address with each other. The tiger mother and cow mother addressed each other with singular pronouns, as did also Grandfather and Grandmother Soc Cucat.

(129) \textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}} ki? kaja:k na:j pa:j k\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} lakuaj an nne:?,

\text{thus husband this say with wife 3SG thus}

\text{‘san\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}}\textit{ m\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}} ta?\textit{ don\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} saraj muaj na:}\textit{? m\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}} s\textit{a}\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\textit{.}

\text{now 2SG make house field one person 2SG only}


\text{1SG be go sell buy long.time how 1SG have return}

\text{‘So the husband said to his wife, “Now you stay here and mind the house and field by yourself. I am going to buy and sell. After a while I’ll come back.”’} [1]

More polite and less familiar are the plural pronoun forms /\textit{he:?}/ ‘we (exclusive)’ and /\textit{an\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}}\textit{a}/ ‘you (plural)’. The tiger having been caught in a compromising position by the husband speaks ingratiatingly to him.

(130) \textit{bo: an se:na te: sarum\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}} ki;\textit{, ca: an pa:j nne:?, “he?}

\text{when 3SG go.down from loft that then 3SG say like.this 1PL(excl)}

\textit{kh\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}? bu:n lop\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} co? an\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} an\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} kala? x\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}}. an\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} k\text{\textasciitilde}?

\text{PST have sin against 2PL already friend VOC 2PL PST}

\textit{pupa?: te: don, ma: he? co:n ta\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} sarum\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} do\text{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} an\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} an\textit{\textsoft{\textasciitilde}} ni?:.”}

\text{walk from house but 1PL(excl) go.up in loft house 2PL thus}

\text{‘When he went down from the loft he said, “I have wronged you, friend. You were gone from home, but I went into the loft of your house like this.”’} [10]

Kin terms are used between the brothers, between the brothers and the young women and with the older people. Sometimes a combination of pronoun and kin term is used. While the two boys usually addressed each other with the sibling terms, they also used the familiar first and second person pronouns. With the various grandparent figures they usually used the term ‘Grandfather’ or ‘Grandmother’ and were addressed as ‘Grandchild.’

Only once did Tangu address his older brother formally. This was when he told his brother he was leaving his wife and family for Miss Creq Phuom and life in the underworld. His brother was not happy about the choice but agreed not to abandon him. Tangu accepted responsibility for his decision but again asked his brother not to reject him, using the formal term of ‘uncle’ plus the third person singular pronoun to speak to his brother.
(131) cə: aʔe:m an taʔaj lə:h an ka: aʔj nneʔ, “te: rana?
then younger.sib. 3SG reply again 3SG who older.bro. thus about thing
nəj, taʔm kuʔʔi. seʔi baʔk an coʔj tah toʔj kuʔʔi?
this it's.up.to 1SG request uncle 3SG don’t discard throw.away 1SG
aʔe:m nəj, la: kuʔʔi aʔe:m saʔʔaʔn təʔp.”
younger.sib this be 1SG younger.sib. thank right.away
‘Then the younger brother replied to his older brother, “As to this matter, I’ll take
full responsibility. Please don’t turn away from me, your younger brother, and I
will be very grateful.”’ [234]
Collected papers on Southeast Asian and Pacific languages

edited by
Robert S. Bauer

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University