CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Objective

This thesis is an initial study of discourse structures of the Lahu Si language. Thus the object is to describe the discourse of Lahu Si according to Barnwell's method of analyzing boundaries, Tuen van Dijk's theory of macrostructures, Robert Longacre's theory of notional and surface structure and salience, Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn's theory of participant reference, and Givón's scale of reference and ranking of participants.

Included is an overview of the Lahu people and a brief phonology and grammar sketch to serve as an introduction to the discourse level in the Lahu Si language.

This chapter includes an introduction to the Lahu people, including their history, location, culture and language family.

1.1 The Lahu People

The Lahu people call themselves 'Lahu' (Jenvit 1999:1). However, the Chinese have traditionally given the Lahu the derogatory name of 'Lolo;' more modern synonyms are 'Yi,' 'Woni' or 'Lohei.' In the Shan State of Myanmar, as well as throughout Thailand, the Lahu are referred to as 'Muhsar,' which means 'hunter'. Often Dai people will use this term adding the prefix 'kha-,' which means 'slave.' Today many majority and minority groups refer to the Lahu using the Shan names (Bradley 1979:15,16).

According to Bradley (1979:45), Lahu myth claims that the Lahu came from Southwestern China. According to their myth '99 families,' which represent the Black Lahu today, migrated from China first using a western route. Later '33 families,' the Yellow Lahu, came using an eastern route.

Traditionally Lahu were slash-and-burn agriculturalists. They were also hunters and gatherers. Their main crops were dry rice and opium. Today, due to new crops being brought to the area, the Lahu also grow chilies, sesame seeds and maize (Jenvit 1999:4). Most Lahu today are subsistence farmers, including fruit orchards and fish ponds, as well as hiring themselves out for rice harvesting, construction projects in large cities and other short term work which subsidizes their meager incomes.

The Lahu people inhabit the mountainous region of Northern Myanmar, Northern Thailand, Southwestern China and Northern Laos. There are even a small number of Lahu in Northern Vietnam (see Figure 1). Today there is also a large population of Lahu which has immigrated to the United States.

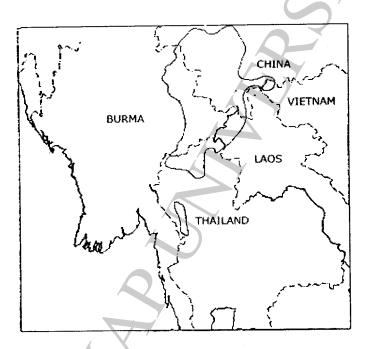


Figure 1: Map of Lahu location, adapted from Bradley 1979:xi.

They have most in common with other mountainous slash-and-burn groups in the area, which are also quite numerous and span many different languages. Among these groups the Lahu seem to be dominant, and often other groups will use the Lahu language as means of communication. Lahu villages are known to 'merge' with other groups if the villages become too small, regardless of language or culture, thus

creating bi-cultural or bi-linguistic communities; for instance, creating a Lahu-Lisu community (Bradley 1979:12,13).

Due to trading, the Lahu also have significant contact with lowlanders, who most often speak Dai languages. Because the region they inhabit spans across national political boundaries, the Lahu have had increasing contact with speakers of Chinese, Burmese, Central Thai and Lao (Bradley 1979:10-12).

1.2 Classification of the Language

The Lahu languages are in the Sino-Tibetan language family, the Tibeto-Burman branch and the Burmese-Lolo sub-branch. The Burmese-Lolo languages have two branches, the Burmic and the Loloish. The Lahu languages are Loloish, more specifically Central-Loloish.

Lahu is most closely related to Lisu, another Central-Lolo language. Lahu is also related to Southern-Loloish languages like Akha, Phunoi, and Bisu. It is less closely related to the Northern-Loloish languages, which are exemplified by Yi (see Figure 2).

