



SELECTED DISCOURSE FEATURES OF
LAHU SI FOLK NARRATIVE

Amber Morris

Presented to Payap University in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Faculty of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Discourse analysis is the study of units larger than the sentence in a text, examining the text as a whole unit. Thus, discourse analysis seeks to study the parts of a text in order to find the patterns and cohesive devices which unite the text as one single unit.

The discourse theories and methodologies applied and discussed in this thesis are: 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.

The object of this thesis is to apply these discourse features to four Lahu Si texts. Each of these texts are animal folk narratives elicited from native Lahu Si speakers in the Chiang Rai province of Northern Thailand. Lahu Si is a Lolo-Burmese language of the Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken in Southwestern China, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. Very little discourse study has been done in the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia. The goal of this thesis is to look broadly at several different aspects of discourse analysis of Lahu Si.

This thesis opens by looking at the macrostructure of the four texts. By applying van Dijk's macrorules to the storyline band of the text the macrostructure is constructed.

The analysis of surface and notional structure finds seven chunks in each of the Lahu Si texts. These correspond to the surface/notional level. The seven chunks are the stage, episode 1/inciting moment, episode 2/developing the conflict, episode 3/

developing conflict, peak/climax, postpeak/denouement, and closure/conclusion, which always contains a moral.

In regards to the participant reference system, Lahu Si introduces and reintroduces participants with a noun phrase or the S4 context, tracks participants with a null reference or the S1 context, refers to an addressee of a previous speech act with a noun phrase or the S2 context, and refers to the object of the previous sentence with a noun phrase or the S3 context.

The salience analysis shows that storyline is marked by event verbs with final particles. Clauses can be promoted to storyline with completive aspect *vehr*, the ‘immediate’ particle *lar haz*, and the discourse particle *ced*. The background band is marked by event verbs with non-final particles. Clauses are demoted to background band by the use of the ‘continuous’ particles, *chehd* and *veh*. The setting band is made up of stative verbs and descriptive verbs. The irrealis band contains negation and future verbs. The cohesion band uses adverbial phrases which are marked with temporal particles or conjunctions.

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บทคัดย่อ

การวิเคราะห์สัมพันธสารเป็นการศึกษาวิเคราะห์หน่วยทางภาษาในระดับที่สูงกว่าประโยคในด้วบท โดยตรวจสอบลักษณะโดยรวมทั้งหมดของด้วบทจึงกล่าวได้ว่าการวิเคราะห์สัมพันธสารนั้นเป็นการศึกษาวิเคราะห์ส่วนต่าง ๆ ของด้วบทเพื่อให้ทราบรูปแบบและกลวิธีการเชื่อมโยงความเข้าด้วยกันเป็นด้วบทที่มีความต่อเนื่องกลมกลืนเป็นอันหนึ่งอันเดียวกัน

ระเบียบวิธีวิจัยและทฤษฎีสัมพันธสารที่นำมาประยุกต์ใช้ในวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ประกอบด้วยแนวทางการวิเคราะห์เพื่อแยกส่วนต่าง ๆ ของสัมพันธสารของบาร์นเวล (Barnwell's method of analyzing boundaries) ทฤษฎีโครงสร้างมหัพภาคของความหมายของ ตวน แวน ดิก (Tuen van Dijk's theory of macrostructures) ทฤษฎีโครงสร้างทางความหมาย โครงสร้างผิวและความเด่นของโรเบิร์ต ลองแอกเคอร์ (Robert Longacre's theory of notional and surface structure and salience) ทฤษฎีการอ้างอิงผู้แสดงบทบาทหรือตัวละครของโรเบิร์ต คูลีย์

และสตีเฟน เลวินสัน (Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn's theory of participant reference) และทฤษฎีลำดับชั้นของการอ้างอิงและลำดับชั้นของผู้แสดงบทบาทหรือตัวละครของ

กีวอน (Givon's scale of reference and ranking of participants)

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อนำเอาทฤษฎีที่ระบุถึงลักษณะสำคัญทางสัมพันธสารเหล่านี้ไป

ประยุกต์ใช้ในการศึกษาวิเคราะห์นิทานพื้นบ้านของภาษาลาหู่ซึ่งจำนวนสี่เรื่อง นิทานแต่ละเรื่องมี

เนื้อหาเกี่ยวกับสัตว์ซึ่งเก็บข้อมูลจากคนลาหู่ (Lahu Si) ที่อาศัยอยู่ในจังหวัดเชียงราย ทาง

ภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย

ภาษาลาหู่อยู่ในสาขาโลโล-เบอร์มีส (Lolo-Burmese) ของกลุ่มภาษาทิเบต-พม่า (Tibeto-Burman) ซึ่งอยู่ในตระกูลภาษาจีน-ทิเบต (Sino-Tibetan language family) บริเวณต่าง ๆ ที่มีผู้

พูดภาษาลาหู่ได้แก่ทางตอนใต้ของประเทศจีน ประเทศพม่า ไทย ลาวและเวียดนาม งานวิจัยที่

ศึกษาเกี่ยวกับ

สัมพันธสารในภาษาต่าง ๆ ของกลุ่มภาษาทิเบต-พม่าแห่งภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ยังมี

จำนวนไม่มากนัก วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาอย่างกว้าง ๆ เกี่ยวกับลักษณะต่าง ๆ

ของการวิเคราะห์สัมพันธสารในภาษาลาหู่

เนื้อหาของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เริ่มด้วยการศึกษาโครงสร้างมหัพภาคของความหมายของนิทาน

พื้นบ้านทั้งสี่เรื่อง โดยประยุกต์ใช้กฎมหัพภาคของความหมายของ แวน ดิก (van Dijk's

macrorules) กับส่วนเนื้อเรื่อง (storyline band) ของตัวบท เพื่อให้เห็นถึงโครงสร้างมหัพภาค

ของความหมายของนิทานแต่ละเรื่อง

ในส่วนของบทวิเคราะห์โครงสร้างผิวและโครงสร้างทางความหมาย (surface and notional structure) ของนิทานแต่ละเรื่องนั้น พบว่าสามารถแบ่งออกได้เป็นเจ็ดกลุ่ม ซึ่งล้วนแต่สอดคล้องกับตัวระดับผิวและระดับความหมาย ทั้งเจ็ดกลุ่มนี้ประกอบด้วย เวที (stage) ตอนที่ 1/จุดเร่งเร้า (episode 1/inciting moment) ตอนที่ 2/ความขัดแย้งทวี (episode 2/developing conflict) ตอนที่ 3/ความขัดแย้งทวี (episode 3/developing conflict) จุดเด่น/จุดสุดยอด (peak/climax) หลังจุดเด่น/การแก้ปม (postpeak/denouement) และการปิดเรื่อง/การสรุปเรื่อง (closure/conclusion) ซึ่งมักจะมีคำสอนทางศีลธรรมประกอบอยู่ด้วย

สำหรับระบบการอ้างอิงผู้แสดงบทบาทหรือตัวละครนั้น ภาษาลาหู่ซึ่งมีวิธีการดังต่อไปนี้คือ มีการแนะนำตัวละครและกล่าวถึงตัวละครนั้น ๆ อีกในครั้งต่อ ๆ ไปโดยการใช้นามวลี หรือที่เรียกว่าบริบท S4 (S4 context) มีการสืบสาวตัวละครด้วยการอ้างอิงรูป (null reference) หรือที่เรียกว่าบริบท

S1 (S1 context) การอ้างถึงผู้ถูกเรียกขานของวัจนกรรมก่อนหน้านั้น (an addressee of a previous speech act) ด้วยนามวลี หรือรูปบริบท S2 (S2 context) และการกล่าวถึงกรรมของประโยคที่อยู่ก่อนหน้านั้นด้วยรูปนามวลี หรือบริบท S3 (S3 context)

ผลวิเคราะห์ความเด่น (salience analysis) แสดงให้เห็นว่ามีการบ่งชี้ส่วนของเนื้อเรื่อง (storyline) โดยคำกริยาแสดงกรรมพร้อมกับคำอนุภาคลงท้าย ประโยคย่อยหรืออนุภาคยังสามารถถูกเลื่อนชั้นข้อความขึ้นไปเป็นส่วนเนื้อเรื่องได้โดยการบ่งชี้ที่อนุภาคย่นั้น ๆ ด้วยการใช้รูปกรรมลักษณะแสดงความสมบูรณ์ *vehr* (completive aspect *vehr*) การใช้คำอนุภาคแสดงความนับปล้นของกริยา *lar haz* ('immediate' particle *lar haz*) และ การใช้คำอนุภาคชี้บ่งสัมพันธ์ *ced* (discourse particle *ced*) สำหรับส่วนพื้นหลังหรือภูมิหลัง (background band) นั้นมี

การบ่งชี้โดยคำกริยาแสดงการณืพร้อมกับคำอนุภาคไม่ลงท้าย อนุภาคย์ยังสามารถถูกลดชั้น
ข้อความลงไปเป็นส่วนพื้นหลังหรือภูมิหลังได้ด้วยการใช้คำอนุภาคแบบต่อเนื่อง *chehd* และ *veh*
บ่งชี้ ('continuous' particle *chehd* and *veh*) ในส่วนของเวลา-สถานที่ (setting band) นั้น ถูก
สร้างขึ้นจากคำกริยาแสดงสภาพและคำกริยาวรรณนา (stative verbs and descriptive verbs)
และในส่วนข้อความไม่เกิดจริง (irrealis band) จะประกอบด้วยรูปปฏิเสธและคำกริยารูปอนาคต
กาล ส่วนของการเชื่อมโยงความ (cohesion band) นั้นพบว่ามีการใช้วลีวิเศษณ์ (adverbial
phrases) ที่ถูกบ่งชี้โดยคำอนุภาคแสดงเวลาหรือคำสันธาน

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

***	Unknown gloss
adj	Adjective
adv:tm	Temporal Adverb
AE	Adverbial Expression
C&D	“The Story of the Cat and the Dog”
clf	Classifier
conj	Conjunction
DECL	Declarative
det	Determiner
disc	Discourse
DO	Direct Object
IO	Indirect Object
M&T	“The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle”
MCB	“The Monkey Chops the Branch”
MWBGB	“The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth”
n	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
num	Number
P	Particle
P_n	Noun Particle
P_u	Unrestricted Particle
P_{uf}	Unrestricted Final Particle
P_{unf}	Unrestricted Non-final Particle
P_{univ}	Universal Unrestricted Particle

P_v	Verb Particle
SIL	SIL International
SOV	Clausal constituent order of subject, object, verb.
v	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
Vv	Post-head Versatile Verb
β	Verbal Nucleus
v	Nominal Nucleus

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.

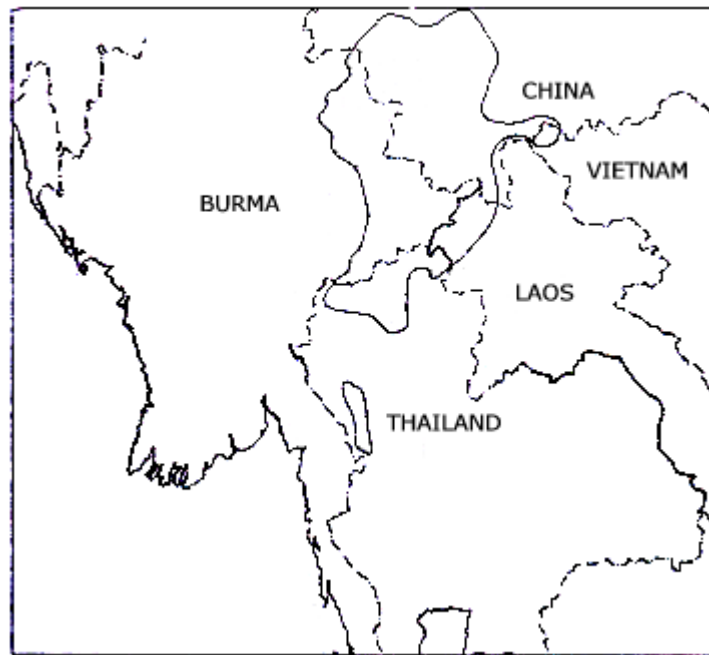


Figure 1: Map of Lahu location, adapted from Bradley 1979:xi.

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).

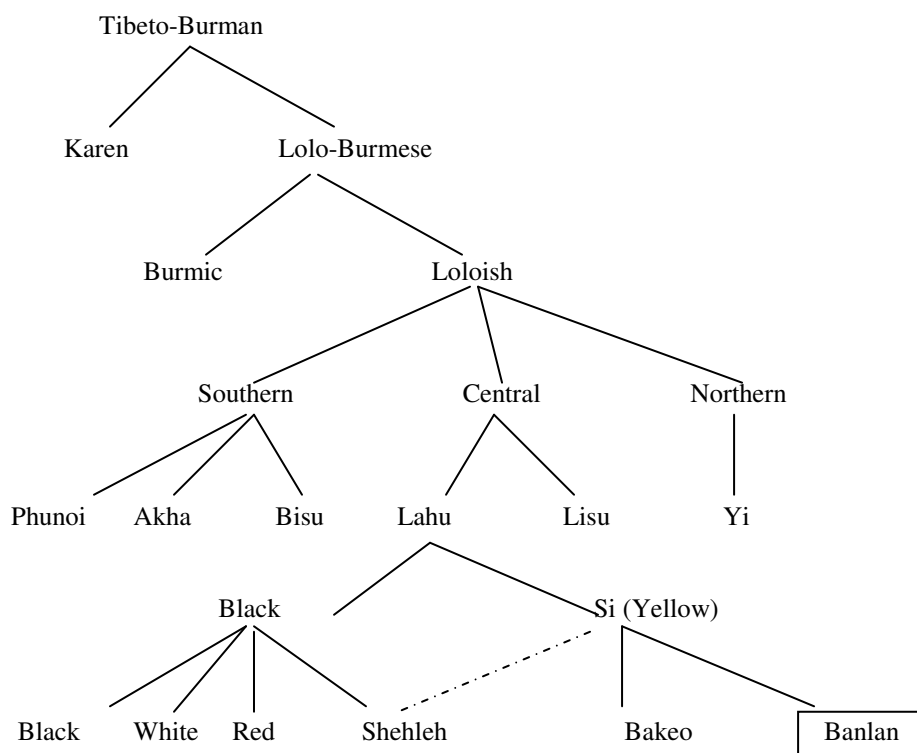


Figure 2: Lahu language tree (adapted from Jenvit 1999:6, Bradley 1979:8).

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 Shehle (1979:38). Because of the distinct differences between Lahu Shehle and other Black Lahu dialects and because of the phonological similarities Lahu Shehle shares with Lahu Si, Lahu Shehle is sometimes categorized under the Yellow Lahu branch. However, it is unclear exactly where Shehle 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 Caui_ 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 Shehle 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.

	Bilabial		Labiodental	Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Stop	p	p ^h		t	t ^h			k	k ^h	
	b			d				g		
Nasal	m			n				ŋ		
Fricative			f	s				ɣ		h
			v							
Affricate						tʃ	tʃ ^h			
						dʒ				
Lat. Approx.				l		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	ɛ		o
Mid-Low	æ	ʌ	ɔ
Low		ɑ	

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)
ʔ5	(Extra) high stopped
ʔ3 / ʔ1	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	ɣ
c	tʃ
ch	tʃ ^h
j	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	p
ph	p ^h
b	b
m	m
s	s
y	j
l	l
r	r
f	f
v	v
h	h
i	i
e	æ
eh	ɛ
uh	ʌ
u	u
o	o
aw	ɔ
a	ɑ
g	ʒ / ʒ4
d	ʒ
z	ʒ5
q	ʒ3 / ʒ1
x	ʒ4 / ʒ5
r	l
(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 P_v .

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_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

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

NON-FINAL CLAUSE

cud yiq	ca	hend	lor	mehr."	Awr pa	koz	vid	che	heh	yad	par
wisdom	go and	study	EMPH	POLITE	father	speak	to	CHE	while	offspring	male
n	v	v	disc	Pf	n	v	Pv	Pu	Pnf	n	adj

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

Awr pa	vawr	nud	kar	awg	ma	teq	kheh	hu	lar	lehq	khaz	kehx	var	vawr
father	FOC	water	buffalo	female	one	animal	take	care	CONJ	headman			FOC	
n	prt	n	n	n	num	clf	v		Pnf	n			prt	

nud	kar	par	teq	kheh	cawg	che	yaog.
water	buffalo	male	one	animal	have	CHE	DECL
n		adj	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf

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
<i>ved</i> or <i>ve</i>	P_n	Genitive
<i>haq</i>	P_n	Object marker
<i>lo</i>	P_n	Location (place)
<i>huh</i>	P_n	Location (place)
<i>khuhn</i>	P_n	In
<i>huhx</i>	P_n	Under
<i>geh</i>	P_n	Commitative
<i>kaw</i>	P_n	Accompanying
<i>vawr</i>	P_n	Focus
<i>liz</i>	P_n	Focus
<i>lar</i>	P_v	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.

<i>ve</i>	P _v	Motion (transport)
<i>-ag</i>	P _v	Purpose
<i>tug</i>	P _v	Purpose
<i>tug</i>	P _v	Future
<i>vid</i>	P _v	To
<i>daq</i>	P _v	Reciprocal
<i>cuh</i>	P _v	Causative
<i>lehd</i>	P _v	Almost
<i>lawz</i>	P _v	Finished
<i>jad</i>	P _v	Very, accent
<i>te</i>	P _v	⁷
<i>ghod</i>	P _v	Explain
<i>gha</i>	P _v	Able
<i>lor</i>	P _v	Mitigation
<i>veh</i>	P _v	Continuous aspect
<i>chehd</i>	P _v	Continuous aspect
<i>vehr</i>	P _v	Compleitive aspect
<i>che</i>	P _u	⁸
<i>che-awg</i>	P _u + P _f	Affirmative
<i>thad</i>	P _u	Temporal
<i>lehr (typo)</i>	P _u	Temporal (after)
<i>heh</i>	P _u	Temporal (before)
<i>ehx-eh</i>	P _u	Interjection
<i>haz</i>	P _u	Difficult
<i>lehq</i>	P _{nf}	Conjunction
<i>lehr</i>	P _{nf}	Conjunction
<i>lehax</i>	P _{nf}	Conjunction
<i>huh</i>	P _{nf}	Progression
<i>a mehx</i>	P _{nf}	Temporal (when)
<i>he lehq</i>	P _{nf}	Conjunction
<i>ver</i>	P _{nf}	Condition
<i>ver</i>	P _{nf}	Emphatic
<i>mehx</i>	P _{nf}	Temporal (when)
<i>te lehq</i>	P _{nf}	Conjunction
<i>heh</i>	P _{nf}	Emphasis
<i>lor</i>	P _{nf}	Emphasis
<i>mehr</i>	P _{nf}	Emphasis
<i>yaog</i>	P _f	Declarative speech
<i>ced</i>	P _f	Reported speech
<i>mehx</i>	P _f	Polite
<i>law</i>	P _f	Requesting
<i>la</i>	P _f	Interrogative (yes/no)
<i>hawg</i>	P _f	Emphatic

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 phrase (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		<i>phid</i> (dog)	<i>huhx</i> (under)	
Adjective		<i>phid</i> (dog)	<i>nehax</i> (little)	
Determiner		<i>phid</i> (dog)	<i>u ve</i> (that)	
Number (+ classifier)		<i>phid</i> (dog)	<i>seh</i> (three)	<i>kkeh</i> (animal classifier)
Possessor (ve)	<i>ngag ve</i> (my)	<i>phid</i> (dog)		
Relative clause		<i>phid</i> (dog)	<i>taw meh aw naz chux cawg che</i> (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.

(5) C&D 032

ngad lux maz teq kheh
 fish large much one animal
 ... n adj adj num clf ...
 ... one very large fish ...

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 Ø, 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 particle⁹, 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)	<i>ngag</i> (I)	<i>haq</i>	<i>koz vid chawg</i> (told)
<i>ngag</i> (I)	<i>nawg</i> (you)	<i>haq</i>	<i>duhd nuh che</i> <i>yaog</i> (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		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.

¹⁰ 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).

(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.

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
<i>yehg</i> (house)	khuhn (in)
<i>phid</i> (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

Sehx sir **mawq kaw khuh** mehgcid ve lehq kawq -eq che
 amulet **mouth in** hold in_mouth securley motion CONJ return -away CHE
 n **n Pn** v adv Pv Pnf v -prt Pu

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
<i>lo</i>	Location (place)
<i>huh</i>	Location (place)
<i>khuhn</i>	Location (in)
<i>huhx</i>	Location (under)
<i>uh</i>	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 verb nucleus (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	β	P_v
Simultaneous	<i>teq geha</i>	<i>kae</i>	
Augmentative	<i>kaz</i>	<i>koz</i>	
Necessity		<i>kae</i>	<i>gha</i>
Abilitative		<i>te</i>	<i>gha</i>
Dubitative	<i>duhd</i>	<i>law</i>	
Negation	<i>ma¹¹</i>	<i>te</i>	
Causation		<i>te</i>	<i>cuh</i>
Intensifier		<i>har</i>	<i>jad</i>
Motion		<i>te</i>	<i>lar</i>
Imminent		<i>te</i>	<i>lar haz</i>
Infinitive		<i>koz</i>	<i>vid</i>
Aspect		<i>kae</i>	<i>vehr</i>

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

An example of a verb phrase can be seen below.

- (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.”

¹¹ 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.

(11) C&D 050

Na	mix	khawehr	u	ve	Phid	haq	maq	ke	mehg	cuh	vid.
cat			that		dog	OM	NEG	place	holdin_mouth	cause	to
n			det		n	Pn	adv	v	v	v	Pv

NP¹ (S) NP² (O) VP

That cat did not place [the amulet] in the dog's mouth.

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

(12) MWBGB 007

Te	pawz	lehr	nud	kar	yad	nehax	awg	par	teq	kkeh	paw
one	time[event]	after	water	buffalo	offspring	small	male	one	animal		give birth
num	adv	Puf	n	n	adj	n	num	clf			v

[TEMP]

NP¹ (O)

VP

vehr	che	yaog	ced.
COMPLETE	CHE	DECL	REPORTED
V _v	Pu	Pf	disc

P_u

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.

(13) MWBGB 012

Kheh te lehq	awg yad par liz	kawaq	che yaog.
And so therefore	offspring male FOC	return	CHE DECL
CONJ	n adj disc	v	Pu Pf

[CONJ] NP¹ (S) VP P_u
 And so, the son returned.

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.

(14) MWBGB 021

Khawehd te le	ghod ver		awg yad par haq	cud yiq	ca hend
how	because since	∅	offspring male OM	wisdom	go and study
INT	Pnf		n adj Pn	n	v v

[CONJ] NP¹ (S) NP² (PRI) NP³ (SEC) VP

cuh lar	che heh
cause to leave set	CHE while ...
Pv v	Pu Pnf

P_{nf}

Because as the son was sent to go [and] study wisdom, ...

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.

(15) 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

[TEMP] NP¹ (S) VP P_f

yaog ced.
 DECL REPORTED
 Pf disc

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

Yehg	u	ve	haq	maq	yad	teq	pa	kha	nehax	saw	vid	lar	che	yaog.
house	that	OM	soldier	group	best	guard	to	leave	set	CHE	DECL	Pu	Pf	
n	det	Pn	n	n	adj	v	Pv	v						
			NP ¹ (O)	NP ² (S)		VP								P _f

Some soldiers were set to guard that house well.

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 interlinearized “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 interlinearized it. Each of these texts were interlinearized 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 chosen 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.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND LAHU SI TEXTS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter surveys discourse analysis theory and the methodology used throughout this thesis: primarily Barnwell's method of analyzing boundaries, Tuen van Dijk's theory of macrostructures, Robert Longacre's theory of notional and surface structure and mainline, Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn's theory of participant reference and Givón's scale of references and notion of topic/participants. The chapter will close by looking at the Lahu Si texts used in this analysis. A macrostructure for each text will be given as well.

2.1 Introduction to Discourse Analysis

In the past, linguistics primarily investigated features smaller than the sentence in language. In the past several decades there has been a movement toward looking at the text as a whole. Pioneers in this field of discourse analysis include Robert Longacre (1968), Tuen van Dijk (1972), and Joseph Grimes (1975).

Discourse analysis examines texts as one unit, as a whole; i.e. one unit that is made up of cohesive elements connecting it together. Thus discourse analysis seeks to find the patterns and cohesive parts within the text; the elements which unite the text as one single unit. "Discourse analysis insists that the whole legislates the parts, while, in turn, a study of the parts is necessary to the comprehension of the whole" (Longacre 1989:42).

There are four etic discourse types that may occur in any language: narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory. According to Longacre, monologue discourse can be classified in all languages by means of two characteristics: contingent succession and agent orientation. Contingent succession (CS) "refers to a framework

of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings” (Longacre 1996:8-9). Agent orientation (AO) “refers to orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse” (Longacre 1996:9). With these two criteria, etic discourses types can be classified into the following types.

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation
+ Contingent Succession	Narrative	Procedural
- Contingent Succession	Behavioral	Expository

Table 11: Etic Discourse Types (Longacre 1996:10
adapted)

This classification creates four possible discourse types: narrative (+CS, +AO), procedural (+CS, -AO), behavioral (-CS, +AO), and expository (-CS, -AO). Additional parameters to create further subdivisions which Longacre refers to in classifying discourse types are projection, tension, tense/aspect/voice features, participants and themes, person selection of pronouns, linkage and specific genres (cf. Longacre 1996:10-13).

Narrative text is a story form which seeks to entertain, teach and/or inform. Procedural discourse instructs the reader or listener on how to do something. An example of a procedural text is a recipe. An expository text seeks to influence the reader or listener by teaching or informing. Hortatory text strives to produce action or influence the conduct of the reader or listener. While discourse analysis looks at all of these different types, “the rules governing text formation are sometimes vastly different from one genre to another” (Person 1993:2).

The analysis utilized in this thesis is based on methods developed by Robert Longacre, Tuen van Dijk, Barnwell, Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn. The following chapters, 3 through 5, will examine specific discourse issues in Lahu Si narratives. The remaining part of this chapter will describe the framework for the analysis found in this thesis. It will also serve as an introduction to the texts used for analysis.

2.2 Framework

The general methodological framework for this thesis is as follows: boundaries divisions follow Barnwell's analysis and is described in 2.2.1, Van Dijk's macrostructure rules in 2.2.2, Longacre and Grimes analysis of salience scheme in 2.2.3, Longacre's theory of etic and emic levels of discourse to analyze the plot structure in 2.2.4, Longacre's analysis of the peak is taken from Longacre in 2.2.5, Givón's and Dooley and Levinsohn's method of analysing participant reference in 2.2.6.

2.2.1 Boundaries

The first step in discourse analysis is finding the boundaries of a larger communication unit. Features which mark larger units within a text can be divided into two groups: those that signify the presence of a boundary of either the beginning or end of a unit, and those that indicate coherence within the unit. Some features suggested by Barnwell (1980:238-239) which may indicate a boundary include:

- grammatical markers, such as conjunctions,
- change in place, time, or participants,
- topic sentences or phrases,
- summary or preview statements,
- overlap clauses,
- rhetorical questions,
- direct address or vocative phrase,
- use of certain tenses or adverbial markers,
- odd clause types, such as stative or relative clauses, and
- verbal signals, such as phonological signals, pauses, pitch, or intonation.

2.2.2 Macrostructure

A text has an underlying level which orders the sentences and arranges the meaning. Van Dijk (1972, 1977a, 1977b) refers to this level as a macrostructure. “A text consists of linearly ordered sentences” (van Dijk 1977a:3). The reason for postulating this level is “to account for the ‘global meaning’ of discourse such as is intuitively assigned in terms of the ‘topic’ or ‘theme’ of a discourse or conversation” (van Dijk 1977a:3)

Van Dijk (1977b) proposes rules or ‘macrorules’¹², to apply to the text to abstract the text’s macrostructure:

Generalization rule (M1). The first rule substitutes several properties of the same superordinate class with the name of the superordinate class. By application of this rule, the predicates and the arguments are generalized to a more general concept. It is an essential property of generalization that information is deleted. The deletion of information is required as it is irrelevant at the macrolevel. When information is deleted, it is irrecoverable. The application of this rule can be exemplified as follows: a dog, a cat, and a parakeet can be generalized as pets (van Dijk 1977a).

Deletion rule (M2). The second rule says that if a proposition is not a presupposition of any other proposition in the sequence, it will be deleted. The deleted propositions can be left out “without changing the meaning or influencing the interpretations of the subsequent sentences of the discourse” (van Dijk 1977b:144). As the deleted proposition is not a condition for the interpretation of any other proposition, it is considered irrelevant, i.e. nonpresuppositional. Also, a proposition is deleted “if it determines the interpretation of the proposition which is itself deleted or substituted” (van Dijk 1977a:11). For example, if the subject of the text is driving directions to the post office, and the text reads “At the bridge turn left and go one mile. On your right will be an ice cream shop. That shop has the best sundaes in town. At the ice cream shop turn right.” The proposition ‘That shop has the best sundaes in town’ is not

¹² The analysis applied to Lahu Si follows Somsongse’s (1991:16-17) application of van Dijk’s Macrorules.

necessary in understanding the other propositions; therefore, it would be deleted in the macrostructure (van Dijk 1977a:11).

Integration rule (M3). This rule combines or integrates the sequence of essential and coherently related sentence propositions into global information. By application of the integration rule, the more specific information of the passage will be deleted if “its global information has already been expressed in the text by the proposition that also serves as a macroproposition” (van Dijk 1977a:12). Besides this, if a proposition expresses a macroproposition already expressed by a preceding proposition, it may be deleted. The information integrated by this rule can be recovered because “it is part of the more general concept or frame” (van Dijk 1977b:146). Therefore, the propositions considered to be a normal or expected fact will be integrated.

Construction rule (M4). This last macrorule and the integration rule are variants of each other. However, the construction rule is distinguished from the integration rule in that it “has no input proposition that organizes other propositions” (van Dijk 1977a:14). The macrorule of construction operates as follows:

It organizes microinformation by combining sequences of propositions that function as one unit at some macrolevel; it reduces information without simply deleting it; and it introduces information at the macrolevel that is ‘new’ in the sense of not being part of the text base or entailed by individual propositions of the text base (van Dijk 1977a:15).

Essentially, the construction rule “summarizes a sequence of actions or events by introducing a name that refers to the sequence as a whole (e.g. reading books, going to class, taking exams, studying)” (Kintsch 1977:44).

