

**ASPECT AND EVIDENTIALS IN LAHU SHI:
A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE**

by

Prang Thiengburanathum

Presented to the Graduate School of Payap University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

PAYAP UNIVERSITY, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

March 2004

Aspect and Evidentials in LahU SHi: a COgnitive perspective

The members of the Committee approve the masters thesis of Prang
Thiengburanathum

Dr. Brian Migliazza
Supervising Professor

Aj. Douglas Inglis

Aj. Arthur Cooper

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kingkarn Thepkanjana

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Saranya Savetamalya

Approval Date:

Copyright © Prang Thiengburanathum 2004

All Rights Reserved

RESUME

Name: Prang Thiengburanathum

Date of Birth: 23 April 1977

Place of Birth: Chiang Mai, Thailand

Education: Chiang Mai University, Thailand

1998 Economics, B.A. (Hons)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all teachers at the Linguistics Department of Payap University for providing a decent education. I am particularly grateful to Ajarn Douglas Inglis for imparting a knowledge of Cognitive Grammar, and to Ajarn Arthur Cooper, a speaker of the Lahu Shi language, and Dr. Brian Migliazza for their help and advice to complete this thesis. I also would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Scott DeLancey who read my thesis and gave helpful comments. I would like to thank two Thai professors who read and gave helpful comments. They are Dr. Kingkarn Thepkanjana and Dr. Saranya Savetamalya.

I am indebted to my informants, Ehrsehnx Nazkhiri and Edawx kehor Nazkhiri, without their patient assistance this thesis would have been impossible to complete.

I would like to thank my friends at Payap University for providing a friendly environment, particularly Daniel Arisawa and his wife Tamami Arisawa without whose friendship and assistance this project would have been far less enjoyable.

March 2004

ABSTRACT

ASPECT AND EVIDENTIALS IN LAHU SHI: A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

Prang Thiengburanathum

Payap University, Chiang Mai, 2004

Supervising Professor: Brian Migliazza

This thesis examines the nature of aspect and evidentials in Lahu Shi, a member of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. According to traditional grammar, aspect is a grammatical category which deals with how the event is viewed such as whether it is progressive, perfective, completive etc. As for evidentials, they are obligatory elements which have a source of information as its primary meaning. Are these grammatical elements themselves merely grammatical devices or do they also have inherent conceptual content which is significant to their meaning and grammatical behavior?

This thesis is analyzed within the framework of Cognitive Grammar (CG), which has the main claim that meaning resides in conceptualization. Meaning is thus equated to conceptual content which can be shaped and construed (Langacker 1987a, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2002).

In this analysis I propose that it is the conceptual construal of each aspect marker which is responsible for the difference between them. *Chehd* ‘stay’ and *tod* ‘walk’, for example, are considered different kinds of progressives due to their different profiles. The profile of *chehd* is ‘locational restrictedness’ (that is, it causes a process

to be construed as restricted or situated within a particular spatial location), and that of *tod* ‘locational unrestrictedness’ or ‘locational shift’ (that is, it imposes a specific image of a trajector moving from one location to another on the conceptualization of a process/situation). The analysis illustrates that the two aspect markers are derived from their lexical sources. This thesis also shows that evidentials function as grounding elements. That is, they are deictic and epistemic in nature and have additional grammatical properties that are capable of deriving a finite clause as well (Langacker 2002a). This evidence from Lahu Shi supports a CG claim that meaning is equated with conceptualization and is inseparable from grammar. In other words, not only does a lexical item have conceptual import but a grammatical element does as well. The difference is the grammatical element imposes a specific image on the conceptual content of the lexical element. Also, this thesis adds to the descriptive research of Lahu specifically and Southeast Asian languages generally by providing an understanding of the grammatical and semantic structure in these languages, especially how they are understood in a unified account.

บทคัดย่อ

การวิเคราะห์คำแสดงกาลลักษณะและคำแสดงแหล่งที่มาของความรู้

ในภาษาลาหู่ซีเชิงไวยากรณ์ปริชาน

โดย ปรารักษ์ เทียงบูรณธรรม

มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ พ.ศ. 2547

อาจารย์ผู้ควบคุมวิทยานิพนธ์ ดร. ไบรอัน มิกลืออาซา

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาวิเคราะห์คำแสดงกาลลักษณะ (aspect) และคำแสดงแหล่งที่มาของความรู้ (evidential) ในภาษาลาหู่ซี ซึ่งเป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า ตระกูลย่อยของตระกูลจีน-ทิเบต ตามทฤษฎีไวยากรณ์แบบดั้งเดิม (Traditional grammar) คำแสดงกาลลักษณะจัดเป็นคำไวยากรณ์ที่ใช้บ่งชี้ลักษณะของทัศนภาพเหตุการณ์ เช่น เป็นทัศนภาพแบบ progressive, perfective หรือ completive เป็นต้น ส่วนคำแสดงแหล่งที่มาของความรู้จัดเป็นคำไวยากรณ์บังคับที่ใช้แสดงแหล่งที่มาของข้อมูล คำถามที่เกิดขึ้นตามมาคือ คำเหล่านี้เป็นเพียงแค่เครื่องมือทางไวยากรณ์เท่านั้น หรือมีสาระเชิงมนทัศน์ที่สำคัญต่อความหมายและรูปแบบทางไวยากรณ์

การวิจัยนี้นำเสนอวิธีวิเคราะห์ตามแบบทฤษฎีไวยากรณ์เชิงปริชาน ซึ่งมีแนวคิดหลักว่า
ความหมายเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของกระบวนการทางความคิด (conceptualization) นั่นคือ
ความหมายจัดเป็นสาระเชิงมโนทัศน์ (conceptual content) ที่สามารถปรับเปลี่ยนได้
(Langacker 1987a, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2002) ด้วยความสามารถเชิงปริชานในการมองต่าง
มุมมอง (construal) ของเรา

