

**A COMPARISON OF PRONOUNS IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE
IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES**

ITSARATE DOLPHEN

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THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (LINGUISTICS)
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entitled
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IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES**

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A COMPARISON OF PRONOUNS IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN SOUTHEAST
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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyze and compare full pronouns and zero pronouns focusing on forms and discourse functions that serve as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in Southeast Asian languages by using the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Grammar. The research data were taken from secondary sources of three languages: Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh, for a total of fifteen stories.

The results reveal that full pronouns and zero pronouns of the three language families share some linguistic properties of ‘pro-drop’ in both similar and contrasting ways. For example, full pronouns in Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh display no agreement in number and gender, whereas full pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular, dual and plural distinction in gender differentiation in third person forms when referring to a noun or a noun group in narrative discourse. As for discourse functions of pronouns in narrative discourse, it was found that both full pronouns and zero pronouns function as a cohesive device in terms of substitution and ellipsis referents in narrative discourse. The main functions of the third person pronouns are used to 1) maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities and 2) to highlight a participant through emphasis. It was also found that zero pronouns will occur immediately after their full forms to track an active participant in narrative discourse.

KEY WORDS: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS / COMPARATIVE STUDIES /

FULL PRONOUNS / ZERO PRONOUNS / NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

174 pages

การเปรียบเทียบสรรพนามในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่าในภาษาเอเชียอาคเนย์

A COMPARISON OF PRONOUNS IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES

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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาการเปรียบเทียบสรรพนามในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่าในภาษาเอเชียอาคเนย์ 3 ภาษา ได้แก่ ภาษาไทดำ ภาษาขมุ และภาษาอิวเมี่ยน จากเรื่องเล่าแต่ละภาษารวมทั้งสิ้น 15 เรื่อง ตามแนวทางของไวยากรณ์ระบบและหน้าที่ (Systemic Functional Grammar) ซึ่งมุ่งศึกษารูปและหน้าที่เชิงสัมพันธสารของสรรพนามบุรุษที่ 3 ทั้งสรรพนามรูปเต็ม และสรรพนามไม่ปรากฏรูป

ผลการศึกษาพบว่า สรรพนามรูปเต็มและสรรพนามไม่ปรากฏรูปของทั้ง 3 ตระกูลภาษาต่างมีลักษณะร่วมของภาษาละสรรพนามทั้งที่เหมือนกันและต่างกัน เช่น คำสรรพนามในภาษาไทดำและภาษาอิวเมี่ยนจะไม่มีความสะดวกคล้องทางไวยากรณ์ในเรื่องพจน์และเพศ ในขณะที่คำสรรพนามรูปเต็มในภาษาอิวเมี่ยนจะมีรูปเอกพจน์ ทวิพจน์ และพหูพจน์ เพื่ออ้างถึงคำนามหรือนามวลีที่ปรากฏในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่า เป็นต้น ส่วนหน้าที่ทางไวยากรณ์ของคำสรรพนามในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่า พบว่า คำสรรพนามทั้ง 2 ประเภท ทำหน้าที่เป็นกลไกแสดงการเชื่อมโยงความในการอ้างถึงการแทนที่และการละคำนามหรือนามวลีในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่า ซึ่งหน้าที่หลักของสรรพนามบุรุษที่ 3 คือ 1) เพื่อคงบทบาทของตัวละครหรือกล่าวซ้ำในกรณีตัวละครขาดการกล่าวถึงอย่างต่อเนื่องในสัมพันธสาร และ 2) เพื่อแสดงการเน้นตัวละคร นอกจากนี้ยังพบว่า คำสรรพนามไม่ปรากฏรูปจะปรากฏหลังคำสรรพนามรูปเต็มเพื่ออ้างถึงตัวละครที่กำลังมีบทบาทอยู่

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1pl	The first person plural pronoun
2pl	The second person plural pronoun
3pl	The third person plural pronoun
1sg	The first person singular pronoun
2sg	The second person singular pronoun
3sg	The third person singular pronoun
3sgf	The third person singular pronoun for female
3sgm	The third person singular pronoun for male
3sgn	The third person singular pronoun for neutral
ABIL	Ability
adj	Adjective
adjP	Adjectival phrase
adv	Adverb
AUG	Augmentative
CAUS	Causative
CL	Clause
CLF	Classifier
ClfP	Classifier phrase
COMP	Complementiser
COMPL	Completive
CON	Conjunction
COND	Condition
def	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DIR	Directional
DIV	Directional verb
du	Dual

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (cont.)

DUR	Durative aspect
EMPH	Emphatic
EXCL	Exclamative
f	Feminine
FP	Final Particle
HAB	Habituaive
IMP	Imperative
imp Pro	Impersonal pronoun
indef	Indefinite
INTENS	Intensifier
Interp.	Interpersonal Theme
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
n	Neutral
N	Noun
m	Masculine
NEC	Necessity
NEG	Negative marker
NEGIMP	Negative imperative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral number
NumP	Numeral phrase
ONOM	Onomatopoeia
part	Particle
pn.p	Personal pronoun
PASS	Passive marker
PL	Plural

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (cont.)

POSS	Possession marker
PossP	Possessive phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
PRO	Pronoun
ProP	Pronoun phrase
PRT	Participle
PST	Past
PstCMPL	Past completed
PURP	Purpose
QNTP	Quantifier phrase
RECPST	Recent past
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative clause marker
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
sg	Singular
SUPERL	Superlative
SVO	Subject, verb, object
tDIR	Temporal direction
Text.	Textual Theme
v	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
v.asp	Aspectual verb
v.aux	Auxiliary verb
v.dr	Directional verb
vi	Intransitive verb
v.mod	Modality verb
v.st	Stative verb
vt	Transitive verb

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (cont.)

?	Unidentified unit/function
∅	Zero form
–	(Underscore) to show a word boundary

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

When dealing with narrative discourse or “story telling” in some languages, the question soon arises as to who is speaking to whom and about whom. The pronominal strategies employed by the narrator become part of the narrative’s cohesion and comprehensibility. Narrative discourse has been studied for many decades by linguists in foreign countries and also in Thailand. The study of cohesion, in particular, has been reasonably productive (Chuwicha, 1986; Chanawangsa, 1986; Mongpin, 1989; Nawik, 1990; Jalernporn, 1991; Apinantaporn, 1991; Sawaengsak, 1992; Vongvipanond, 1992; Junlaprom, 2001) in various kinds of discourse, but research on pronominal strategies from a comparative angle, especially in Southeast Asian languages, awaits further research.

Burusphat (2002) reports the status of discourse studies in Thailand can be classified into three major groups: studies on languages of the Tai-Kadai language family; studies of other language families; and textbooks of discourse analysis. It has been found that the discourse studies of languages of the Tai-Kadai family, particularly Central Thai and Thai dialects, are more numerous than languages of other language families. The six areas of discourse study are namely: 1) overall structure, theme, topic, storyline, event; 2) reference or noun-substitutes; 3) cohesion; 4) conversation, pragmatics, cognitive mapping; 5) style, and 6) sociolinguistics. If we look at noun references, noun-substitutes, and cohesion, we will find that the frameworks most used as guidelines for discourse studies are those of Longacre (1983) and especially the approach of Halliday and Hasan (1976). But while these authors have discussed the matter of zero pronouns and pronoun ellipsis, these important topics have never been studied directly using a Systemic Functional Grammar approach, which will be undertaken in the present work.

If we look closely at discourse studies of other language families in Thailand, they have not been engaged in a comparative study of multiple languages, but only within individual language. Discourse studies within different language families are cited in Burusphat (2002) as follows: Austroasiatic; Mon (Saijampa, 1992), Northern Khmer (Poopatwiboon, 1982), Kui (Burusphat, 1992b, 1993), Vietnamese (Danthanavanich, 2000; Burusphat, 2002), So (Migliazza, 2001); Tibeto-Burman; Sgaw Karen (Burusphat 1992a; Katsura, 1993), Jirel (Dolakha, Nepal) (Jirel, 1999); and Hmong-Mien; Mien (Maneekhao, 1990), Green Hmong (Dej-Amorn, 2006). Those language studies do not focus on pronouns in particular, especially in comparison works.

If we research the area of pronouns and pronominal strategies, it can be found that they have been studied quite extensively in many languages based on both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. In terms of the approaches which have been used to explore pronouns, it can be seen that there have been several approaches applied to study pronouns by several researchers, such as the centering theory used by Aroonmanakun, (2000), the Minimalist Program used by Panagiotidis (2002), and Maximum Entropy used by Han (2006). In Southeast Asian languages, pronouns have been studied by many researchers. For example, Grima (1986) studied *Discourse factors contributing to the understanding of a zero pronoun in a passage from the Praraatchawicaan*. His work reveals a deep understanding of zero pronouns in Thai. Pongsombat (1990) researched pronominal usage in spoken Thai Song. She states that pronouns in Thai Song are divided into two groups: proper pronouns and pronominally used nouns. The use of pronouns in Thai Song is conditioned by various factors consisting of sex, age, occupation, title, religion, kinship and family relationship, genealogical distance, ethnic group and friendship. Furthermore, her research also reveals that the differences in pronominal usage may vary according to social and cultural factors. Her study focuses on sociolinguistics, not discourse studies. For discourse studies, Maneekhao (1990) studied *Referents for Participants in Mien Narrative Discourse*. Her research examines participant references, particularly both covert and overt reference. In her point of view, pronouns are solely a part of participant references.

The previous paragraph briefly discussed studies of pronouns in Southeast Asian languages but the discourse functions of pronouns. This present study attempts to explore pronouns in Southeast Asian languages in a comparison study, as well as to analyze forms and discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns based on Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The textual metafunction which focuses on the system of Theme as well as the system of Information which considers the Given & New information are the main application of the theory. In terms of narrative discourse or “story telling”, this approach can be used to analyze who is speaking to whom and about whom. The zero pronouns will be explored in order to explain their syntactic distributions and discourse functions. Three languages are selected as representative of each language family: Tai, Austroasiatic, and Hmong-Mien, or more specifically Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh.

The reasons why these three language families have been chosen to be studied in this thesis are as follows: firstly, they are spoken in the Southeast Asian region and recited in the folktales of these three languages; and they have been collected and transcribed in phonetic script. Secondly, in terms of comparative analysis, nobody has studied full pronouns and zero pronouns in these language families at the discourse level. And lastly, even though the representatives of each language family are from different language families, each share many similar grammatical relations such as SVO word order; largely monosyllabic words and each language conveys grammatical relationships without cases, tenses or plural markings. Their word forms are not inflected. Talking these aspects as a whole and the fact that the three languages have been in close geographical and social contact for generations, it should be interesting to study the system of pronouns of these languages to see whether or not they share any similarities or differences form and function in narrative discourse. In the process of researching the topic across several languages, we might shed light on areal features in Southeast Asian languages. Most importantly, perhaps, a more penetrating understanding of the placement of pronouns in narrative discourse and their contribution to cohesion will emerge.

As mentioned earlier, discourse studies of other language families in Thailand have looked at only individual languages but not comparatively across language boundaries. This present research augments discourse studies in terms of

comparative linguistic analysis. The study of pronouns in narrative discourse reveals an understanding of how the pronouns employed by the narrator or story teller become part of the narrative's cohesion that lends itself to comprehension by the listener in an "I-Thou" social relationship. More to the point, pronominal strategies help to answer the question of who is speaking to whom and about whom as the story is being told. In addition, the comparative study of pronoun ellipsis found in this study proposes that it is an areal feature in Southeast Asian languages. The present study also expands linguistic knowledge of narrative discourse in terms of language typology.

The organization of this thesis is as follows. Chapter II describes the language features of Tai Dam, Iu-Mienh, and Kmhmu, the theoretical notions of discourse analysis, pronominalization, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and topic continuity. The textual metafunction in particular will be highlighted in this section. Chapter III will present data collection, data selection, and data analysis. Chapters IV-V will discuss full pronouns and zero pronouns in Southeast Asian languages. In Chapter IV, full pronouns in Theme and Rheme structure, as well as forms and discourse functions, will be elaborated. In Chapter V, zero pronouns in Theme and Rheme structure, syntactic distribution and all aspects of discourse functions of zero pronouns will be discussed as well. A comparison study of pronouns of each language will be discussed in Chapter IV and Chapter V. Finally, Chapter VI will conclude the thesis, and then will be followed by a discussion. Recommendations for future research will likewise be provided in this chapter.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

As this study attempts to explore forms and discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in Southeast Asian Languages using Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) as a basic theoretical framework, the objectives of this study are as follows:

- 1) To analyze full pronouns and zero pronouns focusing on forms and discourse functions which serve as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in Southeast Asian languages using Systemic Functional Grammar.

2) To compare discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages based on Systemic Functional Grammar.

1.3 Hypotheses

1) Pronouns functioning as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in Southeast Asian languages have inherently distinguishing features of syntactic distribution which can be analyzed across language families.

2) The discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in Southeast Asian languages display similar functions, and the pronouns themselves can function in various ways in terms of discourse devices.

1.4 Benefits of the Study

There are four expected benefits of the study shown below.

1) A study of pronouns in a comparative analysis of narrative discourse is explored. It reveals an understanding of how the pronouns in the Southeast Asian languages employed by the narrator become part of the narrative's cohesion and comprehensibility.

2) How full pronouns and zero pronouns function as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in the Southeast Asian languages will be better understood from a Systemic Functional Grammar perspective.

3) Areal features of pronoun ellipsis in Southeast Asian languages will be examined.

4) This study augments discourse studies in terms of comparative study of multiple languages, which provides another resource for those who would like to study the typology of pronouns in Southeast Asian languages.

1.5 Methodology

This study is a qualitative research study based on Systemic Functional Grammar. A breakdown of the method into steps is as follows:

1) Review the theoretical framework (Systemic Functional Grammar approach) of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), focusing on textual metafunctions, largely in related literatures exploring the system of Theme as well as the system of Information in which Given & New information is considered as the basic concept in analyzing the data. Additionally this study reviews the concept of topic continuity of Givón (1983) as it relates to narrative discourse.

2) Collect research data from secondary sources on three language families: Tai, Austroasiatic, and Hmong-Mien. Only one language within each family will be selected, as follows. Tai Dam collected by Udomwej (1985) is representative of the Tai language family. Kmhmu collected by Osborne (2009) is representative of the Austroasiatic language family. Lastly, Iu-Mienh collected by Arisawa (2006) is representative of the Hmong-Mien language family.

3) Identify clause structures of each language based on a total of fifteen narrative discourses and broken down into single clauses. Then, analyze the research data employing the Systemic Functional Grammar approach by incorporating the Theme-Rheme structure as a tool.

4) Analyze forms and discourse functions of full and zero pronouns as cohesive devices in narrative discourse.

5) Compare discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns of three languages namely, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh based on SFG.

1.6 Scope of the Study

As previously mentioned, this study attempts to analyze full pronouns and zero pronouns in narrative discourse. In order to narrow the scope of the study, only third person singular and plural pronouns narrated by the story teller will be investigated. The pronouns in a conversation being quoted by narrators are excluded, namely first and second person singular and plural pronouns. As for the theoretical framework (Systemic Functional Grammar), only the textual metafunction is

employed in this study because it creates and presents the flow of information which indicates who is speaking to whom and about whom. In addition, syntactic distributions of full pronouns and zero pronouns can be analyzed under this metafunction. We can see how pronouns go through Theme and Rheme structure. The other two metafunctions, namely ideational and interpersonal, are not considered because the ideational metafunction will construe human experiences as the flow of events forming an episode. The ideational metafunction is concerned with ‘the social action taking place’. The interpersonal metafunction displays social roles and relationships among participants (Patpong, 2006).

1.7 Sources of the Study

The data used in this study were collected from secondary sources as follows: Tai Dam collected by Udomwej (1985) for Tai; Kmhmü collected by Osborne (2009) for the Austroasiatic language family; lastly, Iu-Mienh collected by Arisawa (2006) represents of the Hmong-Mien language family.

1.8 Definition of Terms

The definition of terms in this study are defined and summarized by the researcher from various resources.

1) Narrative discourse is a discourse that is an account of events, usually in the past, that employs verbs of speech, motion, and action to describe a series of events that are contingent one on another, and that typically focuses on one or more performers of actions (Longacre, 1990). In this study, narrative discourse is referred to as folk stories.

2) A pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun or noun phrase. It is a particular case of a pro-form. There are many types of pronouns depending on the variety of functions performed by words. Common types of pronouns include personal pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. The word ‘pronouns’ used in this study are referred to as personal pronouns.

3) Full pronouns are referred to as a pro-form consisting of lexical content where the meaning is recoverable from the context. They are used either to substitute a noun or a noun phrase or avoid repetitive expressions.

4) Zero pronouns or “dropped arguments” are referred to as a pro-form consisting of no phonetic content. They are usually written with the symbol “Ø”. Zero pronouns can appear either in the subject or object grammatical position.

5) Theme can be defined, according to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 64), as “what the message is concerned with: the point of departure for what the speaker is going to say”. In other words, it functions as a starting point for what the speaker has chosen for the message. Theme can be identified as three types: topical, textual and interpersonal. Topical Theme is the first element of a clause, in other words the starting point of a message. The textual Theme is an optional one, with a group of phrases, it functions to connect the message, which co-occurs with the prior text. The interpersonal Theme is also an optional Theme. It provides the speaker’s and listener’s assessment. Theme is well known as the given information which was already mentioned somewhere in the narrative context. In other words, theme typically contains familiar, old or given information. Theme provides the setting for the remainder of the clause.

6) Rheme is the remainder of the message in a clause in which Theme is developed. Rheme typically contains unfamiliar or new information. New information is knowledge that a writer assumes the reader does not know, but needs to have in order to follow the progression of the argument. Theme is the first element occurring in a clause; the remaining clause is Rheme.

7) Discourse function is the purpose we have for communicating. At the syntactic level, different discourse functions are associated with particular clause types, such as a declarative clause signaling the function of giving information or making statements; an interrogative clause signaling the function of getting information or issuing orders or directives; an imperative clause is used to influence behavior or mental states; and an exclamative clause is used to make exclamations. At the discourse level, discourse serves as a cohesive device in narrative discourse to form a text. The cohesive devices can be studied under Ellipsis and Substitution, Reference, Conjunction, and Lexical cohesion.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is concerned with the research literature on pronouns in narrative discourse in three Southeast Asian languages. The review will be as follows: 1) Language background on three languages chosen for cross-linguistic study namely, Tai Dam, Iu-Mienh and Kmhmu, 2) Discourse analysis and narrative discourse, 3) Theoretical framework and the study of pronouns, and 4) Typology and discourse analysis.

Syntactically, all three languages permit cross-linguistic comparison because first, they have the same word order. Although, they are from different language families, they follow and share the same typological pattern of SVO word order. Second, they are isolating languages and have no cases, tense, or even plural markers. However, they differ in that Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh are tonal languages whereas the variety of Kmhmu involved in this study is non-tonal. As will be pointed out later, two northern Kmhmu dialects are tonal, the effect of language contact. Kmhmu in this study can be categorized by using phonemic criteria into two major dialects: Western Kmhmu and Eastern Kmhmu.

The following section describes briefly some linguistic features of the three languages analyzed in the study.

2.1 Language Background

The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with a general understanding of typological properties of Tai Dam, Iu-Mienh, and Kmhmu focusing on phonology, syntactic properties of noun groups consisting of a nominal classifier system and the possessive construction. These constructions of noun groups provide a brief glimpse of noun or noun groups in relation to pronouns when they substitute and refer to personal pronouns. In addition, the nominal classifier phrase and possessive

phrase may consist of pronouns and can be viewed as a referent in the text. We can use third person pronouns to refer back to these constructions when they are mentioned in the preceding clause. This linguistic background will help the reader to follow the examples given in this study and to understand the texts given in the appendix as well.

The linguistic information on Tai Dam will be described first, and that of the Iu-Mienh and Kmhmu, will be provided later on.

2.1.1 Linguistic overview of some aspects of Tai Dam

Tai Dam is the most commonly used name of this particular ethnic group and language. There are many variant forms of this ethnonym used by many linguists in various publications, as follows: Black Tai, Tai Dam, Thai Song Dam, Thai Song, Lao Song and Lao Song Dam. The word /sông/ means ‘pants’. Lao, in the latter two designations, refers to the fact that they trace their ethnic roots back to Laos.

According to Burusphat (1981), Tai Dam (Black Tai) is a member of the Tai-Kadai language family. The putative origin of the Tai Dam people is in Dien Bien Phu or Müang Theng in Northwest Vietnam. Subsequently, some of them migrated or were moved to Lao P.D.R. and Thailand. The Tai Dam speaking people also reside in some lower parts of China, such as Guangxi and Yunnan, as well as in the Tokin highlands of Northwest Vietnam. Beginning in 1895 and the expansionist Siamese dynasty of the Thonburi period, they were captured and moved in chains to be resettled in Thailand. In Thailand, the Tai Dam can be found in many places, such as Loei, Saraburi, Supanburi, Ratchaburi, Petchaburi, Nakhon Pathom, and so on. The variety of Tai Dam dialects depends on where the speakers live. Language contact also influences speech and writing differences as well.

Tai Dam writing system has a unique script. The alphabet is Indic-based, but each letter has a distinct shape compared to the letters in neighboring languages, such as Siamese or Central Thai, Lao, and Lanna or Northern Thai. Tai Dam language and culture can be studied from documents written in indigenous script or from translations of texts (Hartmann, 1981).

2.1.1.1 Language family

Tai Dam is one of several languages in the Southwestern Tai branch of the Tai language family, which is sub-grouped under the Tai-Kadai

language family. The following figure shows the Tai Dam linguistic family tree proposed by Diller, Edmondson & Luo (2008: 7).

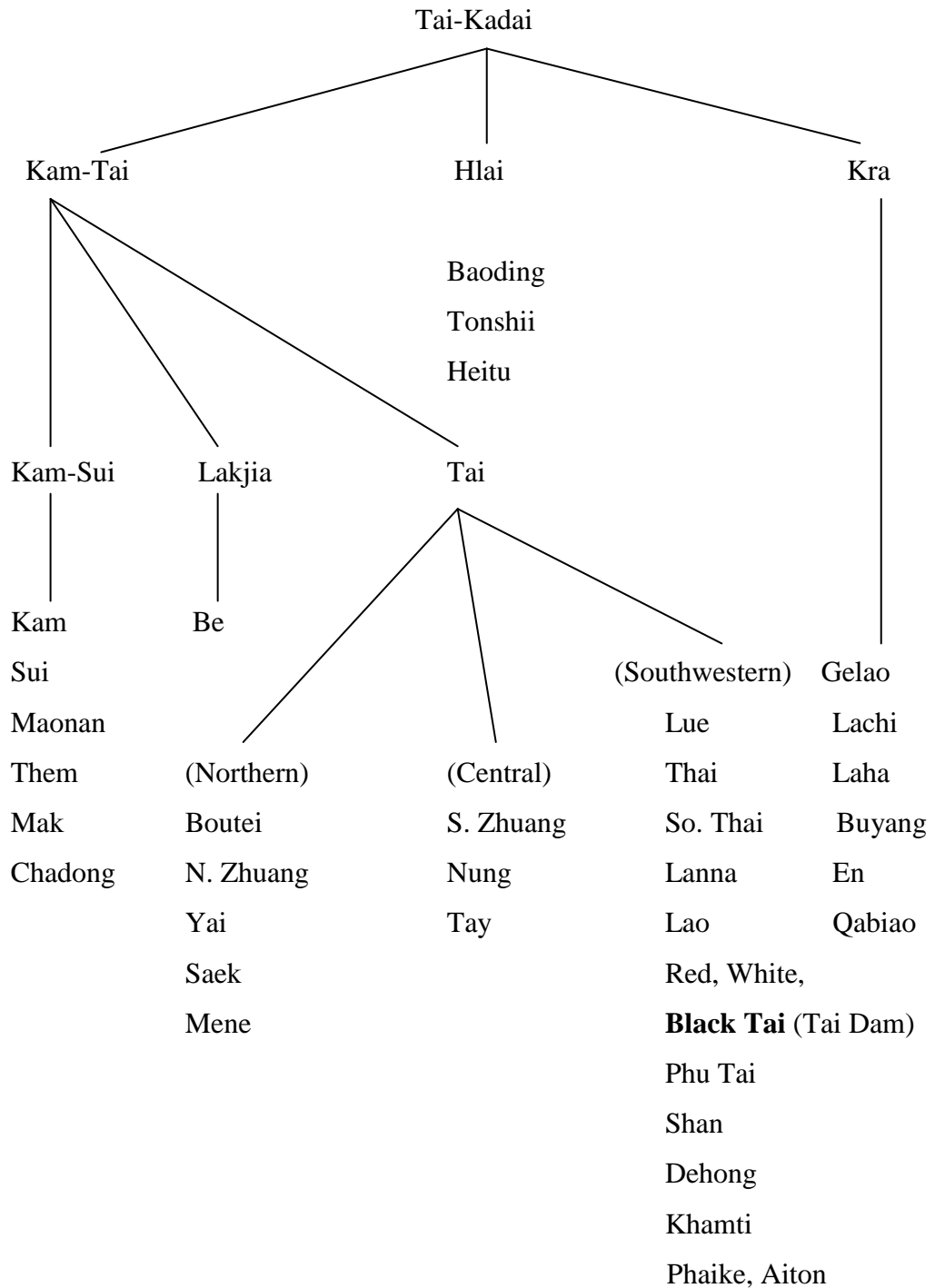


Figure 2.1 Tai Dam linguistic family tree (Diller, Edmondson & Luo, 2008: 7)

2.1.1.2 The phonology of Tai Dam

According to Chakshuraksha (2003), Tai Dam is closely related to Standard Thai, Lao, White Tai, Shan, Lue and Ahom. It has been found that Tai Dam has been studied by a number of scholars such as Maneewong (1987), Hartmann (2003), Burusphat (2013). However, Chakshuraksha (2003: 55) mentioned that because different scholars conducted their studies of Black Tai or Tai Dam in different places, they arrived at slightly different results about Tai Dam phoneme inventories. Maneewong (1987) and Chakshuraksha (2003) studied Tai Dam language and people in Phetchaburi province, which is the same place as this present study. Therefore, the representation of Tai Dam phonology in this research is based on their work.

The following tables show consonant and vowel phonemes of Tai Dam according to Chakshuraksha (2003: 56) as follows:

Table 2.1 Tai Dam consonant phonemes

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation					
			Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	Voiceless	aspirated	/ph/		/th/		/kh/	
		unaspirated	/p/		/t/		/k/	/ʔ/
	Voiced		/b/					
Fricatives				/f/	/s/			/h/
Affricate						/c/		
Nasals			/m/	/n/		/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
Lateral				/l/				
Semi-vowels			/w/			/ɹ/		

As we can see from Table 2.1, Tai Dam consists of 19 consonantal phonemes. Of those, only nine (/p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ɲ, w, j/) can occur in syllable final positions. There are three clusters (/kw, khw, ɲw/) which can occur only in syllable initial positions.

Table 2.2 Tai Dam vowel phonemes

Tongue Height	Tongue Position					
	Front		Central		Back	
High	/i/	/i:/	/ɨ/	/ɨ:/	/u/	/u:/
Mid	/e/	/e:/	/ə/	/ə:/	/o/	/o:/
Low	/æ/	/æ:/	/a/	/a:/	/ɔ/	/ɔ:/

As shown in Table 2.2, Tai Dam vowel phonemes have a short and long distinction. There are 9 short vowel sounds and 9 long vowel sounds. As for diphthongs, there are four: /ia, ia, ua, ai /.

As for Tones, there are 6 tones in Tai Dam according to Maneewong (1987). She describes the six tones with some examples as follows:

Tone 1 is a mid-low rising tone, e.g., /həŋ¹/ ‘a long time’, /tam¹/ ‘to pound’.

Tone 2 is a mid-high rising tone, e.g., /cət²/ ‘to scrub’, /ləæŋ²/ ‘evening’.

Tone 3 is a mid rising tone, e.g., /sii³/ ‘four’, /bæn³/ ‘to throw’.

Tone 4 is a mid rising falling tone, /luʔ⁴/ ‘child’, /mak⁴/ ‘to like’.

Tone 5 is a mid level tone, e.g., /mɔ⁵/ ‘pot’, /maaj⁵/ ‘widow’.

Tone 6 is a mid falling tone, e.g., /naam⁶/ ‘water’, /hɔŋ⁶/ ‘to scream’/

2.1.1.3 Word structure and other syntactic constructions

Tai Dam has SVO word order. According to Greenberg (2005), adjectives usually follow nouns. The following is an example of a declarative clause where the subject is followed by the predicate.

(2-1) Nga and Daeng

ʔaj ŋaa kap ʔaj dəæŋ pen phuan kan

Hon Nga and Hon Daeng are friend REP

“Nga and Daeng were friends.”

The given example shows that *ʔaj ŋaa kap ʔaj dəæŋ* ‘Nga and Daeng’ functions as the subject (S) of the clause, and it is followed by the predicate *pen phuan kan* ‘are friends’ where the word *pen* is a verb (V) and *phuan kan* functions as an equative.

The noun group functioning as the subject in the above example consists of two nouns *ɔaj ɲaa* ‘Nga’ and *ɔaj dææŋ* ‘Daeng’. And they are conjoined by the conjunction *kap* ‘and’.

2.1.1.4 The nominal classifier system

The following Tai Dam nominal classifiers share the same system as Thai, Lao, and other Southeast Asian languages as shown in (2-2).

(2-2) Red Duck

pet dææŋ kɔɔ mii ɔan ɔem_thaw kap laan_tɛaaj sɔɔŋ khon
 duck red then have grandmother and nephew two CLF

“The red duck, then, there was a grandmother and a nephew (two of them).”

The Tai Dam nominal classifier structure is Topic (descriptive) + Num+ CLF. The above example shows Tai Dam nominal classifier system which consists of *ɔem_thaw kap laan_tɛaaj* ‘grandmother and grandson’ (Topic) + *sɔɔŋ* ‘two’ (Num) + *khon* (CLF).

The order of nominal classifier construction can be Topic (descriptive) + CLF + Num if the number of the noun is indefinite or ‘one’, as in the following example.

(2-3) Nga and Daeng

daj paa_lot too nuŋ
 get fish-lot CLF one

“(Nga) got a plaa-lot. (spotfined spinyeel)”

The word *paa_lot* ‘a kind of fish’ is the Topic of the nominal classifier structure. It is followed by the classifier *too* ‘body’ and then *nuŋ* ‘a’.

2.1.1.5 The possessive construction

As for the possessive construction, Tai Dam has its own possessive morpheme *khɔɔŋ* ‘belong to, of’, which is optional, as in the following example.

(2-4) Nga and Daeng

man ruaj tɔɔŋ jɔɔ, tɛa maa juum wii man
 3sg rich gold big will come borrow comb 3sg

“He was rich with gold. (Daeng) would come to borrow his comb.”

The given example shows the possessive construction of Tai Dam without the possessive marker *khɔɔŋ* ‘belong to, of’. Semantically, the noun phrase *wii man* ‘his comb’ implies possession, but the possessive marker is dropped. Contrast this with the insertion of the optional *khɔɔŋ* in *wii khɔɔŋ man* ‘his comb’.

2.1.2 Linguistic overview of some aspects of Iu-Mienh

Iu-Mienh, or simply Mienh, is spoken by an ethnic group, also referred to as Yao in China, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and more recently the United States, in diasporas. Their ancestors came from northern China, lived in southern China, and then were pushed by the Han Chinese into Southeast Asia. The Mienh reject the ethnonym Yao often employed by the Chinese, Lao, and Thai, because this particular term means “thieves” or “barbarians” in Chinese. Therefore, they instead choose to identify themselves as Mienh, meaning “the people”. In Lao PDR, at the end of the nineteenth century, they settled in the highest mountains in the northern provinces, especially Luang Namtha and Bokeo. They are also found in many places in northern Thailand. There are about 45,000 speakers in total, according to the census data (2110) of *Ethnologue: Languages of The World*. These speakers reside primarily in Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Lampang, Kampaengphet, Nan, and Sukhothai provinces, totaling 159 villages.

According to Giacchino-Baker (1995), seven different Romanized writing systems have been developed to write the Mienh language. There has been no consensus among the Mienh communities in the United States, China, Lao, or Thailand as to the best system. The Mienh who are educated are taught to read and write majority languages not their own, such as Thai and English, or even Chinese.

2.1.2.1 Language family

Iu-Mienh is a tonal language. In Iu-Mienh United Script (the language’s most common Romanized writing system), tones are not marked with a diacritic, but are indicated by specific letter placed at the end of each syllable. This letter is not pronounced but rather indicates with what tone the word is to be pronounced. In the absence of a tone letter, the word is to be pronounced with a middle tone. That is to say, the mid tone is unmarked.

Like other Southeast Asian languages, the Iu-Mienh is monosyllabic and conveys grammatical relationships without cases, tenses, or plural markings. Words are not inflected. The following figure shows the position of Iu-Mienh in the Hmong Mien language family following Matisoff (2001) and Arisawa (2006).