2.2.3 Salience scheme

The storyline is the backbone of the text; it is the most prominent and important element in organizing the flow of the text. A salience scheme of a discourse makes a distinction between the most prominent mainline material (storyline in narrative texts) and the supportive material, which Grimes (1975) characterizes as, event and non-event. By “event” he means a situation where something happens. Non-events can be

described as background information, setting, evaluations or collateral. Longacre develops an etic salience scheme of nine bands. Longacre's salience scheme distinguishes "between the *mainline* of development in a discourse and all other material" (1996:21). The nine bands are hierarchically ordered with band one as having the highest salience or the most prominent information on the storyline, and the remaining bands diminishing in prominence and importance as the bands descend. For example band nine is the band most removed from the story line and is least prominent and important from this perspective. Longacre's etic salience scheme is shown in Table 12.

1'. Pivotal story line (augmentation of 1) 1. Primary storyline (S/Agent >S/Experiencer > S/Patient) 2. Secondary storyline 3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences) 4. Backgrounded actions/events 5. Backgrounded activity (durative) 6. Setting (exposition) 7. Irrealis (negatives and modals) 8. Evaluations (author intrusions) 9. cohesive and thematic

Table 12: Longacre's (1996) Etic Narrative Salience Scheme

2.2.4 Plot structure

Longacre also posits seven etic steps of plot progression in a narrative discourse, which are listed below in Table 13. These are seen at two levels in the discourse: the surface structure and the notional structure. "Notional structures of discourse relate more clearly to the overall purpose of the discourse" (Longacre 1996:8). The notional structure relates to the plot of the text and the semantics of the text. "Surface structures have to do more with a discourse's formal characteristics" (Longacre 1996:8). The surface structure includes the linguistic features of the text such as the syntax, lexicon and phonology.

In relation to each other, "notional structures are etic and heuristic devices [given] to uncover emic [or surface] structures" (Longacre 1996:34). However, there is not always a one-to-one correlation between elements of the notional structure and

elements of the surface structure. Longacre's notional and surface structures¹³ can be seen in Table 13.

Notional Structure	Surface Structure
Exposition	Stage
Inciting moment	PrePeak episodes
Developing conflict	PrePeak episodes
Climax	Peak episode
Denouement	Peak' episode
Final suspense	PostPeak episode
Conclusion	Closure

Table 13: Longacre's Notional and Surface Structure
(Longacre 1996:37 adapted)

2.2.5 Peak

Longacre (1996:38) defines peak as,

A zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts. Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at peak. ... In brief, peak has features particular to itself and the marking of such features takes precedence over the marking of the mainline, so that the absence of certain features or even analytical difficulties can be a clue that we are at the peak of a discourse.

The peak episode in a narrative discourse is often the pivotal section in the plot. The surface structure of the peak contrasts with the rest of the text. The peak is marked in a text through surface structure features added to the normal features used throughout the story. Surface structure features which are used to mark the peak include rhetorical underlying (emphasis), crowded stage/concentration of participants, heightened vividness (noun/verb balance, tense shift, person shift, parameter shift), change of pace, vantage point, orientation (subject/object shift), particles (added/deleted) and onomonoea (Longacre 1996:39-48). Another means of marking the peak in a text is to subtract commonly used features so the peak contains fewer of the surface structure features used in the rest of the text (Longacre 1996:38). Genre-

¹³ A further discussion about the relationship between Longacre's notional and surface structure can be found in section 3.0. Table 19 offers a full chart of Longacre's notional and surface structure and their relationship to each other.

appropriate peak devices can also be found in procedural, expository and hortatory texts.

2.2.6 Participant Reference

In analyzing participant reference throughout a text, Givón (1983:18) offers a scale of reference to categorize those with the most coding on one end and those with the least coding on the other end.

Least coded material			Most coded material
Zero anaphora	Unstressed/bound pronouns “agreement”	Stressed/independent pronouns	Full noun phrase

Table 14: Givón’s scale of reference, adapted from Givón 1983:18.

Languages differ more in the usage of devices with less coding, such as zero anaphora, unstressed/bound pronouns, and stressed/independent pronouns, than with the most coded reference, the noun phrase. For instance, “isolating languages, of course, have little or no agreement; other languages have verb agreement with up to three arguments” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:112).

Reference can be classified into three systems: semantic, discourse-pragmatic and processing. Semantic reference chooses the amount of coding to be used in referring to a participant, thus identifying the participants unambiguously and distinguishing each participant from the other possible ones. Discourse-pragmatic reference “signal[s] the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:112). If a participant has high activation, less coding is needed. Thus activation, from a nonactivated status, is often shown with a full noun phrase. Maintaining active status needs only minimal coding, such as pronouns or agreement. Deactivation usually has no formal means. Processing reference overcomes disruptions in the flow of information, often requiring more coding. See section 4.0 for examples of participant reference from the texts.

2.3 Macrostructures

According to van Dijk, a text is made up of a string of sentences. However, “there exists a level of global and abstract structures that control their arrangement” or a macrostructure (van Dijk 1972, Somsong 1991:15). Macrostructures can be defined as “a more GLOBAL LEVEL of semantic description, that define the meaning of parts of a discourse and of the whole discourse and the basis of the meanings of the individual sentences” (Somsong 1991:15). More simply put “the macrostructure, the basic underlying point of a narrative, determines what is included in the text and explains why it is included” (Block 1994:43).

The reason for proposing the macrostructure level is to describe what van Dijk (1977a:3) calls the ‘global meaning’ of the text. This global meaning is the reader’s intuitive recognition of the theme and topic of the text. “The hypothesis is that they are an integral part of the meaning of a discourse, and that, therefore, they are to be accounted for in a semantic representation” (van Dijk 1977b:145). The idea here is not that the string of sentences equal individual meaning but rather that the meaning of the parts equals the whole. “The whole is greater than the sum total of its parts. In addition to the analysis of the parts, such as the word, phrase, clause, and sentence, a holistic approach is needed in order to see how the parts function in the whole text” (Hwang 1997:2). Macrostructures create a hierarchical ordering of meaning in a text. The text can be said to have a microstructure and a macrostructure. At the most basic level, the sentences within a text are the microstructure. When these microstructures are assigned a global context, they are replaced with a macrostructure. An example would be something like referring to a sequence of microstructures, such as, getting into the car, shutting the door, turning the key, shifting into gear, accelerating, with a macrostructure, such as, “driving a car.” This hierarchical ordering is not limited to one level. Rather there are many levels of macrostructures “as long as there are global concepts and facts defining the level” (van Dijk 1977a:17).

Somsong offers a method of applying van Dijk’s macrorules to discover the macrostructure of a narrative text.

“Instead of applying the macrorules to the unrestricted text, one begins with the storyline, i.e. any happenings that push the story forward. The text-reduced-to-storyline makes a good abstract of the text, and is a low level of macrostructure, which is the input to the macrorules. The macrorules are recursively applied to the reduced text until the most general macrostructure of the text is discovered” (Somsong 1991:17-18).

In analyzing the macrostructures of the four Lahu Si texts, the storyline was first abstracted from the whole text. Storyline in Lahu Si is made up entirely of final clauses, excluding non-final clauses, unless they were promoted to storyline¹⁴. Once the storyline was extracted the macrorules were applied to it. According to the average of the four texts looked at in the following sections, the storyline band makes up 42% of the full texts.

In determining the storyline of the texts, the speech acts throughout the texts were challenging. It is, and remains, unclear exactly what sets a quote on storyline and what demotes it to non-storyline bands, as well as, determining if the content of the quote is included in the information of the band or if it excluded from the analysis at that level. The analysis found in this thesis has determined that if the final quote formulas follow the rules to place the clause on storyline, then the quote included in that clause is on storyline. If the final quote formula does not contain the needed features to place the quote on the storyline then the quote remains non-storyline. An example of this can be seen in 5.1.1.

An example of each of the rule’s application to each of the texts can be found in 2.4.1-2.4.4.

2.3.1 The Story of the Cat and Dog

The free translation of “The Story of the Cat and Dog” is as follows:

A long time ago, there was a husband and wife couple. They had a very good amulet. The king heard of it and desired it very much. And so, he tried to buy it from them, but couldn’t. One day, a war broke out in the country, and the

¹⁴ For further discussion of storyline and other salient bands in Lahu Si and the rules of promotion and demotion in each of the texts see 5.1-5.4.

husband had to go and fight in it as a soldier. At that time, the king, wanting the amulet, made a plan to get it. He would use his assistant to go find the wife. The helper found the wife and said, "Your husband is on the battlefield. Your husband said to me, 'We who are fighting the war are losing so bring his amulet,' and he sent me to come and get it." The wife thought this was possible and sent it with the helper. The king got the amulet, put it in a trunk, and stored it in the last room at the farthest end of his house. The best soldiers were sent to guard the house.

At the time the husband returned from the war, he found out immediately what had happened, and thought hard. The husband and wife had a dog and a cat that were as clever as people. Therefore, they used the cat and the dog to go find and bring back the amulet. The two left and came near the city. Then the cat said to the dog, "You stay here please. I'm going to check it out first," and he went immediately into the city. Passing by row after row of soldiers, the cat finally came to the king's palace. And then it carefully stole past the guards, entered in and climbed to the top of the palace. It went to the very last room and saw a large trunk. And then it tried to gnaw a hole into the big trunk. At the time the soldier guards heard the sound of the cat gnawing on the trunk, some of them said, "Listen, surely a thief has come!" Some others said, "It's surely just a cat chewing on a mouse." So the cat was able to bite a hole in the trunk and see the amulet. The cat held the amulet securely in its mouth and returned home. Once he got outside the city, he said to the dog, "I got the amulet!"

Then the two of them set off together for home, and just a short way down the road, the dog said to the cat, "Please let me hold the amulet in my mouth a little while too, or else I'm afraid the master won't give me any food." So the cat let the dog hold it in its mouth. The dog held the amulet in its mouth and walked a little way, and before long he saw a bridge and walked over it. On top of the bridge, in the water, the dog saw another dog walking and holding in its mouth an amulet. The dog opened its mouth ready to attack and bite the other dog, and the amulet fell into the water and a big fish swallowed it. After that, the cat and dog didn't know what to do and sat dejected near the bank of the stream. At that time, the otter king surfaced out of the water, the two of them saw it, quickly pounced on it, held it down, and said, "If you don't go and get the amulet in the mouth of the big fish and bring it back to us, we will eat you." And so the otter king called together his subjects to get them to follow and catch the big fish. In a short time they caught the fish and they returned the amulet. The cat put it in its mouth and went on toward home.

Just down the road, the dog said to the cat, "Cat, please let me hold the amulet again. The owner won't be willing to feed me." The cat felt sorry for the dog, and allowed it to hold the amulet again. As the two of them went a little further, they saw a dead horse, and the dog immediately spit out the amulet and eagerly went to eat the dead horse. At that time, a crow suddenly swooped down and picked up the amulet in its beak. This time, the two of them had no idea what to do and sat dejected near the dead horse. As they sat there, the king of the crows flew down to eat the dead horseflesh. Then the cat

crept up and jumped on the king of the crows and said, “That crow way over there roosting in the tree picked up and carried away my amulet.” So, the king of the crows went to talk to the crow roosting in the top of the tree, and that crow returned the amulet. And after that incident, the two of them were very happy. The cat held the amulet again and they returned on their way.

A short distance down the road, the dog said to the cat, “Let me hold it again please! I’m afraid that soon the master won’t feed me anything.” The cat did not let the dog hold the amulet. Instead the cat said, “Soon we will have walked to the edge of the village, you can ask to hold it then.” When they got to the edge of the village the dog spoke again, “Let me hold it. We’re close to the house already!” The cat spoke again, “Wait until we get to the stairs of the house.” At the stairs the dog said again, “Let me carry it.” The cat spoke again, “For sure when we are next to the door. I will return it to you to hold in your mouth.”

At the moment they got near the door, the cat jumped into the house, and returned the amulet to the owner.

Since that time until today, cats and dogs have not mixed together well and fight often.

When the storyline band¹⁵ is extracted from the text, the following story results.

The king desired the husband and woman’s amulet very much. The husband had to go and fight as a soldier. At that time the king made a plan to get the amulet. He planned to use his assistant to find the woman. The assistant said to the woman, “Your husband said to me, ‘we who are fighting the war are losing so bring the amulet’”. So the woman sent it to him. Thus, the king got the amulet and stored it in the last room at the farthest end of his house and sent the best soldiers to guard it. [S002-013]

The couple thought hard and sent their cat and dog to bring back the amulet. The cat and dog came near the city. The cat went to the king’s palace and was able to bite a hole into the trunk, saw the amulet, and returned home (with it). The cat said to the dog, “I have the amulet”. [S014-028]

The dog said, “Let me hold the amulet or the master won’t give me any food.” So the cat let the dog hold the amulet. The dog walked over a bridge, went to attack another dog, dropped the amulet into the water and a big fish swallowed it. They said to the otter king, “If you don’t go and get the amulet from the big fish and bring it back to us, we will eat you.” So the otter king caught the big fish and returned the amulet. [S029-036]

The dog said, “Let me hold the amulet again or the owner won’t be willing to feed me.” So the cat had the dog hold the amulet again. But a crow took the amulet in it’s beak. The king crow came to eat the dead horse. They said to the king crow, “The crow roosting in the tree over there picked up and carried

¹⁵ See section 5.1 for details of the salience bands of “The Story of the Cat and Dog.”

away our amulet.” So the crow returned the amulet to the dog and cat. [S037-046]

The dog said, “Let me hold the amulet again or the master won’t feed me anything.” The cat said, “You can hold it once we get to the village.” The dog said again, “Let me hold the amulet, we are close to the house already.” The cat replied, “Wait until we get to the stairs.” The dog said, “Let me carry it.” The cat said, “For sure when we are next to the door, I will return it to you.” [S047-057]

But the cat returned the amulet to the owner himself. [S058]

Through applying van Dijk’s macrorules a sufficient macrostructure can be concluded from “The Story of the Cat and Dog,” which can be seen in Table 15 below.

STORYLINE	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 1	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 2	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 3
Cat and Dog Story 004	<p>M4. The king wanting the amulet made a plan using his assistant to find the woman and get the amulet.</p>	<p>M4. The king wanted and took the amulet so the couple used their cat and dog to get the amulet back.</p>	<p>→ The king wanted and took the amulet so the couple used their cat and dog to get the amulet back.</p>
... and desired it very much.			
Cat and Dog Story 006			
... and the husband had to go fight in it (as a soldier).			
Cat and Dog Story 007			
At that time, the king wanting the amulet, made this plan (to get it).			
Cat and Dog Story 008			
(...) (He would) use his assistant to go find the woman.			
Cat and Dog Story 010			
(Your husband) thus spoke (to me) 'We (who) are fighting the war, are close to losing so, bring his amulet', and (he) sent me (to get it)." he thus spoke (to her).			
Cat and Dog Story 011			
... and sent it with him.			
Cat and Dog Story 012			
The king got the amulet ...			
... and stored it in the last room at the farthest end of his house.			
Cat and Dog Story 013			
The best of the soldiers (were set) to guard the house.			
Cat and Dog Story 014	<p>M1. The couple thought of a plan sending</p>		
... , and thought hard.			
Cat and Dog Story 016			

... and bring back the amulet.	the cat and the dog to go to the city and bring the amulet back.		
Cat and Dog Story 017			
... and came near the city.	M1. The Cat retrieved the amulet from the king.	→ The Cat retrieved the amulet from the king.	→ The Cat retrieved the amulet from the king.
Cat and Dog Story 018			
Then the cat said to the dog, "YOU stay here please."			
Cat and Dog Story 019			
"I'm going to check it out first", thus spoken, (it) immediately			
Cat and Dog Story 020			
... it finally came to the king's palace.			
Cat and Dog Story 026			
And so, the cat was able to bite a hole into the trunk and...			
... (it) saw the amulet.			
Cat and Dog Story 027			
... and (continued) to return (toward home).			
Cat and Dog Story 028			
..., (it) said to the dog, "(I) got the amulet!" (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 029			
..., the dog said to the cat, "Please let me hold the amulet in my mouth a little while too, or else (I'm afraid) the master won't give me any food." (it) thus spoke to (the cat).			
Cat and Dog Story 030			
So the cat had the dog to hold it in its mouth.			
Cat and Dog Story 031			
... a bridge and walked over it.			
Cat and Dog Story 032			
... ready to attack (bite) the other dog, and the amulet fell into the water			
... and a big fish swallowed it and left.			
Cat and Dog Story 034	M1. The otter king returned the amulet.		
... and said, "(If) you don't go and get the amulet in the mouth of the big fish and bring it back (to us), we will bite/eat you," (they) thus spoke to (it).			
Cat and Dog Story 035			
... catch the big fish.			

Cat and Dog Story 036			
... and (they) returned the amulet.			
Cat and Dog Story 038	<p>M4. The dog lost the amulet.</p>	<p>M3. The dog lost the amulet but it was returned.</p>	
Just down the road, the dog said to the cat, "Friend cat, please let me hold the amulet again.			
Cat and Dog Story 039			
The owner won't be willing to FEED me," (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 040			
... , and had it hold it again.			
Cat and Dog Story 041			
... and the dog immediately spit out the amulet and			
Cat and Dog Story 042	<p>M1. The crow returned the amulet.</p>		
... and left with the amulet (in it's beak).			
Cat and Dog Story 044			
... [the king of the crows flew down] to eat the dead horse flesh.			
Cat and Dog Story 045			
... and said, "The crow which is roosting in the tree way over there picked up and carried away (in it's beak) my amulet." (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 046			
... and that crow returned the amulet (to them) .			
Cat and Dog Story 048	<p>M4. The cat wouldn't let the dog hold the amulet.</p>	<p>→ The cat wouldn't let the dog hold the amulet.</p>	<p>→ The cat wouldn't let the dog hold the amulet.</p>
A short distance down the road, the dog said to the cat, "Let me hold it again please!"			
Cat and Dog Story 049			
"(I'm afraid that) soon the master won't feed me anything!" (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 051			
But he (the cat) said, "As soon as we get to edge of the village, (then)(you) can hold it." (it) thus spoke to (the dog).			
Cat and Dog Story 052			
... the dog spoke again, "Return (it) to me to hold it."			
Cat and Dog Story 053			
We're close to the house already!!" (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 054			

The cat spoke again, "Wait until we get the stairs of the house." (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 055			
... the dog spoke again, "Let me carry it." (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 056			
The cat spoke again, "For sure (when we are) next to the door!"			
Cat and Dog Story 057			
(Once we) go over there, (I) will return (it to you) [for] holding in your mouth." (it) thus spoke.			
Cat and Dog Story 058	→	→	→
..., and returned (the amulet) to the owner.	The Cat returned the amulet to the owner.	The Cat returned the amulet to the owner.	The Cat returned the amulet to the owner.

Table 15: Application of macrorules in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog.”

The application of the macrorules results in the statement of 61 words given below.

The king wanted and took the amulet, so the couple used their cat and dog to get the amulet back. The cat was able to retrieve the amulet from the king. But the dog continually lost the amulet but each time it was returned. So the cat didn't let the dog hold the amulet and returned it to the owner himself.

2.3.2 The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth

The free translation of “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” text is as follows:

Long ago, there was a family consisting of a father and his young son. And the father said, “Son, go in to the city and study!” So the son went to study. The father grazed his female water buffalo, and the village headman had a male water buffalo. And so, those two water buffalo grazed together.

Some time later it was reported that a male water buffalo calf was born. Then, the headman said, “That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of my water buffalo. This is the explanation, therefore it is certainly MY male water buffalo.”

After that, the father did not know what to think, so he sent for his son to return. He said, “Son! Please come back to the village when your work is finished.” And so, the son returned to the village.

After he arrived back he said, “My Father, you must not go to the village work meeting since you are giving birth, I will go to the work meeting place.”

Soon after, the work meeting time arrived, and the village headman said, “Where is your father that he is not coming to the village work meeting? Explain and I will consider your answer.” The son said, “My Father is not coming, I came instead. The problem is that my father gave birth and can not come.” The headman scolded him saying, “Are you crazy? Your father is a man, and he is not able to have children!?” After a moment, that young man said, “Mr. Headman, are you crazy? Your male water buffalo gave birth, so you said.” The headman was speechless, and had to give back the water buffalo calf.

So, therefore, the young son and the father’s water buffalo’s calf was finally able to be returned.

This is the point, the son who was sent to study and get wisdom, used the wisdom and was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.

Removing the storyline band from the text produces the following.

Two water buffalos were together and it was reported that a male water buffalo calf was born. The headman reportedly said this, “That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of my water buffalo. This is the explanation, it is certainly my male water buffalo.” [S003-010]

So the father sent for his son to return and said, “Son! Please come back to the village when your work is finished.” So the son returned. After he arrived back it is reported that he spoke saying, “My father, you must not go to the village work meeting since you are giving birth, I will go to the village work meeting place.” The headman then had to give back the water buffalo calf. [S011-019]

So, therefore, the young son and father’s water buffalo’s calf was finally able to be returned. The father was very happy because he was able to get the water buffalo calf returned. [S020-022]

The macrorules applied to the “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” can be seen in Table 16.

STORYLINE	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 1	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 2
Male Gives Birth 007	M3. The two water buffalos were together and a calf was born.	M4. A water buffalo calf was born and the
And so, those two water buffalo were together ...eating ...		
Male Gives Birth 008		
Some time later it was reported that a male water buffalo calf was born.		
Male Gives Birth 009		

Then, the headman reportedly said this, "That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of mine (water buffalo)."	M3. Then, the headman reportedly said this, "That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of my water buffalo".	headman said it was his.	
Male Gives Birth 010			
"This is the explanation (therefore), it is certainly MY male water buffalo." so (they) said he said.			
Male Gives Birth 011	M1. The father asked his son to return.	M4. The father asked his son to return and make a plan to get the calf back.	
... , (so) he sent for his son (to return).			
Male Gives Birth 012			
He spoke thus, "Son! Please come back to the village when your work is finished."			
Male Gives Birth 013			
And so, the son returned (to the village).			
Male Gives Birth 014	M1. The son had a plan to get the calf back.	M4. The father asked his son to return and make a plan to get the calf back.	
After he arrived back it is reported that he spoke saying, " My Father, you must not go since you are giving birth, I will go to the (village) work meeting place."			
Male Gives Birth 019			
... and had to give back the water buffalo calf.			
Male Gives Birth 020	M4. The father was happy because the calf was returned.		→ The father was happy because the calf was returned.
So, their, the young son and father's water buffalo's calf was finally able to be returned (to them).			
Male Gives Birth 021			
The father was very happy.			
Male Gives Birth 022			
... and was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.			

Table 16: Application of macrorules for "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth."

Applying van Dijk's macrostructure rules, the following macrostructure from "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" is produced:

A water buffalo calf was born and the headman said it was his. So the father asked his son to return and make a plan to get the calf back. The father was happy because the calf was returned.

2.3.3 The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

The free translation of "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle" is as follows:

Then, there was a turtle and a monkey. Then the turtle came out and surfaced in the sun. After the monkey ate fruit, he went to drink water.

They spoke together. The monkey said “Turtle, what are you doing?” The turtle said, “I’m sun bathing. What did you come to do?” The monkey said, “I already ate fruit and I came to get a drink.” The monkey said, “You can be in the water and out of the water. But me, I can only live out of the water. I want to be like that.” The turtle said, “You can live on the mountain and climb trees,” while he was speaking he saw a banana tree fall into the water.

The monkey said to the turtle, “You go into the water to the tree and return.” The turtle said, “I’ll go and listen. And help get it out.” Before the monkey could say that he would help, the turtle was in the water and brought the tree back and the monkey helped take it out.

After that the turtle said, “Monkey, lets eat this tree together.” The monkey said, “I won’t. Who ever plants it should eat it.” Then before the monkey spoke, the turtle made the monkey chose to take part of the tree. Monkey thought, “The bottom of the tree is not good” but he thought the top is good. So the turtle took the bottom half. After that, who will plant? Of the monkey’s, there is not head of the roots, so each day it died more. Of the turtle’s, there was a head of the roots, so each day it got better and had fruit.

One day the bananas became ripe. The turtle wanted to eat them but he couldn’t get them and carry them. Then the turtle said to the monkey, “My bananas are ripe. I can’t get them. If you get them, let us both eat.” So the monkey got the bananas and ate them himself. The turtle said to come down but the monkey ate all the bananas and threw the peels to the ground. After that the turtle was very angry and put thorns on the tree. The monkey couldn’t come down so he had to jump and slipped on the peels and made his bottom red.

So the turtle said, “You don’t want me to eat because of your sin.” After he said this he entered the water.

From then until now, monkeys have a red bottom from slipping.

From this story, learn: If you forget the benefits you will perish.

From the text the storyline band can be extracted as follows:

The turtle was sitting in the sun and after the monkey ate some fruit he came down to drink some water. The monkey said, “I already ate fruit and I came to get a drink.” He also said, “You can be in the water and out of the water. But me, I can only live out of the water. I want to be like that.” Just then a banana tree fell into the water. The turtle said, “I will go and see and get it out.” The monkey said, “I’ll help” and the monkey helped take it out. [S003-016]

The monkey said, “No, I will not share the plant with you. Whoever plants it should eat from it.” The monkey choose to bring out the tree and thought that the top of the tree was good. So the turtle took the bottom half of the tree. Each day the top of the tree continued to die and the bottom half of the tree got better and had fruit. Soon the bananas became ripe. [S017-024]

The monkey ate the bananas by himself so the turtle put thorns on the tree. The thorns made the monkey slip making his bottom red. [S025-029]

A possible application of the macrorules and a final macrostructure for this text is found in Table 17:

STORYLINE	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 1	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 2	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 3	
Lahu Si Story Two 004	→ The turle came to sit in the sun.	M4. Both the turtle and the monkey were at the water and the monkey said, “I want to be like you because you can live in and out of the water”.	M4. While the turtle and the monkey were at the water talking a banana tree fell into the water so the turtle went to get it and the monkey helped take it out.	
... to sit in the sun.				
Lahu Si Story Two 005	M1. The monkey finished eating and came to get a drink.			
After the monkey ate fruit,				
he went to drink water.				
Lahu Si Story Two 009				
Monkey said, "I already ate fruit and I came to get a drink."				
Lahu Si Story Two 010	M3. The monkey said, “You can in the water and out of the water. But me, I can only live out of the water. I want to be like you.			
The monkey said, "You can be in the water and out of the water.				
Lahu Si Story Two 011				
But me, I can only live out of the water.				
Lahu Si Story Two 012				
I want to be like that." (((Thus he said)))	M3. A banana tree fell into the water so			→ A banana tree fell into the water so
Lahu Si Story Two 013				
.... a banana tree fall into the water.				
Lahu Si Story Two 014				

The turtle said, "I will go and listen. And help get it out."	the turtle went to get it and the monkey helped him get it out.	the turtle went to get it and the monkey helped him get it out.	
Lahu Si Story Two 015			
The monkey said, "I'll help get it out."			
Lahu Si Story Two 016			
... , and the monkey helped take it out			
Lahu Si Story Two 017	→ The monkey said, "I won't. Whoever planted it should eat it."	M4. The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.	→ The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.
... The monkey said, "I won't. Who planted it should eat."			
Lahu Si Story Two 018			
... the monkey choose to bring out the tree.			
Lahu Si Story Two 019			
.... but also thought that the top of the tree is good.			
Lahu Si Story Two 020	→ So the turtle took the bottom half of the tree.	M4. The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.	→ The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.
So the turtle took the bottom half of the tree.			
Lahu Si Story Two 022	→ So each day the top half of the tree continued to die.	M4. The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.	→ The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.
... , so each day it continued to die.			
Lahu Si Story Two 023	M3. Each day the bottom half got better and the fruit become ripe.	M4. The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.	→ The monkey would not share the whole tree, so he choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom of the tree, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe.
... , so each day it got better and had fruit.			
Lahu Si Story Two 024			
... the bananas became ripe.			
Lahu Si Story Two 026	M4. The monkey ate the fruit by	→ The monkey ate the fruit by	→ The monkey ate the fruit by
... and ate them himself.			

Lahu Si Story Two 028	himself, so the turtle put thorns on the tree which made the monkey slide making his bottom red.	himself, so the turtle put thorns on the tree which made the monkey slide making his bottom red.	himself, so the turtle put thorns on the tree which made the monkey slide making his bottom red.
... and put thorns on the tree.			
Lahu Si Story Two 029			
... and slide making his bottom red.			

Table 17: Application of macrorules for “The Story of the
Monkey and the Turtle.”

The macrorules applied the final macrostructure is as follows:

While the turtle and the monkey were at the water talking, a banana tree fell into the water so the turtle went to get it and the monkey helped take it out. The monkey choose the top of the tree, which continued to die, and the turtle took the bottom half, which continued to get better and bear fruit which became ripe. The monkey ate the fruit himself, so the turtle put thorns on the tree which made the monkey slide making his bottom red.

2.3.4 The Monkey Chops the Branch

A free translation of “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text is as follows:

The monkey is more clever than all other animals and it’s body looks very much like people. The monkey thinks, ‘I can climb trees, run fast, and am more skillful than people in looking for food’.

That monkey went looking for food and climbed to the top of and sat in a tall fig tree at the edge of the trail. The fig tree was very large and had many branches. A person who was coming down that trail when he came under that tree, sat and rested. The monkey sitting on the fig tree branch, while looking down the trail saw there was a person who was walking toward him.

That person sat under the tree and stopped to rest. He put down near him the knife he was carrying and took off his hat. A short time later the person was tired and went to sleep.

While the person was sleeping, the monkey in the fig tree descended and took and put on the hat that the person had put down. He grabbed the knife and pulled it out of its sheath and looked at it. That monkey grabbed the knife and thought, “I could take this and chop the big branch and be able to cut it off. I should take it and try to cut the fig tree branch.” The monkey took the knife and returned climbing to the top of the tree.

That monkey got to the top of the tree, walked out on a branch, and sat down on the leafy side of the branch. He got settled and chopped through the branch

on the trunk side while he was sitting on the leafy side. The branch was severed and that monkey and the branch fell down. The fig tree branch severed, fell, hit the ground hard and the monkey crashed to the ground and died.

The big tree and the big monkey fell to the ground and the loud sound startled and woke up the man who was sleeping. When the man awoke from sleeping, he saw the monkey that was dead. And so, the man picked up the monkey and carried it home.

This little story teaches us that while we are alive we need to understand ourselves in the work we have to do. We should not do things that will harm ourselves or cause us to die.

Removing the storyline band from the whole text is as follows:

The monkey had a body much like that of a person. The tree had many branches. The person rested. [S002-006]

On the trail there was a person who was walking and stopped to rest. He placed his knife near him. The monkey put on the hat that the person had put down and pulled out the knife and looked at it. [S007-012]

The monkey thought, "I could take this and chop a big branch off. I should try and cut off a fig tree branch." The monkey got settled and chopped through the branch on which he was sitting on the tree branch side. The monkey and the branch fell down. The monkey crashed to the ground and died. [S013-018]

The person awoke, saw the dead monkey and carried it home. [S019-021]

Thus, we need to understand ourselves. [S022]

The application of the macrorules is found in Table 18.