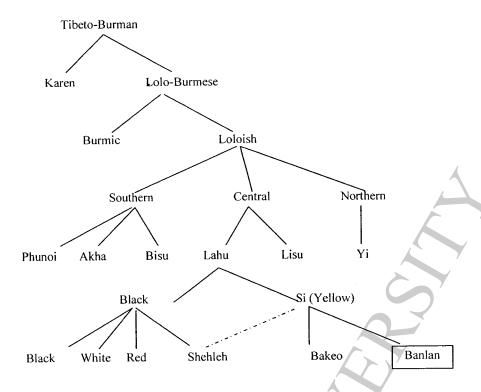


Figure 2: Lahu language tree (adapted from Jenvit 1999:6, Bradley 1979:8).

Lahu can be further divided into two main groups, Black Lahu and Yellow Lahu. Each of these subgroups has dialects depicted beneath them on the tree. Within Black Lahu there is Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu), Lahu Pfu (White Lahu), Lahu Na (Black Lahu proper), and Lahu Shehleh. Lahu Si Banlan and Lahu Bakeo are found within Lahu Si, or Yellow Lahu (Bradley 1979:40).

The two main groups of Lahu, Lahu Na 'Black Lahu,' including all the dialects which fall under it on the tree, and Lahu Shi 'Yellow Lahu,' including all of the dialects which fall under it on the tree, are unintelligible to each other. Lahu Shehleh is the only dialect which does not fit neatly into this division of the Lahu dialects. Lahu Shehleh appears to be a divergent group of Red Lahu; the Red Lahu refer to this group as 'Shehleh', but the Lahu Shehleh refer to themselves as 'Black Lahu'. Although it is often listed as a Black Lahu dialect, Lahu Shehleh "shows lexical and phonological developments that separate it from other Black Lahu dialects" (Bradley

1979:38). According to Bradley, one of the main distinctions between the various Lahu dialects is the added phonological rules of Lahu Si and Lahu Shehleh (1979:38). Because of the distinct differences between Lahu Shehleh and other Black Lahu dialects and because of the phonological similarities Lahu Shehleh shares with Lahu Si, Lahu Shehleh is sometimes categorized under the Yellow Lahu branch. However, it is unclear exactly where Shehleh falls in the Lahu language tree.

Unfortunately, there have been no complete linguistic surveys of the various Lahu dialects. Therefore there is no comprehensive data charting the locations of the various dialects and their concentrations through Southeast Asia.

The Discourse analysis found in this paper is from Lahu Si Banlan as spoken in the village of Nong Pham in the Mae Suai district in Chiang Rai province of Thailand.

1.3 Previous Linguistic Work on Lahu Languages

There have been various studies on Black Lahu. Matisoff (1973) has done an extensive study of the grammar of Black Lahu along with many other studies within the Lahu language family. Bradley (1979) has analyzed many of the dialects of Lahu and has published overviews and comparisons of the various dialects. Lewis has published many articles about Lahu and related languages, such as Akha. Some of Lewis' work includes a Black Lahu New Testament translation (with Yohan and Ca ui 1962), a Black Lahu songbook (1970a), and works related to helping Lahu people learn Thai (1970b, 1971, 1972). Manson (1995) has written a thesis on complementation in Black Lahu verbs. Several anthropological studies have been done concerning the Red Lahu by Walker (1970, 1974, 1986, 1988, 1994). Some linguistic study and survey has been done on the Lahu Shehleh dialect found in Jenvit (1999) and Morris (2003a, 2003b). In addition some studies describing Yellow Lahu have been done recently. Cooper (e.g. 1999 and with Pam Cooper 1996) has various articles on the linguistics of Banlan. Prang (2004) and Waraporn (2003) have written theses describing grammatical aspects of Lahu Si Banlan. Of the two dialects of Yellow Lahu, Banlan has had the most research done on it, while Bakeo has had very

little. Jenvit (1999) has an overview of many Lahu dialects. However, he looks most closely at Bakeo.

1.4 Phonology

The phonology of Lahu Si has been described by Pamela and Arthur Cooper (1996). The Lahu Si syllable is very basic.

All syllables are made up of an optional initial consonant followed by an obligatory vowel and tone. There are no consonant clusters. This structure is represented as: (C) V T. Two distinct syllable shapes are possible. These are: CVT and VT (Cooper and Cooper 1996:21).