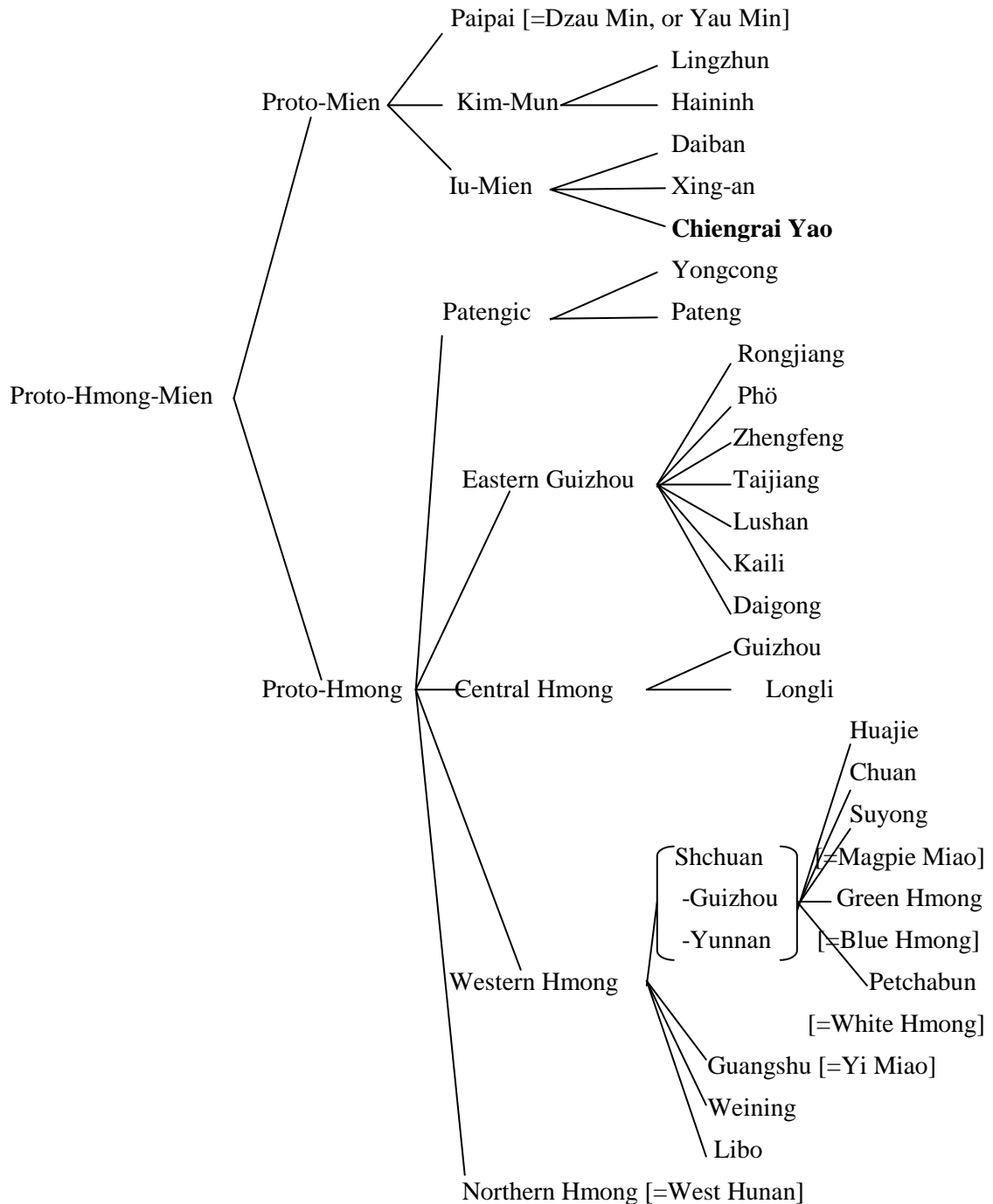


Figure 2.2 Iu-Mienh linguistic family tree (based on Matisoff (2001), Arisawa (2006))

Figure 2.2 shows the position of Iu-Mienh, the Chiengrai Yao, in the Iu-Mienh linguistic family tree. Proto-Hong-Mien can be classified into Proto-Hmong and Proto-Mien. The Iu-Mienh language is subcategorized under Proto-Mien, which is divided into three main groups as follows: Paipai, Kim-Mun and Iu-Mien. As we can see, Chiengrai Yao, which is one of Iu-Mienh languages, is put under the Iu-Mien branch.

2.1.2.2 The phonology of Iu-Mienh

The phonology of Iu-Mienh obtained from the narrative discourse studied by Arisawa (2006) is shown in the following tables.

Table 2.3 Iu-Mienh consonant phonemes

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation					
			Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	voiceless	Aspirated	/p ^h /		/t ^h /	/c ^h /	/k ^h /	
		Unaspirated	/p/		/t/	/c/	/k/	/ʔ/
	Voiced		/b/		/d/	/j/	/g/	
Affricates	Voiceless	Aspirated			/ts ^h /			
		Unaspirated			/ts/			
	Voiced			/dz/				
Voiceless Fricatives			/ɸ/	/f/	/s/	/ç/		/h/
Nasals	Voiceless		/m̥/		/n̥/	/ɲ̥/		/ŋ̥/
	Voiced		/m/		/n*/	/ɲ/		/ŋ/
Laterals	Voiceless				/l̥/			
	Voiced				/l/			
Approximant			/w/			/j/		

*This voiced nasal is preglottalized. The voiced nasals are preglottalized on three tones: unmarked, -v, and -x, and not preglottalized on the other three tones. (Arisawa, 2003: 184)

Table 2.4 Iu-Mienh vowel phonemes

Tongue Height	Tongue Position		
	Front	Central	Back
Close	/i/		/u/
Close-mid	/e/		/o/
Mid		/ə/	
Open-mid	/ɛ/		/ɔ/
Open		/a/ /a:/	

Table 2.5 Iu-Mienh vowel glides

/iu/	/ui/	/ei/	/ou/	/iə/	/uə/
/eu/	/ɔi/			/ai/	/au/
				/a:i/	/a:u/

Table 2.6 Tones of Iu-Mienh

1. Mid-high level: <Unmarked> /ʔ/	3. High rise falling: <-v> /ʔ/	5. Mid-low rising: <-x> /ʔ/	7. Checked syllable <-Cv> or <-qv> [ʔ]
2. Mid-falling: <-h> /ʔ/	4. Low rise falling: <-z> /ʔ/	6. Low level: <-c> /ʔ/	8. Checked syllable <-Cc> or <-qc> [ʔ]

The above table illustrates the tone marks with the Unified Script shown in < >.

2.1.2.3 Word structure and other syntactic constructions

Iu-Mienh has a SVO word order, which follows Greenberg’s typology, where adjectives usually follow nouns like Tai Dam. The following is an example of a negative declarative clause where the subject is followed by the predicate.

(2-5) Old Husband

ninh sieqv mv oix longc
 3sg daughter NEG want_to marry
 “His daughter didn't want to marry.”

The given example shows the subject *ninh sieqv* ‘his daughter’ is followed by the predicate *mv oix longc* ‘not want to marry’. The negative marker *mv* ‘not’ always precedes a verb group.

2.1.2.4 The nominal classifier system

The word order of the nominal classifier in the Iu-Mienh is different from the Tai Dam and Kmhmu because a number precedes the classifier and a noun, as in example (2-6).

(2-6) Piglets

loz-hnoi maaih dauh dungz-nyeiz njiec duqv buo dauh dorn.
 old days have CLF female_pig give_birth_to get three CLF cub
 “In the old days, there was a female pig (and she) gave birth to three piglets.”

As shown in the given example, the nominal classifier structure can be described as the number *buo* ‘three’ followed by the classifier *dauh* ‘CLF’. But when the number is dropped, the indefinite ‘a’ is indicated: ‘a pig’.

2.1.2.5 The possessive construction

The word *neyi* is the possessive morpheme in Iu-Mienh. It follows the possessor. The word order of possessive construction in Iu-Mienh is different from Tai Dam and Kmhmu, as shown in the following example.

(2-7) Old Husband

ninh neyi die gorngv
 3sg POSS father speak
 “Her father spoke.”

In (2-7), the possessive marker *neyi* ‘of’ follows the possessor: *ninh neyi* ‘3rd pn.p of’, but in Tai Dam, the possessive marker *khɔɔŋ* precedes the possessor: *khɔɔŋ man* (of 3rd pn.p). The possessive construction of Iu-Mienh is POSSESSOR+possessive marker+Topic (descriptive).

2.1.3 Linguistic overview of some aspects of Kmhmu

Kmhmu, an Austroasiatic language, is spoken by the Kmhmu people in many regions of Laos, Vietnam, China and Thailand. There are about 31,400 native speakers in total in Thailand, according to the census data (2000) provide by *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. The name ‘Kmhmu’ can be found alternatively as Kmhmu, Khmu, Kammu, Khammu, and Khamuk used by many linguists (Smalley, 1961; Svantesson, 1983; Prēmsīrat, 1987, 1992; Proschan, 1995).

According to Giacchino-Baker (1995), the Kmhmu in Lao PDR number approximately 400,000 people. They are the largest group of the so-called “Lao Theung”. The Lao government employs a crude three-way classification of language groups: Lao Loum (‘lowland’ Lao, primarily ethnic Lao); Lao Theung (‘midland’ Lao), and Lao Soung (‘highland’ Lao, primarily Hmong and Mien). They live in the hills and mountains in the eleven provinces in the north of the country. The Kmhmu-speaking people can be found in large numbers in Luang Prabang Province, where they outnumber the ethnic Lao, and in Udomsay where they outnumber all other ethnic groups.

There are three Kmhmu dialect groups in the Lao PDR that developed quite differently from one another because of geographic and socio-economic factors. According to Giacchino-Baker (1995), the two northern dialects are tonal; the remainder are not, as is the rule with languages of the Mon-Khmer branch; the southern Kmhmu dialects, spoken in eight provinces by about two-thirds of the Kmhmu people, use different sets of initial consonants.

The Kmhmu had no known written language until about 1950. Vocabularies of each of the three dialects have been published by three different groups of scholars: *Kmhmu’s Lao-French-English Dictionary* (Simana, 1994); *A Checklist of Kammu Plant Names* (Engstrand, 2009); and *Thesaurus and Dictionary Series of Khmu Dialects in Southeast Asia* (Premsrirat, 2002).

2.1.3.1 Language family

Kmhmu is an isolating language like other Southeast Asian languages. Linguistically, the Kmhmu language is a member of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic language family. It also is referred to as the Khmuic

branch of the Northern Mon-Khmer language family, which also includes Khasic and Palaungic.

The following figure shows how Kmhmu is aligned in the Austroasiatic language family tree diagram.

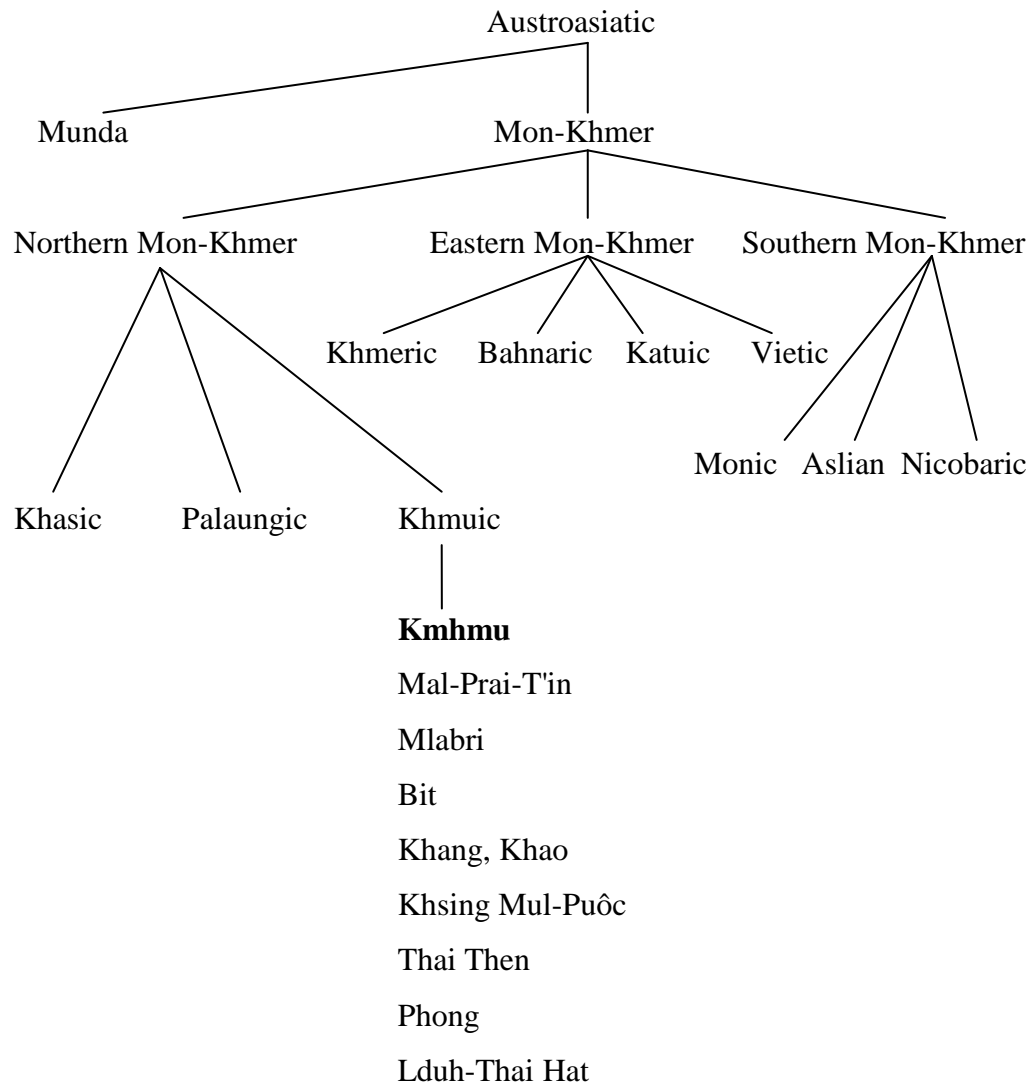


Figure 2.3 Kmhmu linguistic family tree (Sidwell, 2004, cited in Osborne, 2009)

2.1.3.2 Word structure and other syntactic constructions

Kmhmu is analyzed as having SVO word order. According to Greenberg’s typology, the Kmhmu follows the typological pattern for SVO languages in that noun heads precede modifiers. The following is the word structure of noun phrases.

(2-8) Bear

jet daʔ kuj saam sum ʔah gon mooj rɔɔj
 located at village Sam_Sum have person one Clf_hundreds
gon ʔɔɔr jɔʔ jɔh hɛɛl
 Clf_people lead together DIR to_weed

“Located at Sam Sum village, (there) were one hundred people went together to weed (the fields).”

The above example shows how noun phrases or noun groups are formed. As we can see above, the noun group *kuj saam sum* ‘Sam Sum village’ has its word order as follows: the head noun *kuj* ‘village’ followed by the proper name *saam sum* ‘Sam Sum’, the name of the village, functioning as the modifier of the head noun.

2.1.3.3 The phonology of Kmhmu

The phonology of Kmhmu in this study is based on Osborne’s work (2009) because the data of Kmhmu’s narrative discourse were obtained from her work. The following tables show Kmhmu’s consonants and vowels.

Table 2.7 Kmhmu consonant phonemes

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation				
			Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Oral stops	voiceless	Aspirated	/p ^h /	/t ^h /	/tɕ ^h /	/k ^h /	
		Unaspirated	/p/	/t/	/tɕ/	/k/	/ʔ/
	Voiced		/b/	/d/	/dʒ/	/g/	
Nasal stops	Voiceless		/m̥/	/n̥/	/ɲ̥/		/ŋ̥/
	Voiced		/ᵐm/	/ᵐn/	/ɲ/		/ᵐŋ/
			/m/	/n/			/ŋ/
Approximants	Voiceless		/w̥/		/j̥/		
	Voiced		/ᵝw/ /w/		/ᵝj/ /j/		
Fricatives				/s/			/h/
Laterals	Voiceless			/l̥/			
	Voiced			/l/			
Trills	Voiceless			/r̥/			
	Voiced			/r/			

The above table shows that Kmhmu has a rich array of consonant phonemes consisting of 36 sounds. It has voiced and voiceless distinctions as salient features in manner of articulation except for fricative sounds.

Table 2.8 Kmhmu vowel phonemes

Tongue Height	Tongue Position					
	Front unrounded		Central unrounded		Back rounded	
Close	/i/	/i:/	/ɨ/	/ɨ:/	/u/	/u:/
Mid	/e/	/e:/	/ə/	/ə:/	/o/	/o:/
Near-open	/ɛ/	/ɛ:/	/ø/		/ɔ/	/ɔ:/
Open			/ɑ/	/ɑ:/		

As we can see from Table 2.8, According to Osborne (2009: 5), the near-open central unrounded vowel, /ɐ/ is observed as an allophone of /a/ when it occurs in diphthongs and in minor syllables. Nevertheless, it does occur as a single vowel in major syllable and is contrasted with /ə:/ and /ɑ:/ as seen in the following examples, [?]nəəm ‘retribution’, [?]nəəm imperative particle, and [?]naam ‘amount’.

2.1.3.4 The nominal classifier system

Typologically, the nominal classifier system of the Kmhmu shares the nominal classifier system of Thai, Lao and other languages in Southeast Asia (Downer, 1992). The syntactic construction of nominal classifier system is Topic (descriptive) + Num + CLF as shown in following example.

(2-9) Orphan

leʔ ʔah kəən'rook mooj gon
 and have orphan one Clf_people
 “And (there) was an orphan.”

The above example illustrates the syntactic construction of nominal classifier in Kmhmu. As we can see, the word *kəən'rook* ‘orphan’ functions as the noun head and it is followed by the number *mooj* ‘one’ and the numeral classifier *gon* ‘Clf_people’, respectively.

2.1.3.5 The possessive construction

For the possessive construction, the Kmhmu also has a possessive morpheme similar to Thai and Lao. The syntactic structure of possessive construction of Kmhmu is comprised of Topic (descriptive), the possessive marker and the possessor. But in some cases, the possessive marker can be optional. The following example shows the possessive construction in Kmhmu in which the possessive marker is omitted.

(2-10) Tiger

naam niʔ ʔah ra'waaj mooj too ter
 period_of_time this_here have tiger one Clf_animals jump
gaaj pok kin'tuar jaʔ dəeŋ
 DIR bite neck Ms Daeng

“(At) this time (there) was a tiger, (and it) jumped out, (and) attacked Ms Daeng’s neck.”

The possessive construction in above example is *kin'tuar ja? deen* 'Ms Daeng's neck' which its construction is similar to Thai and Lao where the possessive marker is omitted. Therefore, the possessive construction of Kmhmu might be Topic (descriptive)+(possessive marker)+POSSESSOR.

2.2 Discourse Analysis and Narrative Discourse

The purpose of this section is to discuss general concepts of discourse analysis and narrative discourse that are relevant to this study. The first topic of this section discusses the notion of discourse analysis, and then some concepts of narrative discourse will be provided later.

2.2.1 Discourse analysis

The word 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' was proposed first in the 1950s by Harris (1951, 1952b). It is from Latin '*discursus*', meaning "running to and from". The definition of discourse varies from approach to approach. The classic definition of discourse as derived from formalist assumptions is that discourse is "language above the sentence or above the clause" (Stubbs, 1983: 1). In many structural approaches, according to Schiffrin (1994), discourse is studied as a level of structure higher than the sentence, or higher than other units of a text. Harris (1951) claimed that discourse is the highest level in a hierarchy of morphemes, clauses, and sentences. He viewed discourse analysis as a formal methodology that is derived from structural methods of linguistic analysis.

In terms of structural views of discourse, discourse is comprised of *units*. Harris's unit is the morpheme and its combination into sentences. Other linguists who modified this approach identify the clause, the proposition or the sentence as the unit of which discourse is comprised. Soon after that, discourse analysis was rapidly developed by numerous academic disciplines that are very different from one another. Models for understanding and methods for analyzing taken from various domains were applied to the study of discourse. Because of so many disciplinary diversities, it is no surprise that the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have different meanings for scholars in different fields. To some, discourse is anything "beyond the

sentence”. For others, the study of discourse is the study of language use. Given these definitions, Schiffrin (1994) concluded that discourse is often defined in two ways: a particular unit of language (above the sentence), and a particular focus (on language use).

Schiffrin (1994) considered another definition of discourse: discourse is utterances which are viewed as units of language production (whether spoken or written) that are inherently contextualized. Although the definitions of discourse and discourse analysis are abundant, based on the definitions collected by Jaworski and Coupland (1999), they fall into the three main categories as follows: 1) anything beyond the sentence, 2) language use, and 3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instance of language.

Systemic Functional Grammar is one of the frameworks that defines discourse in the sense of language use. According to Halliday (1985), this approach subscribes to a conceptual framework which is functional in the sense that it is designed to account for how the language is used. Every text that is spoken or written reveals how language use is shaped in a system by humans from generation to generation. He mentioned that functional grammar is essentially a “natural” grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be explained by reference to how language functions are used.

Leech (1983: 46) suggests the ways that formalism and functionalism are “associated with very different views of the nature of languages”, as follows:

Table 2.9 The different views of the nature of language (suggested by Leech (1983: 46))

No.	Formalists	Functionalists
1	Tend to regard language primarily as a mental phenomenon (e.g. Chomsky).	Tend to regard language primarily as a societal phenomenon (e.g. Halliday).

Table 2.9 The different views of the nature of language (suggested by Leech (1983: 46)) (cont.)

No.	Formalists	Functionalists
2	Tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from a common genetic linguistic inheritance of the human species.	Tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from the universality of the use to which language is put in human society.
3	Inclined to explain children's acquisition of language in terms of a built-in human capacity to learn language.	Inclined to explain children's acquisition of language in terms of the development of the child's communicative needs and abilities in society.
4	Study language as an autonomous system.	Study language in relation to its social function.

From a functional viewpoint of the nature of language, the study of discourse is the study of how language is used as a societal phenomenon.

2.2.2 Narrative discourse

Discourse can be broken down into different genres. According to Stubbs (1983: 1), discourse can refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected speech or spoken discourse. And there are many types of discourse, such as racial political, medical, economic, environmental, law/legal, narrative, and so on.

Narrative plays a central role in any social group. Labov (1999: 218) mentions that people use narrative as one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred. It can be seen as an important device for human communication. This is why narrative has been one of the major areas of research in discourse analysis. Researchers have explored various aspects of narratives ranging from the formal structure of narrative, the relation of discourse structure to morphological and syntactic structure, and so on.

The main purpose of this section is to locate the position of narrative discourse in terms of genre and text typology.

In terms of a genre or a register, according to Martin, Christie and Rothery (1987), narrative discourse can be roughly grouped under the story genre: observation, recount, narrative, exemplum, and anecdote, as in Figure 2.4.

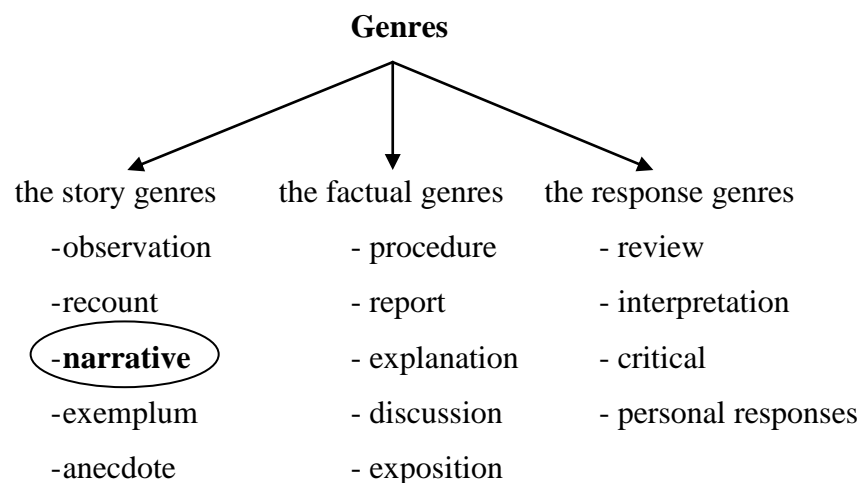


Figure 2.4 Text typology of narrative discourse (Martin, Christie and Rothery, 1987)

The classification in Figure 2.4 indicates that genres can be categorized into three main groups: the story genres, the factual genres and the response ones. The narrative discourse is grouped under the story genres which consists of observation, recount, exemplum, and anecdote. In terms of text typology, if we look at Ure's text typology below, narrative discourse belongs to non-specialized.

Table 2.10 Text typology of Ure (1989)

Text Typology

© Jean Ure, 1989

		written		spoken			
		dialogue	monologue	dialogue			
Specialized	1	Letter	Reference book	Lecture	Debate	expounding	reflection
		Menu	Text book				
non-specialized	2	Questionnaire	History	Statement in evidence	Cross examination	reporting	action
			Biography				
			News report				
specialized	3	Comic strip	Memoirs	Radio commentary	Drama	recreating	reflection
			Novels		Folk play		
			Stories		Collaborative narrative		
	4	Letter, personal	Diary	Reminiscence	Conversation	sharing	
	5	Letter, business	—	—	Co-operation	doing	
	6	Letter, agony aunt	Advertisements	Prayers	Consultation	recommending	
			Blurb				
			Advice		Business messages		
			Warnings				
	7	Open letter: exhortation	Act of parliament	Sermon	Demonstration	enabling	
			Regulations				
			Knowledge				
	8	Letter to the editor	Critical studies	Speech (TV talks)	Discussion	exploring	reflection
			Investigations				

As we can see from Table 2.10, Ure’s text typology is classified in terms of Systemic Functional Linguistics. According to this, narratives are located in recreating social process, which consists of memoirs, novels and stories, and they are the written discourse. In terms of interactant involvement, they are grouped under monologue genre. The folktale, which is one kind of narrative discourse, is not located in Ure’s text typology. If we try to locate folktales in Ure’s text typology, it can be easily placed under recreating social process.

2.3 Theoretical Framework and the Study of Pronouns

The theoretical framework is based on Systemic Functional Grammar, which will be described briefly under textual status, focusing on the system of THEME and INFORMATION. For the textual relations focusing on the system of CONTINUITY discussion will fall under the section dealing with topic continuity. The study of pronouns will be discussed later.

2.3.1 Theoretical framework

In this section, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) will be described briefly with respect to discourse analysis, the focus of this study. The textual metafunction explored in this study is the main application of the theory in that it results in a particular mode of meaning.

Systemic Functional Grammar currently holds a prominent place in linguistic theory and has been continuously developed over fifty years, originally by Halliday (1956) and then by many other linguists: Hasan (1978); Martin (1992); Butt et al. (2000); Thompson (2004); Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

Systemic Functional Grammar is a model of grammar. The term 'systemic' refers to the view of language as a network of systems, or interrelated sets of choices for creating meaning. The term 'functional' indicates that the approach is concerned with the contextualized and practical uses to which language is put.

According to Systemic Functional Grammar, language is viewed as a kind of complex, adaptive system or a network of systems. It is also interpreted as meaning potential diversified functionally into three simultaneous modes of meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999) that are known as metafunctions in general. Of these metafunctions, (1) ideational metafunction (logical and experiential), (2) interpersonal metafunction, and (3) textual metafunction, all of which Systemic Functional Grammar deals within the grammatical system itself, only the textual metafunction is selected as the main focus of this study. The reasons are that the textual metafunction creates discourse. It helps organize the message within and between clauses, and is closely related to the narrative's cohesion and coherence. The phenomenon of cohesion can be linked to this metafunction. As point of fact, pronouns in general can be studied as grammatical devices that are central to a narrative text's cohesion.

According to Thompson (2004), the textual metafunction focuses on the notion of how we organize our messages in ways that indicate how they fit in with the other messages around them and within the wider context in which we are talking or writing. The textual metafunction relates to *mode*: the internal organization and communicative nature of a text. The study of communicative texts is determined by a focus on how clauses are linked together, which involves looking at a text's cohesion.

The textual metafunction utilizes Theme and Rheme for exploring how meanings are created and understood. By focusing on pronouns, the textual meaning, or as topical Theme, a zero pronoun needs to recover its original meaning from context. According to Patpong (2002: 180), Theme will provide the local context for the information, whereas Rheme will elaborate the information. This characteristic can also be applied to text organization of narrative discourse and the flow of pronouns in which Theme is realized by initial position in the clause as the 'point of departure' and Non-Theme or Rheme is realized by the remainder of the clause. Pronouns can be retrieved from both Theme and Rheme. That is why the textual metafunction matches the purpose of the study.

2.3.1.1 The notion of Theme/Rheme and the relevant concepts

In this section, we will discuss the notion of Theme/Rheme in the system of THEME, relevant concepts associated with Theme/Rheme: INFORMATION, ELLIPSIS and REFERENCE.

According to Daneš (1974: 106), in dealing with FSP, there are three aspects of the phenomenon under discussion that have been pointed out by various authors: (1) known (given) information-new information; (2) theme (T) – rheme (R) and (3) difference in degree of communicative dynamism (CD).

As for the distinctions (1) and (2), Mathesius (1939) cited from Gómez-González (2001: 9), one of the Prague School linguists, states that Theme is 'what the sentence is about', and Rheme, or enunciation, is 'what is said about it'. The Theme, "what is known or at least obvious in a given situation and from which the speaker proceeds in his discourse," often precedes the enunciation or Rheme. Mathesius also notes that in English, an SVO language, it is common to associate theme with grammatical subject because of word order.

The notion of communicative dynamism (CD) was introduced by Firbas (1964: 267-280) to restate the theory in order to assert that a sentence has a theme. It assigned a vivid account for the relationship between given and new information and what the sentence is about. The new information has more communicative dynamism than old information and the themes can be optionally followed by a transitional element as in the following examples shown in Gundel (1977) cited from Taboada (1995: 7), where 1, 2, and 3 indicate the theme, transitional element and rheme, respectively.

a. Long ago there lived a beautiful queen

1 2 3

b. A girl broke the vase.

1 2 3

c. The party was over at three.

1 2 3

Perspective in each clause can easily vary by changing word order. The change in linear order changes our concerns in the clause. The different choices about how the first position in the clause should be stated are meaningful. The different word order indicates the different motivation of the change. Let's examine the following examples taken from Butt et al. (2000: 136).

Theme	Rheme
1) The lion	beat the unicorn all round the town.
2) All round the town	the lion beat the unicorn.
3) By the lion	the unicorn was beaten all round the town.
4) The unicorn	was beaten all round the town by the lion.

We can interpret the four clauses mentioned above as displaying various emphases. What motivates the order in clause 1) is what the speaker wants to convey about the lion. Clause 4) is a message about the unicorn. On the other hand, clause 2) mentions the place where the action took place; clause 3), the lion is the agent of the action (Butt et al., 2000: 136). The first position in each clause contains textual meanings or THEME. The final element in each clause is called RHEME, the remainder of the message.

In *An introduction to functional grammar*, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 64) defines Theme as “the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context”. In other words, it functions as a starting point for what the speaker has chosen for the message.

Rheme is the remainder of the message in a clause in which Theme is developed, that is to say, Rheme typically contains unfamiliar or new information. New information is knowledge that a narrator or writer assumes the reader does not know, but needs to have in order to follow the progression of the argument. Theme is the first element occurring in a clause; the remainder of the clause is Rheme.

To sum up the characteristics of Theme and Rheme regarding information, Theme provides the local context for the old information, whereas Rheme represents new information in the local context set up by Theme. In terms of position, Theme is realized by initial position in the clause as the point of departure, and the Rheme or Non-Theme is realized by the remainder of the clause. In a local context, clause by clause, an element given thematic status contributes to the development of a message. The basic realization of the THEME system is the structuring of the clause into the Theme/ Rheme sequential order.

The Theme and Rheme structure in Thai known as an SVO language outlined by Patpong (2006) can be adapted as a method for analyzing research data in this study because Tai Dam, Iu-Mienh, and Kmhmu all share the same typological pattern of SVO word order. The following table shows the Theme and Rheme structure in Thai by Patpong (2006: 182).

Table 2.11 The Theme and Rheme structure in Thai (Patpong, 2006: 182)

Theme				Rheme
Textual (optional)	Interpersonal (optional)	Topical (obligatory)	Textual (optional)	
Textual domain	Interpersonal domain	Ideational domain	Textual domain	
Continuative:	Vocative element:	Participant:	Conjunction:	
Continuative elements	↳ nominal group	↳ nominal group	Structural	
Conjunction	Exclamatory element:	Circumstance:	conjunction	
(structural conjunction):	↳ Exclamatory particles	↳ adverbial group	↳ conjunction and	
1. Structural conjunction	Interpersonal Adjunct:	And prepositional	adverb group	
↳ linker and binder	1. modal Adjunct	ph.	conjunction:	
conjunctions	↳ adverb group	Process:		
2. Conjunctive preposition	2. comment Adjunct	↳ verbal group		
↳ preposition phrase	↳ adverb group	Dual function:		
Conjunction		relative element		
(non-structural conjunction/ cohesive conjunction):		↳ relative n. gp.		
Conjunctive Adjunct				
(or discourse Adjunct)				
↳ adverbial gp.				
and prepositional ph.				
Dual function:				
relative element				
↳ relative n. gp.				

The following is a brief explanation of the internal Theme structure. As shown in Table 2.11, internal Theme structure is composed of three theme choices: topical theme, textual theme and interpersonal theme. The first one is topical theme. The topical theme, which is obligatory, is where the first element of a clause is used as the starting point of a message. It contains the given information which has been already mentioned somewhere in the preceding context. In other words, theme typically contains familiar, old or given information. Theme thus provides the setting for the remainder of the clause.

The topical Theme itself can be divided into marked and unmarked Themes. The marked topical Theme is the occurrence of some phenomenon in language that is less typical or frequent. When a theme is marked, it is meant that it is less typical or frequent for it to be realized that way. And the opposite goes for the

unmarked Theme. When we say that a Theme is unmarked, it is meant that the occurrence of a certain phenomenon in language is easily noticed or observed in general. Whenever talking about marked and unmarked themes, we are referring only to the topical Theme, not the textual or interpersonal Theme.

In English, the unmarked Theme of a declarative clause refers to the subject typically chosen as Theme. It is unmarked when we say that *'I broke a glass yesterday'* because the subject *'I'* is the element that is chosen as Theme. But it will be marked if we have good reason for choosing *'yesterday'* as such Theme, as in *'Yesterday, I broke a glass'*.