STORYLINE	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 1	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 2	APPLICATION OF MACRORULES 3
Lahu Si Story Three 002	M3. There was a monkey who looked very much like people, a tree with many branches, and a person who stopped to rest.	M2. (Deleting this all, necessary parts are incorporated further down)	→ (Deleting this all, necessary parts are incorporated further down)
... , it's body (looks) very much like people.			
Lahu Si Story Three 005			
... had many branches.			
Lahu Si Story Three 006			
... and rested.			
Lahu Si Story Three 007			

... the trail there was a person who was walking (walking toward).	M3. A person walked down the trail, stopped to rest and placed his things beside him.	M4. While the person rested the monkey put on his hat and pulled out the knife which the person had placed beside him.	→ While the person rested the monkey put on his hat and pulled out the knife which the person had placed beside him.
Lahu Si Story Three 008			
... and stop to rest.	M3. The monkey put on the person's hat and pulled out the knife.		
Lahu Si Story Three 009			
... and placed them near him.)))))			
Lahu Si Story Three 011			
... and put on the hat that the person had put down.	→ The monkey thought, "I could take this and chop off a branch. I should try to cut a branch of the fig tree".	(integration with the first block) M3. The monkey being very much like a person thought, "I could take this and chop off a branch. I should try."	M4. The monkey being very much like a person thought he could do what people do, so he cut through the branch he was sitting on killing himself.
Lahu Si Story Three 012			
... and pulled it out and looked at it.			
Lahu Si Story Three 013	M1. The monkey cut through the branch he was sitting on killing himself.	→ The monkey cut through the branch he was sitting on killing himself.	
... and thought (about it), "Could take this and chop, the big branch be abl to cut off, I should take it an try to cut the fig tree branch," so he thought.			
Lahu Si Story Three 016			
He got settled and			
...good settled chopped though the branch on which he was sitting on the tree branch side.			
Lahu Si Story Three 017			
... and that monkey (and the branch) fell down.	M3. The person awoke, saw the dead monkey and carried it home.	M4. The person took the dead monkey home.	→ The person took the dead monkey home.
Lahu Si Story Three 018			
... and the monkey (crashed to the ground) died.			
Lahu Si Story Three 019			
... and the loud sound startled waken the man who was sleeping.	→ We need to understand our selves.	→ We need to understand our selves.	→ We need to understand our selves.
Lahu Si Story Three 020			
... he saw the monkey that was dead.			
Lahu Si Story Three 021	→ We need to understand our selves.	→ We need to understand our selves.	→ We need to understand our selves.
... and carried it home.			
Lahu Si Story Three 022			
This little story teaches us that while we are living the work we have to do we need to understand our (selves/position).			

Table 18: Application of macrorules for "The Monkey Chops the Branch."

A possible macrostructure of this text based on the application of the macrorules follows:

While the person rested, the monkey put on his hat and pulled out the knife which the person had placed beside him. The monkey, being very much like a person, thought he could do things as a person, cut through the branch he was sitting on killing himself. The person took the dead monkey home. Thus we need to understand ourselves.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has looked at the linguistic framework which creates the foundation for the discourse analysis found in the remaining chapters of this thesis. The boundary analysis and methodology comes from Barnwell. Tuen van Dijk's theory of macrostructure is applied. The theory applied for notional and surface structure and mainline is from Robert Longacre. Finally Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn's theory of participant reference is applied.

This chapter also looks at each of the four texts analyzed in this thesis. From these four texts we can see that they are all folk narratives which feature animals and conclude with a moral. A free translation and macrostructure is given for each of the texts.

In Lahu Shi the storyline is distinguished by final clauses. Final clauses and the elements that promote a clause to storyline and the elements that demote a clause off storyline are grammatical (see section 5.0). This makes the salience bands very clear and the analysis very smooth. Since there are clear grammatical features that distinguish the storyline each text easily produced the storyline, which truthfully represented the text. Therefore the analysis is very objective and the process could be repeated with the same conclusion.

The only place in the text that seemed counter intuitive to storyline was in the Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth text. In the text the son tricks the headman by saying his father is giving birth. However, the storyline includes the son telling his father about the trick but it does not include the son actually tricking the headman. Intuitively this

seems like a crucial part of the text, but according to the grammatical features, which mark storyline, it would not be included in the storyline.

Further research is needed to know the features of other genres, such as first-person narratives, procedural, behavior or expository texts, of Lahu Si texts as this thesis only looks at four animal folk narratives. Another area, which remains a challenge, is the relationship between speech acts and salience bands, and how quotations should be carried through the macrorules.

CHAPTER 3

BOUNDARIES, SURFACE AND NOTIONAL STRUCTURES

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the text's discourse units in light of both the surface structure and the notional structure. However, before the texts can be analyzed, each text is divided into chunks, or smaller units. This was done by first marking the largest and most intuitive breaks in the text. Then the text was examined for possible boundary marking features, such as those proposed by Barnwell (1980:238-239): grammatical markers, change in place, time and participants, topic sentences, summary or preview statements, overlap clauses, rhetorical questions, vocative phrases, tense or adverbial markers, stative or relative clauses. Once these boundary marking features were established, they were compared with the initial intuitive chunks, and adjustments were made accordingly.

The texts were also examined for features which signal internal unity within the chunks. Barnwell (1980:240) gives four internal unity marking features: 1.) same time, place, topic or participants, 2.) parallel forms, 3.) logical coherence, and 4.) lexical coherence. Barnwell (1980:240) describes 'parallel forms' as a phrase in a series of repeated forms, 'logical coherence' as a main statement followed by supporting statements, and 'lexical coherence' as a word or phrase repeated either identically or in a similar form. The internal unity marking features found within the Lahu Si texts include same time, place, topic and participant. The new change of affairs triggered by the boundary marking features, i.e. changes of time, place, topic or participants, remains consistent throughout the chunk creating internal unity.

The surface structure, or the physical appearance, according to Longacre (1996:35-38) can include Title, Aperture, Stage, Prepeak episode, Peak episode, Peak' episode, Postpeak episode, Closure and Finis. The surface structure of the Lahu Si texts are analyzed according to Longacre's suggestions. The notional structure is the overall plot structure and the underlying plot of the text. These are also analyzed according

to Longacre's (1996:35-38) suggestions: Exposition, Inciting Moment, Developing Conflict, Climax, Denouement, Final Suspense and Conclusion. The surface and notional structures correlate to each other. An example correlation is presented in Table 19.

	Title	Aperture	Stage	(Prepeak episodes)	Peak episode	Peak' episode	Postpeak' episode	Closure	Finis
	Surface structure	Formulaic Phrase/sentence	Expository paragraph/discourse Narrative paragraph/discourse	Paragraph/discourse (usually narrative or dialogue) articulated by means of: Time horizons in succession Back reference in paragraph/discourse to preceding conjunctions Juxtaposition, i.e., clear structural transition to another paragraph or embedded discourse	Paragraph discourse Marked by: Phetorical underlining Concentration of participants Heightened vividness Shift of tense Shift to more specific person Narr-pseudo-dialogue-dialogue-drama Change of pace Variation in length of units Less conjunction & transition Change of vantage point orientation	See peak	See prepeak episodes	Of varied structure: specificall expository paragraph, but can be expository discourse, narrative discourse, hortatory discourse (=moral?)	Formulaic phrase/sentence
	Surface features only	Surface features	1. Exposition 'lay it out'	2. Inciting moment 'get something going' 3. Developing conflict 'keep the heat on'	4. Climax 'knot it up proper' 5. Denouement 'loosen it' A. climax may encode as peak and denouement as 'peak' B. Climax may encode as prepeak episode and denouement as peak C. Climax may encode as peak and denouement as post peak episode		6. Final suspense 'keep untangling'	7. Conclusion 'wrap it up'	Surface feature only
	Notional structure (plot)								

Table 19: Longacre's Surface and Notional Structures,

Longacre 1996:36

In the following sections each text is analyzed individually according to Longacre's surface and notional structures. Then the common features of the texts are analyzed as a whole to note distinct Lahu Si discourse features.

3.1 The Story of the Cat and the Dog

“The Story of the Cat and the Dog” can be broken up into seven segments or chunks. S#001 is the Title and is not included in the chunks. The chunks are:

- S#002–013
- S#014–028
- S#029–037
- S#038–047
- S#048–057
- S#058
- S#059

This text uses two or more elements such as location, time, and connectors to indicate a boundary between segments. Other boundary marking features in this text include stative verbs, drama, no non-final clauses and morals.

The internal unity marking features found in this text include consistency in topic and character within a segment.

The text as a whole divided into chunks with the features marking boundaries and internal unity is presented in Table 20.

Type of Features	Surface structure	Stage	Prepeak			Peak	Postpeak	Closure
	Notional structure	Exposition	Inciting moment	Developing conflict		Climax	Denouement	Conclusion
			Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	
	S#	002-013	014-028	029-037	038-047	048-057	058	059
Boundary Marking Features	Change of Location				<i>Yaq kaw teq theh gaeg lehq,</i> 'Just down the road'	<i>Yaq kaw teq theh kawq gaeg lehq,</i> 'A short distance down the road'		
	Change of Time	<i>A mig thad lo</i> 'A long time ago', ¹⁶	(& relative clause) <i>Awg phad mawd u ve maq ca bawz kawaq che,</i> 'when the husband returned'					<i>U ve teq ni haq te lehq yaq ni kha gag,</i> 'From that day until now'
	Connectors			<i>Kheh te lehq,</i> 'therefore'				
	Other	Uses stative verb <i>cawg</i> 'have' or 'to be'				Completely dialogue, No nonfinal clauses		moral
Internal Unity Marking Features	Topic ¹⁷			First cycle	Second cycle	Breaks cycle, with embedded cycle	Breaks embedded Peak cycle	
	Change of Character	Not main characters	Main participants			Only main two participants	Dual	

Table 20: Chunking and boundaries of "The Story of the Cat and the Dog."

¹⁶ The first clause of the text is a sentence initial phrase setting the story in time. This clause also serves as the Aperture.

¹⁷ Topic is used for a semantic or thematic change in text, such as cycles or the topic of the chunks.

3.1.1 Title and Aperture

According to Longacre (1996:34) both the Title and the Aperture are surface structure features and do not correspond to any segment in the notional structure. The Title of this story is the name of the two main characters, *Na mix khawehr he lehq Phid awg lawn* ‘The Story of the Cat and Dog’. The Aperture is the opening temporal phrase of the first sentence. In this story the aperture is *A mig thad lo* ‘A long time ago’.

3.1.2 Stage and Exposition

The Stage sets the surroundings of the text giving general information. The Stage in “The Story of the Cat and Dog” is made up of S#002–013. This section opens with the Aperture which is the general time of the story, *a mig thad lo* ‘a long time ago’. The opening verb *cawg* ‘to have/ to be’ in Lahu Si, being characteristic to stage features, is a stative verb. In this story the remainder of the stage lays out the history of the story, to bring the reader up to speed, so she can understand the context of the story. Here the minor participants, the owners of the cat and dog, are introduced as the owners of a very good amulet. Some other minor participants are also introduced by the means of telling the background of the story, such as the king, who wants the amulet, so he devises and carries out a plan to possess the amulet. Unlike the other texts analyzed, this text does not introduce the main participants within the Stage; rather it introduces the reason or need for the main participants, the cat and dog.

This section, the Stage, corresponds to the Exposition in the notional structure. The Exposition ‘lays out’ the story or gets it underway. In this text the Exposition is unique because it is longer than the Exposition in the other texts analyzed in this thesis and it does not introduce the main participants immediately.

This section contains an embedded narrative in the Stage. According to Longacre, “Many times stage is expounded by an expository paragraph or even by a short embedded expository discourse. It may, however, be a subsidiary narrative of some length which is necessary to get the main narrative going” (1996:15).

A chart of the embedded narrative can be seen below.

Surface structure	Notional structure		S#	Summary
Stage	Exposition		002-003	There was a husband and wife. They had a good amulet.
Prepeak	Inciting moment	Episode 1	004-005	The king knew of this and wanted it but couldn't get it.
Prepeak	Developing conflict	Episode 2	006	The husband had to go to war.
Prepeak	Developing Conflict	Episode 3	007-008	The king made a plan using his assistant to look for the wife.
Peak	Climax	Episode 4	009-011	The assistant said to the wife, 'Your husband is on the battlefield and they are losing, so he asked for his amulet.' So the wife gave the assistant the amulet.
Postpeak	Denouement	Episode 5	012-013	So the king was able to get the amulet and placed it in a trunk and stored it in the farthest room in his house.

Table 21: Embedded narrative in the Stage of “The Story of the Cat and the Dog”

3.1.3 Prepeak Episode 1 and Inciting Moment

The Stage is followed by the Prepeak episodes. In this story there are three Prepeak episodes. The first of these is found between S#014-028. This section is set apart by a temporal phrase and a relative clause, *Awg phad mawd u ve maq ca bawz kawaq che te yand* ‘When the husband who went to war returned.’ This section asks, “So what are the owners of the amulet going to do about the fact that the king stole it?” In answering this question the main participants, the cat and the dog, are introduced as the means of getting the amulet back.

The first episode corresponds to the Inciting Moment of the notional structure. “The prepeak episodes help to build up the interest, tension, and/or suspense until the peak is reached” (Jirel 1999:56). This section reveals a problem, namely that the king stole the amulet! While in the previous section it is told that the king stole the amulet, it was not explicitly stated as a problem until this section when the husband returns home and realizes the lies the king used to get the amulet. The following sections devise and implement a plan to regain possession of the amulet.

3.1.4 Prepeak Episode 2 and Developing conflict

The second Prepeak episode in this story is S#029-037. It is marked by a connector *Kheh te lehq* 'Therefore.' This section is the first of the cycles found in the text. Cycles are a series of episodes with similar plots in which the details are different. The cycles could be embedded texts as they have their own concentrated local tension/peak. In this section the dog asked to carry the amulet, but because he saw his own reflection and went to attack, he dropped the amulet and a fish swallowed it.

This section begins the Developing Conflict on the notional level. There is continued development of tension and suspense building the readers' interest.

3.1.5 Prepeak Episode 3 and Developing Conflict

The third Prepeak episode, S#038-047, is marked by the locational phrase, *Yaq kaw teq theh gaeg lehq* 'Just down the road.' This is also the second cycle following the previous section's cycle. Here again the dog asks to carry the amulet and again loses it. This time, however, the dog sets the amulet down so he could eat a dead horse. Then a crow picks it up. Just as in the preceding section, this section has concentrated tension or mini peak.

This section continues the Developing Conflict as the cycle repeats itself. It's purpose is to continue to develop tension and suspense.

3.1.6 Peak Episode and Climax

The Peak episode is found in episode 4, S#048-057. The earlier cycle that occurs within this text is broken in the Peak episode. The cycle begins with the dog asking for the amulet, but this time the cat does not give it to the dog. Here the tension is the strongest, and one is forced to ask, "How will this be resolved?" The section is marked with the temporal phrase *Yaq kaw teq theh kawq gaeg lehq* 'A short distance down the road.'

The Peak episode contains heightened vividness as the whole section is completely composed of dialogue. While "one hallmark of peak" is concentration of participants

(Longacre 1996:40), this text does just the opposite and narrows the participants down to only the main participants, the cat and the dog. There is also a change of pace as almost no non-final clauses occur in the peak. In comparison to the preceding episodes of the text, which contain 47 non-final clauses and 45 final clauses, the sentences throughout the Peak are shorter because there are fewer non-final clauses added to the main clause. There are 1.04 non-final clauses per final clause in non-Peak episodes. However, the Peak contains six final clauses and only two non-final clauses. There are 0.33 non-final clauses per final clauses throughout the Peak. In non-Peak episodes there are three times the amount of non-final clauses making the sentence length longer. In comparison the Peak contains shorter sentences making the pace of the story faster.

The Peak is the most intense segment and contains the pivotal moment in the story. Therefore it corresponds to the Climax at the notional structure.

While this section breaks the cycle of the previous episodes, this section also contains an embedded minor cycle of its own. The embedded cycle consists of a repetition of the dog pleading with the cat to hold the amulet again and the cat responding with a delay in letting the dog hold the amulet.

A chart of the embedded cycle is given in Table 22.

Cycle	S#	Summary
1	048-051	Dog asked to hold the amulet again. Cat replies, "At the edge of the village."
2	052-054	Dog asked to hold the amulet again. Cat replies, "At the stairs."
3	055-057	Dog asked to hold the amulet again. Cat replies, "Next to the door."

Table 22: Embedded cycle in the Peak

3.1.7 Postpeak Episode and Denouement

The Postpeak episode is found in S#058. Here is stated the conclusion to the broken larger cycle of the text, that the cat refused to let the dog hold the amulet again, but also the minor embedded cycle, that the dog continued to ask and the cat continued

deny the dog's request. In this section the story is not allowed to continue any further as the cat jumps into the house and gives the amulet to its owner.

This section is marked by the breaking of the embedded minor cycle found within the Peak. It also switches from individual participants of the cat and dog to the dual pronoun reference.

This section corresponds to the Denouement. "The denouement answers the question that was raised in the climax. In other words, something happens to make the solution possible or to tell what happened" (Jirel 1999:105). According to Longacre, in the denouement, 'Loosen it,' "a crucial event happens which makes resolution possible. Tension begins to subside" (1996:35).

3.1.8 Closure and Conclusion

The closure, S#059, is initiated by *Uve teq ni haq te lehq yaq ni kha gag* 'From that day till today.' This is the beginning of a moral conclusion to the story. The moral of this story is:

(1) C&D 059

U	ve	teq	ni	haq	te	lehq	yaq	ni	kha	gag	Na	mix	khawe	hr	he	lehq	Phid	ted	ceng	
that	one	day	OM	and	so	today	until	cat							and	dog	one	kind		
det	num	n	Pn	conj	adv:tm	adv:tm	n								conj	n	num	class		
ma	thad	daq		vehr		che	yaog.													
NEG	mix	reciprocal		COMPLETE	CHE	DECL														
adv	v	Pv		Vv		Pu	Pf													

Since that day until today, cats and dogs have not mixed together well.

The closure corresponds to the conclusion in the notional structure. The conclusion wraps up the story and brings it to an end.

3.2 The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth

"The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" can be divided into seven segments or chunks. S#001 is the name of the author and S#002 is the title of the story. Both S#001 and 002 are not included in the chunks. The chunks are:

- S#003–007
- S#008–010
- S#011–013
- S#014
- S#015-019
- S#020-021
- S#022

This text uses elements such as change of time and participants, connectors, stative verbs, overlap clauses, heightened vividness and dialogue, to indicate a boundary between segments.

The internal unity is marked in this text with consistency of character and time throughout each segment.

The text as a whole is divided into chunks with the boundary marking features and internal unity features as seen in Table 23.

Type of Features	Surface structure	Stage	Prepeak			Peak	Postpeak	Closure
	Notional structure	Exposition	Inciting moment	Developing conflict		Climax	Denouement	Conclusion
			Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	
	S#	003-007	008-010	011-013	014	015-019	020-021	022
Boundary Marking Features	Time	<i>A mig thad lo</i> , ‘A long time ago’	<i>Te pawz lehr</i> , ‘Some time later’	<i>Te pawz lehr</i> , ‘Some time later’	<i>Kawaq gag nuhr</i> , ‘After he arrived back’	<i>Te pawz lehr kanx jehg tug awg yand gaig nuhr</i> , ‘Soon after and the work meeting time arrived’		
	Connectors						<i>Kheh te lehq</i> , ‘therefore’	<i>Khawehd te le ghod ver</i> , ‘This is the point’
	Other	Stative verb <i>cawg</i> ‘have’ or ‘to be’			Overlap clause: <i>Kawaq gag nuhr</i> , ‘After he arrived back’	Few non-final clauses, All dialogue		moral
Internal Unity Marking Features	Character	Main participants	Headman	Father	Son	Headman	Father/Son	Father/Son
	Time	Within the time <i>A mig thad lo</i> , ‘A long time ago’	Within the time <i>Te pawz lehr</i> , ‘Some time later’	Within the time <i>Te pawz lehr</i> , ‘Some time later’	Within the time <i>Kawaq gag nuhr</i> , ‘After he arrived back’	Within the time <i>Te pawz lehr kanx jehg tug awg yand gaig nuhr</i> , ‘Soon after and the work meeting time arrived’		

Table 23: Chunking and boundaries of “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

3.2.1 Title and Aperture

The Title, S#002, of this story is *Nud kar par awg yad paw che* ‘The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.’ This Title is not the name of the main participants as in the previous text. Rather this Title is a summary of the irony within the text. The story opens with the Aperture, the same first phrase of the first sentence, *a mig thad lo* ‘A long time ago’ as in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog.”

3.2.2 Stage and Exposition

The Stage is found in S#003-007. The Stage sets the environment of the text, giving general information such as the time, place and participants of the rest of the story. It opens with the aperture *A mig thad lo* ‘A long time ago’ to indicate the time. One of the main participants, the son, is introduced along with his father, another leading participant, as well as the antagonist, the headman. Each of these are introduced with the verb *cawg* ‘to have/to be.’

(2) 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.

(3) MWBGB 005

khaz	kehx	var	vawr	nud kar	par	teq	kheh	cawg	che	yaog.
...	headman	FOC	water	buffalo	male	one	animal	have	CHE	DECL
n	prt	n	adj	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf		

... the village headman **had** a male water buffalo.

The location of the story is also given indirectly in the stage as the father tells the son to go to the city indicating they are in the country.

The Stage here also corresponds to the Exposition in the notional structure. The Exposition ‘lays out’ the story or gets it underway. It tells all one needs to know to jump into the rest of the story.

3.2.3 Prepeak Episode 1 and Inciting Moment

This story has three Prepeak episodes. The first Prepeak episode is found in S#008-010. It is marked by the sentence initial temporal phrase *te pawz Lehr* ‘some time later.’ It is also marked by a change of participant as the headman takes prominence. This Prepeak episode builds the suspense and tension. In this section a problem is stated, namely the headman claimed that his (male) water buffalo gave birth to the

new calf which in fact was birthed by the father's female water buffalo. It is as if this text proposes the question, "What should be done about this?"

In the notional structure this section correlates with the Inciting Moment as the tension is initiated with the problem that the Headman claims his (male) water buffalo gave birth to the newborn calf.

3.2.4 Prepeak Episode 2 and Developing Conflict

The second Prepeak episode is found in the text is S#011-013. It is marked with the sentence initial temporal phrase *te pawz Lehr* 'some time later.' Here the father finds a possible solution to the problem, to have his son come back to fix the problem. However at the notional level, Episode 2 still builds in tension by asking, "What will or can the son do?"

This section aligns with the developing conflict in the notional structure, which seeks to hold the reader's interest as a solution is suggested, but the actual means to solve the problem are not yet given.

3.2.5 Prepeak Episode 3 and Developing Conflict

The third Prepeak episode is found in S#014 and is marked by the sentence initial temporal phrase *kawaq gag nuhr* 'after he arrived back.' It contains an overlap clause with the end of the previous section, as the previous section states that the son returned and the opening of this section states, in the temporal clause above, that the son arrived back. It is also marked with a change of participant to the son. This section is the beginning of a dialogue that will continue throughout the peak; however, in this section only the son is speaking. The section contains unusual quote formulas, end particles, and added middle quote formulas.

The section corresponds to the Developing Conflict. Here the tension is still maintained by the son's plan: for the son to go to the meeting instead of the father because he is giving birth. Because the plan is not explained, it causes the readers to wonder "How might this work?" or "Why is the father giving birth?"

3.2.6 Peak and Climax

The Peak is found in S#015-019. Its commencement is marked with two temporal phrases *te pawz lehr* ‘soon after’ and *kanx jehg tug awg yand gaig nuhr* ‘the work meeting time arrived.’ It is also marked by a change in participant as the headman takes focus and begins speaking.

The Peak episode contains heightened vividness as the whole section moves from dialogue, which is found throughout the text, to drama. Here the participants speak without the full quote formula. As in the previous text, “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” the participants are confined to only two participants in the peak, unlike the hallmark etic concentration of participants. The Peak in this text also contains a change of pace since there are very few non-final clauses. The text, excluding the Peak, has 8 non-final clauses and 11 final clauses. However in the Peak there are 4 final clauses with only one non-final clause. By having fewer non-final clauses throughout the Peak, the pace of the story is faster.

The Peak corresponds to the Climax as the notional structure because this section contains the most tension within the whole text.

3.2.7 Postpeak and Denouement

The Postpeak episode, S#020-021, is marked with the connector *kheh te lehq* ‘therefore.’ Here the story can go no further as the water buffalo calf is returned and the father is happy.

This section correlates to Denouement. The Denouement loosens up the story as a solution is found.

3.2.8 Closure and Conclusion

The Closure is S#022, which is marked by the phrase *khawehd te le ghod ver* ‘Because of how all this is.’ This phrase marks the moral of the story, which is:

(4) MWBGB 021

Khawehd	te	le	ghod	ver	awg	yad	par	haq	cud	yi	ca	hend	cuh
how			because	since	offspring	male	OM	wisdom	go	and	study	cause	to
INT			Pnf		n	adj	Pn	n	v	v	Pv		
lar	che	heh	cud	yi	haq	yehd	lehq	nud	kar	yad	u	ve	khuhq
leave	set	CHE	while	wisdom	OM	use	CONJ	water	buffalo	offspring	that	to	return
v	Pu	Pnf	n	Pn	v	Pnf	n	n		n	det	v	
gha	che	yaog	ced.										
able	to	CHE	DECL	REPORTED									
v	Pu	Pf	disc										

Because as the son was sent to go [and] study wisdom, [he] used that wisdom and [he] was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.

The Closure correlates to the Conclusion in the notional structure. Here the story is wrapped up and closed.

3.3 The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

“The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” can be broken up into seven segments, or chunks. S#001 is the author’s name and S#002 is the Title of the story. The chunks are:

- S#003-005
- S#006-013
- S#014-016
- S#017-023
- S#024-029
- S#030
- S#031-033

This text uses elements such as change of time, connectors, change of topic and others, such as stative verbs, and overlap clauses, to indicate a boundary between segments.

The feature marking the internal unity found in this text is dialogue. Dialogue is an important unity marking feature in this text. The dialogue within a section can either make up the entire section or in contrast a section can contain no dialogue.

The divisions of the whole text, with the features marking boundaries and internal unity marking features, can be seen in Table 24.

Type of Features	Surface structure	Stage	Prepeak			Peak	Postpeak	Closure
	Notional structure	Exposition	Inciting moment	Developing conflict		Climax	Denouement	Conclusion
			Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	
	S#	003-005	006-013	014-016	017-023	024-029	030	031-033
Boundary Marking Features	Time	<i>A sawehd lo</i> , ‘At that time’	<i>Teq sawx-awr gaeg lehq</i> , ‘One time came that’		<i>U kheh te peg lehq</i> , ‘After that’	<i>Teq ni awr gaeg lehq</i> , ‘One day’		<i>U ve teq ni haq tanr lehq</i> , ‘From then until now’
	Connectors			<i>Kheh te lehq</i> , ‘Therefore’			<i>Kheh te lehq</i> , ‘Therefore’	
	Topic			From general habits to getting the tree				
	Other	Stative verb <i>cawg</i> ‘have’ or ‘to be’				Over lap clause: <i>U kheh te peg lehq</i> , ‘After that’		moral
Internal Unity Marking Features			Almost all dialogue			Less dialogue		

Table 24: Chunking and boundaries of “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

3.3.1 Title and Aperture

The Title of this story, S#002, is *Pawd pehq he lehq mawq awg lawn* ‘The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.’ The title of this story is constructed from the names of the main participants. The story opens with the Aperture, the first clause of the first sentence, *A sawehd lo* ‘At that time’.

3.3.2 Stage 1 and Exposition

The Stage is found in S#003-005. The Stage sets the surroundings of the text giving general information such as the time, place, and participants of the rest of the story. The time is given in the Aperture by the temporal phrase *A sawehd lo* ‘At that time’. The main participants in this story are the monkey and the turtle. They are introduced with the stative verb *cawg* ‘to have/to be’. The place is also given indirectly by saying that the turtle came out of the water to sunbathe and the monkey came down to the water to get a drink.

This section reveals to the reader all the setting knowledge needed for the rest of the story. Thus, this section corresponds to the Exposition. The Exposition ‘lays out’ the story or gets it underway. It tells all one needs to know to understand the rest of the story.

3.3.3 Prepeak Episode 1 and Inciting Moment

This story also has three Prepeak episodes. The first Prepeak episode is S#006-013. It is marked with the temporal phrase *teq sawx-awr gaeg lehq* ‘One time came that.’ In this section, though almost entirely dialogue between the monkey and the turtle, the tension is set by a tree falling into the water. Through this the reader asks, “What will the turtle and the monkey do about it?”

With the raising of a problem, the tension is sparked marking this section as the Inciting Moment in the notional structure.

3.3.4 Prepeak Episode 2 and Developing Conflict

The second Prepeak episode, S#014-016, is marked with the connector *kheh te lehq* ‘therefore.’ This section continues to build the tension as the topic changes from the general characteristics and habits of each of the participants, in the previous section, to what they are going to do with the tree and how they are going to get it out.

This section aligns with the Developing Conflict in the notional structure as it continues to build tension, suspense and interest.

3.3.5 Prepeak Episode 3 and Developing Conflict

The third Prepeak episode is found in S#017-#023. It is marked by the temporal phrase *u kheh te peg lehq* ‘After that.’ In this section the turtle creates a critical moment as he makes the monkey chose one half of the tree, either the top half or the bottom half.

The section also correlates with the Developing Conflict in the notional structure because the tension continues to build at this decision-making juncture. The tension remains throughout this section as we find out that the monkey chose the top half because it looked better, but it does not have roots, whereas the turtle took the bottom half, which had roots.

3.3.6 Peak and Climax

The Peak, S#024-029, is marked with the temporal phrase *teq ni –awr gaeg lehq* ‘one day.’

This text uses a change in time to indicate the boundary markers for the Peak. The Peak is also marked by a contrast between the prose which makes up the peak and the dialogue which is found in the remainder of the text. This text has a great deal of dialogue in the Prepeak sections, where as the Peak is marked with a very small amount of dialogue.

This section aligns with the Climax at the notional structure.

3.3.7 Postpeak and Denouement

The Postpeak episode is S#030. It is marked with the connector *kheh te lehq* ‘therefore.’ This section concludes the tension with the turtle cursing/reprimanding the monkey and then leaving the scene. By leaving the scene the turtle does not allow the story to continue.

This section corresponds to the Denouement because it closes the story making no other action possible.