Most Lahu words consist of a consonant initial single syllable. According to Cooper and Cooper, "most vowel initial syllables perform a grammatical function, and are either preposed or postposed to a consonant initial syllable" (1996:22). The only restriction of syllables in Lahu Si is consecutive vowel initial syllables.

The phonemic consonants of Lahu Si can be found in Table 1.

	Bilal	bial	Labi o dent al	Alveo	lar	Palat	al	Velai		Glott al
Stop	р	ph		t 🖍	t ^h	,		k	k ^h	
	b			d				g		
Nasal	m			n				ŋ		
Fricative	-		f	s			-	γ		h
			v	V ,						
Affricate						ts	t S h			
				/ /		dз				
Lat. Approx.			1	y 1		j				

Table 1: Lahu Si Consonants

The eight phonemic vowels of Lahu Si can be found in Table 2.

	Front	Mid	Back
High	i		u
Mid- High	ε		0
Mid- Low	æ	Λ	0
Low		α	

Table 2: Lahu Si Vowels

There are seven phonemic tones in Lahu Si, which can be found in Table 3 below. According to Cooper (1996:34) three of the tones have allophones, as can be seen in the chart¹. The rising, falling, and mid stopped tones each can be realized with different pitches but the contour is the same.

5	High level
3	Mid level
1	Low level
24/35	Rising (low or mid)
32 / 54	Falling (mid or high)
25	(Extra) high stopped
23 / 21	Mid (or low) stopped

Table 3: Lahu Si Tones (Cooper 1996 adapted)

The data in this thesis is written in the form of the Lahu Si orthography. Table 4 lists the orthographic symbols with the corresponding IPA symbol. Because Lahu Si does not have final consonants in its syllable types, tone is represented in the orthography by final consonants. These are also included at the end of Table 4.

Lahu Si orthography	IPA
k	k
kh	k ^h
g	g
gh	γ
c	ts
ch	t S h
<u> </u>	dʒ
n	n
t	t

¹ There is a further discussion of the acoustics of these tones in Cooper 1999:20-26.

th	t h
d	d
ng	ŋ
p	р
ph	ph
b	b
m	m
S	S
у	j
1	1
r	r
f	f
V	v
h	h
i	i
e	æ
eh	ε
uh	Λ
u	u
0	0
aw	3
a	α
g	32 / 54
d	5
Z	25
q	23 / 21
X	24 / 35
r	
(no tone mark)	3

Table 4: Lahu Si Orthography with IPA Correlations (Cooper 1996 adapted)

1.5 Grammar

Some preliminary work has been done on Lahu Si in relation to grammar. However there is an extensive grammar done on Lahu Na by Matisoff (1973). This section discusses basics of the grammar of Lahu, thus allowing for a meaningful discussion of discourse features. Noun phrases, postpositional phrases, verb phrases, particles and

clauses are described. All examples throughout this section are taken from the four texts analyzed in this paper. These texts are discussed in detail in section 1.6.

The clause structure in Lahu Si is SOV; the Subject is followed by the Object which is finally followed by the Verb. This is a typical clause structure for Sino-Tibetan languages.

1.5.1 Particles

Particles (P) are extremely important in understanding the grammar of Lahu Si because they have functions at all levels in the language. Thus, particles are discussed at the outset of the grammar sketch.

The location of particles in a Lahu Si sentence is important and restricted by the function or type of particle. Matisoff's analysis of Black Lahu particles is adapted to Lahu Si in this section. There are three broad types in relation to the location of where particles can occur: nominal particles, verbal particles and unrestricted particles.

1.5.1.1 Nominal particles

Nominal particles are particles that occur in the noun phrase.

A noun-particle is a word which fulfills neither the criteria for nounhood nor those for verbhood, that cannot begin an utterance, and that occurs in simple sentences only directly after nouns or directly after another noun-particle (Matisoff 1973:154).

Matisoff labels the noun particles as P_n . This paper follows Matisoff's example and labels noun particles as P_n in the examples.

The functions of the noun particles, according to Matisoff, "are highly abstract in meaning, serving as overt markers of the semantic relationship of the preceding [noun head] to the [verb phrase] of the clause, or to the clause as a whole" (1973:154).