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เสนอแนวคิดที่ว่า ความแตกต่างของคำแสดงกาลลักษณะอยู่ที่ความแตกต่างใน
การมองต่างมุมมอง เช่น คำแสดงกาลลักษณะความต่อเนื่อง (progressive) แะ 'อยู่' และ 'ผู้
'เดิน' แตกต่างกันที่การมองต่างมุมมองแบบ profile โดยที่ profile ของ แะ คือ 'การจำกัดเขต'
(locational restrictedness) ส่วนของ 'ผู้' คือ 'การย้ายที่' (locational shift) ในการวิเคราะห์คำ
แสดงแหล่งที่มาของความรู้พบว่า คำเหล่านี้เป็นคำ grounding นั่นคือ เป็นคำที่มีลักษณะบ่งชี้
และมีคุณสมบัติในการสร้างประโยชน์สมบูรณ์ (Langacker 2002a)

ผลการวิเคราะห์ที่ได้สนับสนุนแนวคิดของนักภาษาศาสตร์แนวไวยากรณ์เชิงปริชาน ที่ว่า
ความหมายเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของกระบวนการทางความคิด และไม่สามารถแยกออกจากโครงสร้าง
ทางไวยากรณ์ได้ ไม่ว่าจะเป็นความหมายของคำศัพท์หรือความหมายของคำไวยากรณ์ก็ตาม นั่น
คือ คำศัพท์และคำไวยากรณ์ต่างมีสาระเชิงมโนทัศน์ ต่างกันเพียงคำไวยากรณ์สามารถ
ปรับเปลี่ยนสาระเชิงมโนทัศน์ของคำศัพท์ได้

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
List of figures.....	xiii
List of Tables.....	xv
List of Abbreviations and Symbols.....	xvi
Chapter 1.....	1
Introduction.....	1
1.0 Research problem and paper background.....	1
1.1 Objectives of the research.....	3
1.2 Methodology.....	3
1.2.1 Data collection.....	3
1.2.2 The transcription system.....	4
1.2.3 Procedure.....	4
1.3 Limitations of the study.....	6
1.4 Overview of the paper.....	6
Chapter 2.....	7
Introduction to Lahu Shi Balan.....	7
2.0 Language classification.....	7
2.1 Linguistic overview.....	8
2.1.1 Lahu Shi phonology.....	8
2.1.1.1 Lahu Shi vowels.....	8
2.1.1.2 Lahu Shi consonants.....	9
2.1.1.3 Lahu Shi tones.....	10
2.1.2 Lahu Shi grammar.....	11
2.2 The Lahu Shi people.....	12
Chapter 3.....	14

Review of literature.....	14
3.0 Introduction.....	14
3.1 Overview of cognitive grammar	14
3.2 Construal: our cognitive ability	16
3.2.1 Prominence	16
3.2.1.1 Profile and base.....	17
3.2.1.2 Trajector and landmark.....	23
3.2.2 Perspective	26
3.2.3 Subjectivity	28
3.3 Grounding	32
3.3.1 Verbs and finite clauses	32
3.3.2 Grounding predications vs. deictic expressions.....	34
3.3.3 Grounding and subjectivity.....	37
3.4 Relations between units	39
3.4.1 The vertical relation	39
3.4.2 The horizontal relation.....	41
3.5 Lahu studies	44
3.5.1 Matisoff and Lahu Na	44
3.5.2 Chaikuna and Lahu Shi.....	45
Chapter 4.....	47
Lahu Shi aspect and an analysis of construal.....	47
4.0 Introduction to an analysis of construal	47
4.1 Perspective as a facet of construal	47
4.2 Profiling as a facet of construal for aspect.....	50
4.2.1 Perfect aspect in Lahu Shi.....	51
4.2.2 Completive aspects in Lahu Shi.....	55
4.2.3 Progressive aspects in Lahu Shi.....	66
4.2.3.1 The progressive aspect ' <i>chehd</i> '	67

4.2.3.2 The progressive aspect ' <i>tod</i> '	69
4.2.4 Habitual aspect in Lahu Shi	79
4.3 Conclusion of construal in Lahu Shi aspect.....	81
Chapter 5.....	83
Evidentiality and grounding.....	83
5.0 Introduction.....	83
5.1 Evidentiality and grounding component.....	83
5.1.1 First-hand observation	83
5.1.2 Reported (or 'hearsay') information	84
5.2 Evidentiality and grounding in Lahu Shi	84
5.3 Evidentiality and visual attention.....	87
5.4 Conclusion of Lahu Shi evidentials	91
Chapter 6.....	93
Conclusion	93
6.0 Summary of findings.....	93
6.1 Further investigation	94
Appendix.....	96
A: COMPLETIVE aspects: <i>peor</i> and <i>peg vehor</i>	97
B: Progressive aspects: <i>tod</i> and <i>chehd</i> with still verbs	99
C: The non visual evidential: <i>paz</i>	100
Bibliography	101

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Language Family Tree of Lahu Shi Balan	7
Figure 2. The three elements of a symbolic unit.....	16
Figure 3. Conceptual profile and base for word <i>radius</i>	17
Figure 4. The partial hierarchy of the basic classes of conceptualizations.....	19
Figure 5. A temporal relational profile	20
Figure 6. Alternate profiling	22
Figure 7. Figure and ground.....	24
Figure 8. Edgar Rubin reversible figure	24
Figure 9. Trajector and landmark.....	25
Figure 10. Rabbit or duck	27
Figure 11. Optimal viewing arrangement	29
Figure 12. Alternate viewing arrangement	30
Figure 13. The semantic structure of the finite clause	34
Figure 14. Alternate presence of the ground.....	36
Figure 15. Onstage construal of the ground.....	38
Figure 16. The relation between a schematic concept and some of its instances	40
Figure 17. A more schematic representation of the relation between a schema and its instances	41
Figure 18. The assembly of [UNDER THE TREE]	43
Figure 19. A complex temporal relation <i>Kawq: Tr comes back lm</i>	52

Figure 20. A complex temporal relation	
<i>Kawq + vehor: Ekhadlar has come back home.</i>	53
Figure 21. A temporal relation: <i>I finished sewing the clothes.</i>	55
Figure 22. A temporal relation: <i>I finished making a shirt.</i>	57
Figure 23. Semantic effect of the completive <i>peg vehor</i>	63
Figure 24. A schematic representation of the relation between a schema and its instances	70
Figure 25. A schematic representation of the progressive aspects: <i>tod</i> and <i>chehd</i>	71
Figure 26. The semantic effects of the progressives <i>chehd</i> and <i>tod</i>	74
Figure 27. The clausal grounding	86
Figure 29. The speaker's participation.....	90