3.3.8 Closure and Conclusion

The Closure, S#031, is marked by the phrase *u ve teq ni haq tanr lehq yaq ni kha gag* ‘From then until now.’ This phrase introduces the moral that follows. Unlike the other texts, this story closes with two morals. Most commonly the moral reflects the ‘lesson’ which the reader can gain from the story. However this story also includes a biological and historical understanding which can be gained from the story. The biological and historical implication found in this story is:

(5) M&T 031

U ve teq ni haq tanr lehq yaq ni kha gag mawq ted ceng awr lehr
 det num n Pn adv Pnf adv:tm adv:tm n num class PRT
 that one day OM since CONJ today until monkey one kind subject focus marker

tawg ka awg ni sid te chehd che yaog.
 n adv v Vv Pu Pf
 butt red do CONT. CHE DECL

From then till now, that type of monkey has a red bottom.

This next sentence encapsulates the lesson which the reader is expected to come away with.

(6) M&T 032

Hend yug tug.
 v v Pv
 study take to FUTURE

The moral:

M&T 033

Su ved awg bon haq maq sir vix che ted ceng awr lehr
 pro Pn n Pn adv n REL num class PRT
 3S genitive blessing OM NEG -strong knowledge that one kind subject focus marker

lug che sez che haq gha tug yaog.
 v Pn v Pv Pf
 to perish OM able to FUTURE DECL

As for the ones who do not know their blessings, [they] will perish.

This section wraps up the story, and thus, corresponds to the Conclusion.

3.4 The Monkey Chops the Branch

“The Monkey Chops the Branch” can be broken up into seven segments or chunks. S#001 is the Title of the story and is not included in the following chunks. The chunks are:

- S#002–003
- S#004–007
- S#008–010
- S#011–014
- S#015–018
- S#019–021
- S#022–023

This text uses fewer boundary markers than the other three texts analyzed in this thesis. The markers which do occur within the text are connectors, change of character and others, such as verb density and overlap clauses, to indicate a boundary between segments.

The internal unity marking feature found in this text are consistency in character within the segment. This is an important internal unity marking feature in this text and works as the main support for the boundaries because this text has very few boundary marking features.

The boundary marking features as well as the internal unity marking features of the whole text can be seen in Table 25.

Type of Features	Surface structure	Stage	Prepeak			Peak	Postpeak	Closure
	Notional structure	Exposition	Inciting moment	Developing conflict		Climax	Denouement	Conclusion
			Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	
	S#	002-003	004-007	008-010	011-014	015-018	019-021	022-023
Boundary Marking Features	Connectors							<i>Awg lawn nehax che</i> , 'This little story teaches us that'
	Change in Character		Monkey	Person	Monkey		Person	
	Other	descriptive			Overlap clause: <i>Chaw u ve yuhq mir ka chehad huh</i> , 'While the person was sleeping'	verb density and overlap clause: <i>mawq u ve nuhg cehg thag lo</i> , 'The monkey got to the top of the tree'		moral
Internal Unity Marking Features	Character	Only one participant	Monkey	Person	Monkey		Person	

Table 25: Chunking and boundaries of “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

3.4.1 Title and Aperture

The Title of this story, *Mawq suhz kax tawz che* ‘The Monkey Cuts the Branch’, is found in S#001. The Title of the text is derived from a summary of the text. This story does not have an Aperture. This is the only text that does not contain an Aperture, and there is no indication of why there is no Aperture. However this story is the most poorly written story of all the texts, in that it deviates from common spelling and grammar conventions. This could account for the lack of Aperture.

3.4.2 Stage 1 and Exposition

The Stage is made up of S#002-003. It sets the idea or mood of the text by introducing the main character, the monkey. The stage of this text is unique in that it does not contain a sentence initial phrase stating the time or location; however, it does reveal a great deal about the main character, his attributes and about how the main character views himself. This is all background/contextual information which helps the reader understand why the monkey acts as he does throughout the story. This section is notably very descriptive. Whereas the other texts include the stative verb *cawg* in the stage, this text uses descriptive adjectival verbs throughout the clauses to explain the physical state and characteristics of the monkey.

(7) MCB 002

Mawq	ted	ceng	vavr	to	saz		awg	kag	awg	nuz		veaq	keh		
n	num	class	pvt	n			adv					adv			
monkey	one	kind	FOC	wild	mammals		different	than	general	greater	more				
chaw	khuhd	nuhd	lehq	awg	to	awg	hoq	awg	han	liz	chaw	haq	sur	jad	che
v			Pnf	n	n	n	disc	n	Pn	n	adv	Pu			
to be	clever		CONJ	body	picture	type	FOC	person	OM	same	very	CHE			
	yaog.														
	Pf														
	DECL														

The monkey is more clever than all other animals; it's body looks very much like people.

The Exposition correlates to the stage on the notional structure. By introducing and explaining who the monkey is, the story is set in motion and gets underway. It prepares the reader for the events to come.

3.4.3 Prepeak Episode 1 and Inciting Moment

This story also has three Prepeak episodes. The first Prepeak episode is S#004-007. This section begins the events of which the monkey goes to look for food. The tension begins to form as the monkey encounters a person and begins to watch him. The readers begin to ask, “What will come of their meeting? What will the monkey do?”

In the notional structure this section correlates with the Inciting Moment as the tension is initiated through the interaction of the monkey and person.

3.4.4 Prepeak Episode 2 and Developing Conflict

The second Prepeak episode, S#008-010, is primarily marked by a change in participant. The actions of the earlier section were performed by the monkey, but the agent in this section is the person. This section tells that the person walked down the trail, stopped under the tree to rest, laid down his hat and knife and fell asleep.

This section aligns with the Developing Conflict in the notional structure as it continues to build interest through the person's actions.

3.4.5 Prepeak Episode 3 and Developing Conflict

The third Prepeak episode is found in S#011-#014. It is also marked by a participant change as the focus changes from the person back to the monkey. This section opens with an overlap clause, *chaw u ve yuhq mir ka chehad huh*, 'while the person was sleeping,' repeated from the clause before.

This section continues to build tension as the monkey examines the person's goods and takes the knife intending to cut down a branch. Because the tension continues to build as a problem arises, this section correlates with the Developing Conflict in the notional structure.

3.4.6 Peak and Climax

The Peak is found in S#015-018. Its commencement is marked by an overlapping clause with the previous section, *mawg u ve nuhg cehg thag lo* 'the monkey got to the top of the tree.' Once the monkey was there, he proceeded to chop the branch he was sitting on.

The Peak in this text employs heightened vividness. This is seen in this text as there is "a shift in the nominal-verbal balance" (Longacre 1996:40). Here there are more verbs in the clause thus making the ratio of verbs to nouns higher throughout the peak. There are 0.8% of storyline verbs per sentence for the whole text. At the Peak there is an increase to 1.25% storyline verbs per sentence. This is illustrated in Table 26.

Total sentences	Total storyline verbs	Storyline verbs per sentence for the whole text	# of sentences at Peak	# of storyline verbs at Peak	Storyline verbs per sentence at Peak
20	16	0.8	4	5	1.25

Table 26: Verb density in “The Monkey Cuts the Branch.”

The Peak is the fastest moving and tensest grammatical section of the text which correlates this section with the notional structure’s Climax.

3.4.7 Postpeak and Denouement

The Postpeak episode is S#019-021. This section is marked by a change in participant. The action in the previous section was performed throughout by the monkey, whereas in this section the participant changes to the person; as he wakes up from the crash of the branch falling, he sees the dead monkey and takes it home.

This section correlates to the Denouement in the notional structure. Here the tension is concluded as the person takes the dead monkey home. This allows the two participants to take no further action.

3.4.8 Closure and Conclusion

The Closure in this story is S#022-023. It is introduced with the phrase *awg lawn nehax che* ‘This little story teaches us that.’ This phrase also tells that reader that a moral will follow. The moral to this story is:

(8) MCB 022

Awg lawn nehax che ve a nig haq sa tiq pear che vawr a sug yawd a saq teq
 n adj det pro Pn v v REL prt n n
 story small this 1P OM be careful know that FOC his/her own have life

chehad huh te chehd che kanx haq a sug yawd khad sir cawd
 v Pnf v Vv REL n Pn n Vv v adv
 happening PROG do CONT. which work OM his/her own all understand should

che yaog.
 REL Pf
 which DECL

This small story warns us that, while we are alive, we should understand well the work which [we] are doing.

MCB 023

A sug yawd khad awg to haq lug tug nag tug suh vid tug kanx teq pa
 n Vv n Pn n n v Pv Pv n n
 his/her own all body OM destruction harm die to nominalizer work group

haq maq te cawd che yaog.
 Pn adv v adv Pu Pf
 OM NEG -strong do should CHE DECL

Each of us should not do things which bring destruction, harm[and] death to our body.

The Closure coordinates with the Conclusion on the notional structure as it wraps up the story.

3.5 Summary of the structure of all four texts

All of the texts open with a title. Three of the four texts have an aperture, two of which are *a mig thad lo* ‘A long time ago’.

Each of the texts have seven chunks; Stage, Episode 1, Episode 2, Episode 3, Peak Episode, Postpeak Episode and Closure. The stage in Lahu Si serves to introduce the participants and prepare the reader for the story that follows. This is usually done with the use of stative verbs such as in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” and “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle”. In “The Monkey chops the branch” stative verbs are not used, but it is instead very descriptive using adjectival verbs without a stative verb. Also the stage is marked, in three of the four texts, by a temporal phrase.

Episode 1 in each of these texts correlates to the inciting moment. In three of the four texts, Episode 1 is marked with a temporal phrase.

Episode 2 aligns with the developing moments. The most common marker of this section is a connector which occurs in two of the texts. Also temporal phrases, change of topic and change of participants are used as markers.

The third episode also correlates with the developing moments. Temporal phrases and overlap clauses are the most common boundary markers of this section. Other markers used are locative phrases and changes in participants.

The peak coordinates with the climax in each of the texts. Two of the four texts mark peak with a sentence initial temporal phrase: “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” and “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.” “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” uses a sentence initial locative phrase. “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” uses change of participants as a marker. “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text does not contain boundary marking features for this section. Some of the most prominent peak marking features are heightened vividness. Heightened vividness occurs in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” and “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” as the peak is completely made up of dialogue. The “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” marks peak by the contrast with prose at the Peak and dialogue throughout the rest of the text. The peak is also marked with change of pace. “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” and “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” have few or no non-final clauses in the peak. Lack of concentration of participants is used in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” and “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” also. The peak, according to the texts with more than two participants, which include “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” and “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth,” the peak eliminates the other participants so only the main two participants are present. One of the texts, “The Monkey Chops the Branch,” contains higher verb density as the clauses in the peak contain more verbs than normal.

The post peak, in each of these texts, correlates with the denouement in the notional structure. A connector is used as a boundary marker in two of the texts, and change of participants in one of the texts.

The closure, or conclusion, in all four of the texts contains a phrase which prepares the reader for a moral or reason to the story. Each of these texts also contains a moral.

“The Monkey Chops the Branch” is quite distinct from the other texts in plot structure. This text does not contain an aperture and it includes the fewest boundary markers of all the texts. The stage in “The Monkey Chops the Branch” describes the character of the monkey in detail using descriptive adjectival verbs, whereas the other texts all contain the stative verb *cawg* in introducing the characters of the text and then setting the time and location of the story. The peak marker features are also unique to this text. The other texts use dialogue throughout the peak, while this text does not; instead heightened vividness is used. This could be because there are only two participants and there is no direct contact between them, the monkey and the person. The only interactions they have happen once the person is asleep and after the monkey is dead.

There are various possibilities for explaining why “The Monkey Chops the Branch” is so different in plot structure. Possible reasons for this could include the style of writing found in this text because it was designed for beginner readers, the genre of this story could be slightly different than the other stories since the animals are not personified, or this text could simply be written poorly and not checked for fluidity or naturalness.

In each of these texts the boundaries were not marked uniformly. Each text used a different variety and quantity of boundary markers. Because of this the corpus includes many different boundary types but it doesn't not include a large number of each one. The most commonly used boundary markers are a change in character (27%) and a change in time (22%). From the data it is unclear why the boundary markers do not appear more regularly across the texts. More research is needed such as analyzing more narrative texts to conclude generalities of the genre as well as looking at other genres to see if they differ.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

4.0 Introduction

Participant reference tracks the participants, or actors, and props throughout a story and seeks to find patterns of address or reference to those participants. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:111), there are two reasons to study participant reference: (1) because the audience needs to understand who is doing what, and (2) because a producer needs to be able to make that same information clear. A fuller description of Dooley and Levinsohn's assumptions and methods follows.

There are three systems of reference: semantic, discourse-pragmatic and processing. Semantic reference determines the amount of coding to be used in referring to a participant, thus identifying the participants unambiguously to distinguish the participants from other possible ones. Discourse-pragmatic reference "signal[s] the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:112). If a participant has high activation, less coding is needed. Thus activation is often shown with a full noun phrase. Maintaining active status needs only minimal coding, such as pronouns or agreement. Deactivation usually has no formal means. Increasing activation of a reference causes disruptions in the flow of information, often requiring more coding.

Two strategies maybe used in a language: sequential and VIP. The sequential strategy normally looks to the most previously mentioned reference or to the referent of the main clause subject. In the VIP strategy "one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently" (Grimes 1978:viii in Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119).

Primarily the Lahu Si texts use subject-oriented sequential strategies where the participant reference looks back to the previously mentioned participant in the subject

position. Lahu Si does not strictly use a VIP strategy but it does use some features similar to a VIP strategy. “The Story of the Cat and Dog” seems to play with the idea developed in the VIP strategy that the main participants of the story are activated throughout the text once they are introduced (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119). Therefore, the main participants need less coded material throughout the text, whereas, the minor participants will use more coded material. This can be seen in the discussion about “The Story of the Cat and Dog” in 4.1.

Also the major, important participants in each of the texts are introduced in a presentational sentence. According to Dooley and Levinsohn, often this presentational sentence contains a verb of existence. In Lahu Si the presentational sentence contains the verb *cawg* ‘have’ or ‘is’. This sets those participants apart as important throughout the rest of the text. “Thus, an entire proposition is used to activate the entity and establish its special status: participants thus introduced usually figure prominently in what is to follow” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:120).

The methodology which has been applied to the Lahu Si text for analyzing reference patterns was developed by Dooley and Levinsohn. They utilize eight steps: (1) draw up an inventory of ways of encoding reference to participants, (2) prepare a chart of participant encoding in the text, (3) track the participants, (4) identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs, (5) propose default encoding for each context, (6) inspect the text for other than default encoding, (7) incorporate any modifications needed based on non-default encoding and (8) generalize the motivations for deviances from the default encoding (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:127-134).

The first step in the analysis of the Lahu Si texts is to determine the resources for participant reference found in Lahu Si, the ranking of participants, and the operations that are filled. Resources to reference participants can be hierarchically ranked. The resources for participant reference are the grammatical category which is represented in the lexical form of the reference, such as noun phrase, pronoun and null reference. The resources are hierarchically ranked by the amount of encoding each grammatical

category receives. For example a noun phrase has more encoding so it is a more highly ranked resource than a null reference which has no encoding.

Ranking of participants categorizes the participants of the story into groups, such as major participants, minor participants and props. These also are hierarchically ranked by importance; thus the major participants are higher in ranking while the props have lower ranking. Since all of the texts have more than one main participant, Givón's notion of topic/participants is applied to determine which participant is the most important. Givón proposes that

... within the thematic paragraph it is most common for one topic to be the continuity marker, the leitmotif, so that it is the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph; it is the participant most closely associated with the higher-level 'theme' of the paragraph; and finally, it is the participant most likely to be coded as the primary topic – or grammatical subject – of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses/sentences comprising the thematic paragraph. It is thus, obviously, the most continuous of all the topics mentioned in the various clauses in the paragraph (Givón 1983:8).

Givón ranks participants by measuring the referential distance and the persistence of the participants. Referential distance measures “the gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse of a referent/topic and its current occurrence in a clause, where it is marked by a particular grammatical coding device” (Givón 1983:13). The averages of these measurements results in the referential distance for the participant.

The measurement of referential distance mentioned so far can be used to determine the participant who is mostly continuous, i.e., the one who has the least absence, as the most important participant in a discourse. In terms of [referential distance] the participant who receives the least amount of [referential distance] is considered to be the main participant in a discourse (Somsonge 1991:126).

The persistence of a participant is another measurement of topic continuity.

We measure persistence in terms of number of clauses to the right – i.e. in subsequent discourse from the measured clause – in which the topic/participant continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause, an argument of whatever role and marked by whatever grammatical means. The minimal value that can be assigned is thus zero, signifying an argument that decays immediately, i.e. of the lowest persistence. There is no maximal value assigned by definition in this case (Givón 1983:15).

The participant that has the highest persistence value is ranked as the most important participant

The second step in the analysis is to identify the context of each reference of the participants in the text. Dooley and Levinsohn suggest five contexts in which participant's references occur. The first of these is the introduction (INTRO) of the participant when the participant has not yet entered the story. The second operation or context of participant reference is when the participant has been out of the story for a while, or off stage, and then reappears and is reintroduced to the reader. Dooley and Levinsohn label this context as S4. Another context of participant reference is when the participant is continuously referenced throughout a section. Here the participant is mentioned as the subject of the previous clause. This is the S1 context or tracking of a participant. The next operation is the S2 context, which is where the subject of the current clause was the addressee of a speech act in the previous clause. The final context of participant reference, S3, covers all other changes in subject that is not covered by the previous contexts.

The labels S1-4 identify the context for activated subjects within the text. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:131) also identify the context for non-subjects in the text. For non-subjects Dooley and Levinsohn postulate four contexts. The first context is when the non-subject of the current sentence was the non-subject of the previous sentence. This is referred to as the N1 context. N2 is when the addressee of a speech act in the present sentence was the speaker of a speech act in the previous sentence. The next context, N3, is when the non-subjects of the current sentence “was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2” (Dooley and Levinsohn

2001:131). The final non-subject context is N4. The N4 context is all other non-subject context that are not covered by the previous contexts.

The operations of participant referencing within the Lahu Si texts and their default markers (with percentages) are given below. These averages are gathered from all four Lahu Si texts: “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” text, “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” and “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text.

The operations and percentages can be seen as:

1. INTRO: The introduction into the story has the default marker noun phrase (95%). Null marker is also used (5%) but only in relation to dual introductions.
2. S4: The reintroduction of the participant who has been off stage has the default marker noun phrase (84%). Pronoun references (12%) and null references (4%) are used exclusively for dual references.
3. S1: The tracking of participants through the text has the default marker null reference without qualifiers (48%). Also noun phrase (30%) and pronoun phrase (21%) are used for tracking in the texts.
4. S2: The addressee of the previous speech act has the default marker noun phrase (94%). Other addressee references include the null reference (5%).
5. S3: When a reference is involved in the previous sentence as non-subject the default marker is a noun phrase (60%). A null reference (40%) is also used in the S3 context.

4.1 The Story of the Cat and Dog

The following resources for participant reference in “The Story of the Cat and Dog” were found along with the ranking of participants. Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically arranged.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun phrase
3. null reference

Figure 3: Participant reference resources in “The Story of the Cat and Dog.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Cat secondary participant: Dog
2. minor participants: Husband, Wife, Large fish, Otter, Crow, King crow, King, Assistant, Soldier
3. props: amulet

Figure 4: Ranking of participants in “The Story of the Cat and Dog.”

The major participants can be distinguished as primary and secondary participants based on Givón’s notion of topic/participants. In the text the Cat has a referential distance of 2.03 and a persistence value of 12, whereas the Dog has a referential distance of 2.92 and a persistence value of 7. Through Givón’s analysis the Cat stands out as the most important participant in the text because it’s referential distance is lower and the persistence value is higher than the Dog.

4.1.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Cat and the Dog. Unlike most Lahu Si texts, these participants are not introduced into the story until the first episode. This section contains a presentational sentence in which the Cat and the Dog are introduced.

In this text the presentational sentence is emphasizing both the Cat and the Dog as major participants and central to the entire story. In the text the presentational sentence is seen below in (1).

(1) C&D 015

Awg phad	mawd	awg mid	ma	ix mag	geh	chaw	khuhd	sir	vix	jad
husband		wife		3Dual	with	person	language	understand	good	very
n		n		pro	PREP	n	n	v	v	adv
che	Na mix	khawehr	he lehq	Phid niq	kkeh	cawg	che	yaog.		
CHE	cat		and	dog	two	animal	have	CHE DECL		
Pu	n		conj	n	num	clf	v	Pu Pf		

There was a dog and a cat that were as clever as people with the husband and wife.

Interestingly, the amulet is also introduced in a presentational sentence in the same way as the Cat and the Dog. This shows the importance and central role the amulet plays throughout the entire text. This can be seen in example (2).

(2) C&D 003

Ix mag	geh	daq	jad	che	Sehx	sir	teq	sir	cawg	che	yaog.
3rd Dual	with	good	very	CHE	amulet	one	round	have	DECL		
pro	PREP	adj	adv	Pu	n	num	clf	v	Pu Pf		

There was a very good amulet with those two.

The presentational sentence of the Cat and the Dog mentioned above in example (1) is followed by (3) in the text. This is the first time the Cat and the Dog occur in the subject position and is coded with a dual reference pronoun.

(3) C&D 017

Ix mag	tuhz	kae	lehq	med	pad	lo		gag	vehr	che	yaog.
3Dual	leave	go	CONJ	city	near	LOC	place	arrive	COMPLETE	CHE	DECL
pro	v	v	Pnf	n	adj	Pn		v	Vv	Pu	Pf

The two left and arrived near the city.

The examples above are the introduction of both the Cat and the Dog together. When the Cat and the Dog are referenced separately¹⁸ in the story, they are coded with a noun phrase, the default for introduction.

¹⁸ When participants are referenced together, i.e. dual reference pronoun, the simultaneous references follow the default rules for a participant. This is also true when the same participants are referred to individually. Thus for the present analysis the dual references and the individual references are analyzed separately in each of the texts.

(4) C&D 018

Kheh te lehq **Na mix khawehr** Phid haq koz vid che "Nawg vawr chuhr huh
 And so therefore **cat** dog OM speak to CHE 2per FOC here
 CONJ **n** n Pn v Pv Pu pro prt n

chehd lawz.
 dwell +pleasant
 v Pf

Then **the cat** said to the dog, "You stay here please.

The default S1 context for tracking major participants throughout the story is null reference. Here the Cat is reintroduced into the text by a noun phrase (shown in italics in the example below), and following that reintroduction he is referred to with a null reference (shown in bold).

(5) 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* n Pn v v v Vv

lehq Sehx sir haq mawg che yaog.
 CONJ **Ø** amulet OM see CHE DECL
 Pnf n Pn v Pu Pf

And so, the cat was able to bite a hole into the trunk and [**he**] saw the amulet.

There are three exceptions to the default S1 context in the story. All of these instances have more coding material. The first instance occurs in S#017 where the Cat and the Dog are tracked together with a dual pronoun. In this case, when the participants who are being tracked are plural, such as the Cat and the Dog, it might be that the smallest coded reference to include both participants is the dual pronoun *ix mag*. In this text the dual reference *ix mag* is a special reference primarily used for the main participants together once they are introduced.¹⁹ This occurs in reference to the Cat and the Dog 7 times in the text.

The second exception to the tracking pattern occurs in S#021. In this sentence the Cat is tracked from the previous sentence, i.e. S1, yet it is still referred to with a pronoun. Perhaps a pronoun is used because it is the only reference in this particular sequence

¹⁹ The dual pronoun *ix mag* occurs once in the Stage to refer to the husband and wife. At this point in the story the Cat and the Dog are not yet introduced and the husband and wife are the local main participants.

of tracking the Cat where there is an animate object, the guards, juxtaposed; thus it would be necessary to state the subject in order to prevent confusion.

The final instance of a tracking exception in the text is again where the Cat and Dog are referred to with a pronoun reference, found in S#034. In this case, the object of the sentence, the otter king, is fronted, thus creating an OSV sentence pattern. Because of this object fronting, it might be necessary to state the subject, instead of keeping it a null reference.

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, i.e. the S2 context, the default is referenced by a noun phrase. This can be seen in example (6) where the Dog asks the Cat something and the Cat replies. The Cat is referred to by name.

(6) C&D 052

Khaz jad lo gaeg lehq **Phid** kawq koz che
village edgeof LOC place arrive CONJ **dog** again speak CHE "...
n n Pn v Pnf n v v Pu

[They] arrived at the edge of the village and **the dog** again said, "...

C&D 053

lehd koz vid che yaog.
" thus speak to CHE DECL
... disc v Pv Pu Pf

..." thus [the dog] said to [the cat].

C&D 054

Na mix khawehr kawq koz che lehd koz vid che yaog.
cat again speak CHE " " thus speak to CHE DECL
n v v Pu "... disc v Pv Pu Pf

The cat spoke again, "..." thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, i.e. the S3 context, the participant is referred to with a noun phrase as default. However within this text there is only one occurrence of a main participant in the S3 context. Here the Cat allows the Dog to hold the amulet, and in the next sentence the Dog is referred to with a noun phrase.

(7) C&D 030

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr **Phid haq** ke meh g cuh vid che
 And so therefore cat **dog OM** place holdin mouth cause to to CHE
 CONJ n n Pn v v Pv Pv Pu

yaog.
 DECL
 Pf

So the cat had **the dog** to hold [it] in its mouth.

C&D 031

Phid u ve Seh x sir haq ke meh g lehq kae tod che teq theh gaeg
dog that amulet OM place holdin_mouth CONJ go walk CHE short distance arrive
 n det n Pn v v Pnf v v Pu adj v

lehq cog ted mag haq mawg lehq cog u ve thag lo chaw
 CONJ bridge one piece OM see CONJ bridge that top LOC place walk_on_top_of
 Pnf n num clf Pn v Pnf n det adj Pn v

kae che yaog.
 go CHE DECL
 v Pu Pf

The dog held the amulet in its mouth and arrived a short distance walking and [he] saw a bridge and [he] walked on top of that bridge.

When a participant has been off stage and has been brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are normally encoded with a noun phrase. In the previous sentences the focus was on the Otters and when the focus shifts back to the Cat in example (8) it is referred to with a noun phrase.

(8) C&D 037

Na mix khawehr u ve Seh x sir haq ke meh g ve lehq kawq
cat that amulet OM place holdin_mouth motion CONJ return
 n det n Pn v v Pv Pnf v

veh che yaog.
 continuing CHE DECL
 Vv Pu Pf

That cat placed the amulet in it's mouth and returned.

There are quite a few exceptions to this pattern in this story. When the Cat or the Dog have not been mentioned and are reintroduced individually into the story a noun phrase is used. This occurs in S#026, 037, 038, 041, 045, 047, 048 and 058. However, where both the Cat and the Dog as a pair are reintroduced into the story, or the S4, the coding is diminished. Here, either, a pronoun phrase (S#029, 033, 041,

043 and 047) or a null reference (S#055 and 058) is used. An example of each, the use of a pronoun phrase in (9) and a null reference in (10), can be seen below.

(9) C&D 033

Te	pawz	lehr	ix mag	ca	duhd	ma	tuhz	lehq	
one	time[event]	after	3Dual	go	and	think	NEG	out	CONJ
num	adv	Puf	pro	v	v	adv	v	Pnf	...

After that, **those two** couldn't think and ...

(10) C&D 055

Ghoq	chi	pad	lo		gaeg	lehq	
stairs	near	LOC	place	\emptyset	arrive	CONJ	...
n	adj	Pn			v	Pnf	

[**They**] arrived near the stairs and ...

According to Dooley and Levinsohn major participants are activated or are playing a leading role throughout a larger section of the text. Once the major participants are activated, they can “have a different overall pattern of reference and a different way of being introduced” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119), such as having less coding because they are already in focus or activated. On the other hand the minor participants need more coding because they are only activated in the readers memory for a very short time. Minor participants will be discussed in the following section.

4.1.2 Minor Participants

The minor participants in the text include the husband, the wife, the king, the assistant, the soldiers, the large fish, the otter, the crow and the king crow. The husband, the wife, the king, the assistant and the soldiers occur in the setting and episode 1. The husband and wife are in the opening sentence of episode 2 only as a means of introducing the main participants. The soldiers have a cameo appearance in the middle of episode 2. Episode 3 features the fish and the otter, and episode 4 features the crow and the king crow.

Minor participants are introduced and reintroduced (the S4 context) into the text with a noun phrase, the default. For minor participants they are introduced and reintroduced in the same way, with a noun phrase. Other examples are found in S#002, 004, 006, 007, 012, 013, 014, 015, 032, 042, 044 and 046. Example (11) demonstrates the introduction of the fish into the story.

(11) C&D 032

	ngad	lux	maz	teq	kheh	lehd	dawg	ve	vehr	che
...	fish	large	much	one	animal	immediately	swallow	motion	COMPLETE	CHE
	n	adj	adj	num	clf	Pv	v	Pv	Vv	Pu

yaog.
DECL
Pf

... **one very large fish** swallowed [it].

In general, in the S1 context the minor participants are also tracked throughout the story with null reference as in example (12).

(12) C&D 035

	Kheh	te lehq	Ghig phid	u ve	yawd	ved	awg yad	teq pa	haq	kug	phawg	lehq
	And so	therefore	otter	that	3S	genitive	offspring	group	OM	call	gather	CONJ
	CONJ		n	det	pro	Pn	n	n	Pn	v	v	Pnf

	ngad	lux	u ve	haq	ghaq	yug	cuh	che	yaog.
Ø	fish	large	that	OM	follow	grab	cause	CHE	DECL
	n	adj	det	Pn	v	v	v	Pu	Pf

And so, the otter king called together his children and [**he**] caused [them] to follow [and] grab that large fish.

There are six exceptions to this in the text. The first is the king tracked with a pronoun phrase in S#005. The second exception S#009 and third and fourth exceptions, both occurring in S#025, are tracked with a noun phrase. In the second occurrence the assistant is tracked with a noun phrase. The third and fourth occurrences are the soldiers tracked with an adjective acting as a substantive reference²⁰. Example (13) demonstrates this later situation.

(13) C&D 025

	Ted pehg	pehg	koz	che	lehd	koz	daq	che	yaog.		
	some of	some	-DIMIN	speak	CHE	" "	thus	speak	reciprocal	CHE	DECL
	n	n	-prt	v	Pu	...	disc	v	Pv	Pu	Pf

Some others said, "... " thus [they] were saying to each other.

The later two exceptions, of the soldiers tracked with an adjective acting as a substantive reference in S#025 might occur because the minor participants need more coded material than default. For instance in this case instead of tracking (S1) the

²⁰ "The Story of the Cat and the Dog" is the only text in which an adjective acts as a substantive reference in this corpus. In this instance the king's guards are referred to twice as 'some of' or 'a group of' with no noun or pronoun to accompany. The king's guards are also the only participants in the text which have this type of reference. Because there are only two occurrences within one of the texts there is not enough data to explain why this occurs.

participant with the default null reference a more coded reference is used, such as a pronoun. The main participants are prominent and thus activated throughout the entirety of the text. Therefore they need less coding because they are already activated. However minor participants are not prominent and thus not activated throughout the text so when they are referenced more coding is necessary.