1.5.1.2 Verbal particles

Verbal particles occur in the verb phrase. According to Matisoff,

... a verb particle (P_v) is a word which cannot constitute an utterance by itself and which occurs always and only after members of the class of verbs (or after other verb-particles). Semantically, they serve to elucidate the meaning of the verb in a variety of ways, conveying notions of aspect, directionality, subjective attitudes toward the verbal event, etc. Conspicuously absent are any P_v 's referring to tense. Tense-concepts are foreign to the Lahu verb, as they are for the Sino-Tibetan languages in general (Matisoff 1973:315).

Following Matisoff's analysis this paper also labels verb particles as Pv.

1.5.1.3 Unrestricted particles

Unrestricted particles are those that are not restricted to a particular unit of the clause and thus can occur in various locations throughout the Lahu Si clause. Matisoff refers to unrestricted particles as $P_{\rm u}$.

Unrestricted particles (P_u) . May directly follow either a noun, or a verb, or another particle (P_n, P_v, P_u) , or certain adverbials. P_u 's occurring after a noun are in semantic constituency with that noun alone. P_u 's occurring after a VP are in semantic constituency with the clause as a whole (i.e., the VP plus any associated NP's that may precede it) (Matisoff 1973:45).

There are three different types of unrestricted particles: universal particles, non-final particles and final particles.

Universal particles (P_{univ}) can occur after either non-final or final clauses. " P_{univ} 's always precede any other kinds of P_u after a given phrase" (Matisoff 1973:46). The P_{univ} che is the only universal particle identified in the texts studied in this paper. It occurs in final and non-final clauses. However it never occurs alone; it is always accompanied by either a final or non-final particle, depending on the type of clause in which it is found. In the example below, *che* occurs in the non-final clause accompanied by a *heh*; it also occurs in the final clauses accompanied by a *yaog*.

(1) MWBGB 004

mend khuhn lo "Yad Kheh te lehq awr pa koz che paor LOC place in offspring male -oh city And so therefore father speak that Pn Pn REL n CONJ

NON-FINAL CLAUSE

yad par vid che heh mehr." Awr pa koz cud yiq ca hend lor speak to offspring male while wisdom go and study EMPH POLITE father CHE p_{V} Pnf n disc

NON-FINAL CLAUSE

nehax liz liq ca hend veh che yaog. small FOC book go and study continuing CHE DECL adj disc n v v Vv Pu Pf

FINAL CLAUSE

And so, while the father said, "Son, go [and] study wisdom) in the city," thus the father spoke, the son went to study books.

Non-final particles (P_{nf}) can only occur after a non-final clause. Non-final clause particles² found in these texts include *lehq*³, *lehr*, *lehax*, *lar*, *a mehx*, *heh*, *he lehq*, *huh*, *ver*, and *mehx*⁴. Below is an example of the most common non-final particle *lehq*.

(2) MWBGB 005

khaz kehx var vawr kheh hu lar lehq awg ma teq Awr pa vawr nud kar **FOC** animal take care CONJ headman FOC water buffalo female one prt num clf Pnf prt kheh cawg che yaog. nud kar tea par CHE DECL water buffalo male one animal have Pf num clf

The father took care of the female water buffalo, and the village headman had a male water buffalo.

² The non-final particles discussed in this section are those non-final particles which occur outside of quoted material. Quoted material in all of the text uses much more liberty in using various particles. Thus there are many more non-final particles found within quoted material. A short discussion of the particles which can be found within quoted material can be found in footnote 4.

³ Lehq is the most common non-final particle that occurs in the four texts analyzed in this paper.

⁴ The remaining non-final particles, *lehr*, *lehax*, *huh*, *lar*, *a mehx*, *heh*, *he lehq*, *ver*, and *mehx*, occur in at least one of the texts. However they do not occur in all the texts.

Final particles (P_f) can only occur after final clauses. The final clause particles⁵ in Lahu Si which are found in the texts include *yaog* and *ced*. The final particle *yaog* can occur independently, which can be seen in the first example below. However, the final particle *ced* cannot occur alone. In these texts it always occurs with *yaog*, which can be seen in the second example given below.