The topical Theme can be realized as a whole nominal group, verbal group, adverbial group or prepositional group filling the first Participant, Process or Circumstance slot. Each realization in different the thematic position will represent different marked and unmarked choices. In SVO languages, a nominal group chosen as the subject filling in the first participant slot is recognized as unmarked topical theme in a declarative clause. For Theme in an imperative clause, a verbal group will be chosen as thematic position, and it is unmarked. As for an adverbial group and a prepositional group which are chosen as Theme in a declarative clause, they are referred to as marked topical Theme. Butt et al. (2000: 136) gave a further explanation on Theme in *Using Functional Grammar: An Explorer's Guide* when the Theme slot is filled by a nominal group, the Theme includes all premodification, postmodification, and even all group complexing. It is quite often the case that the first element of a clause can be a Circumstance. Whether the Circumstance slot is filled by an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase, the topical Theme includes all premodification, postmodification and group complexing. The whole of the circumstance can function as Theme.

The second internal Theme is textual Theme. The textual Theme is an optional one, with a group or phrase and functions to connect the message which co-occurs with the previous text. If we would like to connect messages, it is most likely that we will use conjunctions at the beginning of clauses which we consider thematic

The last internal Theme is the interpersonal Theme. The interpersonal Theme is also the optional internal Theme. It indicates an interaction

between speakers and listeners. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 79), in English, the interpersonal Theme includes a modal or comment Adjunct (‘modal Theme’), vocative and finite verbal operator (in yes/no interrogative).

The following examples show three Theme choices with Theme systems as follows: the textual represented by the Tai Dam, the interpersonal represented by the Kmhmu, and the topical represented by the Iu-Mienh.

1) Textual Theme

(2-11) Red duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL12.1	phɔɔ when			(∅: man)		taw maa huan return come house
CL12.2				(∅: man)	kɔɔ then	tham ?em thaw ask grandmother

When (he) returned home, (he) then asked (his) grandmother.

As shown in the above example, the textual Theme is realized by the adverb phɔɔ ‘when’ as the “point of departure”. It is called thematic conjunction. In addition, the position of textual theme, which is optional in some cases, can occur right after the topical Theme. As in thematic structure of CL12.2, we can see that the word kɔɔ ‘then’ functioning as the thematic continuative occurs right after the topical Theme.

2) Interpersonal Theme

(2-12) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL82.2	.			gəə 3sgm	gɔʔ so_then	law ?nɛʔ say that
CL82.3		ʔoo hɛɛm oh! younger_sibling ʔəəj ?		ʔoʔ 1sg		teii kʰrɔɔ jet daʔ grɔɔk IRR request stay at pen lim'boʔ bɔɔ niʔ cow 2pl this

He then said like this, “Oh younger sister, I would request to stay in your cow pen.”

Within thematic structure, we can find the interpersonal concept as one of Theme choices. It is called interpersonal Theme. The interpersonal Theme may be represented through the thematic interpersonal assessment, as in the given example, realized by the exclamation and vocalization.

3) Topical Theme

(2-13) Piglets

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL12.1				<i>dungz-dorn</i> piglet <i>yaac</i> TOP	<i>gamh_nziex,</i> fear	
CL12.2				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>maiv koi gaengh bun ninh bieq.</i> NEG open door let 3sg enter	

And the piglet was fearful, he did not open the door (to) let him come in.

As for the topical Theme, it may be oriented through transitivity roles which can be realized by Participant, Circumstance or Process. In CL12.1 and CL12.2, they both are realized by the participants *dungz-dorn* ‘piglet’ and *ninh* ‘he’.

The other systems of textual statuses that will be described briefly are the systems of INFORMATION, ELLIPSIS/ SUBSTITUTE and REFERENCE.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 579), speakers assign textual statuses: the system of THEME, INFORMATION, ELIPSIS/ SUBSTITUTE and REFERENCE to components of messages to produce texts and to help their listeners interpret them. These textual statuses are independently variable. They are a sort of COHESION. The system of INFORMATION is concerned with the notion of Given and New. Thematic status may be combined with either Given or New. Theme is Given and New falls within Rheme.

As for the notion of information structure: Given and New, Chafe (1976: 25-55) defines given (or old) information as “that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the

utterance”, while new information is defined as “what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee’s consciousness by what he says”. Given and New are in the system of INFORMATION. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 89), a unit of information implies the tension between what is already known or predictable and what is new or unpredictable. It is said that there is a close semantic relationship between thematic structure and information structure. The Theme is what the speakers choose to take as their point of departure. The Given is what the listeners already knew about or have accessible from the speakers. That is to say, Theme+Rheme are speaker-oriented, while Given+New are listener-oriented. Anyway, both are “speaker-selected”. In deciding what to say, speakers must decide how to say it. The speaker must assign both structures, mapping one on to the other to give a composite texture to discourse and thereby relate it to its environment. ‘Speaker-selected’ is made against the background of what has been said and what has happened before.

Another term that is related to Theme-Rheme as well as Given-New is Topic-Comment which will be discussed below.

Givón (1983) has divided the sentence or clause into two components. The first component is the **Focus** which is equivalent to ‘Rheme’, ‘Comment’, or ‘New Information’. Another component is the **Topic**, which is equivalent to ‘Theme’, or ‘Old Information’. Topic is not always the same as subject, although the latter is usually defined as the participant being referred to within the sentence.

It seems that Focus is the same as Rheme, but in some cases, as in examples below, we can find Focus at the beginning of a sentence which would contradict the idea that Rheme does not appear at the beginning of the sentence.

- a) Archie rejected the proposal.
- b) Someone rejected the proposal.

Archie in a) and someone in b) are considered as ‘Comment’ or ‘New Information’. They are topicalized as Focus in order to fulfil the unknown information about “who rejected the proposal?” The proposal is referred to as ‘Old Information’.

Therefore, the concepts of Theme-Rheme and Topic-Comment cannot be equated in all cases. It can be concluded that Focus is not equated to Rheme in some cases.

Downing (1991: 119-143) suggests a dissociation of Theme, in the sense of ‘initial element’, from Topic to avoid Halliday’s definition of theme as ‘what the clause is about’. Downing (1991) says: “Theme may coincide with Topic in the same wording, just as it may coincide with Given, but they are different categories. Topic will identify what a particular part of the text is about, while Theme (or initial) represents the point(s) of departure of a message”. Therefore, the only points of departure “what the clause is about” are participants and processes.

This study will apply Downing’s new classification of the function of initial elements, focusing on the participant Themes in 1) as my framework. The following are Downing’s classification of initial elements set up below:

- 1) Participant themes that set up individual frameworks.
- 2) Spatial, temporal and situational themes that set up circumstantial frameworks.
- 3) Discourse themes that set up subjective and logical frameworks.

Theme, then, is a meaningful choice that signals a speaker’s perspectives in narrative discourse. Because of the fact that different choices of position of initial elements make a meaningful clause, this study will discuss both full pronouns and zero pronouns in terms of participant Themes because they are associated with it. These particular Themes contribute to developing the flow of information in a text.

As for the system of ELLIPSIS, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 561-562), ellipsis is another form of anaphoric cohesion in the text, where we presuppose something by means of what is left out. It contributes to the semantic structure of the discourse and sets up a relationship that is not a semantic but lexicogrammatical- relationship in the wording rather than directly in one of meaning. When an element of wording is ellipsed, this indicates that it represents continuous information in the environment of contrast.

The following is an example of ellipsis in Iu-Mienh.

(2-14) Old Husband

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL17.1			<i>ninh</i>	<i>neyi</i> 3sg POSS <i>sieqv</i> daughter	<i>daav cuotv za'eix</i> plan come_out plan <i>daaih aeqv,</i> come and_then	
CL17.2			(∅: she)	↓	<i>gorngv ninh die neyi</i> speak 3sg father POSS <i>jauv jomc ming</i> way end go	
CL17.3	<i>cingx_daaih</i> therefore			(∅: she)	<i>maiv_zuqc longc wuov</i> no_need_to marry that <i>dauh nqox.</i> CLF husband	

His daughter planned a plan, and then; (she) talked (about) her father's way, (her father's way) came to an end; therefore, (she) did not have to marry that old man.

In (2-14), the pronoun *ninh* 'she' is ellipsed in CL17.2 and CL17.3. Anaphorically, the pronoun ellipsis or zero pronouns in particular can be interpreted as a reference to the preceding clause. They are in anaphoric cohesion.

It can be said that, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 563), ellipsis marks the textual status of continuous information within a certain grammatical structure. At the same time, the non-ellipsed elements of that structure are given the status of being contrastive in the environment of continuous information. Therefore, ellipsis assigns different prominence to the elements of a structure: if they are non-prominent (continuous), they are ellipsed; if they are prominent (contrastive), they are present. The absence of elements through ellipsis is an iconic realization of lack of prominence.

The system of SUBSTITUTE, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 563) serves as a place-holding device. Like ellipsis, the system of SUBSTITUTE is concerned with the contrast between continuous and contrastive information, but the realization of continuity is not ellipsis; rather it is a substitute item. Ellipsis and substitution are variants of the same type of cohesive relation.

The last system of textual statuses that will be described is the system of REFERENCE.

The system of REFERENCE presents a referent as a cohesive relation in a text. The pronouns *he, she, it, they*, or even their absence, in all languages, are anaphoric referents: they point ‘backwards’ to the preceding text. The Tai Dam example below shows one kind of reference, called anaphoric.

(2-15) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL9		ʔuu oh	kan kuu ridge		koʔ lɪt then	man pen leen nɯɯ 3sg is mud PRT
CL10			man 3sg			Kan ma juu block NEG stay

Oh! The ridge, then; it was muddy. It could not block (water).

The word *man* ‘it’ is anaphoric, pointing to the noun *kan kuu* ‘ridge’. The reader has to look back to something that has been said before; and this has the effect of linking the two clauses into a coherent unity, making them part of a single text.

2.3.1.2 Topic continuity

In the previous section, the main grammatical resources of textual statuses including the systems of THEME, INFORMATION, ELLIPSIS / SUBSTITUTE and REFERENCE were briefly discussed. In this section, the textual relations focusing on the systems of CONTINUITY, as well as the concept of topic continuity in discourse based on Givón (1983), will be reviewed.

The textual relations comprise the systems of CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY. As for this study, the system of CONTINUITY is concerned with full pronouns and zero pronouns in terms of referent cohesion. The system of CONTINUITY can be discussed through the system of ELLIPSIS and REFERENCE that was mentioned previously in 2.3.1.1.

The notion of topic continuity provided by Givón (1983) and other linguists working in various languages presents a cross-linguistic hierarchy of

natural language “syntactic coding of topic accessibility”. This concept involves studying the phenomena of “topic” and “subject”. In the early 1970s, the notion of “topic movement” emerged and still is studied often in various languages. The idea began with the tradition of dividing sentences (clauses) into two distinct components, one of them the ‘Focus’ (‘Rheme’, ‘Comment’, ‘New Information’), and the other the ‘Topic’ (‘Theme’, ‘Old Information’). And it is ‘Topic’ as linked to discourse structure, communicative intent, communicative dynamism, functional sentence perspective etc., that tends to be both vague and mysterious (Givón, 1983: 5). The relation between ‘topic’ and ‘subject’ views the subject as a grammaticalized topic according to some linguists such as Li and Thompson (1976), including Givón (1983). They proposed two language typologies: 1) ‘topic prominent languages’ - a language that organizes its syntax to emphasize the topic–comment structure of the sentence like Thai and Chinese, and 2) ‘subject prominent languages’ – like English.

According to Givón (1983: 9), if the thematic paragraph is indeed a chain of equi-topic clause, i.e. a string of clauses whose main topic remains the same, then one could perceive an initial division of main topics into three major types according to their position within the paragraph. The following is the grammar/syntax to be expected of three main topic functions in a fashion proposed by Givón (1983: 9).

(a) Chain initial topic:

(i) Characteristically a newly-introduced, newly-changed, newly-retuned topic, thus

(ii) Characteristically a discontinuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context, but

(iii) Potentially – if an important topic – a rather persistent topic in terms of succeeding discourse context.

(b) Chain medial topic:

(i) Characteristically a continuing/continuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context; and also

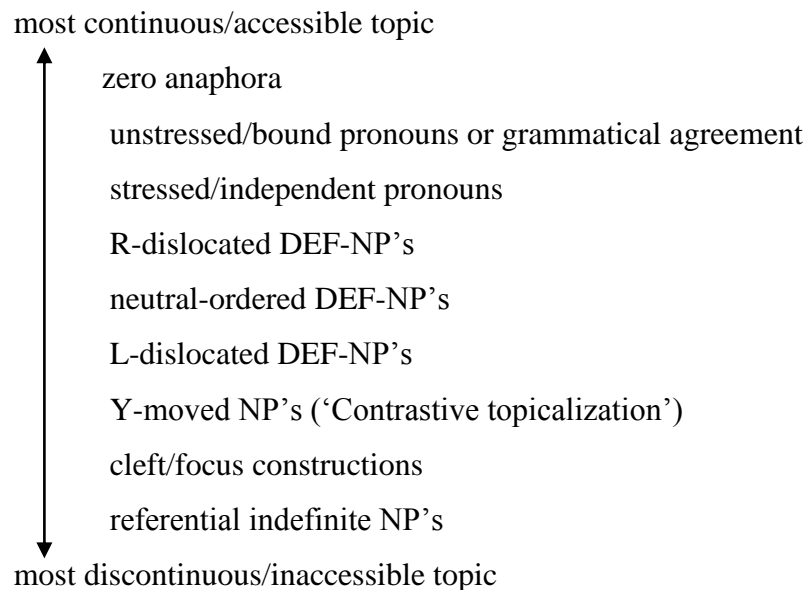
(ii) Characteristically persistent – but not maximally so – in terms of succeeding discourse context, even when an important topic.

(c) Chain final topic:

- (i) Characteristically a continuing/continuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context; but
- (ii) Characteristically non-persistent in terms of the preceding discourse context, even if an important topic.

In addition, Givón (1983) also developed the text-count methods called Referential Distance (RD) and Topic Persistence (TP), cross-linguistically applicable description of discourse function of a given construction (Myhill, 2001: 164).

In this present study, the concept of topic continuity based on ‘syntactic coding of topic accessibility’ will be adapted to encode participant reference. Moreover, the concept of Topic/Theme and Focus/Comment will be used to analyze ‘topic-movement of pronouns’ as a property of discourse structure rather than grammatical structure. Givón (1983: 17) proposes a ranking scale of the most common grammatical devices that encode participant references as follows:



According to Burusphat (1991: 135), in Thai narrative discourse, the most common grammatical forms that are used to encode a topic are noun phrases, pronouns, and zero anaphoras. She mentioned that the first two types of anaphors are overtly marked. Zero anaphors are a frequent device used to represent a thematic participant which continues to be thematic until there is a text discontinuity which necessitates overt marking.

2.3.2 The study of pronouns

Pronouns are categorized as a kind of a functional word which plays a crucial part in all languages. Pronouns, both full and zero, have been studied worldwide: Spanish: Luis and D' Intronno, 2001; Thai: Aroonmanakun, 2000; Chinese: Zhao and Ng, 2007; Japanese: Kawahara and Kurohashi, 2004; Korean: Roh and Lee, 2006; Lao: Compton, 1992; Turkish: Gürel, 2002, to name a few. Both full pronouns (overt) and zero pronouns (covert) have been researched theoretically and differently in many language families. In terms of a comparison study of pronouns, however, SFG is rarely employed.

Pronouns can simply be treated as a proform which is a type of functional word substituting for a noun or a noun phrase where the meaning is recoverable from the context. It can be said that they are used to avoid repetitive elements. Pronouns can be presented in different forms, with or without a determiner, depending upon the context and the nature of the language itself.

Bhat (2004) published a book on *Pronouns* trying to uncover several interesting characteristics of pronouns through cross-linguistic study. He gathered data on pronouns from a large number of languages from various parts of the world. He showed that the notion of (in)definiteness that is associated with pronouns is quite different from the one that is associated with ordinary noun phrases. The two notions differ not only in their location (speaker vs. hearer) but also the level to which they belong. The former is semantic whereas the latter is only pragmatic. He divided his study into two parts as personal pronouns and proforms. He showed that personal pronouns have several unique characteristics of their own that can be derived directly from an assumption that their function is to denote speech roles rather than to identify the individuals who perform those roles. He also shows another interesting characteristic, which is restricted to only some of the pronouns like demonstratives, interrogatives, and indefinites (called 'proforms'), namely the occurrence of a dual structure, which he used to establish a better understanding of the functioning of indefinite and interrogative pronouns and the relationship between the two.

Synchronically, pronouns have been studied in the area of their usage concerned with social factors and situational contexts of grammar, such as in *Pronouns and People: the Linguistic Construction of social and Personal Identity*

(Muhlhausler and Harre, 1990). This research is based on a broad corpus of data from many diverse cultures. In many Southeast Asian languages, pronouns have been explored diachronically and synchronically. Strecker (1984) has studied *Proto-Tai personal pronouns*. Hartmann (1992) has researched *Diachrony and Sociological Shifts in Tai Pronouns Historically*. In Thai, Palakornkul (1985) produced *A Socio-Linguistic Study of Pronominal Strategy in Spoken Bangkok Thai*. That study describes pronominal usage in spoken Bangkok Thai from a socio-linguistics point of view. Research on pronouns in Thai was studied by Chomaitong (1974) in *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Thai Pronouns*. Bamroongraks (1987) did her dissertation in linguistics on *Sukhothai Thai as a discourse-oriented language: Evidence from zero noun phrases* based on inscriptions. Sukonthaman (1989) wrote a dissertation on *A Comparison of Thai Second Person Pronominal Acquisition by Central Thai and Lahu Children (Pronominal Acquisition)*.

In a study of Pragmatics, Hongladarom (2009) asserted that pronouns can be interpreted and studied under the topic of indexicality in Thai. She mentioned that personal pronouns do not always correlate rigidly with social categories. Speakers choose one form over another according to their interests and needs in situations at hand. This study reveals that the true nature of indexicals accounts for “counter-examples to normative usage,” and incorporates native speakers’ judgments.

Pronouns can be analyzed as participant references, in particular covert and overt instances in Iu-Mienh narrative discourse studied by Maneekhao (1990). The study found that the conditions on usage of participant references can be divided into two types: linguistic conditions and participant conditions. In addition, the result of the analysis shows that the choice of reference depends on characteristics of each reference and the conditions posed in each case.

According to Hartmann (1990: 187), Southwestern Tai languages do not exhibit an exclusive category of pronouns to indicate addressee, addresser, or referent. His Tai Dam (Black Tai) poetic narrative was examined from the standpoint of pronominal strategies. He states that pronoun substitutes include the zero form, kinship terms, names, titles, and, especially in the written mode, epithets. He also discussed other languages within Southwestern Tai as well as Strecker’s (1984) reconstruction of Proto-Tai pronouns.

Pronouns in Thai Song, according to Pongsombat (1990), disclose actual situations where social and cultural factors influence pronominal usage. This study found that the differences in pronominal usage vary according to solidarity, presence of or absence of a child, formality, intimacy and emotional manifestation of interlocutors.

Aroonmanakun (1997, 1999, and 2000) has studied zero pronouns in the Thai language based on centering theory. This theory posits a focusing process in which salience of discourse entities is kept track of. However, he states that the centering model can resolve only pronouns or zero pronouns whose antecedents are in the immediately preceding utterance. In this study, he indicates that antecedents of Thai zero pronouns are not always in the immediately preceding utterance. Discourse structure is hypothesized as relevant for resolving zero pronouns, and the centering model was extended to work within the hierarchical structure of discourse. In the end, it was found that the extended model did not perform better than existing models because most of the pronoun antecedents are in the immediately preceding utterance. A few are in a distant utterance. Co-references of these zeroes could be explained in terms of hierarchical structure of clauses, which seems to operate at the sentence level rather than at the discourse level.

Looking outside of Thailand, Han (2006) did her dissertation on *Korean Zero Pronouns: Analysis and Resolution*. By using Maximum Entropy as a machine learning method of choice, various statistical models for Korean zero pronoun resolution have been successfully trained and tested on two Korean Treebank corpora. She mentions that these models serve as a valuable opportunity for empirically testing various theoretical claims and observations made on Korean zero pronoun anaphora. Features used in constructing the models and making predictions on zero pronoun reference encode linguistic properties surrounding zero pronouns and their potential antecedents. The features found to have a particularly strong contribution are indeed those that encode the linguistic aspects that are commonly cited in the linguistics literature as playing a crucial role in Korean zero pronoun usage, such as topic-hood, subject-hood and the nullness of form.

One more work which applies Maximum Entropy (ME) for resolving zero anaphora (ZA) is researched in Chinese. This work concerns the application of ME in

Chinese-English machine translation. Besides regular grammatical, lexical, positional and semantic features, Peng and Araki (2007) develop two innovative Web-based features for extracting additional semantic information of ZA from the Web. Their study shows the Web as a knowledge source can be incorporated effectively in the learning framework and significantly improves its performance.

At the present time, a cross-language comparison study of pronouns in Southeast Asian languages, particularly in narrative discourse, has not been explored in discourse studies. This study will attempt a rigorous analysis of full pronouns and zero pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages.

2.4 Typology and Discourse Analysis

Linguistic typology and discourse analysis share inherent differences in the interests of the two subdisciplines. According to Myhill (2001: 161), the term “typology” is described as follows: “The prototypical typological study has data from a wide variety of genetically unrelated languages, analyzed within a common descriptive paradigm which makes it possible to directly, systematically, and (relatively) simply compare data from these various languages and propose hypotheses regarding human language in general”, whereas in discourse analysis, “there have been many studies which have compared different languages but which would not be considered to be specifically typological, because they are not focused upon developing a system for direct, systematic, and universal comparison of a wide variety of languages as Greenberg’s studies were”.

Myhill (2001) discusses the problem of typological analysis based on the characteristics of typology and discourse analysis that, in terms of a typological framework, the study of discourse phenomena presents some inherent difficulties which are not found in other areas of typology. Firstly, typological studies use reference grammars as the main source of data from a wide variety of texts but no intuitions in analyzing the data by typologists. Discourse analysis has tended to be controversial because of the emphasis in discourse analysis upon the empirical analysis of linguistic data. Traditionally, the linguistic phenomena considered by typologists have been found in reference grammars and discussions of typical word

order and structural characteristics. Discourse analysts are not interested in that sort of phenomena. Secondly, Myhill (2001) mentions that existing reference grammars of lesser-known languages generally have very little in the way of discourse analysis, and what limited analyses they do have are not written in a way to allow for cross-linguistic comparison by someone who does not know the language very well. That brings forth another problem, which is the degree of familiarity of the researcher with the language to be analyzed. Lastly, in a traditional discourse study, the researcher tends to be a native speaker of or very proficient in the language(s) under study, while in a typological study, the linguist does not know all the languages under investigation very well. There have been many studies on cross-linguistic comparison of specific typological texts but not typological discourse analysis.

Croft (2003: 1) said that typology involves “cross-linguistic comparison” of some sort. Thus, cross-linguistic comparison plays a central role as a method in analyzing languages without focusing on systematically proposing hypotheses of human language in general. But if linguists want to work in cross-linguistic comparison of function or typological discourse analysis, they have to focus on developing a set of criteria, make generalization about a given language, analyze data, and then, make comparisons with other languages. A second methodology dealing with this problem of comparison, according to Myhill (2001), is to use translation of data. This present study uses data from linguistic translations. Those translations are really helpful in getting some idea of the functional similarity and difference between full pronouns and zero pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages: Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh.

To conclude, having a study of pronouns in this thesis is an interface between reference grammars and discourse analysis. On the basis of the characteristics of typology and discourse analysis, this study allows cross-linguistic comparison of typical discourse analysis specifically of pronouns to open a new window of typological analysis. Form and discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns are hypotheses focusing on developing a systematic and universal comparison of a wide variety of languages being set in language typology as Greenberg’s studies were.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed the literature related to our cross-linguistic comparative study, previously not taken up by others, of the behavior of pronouns in narrative discourse, specifically folktales, in three Southeast Asian languages: Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh. Although all three languages descend from three distinctly different parent languages, they are all, typologically-speaking, largely monosyllabic and SVO. Moreover, they have no case, tense or plural markers; words carry no inflections. Plurality is managed with a system of count and measure classifiers. Tai Dam and Kmhmu share a common pattern of Noun + Descriptive + Number + Classifier; the pattern for Iu-Mienh is Number + Classifier, Noun + Descriptive. In all three languages, the indefinite article “a”, in contrast to the number “1” moves to the right of the Classifier. The matter of classifiers is important in telling folktales of the sort that we have chosen for analysis in that they can at times have a pronominal function and because counting figures prominently in story-telling.

Because pronouns cross clause and sentence boundaries, they need to be seen as a discourse phenomenon. With that in mind, we carried out an extensive discussion of earlier studies of narrative discourse as necessary background. Pronouns are by nature anaphoric and provide continuity in narrative discourse, a matter that was deeply investigated by Givón (1983), especially topic continuity. Southeast Asian narrative discourse is noted for dropping pronouns as the narrative progresses. This phenomenon, which we have chosen to call “zero pronouns,” has been researched previously by other scholars of Southeast Asian languages, not across three language families, as is the case here.

Several theoretical frameworks have been used in earlier studies of narrative discourse. In this study, we have chosen the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) of scholars such as Halliday as our theoretical approach but have modified it with the notion of continuity pioneered by Givón to explain how full and zero pronouns are used in the system of Theme and Rheme central to SFG. Interspersed in our literature review are language-specific illustrations from our collected data of various narrative functions and how they work to assist in moving the narrative in a meaningful progression. Several interesting questions have arisen in the review, such as the challenge of distance, how far can anaphor extend in a narrative, and what

dictates the limits to which pronouns, especially zeros, can be dropped. Equally compelling is the discussion of how much of a world of shared knowledge is required of story-teller and listener/reader for meaningful comprehension to take place. What makes the telling of a story work, and when does it break down, especially where zero pronouns are used so liberally in the three languages?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology employed in this study is divided into four parts: data collection, data selection, data arrangement and data analysis. Concluding remarks will appear at the end of this chapter.

3.1 Data Collection

Data from three language families has been collected as representative samples. Those language families are Tai, Hmong-Mien, and Austroasiatic. Only one language within each language family was selected. The data on which the analysis was based were collected from secondary sources as follows: Tai Dam collected by Udomwej (1985) for Tai; Kmhmu collected by Osborne (2009) for the Austroasiatic language family; lastly, Iu-Mienh collected by Arisawa (2006) represents of the Hmong-Mien language family.

The criterion of data selection is based on Thompson's types of the folktale. Thompson (1946) classifies types of folktale into two main groups which are the complex tale and the simple tale. These two groups are classified based on type index system. In *The Folktale*, Thompson makes very definite distinctions between the complex tale and the simple tale. He defines the latter as having usually a single motif, whereas the more complex tale contains numerous motifs and has episodic sequences. In Thompson's type index, there are four types of folktale that can be designated as follows: (1) animal tales, (2) ordinary folktales, (3) jokes and anecdotes, and (4) formula tales. In this study, all folktales are analyzed as the simple tale and can be classified as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The type-index classification system of folktales (based on ATU (Aarne-Thompson-Uther) international tale type)

Language Families	Folktales	Types of Folktale
Tai	Red Duck	Anecdote and joke
	A Story of a Tiger	Anecdote and joke
	Mister Nga and Mister Daeng	Anecdote and joke
	A Story of Dogs and Cats	Animal tale
	A Story of Deaf People	Anecdote and joke
Austroasiatic	The Two Thieves	Legend
	The Bear	Legend
	The Orphan	Legend
	The Man-Eating Tiger	Legend
	Tan's Hospital Story	Legend
Hmong-Mien	A Story of an Old Husband and Bamboo Shoots	Legend
	A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper	Formula tale
	A Story of Three Piglets	Animal tale
	Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?	Animal tale
	A Story of Aahan	Legend

The classification system of research data illustrated in Table 3.1 is based on the catalog of international tale types (ATU) which is the latest edition of type-index classification with extensive additions and improvements. The abbreviated name is from surnames of three prominent folklorists, Antti Aarne, Stith Thompson, and Hans-Jörg Uther. This classification system was revised by Uther (2015) and superimposed on the original AT (Aarne-Thompson) classification tale type index. The ATU classification still uses some of the Thompson's motif-index considered as significant for supplementary arrangement toward folktale's classification structure.

The updated classes of the latest edition are animal tales, tales of magic, religious tales, realistic tales, tale of the stupid ogre, anecdotes and jokes, and formula tales.

The following are five folktales from each language families to be analyzed in this study.

1) Tai Dam folktales collected by Udomwej (1985): 1) Red Duck, 2) A Story of a Tiger, 3) Mister Nga and Mister Daeng 4) A Story of Dogs and Cats, and 5) A Story of Deaf People.

2) Kmhmu folktales collected by Osborne (2009): 1) The Two Thieves, 2) The Bear, 3) The Orphan, 4) The Man-Eating Tiger, and 5) Tan's Hospital Story.

3) Iu-Mienh folktales collected by Arisawa (2006): 1) A Story of an Old Husband and Bamboo Shoots, 2) A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper, 3) A Story of Three Piglets, 4) Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?, and 5) A Story of Aahan.

3.2 Data Selection

The data used in this study were collected from texts focusing on folktales of Southeast Asian languages spoken in Thailand. Three language families were used as research data. The reason why the Tai language family and the Austroasiatic language family in particular were chosen as research data is that both language families, especially the Tai language family, are rather big language families, spoken across a wide expanse of Southeast Asia. Many linguists have studied both of them and published their research widely. It is thus easy to further study related questions and to find reference and research materials. In addition, the findings of this study will hopefully contribute not only to SEA linguistics in general and to the interests of those who are interested in studying pronouns, but also have a greater impact on the research on major language families spoken in the SEA region. The findings of this study might be able to be applied to other language families in terms of areal linguistics. As for the Hmong-Mien language family, although it is a smaller language family compared to Tai and Austroasiatic, this language family plays a crucial part as one more language family spoken in the Southeast Asian area and has its own outstanding linguistic features. In addition, although some linguists have studied pronouns in this language family, they have not used Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) in their work. For

this study, only one language is selected as a representative data sample from each of the three language families.

3.2.1 Summaries of the narrative texts

All selected folktales to be analyzed in this study are the simple tale which is based on themes first invented by Antti Aarne and later on revised by Stith Thompson. The themes are called type index of folktales. The simple tale contains one main motif. Because this study focuses on analyzing third person pronouns which are used to refer back (or forward) to other expressions that occur in the utterance or in a previous utterance, all selected folktales talk about humans, animals, and things that show the distinguishing features of pronouns as part of a system of personal pronouns and even a system of proforms. In order to help the reader to follow the analysis and examples given in this study, a brief outline of the main events from each story will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

3.2.1.1 Tai language family: Tai Dam

3.2.1.1.1 *Red Duck* (stupid person) was narrated by a Tai Dam native speaker named Mrs. Won Yordsai. This folktale is a story about a grandmother and her grandson. The grandson is a so-called “stupid person”. He could follow what his grandmother said, just only in a literal sense. The story is told in a manner of repeating the silly things he did without using common sense. He followed every word his grandmother told him when he went traveling, but he always came back with new bad things to tell his grandmother. Every time he told the bad story to his grandmother, he always got new advice from her for the next trip. Again and again, he went out to travel and followed the advice literally. And he came back repeatedly with other new bad stories to tell his grandmother.

3.2.1.1.2 *A Story of a Tiger* was narrated by a Tai Dam native speaker named Mr. Yord Mitrarun. This story is told about a tiger in the old days that can speak and understand human language. When people traveled in the jungle in those days, they always brought some weapons to protect themselves from the tiger. But the man in this story did not bring anything when he was traveling in the jungle. He just spoke out loudly saying that if the tiger came to attack him, he would kill it with his male part. The tiger heard what he said, but it did not know what kind

of weapon that was. So, it ran into the jungle and then met a nun. The tiger asked the nun about that weapon. The nun was afraid of that tiger, and she did not know what to do to protect herself from the tiger. So, she just opened her clothes and showed her female part. Then she told the tiger to look at how the unknown weapon of the male wounded her, and it was swollen and has not healed for nine months. That is the story of a tiger.

3.2.1.1.3 *Mister Nga and Mister Daeng* was narrated by a Tai Dam native speaker named Mr. Sorn Yordsai. This story is about the relationship of two friends named Mister Nga and Mister Daeng. Nga was a good person and also a good friend to his friend, Daeng, who was selfish. The story is told about when they went to catch fish in a swamp. Nga was cheated by his friend, Daeng, who took all the fish back home without telling him because he was sleeping. When Nga woke up, he was left with only “plaa lot” (a small fish). So, he took that fish back to his home and fed it. That fish grew up and became a very big fish. When it died, he used its big bone to make a harrow. Every time he harrowed his rice field, then the gold would come out from the rice field. When Daeng heard that news, he borrowed it to harrow his own field but only excrement came out. He got angry and broke the harrow. Nga made a comb from a piece of the harrow which was left from the broken one. And when he combed his hair, gold fell from his hair. Daeng wanted to be rich like his friend. So, he borrowed it to comb his hair but his hair fell out instead of the gold. He went bald. He got very angry again and smashed the comb. Then, Nga made a toothpick from a piece of comb. When he used that toothpick, gold fell out of his mouth. But when Daeng used it, his teeth fell out instead. That is the story of *Mister Nga and Mister Daeng*.

3.2.1.1.4 *A Story of Dogs and Cats* was narrated by a Tai Dam speaker named Mr. Butra Chapchai. This story is a “why” story of dogs and cats. It is told why dogs are antagonistic to cats. In the old days, dogs and cats were harmonious and lived together with their master in the house. The story begins with a dog and a cat volunteering to seek and bring a precious stone deceptively taken by a trickster back to their master. It was the cat, not the dog, who did and set a plan to take the precious stone back. The dog just only took advantage of the cat for his benefit. When the cat could get the stone back from wherever, the dog would claim it as the

result of his own work. The dog grabbed the precious stone and brought it back to the master. The master admired the dog but blamed the cat. The cat told the true story to the master. And the master believed the cat. The dog was punished by not being allowed to live in the house. Since then, cats have been allowed to live in the house with the master, not dogs.