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Lahu Shi vowels.....	8
Table 2. Lahu Shi consonants	9
Table 3. Lahu Shi tones	10
Table 4. Examples of Lahu Shi words	11
Table 5. Profiles and bases.....	17

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

COMPL	Completive aspect
LOC	Locative
Pe	Evidential particle
PERF	Perfect aspect
PROG	Progressive aspect
Pt	Particle

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Research problem and paper background

If we look at the sun rising or setting in the horizon, it will appear much bigger than when it is high in the sky. Does it mean that our eyes deceive us? In fact, our eyes do not deceive us. To quote Immanuel Kant, ‘this is not because they always judge correctly, but because they do not judge at all’. It is us who make a judgment, choosing to see a certain section of the world and filter out the rest. No one has a neutral “God’s eye” view, as Langacker says (2002: 206). The way we see the world is motivated by our cognitive abilities since cognition and perception are parts of one interrelated system.

Our cognitive abilities are ubiquitous and real in our every day life not only in thought but also in language. That is to say, cognitive abilities are reflected in language. The question is how are they reflected in language, more precisely, in the Lahu Shi language? This paper is an attempt to show some of the cognitive abilities involved in Lahu Shi, particularly in Lahu Shi aspect.

CG is an approach that allows an expression’s meaning to be treated as conceptual content which can be shaped and construed (i.e., conceptualized in alternative ways). This paper suggests that an expression that Lahu Shi speakers choose in order to linguistically encode a situation depends on the way in which the situation is mentally construed. This includes not only lexical expression but grammatical expressions as well. It is the latter (Lahu Shi aspect markers) that is the main focus. It assumes that the semantic and grammatical differences between aspect markers in Lahu Shi rest upon their distinct construals and semantic values. They will be analyzed along the lines of CG (1987a, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2002a).

Another topic in this study is about Lahu Shi evidentiality. If language is viewed only as a system of communication, we can say that all animals have some system for communicating with other members of their species. However, only humans can produce and understand ever-new messages and to do so without any outside stimulus. It is this stimulus-freedom that in part makes human language differ from animal communication system. Bees, for example, are able to tell other bees where a source of food is by doing a dance, but this has to take place on the spot or at the immediate present. That is, a bee is not able to report its yesterday's discovery of food today.

If human language is stimulus-free, how can we tell other people about, for example, our past experience, plan for future, or dreams; specify sources of information, then? I assume that each language has linguistic devices that allow the speakers to communicate in such way, and that evidentiality is one of those in Lahu Shi. The question is what is the nature of evidentiality that allows the speaker to specify sources of information?

I assume that although we do not communicate in response to some particular stimulus out there in the world, our communication needs to be in relation to a certain context of the speech event to some degree. In other words, in order to communicate the content of our thoughts to the others successfully, we (e.g. speaker and hearer) need to have, literally, a certain reference point which allows us to specify what kind of situation we are talking about by relating it to that reference point. This is made possible by our control of a symbolic system which allows us to communicate messages to others. CG is driven by this idea – language is inherently symbolic in nature. Since language is a symbolic system, it provides a set of resources that are available to language users to communicate a message with great cognitive and communicative utility. The set of resources which is deictic in nature and has certain

additional properties (e.g. epistemic status) is referred to as ‘**grounding elements**’ by Langacker (1991a, 1991b, 2002a and b). My assumption, then, is that Lahu Shi evidentials allow the speaker to specify sources of information owing to their function of grounding.

This paper is an attempt to show that Lahu Shi evidentials are grounding elements. By describing evidentials as grounding elements, it helps us to understand not only why they enable language users to specify sources of information and their epistemic status (to indicate whether a process belongs to certainty), but also why omitting them results in an ungrammatical sentence. I also analyze the Lahu Shi evidentiality within the notion of grounding developed by Langacker (1987a, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2002a and b).

1.1 Objectives of the research

There are three objectives in this study. First, I show how cognitive abilities are reflected in the Lahu Shi language. Second, I show that the meaning of an aspect marker in Lahu Shi, together with its grammatical behavior, is critically dependent on its nature of construal and semantic value. Finally, I show the nature of Lahu Shi evidentials from a CG perspective. That is, Lahu Shi evidentials function as grounding elements.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Data collection

Two types of sources of data were used in this thesis, interviewing and data from published materials

The interview data was collected at two sites, the Linguistics Department, Payap University in Chiang Mai Province and the Lahu Shi Balan village, Nong Pham in Chiang Rai Province, Thailand. Eight sessions took place at Payap University with help from two mother tongue speakers from the village. In Nong Pham village, the data was collected during two one-week periods and one-day trip¹.

Seven texts were chosen to serve as the basis for grammatical investigation, five of which are folk tales, and the others are daily life stories.

1.2.2 The transcription system

The transcription system chosen was the Lahu Shi orthography developed by a group of Lahu Shi people and Arthur Cooper. The Lahu Shi writing system, using Roman letters, is based on a writing system in use by the closely related Lahu Na language group. See how phonemic sounds in Lahu Shi are represented in orthographic symbols in Section 2.1.1.

1.2.3 Procedure

I started off by doing library research. Linguistic books and articles in cognitive orientation and other topics related to the research were studied to gain more understanding of the subject. After library research, I culled some examples from the seven texts to serve as the basis for linguistic investigation. I also culled examples from conversations and observations during my village visits.

I built up this database by interviewing native speakers of Lahu Shi for the ways that they used aspect markers and evidentials. I explained to them what I was investigating so that they understood my goals.

¹ The primary language assistants were Ehrsehnx Nazkhiri, and Edawx kehor Nazkhiri

The following are examples of questions used as a guideline for gathering the data and understanding them.

- Can you think of any sentences or clauses containing _____ (an aspect marker or an evidential)?
- What does it mean?
- Can you give an example of when you used it? Or, can you think of a situation where one would use it?
- What do you say in situation_____?
- How do you feel if I say a sentence or a clause containing _____ (an aspect marker or an evidential) to you?
- How do you feel if I say a sentence or a clause omitting _____ (an aspect marker or an evidential) to you?
- What is the difference between _____ and _____?