(3) MWBGB 003

A mig thad lo awr pa awg yad par nehax ted yehg ka cawg che long ago TEMP LOC time father offspring male small one family have CHE adv:tm Pu Pn n n adj adj num n v Pu

yaog. DECL Pf

Long ago, there was a family (consisting of) a father and his young son.

(4) C&D 002

A mig thad lo awg phad mawd awg mid ma te phad ma cawg che long ago TEMP LOC time husband wife one couple have CHE adv:tm Pu Pn n n num n v Pu

yaog ced.
DECL REPORTED
Pf disc

A long time ago, (they) say there was a husband and wife couple.

Although the meanings of the particles vary a great deal, the following Table approximates the type and function description where possible⁶. The chart that follows was derived from the four texts analyzed in this thesis.

Particle	Type	Function
ved or ve	Pn	Genitive
haq	Pn	Object marker
lo	Pn	Location (place)
huh	P _n	Location (place)
khuhn	P _n	In
huhx	P_n	Under
geh	P _n	Commitative
kaw	P_n	Accompanying
vawr	P _n	Focus
li:	P _n	Focus
lar	p	Motion (toward)

⁵ The final particles discussed here are the final particles that occur outside of quoted material. As mentioned in the above footnote, quoted material in the texts contains a variety of particles which are not found outside of quoted material. The particles which are found in the four texts analyzed in this paper included *lor*, *ehx-eh*, *haz*, *te*, *cheawg*, *la*, *hawg*, *laoq*, *leaq*, *vad*, *lawg*, *ser*, *te lehq*, *lawz*, *hawq*, *mehr*, *a mawr*, *law*, *sar*, *le*, *hehq*, *lar haz*, *mehz*, *veg*, *sax-eg*, and *cheag te lehq*.

⁶ The particles shaded in gray are those only found within speech quotes in the texts.

ve	P _v	Motion (transport)
	P _v	Purpose
-ag	P _v	Purpose
tug	P _v	Future
tug vid	P _v	То
	P _v	Reciprocal
daq cuh	P _v	Causative
	P _v	Almost
lehd	P _v	Finished
lawz	P _v	Very, accent
jad	P _v	7
te .	P _v	Explain
ghod	P _v	Able
gha	P _v	Mitigation
lor	P _v	Continuous aspect
veh	P _v	Continuous aspect
chehd	P _v	Completive aspect
vehr		8
che	P _u	
· che-awg	$P_{u+}P_{f}$	Affrimative
thad	P _u	Temporal
lehr (typo)	P _u	Temporal (after)
heh	P _u	Temporal (before)
ehx-eh	P _u · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Interjection
haz .	P _u	Difficult
lehq	P _{nf}	Conjunction
lehr	P _{nf}	Conjunction
lehax	P _{nf}	Conjunction
huh	P _{nf}	Progression
a mehx	P _{nf}	Temporal (when)
a mehx he lehq	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction
	P _{nf} P _{nf} P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition
he lehq	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic
he lehq ver ver mehx	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when)
he lehq ver ver	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction
he lehq ver ver mehx	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis
he lehq ver ver mehx le lehq	Pnf	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis
he lehq ver ver mehx te lehq heh	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis
he lehq ver ver mehx te lehq heh lor mehr	Pnf	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech
he lehq ver ver mehx le lehq heh	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech Reported speech
he lehq ver ver mehx te lehq heh lor mehr yaog	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech Reported speech Polite
he lehq ver ver mehx le lehq heh lor mehr yaog ced	$\begin{array}{c} P_{nf} \\ P_{nf} \\ P_{nf} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} P_{nf} \\ P_{nf} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} P_{nf} \\ P_{nf} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} P_{nf} \\ \end{array}$	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech Reported speech Polite Requesting
he lehq ver ver mehx te lehq heh lor mehr yaog ced mehx	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech Reported speech Polite Requesting Interrogative
he lehq ver ver mehx te lehq heh lor mehr yaog ced mehx law	P _{nf}	Temporal (when) Conjunction Condition Emphatic Temporal (when) Conjunction Emphasis Emphasis Emphasis Declarative speech Reported speech Polite Requesting

Table 5: Lahu Si Particles

⁷ It is unclear at this time the function of *te* as a particle.