The last two exceptions in the text both are the dual pronoun phrase used for tracking the husband and wife in S#003 and 016. In the embedded narrative in the Stage, the husband and wife serve as the main participants and thus are the focus of the embedded narrative. Using the dual pronoun might also be the least coded material available to track both the husband and wife in S#003 and 016.

When minor participants are the addressee of the previous speech act, or the S2 context, they are referred to with a noun phrase as default. However in this text this pattern only occurs once. The king crow is the addressee of the cat's speech, which occurs in the previous sentence found in example (14). The king crow is referred to with a noun phrase in example (15).

(14) C&D 045

Kheh	te	lehq	Na	mix	khawehr	u	ve	a	yax	yax	jaz	kae	lehq	Naz	kag	jawd	mawd
And	so	therefore	cat			that	slowly	sneak	go	CONJ	crow	king					
CONJ			n			det	adv	v	v	Pnf	n	n					
u	ve	haq	pawz	yug	kix	lar	lehq	koz	che		lehd	koz	vid	che			
that	OM	jump	grab	put	in	leave	set	CONJ	speak	CHE	"..."	thus	speak	to	Ø	CHE	
det	Pn	v	v	v	v			Pnf	v	Pu		disc	v	Pv		Pu	

yaog.
DECL
Pf

And so that cat slowly sneaked and jumped [and] grabbed the king of the crows and said, "..." thus [he] said to **[the king of the crows]**.

(15) C&D 046

Kheh te lehq **Naz kag jawd mawd** liz suhz cehg thag lo nad chehd
 And so therefore **crow king** FOC tree top LOC place roost CONT.
 CONJ **n n** disc n adj Pn v Vv

che Naz kag haq tawd yaw vid lehq Naz kag u ve liz Sehx sir u ve haq kawq
 CHE crow OM to talk to CONJ crow that FOC amulet that OM again
 Pu n Pn v Pv Pnf n det disc n det Pn v

yug khuhq vea che yaog.
 bring to to return motion -toward CHE DECL
 v v Pv -prt Pu Pf

So **the king of the crows** talked to the crow roosting on top of the tree and that crow again brought [and] returned the amulet.

Minor participants, in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” do not occur as the non-subject of the previous sentence, i.e. the S3 context. Therefore there are no examples of the S3 context in the text.

4.2 The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth

This section describes the participant reference resources found in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” as well as the ranking of participants. Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically ranked.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. null reference

Figure 5: Participant reference resources in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Son secondary participant: Father tertiary participant: Headman
2. props: water buffalos

Figure 6: Ranking of participants in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

In “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” there are three participants that are all central to the story. However, after applying Givón’s notion of topic/participants, it is apparent that the Son is the most important participant because his referential distance is lower than all the other participants at 2.6 and his persistence value is higher than the other participants at 3. The father is the secondary participant because his referential distance is 2.8 and his persistence value is 2. The headman is the least important participant in the text as his referential distance is 3.28 and his persistence value is 1.

4.2.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Father, the Son and the Headman. The text opens with the Father and Son as a noun phrase in a presentational sentence.

(16) 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.

The Headman is also introduced with the stative verb *cawg*. However, in this sentence an object also occurs which changes the verb *cawg* from ‘is’ to ‘have’. This can be seen in sentence #006.

(17) MWBGB 005

Awr	pa	vawr	nud	kar	awg	ma	teq	kheh	hu	lar	lehq	khaz	kehx	var	vawr
father	FOC	water	buffalo	female	one	animal	take	care	CONJ	headman	FOC				
n	prt	n	n	n	num	clf	v	Pnf	n	prt					

nud	kar	par	teq	kheh	cawg	che	yaog.
water	buffalo	male	one	animal	have	CHE	DECL
n	adj	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf	

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

A presentational sentence is used to emphasize a particular participant (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:120). In this text the presentational sentence is emphasizing the father and the son as more important characters. At the same time, the headman is

then final quote formula repeating very much the same information in the opening quote formula. This instance is found in the final quote formula. There is no clear indication of why this occurs in the text.

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, by default they are referred to by a noun phrase. In this text all the occurrences of the S2 context use a noun phrase. In example (20) the Son addresses the Headman, and following this the Headman is coded with a noun phrase. Then, in example (21), the Headman replies to the Son, and the Son's response is referenced with a noun phrase.

(20) MWBGB 016

Yad par u ve koz che
 offspring male that speak CHE "..."
 n adj det v Pu

That son said, "..."

MWBGB 017

Khaz kehx var ded lehq koz che
headman scold CONJ speak CHE "..."
 n v Pnf v Pu

The headman scolded [him] and said, "..."

MWBGB 018

Te pawz lehr **yad pa nehax u ve** koz che
 one time[event] after **son small that** speak CHE "..."
 num adv Puf **n adj det** v Pu

After a moment, **that young man** said, "..."

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, the participant is referred to with a noun phrase as default. However within this text there is only one occurrence of a main participant in the S3 context, which does not conform to the S3 default. In example (21) the Father sends his son to study and in the next sentence the son, referred to with a null reference, uses the wisdom he acquired to get the buffalo back.

present analysis both the opening quote formula and the final quote formula are included individually in the analysis of participant reference.

(21) MWBGB 021

Khawehd	te	le	ghod	ver	awg	yad	par	haq	cud	yi	ca	hend	cuh	
how			because	since	offspring	male	OM	wisdom	go	and	study	cause	to	
INT			Pnf		n	adj	Pn	n	v	v		Pv		
lar	che	heh		cud	yi	haq	yehd	lehq		nud	kar	yad	u	ve
leave	set	CHE	while	Ø	wisdom	OM	use	CONJ	Ø	water	buffalo	offspring	that	
v		Pu	Pnf		n	Pn	v	Pnf		n		n	det	
khuhq	gha	che	yaog	ced.										
to return	able to	CHE	DECL	REPORTED										
v	v	Pu	Pf	disc										

Because as the son was sent to go [and] study wisdom, [he] used that wisdom and [he] was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.

When a participant has been off stage and is brought back on stage, the S4 context, the default encoding is a noun phrase. In the previous sentence, S#008, the water buffalo took center stage. When the Headman is reintroduced he is coded with a noun phrase as seen in example (22).

(22) MWBGB 008

Kheh	te	lehq	khaz	kehx	var	che	kheh	koz	che	yaog	ced		"Nud	kar
And so	therefore		headman			like this	speak	CHE	DECL	REPORTED	water	buffalo		
CONJ			n			det	v	Pu	Pf	disc	n			
yad	u	ve	awg	par	law	ngag	ved	yad	yaog.					
offspring	that	male	experiential	1S	genitive	offspring	DECL							
n	det	n	Pnf	pro	Pn	n	Pf							

Then, **the headman** reportedly spoke like this, "That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of mine (water buffalo)."

4.2.2 Minor Participants

In "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" there are no minor participants.

4.3 The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

The following section outlines the resources for participant reference and the ranking of participants found in "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle." Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically ranked.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun
3. null reference

Figure 7: Participant reference resources in “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Monkey secondary participant: Turtle
2. props: tree

Figure 8: Ranking of participants in “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

The Monkey’s referential distance throughout the text is 1.82 and his persistence value is 5. This places the Monkey as the most important participant throughout the text, because his referential distance is lower and his persistence value is higher than that of the Turtle. The Turtle’s referential distance was 2.06 and his persistence value is 3.

4.3.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Monkey and the Turtle. The text opens with both of these participants in a presentational sentence.

(23) M&T 003

A sawehd lo pawd pehg he lehq mawq niq kheh **cawg** che yaog.
n Pn n conj n num clf **v** Pu Pf
long ago LOC time turtle and monkey two animal **have** CHE DECL

Long ago **there was** a turtle and a monkey.

The presentational sentence introduces both the Monkey and the Turtle as major participants and central to the entire story.

The example above is the introduction of both the Monkey and the Turtle together. When the Monkey and the Turtle are reintroduced separately in the story, they are coded with the default noun phrase.

(24) M&T 004

Pawd pehg u ve sawx gha lia ver pehg puhg huh tuhaz
n det n adj Pnf n Pn v
turtle that morning every CONDITION edge of moving water LOC place surface

 lehq muhd cha lehg chehd che yaog.
 Pnf Ø n v v Pu Pf
 CONJ sunshine shine dwell CHE DECL

Every morning **the turtle** comes to the edge of the river and surfaces to be in the sun.

The S1 context for major participants, tracking throughout the story, is null reference. In example (25) the Monkey is introduced initially, and following that introduction he is referred to with a null reference.

(25) M&T 005

Mawq liz sawx gha lia cix sir cad buhz vehr ver lawg kax
 n disc n adj n v v Vv Pnf Ø n
 monkey FOC morning every fruit eat full COMPLETE CONDITION river

 lo a kaz ca daweg che yaog.
 Pn n v v Pu Pf
 LOC place water go_and drink CHE DECL

If the monkey each morning eats his full of fruit, [**he**] goes and drinks water at the river.

There are six exceptions to the tracking default in the text all of which have more coding material. Four of these exceptions use a noun phrase (S#010, 016, 018, 026). All of these occur in the opening quote formula or the reference following the final quote formula. This could explain the extra coding added to the reference. The remaining two exceptions occur as a pronoun (S#021, 026).

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, the default is a noun phrase. This can be seen in (26) where the Turtle makes a proposal to the Monkey and the Monkey replies. The Monkey is referred to by a noun phrase.

(26) M&T 017

U kheh te peg lehq pawd pehg koz che "Mawq -o pawd cheh che
 det v v Pnf n v REL n -prt n n REL
 like that do finish CONJ turtle speak that monkey -polite banana plant that

ve haq kha lehq teq geha pehg cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid
 Pn Pn v Pnf adj n v -Pv Pf disc v Pv
 genitive OM plant CONJ together some eat -PURPOSE INVIT thus speak to

a meh_x **mawq** kawq koz che "Ix u kheh taq te pehg daq
 adv **n** v v REL interjection det adv v v Pv
 when **monkey** return speak that NEGATIVE like that don't! do divid reciprocal

lehq a sug yawd ved te kha cad -ad veg" lehd koz che yaog.
 Pnf pro v v v -Pv Pf disc v Pu Pf
 CONJ his/her own do plant eat -particle INVIT thus speak CHE DECL

After that the turtle said, "Monkey, let's plant our banana tree and eat it together", thus he said.
The monkey replied saying, "[I] will not. Let's divide it and each of us plant and eat our own,"
 thus he said.

There are two exceptions to the S2 context in the text where a null reference is used. Here there is less coding as in replying to the Turtle the Monkey is referred to with a null reference. This context of participant reference occurs within the peak and could be caused by tension. An example of this exception of the S2 context can be seen below in (27).

(27) M&T 026

Kheh te lehq pawd pehg mawq haq koz vid che lehd koz vid a meh_x
 CONJ n n Pn v Pv REL "..." disc v Pv Pnf
 And so therefore turtle monkey OM speak to that ... thus speak to when

taez lehq awg kawz lo mi lar lehq yawad lehax cad vehr
 Ø v Pnf n Pn v v Pnf n v Vv
 go up CONJ produce LOC place sit leave set CONJ himself eat COMPLETE

che yaog.
 Pu Pf
 CHE DECL

So then when the turtle said to the monkey, "... [the monkey] got the banana's and ate them himself.

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, the default reference for the participant is a noun phrase. An example of the S3 context follows. In the opening sentence S#016 of example (28) the monkey helps the turtle, and in S#017 the turtle speaks being referred to with the default noun phrase.

(28) M&T 016

lehq mawq liz ga yug tuhz vid che yaog.
 Pnf n disc v v v Pv Pu Pf
 ... CONJ monkey FOC help take to out to CHE DECL

... and the monkey helped take it out.

M&T 017

U kheh te peg lehq pawd pehg koz che "Mawq -o pawd cehg che
 det v v Pnf n v REL n -prt n n REL
 like that do finish CONJ turtle speak that monkey -polite banana plant that

ve haq kha lehq teq geha pehg cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid
 Pn Pn v Pnf adj n v -Pv Pf disc v Pv
 genitive OM plant CONJ together some eat -PURPOSE INVIT thus speak to

a meh x mawq kawq koz che "Ix u kheh taq te pehg daq
 adv n v v REL interjection det adv v v Pv
 when monkey return speak that NEGATIVE like that don't! do divid reciprocal

lehq a sug yawd ved te kha cad -ad veg" lehd koz che yaog.
 Pnf pro v v v -Pv Pf disc v Pu Pf
 CONJ his/her own do plant eat -particle INVIT thus speak CHE DECL

After that **the turtle** said, "Monkey, let's plant our banana tree and eat it together", thus he said. The monkey replied saying, "[I] will not. Let's divide it and each of us plant and eat our own," thus he said.

An exception to the S3 context is in the following sentence, S#018. The sentence opens with the turtle as the addressee of the monkey's speech. However, when the turtle is next referred to, a null reference is used.

(29) M&T 018

Kheh te lehq mawq koz che heh awg kaw jen tawz chez lehq
 CONJ n v REL Pu Ø adv v v Pnf
 And so therefore monkey speak that while center middle to chop sever CONJ

mawq haq awg kawd lez yug cuh vid che yaog.
 n Pn adv v v v Pv Pu Pf
 monkey OM first choose take to cause to CHE DECL

And so, as the monkey spoke, [**the turtle**] cut the tree in the middle and [he] made the monkey choose a half first.

When a participant has been off stage and has been brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are encoded with a noun phrase. In the previous sentences the focus is on the Turtle, and when the focus shifts back to the Monkey in S#016, it is referred to with a noun phrase.

(30) M&T 016

Mawq koz vid che heh pawd pehg liz a kaz khuhn si tod che
 n v Pv REL Pu n disc n Pn v Vv REL
 monkey speak to that while turtle FOC water in float drift moving that

pawd cehg u ve ca yug ve kawaq lehq pehg
 n n det v v Pv v Pnf n
 banana plant that go_and bring to TRANSPORT MOTION return CONJ edge

puhg huh gaeg lehq **mawq** liz ga yug tuhz vid che
 Pn v Pnf **n** disc v v v Pv Pu
 of moving water LOC place arrive_at CONJ **monkey** FOC help take to out to CHE

yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

While the monkey spoke, the turtle was in the water and brought the banana tree back and arrived at the edge and **the monkey** helped take it out.

4.3.2 Minor Participants

In “The story of the Monkey and the Turtle” there are no minor participants.

4.4 The Monkey Chops the Branch

The resources for participant reference found in “The Monkey Chops the Branch” and the ranking of participants are examined at first.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun
3. null reference

Figure 9: Participant reference resources in “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Monkey secondary participant: Person
2. props: branch, hat, knife

Figure 10: Ranking of participants in “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

The Monkey is the most important participant in this story. The Monkey's referential distance was 1.5, half of that of the Person's referential distance which was 3.1. The Monkey's persistence value was 13, double that of the Person's persistence value of 7.

4.4.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Monkey and the Person. Unlike most Lahu Si texts, the main participants are not introduced with a presentational sentence. Rather the Monkey is introduced in the opening sentence with a very descriptive sentence, which is made up of two clauses but only one verb *chaw khuhd nuhd* 'clever'.

(31) MCB 002

Mawq ted ceng vavr to saz awg kag awg nuz veaq keh
 n num class prt n adv adv
 monkey one kind FOC wild mammals different than general greater more

chaw khuhd nuhd lehq awg to awg hoq awg han liz chaw haq sur jad che
 v Pnf n n n disc n Pn n adv Pu
 to be clever CONJ body picture type FOC person OM same very CHE

yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

The monkey is more clever than all other animals; it's body looks very much like people.

The opening sentence only introduces the Monkey. The Person is not introduced until S#006 and is introduced by a noun phrase.

(32) MCB 006

Yaq kaw u ve haq lag che **chaw** nuhg cehg u ve huhx gaeg ver
 n det Pn v REL **n** n n det Pn v Pnf
 path that OM come which **person** fig plant that LOC under arrive verb particle

mi lehq awg ghad jehd che yaog.
 v Pnf n v Pu Pf
 sit CONJ strength rest CHE DECL

A **person** who was coming down that trail arrived under the fig tree to sit and rest.

In this text both participants are introduced separately.

In the S1 context for major participants the default form for tracking throughout the story, is null reference. In example (33) the Monkey is named initially, and following that introduction he is referred to with a null reference.

(33) MCB 015

Mawq u ve nuhg cehg thag lo gaig lehq nuhg kax teq kax
 n det n n adj Pn v Pnf Ø n n num n
 monkey that fig plant top LOC place arrive CONJ fig branch one branch

haq chaw kae lehq awg buhd phawd-awr mi che yaog.
 Pn v v Pnf Ø adj n v Pu Pf
 OM walk_on_top_of go CONJ to have many leaves half side sit CHE DECL

That monkey arrived at the top of the tree and [he] walked on one of the branches of the fig tree and [he] sat on the leafy side.

There are quite a few exceptions to the previously established tracking default in the text, all of which have more coding material. These occur in the text as a noun phrase (S#002, 003, 004, 010, 011, 013, 014, 015, 018, 019, 020, 021) and a pronoun (S#009, 016, 021)²².

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, they are referred to, by default, as a noun phrase. However, this does not occur within this text as there is no dialogue between the Monkey and the Person.

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, a noun phrase is used to refer to the participant. Again in this text there are no occurrences of the S3 context.

When participants have been off stage and are brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are encoded with a noun phrase. An example can be seen below. In the example in the previous section, the Person was in focus and the focus changes to the Monkey with the noun reference.

(34) MCB 011

Chaw u ve yuhq mir ka chehd huh mawq nuhg cehg haq yaeg lehq chaw
 n det v Vv Pnf n n n Pn v Pnf n
 person that sleep CONT. PROG monkey fig plant OM go down CONJ person

teh lar che ux cuhr yug khuhz che yaog.
 v Pv REL n v v Pu Pf
 store leave set which hat take to put on CHE DECL

While the person was sleeping, **the monkey** came down from the fig tree and took [and] put on the hat which the person had put down.

²² The high frequency of exceptions to the tracking default in this text could possibly be accounted for by such reasons as; a different textual style, personal story telling style, or the text could be written poorly.

4.4.2 Minor Participants

In “The Monkey Chops the Branch” story there are no minor participants.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has looked at participant reference found in the four Lahu Si texts through Dooley and Levinsohn’s method. The participant reference resources, participant ranking, and the operations of participant reference in the texts are described.

All of the texts use noun phrases and null references as participant reference resources. Pronoun phrases are used in three of the four texts.

Each of the texts have major participants and props. Only “The Story of the Cat and Dog,” which is the longest of the four texts, adds minor participants.

From the discussions of each of the texts we find the operations used in Lahu Si. Participants in Lahu Si are normally introduced (90%) and reintroduced (81%) into the story after being off stage with a noun phrase. Participants are normally tracked within a story with a null reference (48%). This supports the contentions that Lahu Si primarily uses a subject-oriented sequential strategy in reference to participant reference. When the participant is the addressee of the previous speech act, Lahu Si usually codes the participant with a noun phrase (94%). When the participant is the object or non-subject of the previous statement a noun phrase is used (60%). The default participant operations are summarized in Table 27.

Participant Operations	Participant Reference
INTRO:	NP
S1:	Null reference
S2:	NP
S3:	NP
S4:	NP

Table 27: Summary of Default Participant Operations

These rules presented above predict 71% of all participant references which occur within the corpus. Exceptions to the participant operations are found throughout each

of the texts. Of all the exceptions found in the corpus 40% have contextual factors which can explain why the participant is marked as such.

It is interesting to note that 76% of the exceptions found in the corpus occur within the S1 context. Within those S1 context exceptions 48% occur in the “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text. This could occur for various reasons; such as, this text could be a different style than the others, this text could be written poorly or it could be the personal style of the author.

These participant reference rules are clear and easily predict the referencing of participants throughout the texts. Each of the texts, with the exception of the “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text, seems to follow the rules without many exceptions.

Further study is needed to examine the exceptions found within this analysis. “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text could be tested with native speakers to determine the quality of the text and possibly the style of the text, which both might have influenced the results found in this analysis. Beyond that other texts, within the narrative folk genre and other genres, should be analyzed and compared for a broader view of participant reference in Lahu Si. Also the S1 context could be considered with greater detail to refine and define the rule, since there were so many exceptions found within the S1 context in this analysis.

CHAPTER 5

SALIENGE BANDS

5.0 Introduction

Longacre (1996:28) suggests nine possible salience bands for narrative texts.²³ However only five salience bands are postulated in this analysis of Lahu Si for this corpus. This chapter opens with a short discussion of each of the five bands postulated for Lahu Si, and then analyzes each of the four stories separately in the following sections.

The five salience bands found with this analysis are storyline, background, setting, irrealis and cohesion. Verbs in the storyline band are event verbs which move the story forward; they are characterized as punctiliar, sequential and volitional (Longacre 1996:25-26).

As Block (1994:84) summarizes, the background band includes any verbs which are repetitive, on-going, prolonged and/or gradual.

The setting band, according to Somsonge (1991:87), is “another kind of nonevent that includes expository and descriptive material.” This band informs the reader of the time, place and circumstance in which the story takes place. Longacre suggests that the “setting is not randomly distributed in a narrative discourse but rather appears at the beginning of a narrative discourse as the stage and at the beginning of a narrative paragraph as the setting” (Somsonge 1991:88 quoting Longacre then in press).

The Irrealis band proposes events that did not happen in the past, or might or might not happen in the future. Grimes (1975:65) refers to this band as ‘collateral’ and states “collateral information, simply stated, relates nonevents to events. By providing a range of nonevents that might take place, it heightens the significance of the real events.”

²³ Longacre’s proposes nine etic salience bands, which include Pivotal story line, Primary storyline, Secondary storyline, Routine, Backgrounded actions/events, Backgrounded activity, Setting, Irrealis, Evaluations, Cohesive and thematic bands. These nine bands are discussed further in section 2.2.3 of this thesis.

The cohesive (or thematic) band holds the text together as one coherent whole. The cohesive band looks at the methods used to connect each sentence to each other and the way in which actions are developed and brought together with one theme.

Past research places great emphasis on tense and aspect as the marker of salience bands.

“In languages with tense-aspect systems, such as French, the story line of narrative discourse is characterized by verbs in the past tense or in the completive/perfective aspect. Nonstoryline is marked by such devices as the use of tenses in pluperfects, progressive forms, the use of the verb ‘to be’, and a variety of other means. Longacre (in press) points out that ‘a language which has not much richness of structure in regard to tense-aspect distinction may distinguish the event line of narratives by a conspiracy of nonsystemic ways’” (Somsong 1991:76).

Lahu Si, a language with very little tense or aspect morphology, uses devices such as final and non-final particles to make a distinction between storyline and non-storyline. It would appear that particles are the primary means of attributing a clause to a certain salience band, whereas aspect, indicated by verbal particles meaning ‘completive’ and ‘continuous,’ is used to promote or demote between bands. Each clause is marked with final, non-final, or verbal particles which then determine which band the clause is found in. This can be seen in the following analysis of the four Lahu Si narrative texts: “The Story of the Cat and Dog”, “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth”, “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” and “The Monkey Chops the Branch”.

5.1 The Story of the Cat and Dog

The hierarchy of salience in “The Story of the Cat and Dog” can be seen below in Table 28.

Band 1	Storyline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>che yaog</i> (final particles) • <i>vehr</i> (completive aspect) • <i>lar haz</i> (immediately)
Band 2	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>lehq</i> or <i>lehax</i> (non-final particles) • <i>chehd</i> (continuous aspect)
Band 3	Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-event verb, i.e. <i>cawg</i> (stative verb)
Band 4	Irrealis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ma</i> (negation)
Band 5	Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverbial clauses + <i>nuhr</i>, <i>lehr</i>, <i>thad</i>, or <i>mehx</i> (verbal particles)

Table 28: Saliency bands of “The Cat and the Dog Story”

5.1.1 Band 1: Storyline

The storyline band includes final clauses made up of event verbs with the final particles *che yaog*. Storyline clauses portray actions, motions, speech, cognitive activity and cognitive experience. The example below is a storyline clause marked with the final particles *che yaog*.

(1) C&D 030

Kheh te lehq	Na mix	khawehr	Phid haq	ke	mehg	cuh	vid	che
And so therefore	cat		dog	OM	place	holdin	mouth	cause to
CONJ	n		n	Pn	v	v	Pv	Pv
								Pu

yaog.
DECL
Pf

So the cat had the dog to hold [it] in its mouth.

Clauses can be promoted to the storyline band by *vehr*, the completive aspect, and *lar haz* ‘immediately.’ These make the verb more punctiliar. The examples below, (2) and (3), are non-final clauses ending in the non-final particle *lehq*, which would otherwise place the clause on the background band. However the occurrence of *vehr* promotes the clause in (2) to storyline and *lar haz* promotes the clause in (3) to storyline.

(2) C&D 012

Jawd mawd	u ve	Sehx sir	haq gha	vehr	lehq
king	that	amulet	OM	able to	COMPLETE
n	det	n	Pn	v	Vv
					Pnf

...

The king got the amulet ...

(3) C&D 041

Phid	u	ve	Sehx	sir	haq	pheq	kha	lar haz	lehq	
...	dog	that	amulet	OM	spit	out	immediately	CONJ	...	
	n	det	n	Pn	v		prt	Pnf		

... that dog **immediately** spit out the amulet ...

Speech quote formula can also occur in the storyline band. This is evident in the final quote formula. If the whole speech act is included on the storyline band, then the final quote formulas must contain final particles.

(4) C&D 051

Kheh	ma	khuhd	yawd	koz	che	"A	mawr	khaz	jad	lo	gaeg
but	said		3S	speak	CHE	soon	village	edgeof	LOC	place	arrive
conj			pro	v	Pu	adv:tm	n	n	Pn		v
ver	ke	mehg		cuha		lawg"	lehd	koz	vid	che	
CONDITION	place	holdin_mouth	cause	-toward	polite_assent	thus	speak	to	CHE		
Pnf	v	v	v	-prt	Puf	disc	v	Pv	Pu		

yaog.
DECL
Pf

But he said, "If [we] arrived at the edge of the village soon, [I] will let [you] hold [it]," thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

5.1.2 Band 2: Background

The background band, in "The Story of the Cat and Dog," occurs in non-final clauses with event verbs marked with the non-final particles *lehq* and *lehax*. *Lehq* and *lehax* are conjunctions which subordinate the whole clause.

(5) C&D 004

Awg	lawn	u	ve	haq	jawd	mawd	gha	sir	lehq	
story	that	OM	king		able	to	know	CONJ	...	
n	det	Pn	n		v	v	Pnf			

The king heard of it ...

Clauses can also be demoted to the background band from the storyline band by the use of *chehd*, the continuous particle. In the example below the clause ends with the final particles *che yaog* which would otherwise place the clause on the storyline. However the clause contains the continuous particle (in bold); thus the clause is placed on the background band.

(6) C&D 043

muhd suh chehd che awg pad lo jo mi **chehd** che yaog.
 ... horse die CONT. that near_place LOC place sad sit **CONT.** CHE DECL
 ... n v Vv REL n Pn adv v Vv Pu Pf

... were sitting dejected near the place of the dead horse.

5.1.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band contains clauses with the stative verb *cawg*, which means ‘to be’ or ‘to have’. In “The Story of the Cat and the Dog” the setting band is made up of only final clauses. The setting band includes non-event verbs such as stative or descriptive nominal phrases.

(7) 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.

5.1.4 Band 4: Irrealis

Irrealis is marked by negation, *maq* or *ma* in this story. Negation can occur in both final and non-final clauses.

(8) C&D 005

Kheh te lehq yawd ca lawg vig liz vig **maq** gha.
 And so therefore 3S go and ask buy FOC buy **NEG -strong** able to
 CONJ pro v v v disc v **adv** v

So then, he went to ask to buy [it] but was **not** able to buy [it].

5.1.5 Band 5: Cohesion

The cohesion band includes adverbial clauses which end with the particles *lehr* (S#033), *thad* (S#036), *mehx* (S#044), or *khaz nuhr* (S#047). These adverbial clauses connect the previous clause with the following clause with a statement of time or serve as an overlap with the previous clause, see example (9) which has a time phrase using *thad*.

(9) C&D 036

Maq **muh** **thad** ngad lux u ve haq yug gha lehq Sehx sir haq
NEG -strong **long time** **TEMP** fish large that OM grab able to CONJ amulet OM
adv **n** **Pu** n adj det Pn v v Pnf n Pn

khuhq gha vehr che yaog.
to return able to COMPLETE CHE DECL
v v Vv Pu Pf

Not long [they] were able to grab that large fish and were able to return the amulet.

5.2 The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth

A summary of a mainline hierarchy of Lahu Si verb phrases can be seen in Table 29 according to “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” text.

Band 1	Storyline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verb + <i>che yaog</i> (final particles) • <i>vehr</i> (completive aspect) • <i>ced</i> (discourse particle) in quote formulas
Band 2	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verb + <i>heh, lehq, or he lehq</i> (non-final particles) • <i>chehd</i> (continuous aspect)
Band 3	Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-event verb, i.e. <i>cawg</i> (stative verb)
Band 4	Irrealis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ma</i> (negation)
Band 5	Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverbial clauses + <i>nuhr</i> or <i>lehr</i> (verbal particles)

Table 29: Salience bands of “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

The analysis of “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” in this thesis began under the assumption that it is a folk narrative about animals. However, as storyline analysis progressed, it emerged that this text worked slightly different than the other texts. For example the discourse marking final particle *ced*, which in other texts only occurs in the setting band with stative verbs, in this text works in a much different way. Here the discourse marking final particle *ced* is a key promoter to the storyline band. This may be attributed to the fact that this story could have happened in the recent past or in the distant past and have more probability in the event actually happening, unlike the other folk narratives where animals are the participants and personalities who speak.

5.2.1 Band 1: Storyline

The storyline band includes action verbs, e.g. (007, 011, 019), motion verbs, e.g. (013), speech quotes, e.g. (012, 014), and emotion verbs, e.g. (021). The storyline band contains event verbs with the final particles *che yaog*. An example is in (10).

(10) MWBGB 012

Kheh te	lehq	awg yad	par	liz	kawaq	che	yaog.
And so	therefore	offspring	male	FOC	return	CHE	DECL
CONJ		n	adj	disc	v	Pu	Pf

And so, the son returned.

Verbs on other salient bands can be promoted to storyline by adding the completive aspect *vehr*. By adding *vehr* to the predicate the verb is made punctiliar, supporting Longacre's analysis that punctiliar verbs are found in the highest salience level of the hierarchy. An example of *vehr* promoting the clause to the storyline band is shown in example (11). In the example the clause is a non-final clause, which would normally place the clause on the background band. However the clause contains *vehr* which promotes the clause to storyline.