In order to get shades of meaning, I demonstrated to the language assistants the meaning and the use of Thai examples², not only to help them understand what I was looking for but to help them be aware of linguistic nuances. I subsequently double-checked the meaning and the use of examples with them and other native Lahu Shi speakers.

After the data was collected, an analysis was done using the CG approach developed by Langacker (1987a, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2002a and b). The aspect

² My informants are bilingual in Thai.

markers were categorized on the basis of construal; precisely, profiling. Then each aspect marker was analyzed to discover how its nature of profiling and semantic value influences its grammatical behavior. Finally, the evidentials were analyzed on the basis of grounding.

1.3 Limitations of the study

I will ignore the precise contribution of the aspect marker *vehor*, that is its role of grounding, and focus only on how it makes a change in the nature of the profile of a process resulting in semantic and grammatical differences. Furthermore, owing to the large number of aspect markers in Lahu Shi, only five were chosen to analyze. A complete discussion of the Lahu Shi evidentiality system, together with the grounding system, is also outside the scope of this thesis.

1.4 Overview of the paper

Chapter 2 gives an overview of Lahu Shi people and their language. Chapter 3 gives the literature review of some central concepts and assumptions of Cognitive Grammar used in the research as well as Lahu studies. Chapter 4 presents the analysis of construal: our cognitive abilities, that is, perspective and profiling reflected in Lahu Shi. Chapter 5 illustrates the evidential system as a grounding system. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the paper.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO LAHU SHI BALAN

2.0 Language classification

Linguistically, Lahu Shi Balan is considered to be an uninflected, primarily monosyllabic, tonal language; a member of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. More specially, it is one of the Lahu languages in the Central Loloish branch. Figure 1 illustrates the position of Lahu Shi Balan in its language family tree.

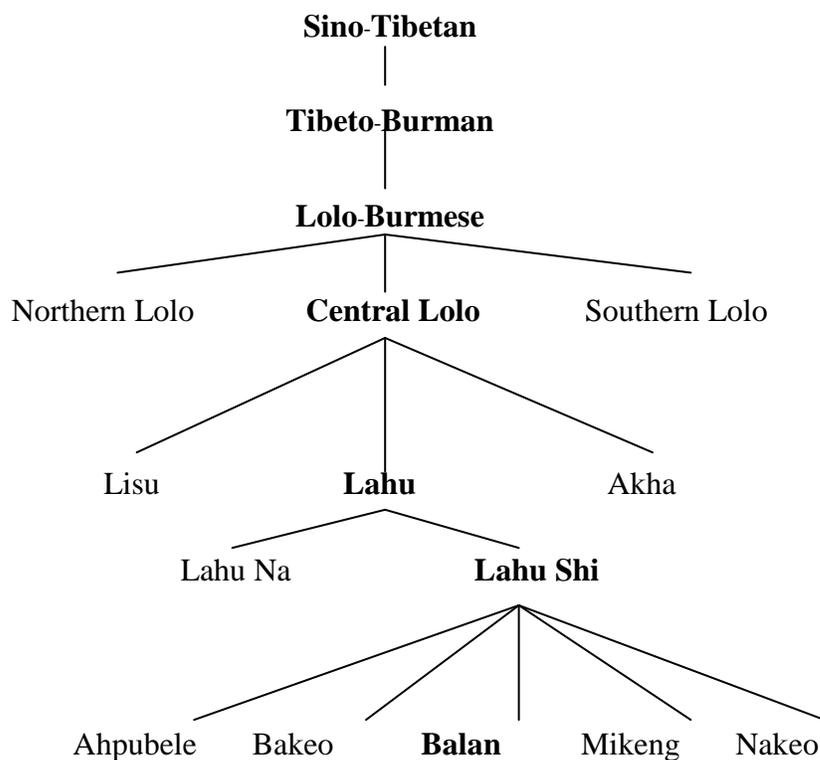


Figure 1. Language Family Tree of Lahu Shi Balan

2.1 Linguistic overview

A linguistic overview of the Lahu Shi Balan language is provided in this section for the readers to get a general idea of Lahu Shi phonology and grammar.

2.1.1 Lahu Shi phonology

This section provides an overview of Lahu Shi phonology and its orthographic presentation; the transcription system which is used in this thesis. The Lahu Shi phonology and orthography presented in this section are taken from the work of Cooper (1997; 2002) and Cooper and Cooper (1996).

2.1.1.1 Lahu Shi vowels

There are eight phonemic vowels in the Lahu Shi language, all of which appear in the single vowel syllable type. There are few examples of vowel sequences, which are most often found at morpheme boundaries where the following morpheme is a bound morpheme. These eight phonemic vowels are represented in IPA (left column) with their orthographic transcription (right column), as shown in Table 1.

	Front		Back			
	Unrounded		Unrounded		Rounded	
	Phonemic Sound	Orthographic symbol	Phonemic Sound	Orthographic symbol	Phonemic Sound	Orthographic symbol
Close	i	i			u	u
Mid	ɛ	e			o	o
Open	æ	eh	ʌ	uh	ɔ	aw
			ɑ	a		

Table 1. Lahu Shi vowels

2.1.1.2 Lahu Shi consonants

There are twenty-two phonemic consonants in the Lahu Shi language, all of which appear in syllable and word initial position. No naturally occurring consonant clusters are found in the language. These twenty-two phonemic consonants are represented in IPA (left column) with their orthographic transcription (right column), as shown in Table 2.

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive Aspirated	p ^h	ph			t ^h	th			k ^h	kh		
Plosive Voiceless	p	p			t	t			k	k		
Plosive Voiced	b	b			d	d			g	g		
Fricative Voiceless			f	f	s	s					h	h
Fricative Voiced			v	v					y	gh		
Affricate Aspirated					tʃ ^h	ch						
Affricate Voiceless					tʃ	c						
Affricate Voiced					dʒ	j						
Nasal	m	m			n	n			ŋ	ng		
Approximant							j	y				
Lateral Approximant					l	l						

Table 2. Lahu Shi consonants

2.1.1.3 Lahu Shi tones

There are seven phonemic tones in the Lahu Shi language, symbolized in the writing system by Roman characters in the syllable final position.