⁸ The *che* is a universal particle and fills various positions in a Lahu Si sentence. However, the function of *che* can not be described at this time.

1.5.2 Noun phrase

The noun phase (NP) is briefly described as a noun-head plus modifications. According to Matisoff (193:47), "the only element that is obligatorily present in every [noun phrase] is a noun-head" which usually occurs in the first position in a noun phrase as can be seen in the chart below. The only modifier which is located before the headnoun is the possessor. This can also be seen in the chart below.

	Ø	Headnoun	Ø	Ø
	Modifier	Noun/Pronoun	Modifier	Classifier
Adposition		phid (dog)	huhx (under)	
Adjective		phid (dog)	nehax (little)	
Determiner		phid (dog)	u ve (that)	7
Number (+ classifer)		phid (dog)	seh (three)	kheh (animal classifier)
Possessor (ve)	ngag ve (my)	phid (dog)		
Relative clause		phid (dog)	taw meh aw naz chux cawg che (which has a black tail)	•

Table 6: Constituent order of the Lahu Si noun phrase.

An example of a noun phrase from the text is given below.

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(5) C&D 032

ngad lux maz teq kheh

fish large much one animal
n adj adj num clf

... one very large fish ...
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In the Lahu Si sentence, because of the SOV sentence structure, both the subject noun phrase and the object noun phrase are juxtaposed at the beginning of the sentence. The subject may be \emptyset , and it is possible for the object to be fronted. Therefore, there could be difficulty in determining whether there actually is an object or not. When it is necessary for an object to be identified, the object marking particle *haq* is added to the end of the object noun phrase. The object marking particle *haq* is a nominal particle 9 , P_n ; thus, in the examples used throughout this paper the object marking particle are labeled as P_n and are glossed as OM, for object marker.

⁹ A discussion about nominal particles, P_n, can be found in 1.5.1.1.

Subject	Object		Predicate
NP	NP	Object marker	VP
<i>yawd</i> (she/he)	ngag (1)	haq	koz vid chawg (told)
ngag (l)	nawg (you)	haq	duhd nuh che yaog (miss)

Table 7: Constituent order of the Lahu Si object marker.

While there are numerous occurrences of object marking particles within the texts, Lahu Si does not require a clause with an object to have an object marker. This object marking particle *haq* according to Matisoff, ¹⁰

"may optionally occur after a [noun nucleus] which is in some sense the 'object' of the following verb. Note that we do not assign any very precise meaning to the term 'object' in Lahu grammar. It is merely a convenient intuitive label for an NP whose last element is [haq], or wherein [haq] may grammatically be inserted with no effect on the meaning beyond a certain change of emphasis. [haq] by no means occurs mechanically after every noun that is the 'recipient of the action of the verb'. It is, rather used quite sparingly, only where clarity demands or when special emphasis is desired" (Matisoff 1973:55-56).

There is only one case marking particle in Lahu Si, the object marker *haq*. This can be seen below.

(6) C&D 026

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr ta kor haq cheq pawr gha vehr

And so therefore cat trunk OM bite make hole able to COMPLETE

CONJ n Pn v v v Vv

lehq
CONJ ...
Pnf

And so, the cat was able to bite a hole into the trunk ...

If the clause only contains an object and there is no overtly marked subject, the object marking particle is used to show that the noun phrase is the object.

In Matisoff's grammatical analysis of Lahu Na, The Grammar of Lahu, he refers to this object marking particle as an 'accusative P_n' which is Lahu Na is the particle /tha?/. Matisoff states that "the variant /ha?/ [or haq, according to the Lahu Si orthography] appears in the speech of those under Yellow Lahu [or Lahu Si] dialectal influence" (1973:155).

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(7) C&D 022

ta kor lux haq gha mawg che yaog.

trunk large OM able to see CHE DECL

n adj Pn v v Pu Pf

... [the cat] saw a large trunk.
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1.5.3 Postposition phrase

The Postposition Phrase consists of two parts, a Noun Phrase initially and a Postposition Particle following. In Table 8, a Postposition Particle sets the whole Noun Phrase in a spatial location.