3.2.1.1.5 *A Story of Deaf people* was narrated by Mr. Riap Khamtip. He is a Tai Dam speaker. This story is about a deaf family whose members cannot communicate with each other effectively. The story starts with a deaf son-in-law in a family that went out to work in the rice field. While he was working in the field, two men came and asked him for directions to where they wanted to go. Because he was deaf, he responded something not relevant to the question. Those two guys did not understand what he was talking about. So, they asked the same question again and again, but the deaf man continued doing something further that was irrelevant. They thought he was crazy. They just walked away and left him alone. An hour later, the deaf man's wife came and brought him breakfast. He started telling about the two guys talking with him that morning. Because of his irrational actions, his wife thought that he would harm her. As she was also deaf, she did not get what her husband wanted to tell her. So, she went back and told her mother that her husband would hurt her. Her mother was also deaf. She assumed that her son-in-law and her daughter planned to do something bad to her. So, she told this story to her husband. And her husband also misunderstood. He thought that his wife was criticizing his work of weaving a net. He was angry. So he cut the net he weaved all day long. That is the story of a deaf family.

3.2.1.2 Austroasiatic language family: Kmhmu

3.2.1.2.1 *The Two Thieves* was narrated by Mrs. Man Ounpachanh from Hin Tit village, Hin Heup District, Vientiane Province. This story was recorded in Vientiane in August 2006 and then transcribed and translated by Osborne (2009). The story is told about two young men who spied on an old man to see where he hid his money. They followed him to the rice field and saw him hide the money way up high in the rafters. They tricked him into giving them his bush knife for chopping wood to make a walking stick. Then, the old man gave them the knife. They used the knife in cutting the wood and making a big stick. With the knife and the stick,

they attacked and killed the old man. Soon after that, they stole his money and returned home without being pursued.

3.2.1.2.2 *The Bear* was narrated by a native speaker of Kmhmu named Mrs. Ceeng Vilay of Tav Thaan village, Hin Heup District, Vientiane Province. This story was also recorded in Vientiane in August 2006, and then transcribed and translated by Osborne (2009). This story is about the narrator's family who are troubled by an animal that they believe to be a bear raiding their fields. They did not want it to eat their crops. Therefore, they planned to kill it. An uncle who was an expert hunter set a grenade in the rice field to kill the bear. When the hand grenade went off, the hunting group started off. There were about four or five people who went in pursuit. They separated into two groups. One group was comprised of the narrator's uncle and her husband. They followed the bloody tracks. They believed it was from the injured bear. The uncle and the husband encountered the bear. It attacked the uncle, and the husband frightened it off, but not before the uncle was badly injured. The husband carried him back to the village where the villagers berated them for not catching the bear. They warned the family that they would have to pay compensation if it attacked anyone else, because their grenade had injured it and made it angry and dangerous. The other group was the people with pellet guns. They came back to the village after finding the injured animal, but it was not the bear after all. It was just a civet.

3.2.1.2.3 *The Orphan* was narrated by Ajarn Sosavanh Silaphet in Samkhon village, Hom District, Vientiane Province. She can speak Kmhmu. This story was recorded in October 2006 and later also transcribed and translated by Osborne (2009). The story is told about a poor orphan boy who was born from a poor family. He stayed with his aunt after his mother and father died. His aunt mistreated him. She used him to work hard but allowed him to eat only a little. Therefore, he ran away from her and wandered in the forest. Soon after that, he met a beautiful girl who was a king's daughter, and she helped him. She took him home, but the king rejected him because of being a dirty, disgusting, poor, and miserable person. The king also rejected his own daughter. They were chased away, and they ran for their lives. Months later, they met a magic monkey who used his power to make them into a King and a Queen. The monkey made a beautiful palace for them that was more

beautiful than their father's palace. They invited the old King and his retinue to visit. When they arrived, the King's elephants were dazzled by the beauty of the palace and stampeded. The elephants killed the old King, the Queen, and their attendants. In the end, the moral is given that we should not look down on others but live in harmony and have mutual respect for one another.

3.2.1.2.4 *The Man-Eating Tiger* was narrated by Mr. Siang Man in Vientiane and also translated by Osborne (2009). This story is about a wild tiger that made a series of attacks on a total of 200 people and killed many in a period after World War II. The story was told by giving details of specific incidents describing names, places and the details of the attacks. The tiger always attacked local people when they went out to dig tubers, collect bamboo shoots or fruits in the forest. It came out to attack people and ate them. People could not do anything if the tiger wanted to attack and eat them. They were afraid of this tiger and tried to set a trap to catch it. Finally, it was caught in a trap. And the people could kill it.

3.2.1.2.5 *Tan's Hospital Story* was told by Mrs. Tan Ounpachanh from Hin Tit village, Hin Heup district, Vientiane and translated by Osborne (2009). The story is about the speaker's life-threatening attack of malaria when she was a young child. She said that she and her father had to travel from their village to Vientiane for hospital treatment. The way from their village to the hospital was not good. She told how it was difficult to reach. They found no place to stay at night. The climax of this story occurs when her condition deteriorated and she had to go into intensive care. She recovered after receiving further treatment, including a blood transfusion. In order to pay the medical costs, because they did not have enough money, her father had to borrow some from the villagers. This situation made them go into debt. They took many years to repay that debt.

3.2.1.3 Hmong-Mien language family: Iu-Mienh

All Five Iu-Mienh stories in this study were selected from Arisawa (2006) with help from many native speakers in double-checking the data. Those stories were tape-recorded and transcribed by Ms. V. Ann Burgess, who has served as a missionary nurse-midwife and as one of the senior research associates of the Mien dictionary in Doi Luang, Maechan district, Chiang Rai province in the 1970s.

A summary of three stories is as follows:

3.2.1.3.1 *A Story of an Old Husband and Bamboo Shoots* is told about a man who wanted his daughter to marry a very old man because of his riches. But the problem was that the daughter did not love that old man. The man persuaded his daughter that once she had married him, she would love him. Anyway, she did not want to do so. One day, she got the idea of how to persuade her father to stop thinking about her plan by using his logic. Therefore, she collected old and hard bamboo shoots, and cooked them for a meal. Her father complained about the old and hard bamboo shoots, which he did not like because they were too hard to eat. Then, she replied, “Once you bite them, you will gradually like them”.

3.2.1.3.2 *A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper* is an animal tale that explains why worms have a ring around their neck today. The story begins with a firefly and a grasshopper taking turns working for each other until it got dark. They competed to see who would reach home first. The grasshopper was confident that he would be the winner because he had long legs and could run strongly. The grasshopper also teased the firefly for being so small. But the firefly reached home first because he had a light and wings. He could light up his own road himself. On the other hand, the grasshopper did not reach home. He went only half way and asked a sparrow to let him sleep in his house. While sleeping, a dead tree snapped and fell down to frighten the grasshopper. He forgot to control his legs and kicked the sparrow hard up to the nape. The grasshopper blamed the dead tree. The dead tree blamed termites for biting his roots. The termites blamed an earthworm for cementing his house. In the court, the earthworm was declared guilty and got punished by strangling. That is why earthworms have a ring around their neck today.

3.2.1.3.3 *A Story of Three Piglets* is a Western nursery tale but retold by a Iu-Mienh story-teller. Therefore, it was absolutely Mienized, having typical Iu-Mienh narrative features (Arisawa, 2006). The story starts with three brother piglets having built each one's house. The first one built his house with stalks of rice. The second one built his house with rods and sticks, and the third one with bricks. When a black wolf came, he just blew the first house down and ate the first piglet. Then, he did the same thing to the second house and also ate the second piglet. But the black wolf could not blow the third house because it was strong. The

wolf and the third piglet competed in their cleverness several times. Finally, the piglet won and the black wolf died.

3.2.1.3.4 *Why Cicadas Don't Have Intestines* is told about why cicadas do not have intestines, owls have big eyes, and yellow squirrels' backs are yellow. This "why" story starts the first link in a chain from a barking deer misunderstanding the owl's words. The barking deer was deceived into eating some olives. A yellow squirrel and a cicada frightened the barking deer and made him step on an ash pumpkin's vine. The ash pumpkin's vine was broken off, and then it rolled down to bump a sesame seedpod. The sesame seeds spilled out and went into a wild chicken's eyes. The wild chicken scratched black ants, which stung a snake. The snake went away aimlessly and then crawled into the nest of a yellow squirrel. The yellow squirrel had no place to live. The squirrel bit an oil fruit. And then, it dropped off a tree to hit a grandfather's opium lamp. Everything spilled out. That grandfather was very angry that his opium lamp was destroyed. A punishment had to be given to somebody. He started seeking for someone to be punished. Who will be punished most?

3.2.1.3.5 *A Story of Aahan* is a hero story. The word 'Aahan' means 'brave'. This story is told about a poor Iu-Mienh couple whose occupation was just as vendors going through Northern Thai villages. While talking about their bravery, the wife killed a bear accidentally by stabbing the bear's mouth with her carrying pole. She told the governor that her husband did it. Then, her husband was named the 'Bear the Brave'. After that, the husband killed a big crocodile that attacked a passenger boat. This time, the governor named him 'Suthi the Brave'. He further was invited to catch a big snake that had fallen into a village water source. For this act, he was named 'Snake the Brave'. He killed a tiger too, and again he was named by the governor the 'Tiger the Brave'. Finally, he drove back a group of enemy soldiers. Then this time, he and his wife were rewarded with a fortified city.

3.3 Data Arrangement

The FLEX program which was designed by SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) was proposed to be used as a tool for data arrangement and translation

into English. This program consists of three sub-programs: Shoebox, Toolbox, and Lingua Links. For phonetic transcription, the research data of Thai Song, which will be referred as Tai Dam in this study, was transcribed without references to tones as they play no significant effect in discourse analysis even though the original tonal data is provided and written in Thai with tone markers.

The research data on which the analysis is based was arranged according to the following system adapted for the methodology of SFG:

First line: Phonetic transcription based on the IPA system

Second line: English gloss

Third line: English free translation

Using this data arrangement, pronouns can be assigned and recovered within every single clause. It was helpful in analyzing syntactic distributions and discourse functions of pronouns in this study.

Within the data arrangement as mentioned above, every single clause was segmented and arranged in the table below that was developed by SFG researchers. By doing this, it was helpful in analyzing Theme-Rheme distribution. An example of data arrangement is as follows:

Table 3.2 An example of data arrangement

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Textual	Interpersonal	Topical			Textual
			marked	unmarked		

3.4 Data Analysis

In analyzing the data, after segmenting the texts into single clauses, the forms and syntactic distribution of full pronouns and zero pronouns were explored first. Then, the discourse functions of both classes of pronouns were discovered. The

Systemic Functional Grammar was proposed as a means of accounting for discourse functions that serve as cohesive devices in narrative discourse for both full pronouns and pronoun ellipsis. The process of data analysis was conducted step-by-step as follows:

1) Analyzing forms of pronouns and their syntactic distribution functioning as cohesive devices in narrative discourse of the Southeast Asian languages using the Systemic Functional approach.

Pronouns were analyzed for every single clause in a folktale in a series of Theme and Rheme structure. The form and syntactic distributions of pronouns were analyzed as well as their discourse functions. Pronouns existing in Theme and Rheme structure were analyzed for their functioning as full pronouns or zero pronouns within a mode of textual metafunction focusing in Theme structure.

2) Comparing discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in Southeast Asian languages.

When forms and discourse functions of pronouns of each language were analyzed, a comparison of discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in the selected Southeast Asian languages were discussed. All three languages were compared with each other.

3) Concluding and discussing the data.

The conclusion and discussion of the data were the last step in the study. Included in that section, recommendations for future research were provided.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed research methodology, which covered data collection, data selection, data arrangement and data analysis. The data used in this study were collected from secondary sources. The Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh were from the appendix of Payap University dissertations. Only the Tai Dam was collected from *A Collection of Thai Song Dam Folktales Khaoyoy District, Phetchaburi Province*. This collection was written in Thai. Therefore, it needed to be transcribed and translated into English. Five folktales from each language were selected for the purposes of the study. All selected folktales were simple tales that contain a single

motif and can be classified into different types of folktales based on the ATU classification international tale type. The data arrangement was designed by SIL and also adapted to the methodology of SFG. All data were analyzed under the system of Theme structure developed by SFG. When the data were thoroughly analyzed using this approach, forms and functions of full and zero pronouns were clarified using a comparative study. The expected results elucidate a study of pronouns in a comparative study of narrative discourse and aid in understanding how full pronouns and zero pronouns function as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in at least three Southeast Asian languages namely, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh based on SFG.

CHAPTER IV

FULL PRONOUNS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES

This chapter analyzes full pronouns, focusing on forms and functions that serve as cohesive devices in narrative discourse in three Southeast Asian languages; Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu Mienh. The main purpose of this study is to carry out cross-linguistic comparisons of pronouns. This exploration of full pronouns is based on Systemic Functional Theory through the employment of textual metafunctions that provide a framework for discussing the properties of pronouns from various perspectives: syntax via discourse semantics, Theme-Rheme structures via Given-New information, and from form to function.

4.1 Pronouns in Southeast Asian Languages

According to Bhat (2004: 1), the term ‘pronoun’ involves several different sets of words: personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative, interrogatives, indefinites, relatives, correlative, etc. Traditionally, the word ‘pronoun’ is one of the traditional eight parts of speech, which can be traced back to the beginnings of European grammar. It has been defined as words that substitute for nouns, but many linguists do not employ this definition because it is problematic and requires elaboration. Lyons (1977: 636-637) defines the primary function of pronouns as follows.

The term ‘pronoun’ carries quite different implications from ‘article’. It suggests that the characteristic function of pronoun is to operate as substitutes for nouns. But to say that pronouns deputize syntactically and semantically for nouns and that this is their primary, or basic, function is seriously misleading in two respects. First of all, it fails to draw the distinction between nouns and nominals (cf.11.3): pronouns are referring

expressions, and they are syntactically equivalent to nominals, not nouns. Secondly, to say that pronouns are primarily substitutes, whether for nouns or nominals, is to imply that their anaphoric function is more basic than their deictic function.

Lyons (1977: 636) said that the basic function of pronouns is to substitute for nouns, but he explained further that pronouns are not only functioning as substitute nouns, but syntactically and semantically, they are operating as noun phrase substitutions. This means that their primary function is anaphoric, which is more basic than their deictic function.

The following functions are the basic functions of pronouns in general.

1) By anaphoric reference:

A pronoun refers to either its antecedent noun phrase (NP) or else to what its antecedent NP refers to.

2) The referential power of pronouns: (referential function)

A pronoun refers to their antecedents' referents.

3) By deictic function or deixis:

Pronouns are commonly seen to be concerned primarily with person deixis, first, second and third persons.

4.1.1 Personal pronouns and proforms

This section will discuss the definition and basic function among different kinds of personal pronouns, namely first, second and third person pronouns.

The three types of personal pronouns share different basic notions of traditional definitions of pronouns in terms of 'standing for' something else. The notion of 'standing for' something else is incomplete for characterizing first and second person pronouns. We cannot categorize pronouns as a single group. The unique characteristic of their function is to denote speech roles rather than to identify the individuals who perform those roles. According to Bhat (2004), the function of first and second person pronouns is primarily to indicate the two principal speech roles, namely that of 'being the speaker' and 'being the addressee' respectively. Pragmatically, only the first and second person pronouns are in the set of

‘interlocutory pronouns’, whereas third person pronouns are included in the set of ‘substitutes’.

Bhat (2004: 5) discusses the two notions of ‘interlocutory pronouns’ and ‘substitutives’ as follows:

The two are differentiated from one another by the fact that only interlocutory pronouns participate in conversational exchange. Further, interlocutory pronouns are invariable of class while substitutives vary according to the class of the noun that is being pronominalized.

Therefore, Bhat (2004: 5) proposes the terms ‘personal pronouns’ and ‘proform’ as representative of this distinction, with the former term including first and second person pronouns and the latter term applied to third person pronouns and all the other types of pronouns such as demonstratives, interrogatives, reflexives, reciprocals and relatives. By far the commonest type of ‘proform’ is the *pronoun* (Schachter, 1985: 25).

In this study, the definition of third person pronouns is covered by the term ‘proform’, in which they appear to belong to the system of personal pronouns whose referents are presumed to be clear from context.

Bhat mentioned that the term ‘proforms’ are general terms that are used for carrying out different functions like:

(i) identifying the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants (or indicating the location, time, manner, etc. of the event itself in a similar fashion)

(ii) referring back (or forward) to other expressions that occur in the utterance or in previous utterances

(iii) indicating the scope of a question, negation, or exclamation.

Therefore, it can be said that only first and second person pronouns are devoted to individuals who participate in the speech act. And the referents of third person pronouns are seen as ‘non-persons’ whose position in the speech act can only be described negatively with respect to first and second person pronouns (Lyons, 1977: 638).

4.1.2 Third person pronouns

Typologically, third person pronouns in Southeast Asian languages function as part of the system of preforms, such as demonstratives, which are other types of proforms rather than part of the system of personal pronouns. It is because the uses of third person pronouns involve anaphora, where the meaning of the pronoun itself is dependent on another referential element.

The third person pronoun is treated as one kind of cohesive device. It is a resource for making a transition in the unfolding of a text. And it is also put under the system of reference of identifiability. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 550), the system of identifiability is proposed as: “Does the speaker judge that a given element can be recovered or identified by the listener at the relevant point in the discourse or not?” They state that if it is presented as identifiable, then the listener will have to recover the identity from elsewhere in the text. If it is presented as non-identifiable, then the listener will have to establish it as a new element of meaning in the interpretation of the text. The following example has been taken from an introduction to a narrative of Kmhmu to show how the third person pronoun functions as a cohesive device in terms of identifiability.

(4-1) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL2	<i>le?</i> and			<i>ʔah</i> Have	<i>kəən'rook mooj gon</i> orphan one Clf_people	
And (there) was an orphan.						
CL3			<i>kəən'rook gon</i> orphan Clf_people	<i>gi'ni?</i> that_one PRT	<i>kəət teaak k'əəpk'ua</i> be_born from family <i>t'uk t'ii sut</i> poor SUPERL	
That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.						
CL4.1	<i>lan'teak</i> after <i>gi'ni?</i> that_one			<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>p'ə'dii</i> exactly <i>bian mooj pii</i> achieve one Clf_years	
CL4.2	<i>p'ə'dii</i> exactly		<i>ma?</i> mother	<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>gə?</i> so_then <i>haan pəh</i> die separate_from	
After that, (when) he was exactly one year old, just then his mother died.						

As we can see from the above example, the protagonist is first introduced as non-identifiable by means of the non-specific nominal group *kɔɔn'rook mooj gon* ‘an orphan’, allowing the listener to establish this character as a node in the network of meanings created in the course of the interpretation of the narrative. And the story teller again emphasizes this character by using the specific nominal group *kɔɔn'rook gi'ni? le?* ‘that orphan’. After having been introduced in this way, the orphan is then presented as identifiable by means of the third person pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ in CL4.1 and the possessive structure *ma? gəə* ‘his mother’ in CL4.2. The latter are instances of reference that are presented as pronouns.

From my investigation, it has been found that the third person pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh, can be grouped as ‘free-pronouns’, as they do not occur as part of the predicate. The following are third person pronouns shown in particular languages differently in terms of singular and plural.

Table 4.1 Third person singular pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages

Languages	Full pronouns	+human			+gender			+impersonals
		human	nonhuman		male	female	neuter	
			animal	thing				
Tai Dam	<i>man₁</i> ‘he, she, it’	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	<i>phuan</i> ‘he’	√	-	-	√	-	-	-
Kmhmu	<i>gəə</i> ‘he, she, it’	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	<i>naa</i> ‘she’	√	-	-	-	√	-	-
Iu-Mienh	<i>ninh</i> ‘he, she, it’	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

*Note: The subscript number shows a type of morpheme. The different subscript numbers indicate different types of morpheme, such as *man₁* and *man₂* indicate morpheme 1 and morpheme 2, which share the same form but function in different ways.

Based on the data being studied, it has been found that Tai Dam and Kmhmu each have two full forms of the third person singular pronoun to point backward (or forward) to a referent specific elsewhere in discourse or to the history of the unfolding text. In comparing Tai Dam and Kmhmu, each has its own pronouns that can be used to refer to similar distinctive features, as in the following: human and nonhuman, male, female, and neuter, and even used as an impersonal pronoun. Those pronouns are *man₁* and *gəə*, respectively. The pronoun *man₁* as frequently used in Tai Dam to indicate familiarity can be interpreted as ‘he, she, it’ depending on its function as referent in the discourse (Hartmann, 1990: 188). This property is shared with the pronoun *gəə* in Kmhmu. However, if we look deeply into these two languages, Tai Dam has another pronoun, *phuan*, which refers only to [+human, +male] features to show politeness. This particular pronoun means ‘he’. Kmhmu likewise has its own pronoun *naa*, which carries the [+human, +female] feature with the meaning of ‘she’. In general, the pronoun *man₁* in Tai Dam and the pronoun *gəə* in Kmhmu can be used and function as an impersonal pronoun.

As for Iu-Mienh, only one third person singular pronoun is found to represent ‘he, she, it’ when it points to a referent mentioned elsewhere in the text. That pronoun is *ninh*. The pronoun *ninh* also shares the same characteristics with pronouns *man₁* and *gəə*.

The following table shows the third person plural pronouns in Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh.

Table 4.2 Third person plural pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages

Languages	Full pronouns	+human			+gender			+number	
		human	nonhuman		male	female	neuter	dual	plural
			animal	thing					
Tai Dam	<i>man₂</i> ‘they’	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√
	<i>khaw₂</i> ‘they’	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	√
	<i>saw (indef.)</i> ‘they’	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	√

Table 4.2 Third person plural pronouns in three Southeast Asian languages (cont.)

Languages	Full pronouns	+human			+gender			+number	
		human	nonhuman		male	female	neuter	dual	plural
			animal	thing					
Kmhmu	<i>si'naa</i> 'they two'	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	-
	<i>nɔɔ</i> (<i>def.</i>) 'they'	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√
	<i>baŋ</i> (<i>indef.</i>) 'they'	√	-	-	√	√	√	-	√
Iu-Mienh	<i>ninh_mbuo</i> 'they'	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

As we can see from the above table, each of the Tai Dam and Kmhmu pronouns has three full forms for the third person plural pronoun. All three plural pronouns in Tai Dam are as follows: *man*, *khaw*, and *saw*. Each of them shares the difference of semantic features in terms of human and gender. As mentioned previously, the pronoun *man*₁ can be used as third person singular pronoun. In addition, this pronoun can be used as third person plural pronoun in some situations. That is because nouns and pronouns are not inflected for plurality as in, for example, English. The pronoun *man* can mean either 'he' or 'they' depending on a referent introduced in the text indicating whether it is singular or plural.

As for the pronouns *khaw* and *saw*, the Tai Dam pronoun *khaw* may be a borrowed pronoun from Thai, while the pronoun *saw* is specific to Tai Dam itself. Both of them mean 'they' pragmatically. The word *khaw* in other languages, such as Thai, can be used with both singular and plural. The word *saw* is used as indefinite rather than definite.

For Kmhmu, there are three third-person plural pronouns as follows: *si'naa*, *nɔɔ*, and *baŋ*. The pronoun *si'naa* can be used with humans only, both male and female. It means 'they two' (dual). In general, for *nɔɔ*, and *baŋ*, both of them mean 'they' but are used in different ways. The pronoun *nɔɔ* indicates the definite, whereas the pronoun *baŋ* is used for the indefinite.

As for Iu-Mienh, there is only one third-person plural pronoun, which is *ninh_mbuo*. This particular pronoun can be used for human or nonhuman and, as the plural form in general, with the meaning of ‘they’. It is used with male, female and neuter as well.

4.2 Theme Structure and Information Structure of Full Pronouns

In terms of grammatical or syntactic functions, pronouns often function as subject or object of a clause and can be marked as Topic, which can be realized in the Theme structure. As we know, a pronoun can be studied in terms of anaphoric reference. According to Botley and McEnery (2000), an anaphora is a phenomenon that is both syntactic and discoursal in nature. Syntactically, anaphora can occur both within sentences and between sentences. The anaphora within sentences is called intra-sentential anaphora, whereas the anaphora between sentences is called inter-sentential anaphora. Each shows different functions with regard to grammatical functions and discourse functions. We can analyze the grammatical function of full pronouns where they are located within sentences, whereas discourse functions of full pronouns can be analyzed where they are located between sentences. In this section, full pronouns will be discussed under the topics of full pronouns in Theme structure as well as full pronouns within sentences and between sentences. All of them will be illustrated in turn.

4.2.1 Full pronouns in Theme structure

In this section, full pronouns in Theme structure will be discussed mainly by focusing on their syntactic construction. The three languages namely, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh, will be compared.

Before discussing forms and functions of full pronouns, the following shows the general syntactic construction of third person pronouns particularly in Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh. Because of sharing the same word order ‘SVO’, it has been found that all three languages also share the same syntactic construction of pronouns in Theme position as follows.

*(Textual theme)+(Interpersonal theme)+Topical theme: **pronouns**+(Textual theme)*

If we look at three choices for Theme in the internal structure of Theme, namely textual theme, interpersonal theme, and topical theme, it can be seen that full pronouns will occur within topical Theme. Syntactically, the full pronouns usually occur under unmarked topical Theme. It is because pronouns in general can function as the subject of the clause, which agrees with the sentence structure SVO. This structure is always treated as an unmarked construction. In some cases, such as in a passive construction and a topicalization construction, the full pronouns will be analyzed as marked topical Theme. The reason why such particular pronouns are given the status of marked theme is that they are signaled as a salient constituent and assigned that function as point of departure. This particular structure is analyzed as a marked construction.

In some cases, as in a declarative clause, if an adjunct or a complement is selected as the marked choice, then the pronouns will appear in the Rheme structure.

The following examples will show how full pronouns occur under unmarked Theme and marked Theme.

4.2.1.1 Full pronouns as unmarked Theme

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 73), in everyday conversation the item most often functioning as unmarked Theme (Subject/Theme) in a declarative clause is the first person pronoun. They mention that much of our talk consists of messages concerned with ourselves, and especially with what we think and feel. Next after that the other personal pronouns come as *you, we, he, she, it, they* and the impersonal pronouns *it* and *there*. Then, other nominal groups, such as a common noun or proper noun as Head are created. Functioning as subject and having them as Theme is selected typically as the unmarked choice.

In general, all nouns and pronouns can occur both in Theme and Rheme position. In Theme, they usually function as a subject or the starting point of a clause. They are considered as Given information. Pronouns will be treated in Rheme when a starting point of the clause is analyzed as marked theme because unmarked and marked themes are in complementary distribution. If a point of

departure is given as marked, the pronouns which are referred back to nouns in the preceding clause will be located in Rheme position.

An example of full pronouns as unmarked Theme will be elaborated in (4-2).

(4-2) Man-Eating Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL36.1				<i>kɔɔn 'kuŋ</i> villagers	<i>deʔ bliah keŋ (∅: gəə)</i> get spea stab 3sg	
CL36.2				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sg	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then <i>ʔam ʔoh</i> NEG wounded	
CL36.3				(∅: <i>nɔɔ</i>) 3pl	<i>deʔ gun (∅: gəə)</i> get piŋ 3sg	
CL36.4				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sg	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then <i>ʔam ʔoh</i> NEG wounded	
The villagers got a spear (and) stabbed (it) but (it) wasn't wounded; (they) got a gun (and) shot (it) but (it) wasn't wounded.						
CL37.1				<i>nɔɔ</i> 3pl	<i>deʔ kir'meel tʰap ra'waaj niʔ</i> get club strike tiger this	
CL37.2				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sg	<i>ŋɔʔ ter duʔ</i> fear jump flee	
They got a club (and) struck (it), (and) the tiger was afraid (and) jumped (back and) fled.						

The example is taken from a narrative discourse in Kmhmu to show that the third person plural pronoun in CL37.1 *nɔɔ* ‘they’ is used as unmarked Theme. Its position and function is the same as the preceding noun *kɔɔn 'kuŋ* ‘villagers’ mentioned in CL36.1. This pronoun is treated as Given or Old information.

4.2.1.2 Full pronouns as marked Theme

In some cases, a Theme is something other than the subject. If there is a good reason to select something as Focus, it will be referred to as a marked Theme. The most usual form of marked Theme is an adverbial group or prepositional phrase as Adjunct in the clause. And the ‘most marked’ type of Theme in a declarative clause is found as a Complement that is not functioning as subject. As for pronouns, sometimes they can be selected as marked Theme as in the following example.

(4-3) Aahan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL113.2			<i>ninh aeqv</i> , 3sg TOP		<i>sin zinx haic aav lov!</i> body tremble very SURPRISED	

^{113.2}his body trembled terribly.

The above example is taken from a narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh to show that the pronoun *ninh* ‘he’ is functioning as marked topical theme but not the subject of the clause. The real subject of this clause is *sin* ‘body’. This particular pronoun is considered the marked theme because the speaker emphasizes the importance of participant by mentioning the particular participant with the pronoun as Focus in Theme before giving more New information in Rheme.

Based on the data being studied, it has been found that not all nouns or noun groups presented in narratives or discourse will be represented as full pronouns in terms of a referent. Only some nouns or noun groups are mentioned regarding pronouns. And the occurring frequency of pronouns themselves differs depending on how nouns or noun groups in particular play a key role in the discourse. If a noun or a noun group is proposed as an important participant, they will of course be mentioned as pronouns many times. The following tables show how all kinds of pronouns are used in discourse differently in the three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh. All Tai Dam pronouns illustrated next are both singular and plural pronouns.

Table 4.3 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Tai Dam

Name of stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
Red Duck	Red Duck	<i>man</i> (it)	A couple	<i>khaw₂</i> (they)
	Nephew	<i>man</i> (he)		
	A nest of small bee	<i>man</i> (it)		
	A barking deer	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Old man Chinese	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Tiger	<i>man</i> (it)		

Table 4.3 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Tai Dam (cont.)

Name of stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
Red Duck	White buffalo	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Buffalo	<i>man</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)		
A Story of A Tiger	Tiger	<i>man</i> (it)		
	One man	<i>man</i> (he)		
	Yaj chi	-		
	Male part	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Wound	<i>man</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Mister Nga and Mister Deang	Nga		
Daeng		<i>man</i> (he)		
Fish		<i>man</i> (it)		
The ridge		<i>man</i> (it)		
My friend		<i>man</i> (he)		
Wife		<i>man</i> (she)		
His wife		<i>man</i> (she)		
A harrow		<i>man</i> (it)		
Gold		<i>man</i> (it)		
Teeth		<i>man</i> (it)		
Comb		<i>man</i> (it)		
That man		<i>man</i> (he)		
imp. pro.		<i>man</i> (it)		
A Story of Dogs and Cats		Dog	<i>man</i> (it)	A cat and a dog
	Cat	<i>man</i> (it)		
	The owner of gems	<i>man</i> (he)		
	A bad man	<i>man</i> (he)		
	Wife	<i>man</i> (she)		
	Husband	<i>man</i> (she)		
	Gem	<i>man</i> (it)		
	Rat	<i>man</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)		
A Story of Deaf People	Mother	<i>man</i> (she)		<i>saw</i> (they)
	Daughter	<i>man</i> (she)		
	Son-in-law	<i>man</i> (he)		
	Husband	<i>man</i> (he)		
	Wife	<i>man</i> (she)		
	The old man	<i>man</i> (he)		
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)		

Table 4.3 illustrates that there are three full forms of third person singular pronouns which are *man*₁ ‘he, she, it’, *phuan* ‘he’, and *khaw*₁ ‘he, she’ and three plural pronouns: *man*₂ ‘they’, *saw* ‘they’, and *khaw*₂ ‘they’. In some

situations, the pronoun *man* and *khaw* can be used with plural nouns meaning ‘they’. It is that because Tai Dam like other languages in Southeast Asian does not have subject agreement regarding number. Pragmatically, the pronoun *man* can be interpreted whether singular or plural depending upon the referent it is pointing to.

The next table will show full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse of Kmhmu as follows.

Table 4.4 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Kmhmu

Name of Stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
The Two Thieves	Miss Tan	^ʔ <i>nɔɔ</i> (she)	people	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
	This man	<i>gəə</i> (he)	These thieves	^ʔ <i>gəə</i> (they)
	The one person	<i>gəə</i> (it)		<i>baŋ</i> (they)
	An uncle of ours	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>gəə</i> (it)	indef. pro.	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
The Bear	Bear	<i>gəə</i> (it)	My husband and that uncle	-
	An uncle of ours	<i>gəə</i> (he)	villagers	-
	That light	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	My husband	<i>gəə</i> (he)		
	imp. pro.	<i>gəə</i> (it)	indef. pro.	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
The Orphan	That orphan	<i>gəə</i> (he)	His mother, his father	-
	Their village	<i>gəə</i> (it)	Other people	-
	His father	<i>gəə</i> (he)	The child and father	<i>si'naa</i> (they two)
	That aunt	-	soldiers	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
	Aunt	^ʔ <i>baŋ</i> (she)	The parents	<i>si'naa</i> (they two)
	Young woman	<i>naa</i> (she)		
	This village	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	The monkey	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	this monkey	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>gəə</i> (it)	indef. pro.	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
The Man-Eating Tiger	This tiger	<i>gəə</i> (it)	All people	-
	Miss Pheng	<i>naa</i> (she)	Ms Daeng with her mother	<i>si'naa</i> (they two)
	Thit Phiv	-	The thirty people	<i>nɔɔ</i> (they)

Table 4.4 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Kmhmu (cont.)