Phonemic tones	Orthographic Symbols
1 low	r
3 mid	no symbol
5 high	d
ʔ3 mid-stopped	q
ʔ5-6 high-stopped	z
2-4 mid-rising	x
4-2 mid-falling	g

Table 3. Lahu Shi tones

Below are some examples of Lahu Shi words. The first column contains the Lahu Shi words written in Roman script. The second column has the IPA transcription of each example, while the last column provides an English gloss. These examples are taken from Cooper (2002).

Example	Example in IPA	Gloss
<i>ghaz</i>	ɣaɸ ⁵⁻⁶	‘chicken’
<i>ca</i>	tʃa ³	‘eat’
<i>awr</i>	ɔ ¹	‘rice’
<i>vid</i>	vi ⁵	‘dry’
<i>lag</i>	lɑ ⁴⁻²	‘tea’

Table 4. Examples of Lahu Shi words

2.1.2 Lahu Shi grammar

Lahu Shi is a language which lacks inflection. This type of language is referred to as ‘isolating’, that is a language in which word forms do not change and in which grammatical functions are shown by single words, or combinations of single words, by the use of independent particles, and by word order, rather than by affixes. Most Lahu Shi words are monosyllabic or bisyllabic.

For counting, Lahu Shi uses a system of classifiers in which a classifier follows the noun and the numeral (noun + numeral + classifier). There are separate classifiers for human beings, for animals, for inanimate objects, and so on (Chaikuna 2003: 32).

Lahu Shi is a subject-object-verb (SOV) language. However, sometimes OSV occurs so as to emphasize or bring the object of a clause into focus (Chaikuna 2003: 56ff).

Genitive relationships are expressed either by apposition with the possessor juxtaposed with the noun, or by use of a linking particle (*ve*). Lahu Shi also has serial verb construction, i.e., a string of verbs occurring in sequence, which is common in languages which have little or no morphology (Chaikuna 2003: 24-27).

Lahu Shi has a set of modal and aspectual particles that come at the end of a sentence. Aspect markers analyzed in this thesis are *vehor*, *peor*, *peg vehor*, *tod*, and *chehd*. *Peg*, *chehd*, and *tod* can function as main verbs. They mean ‘finish’, ‘stay’, and ‘walk’, respectively. It has no tense (i.e., it has no grammatical device for expressing location in time). Time reference is shown by a temporal phrase or clause.

2.2 The Lahu Shi people³

Lahu Shi is spoken in a number of countries including China, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, and the United States. In Thailand, approximately 20,000 Lahu Shi people live in at least 50 villages in five provinces: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Tak, Mae Hong Son, and Lampang (estimated in 1998). Thai people refer to them as Yellow ‘Musseh’, which comes from Burmese via Shan, and means ‘hunter’.

Lahu Shi people have been migrating from Yunnan Province in China to Myanmar and Laos for many generations. However, they have migrated from Myanmar to Thailand just for the past forty years.

³ The information about Lahu Shi people is mainly taken from Cooper (1997, 2002).

The Traditional Lahu Shi houses are built on stilts, using bamboo as the main material for most of the construction. Their village is surrounded by hills and forests, from which most of the needs of the community come. One important economic activity of Lahu Shi people is the swidden cultivation of rice (i.e., slash-and-burn techniques for farming in the hills).

Lahu Shi has its own orthography based on linguistic studies (Bradley 1979, Cooper & Cooper 1996, Cooper 1999) and two orthographies for Lahu Na. The Lahu Shi orthography uses a Roman letter based system.

Lahu Shi people, particularly adults, normally speak multiple languages, for example Standard Thai, Northern Thai, Lahu Na, Lao, Burmese and English, for wider communication.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

3.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces Cognitive Grammar (CG), developed by Ronald Langacker as the theoretical foundations of this thesis. Section 3.1 focuses on an overview of some central concepts and basic assumptions of CG, while Section 3.2 and 3.3 emphasize basic notions of salience relevant to the thesis, and Section 3.4 discusses two main kinds of relations between linguistic units. This chapter also provides an overview of previous Lahu Na and Lahu Shi studies, which will be discussed in Section 3.5.

3.1 Overview of cognitive grammar

CG is one grammatical approach within cognitive linguistics. Most basically, cognitive linguists believe that language is not merely a separate system independent of the rest of cognition, but it is closely related to the basic cognitive capacities that support and shape our shared experience. As Langacker states, language is not ‘describable without essential reference to cognitive processing’ (1991b: 1). To put it another way, it is an approach to language that is based on our experience of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize it. It is based on how we use language.

Language, as Langacker sees it, allows conceptualizations (or mental experience in the broadest sense of the term) to be symbolized by means of sounds and gestures (1999: 14). In other words, language is essentially **symbolic** in nature (1987a: 11). It is this symbolic system, the means of human communication, that allows us to communicate our thoughts to others and to ourselves (whether to tell our

past experiences, present emotions, plans in the future, or imaginations) without any outside stimulus.

According to this basic assumption, language consists of (1) **semantic structures**⁴ (i.e., meanings or conceptualizations) and (2) **phonological structures**⁵ (i.e. language in its perceptible form), which are connected by (3) **symbolic relations** (Langacker 1987a: 76-81, Taylor 2002: 20-27).

For example, the conceptualization [CAT] (e.g., a small four-legged animal with soft fur that people often keep as a pet) is not communicable unless it is symbolized by means of its sounds [k^hæt].

Grammar, as one facet of language, is itself inherently symbolic and thus meaningful (i.e., all grammatical elements have some kind of semantic value) as well. Grammar thus has no autonomous existence at all, and it is inseparable from meaning (Langacker 1987a; 1991; 2000).

Any linguistic expression (whether it is a lexical unit or a grammatical element, whether it is smaller than, or larger than a word) can be referred to as a **symbolic unit** – ‘the conventionalized relation of a phonological structure with a semantic structure’ – shown in Figure 2 (Taylor 2002: 20ff).

⁴ The semantic structure is the focus of this paper, although phonological structure is also important.

⁵ ‘Phonological structure refers to the overt manifestation of language’ (Taylor 2002: 20). That is, it not only includes the sound system, but writing system of language as well.

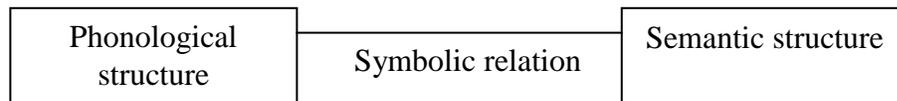


Figure 2. The three elements of a symbolic unit
(Taylor 2002: 21)

I approach this current grammatical research with the idea that meaning is essential to grammatical research.