Noun Phrase	Postposition Word
noun, NP	particle
yehg (house)	khuhn (in)
phid (dog)	huhx (under)

Table 8: Constituent order of the Lahu Si postpositional phrase.

An example of a postposition phrase can be seen in the following example.

(8) C&D 027 che Sehx sir mawq kaw khuh mehg cid lehq kawq -eq hold in_mouth securley motion CONJ return -away CHE amulet mouth in Pnf Pu Pn adv -prt yaog. **DECL** Pf

[He] held the amulet securely in it's mouth and returned.

The postpositions found in the texts are found in Table 9.

Postposition	Gloss	
lo	Location (place)	
huh	Location (place)	
khuhn	Location (in)	
huhx	Location (under)	
uh	Location	

Table 9: Lahu Si Postpositions

1.5.4 Verb phrase

The general structure of a verb phrase, according to Matisoff (1973:192),

... consists of an optional adverbial expression (AE), followed by the obligatory <u>verb nucleus</u> (β), which is in turn optionally followed by verb-particles (P_v) and/or universal unrestricted particles (P_{univ}) and/or final unrestricted particles (P_{uf}).

The verb-nucleus here refers to the verb-head or "one or more versatile verbs" (Matisoff 1973:194).

Adverbial expressions, or qualifiers of the verb, occur before the verb. Adverbial expressions include simultaneous teq geha and lehx 'together,' augmentative kaz 'also,' obligatory/necessity gha 'must,' abilitative gha 'able,' dubitative duhd 'think,' and negation ma and maq. The verb head can include one or more verbs as Lahu Si, like many Tibeto-Burman languages, has verb serialization. P_v's include causation cuh, intensifiers jad, motions lar and khuhq, imminent lar haz 'immediately,' infinitive vid 'to' and aspect, such as completive vehr and continuous veh.

This pattern is summarized in Table 10.

	Pre-verb	Verbhead	Post-Verb	
	AE	ß	$P_{\rm v}$	
Simultaneous	teq geha	kae		
Augmentative	ka:	koz		
Necessity		kae	gha	
Abilitative		te	gha	
Dubitative	duhd	law		
Negation	ma ^{II}	te -		
Causation		te	cuh	
Intensifier		har	jad	
Motion		te	lar	
Imminent		te	lar haz	
Infinitive		koz	vid	
Aspect		kae	vehr	

Table 10: Constituent order of the Lahu Si verb phrase.

An example of a verb phrase can be seen below.

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(9) MWBGB 006
teq geha lehx kaz cad vid lar
together only graze to leave set adj adj v Pv v

... alone were left to graze together.
```

1.5.5 Sentence Initial phrase

Matisoff states,

Lahu has two small classes of morphemes which cannot be said to belong either to NP's or to VP's. Rather, they are loosely connected to, and in constituency with, the rest of their sentences as a whole. Morphemes of these classes, which we may call conjunctions and interjections, almost always occur in the sentence-initial position (1973: 396).

Locative phrases and temporal phrases also fall into this category.

A sentence initial phrase can be seen in the example below.

```
(10) MWBGB 003

A mig thad lo awr pa awg yad par nehax ted yehg ka cawg che long ago TEMP LOC time father offspring male small one family have CHE adv:tm Pu Pn n n adj adj num n v Pu yaog.