(11) MWBGB 020

Kheh te	lehq	yad	par	nehax	awr pa	ix mag	ved	nud kar	par
And so	therefore	offspring	male	small	father	3Dual	genetive	water buffalo	male
CONJ		n	adj	adj	n	pro	Pn	n	adj

yad	khuhq	gha	vehr	lehq
offspring	to return	able to	COMPLETE	CONJ
n	v	v	Vv	Pnf ...

So, their, the young son and father's water buffalo's calf was finally **able** to be returned and ...

Quote formulas can also occur on storyline. To place quotes on the storyline band, the final quote formula must contain the final particles *che yaog*. An example of this can be seen below.

(12) MWBGB 010

Te pawz lehr awr pa u ve ca duhd ma tuhz vehr lehq
 one time[event] after father that go and think NEG out COMPLETE CONJ
 num adv Puf n det v v adv v Vv Pnf

awg yad par haq sanr khuhq che yaog.
 offspring male OM order to return CHE DECL
 n adj Pn v v Pu Pf

After that, the father did not know what to think and, [he] ordered his son to return.

MWBGB 011

"Yad paor kawq laoq khaz lo kanx cawg vehr
 offspring male -oh again come-polite village LOC place work have COMPLETE
 n n -voc v v-prt n Pn n v Vv

che law" lehd koz vid **che yaog.**
 CHE requesting thus speak to **CHE DECL**
 Pu Puf disc v Pv **Pu Pf**

"Son! Come back again! In the village is work," thus [the father] said to [him].

However in this text quotes can also be placed on storyline by the use of the final discourse particle *ced*. Because the storyline band is the only band in which *ced* can occur, by adding *ced* to the verb phrase the clause is promoted to and acts as if it is storyline. An example of *ced* used in promoting a quote to storyline can be seen in example (13).

(13) MWBGB 009

Khawehd te le ghod ver ngag ved vawr nud kar par phehq che
 how because since 1S genitive FOC water buffalo male is CHE
 INT Pnf pro Pn prt n adj v Pu

ehx eh" lehd koz che **ced.**
 interjection thus speak CHE **REPORTED**
 Pu disc v Pu **disc**

"This is because mine is a male water buffalo, thus [he] reportedly said.

Throughout the peak, quote formulas²⁴ are reduced to drama. Here the final particles *che yaog* or the final discourse particle *ced* do not occur. The opening quote of the dialogue is marked as storyline through the discourse particle *ced* and the final particles *che yaog*. This can be seen in S#014 in (14). Thus the following

²⁴ Quote formulas are a source of problems in analyzing the salience scheme of the texts. In the present analysis the same rules, which place Lahu clauses on a salience band, applies to the quote formula. In Lahu Si the final quote formula contains the non-final or final particles which place the quote formula and the quote onto the appropriate salience band. The same rules apply for promoting the quote formula and subsequent quote as well as demoting. The problem arises when the dialogue is reduced to drama and there are no non/final particles to place the quote on a particular band. In the present analysis the following drama has remained on storyline band because the drama opens with the first quote being placed on the storyline band.

conversation remains on storyline. An example of this can be seen in the following example, S#013-018 in (14). This example is a closed conversation between the son and the headman, and the final quote formulas are not given at all. The conversation opens with S#014. Here the quote is marked three times, twice with *ced* and once with the final particles *che yaog*.

(14) MWBGB 013

Kawaq	gag	nuhr	che	kheh	koz	che	ced		lehd	koz	vid	che
return	arrive	after	like	this	speak	CHE	REPORTED	"..."	thus	speak	to	CHE
v	v	adv:tm	det	v	Pu	disc			disc	v	Pv	Pu

yaog.
DECL
Pf

After [he] arrived back, [he] reportedly said like this, "... " thus [he] said to [his father].

MWBGB 014

	lehd	koz	vid	che	ced.
"..."	thus	speak	to	CHE	REPORTED
	disc	v	Pv	Pu	disc

"..." thus [he] reportedly said to [his father].

MWBGB 015

Te	pawz	lehr	kanx	jehg	tug	awg	yand	gaig	nuhr	khaz kehx var
one	time[event]	after	work	meet	nominalizer	time	arrive	after		headman
num	adv	Puf	n	v	particle	n	v	adv:tm	n	

koz che
speak CHE "..."
v Pu

After the work meeting time arrived, and **the village headman said, "..."**

MWBGB 016

Yad	par	u ve	koz	che	
offspring	male	that	speak	CHE	"..."
n	adj	det	v	Pu	

That son said, "..."

MWBGB 017

Khaz	kehx	var	ded	lehq	koz	che	
headman			scold	CONJ	speak	CHE	"..."
n			v	Pnf	v	Pu	

The headman scolded [him] and said, "..."

MWBGB 018

Te	pawz	lehr	yad pa	nehax	u ve	koz	che	
one	time[event]	after	son	small	that	speak	CHE	"..."
num	adv	Puf	n	adj	det	v	Pu	

After a moment, that young man said, "..."

5.2.2 Band 2: Background

In Lahu Si background clauses only occur in the non-final clauses position. They contain event verbs with the non-final particles *heh*, *lehq* and *he lehq*. The verbs found in this band consist of action verbs, e.g. (005, 006, 022) and speech verbs, e.g. (005, 017). An example of a background clause is seen in (15) below.

(15) MWBGB 005

Awr pa	vawr	nud kar		awg ma	teq	kheh	hu lar	lehq	
father	FOC	water buffalo		female	one	animal	take care	CONJ	...
n	prt	n		n	num clf	v		Pnf	

The father took care of the female water buffalo ...

A clause can be demoted to the background band by the continuous aspect *veh*. By adding *veh* the verb is made non-punctiliar. This can be seen in example (16). The clause here is a final clause which would place the clause on the storyline. However this clause contains the continuous aspect *veh*, which places the clause on the background band.

(16) MWBGB 004

Kheh te lehq	awr pa	koz	che	"Yad	paor	mend	khuhn	lo			
And so therefore	father	speak	that	offspring	male	-oh	city	in	LOC place		
CONJ	n	v	REL	n	n	-voc	n	Pn	Pn		
cud yiq	ca	hend	lor	mehr."	Awr pa	koz	vid	che	heh	yad	par
wisdom	go and	study	EMPH	POLITE	father	speak	to	CHE	while	offspring	male
n	v	v	disc	Pf	n	v	Pv	Pu	Pnf	n	adj
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				

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

Quote formulas can also be found on the background band. The final quote formula in Lahu Si contains the non-final particles which place the whole quote on the background band. An example is below.

(17) MWBGB 004

Kheh te lehq awr pa koz che "Yad paor mend khuhn lo
 And so therefore father speak that offspring male -oh city in LOC place
 CONJ n v REL n n -voc n Pn Pn
 cud yiq ca hend lor mehr." Awr pa koz vid che **heh** yad par
 wisdom go and study EMPH POLITE father speak to CHE **while** offspring male
 n v v disc Pf n v Pv Pu **Pnf** n adj
 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

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

5.2.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band is found at the beginning of the text where the participants are introduced in the story. In this text the setting is only made up of the stative verb *cawg*, e.g. (003, 006). The setting band does not contain event verbs and thus is not marked with a particle as the other bands are. This can be seen in (18).

(18) 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.

5.2.4 Band 4: Irrealis

The irrealis band indicates events that did not happen. It is created in this text by negation, e.g. (011, 019). An example of this is in (19).

(19) MWBGB 019

Khaz kehx var liz tawd yaw **maq** gha he lehq nud kar yad gha
 headman FOC to talk **NEG -strong** able to and water buffalo offspring must
 n disc v **adv** v conj n n v
 khuhq pid che yaog.
 to return give CHE DECL
 v v Pu Pf

The headman was **not** able to speak and [he] had to give back the water buffalo calf.

Negation appears to be a very strong demoter. There is one example, (20), in the text where the clause might be promoted to pivotal storyline by the *vehr* completive verb. However this same clause is negated taking the clause off storyline and placing it on the irrealis band.

(20) MWBGB 010

Te	pawz	lehr	awr	pa	u	ve	ca	duhd	ma	tuhz	vehr	lehq
one	time[event]	after	father	that	go	and	think	NEG	out	COMPLETE	CONJ	
num	adv	Puf	n	det	v	v	adv	v	Vv		Pnf	
awg	yad	par	haq	sanr	khuhq	che	yaog.					
offspring	male	OM	order	to	return	CHE	DECL					
n	adj	Pn	v	v	Pu	Pf						

After that, the father **did not** know what to think and, [he] ordered his son to return.

5.2.5 Band 6: Cohesion

Cohesive band clauses in the Lahu Si text are adverbial clauses. Cohesive band clauses mark the clause in time ending with the particle *nuhr*, e.g. (015, 014). Often these clauses also serve as a ‘back reference’ or a repetition of the verb phrase from the preceding sentence. The phrase also serves as a connection between the preceding event and the following event. As can be seen in (21) 012 is on the storyline because of the occurrence of *che yaog*. The following sentence opens with the adverbial clause which is on the cohesive band.

(21) MWBGB 012

Kheh	te	lehq	awg	yad	par	liz	kawaq	che	yaog.
And	so	therefore	offspring	male	FOC	return	CHE	DECL	
CONJ		n	adj	disc	v	Pu	Pf		

And so, the son returned.

MWBGB 013

Kawaq	gag	nuhr	che	kheh	koz	che	ced	"Ngar	pa	nawg	vawr
return	arrive	after	like	this	speak	CHE	REPORTED	1S	father	2S	FOC
v	v	adv:tm	det	v	Pu	disc	pro	n	pro	prt	
taq	kai	lor.	Yad	paw	lehq	yad	cheh	ma	te	chehd	
don't!	go	mitigation	offspring	give	birth	CONJ	offspring	health	NEG	logical	CONT.
adv	v	Pf	n	v	Pnf	n	n	adv	Pu	Vv	
haz	che	te"	lehd	koz	vid	che	yaog.				
difficult	CHE	logical	thus	speak	to	CHE	DECL				
Pu	Pu	Pu	disc	v	Pv	Pu	Pf				

After [he] arrived back, [he] reportedly said like this, "My father, don't go. [You] gave birth and the child is not healthy," thus [he] said to [his father].

5.3 The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

The salience bands and their markers from “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” can be seen in Table 30 in their hierarchy.

Band 1	Storyline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>che yaog</i> (final particles) • <i>vehr</i> (completive aspect)
Band 2	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>ver, lehq, meh, a meh, or heh</i> (non-final particles) • <i>chehd</i> (continuous aspect)
Band 3	Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-event verbs, i.e. <i>cawg</i> (stative verb)
Band 4	Irrealis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ma</i> (negation) • <i>tug</i> (future tense)
Band 5	Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverbial clauses + <i>lehr</i> (conjunctions)

Table 30: Salience bands of “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

5.3.1 Band 1: Storyline

The storyline band is made up of final clauses with event verbs and the final particles *che yaog*. The storyline band in “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” contain action verbs, motion verbs and speech verbs. Below is an example of a storyline clause.

(22) M&T 005

lawg kax lo a kaz ca daweg che yaog.
 n Pn n v v Pu Pf
 ... river LOC place water go_and drink CHE DECL
 ... [the monkey] goes and drinks water at the river.

Promotion can also occur by adding the completive aspect *vehr*. This is seen in the following example. Here the monkey’s half of the tree did not have roots so it died.

(23) M&T 022

Mawq ve vawr awg pi mad cawg lehq teq niaq keh teq ni god lehq suh
 n Pn prt n adv v Pnf n adv Pnf v
 monkey genitive FOC root NEG have CONJ each day dry CONJ die

vehr che yaog.
Vv Pu Pf
COMPLETE CHE DECL

Of the monkey's, there was no roots, so each day it dried up and **died**.

5.3.2 Band 2: Background

The background band is found in non-final clauses and is marked, in this text, by the non-final particles *ver*, *lehq*, *mehx*, *a mehx* or *heh*.

(24) M&T 028

Te	pawz	awr	lehr	Pawd	pehg	nez	nag	jad	lehq	
v	adv		PRT	n	v	adv		adv	Pnf	
do	time[event]	subject	focus	marker	turtle	angry	very		CONJ	...

As for that time the turtle was very angry ...

Demotion to the background band occurs with the continuous aspect *chehd*. Below is example (25), a final clause, ending in the final particles *che yaog*, which would place the clause on storyline. However this clause contains the continuous aspect *chehd* and therefore is placed on the background band.

(25) M&T 031

U	ve	teq	ni	haq	tanr	lehq	yaq	ni	kha	gag	mawq	ted	ceng	awr	lehr
det	num	n	Pn	adv	Pnf	adv:tm	adv:tm	n	num	class	PRT				
that	one	day	OM	since	CONJ	today	until	monkey	one	kind	subject	focus	marker		
tawg	ka	awg	ni	sid	te	chehd	che	yaog.							
n	adv	v	Vv	Pu	Pf										
butt	red	do	CONT.	CHE	DECL										

From then till now, that type of monkey has a red bottom.

5.3.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band contains non-event verbs. Example (26) uses the verb *cawg* 'have.'

(26) M&T 003

A	sawehd	lo	pawd	pehg	he	lehq	mawq	niq	kheh	cawg	che	yaog.
n		Pn	n	n	conj	n	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf	
long	ago	LOC	time	turtle	and	monkey	two	animal	have	CHE	DECL	

Long ago **there was** a turtle and a monkey.

5.3.4 Band 4: Irrealis

The irrealis band includes negation and future tense. In this text negation is marked with the negation words *mad* and *maq*. Example (27) is given below.

(27) M&T 025

Pawd pehg yawd cad gad liz taz sax cad **maq** gha
 n pro v v disc v v v **adv** v
 turtle 3S eat want_to FOC load_carry to pick gather eat **NEG -strong** able to
 che yaog.
 Pu Pf
 CHE DECL

The turtle wanted to eat them but [he] could **not** climb the tree, pick the banana's and eat them.

Irrealis marked by the future tense contains the future particle *tug*. Below is an example of irrealis marked by the future particle.

(28) M&T 032

Hend yug **tug**.
 v v **Pv**
 study take to **FUTURE**
 The moral²⁵:

5.3.5 Band 5: Cohesion

The cohesion band is made up of adverbial clauses. Cohesive band clauses in this text end with the particles *lehr*, e.g. (028). They connect the previous clause with the following clause with a statement of time. In the previous sentence the monkey has climbed the tree, got the turtle's bananas, and sat in the tree and ate them not giving them to the turtle. This clause opens with 'after that' *te pawz-awr lehr*.

(29) M&T 028

Band 5	Band 2	Band 1
Te pawz awr lehr	Pawd pehg nez nag jad lehq	pawd cehg haq
v adv PRT	n v adv Pnf	n n Pn
do time[event] subject focus marker	turtle angry very CONJ	banana plant OM
a chud caw huhz vehr che yaog.		
n n v Vv	Pu Pf	
thorn spiral put on COMPLETE	CHE DECL	

As for that time the turtle was very angry and [he] put thorns on the tree.

²⁵ This grammatical construction no longer can be divided into it's parts, but rather is known today as 'the moral'.

5.4 The Monkey Chops the Branch

The salience hierarchy found in “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text can be summarized in Table 31.

Band 1	Storyline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>che yaog</i> (final particles) • <i>vehr</i> (completive aspect)
Band 2	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event verbs + <i>lehq</i>, <i>mehx</i>, or <i>huh</i> (non-final particles) • <i>chehd</i> (continuous aspect)
Band 3	Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-event verbs
Band 4	Irrealis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>maq</i> (negation)
Band 5	Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverbial clauses + <i>lehq</i> (conjunctions)

Table 31: Salience bands of “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

5.4.1 Band 1: Storyline

Final clauses, once again where the event verbs co-occur with the final particles *che yaog*, make up the storyline band in “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text. An example of this can be seen below in (30).

(30) MCB 008

Chaw u ve nuhg cehg huhx huh mi lehq awg ghad jehd **che yaog.**
 n det n n Pn Pn v Pnf n v **Pu Pf**
 person that fig plant LOC under LOC place sit CONJ strength rest **CHE DECL**

That person sat under the fig tree and rested.

As in the other texts, clauses can be promoted to storyline with *vehr*, the completive particle. This can be seen in example (31). In this example the branch is cut completely. The clause ends with the nonfinal particle *lehq* which would have placed it on the background band. However, this clause is promoted by *vehr*.

(31) MCB 017

Suhz kax u ve chez **vehr** lehq
 n n det v **Vv** Pnf ...
 wood branch that sever **COMPLETE** CONJ ...

The branch was severed **completely**

Speech quotes and cognitive events can also be found on the storyline band. The final quote formula contains the final particles thus placing the whole quote on storyline.

(32) MCB 013

Mawq	u	ve	a	teh	yug	lar		lehq	duhd	ngawx	che	"Che	ve	haq
n	det	n	v	Pv				Pnf	v	v	REL	det	Pn	
monkey	that	knife	grab	MOTION	TOWARD	CONJ	think	look	that	this	OM			
yug	lehq	tawz	ver		suhz	kax	lunx	liz	chez	gha	che			
v	Pnf	v	Pnf		n	n	adv	disc	v	v	Pu			
take	to	CONJ	to	chop	CONDITION	wood	branch	large	FOC	sever	able	to	CHE	
law.		Ngag	liz	yug	ve	lehq	nuhg	kax	tawz	ngawx	sar"	lehd	duhd	
Pf		pro	disc	v	Pv	Pnf	n	n	v	v	v	disc	v	
experiential	1S	FOC	take	to	leave	CONJ	fig	branch	to	chop	look	use	thus	think

che yaog.
Pu Pf
CHE DECL

The monkey grabbed the knife and thought that, "If [I] take this and chop, [I] could sever a large branch. I'll take [the knife] and first try to chop a branch of the fig tree," thus [he] thought.

5.4.2 Band 2: Background

Background activities or events which occur in non-final clauses and are marked with non-final particles, such as *mehx*, *lehq* and *huh*. The following is an example of an event verb with the non-final particle.

(33) MCB 007

Mawq	nuhg	kax	haq	mi	lar	lehq
n	n	n	Pn	v	Pv	Pnf
monkey	fig	branch	OM	sit	leave	set CONJ ...

While the monkey was sitting on the branch of the fig tree ...

Clauses can be demoted to the background band by the continuous aspect *chehd*. The example below is a final clause with the final particles *che yaog*, which would normally place the clause on the primary storyline. However the clause contains *chehd* which demotes the clause to background.

(34) MCB 004

Mawq u ve ca kaz cad kai lehq yaq kaw jad huh cuhz
 n det v v v Pnf n n Pn adv
 monkey that go_and graze go CONJ path edgeof LOC place close right beside

chehd che nuhg cehg lunx thag lo taz mi **chehd** che yaog.
 v REL n n adj adj Pn v v **Vv** Pu Pf
 dwell that fig plant large top LOC place climb sit **CONT.** CHE DECL

The monkey went looking for food and climbed [and] was sitting at the top of a large fig tree that was at the edge of the trail.

5.4.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band in this text does not contain the stative verb *cawg* ‘to be or to have’ as in other texts. The setting band in this text contains non-event descriptive adjectival verbs which open the text. These descriptive adjectival verbs describe the monkey, as clever and human-like, which can be seen in example (35).

(35) MCB 002

Mawq ted ceng vavr to saz awg kag awg nuz veaq keh
 n num class prt n adv adv
 monkey one kind FOC wild mammals different than general greater more

chaw khuhd nuhd lehq awg to awg hoq awg han liz chaw haq sur jad che
 v Pnf n n n disc n Pn n adv Pu
 to be clever CONJ body picture type FOC person OM same very CHE

yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

The monkey is more clever than all other animals; it's body looks very much like people.

5.4.4 Band 4: Irrealis

There is only one example of irrealis in the story. In this example irrealis is marked by the negative *maq*.

(36) MCB 023

A sug yawd khad awg to haq lug tug nag tug suh vid tug kanx teq pa
 n Vv n Pn n n v Pv Pv n n
 his/her own all body OM destruction harm die to nominalizer work group

haq **maq** te cawd che yaog.
 Pn **adv** v adv Pu Pf
 OM **NEG -strong** do should CHE DECL

Each of us should not do things which bring destruction, harm [and] death to our body.

5.4.5 Band 5: Cohesion

This text contains one example of a cohesive band clause. This is an adverbial clause that relates the previous clause and the following clause together with time. Here the adverbial clause is marked with the particle *lehq*.

(37) MCB 010

Teq	per	nehax	gaig	lehq	chaw	u ve	heg	jad	lehq	yuhq mir ka
num	n	adj	v	Pnf	n	det	v	adv	Pnf	v
one	moment	small	arrive	CONJ	person	that	tired	very	CONJ	sleep
vehr		che	yaog.							
Vv		Pu	Pf							
COMPLETE	CHE	DECL								

A **short time later** the person was tired and fell asleep.

5.5 Summary

In conclusion the storyline band for all these texts contains event verbs with the final particles *che yaog*. Non-storyline events can be promoted to storyline by the completive aspect *vehr* and *lar haz* ‘immediately.’ The only exception to this is in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” text where, along with *vehr*, the final discourse particle *ced* is used to promote quotes to the storyline band.

The background band is made up of event verbs with non-final particles including *lehq*, *mehx*, *huh*, *ver*, *a mehx*, *heh*, *he lehq* and *lehax*. Clauses are demoted to background band by the continuous aspect *chehd* or *veh*.

The setting band is non-event verbs, either the stative verb *cawg*, ‘to be or to have’ or adjectival descriptive verbs. The setting band only occurs in the opening of a text.

The irrealis band is marked either with negation *ma*, *maq* or *mad* and/or future tense *tug*.

Finally the cohesion band is made up of adverbial clauses which connect the previous clauses to the following clause either temporally or as an overlap or repetition with the previous clauses. The adverbial clauses are marked with the particles *nuhr*, *lehr*, *thad*, *mehx* or *lehq*.

Each of these bands and their markers are represented in Table 32.

	Markers	Promoters/demoters
Storyline band	Event verbs + Final particles <i>che yaog</i>	Promoted by completive aspect, <i>lar haz, vehr</i> and <i>ced</i> ²⁶
Background band	Event verbs + Non-final particles <i>lehq, meh, huh, ver, a meh, heh, he lehq</i> and <i>lehax</i>	Demoted by continuous aspect <i>chehd</i> or <i>veh</i>
Setting band	Stative verb <i>cawg</i> or adjectival descriptive verbs	
Irrealis band	Negation <i>ma</i> and/or future tense <i>tug</i>	
Cohesion band	Adverbial clauses with the particles <i>nuhr, lehr, thad, meh</i> or <i>lehq</i>	

Table 32: Summary of salience bands.

Salience in Lahu Si, as proposed in this analysis, is partially marked by the verb type but more so by particles. Storyline is primarily marked with final clauses and are thus marked with the final particles *che yaog*. Therefore, event or action verbs and stative verbs could potentially occur in any band based on the particles used in each instance. The same is true for the Background band. The Background band is primarily marked by non-final clauses and are thus marked with the non-final particles *lehq, meh, huh, ver, a meh, heh, he lehq, and lehax*.

In analyzing the texts in light of their particles, instead of the verbs, this analysis does not strictly follow the analysis of Longacre because Longacre focuses on the verb type to determine the salience band. However, these Lahu Si texts worked with this analysis and they can be easily described through this analysis. This analysis is true to the text and the language, which can be seen in the accurate rendering of the text through the macrostructures, which is based on the storyline of the analysis found in this section²⁷.

Because Lahu Si appears to primarily use particles to mark salience a comprehensive study on particles in Lahu Si would benefit this analysis. Also looking at more texts

²⁶ *Ced* only functions as a promoter to the storyline band in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth”. See the previous discussion.

²⁷ See Section 2.4-2.5

and a larger array of genres, in comparison to this analysis, would be next steps in the study of Lahu Si salience bands.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.0 Summary of findings

While there have been few discourse analysis studies done of Southeast Asian languages, especially in the Tibeto-Burman branch, e.g. Jirel, this study seeks to apply discourse level analysis to one Tibeto-Burman language, namely Lahu Si, in order to broaden the range of applied discourse studies in Southeast Asia. One oddity of discourse studies that Somsonge points out is that “most studies of narrative discourse have focused on languages with clearly marked tense-aspect systems” (Somsonge 1991:167). But the languages of Southeast Asia, and particularly the Tibeto-Burman languages, do not have tense-aspect systems. Thus, discourse analysis in Southeast Asian languages is needed in this geographical area. The goal of this thesis is to look broadly at several different aspects of discourse analysis.

The first chapter gives an introduction to the Lahu people: their geographic location, culture and language family. This chapter also includes a brief phonological sketch and grammar sketch. Since the focus of this study is discourse analysis, the phonology and grammar sketch are not exhaustive. Rather they summarize previous work, and they are minimally sufficient to provide a foundation for a meaningful discussion of discourse in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 discusses the framework for the discourse analysis applied procedures throughout the remaining chapters. The discourse analysis theory and methodology used and explained in this chapter are primarily Barnwell’s method of analyzing boundaries, Tuen van Dijk’s theory of macrostructures, Robert Longacre’s theory of notional and surface structure and mainline, and Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn’s theory of participant reference. This chapter also introduces the four Lahu Si texts used throughout this thesis. Each of these texts are folk narratives which contain animals. A free translation of each of the texts is given as well as a macrostructure of each of the texts. A macrostructure is the global meaning of a

discourse (van Dijk 1977a). The macrostructures are derived by applying macrorules recursively to the texts, which are already reduced to storyline.

Chapter 3 organizes the texts into chunks or larger units of meaning with a focus on the notional structure and surface structure. Each of the texts are analyzed in this thesis to contain all the notional structure features proposed as universals by Longacre (1983a): Exposition, Inciting Incident, Developing Conflict, Climax, Denouement, and Conclusion, except for Final Suspense. This chapter also discusses the surface structure constituents, which correlate to the notional structure features. All the texts have Stage, Prepeak Episodes, Peak, Postpeak episodes, and Closure. Three of the 4 texts include the Title and the Aperture in the notional structure features. However none of the texts included in this study have a Finis.

Chapter 4 analyzes participant reference throughout the texts. The participant ranking, participant resources, and participant operations are given for each text individually, as well as applying Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001) method for analyzing participant reference for each of the texts. According to Dooley and Levinsohn's method, Lahu Si uses the follow default markers: when introducing a participant into the story a noun phrase is used (90%), in the S4 context or reintroducing a participant into the story a noun phrase is used (81%), in the S1 context or tracking a participant throughout the text a null reference is used (48%), in the S2 context or where the subject is the addressee of the previous speech act a noun phrase is used (94%), and in the S3 context or where the participant filling the subject role was involved in the previous sentence as a non-subject a noun phrase is used (60%).

Finally, chapter 5 examines the mainline of the four texts according to Longacre's theory of salience scheme. Each of the texts contain 5 salience bands: storyline, background, setting, irrealis, and cohesion. Of Longacre's proposed universal bands, these texts analyzed in this thesis do not contain routine (script predictable) events or variation between action and events, durative activities, and evaluation. Storyline band contains event verbs which move the story forward. The background band contains non-punctiliar event verbs. The setting band contains nonevent stative verbs

and descriptive material. The Irrealis band contains events that might or might not happen. Finally the cohesive band contains the connectors, which link each sentence to the next.

6.1 Evaluation

Macrostructures can really only be constructed after the salience scheme of a text is analyzed. However, after the salience is analyzed, the construction of the macrostructure analysis is smooth. It was beneficial to see the interaction between the two separate discourse methodologies (macrostructure and salience analysis) and how they complement one other.

Boundaries were simple to analyze and discuss because of their intuitive qualities. However the boundaries were confirmed as further analysis was conducted and the texts were analyzed.

While Longacre offers comprehensive guidelines for surface and notional structure analysis, surface and notional structure analysis seem to be a more subjective analysis, based largely on the analyst's perception. However, the texts analyzed here did provide evidence to support the surface and notional structure divisions that were found.

Participant reference analysis produced exactly what the literature predicted. Yet, having a better command of the analyzed language would have been beneficial, as Lahu Si often uses a null reference or changes the reference from the expected result. While the end result was as predicted in the literature, in each of the texts there seemed to be numerous exceptions to the default references which could not be explained. Either the analysis needs to be more flexible or this thesis did not cover enough text to come to clear conclusions about the apparent exceptions. Givón's notion of topic/participant used to determine participant ranking in a text proved to be insightful. Each of the texts analyzed in this thesis contained more than one main participant. By using Givón's method of measurements it was clear which participant was the most important to the story.

Salience analysis differed somewhat from some of the literature in that particles were the main contributors to salience markers instead of verb tenses. “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” particularly did not follow the patterns displayed in the other texts, but rather seemed to follow its own rules, such as the use of *ced*. This interaction with particles was challenging yet insightful; challenging because particles are a vast, ambiguous topic and beyond the scope of this thesis but insightful to begin to crack the ice in the area of particles and discourse analysis. The analysis behind this thesis also started with two storyline bands: a primary storyline and a pivotal storyline. For some of the texts this seemed to aid the analysis and description of salience bands and macrostructure, like “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.” However, in other texts the use of two storyline bands restricted the development of macrostructures and did not seem to describe clearly how the text used salience bands. Therefore, the use of two storyline bands were merged into one storyline band for the analysis in this thesis; however, in certain Lahu Si stories there could be the use of more storyline bands.

6.2 Further investigation

This thesis, while it does give a brief introduction to the grammar and phonology of Lahu Si, is not intended to be exhaustive. Thus there is room for a complete phonology or grammar of Lahu Si.

Each of the texts analyzed in this thesis are folk narratives specifically about or containing animals as participants. Because all of these texts make up a very specific genre, more research could be done in other areas, such as other narrative texts, like 1st or 2nd person narrative accounts, children’s stories, or other genres such as exhortation, procedure or exposition.

While all of the texts analyzed in this thesis are folk narratives about animals, there are distinct differences within them so much so that some of the texts could be categorized in a sub-genre of animal folk narratives. For example “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” is the only text in which none of the animals in the story are personified. Thus, the story could be actual history or it could be historically

fictitious. The remaining stories all have personified animals, which automatically transport the story out of reality to a nonrealistic arena where animals can talk, think and carry on as humans. Also among these three nonrealistic texts, “The Monkey Chops the Branch” is still slightly different. In this text the monkey is personified and he thinks and acts as a human. However, the monkey never talks, which could also make this text a sub-genre of the others. Because the monkey never converses with the human, the story could be factual, but the story could take place from the view of the monkey, which would account for the personification of the monkey. This only shows that the distinction between genres in Lahu Si texts is not clear and could account for differences between the discourse analysis of the texts. This certainly creates a broad area of genre analysis that still needs analysis.