From a CG standpoint, a linguistic expression's meaning consists of a basic conceptual content, which can be shaped and construed in alternative views. In other words, CG assumes that meaning is crucially dependent on **construal**, 'our cognitive abilities for conceptualizing the same situation in alternate ways' (Langacker 2002: 3). As a result, it is not uncommon for expressions to have exactly the same conceptual content or the same conceived situation, but be quite different in meaning.

3.2 Construal: our cognitive ability

There are many aspects of construal. However, only some of them, namely prominence, and perspective with its related notions, are significant for the present study.

3.2.1 Prominence

There are various types of prominence that have linguistic significance. Of many sorts, two need to be addressed, namely **profile and base** and **trajector and landmark**.

3.2.1.1 Profile and base

The first type of prominence is what Langacker terms **profile** and **base** (Langacker 1987a: 183). Take the word *radius* as an example. The base of *radius* is the concept of a circle with a radius. The profile is the *radius* itself. The word for the radius is only understandable in terms of the concept of the circle. In other words, without this conceptual background there is no radius, only a line. Figure 3 illustrates the profile and base of *radius* with the profile given in a heavy line. This follows CG convention.

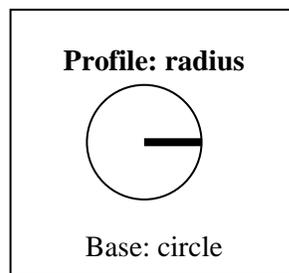


Figure 3. Conceptual profile and base for word *radius*

Some more examples of profiles and their bases are shown in Table 5.

Profile	Bases
<i>Knuckle</i>	<i>finger</i>
<i>Monday, Friday, etc.</i>	<i>week</i>
<i>arc, diameter, chord, radius, etc.</i>	<i>circle</i>

Table 5. Profiles and bases

The base for the characterization of *knuckle* is the conception of finger. The noun *Monday* and *Friday* both invoke as their base the conception of a week, but profile different days within the seven-day calendric cycle. Likewise, the expressions *arc*, *diameter*, *chord*, *radius* and so forth all invoke as their base the conception of circle, but profile different subparts of this conception.

Before continuing on, let me address a related yet distinct notion, namely, **domains**.

Linguistic units, from a CG view, are ‘context-dependent to some degree’ (Langacker 1987a: 147). According to Langacker, we have inborn capacity to experience pain, color, temperature, taste, pressure, time, etc., which are referred to as domains or the contexts for the characterization of a semantic unit (1987a: 147). These cognitive domains provide the necessary contexts for our understanding of the concept of a linguistic unit. Taylor clearly provides the distinction between base and domain as follows,

The base of an expression is the conceptual content that is inherently, intrinsically, and obligatorily invoked by the expression. A domain is a more generalized ‘background’ knowledge configuration against which conceptualization is achieved (2002: 195).

For example, the noun *Sunday* invokes as its base the conception of a week – the seven-day calendric cycle, and profiles one day within that cycle. Without the conceptual content of a *week* (i.e., the base), we cannot understand the concept of *Sunday*. However, the conceptualization of the base rests on a more general notion of the natural cycle defined by the movement of the sun, organized in calendar month and year, which constitutes the domain (Lakoff 1987a: 68-69).

Profile and base are not merely aspects of how language symbolizes the distribution of attention⁶, but it is also central to the definitions of syntactic categories (e.g. nouns, verbs) or grammatical description in CG⁷ (Langacker 1987b). In order to explain profile and base, it is helpful to make a digression and look at other notions of CG. How entities in the world are categorized in CG will be discussed. (Note that ‘entity’ is a technical term proposed in CG. It refers to anything that can be conceptualized whether it is a thing, a relation, a state of affairs, an event, an activity, a situation, or whatever. (Langacker 1987a: 198)) Figure 4 shows the diagram of the basic classes of conceptualization.

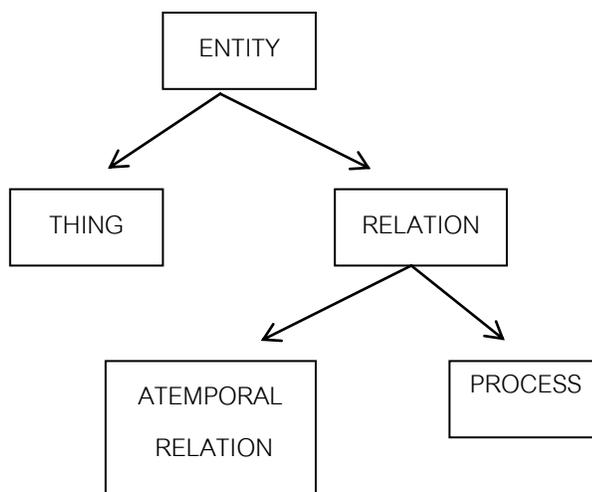


Figure 4. The partial hierarchy of the basic classes of conceptualizations

According to CG, all linguistic expressions, whether they are a morpheme, word, or clause, profile something. A noun has a nominal profile – it profiles a

⁶ Language cannot profile all details of meanings, but can choose which concept to ‘stand out’ and which to be its context.

⁷ It should be noted here that there are other cognitive notions that are used to categorize word classes, for example *scanning* (*sequential scanning vs. summary scanning*) is the key to word class distinction between verbs (*process*) and adjective (*atemporal relation*). But since profiling is the most basic and important of all, it is the focus of linguistic analysis (For more extensive discussion, see Langacker 1987).

‘**thing**’, while other kinds of words (e.g. verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions) profile different kinds of **relations** (Langacker 1987a: 185, 214-217).

In this thesis I focus on relational profiles, which can be divided into those that profile a process (or ‘**temporal relation**’), and those that profile a state (‘**atemporal relation**’).

Process refers to temporal relations whose profile includes a span of time, in contrast to atemporal relations in which time is not included in their profile (but time can be part of the base). An example of a temporal relational profile is seen in the word *go* as diagrammed in Figure 5.