Name of Stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
The Man-Eating Tiger	On Can	-	Ms Pheng and Ms Ong	<i>si'naa</i> (they)
	The female tiger	<i>gəə</i> (it)	villagers	<i>nɔɔ</i> (they)
	Person	<i>gəə</i> (he)	On Can and his two friend	-
	imp. Pro.	<i>gəə</i> (it)	indef. pro.	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
Tan's Hospital Story	Road	<i>gəə</i> (it)	Lao people	<i>nɔɔ</i> (they)
	Father	<i>gəə</i> (he)	Other people	<i>baŋ</i> (they)
	Tea	<i>gəə</i> (it)	Thirty thousand	-
	Ice cream	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	Pipe	<i>gəə</i> (it)		
	My father	<i>gəə</i> (he)		
	imp. pro.	<i>gəə</i> (it)	indef. pro.	<i>baŋ</i> (they)

As we can see from the Table 4.4, pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular, dual and plural distinction. There are three full forms of third person singular pronoun as follows: *gəə* ‘he, it’ and *naa* ‘she’, only one dual pronouns as *si'naa* ‘they two’ and two plural pronouns as follows: *nɔɔ* ‘they’, and *baŋ* ‘they’. Kmhmu also has gender differentiation in using the third person pronoun. The pronoun *gəə* is used to designate male, whereas the pronoun *nɔɔ* indicates female.

The last table of full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse is displayed in Iu-Mienh as follows:

Table 4.5 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh

Name of stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
A Story of an Old Husband and Bamboo Shoots	A man	<i>ninh</i> (he)	People	<i>ninh_mbuo</i> (they)
	His daughter	<i>nɔɔ</i> (she)		
	Her father	<i>ninh</i> (he)		
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper	A grasshopper	-	A firefly and a grasshopper	<i>ninh_mbuo</i> (they)

Table 4.5 Full forms of singular and plural pronouns in narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh (cont.)

Name of stories	Nouns	Singular	Nouns	Plural
		Full pronouns		Full pronouns
A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper	A sparrow	-		
	The sparrow's goiter	-		
	The dead tree	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
	The earthworm	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
A Story of Three Piglets	A female pig	-		
	A black wolf	-		
	The piglet	-		
	The second piglet	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
	The third piglet	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
	The powder milk container	-		
	A smoke	-		
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?	The olive	-		
	A barking deer	<i>ninh</i> (it)		
	The ash pumpkin	-		
	A wild chicken	-		
	A snake	-		
	A squirrel	-		
	The oil fruit	-		
	The cucumber	-		
	The old man	<i>ninh</i> (he)		
	The black ant	-		
	The owl	-		
imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)			
A Story of Aahan	Bear	-	A couple	? <i>ninh</i> (they)
	The crocodile	-	Those people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)
	His wife	-	The Northern Thai people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)
	A tiger	-	The people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)
			The governor's people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)		

The third person pronouns in Iu-Mienh as shown in Table 4.5 have both singular and plural forms. Each of them has only one full form. The singular is *ninh* 'he, she, it' and the plural is *ninh_bmuo* 'they'. There is no gender differentiation in third person singular and plural forms.

As a pronoun in its clause, like other nouns in the three languages, plays many roles, therefore, it can normally occur in the Theme and Rheme structure functioning as a subject and an object of the clause. Both full pronouns and zero pronouns can appear under the topical theme, which will be discussed further.

4.2.2 Form and function of full pronouns

Under this section, the full forms of pronouns and their functions are described comparably among the three languages, namely Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh. The pronouns that will be discussed are all third person pronouns. The third person singular pronouns will be discussed first and then the third person plural pronouns will be illustrated later.

4.2.2.1 Third person singular pronouns

In Tai Dam, it has been found that there are two forms of the third person singular pronouns as follows: *man*, and *phuan*.

The pronoun *man* in Tai Dam can be used to refer to both human beings and nonhuman beings. This pronoun can be interpreted as ‘he’ or ‘it’ depending on context. It means ‘he’ when it refers to a human, and it means ‘it’ when it refers to a nonhuman. The semantic characteristics for which the same pronouns are used either with human beings or nonhuman beings share the same feature with Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh. The following example shows how the word *man* is used for a human being.

(4-4) Red Duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text
			marked	unmarked		
CL2	<i>thii_nii</i> time_det			<i>laan teaaɰ</i> nephew	<i>pen khon chɔɔp thiaw</i> be person like travel	
CL3				(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>pen khon chɔɔp thiaw</i> be person like travel	
CL4				(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>paj thiaw paa chin_lɔɰj</i> go travel forest PRT	
CL5				(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>thiaw paa lææw</i> travel forest PRT	
CL6				?em_ɰhaw grandmother	<i>juu huan</i> stay home	

(4-4) Red Duck (cont.)

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text
			marked	unmarked		
CL2	<i>thii_nii</i> time_det			<i>laan teaaj</i> nephew	<i>pen khon chɔɔp thiaw</i> be person like travel	
CL3				(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>pen khon chɔɔp thiaw</i> be person like travel	
....				
CL7	<i>thii_nii</i> time_det			(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>bɔʔ</i> tell	
CL8	<i>waa</i> that	<i>ʔem thaw ʔɔɔj</i> grandmother EXCL		<i>ku:</i> 1sg	<i>teaʔ paj thiaw lee'</i> will go travel PRT	
CL9				<i>ʔem thaw</i> grandmother	<i>waa ʔajjee: ʔ wa_chin</i> say go PRT like_that	
CL10	<i>thii_nii</i> time			<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>kɔʔ</i> then <i>paj</i> go	

Then, the nephew was a person who loved traveling. (He) loved traveling. (He) went to travel in the forest. (He) traveled in the forest. The grandmother stayed home. Then, (He) told (his grandmother) that ‘Grandmother, I will go traveling’. The grandmother said ‘just go’. He then went.

The example of using the pronoun *man* shows its association with the noun *laan chaaj* ‘nephew’ which was mentioned in CL2. It refers to the human *laan chaaj* ‘nephew’. Regarding NP-anaphora in (4-4), the noun *laan chaaj* ‘nephew’ is realized as unmarked topical Theme. It is marked as a point of departure of NP-anaphora. Then after that, a chain of zero pronouns is preferred starting from CL3-CL7. Even though the chain of zero is interrupted in CL6, the zero pronoun *man* ‘he’ continues. There is no need to use a full form of pronoun in CL7 because the local participant *laan chaaj* ‘nephew’ is still maintained through a pragmatically natural chain of actions. The speaker decided to use a full pronoun in CL10 because the chain of zeroes is interrupted by a quoted speech in CL8 as well as a new topic *ʔem_thaw* ‘grandmother’ introduced. The full pronoun *man* ‘he’ is selected as unmarked choice in CL10 not the overt form *laan chaaj* ‘nephew’ because the degree of identifiability is at an accessible level. It is not difficult for the listener to identify the referent.

(4-5) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL9		<i>ʔu:</i> EXCL		<i>kan ku:</i> ridge	<i>kɔʔ lɪt</i> then	<i>man pen le:n ne:</i> 3sg be mud PRT
Oh, the ridge was muddy.						
CL10				<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>kan maʔ ju:</i> block NEG MOD	
"It cannot help to block the water."						

As mentioned before, a pronoun can fall either in Theme or Rheme; the above example shows that the pronoun *man* in CL9 is put in Rheme, as it is interrupted by the textual Theme *kɔʔ lɪt* ‘then’. This pronoun points backward to its referent *kan ku:* ‘ridge’. Syntactically, the pronoun in CL9 is an intra-sentential anaphora or anaphora within sentences. It is unnecessary to have a full form of pronoun in Rheme position right here. It looks more natural if there is no full pronoun in CL9, like *kan ku: kɔʔ lɪt pen le:n ne:* ‘the ridge was muddy’. The pronoun *man* ‘he’ occurs here probably for the reason of a slight break inserted after the textual theme. This particular pronoun, which is realized as unmarked topical theme in CL10, is more preferable pointing to the word *kan ku:* ‘ridge’ in the preceding clause.

Anyway, the word *man* which means ‘it’ can function as impersonal pronoun in Tai Dam as shown in (4-6).

(4-6) Deaf Man

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL2.1		<i>khui: khui:</i> like like		<i>man</i> imp.	<i>mi: ju:</i> have MOD	
CL2.2	<i>wa:</i> that			<i>mi:</i> have	<i>khɔ:p_khua nuŋ</i> family one	
‘Well, there was (a story) that there was one family.’						

As we can see, the word *man* in the example (4-6) is functioning as an impersonal pronoun. It does not refer to any nouns in the clauses. It

is an impersonal pronoun that is used to start the story, beginning with an existential clause.

As mentioned in 4.1.2, in addition the pronoun *man* will be interpreted and used as a proform meaning ‘he’; the pronoun *phuan* can be used the same as the pronoun *man* as well, but in a different fashion. The pronoun *man* is used more intimately rather than the pronoun *phuan*, which sounds more formal or polite. One more different use is that the pronoun *man* can mean ‘he, she, it’, but the pronoun *phuan* is ‘he’ only. In narratives, the story-teller often uses the pronoun *man* more frequently than the pronoun *phuan*. The following example was taken from *Mister Nga and Mister Daeng* to show how the pronoun *phuan* is used in the text.

(4-7) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL28		ʔo:j EXCL	ʔaj	ŋa: ne: HON Nga PRT	daj pa: lot to: nuŋ get spinyeel CLF one	
Oh! Nga got only a spotted spinyeel.						
CL29			<i>phuan</i> 3sg		ʔaw ma: liaŋ waj take DIR feed keep	
CL30			(∅: <i>phuan</i>) 3sg		ma: liaŋ waj con jɜ: DIR feed keep until big	
He fed it. (He) fed it until it grew up.						

The speaker or the story-teller preferred using the pronoun *phuan* to the pronoun *man*. This pronoun shows a degree of familiarity.

If we compare the full forms of third person singular pronoun of Tai Dam with Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh, it is found that the pronoun *man* shares some features with Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh in terms of functions.

As mentioned previously, the use of third person pronouns in Kmhmu is done with regard to gender and number. Based on the research data, it was found that in the third person, there are two personal singular pronouns used in Kmhmu: *gəə* and *naa*.

The pronoun *gəə* can refer to both masculine and neuter. If it refers to masculine, it means ‘he’, used with humans only. And if it refers to neuter, it

means ‘it’ used with nonhumans. The following example shows how the pronoun *gəə* is used as third person singular pronoun, masculine and neuter.

(4-8) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL9.1	<i>dia gi'ni?</i> time that_one			<i>ʔi?</i> 1pl	<i>ʔah kuuŋ</i> have uncle_by_marriage	
CL9.2			<i>ʔi?</i> 1pl <i>kuuŋ</i> uncle_by_marriage <i>ʔi? ni?</i> 1p this <i>gəə</i> 3sgm		<i>məh gon tʰi dzo</i> be person that diligent	
CL9.3			(<i>∅:gəə</i>) 3sgm		<i>məh naaj pʰaan san'sah</i> be expert_hunter like_this	
CL9.4			(<i>∅:gəə</i>) 3sgm		<i>məh gon dzo sək too da?</i> be person HAB seek animal at <i>bri?</i> forest	
(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hardworking, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.						
CL10.1				<i>ʔah</i> have	<i>mooj mi</i> one Clf_days	
CL10.2				<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>jəh diaŋ maak teek ni?</i> DIR take hand_grenade this	
CL10.3				(<i>∅:gəə</i>) 3sgm	<i>jəh pləm da? jiaŋ re? ni?</i> DIR tie_up at base rice_field this	
(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.						

From example (4-8) in CL9.1 the word *kuuŋ* ‘uncle’ is an overt form of the referent falling in Rheme. This referent is selected again as unmarked topical theme in CL9.2 within a possessive construction *ʔi? kuuŋ ʔi? ni?* ‘this uncle of ours’. The word *gəə* is a third person singular pronoun used with a human being pointing back to *kuuŋ* ‘uncle’ where its gender is masculine. This pronoun is first used as anaphora within sentences or intra-sentential anaphora. The Theme system of this

clause is the system of THEME EQUATIVE in which the Theme selection is unmarked Theme as shown in the ‘pronominal apposition’ construction or the double subject. In terms of grammatical function, this pronoun in CL9.2 plays a key role in emphasizing the foregrounded noun group *ʔiʔ kuuŋ ʔiʔ niʔ* ‘this uncle of ours’, which is the unmarked theme. Then after that, a chain of zero pronouns is preferred for managing the flow of discourse across sentences. However, this chain is interrupted by text discontinuity seen as temporal change *ʔah mooj mi* ‘there was one day’ in CL10.1. The full form of pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ is proposed again as anaphora between sentences or inter-sentential anaphora functioning as the unmarked theme in CL10.2. It is unnecessary to use the overt form *kuuŋ* ‘uncle’ because there is only one main participant mentioned, and the degree of identifiability is highly accessible. In terms of discourse function, this is the crucial function of a full pronoun: maintaining an active referent. It is used by the listener to identify an unidentifiable referent at points of text discontinuity.

The example (4-8) shows the discussion of form and function of the pronoun *gəə* being used with a human. The next example will show how to use this pronoun with animals.

(4-9) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL23.1				(Ø: <i>baŋ</i>) 3pl	<i>gaaj</i> come	
CL23.2	<i>gaj</i> but_then			(Ø: <i>baŋ</i>) 3pl	<i>bip</i> <i>maʔ hual</i> <i>kəən ɲaak</i> meet mother bear baby	
But then coming (along they) met a mother bear (which had) a young cub.						
CL24				<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>ʔah kəən niʔ ʔoh</i> have child this truly	
It had a cub, you see.						

The pronoun *gəə* in the example above refers to *maʔ hual* ‘a mother bear’, which is an animal. The meaning of this particular pronoun can be interpreted as ‘it’. The pronoun *gəə* is necessarily preferred in CL24 because there are two participants in this event. The first participant is mentioned elsewhere in the

preceding clause and can be accessible through a referential chain of zero anaphora (\emptyset : *baŋ*). The number of participants plays a significant role in choosing full pronouns or zero pronouns. The discourse function of full pronoun in this example is to identify unidentifiable referents when the number of participant involves more than one.

In some situations, this pronoun can be used as an impersonal pronoun as follows:

(4-10) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL52.1				<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>gaj</i> but_then	<i>məh liŋ glaay kʰoʔ kʰəʔ kʰom kʰəəm</i> be only stone uneven
CL52.2				(\emptyset : <i>gəə</i>) 3sgn		<i>ʔam ləʔ jəh</i> NEG good go

But it was only rocks (and) very uneven, (and) not good to go (on).

As we can see, the word *gəə* is used for neuter. It functions as the unmarked topical theme, acting as the starting point of the clause. In this case, this pronoun means ‘it’, the impersonal pronoun.

In Kmhmu, the third person singular pronoun used for female is *naa*, as shown in the following example.

(4-11) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL75.1			<i>jaʔ teim kʰin niʔ</i> Ms female this			<i>baŋ law</i> 3pl say
CL75.2				(\emptyset : <i>naa</i>) 3sgf		<i>məh kəən teawsi wit</i> be child king
CL75.3				<i>teawsi wit</i> king		<i>jet daʔ kuŋ gi niʔ</i> located at village that_one
CL75.4				(\emptyset : <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm		<i>jet daʔ mian gi niʔ ʔoh</i> located at district that_one truly

This woman, they said (she) was the king's daughter, the king living at that village, living at that district!

CL76	<i>leew</i> and_then			<i>naa</i> 3sgf	<i>gəʔ</i> so_then	<i>ɲuaʔ ʔəʔj ʔan gəə bəʔ</i> trick lure PURP 3sgm eat
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And then she tricked (and) enticed him so that he would eat, ...

The third person singular pronoun *naa* is used to refer to *jaʔ teim'kin* 'woman', whose gender is feminine. In this case, it means 'she'. It is necessary to use a full pronoun in CL76 because of two main reasons. The first reason is a newly introduced participant. When an overt definite noun phrase *jaʔ teim'kin niʔ* 'this woman' is first introduced in CL75.1, it is considered as the marked topical theme. This noun phrase is given the status of marked theme because it can be realized by a thematic marker marked by a determiner *niʔ* 'this'. A zero pronoun is selected commonly as the unmarked topical theme to develop text in a subsequent clause. Actually, it is supposed to be used in a referential chain of zero pronouns in linking a chain of event between CL75.2 and CL76, but it cannot do so. Because a new participant, *teawsi'wit* 'king', interrupts in CL75.3, it reduces the degree of identifiability. Thus, an abbreviated form of *jaʔ teim'kin* 'woman' is used. The second reason is because of a gender distinction in the third person singular pronoun. In Kmhmu as mentioned earlier, male and female share different third person singular forms. To differentiate and identify referents, the pronoun *naa* is needed for clarification here in CL76. Therefore, the discourse function of this pronoun is to disambiguate referents.

For Iu-Mienh, the full forms of pronouns in Iu-Mienh also have both third person singular pronouns and third person plural pronouns. The pronoun *ninh* is a third person singular pronoun. It can be used to refer to both humans and nonhumans. For humans, it can be used with both male and female. If the pronoun *ninh* is used to refer to a male, it means 'he'. And if the pronoun *ninh* is used to refer to a female, it can be interpreted as 'she'. As for nonhuman, it is used as an impersonal pronoun, which means 'it'. The following examples of using *ninh* for different functions will be shown as follows.

(4-12) Cicadas

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL35.1				<i>nc dauh ong</i> that CLF old_man	<i>gorngv</i> speak	
CL35.2				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>longc mbopv,</i> use squirrel	
CL35.3				<i>mbopv</i> squirrel	<i>ganh ngaatc.</i> self bite	

^{35.1}That old man said ^{35.2}(that) he would charge the squirrel; ^{35.3}the squirrel himself must have bitten.

As mentioned earlier, the pronoun *ninh* can be used to refer to a male. This full pronoun is used in CL35.2 because of an indirect quote. When the indirect quote is applied in narrative discourse, a full pronoun will be elucidated, not the zero one.

The next example will show how the pronoun *ninh* is used to refer to a female as in the example (4-13).

(4-13) Old Husband

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL11.1				(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>mbuox ninh nyei die,</i> tell 3sg POSS father	
CL11.2				<i>"nyanc</i> eat	<i>hnaangx aqv."</i> rice INCHO	
^{11.1} She said to her father, ^{11.2} "We're going to have a meal."						
CL12.1				<i>ninh nyei die</i> 3sg POSS father	<i>gorngv</i> speak	
CL12.2				(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>naaic gaax ninh,</i> ask try_and_see 3sg	
CL12.3			<i>"ih_hnoi</i> today		(Ø: you) <i>zouv haaix_nyungc lai?"</i> cook what vegetables	

^{12.1}Her father spoke, ^{12.2}(he) asked her, ^{12.3}"Today, what did you cook?"

As we can see from the example (4-13) which is taken from the story of an old husband and bamboo shoots, the pronoun *ninh* can be interpreted as

‘she’ because this particular pronoun refers back to its referent *ninh sieqv* ‘his daughter’, which is introduced in the preceding clause in the discourse. From the example being discussed, the pronoun *ninh* ‘she’ is attached to the possessive construction *ninh nyei die* ‘her father’ in CL11.1 and CL12.1. Furthermore, it can be traced back to the original referent via a zero form, as occurred in unmarked topical theme in CL11.1. And then it is mentioned again, as shown in Rheme of CL12.2 as well.

There are two more significant points in this example to be discussed. The first point is how the possessive construction plays a key role in selecting the use of a full pronoun or a zero pronoun to appear within the construction itself. And the second point is which element within the possessive construction will be replaced in the subsequent clauses as a chain of referent. From the above example, it is clear that for the first point only, the full pronouns can appear in the possessive construction to modify the Head noun as shown in CL11.1 and CL12.1. The zero pronouns cannot appear in this particular position of the possessive construction. As for the second point, the abbreviated form of the possessive construction that will be a referential chain in the subsequent clause can be either full pronouns or zero pronouns of the Head noun only, not the modifier. As in CL12.1, the Head of the possessive construction is *die* ‘father’. In the subsequent clause, the full pronoun *ninh* ‘he’ should be selected as unmarked topical theme for substitution cohesion. As for ellipsis cohesion, the zero pronoun (\emptyset : *ninh*) is preferred, as is clearly expressed in CL12.2.

For more observations on the form and function of *ninh*, it was found that this pronoun can be used with a nonhuman such as animals, as shown in the following example.

(4-14) Three Piglets

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL10.1				<div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <i>dungz-dorn yaac</i> </div> piglet ↓ TOP	<i>gamh_nziex,</i> fear	
CL10.2				<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <i>ninh</i> </div> 3sg	<i>maiv koi gaengh bun ninh bieqc.</i> NEG open door let 3sg enter	

^{10.1} And the piglet was fearful, ^{10.2} he did not open the door (to) let him come in.

The given example shows that the pronoun *ninh* can be used with animals. The pronoun *ninh* in CL10.2 beneath the unmarked topical theme points back to its referent *dungz-dorn* ‘piglet’.

In a similar fashion, as in Tai Dam and Kmhmu, the pronoun *ninh* can be used as impersonal pronoun, which can be retrieved from its zero form.

(4-15) Old Husband

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL5.1			<i>ninh sieqv aeqv,</i> 3sg daughter TOP		<i>hnamv zuqc butv_zoih aeqv,</i> think GOAL rich TOP	
CL5.2				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) imp.	<i>zeiz nyei,</i> be_right PRS.ST	
CL5.3				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>gox haic</i> old very	
CL5.4				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) imp.	<i>ba'laqc mv puis.</i> too_much NEG appropriate	

^{5.1} As for her, (she) thought about the wealth, ^{5.2} it was right, ^{5.3} but (he) was so old ^{5.4} (it) was not appropriate.

Even though the full form of pronoun *ninh* ‘it’ does not appear in the discourse, pragmatically we know that the speaker omitted the impersonal pronoun *ninh* ‘it’ in CL5.2 and CL5.4 and replaced it with zero forms.

The existence of an impersonal pronoun ‘it’ in Southeast Asian languages can be supported with evidence from Kmhmu as follows:

(4-16) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL10.1				ʔah have	mooj mii one Clf_days	
CL10.2				gəə ↓ 3sgm	jəh diaŋ maak tɛk ni? DIR take hand_grenade this	
CL10.3				(∅: gəə) ↓ 3sgm	jəh plɔəm daʔ jiaŋ ʔeʔ ni? DIR tie_up at base rice_field this	
CL10.4	p ^h ia PURP			(∅: gəə) 3sgm	teuʔ nəəŋ law'sah want know COMP	
CL10.5				gəə 3sgn	məh <u>too</u> məh bɛ animal what	
CL10.6				(∅: gəə) 3sgn	jəh mah pin'sim daʔ ʔeʔ ɲi? DIR eat crop at rice_field here	

(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

The above example shows that Kmhmu has *gəə* ‘it’ is used as an impersonal pronoun. As mentioned before, the pronoun *gəə* can be used to refer to human [+male] and nonhuman [+neuter]. This particular pronoun, as in CL10.2 and CL10.5 are different morphemes. In CL10.2, it is the third person singular pronoun referring to someone introduced elsewhere in the preceding clause whereas in CL10.5 this pronoun is the impersonal pronoun referring to nobody in the clause. When the personal pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ is selected as the unmarked theme in CL10.2, then after that a referential chain of zeroes is used commonly as the unmarked strategy to develop the text providing a chain of events. Once the chain of events is ended by the introduction of a new topic, the referential chain of zero pronouns is ended. Then, the speaker considered using the system of THEME EQUATIVE, realized by the impersonal pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ to expand the text. This impersonal pronoun has as its discourse function as signing a new participant and breaking the chain of referent.

One more example of impersonal pronoun in Kmhmu can be illustrated as in the example (4-17).

(4-17) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL30	<i>naam</i> period_of_time <i>'nian</i> Clf_months <i>sip'ʔet sip'sɔɔŋ</i> eleven twelve <i>gi'niʔ</i> that_one			<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>ləəm ʔah puut</i> INCHO have cloud	
During the eleventh (or) twelfth month it begins to have clouds.						

The above example shows that *naam 'nian sip'ʔet sip'sɔɔŋ gi'niʔ* ‘during the eleventh (or) twelfth’ is selected as the textual theme. It is considered as the circumstance of Extent, construing the unfolding of the process in time. Whereas the impersonal pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ is considered as the unmarked topical theme being the departure of the clause.

Even though the impersonal pronoun ‘it’ is debatable as to whether or not it originally exists in Southeast Asian languages, the evidence from Kmhmu is reasonable enough to claim that the inventory of impersonal pronoun ‘it’ is basic in Southeast Asian languages.

4.2.2.2 Third person plural pronouns

Under this section, the third person plural pronouns of the three languages—Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh—will be discussed in the following.

As mentioned earlier, all three languages have their own plural pronouns that share some similarities and differences in terms of grammatical use.

In Tai Dam, it has been found that the word *man* is sometimes used as a plural as in the following example.

(4-18) Dog and Cat

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL1				<i>ma: ka? mæ:w na? læ? man</i> dog and cat PRT 3sg	<i>ju: nam kan</i> live together	

The dog and the cat, they lived together.

From the example (4-18), the pronominal apposition or double subject—the use of a dependent pronoun adjacent to a noun functioning as the subject in a sentence—is a very common phenomenon in the casual speech in Southeast Asian languages. This can occur in nonstandard English speech also. A standard English speaker frequently says the same thing, with a slight break after the subject as in “My father...he works at the department store”, instead of “My father works at the department store”. The pronoun *man* which is adjacent to the noun group *ma: ka? mæ:w* ‘dog and cat’, in terms of discourse, is functioning to topicalize the preceding noun. What we can discern more from this example is that the pronoun *man* in Tai Dam can be used to refer to either singular or plural nouns.

Another third person plural pronoun that will be discussed in turn is *khaw*. In other languages such as Thai and Lao, this pronoun actually is a singular pronoun. In some situations this pronoun can be used to refer to a plural noun. This property goes for Tai Dam as well. The pronoun *khaw* can be used as either singular or plural, as shown in the below example.

(4-19) Red Duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interpe.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL54.1		<i>?em thaw</i> grandmother <i>?em thaw</i> Grandmother		<i>ku:</i> 1sg	<i>paj hen phua mia nuŋ</i> go see couple one	
CL54.2				<i>khaw</i> 3pl	<i>hop kan ju:</i> fight Rec. MOD	

Grandmother, grandmother, I met a couple. They were fighting.

The example above shows that the full pronoun *khaw* refers to a plural noun *phua mia* ‘couple’. This pronoun probably has been borrowed from Thai. The typical third person plural pronoun in Tai Dam is *saw* ‘they’. The pronoun *saw* entails definite and indefinite. The following example show the use of the pronoun *saw* as indefinite.

(4-20) Deaf Man

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL1	<i>ju: ma: mu:</i> stay DIV day <i>nuŋ lɔ?</i> one PRT			<i>saw</i> 3pl	<i>wa: he: khɔ:p khua ni: lɔ</i> say DIV family this PRT	
One day, they said that it was this family.						
CL2				<i>lu? khuaj</i> son-in-law <i>man ni: lɔ?</i> 3sg this PRT	<i>paj thaj na:</i> go plough PRT	
The son-in-law himself went to plough the rice field.						

Within the Theme structure above, the phrase *ju: ma: mu: nuŋ lɔ?* ‘one day’ is considered a circumstance of extent providing the unfolding of the process in time. This process falls in the textual theme. The third person plural pronoun *saw* ‘they’ is used as an indefinite pronoun. This pronoun functions as the unmarked topical theme. It does not refer to any person in particular, but in general.

As for Kmhmu mentioned before, the pronouns have dual and plural distinction in third person forms. Each is used in different aspects. The following example shows a dual form of pronoun in Theme position as in (4-21).

(4-21) Man-Eating Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL7			<i>mooj</i> one <i>mii</i> Clf_days		<i>ja? dɛɛŋ pa? ma? naa jɔh</i> <i>kʰiaŋ kwaaj</i> Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber <i>da? bri?</i> at forest	
One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.						
CL8.1			<i>si'naa</i> 3du		<i>pian jɔ? kʰiaŋ</i> change together dig	
CL8.2			<i>ma?</i> mother		<i>kʰiaŋ ʔuat</i> dig be_tired	
CL8.3			<i>kɔɔn</i> child	<i>gaj</i> but_then	<i>guut kʰiaŋ</i> DIR dig	
Those two took turns together to dig; (when) the mother was tired of digging, then the child came (and) dug,...						

The example (4-21) shows that the third person pronoun *si'naa* refers back to the referent *ja? dɛɛŋ pa? ma? naa* ‘Ms Daeng with her mother’

As already mentioned, Kmhmu has two forms of plural pronouns: *nɔɔ* and *baŋ*. Both mean ‘they’, but they are used in different fashion. The pronoun *nɔɔ* is used as definite, as shown in (4-22), whereas the pronoun *baŋ* is used as indefinite, as shown in (4-23). The following example shows the use of the pronoun *nɔɔ* as follows.

(4-22) Man-Eating Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL36.1			<i>kɔɔŋ kuŋ</i> villagers		<i>de? blich kep (∅: gəə)</i> get-spear stab 3sgn	
CL36.2			(∅: gəə) 3sgn	<i>gɔ?</i> so_then	<i>ʔam ʔoh</i> NEG wounded	
CL36.3			(∅: nɔɔ) 3pl		<i>de? si'naat pŋŋ (∅: gəə)</i> get-gun-shoot 3sgn	
CL36.4			(∅: gəə) 3sgn	<i>gɔ?</i> so_then	<i>ʔam ʔoh</i> NEG wounded	
The villagers got a spear (and) stabbed (it) but (it) wasn't wounded; (they) got a gun (and) shot (it) but (it) wasn't wounded.						
CL37.1			<i>nɔɔ</i> 3pl		<i>de? kir meel</i> get-club	
CL37.2			(∅: nɔɔ) 3pl		<i>ʰap ra waaj ni?</i> strike tiger this	
CL37.3			(∅: gəə) 3sgn		<i>ŋɔ? ter du?</i> fear jump flee	
They got a club (and) struck (it), (and) the tiger was afraid (and) jumped (back and) fled.						

The plural pronoun *nɔɔ* in the above example is used as definite. It points to the plural noun *kɔɔn'kuŋ* ‘villagers’. The reason why the storyteller prefers using the full form of third person plural pronoun *nɔɔ* ‘they’ to the zero form is to disambiguate the participants. We will see that there are two main participants in the above examples. The first main participant is *kɔɔn'kuŋ* ‘villagers’ and the second one is *ra'waaj* ‘tiger’. The speaker introduced the first participant by using the overt noun referent *kɔɔn'kuŋ* ‘villagers’ in CL36.1 and omitted the second referent *ra'waaj* ‘tiger’ in CL36.1 within Rheme and CL36.2 within Theme, functioning as the object and the subject, respectively. In CL36.3, the referential chain of zero pronoun of the first participant is used to develop the chain of events. However, the referential chain of zero pronoun of the second participant is inserted in between. Therefore, the full form of plural pronoun *kɔɔn'kuŋ* ‘villagers’ is proposed in CL37.1. It is unnecessary to use the overt form right here because the degree of identifiability is accessible. Next after that, the chain of zero pronouns of the first participant is used again in CL37.2 within Theme, whereas the overt form of the second participant *ra'waaj* ‘tiger’ in CL37.2 is illuminated within Rheme. The particular overt form of *ra'waaj* ‘tiger’ is used because the degree of identifiability is less and too far to identify its referent.

(4-23) Tan’s Hospital

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL56				<i>baŋ</i> 3pl	<i>de? t'ɔɔ to'jo pi'guut</i> get pipe respirator_tube insert <i>seh kluaj hin'tu? muh</i> put_in inside hole nose	
They got respirator tubing (and) inserted (it) in the inside of (my) nostril.						

As we can see from the above example, the third person plural pronoun *baŋ* ‘they’ is used to refer to a referent introduced elsewhere in the text. This plural pronoun is used as indefinite because it does not refer to any specific noun group. Pragmatically, the listener can access its referent from the context. This pronoun refers to nurses in the hospital who tried to insert a respirator tube in Tan’s nostril.

As for Iu-Mienh, it has found that there is only one third-plural pronoun *ninh_m buo* ‘they’ which can be used as a subject of the clause, as shown in the following example.

(4-24) Firefly and Grasshopper

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL2	<i>loz-hnoi</i> in_the_old_days			<div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <i>gaeng-kiev caux</i> firefly and <i>caah_laauh_porngc</i> grasshopper </div>	<i>buic gong.</i> exchange work	
In the old days, a firefly and a grasshopper exchanged works [i.e. offer labor reciprocally or ‘you work for me and I work for you in return’].						
CL3.1				(∅: <i>ninh_m buo</i>) ↓ 3_PL	<i>buic gau gong.</i> exchange DPD.CL work	
CL3.2	<i>wuov hnoi</i> that day			<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <i>ninh_m buo</i> </div> 3_PL	<i>gorngv taux</i> speak reach <i>ninh_m buo ganh nyei za'eix.</i> 3_PL self POSS plan	
3.1	3.2		(They) exchanged works and then, that day they talked about each other's plan.			

The third person plural pronoun *ninh_m buo* ‘they’ is used to refer to a referent *gaeng-kiev caux caah_laauh_porngc* ‘firefly and grasshopper’. This pronoun can backwards access the referent via a zero form which falls in CL3.1 as well. The reason that the full pronoun is used is because the chain of zero is interrupted by the circumstance of Extent or the temporal phrase *wuov hnoi* ‘that day’.