As well as encompassing one narrow genre group, this thesis also is limited in the discourse features it discusses and examines. This thesis only looks at macrostructure, boundaries, surface and notional structure, participant reference and salience. There are many other discourse features that could be applied which have been left for further research, such as information structure, culture, particles, quote formula and many more. Because particles and quote formulas interact with various analyses, they should have a high priority in future analysis.

Another area of further research would be comparing the discourse features of Lahu Si with Southeast Asian areal discourse features since, as mentioned earlier, relatively little research has focused on the discourse features of Southeast Asian languages.

APPENDIX A

THE STORY OF THE CAT AND DOG

THE STORY OF THE CAT AND DOG

C&D 001

Na mix khawehr he lehq Phid awg lawn.

cat and dog story
n conj n n

The Story of the Cat and the Dog.

C&D 002

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

ced.

REPORTED

disc

A long time ago, [they] say there was a husband and wife couple.

C&D 003

Ix mag geh daq jad che Seh x sir teq sir cawg che yaog.
3rd Dual with good very CHE amulet one round have DECL
pro PREP adj adv Pu n num clf v Pu Pf

There was a very good amulet with those two.

C&D 004

Awg lawn u ve haq jawd mawd gha sir lehq he gad jad che yaog.
story that OM king able to know CONJ desire very CHE DECL
n det Pn n v v Pnf v adv Pu Pf

The king heard of it and desired [it] very much.

C&D 005

Kheh te lehq yawd ca lawg vig liz vig maq gha.
And so therefore 3S go and ask buy FOC buy NEG -strong able to
CONJ pro v v v disc v adv v

So then, he went to ask to buy [it] but was not able to buy [it].

C&D 006

Teq ni gaeg lehq muhd mig u ve khuh maq kex-ag lehq awg phad mawd
one day arrive CONJ country that in war break out -+adv CONJ husband
num n v Pnf n det Pn n v -Pv Pnf n

u ve liz maq gha ca bawez che yaog.
that FOC war must go and shoot CHE DECL
det disc n v v v Pu Pf

One day, a war broke out in the country, and the husband had to go fight in the war.

C&D 007

Awg yand u ve khuh jawd mawd u ve Seh x sir gha tug cud yiq che kheh te che
 time that in king that amulet must nominalizer plan like this do CHE
 adv:tm det Pn n det n v particle n det v Pu

yaog.
 DECL
 Pf

At that time, the king made this plan to get the amulet.

C&D 008

Yawd ved awg ceg te ghad haq cuh lehq yad mid u ve chehd lo geh
 3S genitive assistant one person OM use CONJ female that dwell LOC place with
 pro Pn n num clf Pn v Pnf n det v Pn PREP

kae pe che yaog.
 go send CHE DECL
 v v Pu Pf

[He] used his assistant and sent [her] to go to the place the woman lives.

C&D 009

Awg ceg u ve yad mid chehd lo geh kae lehq koz che "Nawg phad mawd
 assistant that female dwell LOC place with go CONJ speak CHE 2S husband
 n det n v Pn PREP v Pnf v Pu pro n

bawz daq kig lo chehd chehd che yaog.
 battlefield LOC place dwell CONT. CHE DECL
 n Pn v Vv Pu Pf

That assistant went to the woman's place and said, "Your husband is on the battlefield.

C&D 010

Ngag hehd maq bawz che ma ghad vehr lehd te lehq yawd ved
 1PL war shoot CHE NEG able to COMPLETE almost and so 3S genitive
 pro n v Pu adv v Vv Pv conj pro Pn

Sehx sir ga yug ve -a lehd koz lehq ngag haq sar fe -a che
 amulet help grab motion -toward thus speak CONJ 1S OM use send -toward CHE
 n v v Pv -prt disc v Pnf pro Pn v v -prt Pu

yaog" lehd koz che yaog.
 DECL thus speak CHE DECL
 Pf disc v Pu Pf

[He] said because we are almost not able to finish the war, help bring his amulet and [he] sent me,"
 thus [the assistant] said.

C&D 011

Yad mid u ve liz yaog duhd lehq fe vid che yaog.
 female that FOC yes think CONJ send to CHE DECL
 n det disc v v Pnf v Pv Pu Pf

The woman thought yes, and sent it to [him].

C&D 012

Jawd mawd u ve Seh x sir haq gha vehr lehq ta kor ted mag khuh ke
king that amulet OM able to COMPLETE CONJ trunk one piece in place
n det n Pn v Vv Pnf n num clf Pn v

lehq yehg awg naz awr leh leha te bawehd khuh teh lar che yaog.
CONJ house far very last one room in store leave set CHE DECL
Pnf n adj adj num n Pn v v Pu Pf

The king got the amulet, and put [it] in a trunk, and stored [it] in the last room at the farthest end of his house.

C&D 013

Yehg u ve haq maq yad teq pa kha nehax saw vid lar che yaog.
house that OM soldier group best guard to leave set CHE DECL
n det Pn n n adj v Pv v Pu Pf

Some soldiers were set to guard that house well.

C&D 014

Awg phad mawd u ve maq ca bawz kawaq che te yand te lar haz che
husband that war go and shoot returned CHE at the time do immediately CHE
n det n v v v Pu adv:tm v prt Pu

awg lawn haq sir lehq duhd har jad che yaog.
problem OM know CONJ think hard very CHE DECL
n Pn v Pnf v v adv Pu Pf

At the time that husband returned from going to fight in the war, [he] knew the problem that immediately happened.

C&D 015

Awg phad mawd awg mid ma ix mag geh chaw khuhd sir vix jad che
husband wife 3Dual with person language understand good very CHE
n n pro PREP n n v v adv Pu

Na mix khawehr he lehq Phid niq kheh cawg che yaog.
cat and dog two animal have CHE DECL
n conj n num clf v Pu Pf

There was a dog and a cat that were as clever as people with the husband and wife.

C&D 016

Kheh te lehq ix mag Na mix khawehr he lehq Phid haq cuh pe lehq Seh x sir u ve
And so therefore 3Dual cat and dog OM use send CONJ amulet that
CONJ pro n conj n Pn v v Pnf n det

haq ca kawq yug khuhq pe che yaog.
OM go and again bring to to return send CHE DECL
Pn v v v v v Pu Pf

Therefore, those two used the cat and the dog and sent [them] to go [and] look for [and] bring back that amulet.

C&D 017

Ix mag tuhz kae lehq med pad lo gag vehr che yaog.
 3Dual leave go CONJ city near LOC place arrive COMPLETE CHE DECL
 pro v v Pnf n adj Pn v Vv Pu Pf

The two left and arrived near the city.

C&D 018

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr Phid haq koz vid che "Nawg vawr chuhr huh chehd
 And so therefore cat dog OM speak to CHE 2per FOC here dwell
 CONJ n n Pn v Pv Pu pro prt n v

lawz.

+pleasant

Pf

Then the cat said to the dog, "You stay here please.

C&D 019

Ngag ca ngawx -eg sar" lehd koz vid lar haz lehq med khuh geh
 1S go and look -away first thus speak to immediately CONJ city in enter
 pro v v -prt adv disc v Pv prt Pnf n Pn v

veh che yaog.

continuing CHE DECL

Vv Pu Pf

I'm going to check it out first", thus [the cat] immediately spoke to[the dog] and entered.

C&D 020

Teq taw peg teq taw phar kae lehq jawd mawd ve hawx yehg lo
 one row finish one row pass go CONJ king genitive palace house LOC place
 num n v num n v v Pnf n Pn n n Pn

gag vehr che yaog.

arrive COMPLETE CHE DECL

v Vv Pu Pf

[The cat] went past row after row [of soldiers] and [he] arrived at the king's palace.

C&D 021

Kheh te lehq yawd vawr saw chehd che maq yad awg kar lo a yax yax
 And so therefore 3S FOC guard CONT. CHE soldier between LOC place carefully
 CONJ pro prt v Vv Pu n adj Pn adv

khuhd gehe lehq hawx yehg awg thag lo taez che yaog.

sneak enter - into CONJ palace the top LOC place climb -onto CHE DECL

v v - prt Pnf n n Pn v -prt Pu Pf

And then he sneaked between soldiers that were guarding and climbed to the top of the palace.

C&D 022

Awg leh med ve te bawehd lo gaeg lehq ta kor lux haq gha mawg
 last one genitive one room LOC place go CONJ trunk large OM able to see
 adj Pn num n Pn v Pnf n adj Pn v v

che yaog.
 CHE DECL
 Pu Pf

[He] went to the last room and saw a large trunk.

C&D 023

Kheh te lehq ta kor lux u ve haq hax ceh khoq khuh che yaog.
 And so therefore trunk large that OM try gnaw to make a hole CHE DECL
 CONJ n adj det Pn v v v Pu Pf

And then [he] tried to gnaw a hole into the big trunk.

C&D 024

Saw chehd che maq yad teq pa Na mix khawehr khoq che awg khuhd haq gha kad
 guard dwell CHE soldier group cat gnaw CHE sound OM able to hear
 v v Pu n n n v Pu n Pn v v

che te yand ted pehg koz che "Na chaw khuhd lag che gha hawg" lehd
 CHE at the time some of speak CHE listen thief come CHE must EMPHATIC thus
 Pu adv:tm n v Pu v n v Pu v Pf disc

koz che yaog.
 speak CHE DECL
 v Pu Pf

When the soldiers that were guarding could hear the sound of the cat gnawing, some said, "Listen, surely a thief has come!" thus [they] said.

C&D 025

Ted pehg pehg koz che "Na mix khawehr faz chaq haq cheq che gha
 some of some -DIMIN speak CHE cat mouse OM bite CHE must
 n n -prt v Pu n n Pn v Pu v

hawg" lehd koz daq che yaog.
 EMPHATIC thus speak reciprocal CHE DECL
 Pf disc v Pv Pu Pf

Some others said, "It's surely a cat chewing on a mouse," thus [they] were saying to each other.

C&D 026

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr ta kor haq cheq pawr gha vehr lehq
 And so therefore cat trunk OM bite make hole able to COMPLETE CONJ
 CONJ n n Pn v v v Vv Pnf

Sehx sir haq mawg che yaog.
 amulet OM see CHE DECL
 n Pn v Pu Pf

And so, the cat was able to bite a hole into the trunk and [he] saw the amulet.

C&D 027

Sehx sir mawq kaw khuh mehɡ cid ve lehq kawq -eq che yaog.
 amulet mouth in hold in_mouth securley motion CONJ return -away CHE DECL
 n n Pn v adv Pv Pnf v -prt Pu Pf

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

C&D 028

Med bag lo gaeg lehq Phid haq koz vid che "Sehx sir gha
 city outside LOC place arrive CONJ dog OM speak to CHE amulet able to
 n adj Pn v Pnf n Pn v Pv Pu n v

vehor mehr" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 COMPLETE -finish EMPH thus speak to CHE DECL
 Vv -prt disc disc v Pv Pu Pf

[He] arrived outside the city and said to the dog, "[I] got the amulet," thus [he] said to [the dog].

C&D 029

Kheh te lehq ix mag teq geha kaw koeq lehq yaq kaw teq theh gaeg
 And so therefore 3Dual together accompanying return CONJ path short distance arrive
 CONJ pro adj Pn v Pnf n adj v

lehq Phid Na mix khawehr haq koz vid che "Sehx sir ngag haq liz mawq kaw
 CONJ dog cat OM speak to CHE amulet 1S OM FOC mouth
 Pnf n n Pn v Pv Pu n pro Pn disc n

khuh a cehax ke mehɡ cuha laoq. A mawr awg sehr phad ngag
 in small amount place holdin_mouth cause -certain request soon owner 1S
 Pn adj v v v -prt prt adv:tm n pro

haq awr maq car vad" lehd koz che yaog.
 OM food NEG feed eat thus speak CHE DECL
 Pn n adv v v disc v Pu Pf

Then the two of them together returned and [they] arrived a short distance down the path and the dog said to the cat, "Please put the amulet in my mouth. Soon the owner will not feed me food," thus [he] said to [the cat].

C&D 030

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr Phid haq ke mehɡ cuh vid che yaog.
 And so therefore cat dog OM place holdin mouth cause to to CHE DECL
 CONJ n n Pn v v Pv Pv Pu Pf

So the cat had the dog to hold [it] in its mouth.

C&D 031

Phid u ve Seh x sir haq ke meh g lehq kae tod che teq theh gaeg
 dog that amulet OM place holdin_mouth CONJ go walk CHE short distance arrive
 n det n Pn v v Pnf v v Pu adj v

lehq cog ted mag haq mawg lehq cog u ve thag lo chaw
 CONJ bridge one piece OM see CONJ bridge that top LOC place walk_on_top_of
 Pnf n num clf Pn v Pnf n det adj Pn v

kae che yaog.
 go CHE DECL
 v Pu Pf

The dog held the amulet in its mouth and arrived a short distance walking and [he] saw a bridge and [he] walked on top of that bridge.

C&D 032

Cog thag lo a kaz khuh Phid teq kheh Seh x sir cheq chid tod che haq
 bridge top LOC place water in dog one animal amulet bite lift walk CHE OM
 n adj Pn n Pn n num clf n v v v v Pu Pn

gha mawg lehq mawq kaw ngax lehq Phid u ve haq cheq phehad lehd
 able to see CONJ mouth open CONJ dog that OM bite kill by immediately
 v v Pnf n v Pnf n det Pn v v Pv

teag huh Seh x sir a kaz khuh che geh veh lehq ngad lux maz
 do +-adv PROG amulet water in fall enter COMPLETE CONJ fish large much
 v -Pv Pnf n n Pn v v Vv Pnf n adj adj

teq kheh lehd dawg ve vehr che yaog.
 one animal immediately swallow motion COMPLETE CHE DECL
 num clf Pv v Pv Vv Pu Pf

On top of the bridge [he] saw a dog walking [and] holding an amulet in the water and [he] opened his mouth and while he was attacking that dog the amulet fell into the water and one very large fish swallowed [it].

C&D 033

Te pawz lehr ix mag ca duhd ma tuh z lehq a kaz ghig puhg pad
 one time[event] after 3Dual go and think NEG out CONJ water liquid edge of near
 num adv Puf pro v v adv v Pnf n n n adj

lo jo mi chehd che yaog.
 LOC place sad sit dwell CHE DECL
 Pn adv v v Pu Pf

After that, those two couldn't think and sat dejected near the bank of the water.

C&D 034

Awg yand u ve khuh Ghig phid jawd mawd teq kheh a kaz khuh tuhaz che haq
 time that in otter king one animal water in surface which OM
 adv:tm det Pn n n num clf n Pn v REL Pn

ix mag gha mawg lehq ted tag maq suhaz lehax ter yug lehq nex kix
 3Dual able to see CONJ short quickly CONJ firmly grab CONJ press_on put_in
 pro v v Pnf adj adv Pnf adv v Pnf v v

lar lehq koz che "Yaq ni nawg ngad lux mawq kaw khuh ve Sehx sir
 leave set CONJ speak CHE today 2per fish large mouth in genitive amulet
 v Pnf v Pu adv:tm pro n adj n Pn Pn n

haq mad yug khuhq -ax ver nawg haq ngag ni ghad cheq cad
 OBJ NEG grab to return -toward CONDITION 2S OM 1S two person bite eat
 mkr adv v v -prt Pnf pro Pn pro num clf v v

tug yaog" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 FUTURE DECL thus speak to CHE DECL
 Pv Pf disc v Pv Pu Pf

At that time, those two were able to see the otter king surface in the water and [they] quickly and firmly grabbed [him] and held [him] down and said, "If you do not bring in return the amulet in the mouth of the large fish today, we will eat you," thus [they] said to [him].

C&D 035

Kheh te lehq Ghig phid u ve yawd ved awg yad teq pa haq kug phawg lehq
 And so therefore otter that 3S genitive offspring group OM call gather CONJ
 CONJ n det pro Pn n n Pn v v Pnf

ngad lux u ve haq ghaq yug cuh che yaog.
 fish large that OM follow grab cause CHE DECL
 n adj det Pn v v v Pu Pf

And so, the otter king called together his children and caused [them] to follow [and] grab that large fish.

C&D 036

Maq muh thad ngad lux u ve haq yug gha lehq Sehx sir haq
 NEG -strong long time TEMP fish large that OM grab able to CONJ amulet OM
 adv n Pu n adj det Pn v v Pnf n Pn

khuhq gha vehr che yaog.
 to return able to COMPLETE CHE DECL
 v v Vv Pu Pf

Not long [they] were able to grab that large fish and were able to return the amulet.

C&D 037

Na mix khawe hr u ve Sehx sir haq ke meh g ve lehq kawq veh
 cat that amulet OM place holdin_mouth motion CONJ return continuing
 n det n Pn v v Pv Pnf v Vv

che yaog.
 CHE DECL
 Pu Pf

That cat placed the amulet in it's mouth and returned.

C&D 038

Yaq kaw teq theh gaeg lehq Phid Na mix khawe hr haq kawq koz vid che
 road short distance arrive CONJ dog cat OM again say to CHE
 n adj v Pnf n n Pn v v Pv Pu

"Awg chawd Na mix khawe hr og Sehx sir ngag haq liz meh g cuha laoq.
 friend cat Oh amulet 1S OM FOC holdin_mouth cause request
 n n Puf n pro Pn disc v v prt

[They] arrived a short distance on the road and the dog said again to the cat, "Friend cat, please let me hold the amulet.

C&D 039

A mawr awg sehr phad awr maq car leaq vad" lehd koz che yaog.
 soon owner food NEG feed and eat thus speak CHE DECL
 adv:tm n n adv v CONJ v disc v Pu Pf

Soon the owner won't be willing to feed me," thus [he] said.

C&D 040

Na mix khawe hr Phid haq har kax lehq yawd haq kawq ke meh g cuh vid
 cat dog OM to pity CONJ 3S OM again place holdin_mouth cause to
 n n Pn v Pnf pro Pn v v v v v Pv

che yaog.
 CHE DECL
 Pu Pf

The cat had pity on the dog, and again [he] had him hold the amulet in his mouth.

C&D 041

Ix mag kae lehq teq theh nehax gaeg che te yand muhd teq kheh suh
 3Dual go CONJ short distance small arrive this at the time horse one animal die
 pro v Pnf adj adj v det adv:tm n num clf v

chehd lawz che haq mawg lehq Phid u ve Sehx sir haq pheq kha lar haz
 CONT. finished that OM see CONJ dog that amulet OM spit out immediately
 Vv Pv REL Pn v Pnf n det n Pn v prt

lehq muhd suh sar ca ghawz cad veh che yaog.
 CONJ horse die flesh go and be egar eat continuing CHE DECL
 Pnf n v n v v v Vv Pu Pf

Those two went and when [they] arrived a short distance [they] saw one dead horse and that dog immediately spit out the amulet and went to eat the dead horse meat.

C&D 042

Awg yand u ve haq Naz kag teq kheh teq pear lehax pog cheag lehq
 time that OM crow one animal one moment only fly fall -+adv CONJ
 adv:tm det Pn n num clf adv adj v v -Pv Pnf

Sehx sir u ve haq thuz chid ve vehr che yaog.
 amulet that OM peck lifthold motion COMPLETE CHE DECL
 n det Pn v v Pv Vv Pu Pf

At that time a crow only at that moment swooped at that and [he] lifted that amulet.

C&D 043

Che te pawz liz ix mag ca duhd ma tuh lehq muhd suh chehd che
 this one time[event] FOC 3Dual go_and think NEG out CONJ horse die CONT. that
 det num adv disc pro v v adv v Pnf n v Vv REL

awg pad lo jo mi chehd che yaog.
 near_place LOC place sad sit CONT. CHE DECL
 n Pn adv v Vv Pu Pf

This time, the two of them could not think out and were sitting dejected near the place of the dead horse.

C&D 044

U kheh te chehad meh Naz kag jawd mawd teq kheh pog yaq lehq muhd suh
 like that do happening when crow king one animal fly down CONJ horse die
 det v v adv n n num clf v adv Pnf n v

sar ca cad-ag che yaog.
 flesh go_and eat -PURPOSE CHE DECL
 n v v -Pv Pu Pf

While [they] were like this, the king of the crows flew down and went to eat the dead horse meat.

C&D 045

Kheh te lehq Na mix khawehr u ve a yax yax jaz kae lehq Naz kag jawd mawd u ve
 And so therefore cat that slowly sneak go CONJ crow king that
 CONJ n det adv v v Pnf n n det

haq pawz yug kix lar lehq koz che "O cox lo suhz cehg thag
 OM jump grab put in leave set CONJ speak CHE way over there LOC place tree top
 Pn v v v v Pnf v Pu n Pn n adj

lo nad chehd che Naz kag u ve teq kheh ngag ved Sehx sir thuz chid
 LOC place roost CONT. which crow that one animal 1S genitive amulet peck lift
 Pn v Vv REL n det num clf pro Pn n v v

ve lar che yaog" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 motion leave set CHE DECL thus speak to CHE DECL
 Pv v Pu Pf disc v Pv Pu Pf

And so that cat slowly sneaked and jumped [and] grabbed the king of the crows and said, "That crow which is roosting on top of the tree way over there picked up [and] carried away my amulet," thus [he] said to [the king of the crows].

C&D 046

Kheh te lehq Naz kag jawd mawd liz suhz cehg thag lo nad chehd che
 And so therefore crow king FOC tree top LOC place roost CONT. CHE
 CONJ n n disc n adj Pn v Vv Pu

Naz kag haq tawd yaw vid lehq Naz kag u ve liz Seh x sir u ve haq kawq yug
 crow OM to talk to CONJ crow that FOC amulet that OM again bring to
 n Pn v Pv Pnf n det disc n det Pn v v

khuhq vea che yaog.
 to return motion -toward CHE DECL
 v Pv -prt Pu Pf

So the king of the crows talked to the crow roosting on top of the tree and that crow again brought [and] returned the amulet.

C&D 047

U kheh te peg khaz nuhr ix mag ha lehq jad lehq Na mix khawehr u ve
 like that do finished followingtime 3Dual be happy very CONJ cat that
 det v adv adv:tm pro v adv Pnf n det

Sehx sir haq kawq ke meh g lehq kawq veh che yaog.
 amulet OM again place holdin_mouth CONJ return continuing CHE DECL
 n Pn v v v Pnf v Vv Pu Pf

After that was finished those two were very happy and that cat again held the amulet in it's mouth and returned.

C&D 048

Yaq kaw teq theh kawq gaeg lehq Phid Na mix khawehr haq koz vid che
 path short distance again arrive CONJ dog cat OM speak to CHE
 n adj v v Pnf n n Pn v Pv Pu

"Awg chawd Na mix khawehr og ngag haq liz a cehax meh g
 friend cat Oh 1S OM FOC small amount holdin_mouth
 n n Puf pro Pn disc adj v

cuha laoq."
 cause -toward request
 v -prt prt

[They] arrived a short distance on the road and the dog said to the cat, "Friend cat, please let me hold [it] a little.

C&D 049

A mawr awg sehr phad awr maq car lehq vad" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 soon owner food NEG -strong feed CONJ eat thus speak to CHE DECL
 adv:tm n n adv v Pnf v disc v Pv Pu Pf

Soon the owner will not feed me food," thus [he] said to [the cat].

C&D 050

Na mix khawehr u ve Phid haq maq ke mehɡ cuh vid.
 cat that dog OM NEG place holdin_mouth cause to
 n det n Pn adv v v v Pv

That cat did not place [the amulet] in the dog's mouth.

C&D 051

Kheh ma khuhd yawd koz che "A mawr khaz jad lo gaeg ver
 but said 3S speak CHE soon village edgeof LOC place arrive CONDITION
 conj pro v Pu adv:tm n n Pn v Pnf

ke mehɡ cuha lawɡ" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 place holdin_mouth cause -toward polite_assent thus speak to CHE DECL
 v v v -prt Puf disc v Pv Pu Pf

But he said, "If [we] arrived at the edge of the village soon, [I] will let [you] hold [it]," thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

C&D 052

Khaz jad lo gaeg lehq Phid kawq koz che "Ngag haq kawq ke
 village edgeof LOC place arrive CONJ dog again speak CHE 1S OM again place
 n n Pn v Pnf n v v Pu pro Pn v v

mehɡ cuha laog.
 holdin_mouth cause -toward request
 v v -prt Pf

[They] arrived at the edge of the village and the dog again said, "Again let me hold [the amulet]."

C&D 053

Yehɡ lo kawq gag vehr tez-or" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 house LOC place again arrive COMPLETE already -finish thus speak to CHE DECL
 n Pn v v Vv Vv -prt disc v Pv Pu Pf

[We] have again already arrived at the house," thus [the dog] said to [the cat].

C&D 054

Na mix khawehr kawq koz che "Ghoq chi pad lo gag heh ke
 cat again speak CHE stairs near LOC place arrive while place
 n v v Pu n adj Pn v Pu v

mehɡ cuha lawɡ" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 holdin_mouth cause -toward polite_assent thus speak to CHE DECL
 v v -prt Puf disc v Pv Pu Pf

The cat spoke again, "When we arrive near the steps [I'll] let [you] hold [the amulet]," thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

C&D 055

Ghoq chi pad lo gaeg lehq Phid kawq koz che "Ngag haq kawq ke
 stairs near LOC place arrive CONJ dog again speak CHE 1S OM again place
 n adj Pn v Pnf n v v Pu pro Pn v v
 mehɡ cuha laoq" lehd koz che yaog.
 holdin_mouth cause -toward request thus speak CHE DECL
 v v -prt Pf disc v Pu Pf

[They] arrived near the stairs and the dog said again, "Let me hold [the amulet] again," thus [the dog] said to [the cat].

C&D 056

Na mix khawehr kawq koz che "Ghaz mir khuh pad lo gaeg vid ser.
 cat again speak CHE door in near LOC place arrive to first
 n v v Pu n Pn adj Pn v Pv Pv

The cat again said, "First [let us] arrive hear the door.

C&D 057

U huh gaeg ver nawg haq kawq ke mehɡ cuha tug
 there arrive CONDITION 2S OM again place holdin_mouth cause -toward FUTURE
 det v Pnf pro Pn v v v v -prt Pv
 yaog" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 DECL thus speak to CHE DECL
 Pf disc v Pv Pu Pf

If [we] arrive there [I] will let you hold [the amulet] again," thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

C&D 058

Ghaz mir khuh pad lo gaeg lehq Na mix khawehr u ve te
 door in near LOC place arrive CONJ cat that one
 n Pn adj Pn v Pnf n det num
 pawaz lehax yehg khuh pawz gehe lehq awg sehr phad haq
 time[event] -DIMIN only house in jump enter - into CONJ owner OM
 adv -prt adj n Pn v v - prt Pnf n Pn
 khuhq pid vehr che yaog.
 to return give COMPLETE CHE DECL
 v v Vv Pu Pf

[They] arrived near the door and only at that moment that cat jumped into the house and returned [the amulet] to the owner.

C&D 059

U ve teq ni haq te lehq yaq ni kha gag Na mix khawehr he lehq Phid ted ceng ma
 that one day OM and so today until cat and dog one kind NEG
 det num n Pn conj adv:tm adv:tm n conj n num class adv

thad daq vehr che yaog.
 mix reciprocal COMPLETE CHE DECL
 v Pv Vv Pu Pf

Since that day until today, cats and dogs have not mixed together well.

C&D 060

Awg lawn che ted mag Sala Ehr Sehx Naz khi ri buhq lar che
 story this one piece teachmale_name family_name write MOTION TOWARD CHE
 n det num clf n n n v Pv Pu

yaog.
 DECL
 Pf

This story was written by Sala Ehr Saehx Naz khi ri.

C&D 061

Nawx phax Khaz 1/ 10/ 2000 Khuhq.
 Nong Pham village year
 n n n

Nong Pham village, 1 October, 2000

APPENDIX B

THE MALE WATER BUFFALO GIVES BIRTH

THE MALE WATER BUFFALO GIVES BIRTH

MWBGB 001

Ehr sehnd Doa kehod.

MWBGB 002

Nud kar par awg yad paw che.
 water buffalo male offspring give birth CHE
 n adj n v Pu

The male water buffalo gives birth.

MWBGB 003

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

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

MWBGB 004

Kheh te lehq awr pa koz che "Yad paor mend khuhn lo cud yiq
 And so therefore father speak that offspring male -oh city in LOC place wisdom
 CONJ n v REL n n -voc n Pn Pn n
 ca hend lor mehr." Awr pa koz vid che heh yad par nehax liz
 go and study EMPH POLITE father speak to CHE while offspring male small FOC
 v v disc Pf n v Pv Pu Pnf n adj adj disc
 liq ca hend veh che yaog.
 book go and study continuing CHE DECL
 n v v Vv Pu Pf

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

MWBGB 005

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

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

MWBGB 006

Kheh te lehq nud kar u ve nid kheh vavr teq geha lehx kaz cad vid lar
 And so therefore water buffalo that two animal FOC together only graze to leave set
 CONJ n det num clf prt adj adj v Pv v

che yaog.
 CHE DECL
 Pu Pf

And so, those two water buffalo alone were left to graze together.

MWBGB 007

Te pawz lehr nud kar yad nehax awg par teq kheh paw
 one time[event] after water buffalo offspring small male one animal give birth
 num adv Puf n n adj n num clf v

vehr che yaog ced.
 COMPLETE CHE DECL REPORTED
 Vv Pu Pf disc

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

MWBGB 008

Kheh te lehq khaz kehx var che kheh koz che yaog ced "Nud kar
 And so therefore headman like this speak CHE DECL REPORTED water buffalo
 CONJ n det v Pu Pf disc n

yad u ve awg par law ngag ved yad yaog.
 offspring that male experiential 1S genitive offspring DECL
 n det n Pnf pro Pn n Pf

Then, the headman reportedly spoke like this, "That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of mine (water buffalo)."

MWBGB 009

Khawehd te le ghod ver ngag ved vavr nud kar par phehq che
 how because since 1S genitive FOC water buffalo male is CHE
 INT Pnf pro Pn prt n adj v Pu

ehx eh" lehd koz che ced.
 interjection thus speak CHE REPORTED
 Pu disc v Pu disc

"This is because mine is a male water buffalo, thus [he] reportedly said.

MWBGB 010

Te pawz lehr awr pa u ve ca duhd ma tuhz vehr lehq awg yad
 one time[event] after father that go and think NEG out COMPLETE CONJ offspring
 num adv Puf n det v v adv v Vv Pnf n

par haq sanr khuhq che yaog.
 male OM order to return CHE DECL
 adj Pn v v Pu Pf

After that, the father did not know what to think and, [he] ordered his son to return.