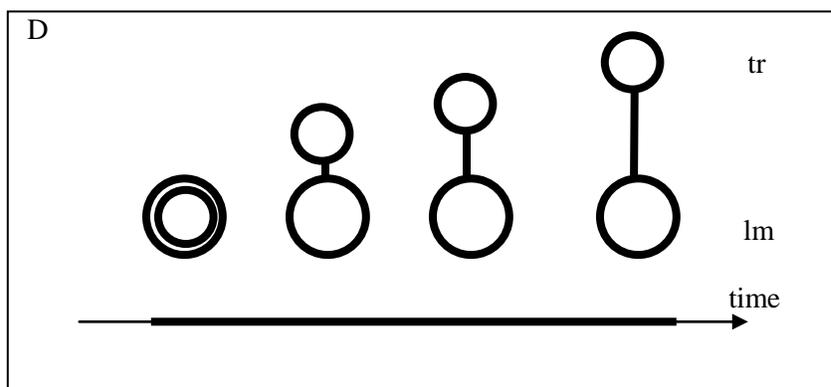


Figure 5. A temporal relational profile: *go*

This diagram employs Langacker’s pictographic conventions and are not intended to be formal. They are:

- the two circles representing ‘things’;
- a line joining the circles representing a ‘relation’;
- an arrow that stands for time

- profiled entities (including a time segment) are represented in heavy lines;
- the box represents the conceptual domain of the relational profile which is labeled as ‘D’. In the case of the word *go*, the basic domains are the conception of space and time.

Note that ‘tr’ and ‘lm’ stand for trajector and landmark. These two notions are also technical terms in CG, which will be discussed in detail in the next section (Section 3.2.1.2).

One may question why a **thing** (either circle) is also profiled in bold. Being a relational profile, the profile should include the entire relation (the line joining two circles) along with the circles.

The reason for this is a matter of ‘conceptual dependence’. Relations are conceptually dependent. That is, we ‘cannot conceptualize relations without also conceptualizing the entities that they interconnect’ (Langacker 1987a: 215). One cannot imagine the verb *throw* without the object being thrown. A thing, on the other hand, is conceptually independent. We are able to conceptualize, say, a *car* without conceptualizing *driving* it. Therefore when a conceptualization is nominal a thing is in profile, when it is relational, two things/entities (or more) and their interconnection are in profile.

Now it is time to explain how profiling plays a role in grammatical description. Consider the verb *break* illustrated in (1). (The example and my discussion of it is adapted from Langacker 1999: 28-30).

- (1) a. *I **broke** the glass*
 b. *The glass slipped out of my hand and it **broke**.*
 c. *The glass **broke** by itself mysteriously.*
 d. *The glass is **broken***

Broke in (1) a and (1) b is the same except that in the former it occurs as a transitive verb; in the latter it is intransitive. *Broke* in (1) c is a simple change-of-state intransitive. *Broken* in (1) d is a stative adjective. These different grammatical encodings of comparable situations can be explained in terms of profiling as sketched in Figure 6.

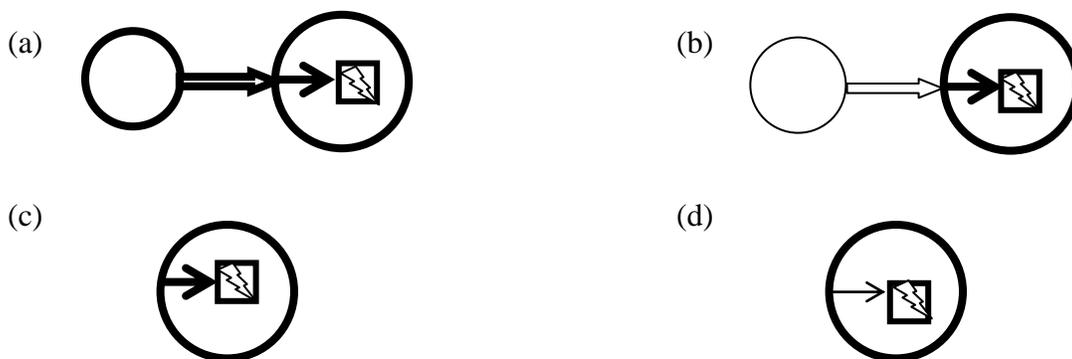


Figure 6. Alternate profiling

Following Langacker's notations, circles represent things. A double arrow indicates causation or the transmission of energy. A single arrow inside a circle stands for a thing undergoing an internal change of state. A 'broken' state is presented as a box with zigzag lines inside. The heavy lines indicate profiling.

The transitive *break*, illustrated in Figure 6(a), profiles both the causation (e.g. *cause something to be broken*) and the change leading to the resultant state, whereas

in 6(b), only the change of state is profiled. However, notice that the difference in Figures 6(b) and 6(c) are not profiling (i.e., they have the same profile), but the presence of the agent's causation. In 6(b), the agent's causation is conceptualized as an unprofiled part of the base, while in 6(c) the agent's causation is absent (i.e., it is not even a part of the base). With respect to Figures in 6(c) and 6(d), their contrast is a matter of different profiles (i.e., they evoke the same base). *Broke* in 6(c) profiles the change of state (i.e., the change resulting in the state of 'broken or pieces'), while in 6(d) *broken* profiles the resultant state itself (the situation in which the glass has the property of 'pieces').

As can be seen, an expression's syntactic category (noun, verb) is determined by the nature of its profile, not by the content it evokes (Langacker 1999: 30). The word *break* is a verb because it profiles a relation, more specifically, a **process**, or a relation followed in its evolution through time, while *broken* is an adjective because it profiles an atemporal relation. This concept of profiling will be applied to the analysis of Lahu Shi aspect in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2). It will show how aspectual meaning depends on profiling.

3.2.1.2 Trajector and landmark

The second type of prominence is **trajector** and **landmark**. Langacker defines trajector as 'the figure within a relational profile' (1987a: 217) since it is the most prominent entity within the relation, whereas landmark refers to the less prominent entity in the relation, or as Langacker puts it, 'the ground within the relational profile' (1987a: 217). In order to understand these notions, it is helpful to make a digression and look at **figure /ground**.