4.2.3 Theme and Information of full pronouns

Pronouns allow a speaker/writer to return to the consciousness of a hearer/reader entities or concepts that have already been introduced in a discourse. It has been found that third person singular and plural pronouns can appear within sentences and between sentences in terms of different cohesive functions in discourse. In this section, pronouns will be described comparably under the system of INFORMATION and the system of THEME. Full pronouns within a sentence will be

discussed first and then full pronouns amongst sentences will be displayed later as follows:

4.2.3.1 Theme and Information of full pronouns within sentences

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 93), the system of INFORMATION and the system of THEME share a close semantic relationship between information structure and thematic structure. In unmarked relationship between the two, the ordering of Given and New means that the Theme falls within the Given, while the New falls within the Rheme. But Given+New and Theme+Rheme are not the same thing. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 93) said that the Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you. Therefore, Theme+Rheme is speaker-oriented, whereas Given+New is listener-oriented. Anyway, it is the speaker who assigns both structures. We can say that both are speaker-selected.

The reason that the system of INFORMATION is involved in this study is because the system of THEME and the concept of markedness within topical theme are liable to be geared as grammatical structure. The system of THEME quite limits the understanding of discourse function of pronouns whereas the system of INFORMATION opens the window of discourse structure to understand the overall structures of pronouns via the semantic relationship assigned by speaker selection.

As for full pronouns within a sentence, it was found that, in general, third person singular or plural pronouns can occur in Theme position and assign the Given information to the listener as shown in the following example.

(4-25) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL50.1		<i>hu:</i> EXCL		(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>ma?</i> <i>jɔ:m</i> NEG agree	
CL50.2				<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>ca?</i> <i>ɔaw</i> (\emptyset : <i>ba:n</i>) <i>hɔ:</i> <i>daj</i> <i>ɔaj</i> (<i>dæ:ŋ</i>) <i>na?</i> IRR take harrow give get HON Daeng PRT	

(He) didn't agree. He really wanted to take the harrow, Mister Daeng.

The above example is taken from a narrative of Tai Dam, Mister Nga and Mister Daeng to show the semantic relation between the system INFORMATION and the system of THEME. The pronoun *man*, which is the cataphoric referent, falls in Theme position and assigns Given information accessible to the listener. It is also functioning as the subject of the clause in unmarked topical theme. This pronoun is a point of departure the unfolding text, which will be displayed in Rheme. The figure below shows the relationships between Theme and Information in terms of the unmarked pattern.

<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>caʔ ʔaw (Ø: ba:n) hr: daj ʔaj dæ:ŋ naʔ</i> IRR take (harrow) give get HON Daeng PRT
unmarked topical	Rheme
Theme	
Given	New

Figure 4.1 Theme and Information (1)

The figure 4.1 shows that the speaker made up a text against the background of what has been said and what has happened via using the pronoun *man* ‘he’. The arrow displayed on the figure represents the direction of the information flow. Semantically, the listener can access a cataphoric referent introduced elsewhere in the text regarding a pronoun. In unmarked pattern, the Given information will be created within Theme, New within Rheme.

In double subject construction, it was found that the third person pronoun will fall in Theme as follows:

(4-26) Red Duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL27				<i>to: fa:n man</i> barking_ deer 3sg	<i>kin ja: ju:</i> eat grass MOD	

The barking deer, it was eating grass.

As we can see from the example above, the pronoun *man* from Tai Dam occurred in Theme, pointing to an antecedent referent, the animal *to: fa:n*

‘barking deer’, in Theme position. Its function is to highlight the antecedent referent. It is put right after its referent.

<i>to: fa:n</i> barking_deer 3sg	<i>man</i>	<i>kin ja: ju:</i> eat grass MOD
unmarked topical		Rheme
Theme		
Given		→ New

Figure 4.2 Theme and Information (2)

The above figure shows that the pronoun *man* ‘it’ falls in Theme position the same as its referent. It points back to the antecedent referent *to: fa:n* ‘barking deer’. This pronoun in particular position emphasizes the unmarked topical pattern.

The following example shows another kind of double subject construction represented by a pronoun in Theme position.

(4-27) Aahan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL18.1				<i>ninh_mbuo i_gox</i> 3_PL married_couple	<i>gorngv,</i> speak	
CL18.2		"Aav!, ah		<i>hnangv_haaix_nor</i> how	<i>zoux.</i> Do	
CL18.3				<i>mbuo</i> 1pl	<i>nzuqc mv maaih,</i> knife NEG have <i>congx mv maaih.</i> gun no have	

They said, "Ah, what shall we do? We don't have a knife or a gun."

This example is taken from a narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh. We will see that this example is another kind of double subject construction where the referent is preceded by its pronoun. The plural pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ falls in unmarked topical theme the same as the cataphoric referent. This pronoun points forward to the referent *i_gox* ‘married couple’ to emphasize the topical theme. The

below figure shows the relationships of Theme and Information in developing narrative discourse.

<i>ninh_mbuo</i> <i>i_gox</i> 3_PL married_couple	<i>gorngv,</i> speak
unmarked topical	Rheme
Theme	
Given \longrightarrow New	

Figure 4.3 Theme and Information (3)

The third person plural pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ is treated as Given information within Theme. It is a point of departure in the unfolding text. The word *i_gox* ‘married couple’ is introduced in the clause in order to disambiguate the participant. It is also preserved as Given within Theme.

The double subject construction is not only found in Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh, but also in Kmhmu. The following example of Theme and Information taken from Kmhmu will express another discourse function of full pronouns.

(4-28) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL159			<i>kɔɔn'rook</i> orphan	<i>ruk kɔɔn'rook</i> filthy orphan	<i>teii ?ah məh</i> IRR have what	
			<i>ɲooŋ</i> disgusting	<i>ni? gəə</i> this 3sgm		

This filthy, disgusting orphan, what could he have?

As we can see, the third person pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ falls in Theme position the same as its referent. It points backward to the antecedent referent preceded in Theme. The following figure shows another relation of Theme and Information of pronoun.

<i>kɔ̀n'rook ruk kɔ̀n'rook noon ni? gəə</i> orphan filthy orphan disgusting this 3sgm	<i>teii ?ah məh</i> IRR have what
unmarked topical	
Theme	Rheme
Given	→ New

Figure 4.4 Theme and Information (4)

The third person pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ in the Figure 4.4 is treated as Given information in Theme with its referent. This double subjects are used to begin a question and functioning as subject in the clause.

4.2.3.2 Theme and Information of full pronouns between sentences

In the previous section, full pronouns within sentences together with their function are discussed. This section will focus on full pronouns between sentences. The function of full pronouns will also be discussed more.

The following example shows full pronouns between sentences. The function of these pronouns will be also analyzed in (4-29).

(4-29) Old husband

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL1.1				<i>maaih</i> have	<i>dauh (lov) nor,</i> CLF man TOP	
CL1.2				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>aapv ninh nyei sieqv</i> force 3sg POSS daughter	
CL1.3				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>longc wuov dauh nqox-gox.</i> marry that CLF old-husband	
1.1 There was a man; 1.2 he (tried to) force his daughter 1.3 (to) marry that old husband.						
CL2				<i>ninh sieqv</i> 3sg daughter	<i>mv oix longc.</i> NEG want_to marry	
His daughter didn't want to.						
CL3.1				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>ndongc_haaix yaac</i> no-matter-how and_yet	
CL3.2				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>oix aapv ninh sieqv</i> want_to force 3sg daughter	
CL3.3				(∅: <i>ninh sieqv</i>) 3sg daughter	<i>longc dauh wuov butv_zoih.</i> marry CLF that rich	
3.1 No matter what, 3.2 he wanted (to) force his daughter 3.3 (to) marry that man, (who was) rich.						

As we can see from the example above, the pronoun *ninh*, which is taken from a narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh, refers to the noun *lov* ‘man’. In this case, it can be interpreted as ‘he’ because it is used with human being as male. In general, the function of this pronoun is to stand for a noun *lov* ‘man’. And then it is used to avoid repetition of that particular pronoun by using the proform *ninh*. This strategy makes up a sentence more smoothly and makes it easier to say. And if we look at CL1.2 and CL3.2 within Rheme as well as CL2 within Theme, we will find that this pronoun is used to show possession. Another function of this pronoun is to maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent in text. The protagonist *lov* ‘man’ is still illuminated in the referential chain because of the pronoun *ninh*. Even though it is discontinued by a new participant *ninh sieqv* ‘his daughter’ in CL2., the pronoun *ninh* still helps to maintain the antecedent referent at text discontinuities. In addition the zero pronouns in CL1.2, CL1.3 and CL3.2 perform the same function in maintaining the referent in the referential chain. This function goes to other two languages: Tai Dam and Kmhmu as well.

In terms of Theme and Information, based on the research data being discussed, the semantic relationship between the system of THEME and the system of INFORMATION can create two differences of a referential chain of pronoun. The first pattern of a referential chain is a simple referential chain. This pattern is constructed by making up Given > Given information within unmarked selection. This particular pattern creates a flow of text without text discontinuities. And the second one is a complex referential chain. This pattern might create different kinds of Theme and Information regarding the referential chain such as Given> New> Given information within unmarked selection and New>Given>Given information within marked selection.

The following figures will display some referential chains of full pronoun regarding Theme and Information.

CL47.1	<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>deʔ tim 'məəŋ</i> get nail
Theme		Rheme
Given		New
CL47.2	<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>graate</i> scratch
Theme		Rheme
Given		New
It got its claws (and) scratched (him).		

Figure 4.5 Theme and Information (5): a simple referential chain of a full pronoun

From Figure 4.5, the pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ is created with a simple referential chain within unmarked selection. As we can see, this chain of pronoun is formed without text discontinuities. Within one chain, it is composed of chain origin and chain terminus. For the chain origin, it starts with Given information. As for the chain terminus, this referential chain also ends with Given information.

The next example will show an example of a complex referential chain of pronoun within unmarked selection as follows.

CL19.1	<i>leʔ mooj mi̯</i> and one Clf_days	<i>ʔa 'nuʔ</i> age	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then <i>pʰɔ 'dii</i> exactly	<i>bian kaw pii kaw kʰuap niʔ leʔ</i> achieve nine Clf_years nine Clf_years this PRT
Textual		topical		
Theme			Rheme	
Given			New	
CL19.2	<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>gɔʔ ləəj</i> so_then directly	<i>leeŋ jɔh</i> wander DIR	
topical		Textual		
Theme			Rheme	
Given			New	
And one day (when his) age had reached exactly nine years, he just went wandering off.				
CL20.1	<i>(∅: gəə)</i> 3sgm	<i>jɔh</i> go		
unmarked topical				
Theme		Rheme		
Given		New		

Figure 4.6 Theme and Information (6): a complex referential chain of a full pronoun

CL20.2	(∅: gəə) 3sgm		ʔah mɔʔ mooj have cross-bow one
unmarked topical			Rheme
Theme			
Given			
→			New
CL20.3	joŋ gəə father 3sgm		kʰwaar gəə deʔ drill_a_hole_in 3sgm get
unmarked topical			Rheme
Theme			
Given			
→			New
CL20.4	ŋjan time_before	gəə 3sgm	ŋɔɔŋ ɲeʔ yet small
textual		topical	Rheme
Theme			
Given			
→			New
CL20.5	(∅: gəə) 3sgm		ʔah mɔʔ mooj have cross-bow one
CL20.6	leʔ and	(∅: gəə) 3sgm	ʔah kam have arrow
CL20.7	(∅: gəə) 3sgm		ʔah hir'jaʔ tete mooj ɲuaj have bag torn one Clf_fruit

Going, (he) had a cross-bow (that) his father had made for him when he was still small; (he) had a cross-bow and (he) had arrows, (and he) had a torn bag.

Figure 4.6 Theme and Information (6): a complex referential chain of a full pronoun (cont.)

From Figure 4.6, we will see that a referential chain of the pronoun *gəə* ‘he’, taken from a narrative discourse in Kmhmu, is a complex referential chain. That is because this chain is interrupted by a new participant introduced in CL20.3. This particular pronoun in this chain falls in Rheme and functions as an object of the clause. The chain origin of this referential chain of pronoun starts from Given information in CL19.2 and then goes to New information within Rheme in CL20.3. The chain terminus of this referential chain of full pronouns ends in CL20.4. However, it is not really the end of a chain because, if we look deeply, we will find that this referential chain is maintained via its zero forms in CL20.5, CL20.6 and CL20.7.

To conclude in this part, the system of THEME and the system of INFORMATION are associated in terms of semantic relationships. They show different points of view of topic selection assigned by the speaker, whether it is speaker-oriented or listener-oriented. The system of THEME or the thematic structure represents a grammatical structure of pronouns, whereas the system of INFORMATION or the information structure represents a discourse structure of pronouns between sentences. The use of full pronouns regarding information structure is bound to the unmarked pattern only.

4.3 A Comparison of Discourse Functions of Full pronouns

Before discussing discourse functions of pronouns, let's start with the grammatical functions of pronouns in general first. Then the discourse functions of pronouns as cohesive devices with regard to reference will be discussed.

In terms of grammatical function, the three Southeast Asian languages—Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh—generally share the same grammatical functions as follows:

- 1) To stand in for a noun or a noun group in a clause.

It is obvious that all pronouns grammatically function as standing in for a noun or a noun group in a clause. This function goes for these three particular languages as well. The following example is taken from Tai Dam to show how a pronoun stands in for a noun in the clause.

(4-30) Deaf Man

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL16.1				<i>lu? khuaj thaw</i> son-in-law old	<i>thi:</i> who <i>wa: mua ki: ni:</i> peak just this	
CL16.2				<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>hu: nua? ju:</i> deaf MOD	

The son-in-law of the old one just mentioned was deaf.

As shown in the example (4-30), the pronoun *man* ‘he’ in CL16.2 stands in for the noun group *lu? khuaj thaw* ‘son-in-law of the old person’ mentioned in CL16.1.

2) To avoid repetition of a noun in a previous clause.

Another grammatical function of pronouns is to avoid repetition of a noun that was already mentioned in the preceding clause, as shown in the following example taken from Kmhmu.

(4-31) Man Eating-Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL29.1				<i>ra'waaj</i> tiger	<i>mete sian nɔɔ k'ian kwaaj</i> sense sound 3pl dig tuber	
CL29.2				<i>gəə</i> 3sgn	<i>gaaj pok ja? mii ja? gəə maan kɔɔn ni?</i> DIR bite Ms Mi Ms that be_pregnant child this	

The tiger heard the sound of them digging for tubers, (and) it came (and) attacked Ms Mi, the woman who was pregnant.

In order to avoid repeating *ra'waaj* ‘tiger’ in CL29.2, the pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ is used instead. Besides avoiding repetition, using pronouns in narrative discourse is capable of making a sentence more smoothly and makes it easier to enunciate, as will be shown next.

3) To make a sentence more smoothly and make it easier to enunciate

Using pronouns in narrative discourse is to make a sentence more smoothly and make it easier to enunciate. The following example is taken from Iu-Mienh.

(4-32) Three piglets

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL40.1	<i>da'nyeic ndorm</i> second morning			<i>dungz-dorn</i> piglet	<i>aengx jiez sin nziouv nyei,</i> again raise body early AFM	
CL40.2				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>youc</i> then <i>aengx mingh ndaangc aqv.</i> further go first PFT	
^{40.1}	The following morning the piglet got up early again, ^{40.2} then he went first again.					
CL41.1				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>mingh tauv biouv-ndiangx</i> go reach fruit-tree	
CL41.2				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>faaux biouv-ndiangx mingh.</i> go_up fruit-tree go	
^{41.1}	^{41.2} (When he) reached a fruit tree, (he) climbed up the tree.					

From a speaker-oriented viewpoint, it would be more natural to narrate a story without repeating the same noun all the time. Replacing it with a pronoun or omitting it sometimes is a good strategy to make a sentence more smoothly and easier to enunciate. For the listener, following the story is not boring. As we can see, the speaker introduces the participant by using an overt noun. Then, in the subsequent clause, the pronoun *ninh* ‘he, it’ is used to refer to the same participant to avoid repetition and to make the sentence more smoothly. And to make it is much easier to enunciate, the speaker omits this particular pronoun in subsequent sentences.

4) To emphasize a subject, as in a double subject construction.

(4-33) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL83.1		<i>mæ:</i> EXCL	<i>ʔaj</i> Hon	<i>ŋa: nii</i> Nga this	<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>ruaj ɲɯn</i> rich money
CL83.2				<i>man</i> 3sg		<i>ruaj tɔ:ɲ jɯ:</i> rich gold big

Well, Mr. Nga, he had a lot of money. He had a lot of gold.

Third person pronouns can occur right after a subject to form a double subject construction or nominal apposition. This unmarked strategy is found in narrative discourse. Once a participant functioning as the subject is introduced on the scene, the pronoun concerning the participant will be inserted after the participant itself in order to topicalize the subject.

5) To begin a question and stand in for a noun or noun group to make an interrogative clause.

It has been found that pronouns in the three Southeast Asian languages can occur in the initial position of the interrogative construction as shown in the following example.

(4-34) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL159			<i>kɔɔn'rook ruk</i> orphan filthy orphan	<i>kɔɔn'rook ɲooŋ niʔ gəə</i> disgusting this3sgm	<i>tɛii ʔah ɲəh</i> IRR have what	

This filthy, disgusting orphan, what could he have?

As mentioned earlier, a pronoun which is functioning as nominal apposition semantically is to topicalize the subject or participant. The above example shows another function of a pronoun within a double subject construction. The pronoun *gəə* ‘he’, which occurs in Theme position, is placed at the beginning of a question. It stands in for a noun to make an interrogative clause.

6) To show possession

The third person pronouns in Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh can occur as part of a possessive construction. The following example of the possessive construction is from Iu-Mienh.

(4-35) Old Husband

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL13.1			<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>neyi sieqv</i> POSS daughter	<i>dau ninh neyi die</i> answer 3sg POSS father	

^{13.1} His daughter answered her father

As we can see in (4-35), the pronoun *ninh* ‘he, she’ can form a possessive construction. In Iu-Mienh, it occurs at the first position of the construction, functioning as a possessor and then followed by a possessive marker ‘*neyi*’. Anyway, in Kmhmu, the possessive marker can be omitted, as shown in the following example.

(4-36) Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL11			<i>ma?</i> mother 3sgf	<i>naa</i>	<i>tcap gir hin'la? t'ap ra'waaj ni?</i> catch handle spade strike tiger this	

^{1.1} Her mother took hold of the spade handle (and) struck the tiger.

The above example shows that the word order of the possessive construction in Kmhmu is different from that of Iu-Mienh. For Kmhmu, the third person pronoun, which functions as a possessor, appears in the last position of the construction. And we can see that a possessive marker can be omitted.

Having discussed forms and functions of full pronouns in the previous section, we can conclude the discourse functions of full pronouns in narrative discourse with a comparison of the three languages: Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh.

1) To be the starting point of the clause as Given Information functioning as subject of a clause.

In terms of discourse functions of full pronouns, it has been found that any third person pronoun can be a starting point of the clause as Given Information functioning as subject of a clause. To illustrate this particular function, the following example is taken from Tai Dam as in (4-37).

(4-37) Red Duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL51	thi:			<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>lɔt</i> then <i>khun kɔ: maj kɔ: phɔ:t ʔaʔ ʔɔw ʔaʔ ʔɔw</i> up tree then chase EXCL	

⁵¹He then climbed up the tree and chased (them) away.

As we can see, the third person singular pronoun *man* ‘he’ placed under unmarked topical Theme is functioning as the subject of a clause. It is a starting point of the clause as Given information.

2) To be the starting point of the clause as New information in Rheme functioning as the subject of a clause.

In some cases, when Temporal the focus of a marked topical Theme, a full pronoun can be the starting point of the clause as New information in Rheme functioning as a subject of a clause.

(4-38) A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL3.2			<i>wuov hnoi</i> that day		<i>ninh_mbuo gorngv taux ninh_mbuo ganh nyei</i> 3_PL speak reach 3_PL self POSS <i>za'eix.</i> Plan	

^{3.2}that day they talked about each other's plan.

As we can see, the plural pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ is placed in Rheme position because *wuov hnoi* ‘that day’ is the marked topical Theme. Therefore, this particular pronoun can be the starting point of the clause as New information in Rheme.

3) To maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities.

(4-39) The Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical		Text.	
			marked	unmarked		
CL43.1				<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>gəʔ</i> so_then	<i>ʔoo tɛɛŋ nɛɛw məʔ</i> oh! do however
CL43.2				<i>ʔoʔ</i> 1sg	<i>gəʔ</i> so_then	<i>tɔɔŋ ʔoh</i> NEC go
CL43.3	<i>ʔɔɔr sah</i> because			<i>ʔoʔ</i> 1sg		<i>taŋ hir'ɲiam lɛɛw</i> set_up heart already
CL43.4				(ʔ : <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm		<i>law</i> say
CL43.5	<i>sah</i> COMP					<i>haan ŋəʔ ʔet ŋiʔ</i> die INDEF stay here
And so he (said to himself), "Oh whatever (I) do I must go, because I made up my mind already saying that 'wherever (I) die, (I) will stay there'."						
CL44.1	<i>lɛʔ</i> and			<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>gəʔ</i> so_then	<i>ɲaŋ ʔoh</i> walk DIR
And so he walked,						

The above example shows that a full pronoun can be used to maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities. As we can see, the pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ is first mentioned as unmarked topical Theme in CL43.1 and then it is interrupted by introducing a new topic, the first person pronoun *ʔoʔ* ‘I’ as shown in a direct speech sentence. After that the pronoun *gəə* is introduced again in CL44.1 to maintain the same previous discourse referent that was mentioned before. It is used to reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities.

4) To disambiguate male and female participants.

The following example of Kmhmu shows that a pronoun has a discourse function in disambiguating male and female participants.

(4-40) The Orphan

No.	Theme				Text.	Rheme
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			
			marked	unmarked		
CL50.1				ʔah have		<p><i>kɔɔn'n_im</i> <i>bliɑ</i> <i>bliɑ</i> <i>moɔj</i> young_woman beautiful beautiful one <i>ɡon</i> <i>teap</i> <i>ʔom'ɥeen</i> <i>jɔh</i> Clf_people catch water_gourd DIR</p>
(There) was a very beautiful young woman carrying a water gourd.						
CL51.1				(∅: <i>naa</i>) 3sgf		<i>jɔh</i> go
CL51.2	<i>p'ɔ'dii</i> exactly			(∅: <i>naa</i>) 3sgf		<i>jɔh</i> <i>bip</i> <i>ɡəə</i> <i>ɥi?</i> DIR meet 3sgm here
(As she was) going, just then (she) met him here.						
CL52.1				<i>naa</i> 3sgf	<i>ɡɔ?</i> so_then <i>ləj</i> directly	<i>law</i> say
So then she immediately said,						

The above example shows that personal pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular distinction with gender differentiation. As we can see, the pronoun *ɡəə* will be used with a male, whereas the pronoun *naa* will be used with a female. In CL52.1, the pronoun *naa* ‘she’ refers back to *kɔɔn'n_im* ‘young woman’, whereas the pronoun *ɡəə* ‘he’ refers back to the referent mentioned in where else or in the previous clause. Therefore, pronouns in Kmhmu have a discourse function to disambiguate male and female participants.

5) To disambiguate number of participants.

(4-41) The Orphan

No.	Theme				Text.	Rheme
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			
			marked	unmarked		
CL121.1	<i>leew bat</i> and_then turn <i>ɡii</i> this_one			<i>si'naa</i> 3du	<i>ɡɔ?</i> so_then	<i>ʔɔɔr thii məh ɡle?</i> <i>məh</i> lead believe_in be husband be <i>kim'bra?</i> <i>ni?</i> <i>le?</i> wife this PRT
CL121.2				<i>baŋ</i> 3pl		<i>rate pi'du?</i> <i>bian</i> <i>'nian</i> chase drive_out achieve Clf_months
CL121.3				<i>si'naa</i> 3du	<i>ɡɔ?</i> so_then	<i>jet brɔɔm jɔ?</i> <i>le?</i> stay accompany together PRT
CL121.4				(∅: <i>baŋ</i>) 3pl		<i>jɔh rɔɔt 'mɔɔn</i> DIR arrive place
CL121.5				<i>ɡəə</i> 3sgm		<i>law ni?</i> say this
And then (at) this time those two went, (we) believe (they) were husband (and) wife; (it) was a month (since) they had chased (them) away (and) driven (them) out, (and) those two had been staying together, so (they) arrived at the place he spoke of						

The above example is retrieved from Kmhmu. Pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular, dual, and plural distinction. The pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ is used as a singular pronoun. The pronoun *si'naa* ‘they two’ is used as a dual pronoun and the pronoun *baŋ* ‘they’ is used as a plural pronoun. These pronouns refer to different referents in terms of different numbers of participants.

6) To highlight a participant through emphasis.

(4-42) Dog and Cat

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL4.1				<i>khon pha:n man</i> person rascal 3sg	<i>jaʔ laj (∅: a crystal)</i> want	
CL4.2				<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>hu: cak</i> know	
CL4.3				<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>?aw khɔ:ŋ thiam ma: pa:w</i> bring unreal v.dr declare	

The rascal, he wanted a crystal. He knew

The pronoun *man* ‘he’ as shown in CL4.1 has the discourse function of highlighting the participant it follows. This particular construction is known as a double subject.

As discussed above, the following table is a summary comparison of discourse functions of full pronouns in the three languages; Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh.

Table 4.6 Discourse functions of full pronouns in narrative discourse

Functions	Tai Dam	Kmhmu	Iu-Mienh
1) To assign Given information within Theme	√	√	√
2) To be a starting point of the clause as Given Information functioning as subject of a clause	√	√	√
3) To be a starting point of the clause as New information functioning in Rheme as a subject of a clause	√	√	√

Table 4.6 Discourse functions of full pronouns in narrative discourse (cont.)

Functions	Tai Dam	Kmhmu	Iu-Mienh
4) To maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities	√	√	√
5) To highlight a participant through emphasis	√	√	√
6) To disambiguate male and female participants	-	√	-
7) To disambiguate number of participants	-	√	-

In general, the functions of full pronouns in narrative discourse are mostly the same when comparing the three languages except for some functions. From Table 4-6, full pronouns in Kmhmu play a key role in disambiguating male and female participant, as well as disambiguating the number of participants. That is because Kmhmu has number and male and female distinctions in third person pronouns. Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh do not have number and gender distinctions.

4.4 Conclusion

To sum up, the inventory of form and function of full pronoun in three different languages from different mainland Southeast Asian language families share some similarities and differences. Based on the research being conducted, it was found that each language shares different full forms of third person pronouns in terms of the number of pronouns. For singular pronouns in Tai Dam and Kmhmu, each of them has two full forms as follows: 1) *man*₁ ‘he, she, it’, 2) *phuan* ‘he’ in Tai Dam; and 1) *gee* ‘he, she, it’, 2) *naa* ‘she’ in Kmhmu. As for Iu-Mienh, only one singular pronoun is found as *ninh* ‘he, she, it’. For plural full forms of the third person pronoun, it was found that there are three of them in Tai Dam as follows: 1) *man*₂ ‘they’, 2) *khaw* ‘they’, 3) *saw* ‘they’, as well as in Kmhmu: 1) *si'naa* ‘they two’, 2) *nɔɔ* ‘they’, 3) *ban* ‘they’. As for Iu-mienh, only one plural pronoun has been found as in *ninh_mbuo*

'they'. We can say that pronouns in Kmhmu have male and female distinctions in the third personal pronoun in contrast to the two other languages.

In terms of functions, it was found that full pronouns share the same functions in narrative discourse for the most part. Only some functions are different in Kmhmu.

In addition, it was found that full pronouns can create a string referent in a chain in a discourse that can be classified into two main patterns in terms of Theme and Information. The Theme and Information is the semantic relationship between the system of THEME and the system of INFORMATION. The first pattern of chains is simply the referential chain, and the second one is a complex referential chain. These two differential chains are distinguished under the concepts of text discontinuities and marked or unmarked selection in topical Theme. It was found that each referential chain of pronouns varies in the beginning and ending of Given and New information, within a chain origin and chain terminus. In unmarked relation, chain origin always starts with Given information, whereas in a marked relation, chain origin may start with New information. There are several referential chains of pronouns that work together to form a story.

CHAPTER V

ZERO PRONOUNS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES

This chapter is concerned with the distribution of zero pronouns of Tai Dam, Iu-Mienh and Kmhmu in particular. The position of zero pronouns in Theme and Rheme structures will be described. The main purpose is to investigate discourse functions of zero pronouns. The research question asks if zero pronouns share the same discourse function as their full pronouns and if they can stand in for full pronouns or a noun group.

5.1 Zero Pronouns in Southeast Asian Languages

In pronoun-dropping or pro-drop languages in which certain clauses or pronouns may be omitted when they are in some sense pragmatically inferable, the phenomenon of ‘pronoun-dropping’ is also commonly referred to in linguistics as zero or null pronouns. In some languages, zero pronouns can appear either in the subject or the object grammatical position, such as in Japanese, Chinese and Thai. But some languages might be considered partially pronoun-drop in that they allow only the subject pronoun to be dropped. In Spanish texts zero pronouns only appear in the position of the subject. It is named as a null subject language. In a non-pro-drop language such as English, zero pronouns can also occur, but they appear less frequently, since they are used in coordinated sentences in which the zero pronouns usually refer to the subject of the clause.

According to Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 365), in Thai oral narratives, zero anaphora has been found to be the most frequent device for denoting previously introduced referents. In addition, Osborne (2009) and Tebow II (2010) both found zero anaphora to be used to maintain an active referent until a different referent is activated or discontinuity occurs within the text. According to Edwards (2011: 69),

in the Tai Dam texts, zero anaphora functions to signal an accessible referent that is unambiguous. Those referents can be in the subject or object position.

A zero pronoun has a function but does not have form in language usage. It is a subsequent null reference that refers to preceding text. In order to detect zero pronouns within thematic structure, texts should be divided into clauses. After that each clause will be considered under Theme-Rheme structure, since different types of clauses, such as declarative, interrogative, imperative are considered in different typical thematic structures where elements will be picked up as Theme. As zero pronouns stand in for a noun, a noun group or a full pronoun but not realized in speech, wherever those nouns or pronouns can appear in clauses, the zero pronoun themselves can do the same thing.

The following example shows the position of zero pronouns standing in for nouns or pronouns in Theme structure.

(5-1) The Bear

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL22.1			<i>gle?</i> husband <i>ni?</i> this <i>kuuŋ</i> uncle_by_marriage <i>gi'ni?</i> that_one	<i>ʔo?</i> 1sg with uncle_by_marriage		<i>wer gaaj looŋ kin'ŋi?</i> return DIR direction behind
CL22.2				↓ (∅: nɔɔ) 3pl		<i>gaaj nam looŋ kin'ŋi?</i> DIR follow direction behind
My husband and that uncle turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind); (they) followed back the way they had come (lit. came (and) followed the direction (from) behind).						
CL23.1				↓ (∅: nɔɔ) 3pl		<i>gaaj</i> come
	<i>gaj</i> but_then			↓ (∅: nɔɔ) 3pl		<i>bip ma? hual kɔɔn ŋaak</i> meet mother bear baby
But then coming (along they) met a mother bear (which had) a young cub.						

As we can see from the example (5-1) taken from Kmhmu, the pronouns in English translation which appear nowhere in the Kmhmu narratives are understood from context. If nouns or pronouns are supplied, the resulting clause would be grammatically correct but unnatural. Those, whose first language is non-pro-drop language like English or German, often make the mistake of supplying personal pronouns where pragmatically inferable. In the above example, the omitted zero pronouns that fall in Theme position are considered as Subject of the unmarked Theme of the declarative clauses.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:73), in everyday conversation the item most often functioning as unmarked Theme (Subject/Theme) in a declarative clause is the first person *I*. They state that much of our talk consists of messages concerned with ourselves, and especially with what we think and feel. Following that the other personal pronouns *you, we, he, she, it, they* will be used; and then impersonal pronouns *it* and *there* come. Then other nominal groups—those with a common noun or proper noun as Head—and nominalizations will be used. Provided these are functioning as Subject, then having them as Theme is still the unmarked Theme choice.

In Chapter IV, full pronouns can be located under both unmarked and marked topical Theme and given their function as subject of the clause. In terms of marked and unmarked, we can say that a full pronoun and a noun group, which are an overt form, will be selected if the speaker thinks that an active participant is difficult to identify. This particular participant can be realized under marked or unmarked theme. In contrast with full pronouns, zero pronouns will be selected as unmarked topical theme if the participant can be identified easily. As for zero pronouns, they are quite different from full pronouns in terms of the position of zero pronouns in Theme position. It has been found that zero pronouns can be realized only in unmarked theme. The speaker can assume that the listener already knows about or can be access what is already mentioned. We can say that a native speaker can place zero pronouns in a clause grammatically. They function as subject of the clause just the same as the full pronouns do.

The following is another example to show that zero pronouns can be supplied under unmarked topical theme and function as subject of the clause.

(5-2) Three piglets

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL40.1	<i>da'nyeic</i> second <i>ndorm</i> morning			<i>dungz-dorn</i> piglet	<i>aengx jiez sin nziouv nyei,</i> again raise body early AFM	
CL40.2				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>youc</i> then <i>aengx mingh ndaangc aqv.</i> further go first PFT	
^{40.1} The following morning the piglet got up early again, ^{40.2} then he went first again.						
CL41.1				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>mingh taux biouv-ndiangx</i> go reach fruit-tree	
CL41.2				(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>taux aqv.</i> reach PFT	
^{41.1} As soon as (he) went up above, ^{41.2} the black wolf just arrived.						
CL42.1	<i>jang-jang</i> just_now			(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>faaux taux gu'nguaaic hnavv,</i> go_up reach above only	
CL42.2				<i>hieh_juv_jieqv</i> wolf_black	<i>taux aqv.</i> reach PFT	
^{42.1} As soon as (he) went up above, ^{42.2} the black wolf just arrived.						