MWBGB 011

"Yad paor kawq laoq khaz lo kanx cawg vehr che
 offspring male -oh again come-polite village LOC place work have COMPLETE CHE
 n n -voc v v-prt n Pn n v Vv Pu
 law" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 requesting thus speak to CHE DECL
 Puf disc v Pv Pu Pf

"Son! Come back again! In the village is work," thus [the father] said to [him].

MWBGB 012

Kheh te lehq awg yad par liz kawaq che yaog.
 And so therefore offspring male FOC return CHE DECL
 CONJ n adj disc v Pu Pf

And so, the son returned.

MWBGB 013

Kawaq gag nuhr che kheh koz che ced "Ngar pa nawg vawr taq kai
 return arrive after like this speak CHE REPORTED 1S father 2S FOC don't! go
 v v adv:tm det v Pu disc pro n pro prt adv v
 lor. Yad paw lehq yad cheh ma te chehd haz che
 mitigation offspring give birth CONJ offspring health NEG logical CONT. difficult CHE
 Pf n v Pnf n n adv Pu Vv Pu Pu
 te" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 logical thus speak to CHE DECL
 Pu disc v Pv Pu Pf

After [he] arrived back, [he] reportedly said like this, "My father, don't go. [You] gave birth and the child is not healthy," thus [he] said to [his father].

MWBGB 014

"Ngag vawr kanx jehg daq kig lo kai tug yaog" lehd koz vid
 1S FOC work meet reciprocal place LOC time go FUTURE DECL thus speak to
 pro prt n v Pv n Pn v Pv Pf disc v Pv
 che ced.
 CHE REPORTED
 Pu disc

"I will go to the work meeting place," thus [he] reportedly said to [his father].

MWBGB 015

Te pawz lehr kanx jehg tug awg yand gaig nuhr khaz kehx var koz
 one time[event] after work meet nomimalizer time arrive after headman speak
 num adv Puf n v particle n v adv:tm n v

che "Khar lehq nawr pa kanx jehg daq tug mad lag
 CHE where Particle 2S father work meet together nomimalizer NEG come
 Pu INT Pnf pro n n v adj particle adv v

cheawg la. Ghod lehq na ngawx che yaog."
 CHE - affirmative QUESTION explain CONJ listen look CHE DECL
 Pu - Puf interog:Y/N v Pnf v v Pu Pf

After the work meeting time arrived, and the village headman said, "Where is you father that he did not come to the village work meeting? Explain and I will consider."

MWBGB 016

Yad par u ve koz che "Ngar pa mad lag lehq ngag lag che yaog.
 offspring male that speak CHE 1S father NEG come CONJ 1S come CHE DECL
 n adj det v Pu pro n adv v Pnf pro v Pu Pf

Awg lawn ghod ver ngar pa yawd yad paw lehq lag mad gag te lehq
 because 1S father 3S offspring give birth CONJ come NEG arrive and so
 CONJ pro n pro n v Pnf v adv v conj

ngar pa awg tan lag che yaog."
 1S father alternate come CHE DECL
 pro n n v Pu Pf

That son said, "My father is not coming, I came. Because my father gave birth to his child and since [he] can not come, I came as my father's alternate."

MWBGB 017

Khaz kehx var ded lehq koz che "Nawg chaw ghud lehq la. Nawr
 headman scold CONJ speak CHE 2S person crazy CONJ QUESTION 2S
 n v Pnf v Pu pro n adj Pnf interog:Y/N pro

pa haw khaz maq yad paw gha hawg la."
 father male NEG -strong offspring give birth able to EMPHATIC QUESTION
 n n adv n v v Pf interog:Y/N

The headman scolded [him] and said, "Are you a crazy person? Can your male father give birth?"

MWBGB 018

Te pawz lehr yad pa nehax u ve koz che "Khaz kehx var nawg liz chaw
 one time[event] after son small that speak CHE headman 2S FOC person
 num adv Puf n adj det v Pu n pro disc n

ghud lehq la. Nawg ved nud kar par awg yad paw gha
 crazy CONJ QUESTION 2S genitive water buffalo male offspring give birth able to
 adj Pnf interrog:Y/N pro Pn n adj n v v

che lehd koz vid nuhar meh." "CHE thus speak to time POLITE
 Pu disc v Pv prt Pf

After a moment, that young man said, "Headman are YOU a crazy person? Your male water buffalo is able to give birth, so[you] spoke to [us]."

MWBGB 019

Khaz kehx var liz tawd yaw maq gha he lehq nud kar yad gha
 headman FOC to talk NEG -strong able to and water buffalo offspring must
 n disc v adv v conj n n v

khuhq pid che yaog.
 to return give CHE DECL
 v v Pu Pf

The headman was not able to speak and [he] had to give back the water buffalo calf.

MWBGB 020

Kheh te lehq yad par nehax awr pa ix mag ved nud kar par yad
 And so therefore offspring male small father 3Dual genitive water buffalo male offspring
 CONJ n adj adj n pro Pn n adj n

khuhq gha vehr lehq awr pa liz ha lehq jad che yaog.
 to return able to COMPLETE CONJ father FOC be happy very CHE DECL
 v v Vv Pnf n disc v adv Pu Pf

So, their, the young son and father's water buffalo's calf was finally able to be returned and the father was very happy.

MWBGB 021

Khawehd te le ghod ver awg yad par haq cud yiq ca hend cuh lar
 how because since offspring male OM wisdom go and study cause to leave set
 INT Pnf n adj Pn n v v Pv v

che heh cud yiq haq yehd lehq nud kar yad u ve khuhq gha che
 CHE while wisdom OM use CONJ water buffalo offspring that to return able to CHE
 Pu Pnf n Pn v Pnf n n det v v Pu

yaog ced.
 DECL REPORTED
 Pf disc

Because as the son was sent to go [and] study wisdom, [he] used that wisdom and [he] was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.

APPENDIX C

THE STORY OF THE MONKEY AND THE TURTLE

THE STORY OF THE MONKEY AND THE TURTLE

M&T 001

Buhq par Yawd Laq Siq riq von Typed pjc 8-Jan-04.

M&T 002

Pawd pehg he lehq mawq awg lawn.
 n conj n n
 turtle and monkey story

The story of the turtle and the monkey.

M&T 003

A sawhd lo pawd pehg he lehq mawq niq kheh cawg che yaog.
 n Pn n conj n num clf v Pu Pf
 long ago LOC time turtle and monkey two animal have CHE DECL

Long ago there was a turtle and a monkey.

M&T 004

Pawd pehg u ve sawx gha lia ver pehg puhg huh tuhaz
 n det n adj Pnf n Pn v
 turtle that morning every CONDITION edge of moving water LOC place surface

lehq muhd cha lehq chehd che yaog.
 Pnf n v v Pu Pf
 CONJ sunshine shine dwell CHE DECL

Every morning the turtle comes to the edge of the river and surfaces to be in the sun.

M&T 005

Mawq liz sawx gha lia cix sir cad buhz vehr ver lawg kax
 n disc n adj n v v Vv Pnf n
 monkey FOC morning every fruit eat full COMPLETE CONDITION river

lo a kaz ca daweg che yaog.
 Pn n v v Pu Pf
 LOC place water go_and drink CHE DECL

If the monkey each morning eats his full of fruit, [he] goes and drinks water at the river.

M&T 006

Teq sawx-awr gaeg lehq pawd pehg he lehq mawq mawg daq lehq koz
 num n v Pnf n conj n v Pv Pnf v
 one future day arrive_at CONJ turtle and monkey see reciprocal CONJ speak

daq che "Pawd pehg -o nawg a thoq te chehd cheawg le?"
 Pv REL n -prt pro INT v Vv Pu-Puf interog
 reciprocal that turtle -polite 2S what do CONT. Particle QUESTION

One day arrived that the turtle and the monkey saw each other and they talked together. "Turtle, what are you doing?"

M&T 007

Pawd pehg koz che "Ngag ehx-eh muhd cha lehg chehd che yaog hehq.
 n v REL pro n n v v Pu Pf Pu
 turtle speak that 1S over there sunshine shine dwell CHE DECL emotion

Turtle said, "I'm warming in the sun.

M&T 008

Nawg vawr a thoq te tod cheawg lehz?"
 pro prt INT v v Pu-Puf interrog
 2S FOC what do walk Particle QUESTION

What did you come to do?"

M&T 009

Mawq koz che "Ngag ehx-eh cix sir ca kaod cad lar haz lehq a kaz
 n v REL pro n n v v v Pf Pnf n
 monkey speak that 1S over there fruit go_and thoroughly eat then_after CONJ water
 cag dawg tod che yaog hehq" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 v v v Pu Pf Pu disc v Pv Pu Pf
 find swallow walk CHE DECL emotion thus speak to CHE DECL

Monkey said, "I already went to eat fruit and I came to find a drink", thus [he] said.

M&T 010

Cax lehq mawq kawq koz che "Nawg ghod ver a kaz khuhn
 Vv Pnf n v v REL pro v Pnf n Pn
 Continue CONJ monkey return speak that 2S uncertainty CONDITION water in
 liz a kaz mad cawg kig huh liz chehd gha che law.
 disc n adv v n Pn disc v v Pu Pf
 FOC water NEG have place LOC place FOC dwell able to CHE experiential

Continuing, the monkey replied saying, "You can be in the water and out of the water.

M&T 011

Ngag ghod ver a kaz mad cawg kig huha lehax chehd gha che
 pro Pv Pnf n adv v n n adj v v Pu
 1S uncertainty CONDITION water NEG have place area only dwell able to CHE
 yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

But me, I can only live in places that do not have water.

M&T 012

Ngag liz nawg heh te gha gad jad lehq" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 pro disc pro v v v v adv Pnf disc v Pv Pu Pf
 1S FOC 2S similar like do able to want_to very Particle thus speak to CHE DECL

I want to be like you", thus [he] spoke.

M&T 013

Pawd pehg kawq koz che "Nawg ghod ver miaq liz chehd
 n v v REL pro v Pnf n disc v
 turtle return speak that 2S uncertainty CONDITION soil ground FOC dwell
 gha lehq suhz cehg liz taz gag che law" lehd koz daq chehd-a
 v Pnf n disc v v Pu Pf disc v Pv Vv
 able to CONJ tree FOC climb arrive CHE experiential thus speak reciprocal CONT.
 meh x lawg kax khuhn pawd cehg ted cehg si yaq tod che haq gha
 Pnf n Pn n n num n v adv Vv REL Pn v
 when river in banana plant one plant float drift down moving that OM able to
 mawg che yaog.
 v Pu Pf
 see CHE DECL

The turtle replied saying, "You can live on land and climb trees," while [they] were speaking, [he] saw a banana tree fall into the water.

M&T 014

Kheh te lehq mawq pawd pehg haq koz vid che "Pawd pehg -o nawg vawr
 CONJ n n Pn v Pv REL n -prt pro prt
 And so therefore monkey turtle OM speak to that turtle -polite 2S FOC
 a kaz khuhn gehe gag che ehx-eh pawd cehg u ve ca yuer lawg
 n Pn v v Pu n n n det v v Puf
 water in go arrive CHE over there banana plant that go_and take polite_assent
 ma" lehd koz vid a meh x Pawd pehg koz che "Ngag ca yueg kawaq lehq
 Pu disc v Pv Pnf n v REL pro v v v Pnf
 command thus speak to TEMP turtle speak that 1S go_and take return CONJ
 pehg puhg huh gaeg ver gha ga yug tuh z ax
 n Pn v Pnf v v v v Pv
 edge of moving water LOC place arrive_at CONDITION able to help bring to leave to_
 lawg mehr" lehd koz vid che yaog.
 Puf Pf disc v Pv Pu Pf
 polite_assent POLITE thus speak to CHE DECL

Therefore when the monkey said to the turtle, "Turtle, you go into the water and go and bring this banana tree", thus [he] said, the turtle said, "I'll go and I'll come back and if I return to the edge,[you] can help me get it out", thus [he] spoke.

M&T 015

Mawq koz che "Eg ga yug tuh az chehd meh" lehd koz
 n v REL interjection v v v Pv Vv Pf disc v
 monkey speak that AFFIRMATION help bring to out to_ CONT. POLITE thus speak

vid che yaog.

Pv Pu Pf
 to CHE DECL

The monkey said, "Ok, I'll help get it out", thus he said.

M&T 016

Mawq koz vid che heh pawd pehg liz a kaz khuhn si tod che pawd
 n v Pv REL Pu n disc n Pn v Vv REL n
 monkey speak to that while turtle FOC water in float drift moving that banana

cehg u ve ca yug ve kawaq lehq pehg puhg
 n det v v Pv v Pnf n
 plant that go_and bring to TRANSPORT MOTION return CONJ edge of moving water

huh gaeg lehq mawq liz ga yug tuh vid che yaog.
 Pn v Pnf n disc v v v Pv Pu Pf

LOC place arrive_at CONJ monkey FOC help take to out to CHE DECL

While the monkey spoke, the turtle was in the water and brought the banana tree back and arrived at the edge and the monkey helped take it out.

M&T 017

U kheh te peg lehq pawd pehg koz che "Mawq -o pawd cehg che ve
 det v v Pnf n v REL n -prt n n REL Pn
 like that do finish CONJ turtle speak that monkey -polite banana plant that genitive

haq kha lehq teq geha pehg cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid a meh x mawq
 Pn v Pnf adj n v -Pv Pf disc v Pv adv n
 OM plant CONJ together some eat -PURPOSE INVIT thus speak to when monkey

kawq koz che "Ix u kheh taq te pehg daq lehq a sug yawd ved te
 v v REL interjection det adv v v Pv Pnf pro v
 return speak that NEGATIVE like that don't! do divid reciprocal CONJ his/her own do

kha cad -ad veg" lehd koz che yaog.
 v v -Pv Pf disc v Pu Pf
 plant eat -particle INVIT thus speak CHE DECL

After that the turtle said, "Monkey, let's plant our banana tree and eat it together", thus he said. The monkey replied saying, "[I] will not. Let's divide it and each of us plant and eat our own," thus he said.

M&T 018

Kheh te lehq mawq koz che heh awg kaw jen tawz chez lehq mawq haq
 CONJ n v REL Pu adv v v Pnf n Pn
 And so therefore monkey speak that while center middle to chop sever CONJ monkey OM

awg kawd lez yug kuh vid che yaog.
 adv v v v Pv Pu Pf
 first choose take to cause to CHE DECL

And so, as the monkey spoke, [the turtle] cut the tree in the middle and [he] made the monkey choose a half first.

M&T 019

Mawq yawd duhd che "Awg khiz penr phawd-awr mad daq law" lehd duhd
 n pro v REL adv n adv adj Puf disc v
 monkey 3S think that bottom half side NEG good experiential thus think

lehq awg med phawd-awr yug ve che yaog.
 Pnf adv n v Pv Pu Pf
 CONJ top half side take to TRANSPORT MOTION CHE DECL

The monkey thought that, "The bottom half of the tree is not good", thus [he] thought so [he] took the top half.

M&T 020

Kheh te lehq pawd pehg vawr awg khiz penr phawd-awr ve gha
 CONJ n prt adv n Pv v
 And so therefore turtle FOC bottom half side TRANSPORT MOTION must

che yaog.
 Pu Pf
 CHE DECL

Therefore the turtle must take the bottom half.

M&T 021

Te pawz awr lehr a sug yawd ved yug ve lehq
 num adv PRT pro v Pv Pnf
 one time[event] subject focus marker his/her own take to TRANSPORT MOTION CONJ

ca kha veh che yaog.
 v v Vv Pu Pf
 go_and plant continuing CHE DECL

After that each had to take their own and plant it.

M&T 022

Mawq ve vawr awg pi mad cawg lehq teq niaq keh teq ni god lehq suh
 n Pn prt n adv v Pnf n adv Pnf v
 monkey genitive FOC root NEG have CONJ each day dry CONJ die

vehr che yaog.
 Vv Pu Pf
 COMPLETE CHE DECL

Of the monkey's, there was no roots, so each day it dried up and died.

M&T 023

Pawd pehg ve vawr awg pi cawg cheaq te lehq teq niaq keh teq ni pehz daq mehz
 n Pn prt n v Pnf n v
 turtle genitive FOC root have the result is each day better and better

he lehq awg kawz cawg vehr che yaog.
 conj n v Vv Pu Pf
 and produce have COMPLETE CHE DECL

Of the turtle's, because there was roots, each day it improved and had fruit.

M&T 024

Teq ni-awr gaeg lehq a pawd sir u ve meh vehr che yaog.
 num n-prt v Pnf n clf det v Vv Pu Pf
 one day arrive_at CONJ banana_ round that to ripen COMPLETE CHE DECL

One day the bananas became ripe.

M&T 025

Pawd pehg yawd cad gad liz taz sax cad maq gha che
 n pro v v disc v v v adv v Pu
 turtle 3S eat want_to FOC load_carry to pick gather eat NEG -strong able to CHE

yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

The turtle wanted to eat them but [he] could not climb the tree, pick the banana's and eat them.

M&T 026

Kheh te lehq pawd pehg mawq haq koz vid che "Ngag ved a pawd meh
 CONJ n n Pn v Pv REL pro Pn n v
 And so therefore turtle monkey OM speak to that 1S genitive banana_ to ripen

vehor. Ngag taez mad gag nawg taz sax -eq pehg daq
 Vv pro v adv v pro v v -v v Pv
 COMPLETE 1S go up NEG arrive 2S load_carry to pick gather -to get divid reciprocal

cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid a meh x taez lehq awg kawz lo mi lar
 v -Pv Pf disc v Pv Pnf v Pnf n Pn v v
 eat -+adv INVIT thus speak to when go up CONJ produce LOC place sit leave set

lehq yawad lehax cad vehr che yaog.
 Pnf n v Vv Pu Pf
 CONJ himself eat COMPLETE CHE DECL

So then when the turtle said to the monkey, "My bananas are ripe. I can't get them. You get them, divide, and [we'll] eat them,"[the monkey] got the banana's and ate them himself.

M&T 027

Miaq lo liz sax kha pea lehd koz vid ghod ver cad
 n Pn disc v v disc v Pv Pnf v
 soil gound LOC place FOC to pick gather drop send down thus speak to because since eat

lehq awg kox vawr miaq lo kha pea che yaog.
 Pnf n prt n Pn v Pu Pf
 CONJ banana peel FOC soil gound LOC place drop send down CHE DECL

[The turtle] said to send down the fruit but [the monkey] ate the bananas and threw the peel down.

M&T 028

Te pawz awr lehr Pawd pehg nez nag jad lehq pawd cehg haq a chud
 v adv PRT n v adv Pnf n n Pn n
 do time[event] subject focus marker turtle angry very CONJ banana plant OM thorn

caw huhz vehr che yaog.
 n v Vv Pu Pf
 spiral put on COMPLETE CHE DECL

As for that time the turtle was very angry and [he] put thorns on the tree.

M&T 029

Mawq yaq mad gag lehq pawz che che yawd khuhq kha pea
 n adv adv v Pnf v v REL pro v v
 monkey down NEG arrive CONJ jump fall which 3S return[something] drop send down

lar che haq naz lez lehq tawg ka mig kag huh gi thuer
 Pv det Pn adv v Pnf n n Pn v
 MOTION TOWARD this OM up choose CONJ butt ground soil LOC place slip slide

lehq tawg ka awg ni sid phehq vehr che yaog.
 Pnf n adv v Vv Pu Pf
 CONJ butt red to be COMPLETE CHE DECL

The monkey couldn't get down so [he] choose to return to the ground by jumping but [he] slipped on the banana peels and his butt slid on the ground and this butt was red.

M&T 030

Kheh te lehq pawd pehg koz che "Ngag haq maq canr cheaq te lehq ngag
 CONJ n v REL pro Pn adv v Pnf pro
 And so therefore turtle speak that 1S OM NEG -strong eat the result is 1S

ved vend bax puhd che yaog" lehd koz lar haz lehq a kaz khuhn
 Pn v v Pu Pf disc v Pf Pnf n Pn
 genitive sin to carry with strap CHE DECL thus speak then_after CONJ water in

lod geh vehr che yaog.
 v v Vv Pu Pf
 crawl walk enter continuing CHE DECL

So the turtle said, "I can not eat so the result is, I'll carry my sin," thus [he] spoke and [he] entered into the water.

M&T 031

U ve teq ni haq tanr lehq yaq ni kha gag mawq ted ceng awr lehr
 det num n Pn adv Pnf adv:tm adv:tm n num class PRT
 that one day OM since CONJ today until monkey one kind subject focus marker

tawg ka awg ni sid te chehd che yaog.
 n adv v Vv Pu Pf
 butt red do CONT. CHE DECL

From then till now, that type of monkey has a red bottom.

M&T 032

Hend yug tug.
 v v Pv
 study take to FUTURE

The moral:

M&T 033

Su ved awg bon haq maq sir vix che ted ceng awr lehr
 pro Pn n Pn adv n REL num class PRT
 3S genitive blessing OM NEG -strong knowledge that one kind subject focus marker

lug che sez che haq gha tug yaog.
 v Pn v Pv Pf
 to perish OM able to FUTURE DECL

As for the ones who do not know their blessings, [they] will perish.

APPENDIX D

THE MONKEY CHOPS THE BRANCH

THE MONKEY CHOPS THE BRANCH

MCB 001

Mawq suhz kax tawz che.
 n n n v Pu
 Monkey wood branch to chop CHE

The monkey chops the branch.

MCB 002

Mawq ted ceng vawr to saz awg kag awg nuz veaq keh chaw khuhd nuhd
 n num class prt n adv adv v
 monkey one kind FOC wild mammals different than general greater more to be clever
 lehq awg to awg hoq awg han liz chaw haq sur jad che yaog.
 Pnf n n n disc n Pn n adv Pu Pf
 CONJ body picture type FOC person OM same very CHE DECL

The monkey is more clever than all other animals; it's body looks very much like people.

MCB 003

Mawq yawd duhd che "Ngag vawr suhz cehg liz taz gag cex che liz gehg
 n pro v REL pro prt n disc v v v REL disc adv
 monkey 3S think that 1S FOC tree FOC climb arrive run which FOC fast
 vaid liz vaid chaw haq keh liz cheng che yaog."
 adv disc adv n Pn adv disc v Pu Pf
 quick FOC quick person OM more FOC skillful CHE DECL

The monkey thinks, "I can climb trees, run fast, and am very quick; I am more skillful than people."

MCB 004

Mawq u ve ca kaz cad kai lehq yaq kaw jad huh cuhz chehd
 n det v v v Pnf n n Pn adv v
 monkey that go_and graze go CONJ path edgeof LOC place close right beside dwell
 che nuhg cehg lunx thag lo taz mi chehd che yaog.
 REL n n adj adj Pn v v Vv Pu Pf
 that fig plant large top LOC place climb sit CONT. CHE DECL

The monkey went looking for food and climbed [and] was sitting at the top of a large fig tree that was at the edge of the trail.

MCB 005

Nuhg cehg u ve ir jad lehq awg kax liz mad jad che yaog.
 n n det v adv Pnf n disc adv adv Pu Pf
 fig plant that be big very CONJ branch FOC many very CHE DECL

The fig tree was very large and had many branches.

MCB 006

Yaq kaw u ve haq lag che chaw nuhg cehg u ve huhx gaeg ver mi
 n det Pn v REL n n n det Pn v Pnf v
 path that OM come which person fig plant that LOC under arrive verb particle sit

lehq awg ghad jehd che yaog.
 Pnf n v Pu Pf
 CONJ strength rest CHE DECL

A person who was coming down that trail arrived under the fig tree to sit and rest.

MCB 007

Mawq nuhg kax haq mi lar lehq yaq kaw lo ngawx pe chehd
 n n n Pn v Pv Pnf n Pn v v Vv
 monkey fig branch OM sit leave set CONJ path LOC place look send CONT.

mehx chaw te ghad yaq kaw tod lag tod che haq mawg che yaog.
 Pnf n num class n v v Vv Pu Pn v Pu Pf
 when person one person path walk come moving CHE OM see CHE DECL

While the monkey was sitting on the branch of the fig tree and looked along the path, [he] saw a person walking down the path.

MCB 008

Chaw u ve nuhg cehg huhx huh mi lehq awg ghad jehd che yaog.
 n det n n Pn Pn v Pnf n v Pu Pf
 person that fig plant LOC under LOC place sit CONJ strength rest CHE DECL

That person sat under the fig tree and rested.

MCB 009

Yawd puhd tod che a teh yug lehq ux cuhr liz kuhz kha
 pro v Vv Pu n v Pnf n disc v v
 3S to carry with strap moving CHE knife grab CONJ hat FOC take off to take off

lehq yawd pad huh teh lar che yaog.
 Pnf pro adj Pn v v Pu Pf
 CONJ 3S near LOC place store leave set CHE DECL

He grabbed the knife that he was carrying and took off his hat and set them near him.

MCB 010

Teq per nehax gaig lehq chaw u ve heg jad lehq yuhq mir ka vehr
 num n adj v Pnf n det v adv Pnf v Vv
 one moment small arrive CONJ person that tired very CONJ sleep COMPLETE

che yaog.
 Pu Pf
 CHE DECL

A short time later the person was tired and fell asleep.

MCB 011

Chaw u ve yuhq mir ka chehd huh mawq nuhg cehg haq yaeg lehq chaw
 n det v Vv Pnf n n n Pn v Pnf n
 person that sleep CONT. PROG monkey fig plant OM go down CONJ person

teh lar che ux cuhr yug khuhz che yaog.
 v Pv REL n v v Pu Pf
 store leave set which hat take to put on CHE DECL

While the person was sleeping, the monkey came down from the fig tree and took [and] put on the hat which the person had put down.

MCB 012

A teh liz yug lehq awg phi khuhn ghawg tuhz ngawx che yaog.
 n disc v Pnf n Pn v v v Pu Pf
 knife FOC grab CONJ knife holder in pull out look CHE DECL

[The monkey] took the knife and pulled it out of the holder to look at it.

MCB 013

Mawq u ve a teh yug lar lehq duhd ngawx che "Che ve haq yug
 n det n v Pv Pnf v v REL det Pn v
 monkey that knife grab MOTION TOWARD CONJ think look that this OM take to

lehq tawz ver suhz kax lunx liz chez gha che law. Ngag
 Pnf v Pnf n n adv disc v v Pu Pf pro
 CONJ to chop CONDITION wood branch large FOC sever able to CHE experiential 1S

liz yug ve lehq nuhg kax tawz ngawx sar" lehd duhd che yaog.
 disc v Pv Pnf n n v v v disc v Pu Pf
 FOC take to leave CONJ fig branch to chop look use thus think CHE DECL

The monkey grabbed the knife and thought that, "If [I] take this and chop, [I] could sever a large branch. I'll take [the knife] and first try to chop a branch of the fig tree," thus [he] thought.

MCB 014

Mawq u ve a teh yug ve lehq nuhg cehg thag lo kawq taz veh
 n det n v Pv Pnf n n adj Pn v v Vv
 monkey that knife grab leave CONJ fig plant top LOC place again climb continuing

che yaog.
 Pu Pf
 CHE DECL

The monkey grabbed the knife and again climbed to the top of the fig tree.

MCB 015

Mawq u ve nuhg cehg thag lo gaig lehq nuhg kax teq kax haq
 n det n n adj Pn v Pnf n n num n Pn
 monkey that fig plant top LOC place arrive CONJ fig branch one branch OM

chaw kae lehq awg buhd phawd-awr mi che yaog.
 v v Pnf adj n v Pu Pf
 walk_on_top_of go CONJ to have many leaves half side sit CHE DECL

That monkey arrived at the top of the tree and [he] walked on one of the branches of the fig tree and sat on the leafy side.

MCB 016

Yawd kha nehax mi gha vehr lehq suhz kax yawd mi chehd che haq
 pro adj v v Vv Pnf n n pro v Vv REL Pn
 3S well sit able to COMPLETE CONJ wood branch 3S sit CONT. that OM

awg cehg phawd-awr tawz chez che yaog.
 n n v v Pu Pf
 tree half side to chop sever CHE DECL

He got settled and [he] chopped the tree branch that he was sitting on.

MCB 017

Suhz kax u ve chez vehr lehq mawq u ve liz ga che veh che
 n n det v Vv Pnf n det disc adv v Vv Pu
 wood branch that sever COMPLETE CONJ monkey that FOC also fall continuing CHE

yaog.
 Pf
 DECL

The branch was severed completely and that monkey also fell down.

MCB 018

Nuhg kax lunx u ve chez che lehq mig kag lo jawq lehq
 n n adv det v v Pnf n adv Pn v Pnf
 fig branch large that sever fall CONJ soil to arrive at LOC place to hit hard CONJ

mawq liz suh vehr che yaog.
 n disc v Vv Pu Pf
 monkey FOC die COMPLETE CHE DECL

The big fig tree branch fell and [it] hit the ground hard and the monkey died.

MCB 019

Suhz kax lunx he lehq mawq lunx che che awg khuhd hehd jad lehq chaw
 n n adv conj n adv v n adv adv Pnf n
 wood branch large and monkey large fall sound loud very CONJ person

yuhq mir ka chehd che tez nuhd vehr che yaog.
 v Vv Pu Vv v Vv Pu Pf
 sleep CONT. CHE already awake COMPLETE CHE DECL

The large branch and the big monkey that fell made a loud sound and the man that was sleeping woke up.

MCB 020

Chaw yuhq nuhd -ag lehq mawq suh vehr che haq mawg che
 n v v -Pv Pnf n v Vv REL Pn v Pu
 person lay_down awake --adv CONJ monkey die COMPLETE which OM see CHE

yaog.

Pf

DECL

The man awoke from sleeping and saw the monkey that was dead.

MCB 021

Kheh te lehq chaw u ve mawq suh ghawz puhd ve
 CONJ n det n v v v REL v Pv
 And so therefore person that monkey die do with all one's heart to carry with strap leave

lehq yawd yehg lo kawq veh che yaog.

Pnf pro n Pn v Vv Pu Pf
 CONJ 3S house LOC place return continuing CHE DECL

And so, the man lifted the monkey with all his strength and returned to his house.

MCB 022

Awg lawn nehax che ve a nig haq sa tiq pear che vawr a sug yawd a saq teq
 n adj det pro Pn v v REL prt n n
 story small this 1P OM be careful know that FOC his/her own have life

chegah huh te chehd che kanx haq a sug yawd khad sir cawd che
 v Pnf v Vv REL n Pn n Vv v adv REL
 happening PROG do CONT. which work OM his/her own all understand should which

yaog.

Pf

DECL

This small story warns us that, while we are alive, we should understand well the work which [we] are doing.

MCB 023

A sug yawd khad awg to haq lug tug nag tug suh vid tug kanx teq pa haq
 n Vv n Pn n n v Pv Pv n n Pn
 his/her own all body OM destruction harm die to nominalizer work group OM

maq te cawd che yaog.

adv v adv Pu Pf

NEG -strong do should CHE DECL

Each of us should not do things which bring destruction, harm[and] death to our body.

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