DECL Pf
```

Long ago, there was a family (consisting of) a father and his young son.

According to Matisoff, the sentence initial phrases are peripheral to Lahu syntax (1973:396). Matisoff classifies the sentence initial phrases into two categories: conjunctions and interjections. In regard to the conjunctions Matisoff (1973:397) states that the "deletion of a conjunction from a sentence invariably yields a string which is still a complete grammatical sentence."

Negation in Lahu Si is /ma/. Depending on the context in which the negative occurs it can be found with a high tone /5/ or mad, a mid tone /3/ which is realized by no tone marking character in the orthography or ma, and a low stopped tone /1?/ or maq.

Sentence initial phrases, while they fill a grammatical location in the clause, fill a semantic role in the sentence. They express the relationship with the previous sentence in time or logic.

1.5.6 Clause

The basic word order in the Lahu Si clause is the S(ubject) followed by the O(bject) and finally the V(erb), i.e. SOV. Matisoff (1997:40) offers the formula for a Lahu clause as:

$$(NP^n) + VP + (P_u)$$

An example of a transitive clause can be seen below. Although some phrases are not required, the order of the clause elements stays consistent and is not changed because of the absence of a phrase.

The subject of the clause is not required. Here the order of constituents is exactly the same, except that the Subject is omitted.

Some time later it was reported that a male water buffalo calf was born.

An intransitive clause is one that contains a subject and verb without an object. An example of an intransitive clause in Lahu Si is given below.

A ditransitive clause is one that contains both a primary object and a secondary object. An example is given below. In this example the subject is referenced by zero anaphora.

A stative clause contains no action verbs. Usually stative clauses in Lahu Si contain the verb *cawg* 'to be or to have' as in the example below.

A long time ago, (they) say there was a husband and wife couple.

While the basic clause ordering is SOV and most clauses follow this ordering, Lahu Si also has a secondary word ordering, OSV. Here the O(bject) and the S(ubject) reverse positions so that the clause opens with the O(bject) followed by the S(ubject) and closes with the verb phase. There are four occurrences of the Object being fronted in two of the texts, "The Story of the Cat and Dog" and "The Monkey Chops

the Branch". There is not enough data to explain what causes the word order to change or what it signifies. According to Manson (1995:21), "the predicate is the most prominent element of the clause. This is due to the predicate encoding new or foregrounded information." It seems likely then that if the Object, as part of the predicate, contains more prominent information, then the function of fronting the Object would bring that prominent information into focus. An example of the OSV word order can be seen in the example below.

(16) C&D 013

1.6 Data

The data used in this thesis was collected between 1999 and 2004. All of the texts were elicited by Arthur Cooper in the village of Nong Pham in the Mae Suai district in Chiang Rai province of Thailand, and most were written down by a native speaker of the language. The data consists of four folk narratives in Lahu Si: "The Story of the Cat and the Dog," "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth," "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle" and "The Monkey Cuts the Branch".

"The Story of the Cat and the Dog" text was written by Duangtip Na Khiri. While the author has lived in Thailand for many years, his family is originally from Myanmar. Thus his writing style and dialect are influenced by that of the Western Lahu Si found in Myanmar. "The Story of the Cat and the Dog" will be referred to as the C&D text throughout this paper.

"The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" was written by Doa Kehod. The author of this text is originally from Laos. This is the only text analyzed in this research which seems to be influenced by the style and dialect of Eastern Lahu Si found in Laos. Throughout this paper "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" text exhibits

characteristics not found in the other texts. MWBGB will be used to refer to "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" text throughout this research.

"The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle" was written by Yawd Laq Siq Riq. The author is living in Thailand; however, his dialect is originally from Myanmar. "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle" will be abbreviated as M&T in the following discussions.

"The Monkey Chops the Branch" text was written by Su Wi. The author also is from Thailand, but his language follows the style and dialect of Western Lahu Si in Myanmar. Throughout this paper this story will be referred to as MCB.

While Lahu Si is primarily an oral culture, this thesis exclusively deals with the written form of these texts. Art Cooper took the written form of the text from the respective authors mentioned above and interlinearlized "The Story of the Cat and Dog" text, "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" text and "The Monkey Chops the Branch" text. The present author worked with "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle" text and interlinearlized it. Each of these texts were interlinearlized and analyzed using SIL's Linguistic Shoebox database computer program. "The Story of the Cat and Dog" has been edited by Lahu Si readers, where as the other stories have not had input from people other than the present author. The Lahu Si script was choosen rather than IPA fonts because all work done in Lahu Si Banlan uses the Lahu Si orthography. The four texts are included in Appendices A, B, C and D.

1.7 Organization of Thesis

Chapter 2 surveys discourse analysis theory and describes the texts used for this analysis, including the macrostructures of each of the texts. Chapter 3 looks at the surface and notional structure of the texts. Chapter 4 deals with participant reference throughout the texts. Chapter 5 will analyze the mainline of the texts. Chapter 6 serves as a summary, conclusion and description of areas for further research.