As we can see from the above example taken from Iu-Mienh, the adverbial group *da'nyeic ndorm* ‘second morning’ is considered as textual Theme in CL40.1. A noun *dungz-dorn* ‘piglet’ is given status as unmarked topical Theme functioning as subject of the clause. Following that a full pronoun *ninh* ‘it’ is chosen as the subject of the clause CL40.2. to refer back to its original referent. For the next three clauses, it was found that a zero form of pronoun *ninh* ‘it’ is selected for maintaining the referential chain. In CL41.1, CL41.2 and CL42.1 the zero pronouns are considered and realized as unmarked topical theme functioning as subject of clauses as well.

Concerning the ordering of zero pronouns regarding their referent introduced elsewhere in discourse, it was found that a zero pronoun can appear right after its antecedent referent in two main patterns.

The referent+ full pronouns+ zero pronouns

If we look at the ordering of zero pronouns in discourse within one referential chain, it can be seen that a zero pronoun can appear adjacent to its full pronoun which was mentioned in the preceding clause as follows.

(5-3) Firefly and Grasshopper

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL11.1				(Ø: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl	<i>nzuonx aqv,</i> return CHG-O-ST	
CL11.2				<i>gaeng-kiev</i> firefly	<i>maaih douz yaac maaih ndaatv ndaix.</i> have light also have wing fly	
^{11.1} (They) started to set out, ^{11.2} the firefly had a light and wing to fly too.						
CL12.1				<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>ganh ziu ninh ganh nyei jauv</i> self shine_on 3sg self POSS road	
CL12.2				(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>yangh taux biauv mi'aqv.</i> walk reach house RSLT	
^{12.1} He could light up his own road himself ^{12.2} (and) walked back (and) reached home.						

From the above example taken from Iu-Mienh, we will find that the zero pronoun *ninh* realized in unmarked Theme can point back to its referent introduced in CL11.2. But amongst them, it is interrupted by the full pronoun *ninh* in CL12.1.

The referent+ zero pronouns

Zero pronouns can appear adjacent to their referent which is introduced in the preceding clause as follows.

(5-4) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			Marked	unmarked		
CL14.1			daʔ joy gəə gi'niʔ at father 3sgm that_one		ah maʔkin have aunt	
CL14.2				ʔah have	mooʔk mooj gon sister one Clf_people	
On his father's side (there) was an aunt, (there) was a sister.						
CL15	leʔ and		maʔkin gi'niʔ aunt that_one	gɔʔ so_then	dianj gəə gaaj jet lianj take 3sgm DIR stay raise	
And then that aunt brought him to stay (with her and) raised (him).						
CL16.1	mia when		(∅: naa) 3sgf		lianj jɔh raise DUR	
CL16.2			(∅: naa) 3sgf		lianj gaaj raise DUR	
CL16.3			maʔkin aunt	gɔʔ læj so_then directly	sr'ʔɔh gəə niʔ hate 3sgm this	
While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.						
CL17.1			(∅: naa) 3sgf		sr'ʔɔh gəə niʔ hate 3sgm this	
CL17.2			(∅: naa) 3sgf		saj gəə tɛɛŋ wiak use 3sgm do work	
CL17.3			(∅: naa) 3sgf		saj gəə jɔh kʰii jɔh ŋaaj use 3sgm go here go there	
CL17.4			(∅: naa) 3sgf		ʔam ʔan gəə bəʔ mah NEG allow 3sgm eat rice	
Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.						

The example (5-4) is taken from a Kmhmu narrative. We can see that the zero pronoun *naa* ‘she’ can be supplied grammatically in the subsequent clauses CL16.1 and CL16.2. They refer to the primary referent in CL14.1. Next after that this referent is mentioned again two times with two different forms of noun groups in CL14.2 as in Rheme and in CL15 as in Theme. The pronoun *naa* appears adjacent to the latter one. This particular referent appears again with a full form noun in CL16.3 to start a subsequent referential chain of the same subject. Then, the same zero pronoun is retrieved to maintain the participant in the discourse.

5.1.1 Third person zero pronouns and co-reference

When dealing with proforms (pronouns, pro-verbs, pro-adjectives, etc.), we can distinguish them as anaphora and cataphora. When the proform follows the expression to which it refers, anaphora is involved. The proform itself is called anaphor, whereas the expression to which the anaphor refers is its antecedent. And when it precedes the expression to which it refers, cataphora is involved. Here the proform is a cataphor, whereas the expression to which the cataphor refers is postcedent. If we look at a pronoun that is one kind of proform, we can distinguish between anaphora and cataphora. Like full pronouns, zero pronouns stand in for nouns and full pronouns. One can distinguish between anaphora of zero pronouns as well as a cataphora of pronouns. Because of this, both full pronouns and zero pronouns will refer to the same referent. When two or more expressions refer to the same referent in discourse, linguistically they are co-referent; the one is a full form (the antecedent), and the other is an abbreviated form (a pronoun or anaphor) or even a zero form.

The following examples show different types of co-reference of zero pronouns. It was found that there are three types of co-reference of zero pronouns as follows.

5.1.1.1 Zero anaphora of pronouns

A zero anaphora refers to anaphoric reference in which a zero form of a pronoun follows its antecedent introduced elsewhere in the discourse. This kind of reference is used to create a chain of references in developing narrative discourse, as in the example (5-5).

(5-5) Two thieves

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL19.1	<i>hootɛ</i> and_then			<i>gon ni?</i> ↓ 1pf_people this	<i>mooj de? wek</i> one get knife	
CL19.2				<i>(∅: gəə)</i> ↓ 3sgm	<i>lot kin 'tuar</i> chop neck	
CL19.3				<i>(∅: gəə)</i> 3sgm	<i>tir 'tete (∅: gəə)</i> rip 3sgm	

Then the one person got the knife (and) chopped his neck, ripped (it) apart.

This example is taken from Kmhmu. The zero anaphor *gəə* ‘he’ in CL19.2 and CL19.3 follows the expression to which it refers (its antecedent). The antecedent referent is considered as unmarked topical theme functioning as subject of the referential chain. This antecedent referent is first introduced in CL19.1. After that this topic is continued in the subsequent clauses as mentioned before by means of zero pronouns in order to maintain the same participant. The full form of a noun group consisting of a classifier *gon* ‘a classifier of people’ and a definite determiner *niʔ* ‘this’ and its zero pronouns within Theme are coreferential. They share the same referent. Another referential chain of zero pronouns is in Rheme. The zero pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ in CL19.3 functioning as object of the clause follows its antecedent introduced in Rheme of CL19.2. They are also co-references pointing to the same referent *kin tuar* ‘neck’.

One more example of zero anaphora of pronouns is retrieved from a Tai Dam narrative as follows.

(5-6) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL113.1				<i>phuan</i> 3sg ↓	<i>lr:j</i> then <i>ʔaw (∅: man) ma: ʔet maj_cim_khæ:w</i> take 3sg DIV make toothpick	
CL113.2				<i>(∅: phuan)</i> 3sg ↓	<i>ʔaw (∅: man) ma: ʔet maj_cim_khæ:w</i> take 3sg DIV make toothpick	
CL113.3				<i>(∅: phuan)</i> 3sg	<i>(∅: ʔaw man) ma: ʔet maj_cim_khæ:w</i> take 3sg DIV make toothpick	

He then took (it) to make a toothpick. (He) took (it) to make a toothpick. (He took it) to make the toothpick.

As mentioned before, a zero pronoun can stand in for a noun, a noun group or a pronoun itself. From the above example, the zero pronoun *phuan* ‘he’ in CL113.2 and CL113.3 displays full form of pronoun. This full pronoun here acts as the antecedent referent of its zero form. The primary antecedent referent is introduced elsewhere in the preceding text.

5.1.1.2 Zero cataphora of pronouns

A zero cataphora refers to cataphoric reference in which a zero form of a pronoun precedes its postcedent that is yet introduced. This kind of reference is used for introducing a protagonist to be into discourse as in the example (5-7)

(5-7) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL23	<i>læ:w</i> then			(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>ta:j ha: bu? ka:p ni:</i> die PRT, time this	
Then, (he) might be dead now.						
CL24				<i>ʔaj dæ:ŋ</i> HON Daeng	<i>cap pa: paj met læ:w</i> catch fish DIV all already	
Daeng took all fish.						

The example (5-7) taken from a Tai Dam narrative shows that the zero pronoun *man* ‘he’ precedes the expression to which it refers. This is its postcedent *ʔaj dæ:ŋ* ‘Mister Daeng’. The postcedent referent is considered as unmarked topical theme functioning as subject of the clause in CL24. The zero cataphoric referent *man* ‘he’ and the full form *ʔaj dæ:ŋ* ‘Mister Daeng’ refers to the same item. Therefore, they are coreferential.

The following example of zero cataphora of pronouns is also taken from Tai Dam as shown in (5-8).

(5-8) Nga and Daeng

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL50.1		<i>hu:</i> EXC		(∅: <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>ma? jɔ:m</i> NEG agree	
CL50.2			<i>man</i> 3sg		<i>ca? ʔaw (∅: ba:n) hɔ: daj ʔaj dæ:ŋ na?</i> IRR take harrow give get HON Daeng PRT	
Uh, (he) didn’t agree with. He would take (the harrow), Mister Daeng.						

From the example (5-8), the zero pronoun *man* ‘he’ precedes its postcedent referent *ʔaj dæ:ŋ* ‘Mister Daeng’ which falls in Rheme in CL50.2. The

full pronoun *man* ‘he’ in CL50.2 is also a cataphoric referent. The zero cataphoric referent, the full pronoun and Mister Daeng are coreferential.

5.1.1.3 Split antecedents of zero anaphora

Split antecedents of zero anaphora refer to anaphoric reference in which a zero form of a pronoun has a split antecedent introduced elsewhere in discourse, as in the example (5-9).

(5-9) Cicadas

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL60.1			<i>dauh ong</i> CLF old_man	<i>cingx_daaih</i> therefore	<i>zimh jomc nc norm dorngx</i> investigate end that CLF place	
CL60.2			(∅: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg		<i>zimh cuotv gorn daaih aeqv,</i> investigate go_out root come TOP	
CL60.3			<i>norqc_guv_long</i> ↓ owl		<i>nduov(jung) mingh nyanc biouv,</i> deceive barking_deer go eat fruit	
CL60.4			<i>ninh_mbuo</i> 3pl		<i>zorqv sung</i> take ginger	
CL60.5			(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl		<i>mborqv mborqv daaih</i> pound pound come	
CL60.6			(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl		<i>nanv ninh nyei wuom cuotv</i> squeeze 3sg POSS water go_out <i>daaih eqv</i> come TOP	
CL60.7			(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl		<i>dorh sung-wuom mingh</i> take ginger_juice go	
CL60.8			(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl		<i>laapc norqc_guv_long m'zing na'maah.</i> put owl eye I_am_telling_you	

^{60.1}This old man, therefore, has come to the conclusion there, ^{60.2}found out the root (of the problem); ^{60.3}(that is,) the owl enticed the barking deer (to) go (and) eat the fruit; ^{60.4}(so) they took ginger ^{60.5}(and) crushed (it) ^{60.6}(and) squeezed out the juice of it, and so, ^{60.7}(they) took the ginger juice (and) ^{60.8}poured (it) into the owl's eyes, you see.

This example taken from Iu-Mienh shows that the zero pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ has split antecedents referring to both *norqc_guv_long* ‘owl’ and *jung* ‘barking deer’. These split antecedent referents share the abbreviated form of full pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ in CL60.4.

Here is another example of split antecedents of zero anaphora taken from Iu-Mienh as well.

(5-10) Firefly and Grasshopper

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL18.1				<i>norqc_meix</i> sparrow	<i>maiv_haih_fungc_zoux,</i> cant't_do_anything	
CL18.2				(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>bun caah_laauh_porngc bueix.</i> let grasshopper sleep	
^{18.1} There was nothing the sparrow could do about it, ^{18.2} (he) let the grasshopper sleep.						
CL19.1				(Ø: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) 3pl	<i>bueix gau aeqv,</i> sleep DPCL TOP	
CL19.2				<i>ndiangx-kou</i> dead_tree	<i>nauv, haeqv</i> snap frighten	
^{19.1} After (they) had been asleep for a while, ^{19.2} a dead tree snapped down						

As we can see from the above example, the third person plural pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ has split antecedents referring to both *norqc_meix* ‘sparrow’ and *caah_laauh_porngc* ‘grasshopper’. The referent *norqc_meix* ‘sparrow’ is replaced first with third person singular zero pronoun *ninh* ‘it’. Next after that it shares split antecedents of zero pronoun *ninh_mbuo* ‘they’ with another antecedent referent *caah_laauh_porngc* ‘grasshopper’ in CL19.1.

To sum up, the table below shows the linguistic properties of zero pronouns compared with full pronouns in terms of form and syntactic distribution.

Table 5.1 A comparison of linguistic properties of full pronouns and zero pronouns in terms of form and syntactic distribution

Full pronouns	Zero pronouns
1) Substitution form	1) Ellipsis form
2) Stand in for a noun or a noun group realized in speech	2) Stand in for a noun, a noun group and even a pronoun but do not have the form in language usage
3) Co-reference with zero pronoun referring to the same antecedent referents.	3) Co-reference with full pronoun referring to the same antecedent referents.
4) Fall in Theme and Rheme positions	4) Fall in Theme and Rheme positions
5) Fall in marked and unmarked topical theme	5) Fall in unmarked topical theme only
6) Refer backwards (anaphora) and forwards (cataphora)	6) Refer backwards (anaphora) and forwards (cataphora)

From the above table, we can distinguish full pronouns and zero pronouns regarding substitution form and ellipsis form respectively. Both share many similar properties, such as they can occur in Theme and Rheme positions, and they can refer backwards and forwards to their referents as well. However, they are different in some respects. Full pronouns can be considered as marked and unmarked topical theme, whereas zero pronouns can be considered only unmarked topical theme. Realizing zero pronouns in marked topical theme is possible. It is because zero pronouns compared with full pronouns in Theme position are associated more with subject of the clause. This syntactic distribution agrees with the word order of SVO languages, which is treated as unmarked structure. Both of them stand in for nouns and pronouns but zero pronouns not realized in speech. In addition, they are coreferential referring to the same referent.

5.2 Theme Structure and Information Structure of Zero pronouns

5.2.1 Zero pronouns in Theme structure

In this section, zero pronouns in Theme structure will be discussed in terms of both syntactic distribution and cohesive functions of zero pronouns.

Before discussing functions of zero pronouns as cohesive devices, the syntactic distribution of zero pronouns within Theme position will be displayed below.

(Textual theme)+(Interpersonal theme)+unmarked Topical theme: zero pronouns+(Textual theme)

In addition, when a marked theme is selected as a point of departure of a clause, zero pronouns will fall in Rheme and can function as subject or object of a clause depending upon the context.

Based on the research data being studied, it has been found that not all nouns or full pronouns will be replaced with zero pronouns. It is because once a referent is introduced and referred to by a full pronoun, it is possible that zero pronouns may or may not be used to refer back the original referent. The following tables will show that all kinds of nouns and pronouns are replaced with zero pronouns in each of all narratives compared to their full pronouns, both singular and plural. The tables will be shown subsequently from Tai Dam to Kmhmu and then Iu-Mienh.

Table 5.2 Zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Tai Dam

Story	Nouns	Singular		Nouns	Plural	
		Full	zero		full	zero
Red Duck	Red Duck	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)	A couple	<i>khaw</i> (they)	(Ø: <i>khaw</i>) (they)
	Nephew	<i>man</i> (he)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (he)			
	A nest of small bee	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			
	A barking deer	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Old man Chinese	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Tiger	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			
	White buffalo	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Buffalo	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)	(Ø: <i>man</i>) (it)			

Table 5.2 Zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Tai Dam (cont.)

Story	Nouns	Singular		Nouns	Plural	
		Full	zero		full	zero
A Story of A Tiger	Tiger	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	One man	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Yaj Chi	-	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	Male part	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Wound	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
Mister Nga and Mister Deang	Nga	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
		<i>phuan</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>phuan</i>) (he)			
	Daeng	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Fish	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	The ridge	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	My friend	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Wife	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	His wife	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	A harrow	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Gold	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Teeth	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Comb	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	That man	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
A Story of Dogs and Cats	Dog	<i>man</i> (it)		A cat and a dog	<i>man</i> (they)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (they)
	Cat	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	The owner of gem	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	A bad man	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Wife	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	Husband	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Gem	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
	Rat	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)			
imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (it)				
A Story of Deaf People	Mother	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)		<i>saw</i> (they)	(\emptyset : <i>saw</i>) (they)
	Daughter	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	Son-in-law	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Husband	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
	Wife	<i>man</i> (she)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (she)			
	The old man	<i>man</i> (he)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)			
imp. pro.	<i>man</i> (it)	(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) (he)				

From table 5.2, we will find that the zero pronoun *man* can often be used with both singular and plural meaning ‘he, she, it and they’. It is so because pronouns in Tai Dam do not have number agreement for nouns. Moreover, number and gender of noun do not play a key role in using pronouns in Tai Dam. That is why the zero pronoun *khaw*, which means ‘he’ in some languages like Thai, can be used with a plural noun.

The next table illustrates zero pronouns used to replace nouns or even pronouns themselves avoiding repetition in narrative discourse in Kmhmu.

Table 5.3 Zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Kmhmu

Story	Nouns	Singular		Nouns	Plural	
		full	zero		Full	Zero
The Two Thieves	Miss Tan	[?] nɔɔ (she)	(∅:nɔɔ) (she)	People	-	(∅:baŋ) (they)
	This man	gəə (he)	(∅:gəə) (he)	These thieves	[?] gəə (he/they)	(∅:gəə) (he/they)
	The one person	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (he)		baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
	An uncle of ours	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (he)			
	imp. pro.	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	indef. pro.	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
The Bear	Bear	gəə (it)		My husband and that uncle	-	(∅:baŋ baŋ) (they)
	An uncle of ours	gəə (he)			villagers	-
	That light	gəə (it)				
	My husband	gəə (he)				
	imp. pro.	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	indef. pro.	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
The Orphan	That orphan	gəə (he)		His mother, his father	-	(∅:baŋ) (they)
	His father	gəə (he)			The child and father	si'naa (they two)
	That aunt	-		Soldiers		baŋ (they)
	Their village	gəə (it)			The parents	si'naa (they two)
	Aunt	[?] baŋ (she)		Other people		-
	Young woman	naa (she)				
	This village	gəə (it)				
	The monkey	gəə (it)				
	This monkey	gəə (it)				
	imp. pro.	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	indef. pro.	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
The Man-Eating Tiger	This tiger	gəə (it)	-	All people	-	-
	Miss Pheng	naa (she)	-	Ms Daeng with her mother	si'naa (they two)	-
	Thit Phiv	-	(∅:gəə)	The thirty people	nɔɔ (they)	-
	On Can	-	(∅:gəə)	Ms Pheng and Ms Ong	si'naa (they two)	(∅:si'naa) (they two)
	The female tiger	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	Villagers	nɔɔ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
	person	gəə (he)	(∅:gəə) (he)	On Can and his two friend	-	(∅:nɔɔ) (they)
	imp. pro.	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	indef. pro.	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
Tan's Hospital Story	Road	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	Lao people	nɔɔ (they)	(∅:nɔɔ) (they)
	Father	gəə (he)	(∅:gəə) (he)	Other people	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)
	Tea	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	Thirty thousand	-	(∅:gəə) (it)
	Pipe	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)			
	My father	gəə (he)	(∅:gəə) (he)			
	Ice cream	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)			
	imp. pro.	gəə (it)	(∅:gəə) (it)	indef. pro.	baŋ (they)	(∅:baŋ) (they)

From table 5.3, it has been found that there are five forms of zero pronouns used in a narrative discourse in Kmhmu. They are supposed to be used differently regarding number and gender of the nouns to which they refer. The zero pronoun *gəə* ‘he, it’ refers to male and singular nouns, whereas *naa* ‘she’ refers to female. There are two forms of the third person plural pronouns, as follows: *nɔɔ* ‘they’ and *baŋ* ‘they’. Both can refer to male and female. Kmhmu has a dual form of pronouns that does not exist in Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh. It has been found that the dual zero pronoun *si'naa* ‘they two’ can refer to both male and female.

The following table shows zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh.

Table 5.4 Zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh

Story	Nouns	Singular		Nouns	Plural	
		full	zero		full	zero
A Story of an Old Husband and Bamboo Shoots	A man	<i>ninh</i> (he)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (he)	A firefly and a grasshopper	<i>ninh_mbuo</i> (they)	(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) (they)
	His daughter	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (she)			
	Her father	<i>ninh</i> (he)	-			
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
A Story of Firefly and Grasshopper	A grasshopper	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A sparrow	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The sparrow's goiter	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The dead tree	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The earthworm	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A black wolf	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The piglet	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The second piglet	<i>ninh</i> (it)	-			
	The third piglet	<i>ninh</i> (it)	-			
	smoke	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The powder milk container	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
imp. pro.	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)				
Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?	The olive	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A barking deer	<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The ash pumpkin	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			

Table 5.4 Zero forms of pronouns in narrative discourse in Iu-Mienh (cont.)

Story	Nouns	Singular		Nouns	Plural	
		full	zero		full	zero
Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?	A wild chicken	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A snake	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A squirrel	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The oil fruit	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The cucumber	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The old man	<i>ninh</i> (he)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The black ant	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	The owl	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	imp. pro.	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			
	A Story of Aahan	Bear	-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)	A couple	⁹ <i>ninh</i> (they)
His wife		-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (she)	The Northern Thai people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)	(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) (they)
The crocodile		-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)	Those people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)	(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) (they)
A tiger		-	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)	The people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)	(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) (they)
-				The governor's people	<i>ninh_bmuo</i> (they)	(∅: <i>ninh_mbuo</i>) (they)
imp. pro.		<i>ninh</i> (it)	(∅: <i>ninh</i>) (it)			

It has been found that there are only two forms of zero pronouns that are used to refer to nouns or pronouns. Both of them are *ninh* 'he, she, it', standing in for a single noun and *ninh_bmuo* 'they' standing in for plural nouns. Like Tai Dam, the pronoun *ninh* is sometimes used with a plural noun.

To conclude, based on all the narrative discourses of three different languages, only some nouns and full pronouns are replaced by zero forms of pronouns. Some are not. It is because of the nature of the spoken language. When nouns or noun groups are first introduced, it is possible that full pronouns or zero pronouns will be selected to refer back to their original referents. But if those nouns are introduced or mentioned just for a while and then interrupted with a new topic, it is possible that zero pronouns are not selected. Zero pronouns can refer backwards and forwards and they are coreferential with full pronouns and the noun referents.

5.2.2 Functions of zero pronouns

A zero pronoun performs different functions in discourse. It can function either as a subject or an object of the clause in general within Theme and Rheme. These particular functions are regarded as syntactic functions. The following examples show how zero pronouns function as cohesive devices in discourse.

In general, the function of proforms including pronouns is to avoid repetition of nouns. In narrative discourse, when a participant is first introduced in the text, he or she might be referred to as the antecedent referent. The abbreviated form recognized as a pronoun will be replaced in the subsequent clauses. However, if that particular participant is still active, zero anaphora will be used as a strategy to avoid repetition of pronoun and to signal an active referent. Therefore, the referential chain can be very long as in the example (5-11).

(5-11) Orphan

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL164.1	<i>p^hɔ' dii</i> exactly			(∅ : <i>baŋ</i>) 3pl	<i>jɔh jɔh rɔɔt</i> go DIR arrive	
CL164.2	<i>le?</i> and			<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>ʔam dap mat sa'teaŋ</i> NEG cover eye elephant	
CL164.3				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm		
Just then going along, (they) went (and) arrived and he did not cover the elephants' eyes; (he) drove the elephants to go fast.						
CL165.1				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm	<i>pu? k^hwaan sa'teaŋ</i> hit urge elephant	
CL165.2				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm	<i>pu? sa'teaŋ jɔh leh</i> hit elephant go fast	
CL165.3				(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm	<i>pu? pu? pu? sa'teaŋ ʔan jɔh leh</i> hit hit hit elephant CAUS go fast	
(He) hit (and) urged the elephants, hit the elephants to go fast, (he) kept hitting the elephants to make (them) to go fast.						

As we can see from the example (5-11) which is taken from Kmhmu, anaphoric reference is the unmarked strategy in developing narrative discourse. Both a full pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ and its zero form are used to create a chain of reference. If the

referential chain is quite long, it is supposed to use zero pronouns, which are implicit in avoiding a repetition use of the abbreviated form. The zero pronouns appear in this narrative discourse in order to maintain the active referent. The first mention of the referent is explicit, which is introduced elsewhere in the preceding text. Next after that, it is repeated again but with a full form of the pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ in CL164.2. Subsequently, zero anaphoric reference is created from CL164.3 to CL165.3 before a new topic will be introduced.

Another example is taken from Tai Dam to show that zero pronouns are used to signal an active referent as in the example (5-12) below.

(5-12) Red Duck

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL6	thii nii now_then			<i>man</i> 3sg	<i>kɔɔʔ</i> then <i>paj</i> go	
‘Now, he went (traveling).’						
CL7.1				(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>paj tɛx: law</i> go find PRT	
CL7.2				(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>paj pɔ: to: pet</i> go find CLF duck <i>khaw to: nuŋ pet dæ:ŋ</i> DV CLF NUM duck red	
CL7.3				(\emptyset : <i>man</i>) 3sg	<i>paj pɔ: pet dæ:ŋ khaw lɛt thi:</i> go find duck red DIV ADV PRT	
(He) went to find. (He) went to find a duck, the red duck. (He) went to find the red duck’						

The above example shows that the pronoun in Tai Dam *man* ‘it’ is omitted in many clauses from CL7.1 to CL7.3 within unmarked topical theme functioning as subject in clauses. Only the first clause shows a full pronoun *man* ‘it’ which is explicit; the other clauses show the implicit quality of pronouns in order to avoid repetition. The using of zero anaphoric reference makes a clause more smooth and makes it easier to enunciate as well..

Another function of zero pronouns is to signal accessible but unambiguous referents. Zero pronouns help to distinguish referential chains when they occur at the same time within Theme and Rheme as illustrated in the following example.

(5-13) Man-Eating Tiger

No.	Theme				Rheme	
	Text.	Interp.	Topical			Text.
			marked	unmarked		
CL36.1				<i>kɔɔn 'kuŋ</i> villagers	<i>deʔ bliah keŋ</i> (Ø: <i>gəə</i>) get spear stab 3sgn	
CL36.2			(Ø: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgn	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then	<i>ʔam ʔoh</i> NEG wounded	
CL36.3			(Ø: <i>nɔɔ</i>) 3pl	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then	<i>deʔ si 'naat piŋ</i> (Ø: <i>gəə</i>) get gun shoot 3sgn	
CL36.4			(Ø: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgn		<i>ʔam ʔoh</i> get NEG wounded	
The villagers got a spear (and) stabbed (it) but (it) wasn't wounded; (they) got a gun (and) shot (it) but (it) wasn't wounded.						
CL37.1			<i>nɔɔ</i> 3pl		<i>deʔ kir 'meel</i> get club	
CL37.2			(Ø: <i>nɔɔ</i>) 3pl		<i>tʰap ra 'waaj niʔ</i> strike tiger this	
CL37.3			(Ø: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgn		<i>ŋɔʔ ter duʔ</i> fear jump flee	
They got a club (and) struck (it), (and) the tiger was afraid (and) jumped (back and) fled.						

In the example above which is taken from Kmhmu, there are two referential chains created in the discourse. The first one is a referential chain of villagers and the second one is that of a tiger. For the first chain, the full pronoun *nɔɔ* ‘they’ and its zero pronouns are functioning as coreferential with *kɔɔn 'kuŋ* ‘villagers’ referring to the same referent. As for the second chain, the zero pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ is coreferential with *ra 'waaj* ‘tiger’. As we can see, the first referential chain starts from CL36.3 with the zero pronoun *nɔɔ* ‘they’ referring to villagers in CL36.1 and then extends to CL37.2. The explicit pronoun *nɔɔ* ‘they’ is created in CL37.1 in order to emphasize the antecedent referent, the villagers. The second referential chain starts from CL36.1 with the zero pronoun *gəə* ‘it’ referring forward to which it refers and then extends to CL37.3. Along the way to the terminus chain of zero pronoun *gəə* ‘it’, the postcedent referent is introduced in order to highlight it with a determiner *niʔ* ‘this’. Both zero pronouns *nɔɔ* ‘they’ and *gəə* ‘it’ help to signal accessible referents

and disambiguate them as well. They are useful in distinguishing the referential chains that occur at the same time.

5.2.3 Theme and Information of zero pronouns

As already mentioned in previous chapters that third person singular and plural pronouns can appear within sentences and between sentences, these can go to zero pronouns as well. It is because zero pronouns stand in for nouns and pronouns in developing narrative discourse.

The flow of discourse dealing with zero pronouns can be analyzed under the system of THEME and the system of INFORMATION.

Zero pronouns regarding Theme and Information share a close semantic relationship with their full forms between thematic structure and information structure. It has been found that the typical pattern of Theme and Information in using zero pronouns is comparable to that of full pronouns by means of marked and unmarked. The typical pattern of Theme and Information of zero pronouns is unmarked only, whereas the Theme and Information of full pronouns can be either marked or unmarked. The reason that Theme and Information of zero pronouns being only unmarked is because the speaker assumes that the listener already knows about or can access what was already told to the listener. Therefore, we can say that the typical pattern of Theme and information of zero pronouns is Given+New, which is listener-oriented. The following examples will discuss Theme and Information of zero pronouns as cohesive devices in developing the flow of narrative discourse. Theme and Information of zero pronouns within sentences will be discussed first and then that of zero pronouns between sentences will be displayed later.

5.2.3.1 Theme and Information of zero pronouns within sentences

In general, the systemic value of unmarked and marked theme depends on mood selection. Zero pronouns can appear in Theme and Rheme positions, depending on these particular systems. The speaker will use zero anaphora as unmarked strategy for what has been said or what has happened before. When Theme is considered as unmarked, the semantic relation between thematic structure and information structure will be analyzed typically over Given within Theme New within

Rheme. The following example will illustrate the globally unmarked pattern of Theme dealing with a zero pronoun.

CL47.1	<i>siaŋ ʔɔɔn tean</i> friend On Can		<i>n_ɔɔŋ jet bian mooj pii paʔ pɛt ʔnian</i> yet stay achieve one Clf_years with eight Clf_months
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			→ New
CL47.2	(∅: <i>gəə</i>) 3sgm	<i>gɔʔ</i> so_then	<i>haan</i> die
unmarked topical		textual	
Theme		Rheme	
Given		→ New	
Friend On Can lived on, lasting for one year and eight months, (and) then (he) died.			

Figure 5.1: Theme and Information of a zero pronoun within sentences (1)

The figure 5-1 is taken from a Kmhmu narrative. It shows that the zero pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ can appear in Theme position referring to *siaŋ ʔɔɔn tean* ‘friend On Can’. This zero pronoun can be omitted in this unmarked theme because the antecedent referent is already mentioned in the preceding clause. The semantic relation between the first mention of the referent and the zero form concerning Theme and information is Given to New. The Given falls in Theme whereas the New falls in Rheme.

Sometimes, the speaker can play in a variety of ways with the system of INFORMATION in order to produce an astonishing variety of rhetorical effects. Using thematic and information structure, he can achieve complex scenarios. The following example shows another Theme selection in which theme is also an unmarked pattern, as in the following figure.

CL80	<i>tɔːŋ</i> gold			<i>tok ma: ta: phlɔj phlɔj</i> fall DIV ONOM
unmarked topical				
Theme				Rheme
Given				→ New
Gold fell out.				
CL81	<i>mæ:</i> EXCL	<i>thi: ni</i> time this	<i>(∅: man)</i> 3sg	<i>pen se:t thi: kua thi: ni: na?</i> to_be rich MOD time this PRT
interpersonal		textual	unmarked topical	
Theme				Rheme
Given				→ New
Well, this time, (he) was rich.				
CL82	<i>?aj dæ:ŋ</i> HON Daeng			<i>daj khaw mr:</i> get news again
unmarked topical				
Theme				Rheme
Given				→ New
Mister Daeng got news again.				

Figure 5.2 Theme and Information of a zero pronoun within sentences (2)

The example in the figure 5.2 is taken from Tai Dam. As shown in the running text, the topic of CL81 is considered as unmarked theme because the zero pronoun *man* ‘he’ is considered in Theme as subject of a clause. The speaker builds up the unfolding text for whatever is to follow. Within listener-oriented discourse, the speaker’s choice is made against the background of what has been said and what has happened before. It is assumed by the speaker that the listener already knows who will be rich. Thus, zero anaphoric reference is created. The analysis in thematic and information of this pronoun is Given+New within sentences.

5.2.3.2 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences

The referential chain of zero pronouns can extend very long in a series of clauses. The semantic relation of Theme and information of zero pronouns

is associated from clause to clause, Theme to Rheme, and Given to New as well as New to Given.

Zero pronouns within sentences are analyzed in terms of Theme and Information previously. Next, zero pronouns between sentences will be analyzed as follows.

CL52.1	<i>phua mia</i> couple	<i>lx:j</i> then	<i>ʔaw kɔ:n bæ:n man</i> take stone 3sg
unmarked topical		textual	
Theme			Rheme
Given			→ New
CL52.2	$(\emptyset: man)$ 3sg		<i>tok kɔ: maj loŋ ma: thi: ni: naʔ</i> fall tree down DIV now PRT
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			→ New
The couple then threw him with a stone causing him fell down from the tree.			
CL53.1	<i>phɔ:</i> when	$(\emptyset: man)$ 3sg	<i>tok kɔ: maj loŋ ma:</i> fall_down tree down DIV
	textual	unmarked topical	
Theme			Rheme
Given			→ New
CL53.2	$(\emptyset: man)$ 3sg	<i>kɔʔ</i> then	<i>ma: waw hx:w ʔem thaw faŋ mɔw lɔʔ</i> DIV tell give grandmother listen again PRT
unmarked topical		textual	
Theme			Rheme
Given			→ New
After he fell down from the tree, he then told the story to his grandmother again.			

Figure 5.3 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences (1)

From the above figure taken from Tai Dam, within one referential chain of zero pronouns and without discontinuities, zero pronouns are omitted in unmarked topical Theme. The zero pronoun *man* ‘he’ can function as subject of clauses and can be a starting point of the clauses but not realized in real speech. The full pronoun *man* ‘he’ and its zero form are coreferential referring to the

same referent. They share the semantic relation from clause to clause within Theme and Information. As listener-oriented, the information structure of zero pronouns over the unmarked pattern is narrated through Given information, starting from the first mention of zero referent to the subsequent clauses. The referent itself is first mentioned as an abbreviated form shown in Rheme of CL52.1, and then it is presented as zero forms in the subsequent clauses. As a cohesive function, this zero pronoun signals an active referent in discourse. Without repetition of a full pronoun, it makes the discourse flow more smoothly and naturally, as well as makes it easier to enunciate.

The following is one more example of zero pronouns that can be omitted in Theme position and come in series when the system value of Theme is unmarked.

CL124.1	<i>Ih_hnoi</i> today	(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>ziangh,</i> alive	
	textual	unmarked topical		
Theme			Rheme	
Given			New	
CL124.2	<i>ih_hnoi</i> today	(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>daic</i> die	
	textual	unmarked topical	Theme	Rheme
Theme			Rheme	
Given			New	
CL124.3	<i>yaac ih_hnoi</i> TOP today	(Ø: <i>ninh</i>) 3sg	<i>haeqv! wuov_deix aeqv,</i> frighten those_people TOP	
	textual	unmarked topical		
Theme			Rheme	
Given			New	

Figure 5.4 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences (2)

CL124.4	<i>mangc gaax mbuo</i> look try_and_see	<i>yiem naaiv caangh_laangh hhangv,</i> 1pl be_in here discuss only
unmarked topical		
Theme		Rheme
Given		→ New
CL124.5	<i>ninh</i> 3sg	<i>mv beiv duqv yiem haaix_ndau ndaix daaih aqv.</i> NEG compare can be_there what_ground fly come PFT
unmarked topical		
Theme		Rheme
Given		→ New

¹124.1 (Even though) today (he) is alive, ^{124.2}(or) dies today, ^{124.3} (since he) frightened them today, ^{24.4} let's see, we only discuss here, ^{124.5} there is no way to describe where he flew from.

Figure 5.4 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences (2) (cont.)

As we can see from the figure 5.4 taken from Iu-Mienh, the speaker develops narrative discourse via a repeated pattern of unmarked Theme. Zero pronouns are supplied in Theme position. A zero pronoun in each subsequent clause is considered as Given or Old information between sentences. As cohesive devices, it signals an active referent that is introduced again as a full pronoun in Theme position of CL124.5.

Theme and information of a referential chain of a zero pronoun can be seen in text discontinuity. And the structure of information in developing narrative discourse can be analyzed as follows.

CL19.2	<i>gəə</i> 3sgm	<i>gəʔ ləəj</i> so_then directly	<i>leeŋ jəh</i> wander DIR
unmarked topical		textual	
Theme		Rheme	
Given		New	

He just went wandering off.

Figure 5.5 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences (3)

CL20.1		(∅:gəə) 3sg	jəh go
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.2		(∅:gəə) 3sg	ʔah məʔ mooj have cross-bow one
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.3		joŋ gəə father 3sgm	kʰwaar gəə deʔ drill_a_hole_in 3sgm get
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.4	ɲiam time_before	gəə 3sgm	ɲəəŋ ɲeʔ yet small
textual	unmarked topical		
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.5		(∅:gəə) 3sgm	ʔah məʔ mooj have cross-bow one
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.6	leʔ and	(∅:gəə) 3sgm	ʔah kam have arrow
textual	unmarked topical		
Theme			Rheme
Given			New
CL20.7		(∅:gəə) 3sgm	ʔah hir'jaʔ tete mooj ɲuaj have bag torn one Clf_fruit
unmarked topical			
Theme			Rheme
Given			New

Going, (he) had a cross-bow (that) his father had made for him when he was still small; (he) had a cross-bow and (he) had arrows, (and he) had a torn bag.

Figure 5.5 Theme and Information of zero pronouns between sentences (3) (cont.)

This example is retrieved from a Kmhmu narrative. It is shown that a referential chain of a zero pronoun can be very long and interrupted by another referent. Chain origin of the zero pronoun *gəə* ‘he’ starts from CL20.1. Next after that this zero pronoun is considered and supplied in many subsequent clauses functioning as subject of clauses in unmarked Theme. Along the chain of reference, a new referent *joŋ gəə* ‘his father’ is introduced in between. At last, chain terminus ends at CL20.7. After a new referent is mentioned the full pronoun is pulled back for emphasizing the main referent. Then, the zero pronouns are proposed again as an unmarked strategy to signal the active referent. As for the structure information, zero pronouns are seen as Old information within Theme through the whole chain.

5.3 A Comparison of Discourse Functions of Zero pronouns

Based on the research data being studied, it has been found that zero pronouns in all three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh share some syntactic and discourse functions in narrative discourse. But if we compare these functions of zero pronouns with those of full pronouns, we will find that some cohesive functions share similarities but some share differences. To sum up, a comparison of syntactic and discourse function between full pronouns and zero pronouns can be presented as in the following table.

Table 5.5 A comparison of syntactic & discourse functions between full pronouns and zero pronouns

Syntactic & Discourse Functions	Full pronouns	Zero pronouns
1) To stand in for a noun or a noun group in a clause	√	-
2) To stand in for a noun, a noun group and a pronoun	-	√
3) To avoid repetition to what has been said in the preceding text or to what has been yet introduced.	√	√

Table 5.5 A comparison of syntactic & discourse functions between full pronouns and zero pronouns (cont.)

Syntactic & Discourse Functions	Full pronouns	Zero pronouns
4) To make a sentence more smoothly and make it easier to say	√	√
5) To be a departure of clause falling in unmarked and marked theme	√	-
6) To be a departure of clause falling in unmarked theme only	-	√
7) To assign Given information within Theme	√	√
8) To begin a question and stand in for a noun or noun group to make an interrogative clause	√	-
9) To begin a question and stand in for a noun or noun group that are unknown or unnamed but not realized in speech	-	√
10) To be used to show possession	√	
11) To be a starting point of the clause as Given Information functioning as subject of a clause	√	√
12) To maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities	√	√
13) To identify unidentifiable referents	√	-
14) To identify unidentifiable, but not unambiguous referents	-	√
15) To signal co-referentiality	√	√
16) To signal an active referent	√	√

As we can see from the table 5.5, full pronouns can be used syntactically to stand in for a noun or a noun group, whereas zero pronouns can be supplied to stand in for a noun, a noun group and even a pronoun itself. Both of them are selected and used in narrative discourse in order to avoid repetition of what has been said in the preceding text or to what has yet to be introduced. The significant cohesive discourse function of zero pronouns is to maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the

antecedent referent at text discontinuities and to signal an active referent in discourse the same as the full pronouns do as well.

5.4 Conclusion

As we have seen, both full pronouns and zero pronouns are categorized as proforms. They can replace the referents that are backwards or forwards pointing. Linguistically, only zero pronouns are not explicitly expressed in texts, but need to be analyzed. Full pronouns and zero pronouns share some similarities in syntactic distribution. Both of them can appear in Theme and Rheme positions functioning either as subject or object.

Zero pronouns and full pronouns can be coreferential. It has been found that there are three types of coreferential pronouns. The first type of co-reference is zero anaphora. Concerning the ordering of zero pronouns in zero anaphora, it has been found that a zero pronoun can appear right after its antecedent referent in two main patterns. The first pattern is that of a zero pronoun which can appear adjacent to its full pronoun which was mentioned in the preceding clause. This pattern can be shown as the referent + full pronouns + zero pronouns. And the second pattern is that of a zero pronoun, which can appear adjacent to its referent which is introduced in the preceding clause. This second pattern can be shown as the referent + zero pronouns. The second type of co-reference regarding zero pronouns is zero cataphora. This type refers to cataphoric reference in which a zero form of a pronoun precedes its postcedent that is yet to be introduced. And the last type is split antecedents of zero anaphora, which refers to anaphoric reference in which a zero form of a pronoun has a split antecedent introduced elsewhere in the discourse. Based on the narrative discourse of three different languages, it has been found that only some nouns and pronouns are replaced by zero forms of pronouns. Zero pronouns can refer backwards and forwards and they are coreferential with full pronouns and the noun referents.

If we look at functions of zero pronouns as cohesive devices, we find zero pronouns in all three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh share the same discourse functions in all grammatical contexts. In comparing full pronouns, it has

been found that some cohesive functions of zero pronouns share some similarities but some share differences. For example, both of them can be used to identify unidentifiable referents. But as for zero pronouns, only unambiguous referents can be identified. Both can be a departure of clause falling as unmarked. But only full pronouns can be a point of departure of a clause falling in marked Theme. The significant function of zero pronouns is to maintain or reiterate antecedent referents at text discontinuities and is useful in signaling an active referent.

In terms of Theme and Information, the typical pattern of developing text is reserved for Given & New information. Zero pronouns can be supplied in Theme position functioning as a departure of a clause. We can say that zero pronouns are associated with subject of the clause comparable to full pronouns. And the zero forms can refer backwards or forwards to their referents. The concept of Topic/Theme and Focus/comment, which is mentioned in Chapter II, is useful in analyzing topic-movement of zero pronouns. This concept enables us to analyze zero pronouns as similar to discourse structure rather than grammatical structure. Because of this, discourse functions of zero pronouns are likely to be explored rather than grammatical functions.

To conclude, zero pronouns, all three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh, share some linguistic properties in grammatical contexts even if they are from different language families. Zero pronouns can be appeared in the positions of a noun, a noun group, and a full pronoun as well. In addition, zero pronouns are used to avoid repetition of what has been said in the preceding text or what has been yet to be introduced. As cohesive devices zero pronouns in narrative discourse, also share some discourse functions. For example, zero pronouns can identify unidentifiable, but not unambiguous referents and signal an active referent.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation has analyzed and compared pronouns in narrative discourse in three Southeast Asian languages. Both full pronouns and zero pronouns are illuminated based on Systemic Functional Grammar. In the following sections, the findings are summarized, and the methodology of the study is evaluated. The main discussion will focus on language typology of pronouns, the zero pronoun hypotheses, and the typology of zero pronouns. The significance of findings will also be discussed and suggestions for further research are given.

6.1 Summary of Findings

In narrative discourse being studied in this thesis, there are often instance when who or whom in the narrative discourse can be inferred from context. In studying pronouns and their referents in the three Southeast Asian languages of Tai Dam, Kmhm, and Iu-Mienh, we see that they share the linguistic property of ‘pro-drop’, where referents can be dropped or are simply phonologically null. The feature of pronoun deletion does not only apply to the grammatical subject, but works in other parts of the grammar of utterances. A cross-linguistic comparison of pronouns in narrative discourse in Tai Dam, Kmhm and Iu-Mienh shows how forms and discourse functions of full pronouns or explicit and zero pronouns play a crucial role as cohesive devices. A summary of findings and a discussion of full pronouns and zero pronouns are given as follows:

- 1) All full pronouns of Tai dam, Kmhm and Iu-Mienh can be called ‘independent-unmarked pronouns’.

Even though all three languages are from different language families, they can be categorized as ‘independent-unmarked pronouns’ that have essentially the same distributional properties as nouns. These can be subjects or objects without changing

their forms to perform those functions. Additionally, they are ordinarily followed by a determiner of one kind or another.

2) All full pronouns of the three languages do not have agreement in number and gender, except for the Kmhmu language. If one or more of the languages has an overt plural pronoun, there are instances where a singular pronoun can refer to plural pronouns, particularly in Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh. However, pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular, dual and plural distinction, with gender differentiation in the second and third person forms.

3) All full pronouns can be a point of departure in a clause falling in unmarked and marked Theme. Zero pronouns can be a point of departure of a clause falling in unmarked Theme only because zero pronouns are preserved as Given or Old information. Therefore, zero pronouns will be supplied in a typical unmarked Theme referring to their antecedents or postcedents introduced elsewhere in the discourse.

4) Full pronouns and zero pronouns in three languages share a similarity of information structure in assigning Given information within Theme structure.

5) Full pronouns in all three languages can be used to show possession, but zero pronouns cannot.

6) Full pronouns and zero pronouns can be a starting point of the clause as Given Information functioning as subject of a clause in Theme and as object within New information located in Rheme.

7) Full pronouns and zero pronouns can maintain or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities.

8) Full pronouns and zero pronouns can help to identify unidentifiable referents. But only unambiguous referents can be identified by zero pronouns.

9) Both full pronouns and zero pronouns are coreferential and can signal an active referent.

There are many more examples from each language to show that these pronouns share some common areal features. As three languages being studied are spoken in very closed region (Tai Dam and Iu-Mienh are spoken in Thailand and Kmhmu is spoken in Lao PDR), language contact plays a crucial role in the pronoun system of these languages. The pronoun system of Thai and Lao languages may

interfere in those languages. In addition, a cross-linguistic study of pronouns in the three languages shows that they all share a lack of number agreement.

The next discussion will focus mainly on two significant contributions of full pronouns and zero pronouns in narrative discourse under the sections namely, language typology of pronouns, and discussion of full pronouns and zero pronouns in terms of the referential chaining of full pronouns and zero pronouns as well as their discourse functions.

6.2 Language Typology of Pronouns

In this section, the language typology of pronouns will be displayed. As linguistic typology is a subfield of linguistics that studies and classifies languages according to structural and functional features, this section is aimed at describing and explaining the common properties and the structural and functional diversities of three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh. Based on my study, it can be said that these three languages share the same language typology of pronoun-dropping in general, though they are from different language families. This is especially true of full pronouns. It is predictable that any language that does not have number agreement and does not change word form to signify grammatical functions tends to be categorized as a pronoun-dropping language. The following table shows common linguistic properties of pronoun-dropping in Tai Dam by comparing Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh.

Table 6.1 The common linguistic properties of the three pronoun-dropping languages

Common features	Tai Dam	Kmhmu	Iu-Mienh
1) Word order: SVO	√	√	√
2) Pronouns have no number agreement	√	√	√

Table 6.1 The common linguistic properties of the three pronoun-dropping languages (cont.)

Common features	Tai Dam	Kmhmu	Iu-Mienh
3) Full pronouns are independent-unmarked that do not change word form to signify grammatical functions as subject pronouns, object pronouns and possession	√	√	√
4) Pronouns can be followed by a determiner	√	√	√
Pronouns can begin a question and stand in for a noun or noun group to make an interrogative clause, including null forms	√	√	√
5) Pronouns can be part of possessive construction	√	√	√

In terms of areal features, as all three languages are spoken in a very closed region as mentioned previously, language contact is the most significant factor that makes these languages share some properties of pronoun-dropping languages. We know that linguistically an areal feature is any feature shared by languages within the same geographical area as a consequence of diffusion, not genetic relation. Direct diffusion occurs because Lao and Kmhmu cultures are very close to each other; it is very common for Kmhmu spoken in Lao PDR to be influenced by Lao language. An example of this result is the possessive construction involving a pronoun. Because of close language contact, Kmhmu and Lao share the same syntactic structure, which is comprised of Topic (descriptive), a possessive marker, and ends with a possessor. As for the possessive marker, in some cases it is optional. This syntactic feature shares the same feature with Tai Dam spoken in Thailand. In Tai Dam, a possessive marker is also preceded by Topic (descriptive) and sometimes it can be omitted.

6.3 A Discussion of Full Pronouns and Zero Pronouns

The discussion of zero pronouns in this section will be discussed under Theme structure involving chaining in narrative discourse. A chaining narrative discourse is comprised of two components: 1) chain origin, and 2) chain terminus. The chain origin of a full pronoun starts with the full pronoun itself, where the original referent is first introduced in the introduction of the participant encoded by an overt indefinite noun group and then extends to other subsequent clauses until it ends with the chain terminus. The full pronouns and zero pronouns within one referential chaining show the topic continuity of an active referent and may be interrupted by a new topic participant for a while but not realized as a newly unmarked topical theme. As for the chain origin of a zero pronoun, it also starts with a zero form that can be supplied in Theme position. And then it is extended to other subsequent clauses as well until it ends with the chain terminus. We can say that both full pronouns and zero pronouns within one referential chaining will fall in Theme.

The referential chaining of full pronouns and zero pronouns in narrative discourse can be displayed as in figure 6.1.


Referential Chaining of Narrative Discourse			
Chaining Components	Operations/Factors	Theme Structure	
		marked topical theme (full pronouns)	unmarked topical theme (full/zero pronouns)
Chain origin 	Introduction of a participant	an overt indefinite noun group	an overt indefinite noun group
			an overt definite noun group
	Referential chain of full pronouns (1)		a full pronoun
	Referential chain of zero pronouns (1)		(a zero pronoun) ↓ (a zero pronoun)
	Degree of identifiability (1)	(weak)	(a full pronoun)
	(New participants introduced)		an overt noun group
	Referential chain of full pronouns (2)		a full pronoun
	Referential chain of zero pronouns (2)		(a zero pronoun) ↓ (a zero pronoun)
	Degree of identifiability (2)	(weak)	(a full pronoun)
	Chain terminus		

Figure 6.1 Referential chaining of narrative discourse located in Theme structure

The narrative discourse can be comprised of more than one referential chaining of full pronouns and zero pronouns. And within one referential chaining as shown in the figure 6.1, it is normally formed together with two components: the chain origin and the chain terminus. The chain origin is the starting point of a full or zero pronoun first recognized in each referential chain and the chain terminus is the ending point of the particular zero pronoun.

This referential chaining of full pronouns and zero pronouns is the significant contribution and result of analyzing pronouns by using Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) under Theme structure within sentences and between sentences. Within sentences, the distinguishing features of syntactic distribution of full pronouns and zero pronouns were explored. In addition, the grammatical functions of full and zero pronouns are discovered also at this level. Between sentences, the discourse functions can be explored under Theme structure. These contributions are discussed more as follows:

1) In terms of distinguishing features of syntactic distribution, all three languages share the same syntactic construction of pronouns in Theme position. In the three choices of the internal structure of Theme: textual theme, interpersonal theme, and topical theme, the third person full pronouns will be selected as unmarked topical theme to function as the subject of the clause, which agrees with the same sentence structure. This realization is recognized as an unmarked construction. In some cases, such as in a passive construction and a topicalization construction, full pronouns will be given the status of marked theme and assigned the function as point of departure. The occurrence of full pronouns, which can be seen within the topical theme, will be located after the textual theme and interpersonal theme. In some clauses, the textual theme can occur right after full pronouns within the theme structure. As for zero pronouns, the syntactic distribution of zero forms regarding their referent introduced elsewhere in discourse, share the same two main patterns as follows, a zero pronoun can appear adjacent to 1) its full pronouns, and 2) its referent, which is introduced in the preceding clause. This finding agrees with the hypothesis that pronouns in narrative discourse share distinguishing features of syntactic distribution among three languages in three different language families.

2) As for discourse functions, the findings show that discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns display similar functions in terms of cohesive devices. The findings support the hypothesis mentioned in Chapter I. The main functions of third person pronouns in narrative discourse are to maintain a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities. They can be to highlight a participant through emphasis. In addition, zero pronouns in all three languages, which occur right after their full forms or referents, function to track an

active participant in narrative discourse. These various cohesive devices share the same functions between full pronouns and zero pronouns.

For the discourse functions, they can be discussed further in different ways with respect to the following topics:

1) Topic continuity

Topic continuity is the most important factor to be considered in dealing with discourse function of full pronouns and zero pronouns in narrative discourse. Right now, we know that both of them function as topic continuity in narrative discourse by tracking active participants via its proform and pro-drop form.

After a participant is first introduced by using an overt indefinite noun group, this particular participant will be realized as unmarked topical theme. To encode the particular topical participant, there are three main strategies to do so linguistically by tracking it via a) an overt definite noun group, b) full pronouns, and c) zero pronouns. Because of being treated as an unmarked topical theme, chains of zero anaphora are created. This chain may be interrupted by text discontinuities. The different discourse functions among full pronouns and zero pronouns regarding Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh is that, in Kmhmu, besides functioning as a discourse marker to track an active participant under an unmarked topical theme, full pronouns function to disambiguate male and female participants, whereas the other two languages are not designated for this function. As for zero pronouns compared to full pronouns, once a chain of zero anaphora is selected, more than three co-references can refer to the same referent. These expressions can be encoded as a) an overt indefinite noun group, 2) an overt definite noun group, 3) a full pronoun, and 4) a zero pronoun itself.

2) Text discontinuity

Text discontinuity is another factor that explains why a pronoun is selected again as unmarked topical theme. When text discontinuity occurs, it will affect the degree of identifiability of a referential chain of zero pronouns. Text discontinuity happens when a story-teller would like to introduce a new participant in a very short period but not a new unmarked topical theme. A change of chronological order of narratives can be expressed by temporal and spatial expressions or adverbial clauses, or even interrupted by a speech quote. As just mentioned, once text discontinuity is

introduced, the degree of identifiability of referential chain of zero pronouns will decrease. After that full pronouns will be selected instead of a chain of zero pronouns.

3) Identifiability

Identifiability is speaker-selected. It is the speaker who assigns a pronoun in a referential chain of pronouns for the listener if the speaker does not ensure that the speaker can identify the active participant within the chain of zero pronouns. This strategy is really helpful in Kmhmu because full pronouns in Kmhmu have a singular distinction with regard to gender differentiation. Therefore, when text discontinuities take action in narrating a story, the speaker, especially the Kmhmu speaker, will assign a full pronoun to disambiguate male and female participants. We can say that topic continuities of a referential chain of full pronouns or zero pronouns will end their unmarked topical theme when a new unmarked topical theme is introduced in the text. And an overt noun group will be selected to refer to this new particular participant. And if the old participant that was mentioned before has to return as unmarked topical theme again, the overt noun group or the overt forms will be selected to refer to this particular participant as well.

4) Number of participants

A number of participants play a key role in selecting linguistic forms to encode participants. For example, if a referential chain of zero pronouns is active in the text, then another participant is mentioned for a while in between but not acting as true new unmarked topical theme, the speaker prefers using a pronoun as an overt form to refer back to the same referent. However, if there are many participants mentioned at the same time, degree of identifiability is weak, and it is difficult to identify referents. That is why an overt definite noun group will be selected in this situation to specify the particular referent.

5) Syntactic position

The factor that also plays a crucial role in selecting linguistic forms to specify referents is syntactic position of pronouns in the clause. For example, in possessive constructions, only a full form of pronouns is assigned in the construction, not zero anaphora. But in the interrogative construction, zero anaphora can be realized linguistically as unmarked topical theme functioning as a clause departure and given the status of Given or Old information. In some cases, full pronouns can be realized in

Rheme position. In this position, their statuses are considered as object of the clause and not realized as unmarked topical theme. Both full pronouns and zero pronouns in all three languages, Tai Dam, Kmhmu, and Iu-Mienh can occur in this position. As these three languages do not change word form to differentiate subject and object at the syntactic level, full pronouns or zero pronouns in Theme position function as unmarked theme and are associated more with the subject, whereas those in the Rheme position do not function as an unmarked theme and are associated more with the object of the clause. Only if a marked Theme is selected as a topical Theme, full pronouns or zero pronouns can be realized as the subject or the object of the clause.

In terms of double subject constructions, it is common in all three languages to select a pronoun occurring right after an overt indefinite/definite noun group in order to topicalize its unmarked topical Theme functioning as a point of departure in the clause.

6) Given/New information

Last but not least, Given and New information are also an important factor in using pronouns in terms of reference. The system of INFORMATION is concerned with textual status. It has been found that speakers of the three languages assign this status to components of messages in order to produce texts under the concept of Old and New information and to help their listeners interpret them. In terms of full pronouns and zero pronouns involved with anaphoric and cataphoric reference, it is uncommon in languages to assign a pronoun in opening a story by introducing a participant as antecedent referent except when a pronoun in a double subject construction and a pronoun function as impersonal pronoun. We can say that pronouns that fall in Theme position treated as Given information are associated more with the subject of the clause whereas pronouns which fall in Rheme position and are not realized as unmarked topical Themes are associated more with the object, which is considered New information. In some cases, for example, if a marked topical Theme is selected as a clause departure, full pronouns or zero pronouns are realized as the subject or the object of the clause. As for cataphoric referent which is first inserted in the clause and referred forward to a later expression in the discourse, a pronoun treated as cataphoric referent always falls in Theme position and is realized as unmarked

topical Theme. This pronoun will be given status as departure of the clause and point forward to its descriptive noun group which falls in Rheme position.

6.4 Evaluation of Methodology and Theory

For an evaluation of methodology, although the research data being studied in this thesis were collected from secondary sources, they are different in nature. Tai Dam data, representative of the Tai language family, was collected from Udomwej (1985). The narrative discourse sample was originally transcribed in Thai script with a Thai translation. As for the other two language families, Austroasiatic and Hmong-Mien, they were collected from appendices of theses from Payap University. The Kmhmu narratives, which are representative samples of Austroasiatic, were collected by Osborne (2009). The Iu-Mienh narratives, which are the representative of Hmong-Mien, were collected by Arisawa (2006). The latter two were collected systematically and employed on the basis of linguistic methodology. The first research data needed to be transcribed phonemically, as well as the latter two, before analysis could be done. Because these narratives were written in phonemic transcription, the language data was easily analyzed. It was especially useful for the Kmhmu to have the feature of gender specified for each pronoun Osborne (2009).

The difficult part of this study was how to place zero pronouns in the right position grammatically. Because the researcher is not a native speaker of Tai Dam, Kmhmu or Iu-Mienh, studying these language structures in transcribed notation was necessitated. However, the researcher's command of Phu Thai, a close linguistic relative of both Tai Dam, and Lao, facilitated his easy understanding and recognition of many borrowings found in the Kmhmu spoken in Lao PDR. In the end, there were no problems in discovering zero pronouns in the right position in any of the languages being compared.

In terms of the content of the texts, it was fortunate to have stories with all kinds of participants and events, as well as having male and female actors in each respective narrative. Having varieties of humans and nonhumans and inclusion of singular and plural nouns was helpful in studying the system of pronouns comprehensively.

As for an evaluation of theory, it is clear that the approach used in this thesis is effective in studying pronouns in Southeast Asian languages. Linguistically, this approach displays the nature of the features of both full pronouns and zero pronouns of the particular languages in particular. The structure of Theme shows how full pronouns are selected as marked or unmarked, whereas zero pronouns are selected as unmarked only. Thematic and information structure is applicable to the study of the flow of a narrative discourse. The results provide a clear analysis of the development of narrative discourse and the alignment of pronouns within a referential chain.

There are several positive aspects in using Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) in analyzing the syntactic functions of pronouns. SFG is valuable in differentiating subject and object in the clause. In examining the surface structure, the concept of Theme-Rheme structure is useful in specifying subject and object in the clause. As every single clause will be segmented for analyzing pronouns within Theme-Rheme distribution, a pronoun which falls in Theme is more likely to be associated with the subject not the object. Without dividing utterances into single clauses under Theme-Rheme, just the sentence structure SVO cannot specify that the pronoun occurring before a verb is the subject of the clause and the one followed by a verb is the object. This analysis is applicable to languages where word forms are not changed to signal functions and parts of speech. In cases where an overt indefinite/definite noun group is considered as double subject construction, a pronoun which is adjacent to its Topic (descriptive) will indicate that this particular topic is functioning as the subject of the clause, including itself, and is a point of departure for a clause. As for zero pronouns which cannot be realized in real speech but linguistically can be supplied by native speakers grammatically, under Theme position, zero pronouns can play a role just as full pronouns do. In a possessive construction and an interrogative construction, zero pronouns cannot be selected.

For understanding functions, by using SFG and Theme structure, it is clear that zero pronouns will always be realized as unmarked topical theme by giving all chronological linkages, such as temporal and spatial expressions being analyzed under textual theme. Without doing this, if a speaker would like to change chronological order for example, zero pronouns will be located in the Rheme position, which is not realized as unmarked topical theme. This particular aspect assists in analyzing full

pronouns as well. In terms of discourse function, this finding helps to support the fact that zero pronouns, which are located in the topical theme, are always realized as unmarked topical theme. By doing this, zero pronouns are reserved to function as cohesive devices in maintaining a previous discourse referent or reiterate the antecedent referent at text discontinuities. They function to highlight a participant through emphasis.

For further evaluation of Systemic Functional Grammar, which was proposed as the theoretical framework of this study, it can be considered in employing the theory with respect to some aspects proposed by Swenson (1999) as follows:

- 1) Parsimony

Parsimony is a criterion for evaluating a theory based on the assumption that one of the purposes of a theory is to explain reality by simplification. The assumption of one of the purposes of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is to understand the notion of language function. This theory seeks to explain how language acts upon and is constrained by the social context in which it functions. To understand the functions of language in social context, SFG provides three *metafunctions*, namely, experiential metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and textual metafunction, to portray language function. This study focuses on the module of textual metafunction, which is concerned with the overall organization of the clause and the text, with emphasis on Theme and Rheme. By using textual metafunction to study form and function of pronouns in narrative discourse, it adds to our understanding of a phenomenon of pronouns in terms of functions regarding grammatical functions and discourse functions. In grammatical functions, the third person pronoun shows its significant feature of functioning as a departure of the clause associated with a subject in Theme structure. In discourse functions, both full pronouns and zero pronouns are realized as the antecedent referents that can be tracked as the active participants in narrative discourse. However, the assumptions of this theory will be accounted for adequately if the two other modules, experiential and interpersonal metafunctions, are proposed as an additional framework in further study in fully understanding the functions of pronouns in a social context.

2) Operationality

In terms of operationality, SFG has its key terms and concepts defined operationally. The definitions are sufficiently clear to let people follow them and come to a similar understanding. The operational definitions defined by SFG enable researchers to obtain different results in similar studies using another theory. The term ‘systemic’ is not the same thing as ‘systematic’. The term ‘systemic’ is used to clarify a system of language functions. This system is a set of options where choices are available and must be made. Another key operational definition of systemics is *language function*. The overall functions are called *metafunctions*, which act in context. With specific definitions that it provides, SFG is good for conducting similar studies resulting in definite conclusions.

3) Generativity

As for the criterion of generativity, SFG, used as the basis of this study, suggests that a full pronoun in languages where their sentence structure is SVO, allows textual themes optionally occurring before and after the topical theme itself. As for a zero pronoun, it will be placed immediately following its active referent in the preceding clause. This finding stimulates alternative perspectives and offers tentative explanations that account for similar phenomena.

4) Power

There are four levels of power to evaluate a theory namely, 1) description, 2) explanation, 3) prediction, and 4) control/intervention. Based on this study, SFG accounts for language functions of pronouns in the Southeast Asian languages with increasing accuracy and utility. It adds to our understanding of the relationship among variables under different conditions which are selected to perform the language functions of pronouns across languages. In terms of a referential chain, for example, a zero pronoun will be selected as unmarked topical theme functioning to track an active referent when an overt definite noun group or a full pronoun is introduced. Once a degree of identifiability is weak, a full pronoun will be selected again to perform its discourse function in the text. This theory enables researchers to conduct other dimensions of pronouns that have not been observed for extrapolation. The ability of SFG, demonstrated in this study, holds further predictive promise.

5) Importance

The explanation of language function derived from SFG demonstrates differences and degrees of similarities among competing theories. According to Han (2006), using Maximum Entropy as a machine learning method of choice, various statistical models for Korean zero pronoun resolution reveals that the features used in constructing the models and making predictions for zero pronoun reference encodes linguistic properties surrounding zero pronouns and their potential antecedents, a kind of contextualizing phenomenon. As for SFG, this theory emphasizes language function associated with social context. Even though the notion of Theme structure does not show how language establishes interpersonal relations between speaker/writer and hearer/reader, it sufficiently clarifies grammatical and discourse functions of full pronouns and zero pronouns. We can predict that a full pronoun will be selected in Theme structure again when a degree of identifiability is weak, whereas a zero pronoun will be sustained as long as it can be tracked by the listener.

6) Scope

Frankly speaking, the module of textual metafunction does not show all of the functions of pronouns associated with social context because of a limitation of research data and the nature of unknown conditions. Research data used in this study were selected from folktales. They show only some social contexts, not all aspects of pronoun usage in these societies. In addition, textual metafunction is largely concerned with Theme and Rheme where special emphasis is placed on the overall organization of the clause within the text. However, there is no problem in using this framework to explore forms and functions of pronouns in narrative clauses. It competes well with other hypothetical approaches.

6.5 Recommendation for Further Research

Recommendations for further research are given below.

- 1) In terms of typological discourse analysis, it would be good if other languages besides Tai Dam, Kmhmu and Iu-Mienh are explored to understand the complexities of full pronouns and zero pronouns. Some more language families need

to be studied in order to show how Southeast Asian languages share the areal feature of pro-drop.

2) Further research should study discourse functions of zero pronouns as cohesive devices in the dialogue, both in narrative discourse and everyday conversation. All three modules of systemics namely, experiential metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and textual metafunction, should be proposed as a theoretical framework.

3) There remain many types of pronouns to be studied for further research on pro-drop. Personal pronouns, the first person and second person pronouns should be studied in narratives and other kinds of discourse.

4) To broaden the study of this field regarding the pronoun system of Southeast Asian languages, different language families should be widely analyzed for comparison, especially in the Austronesian and Sino-Tibetan language families. In addition, it can be studied in interdisciplinary terms, for example, with respect to anthropology and sociology, not to mention geography and the power of GIS (geographic information systems). Recent DNA research of ethnic groups that migrated out of Africa demonstrates that the hybridization of peoples, even Neanderthals with later arriving Homo Sapiens, has taken place over millennia. Languages too participate in hybridization, as we have shown in this research, and future, expanded linguistic research will bring this phenomenon into even sharper focus.

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