Figure within a scene is perceived as being more prominent or salient than the ground (Langacker 1987a: 120). To put it in another way, figures are more prominent and stand out from their grounds. It is so pervasive that every time you look at a

picture of almost any sort, you automatically distinguish the vitally important figure from the far less important ground. Consider the picture in Figure 7.

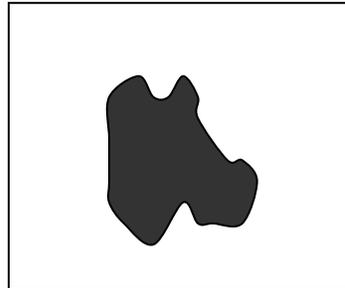


Figure 7. Figure and ground

The obvious entity to be chosen as figure is the black patch, while the white field is given ground status. This relationship of figure to ground also appears in language, for example, in *the book is on the table*, the figure is *the book* and the ground is *the table*.

However, not only are we able to structure scenes in terms of figure/ground organization, but we are able to reverse the figure/ground alignment as well (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 156-158). Consider the picture shown in Figure 8.

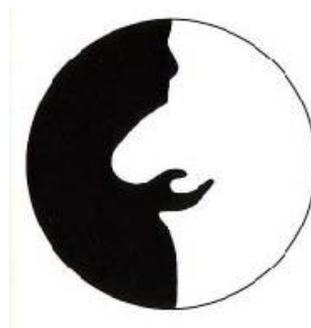


Figure 8. Edgar Rubin reversible figure
(Rodgers 1998: 107)

This Rubin illusion in Figure 8 is an ambiguous figure/ground illusion. This is because it can be perceived either as a worshiper, in front of a white background, or as a face on a black background.

Because of this cognitive capacity to reverse figure and ground alignment, it is not surprising to find that distinct sentences refer to the same scene. For example, *a plane is above a balloon* and *a balloon is below a plane* show that the figures (or trajector in Langacker's term) are *a plane* and *a balloon* respectively, while the actual 'state of affairs' remains the same. The relational expressions *above* and *below* can be sketched abstractly as in Figure 9.

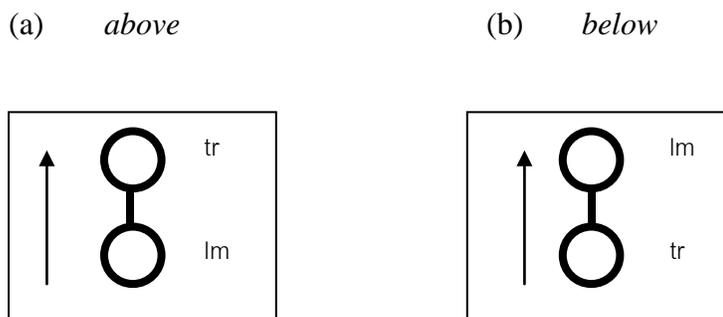


Figure 9. Trajector and landmark

Notice that the two expressions (*above* and *below*) not only evoke the same conceptual base (prepositional space) but also profile the same concept (the vertical relation), however they are contrastive in meaning. The key to their difference is figure/ground organization. It can be said that the notion of trajector and landmark is derived from two degrees of prominence, profiling and figure/ground. This illustrates that without the profiling (more precisely, the relational profile), the conception of vertical organization of two entities is not evoked (i.e. there will be no concept of vertical relation). It is the relational profile that derives the concept of a relationship between two things. Now without figure and ground contrast, the conception of *above* and *below* would be identical. The conception of the two expressions emerges only in

the combination of two construals, profiling and figure/ground contrast. This combination is called trajector and landmark organization.

It should be noted here that both trajector/landmark and profile/base are understood to involve prominence asymmetry, but they are treated as distinct notions in CG. As mentioned, the definitions of word classes are stated in terms of the nature of their profiling. Trajector and landmark, on the other hand, form the basis for the definitions of grammatical relations (e.g. subject is primary figure and object is secondary figure) (Van Hoek 1997: 16-20).

3.2.2 Perspective

Our perceptions of the world are influenced by our experiences that the farther away something is, the smaller it will appear. An example of this may be looking at a mountain from 100 miles away. If we did not know better, we would assume that the mountain is small and we might believe that we could walk to the top in only a few minutes. Our perception of reality is what allows us to know that the mountain only looks small because it is far away. Perception has also been an important technique in photography. A picture of a flower in forefront and a tree in the background may look as if the flower is bigger than the tree, but our perception allows us to understand that it is the photographer who manipulated the image. Our mind's ability to understand how our perception is manipulated through space is important for us to be able to make proper judgments about location, time and space. It is through experience that we are able to recognize the various clues in the landscape that tell us the actual size and distance of an object. It is this experience that forms the basis of **perspective**, another aspect of construal.



Figure 10. Rabbit or duck

(Rodgers 1998: 40)

In Figure 10, one could see the picture of a duck or a rabbit. The image you see depends on whether you view from left or right. If you look at it from the right, you can see the duck's beak and its eye. But if you look at it from the left you have a rabbit with its eye looking leftwards and its long ears flopping behind its head. More specifically, this perspective is called **orientation**, or 'the direction in which the speaker, the hearer, or some other viewer is facing relative to the scene' (Langacker 1991b: 315). It should be emphasized here that our image can be based on either the actual orientation of a scene (what the direction of a conceptualizer in relation to the scene observed is) or a mental one. Figure 10 above is an illustration of the latter. We are viewing the picture from the same direction, but it is conceived distinctly from two different mental orientations.

Another CG notion which the term perspective subsumes is '**vantage point**', or 'the position from which a scene is viewed' (Langacker 1987a: 123). The linguistic significance of vantage point is apparent from an expression such as *Jack is in front of the tree*, whose use depends on whether the speaker adopts his own vantage point or Jack's.

The cognitive abilities mentioned are so pervasive in our everyday life, not just in perception (like seeing a picture), but in conception which is reflected in language. And this is normally in such a way that we are unaware of it.

3.2.3 Subjectivity

Subjectivity is another aspect of perspective which is very crucial for our understanding of the discussion ‘grounding’ in the next section (Section 3.3). Subjectivity is a matter of ‘viewing arrangement’. That is, the viewer is able to arrange the way to perceive an entity as well as himself with an ‘objective’ or ‘subjective’ construal⁸.

The objective construal is the ability to focus attention on the OBJECT OF PERCEPTION (the object/entity perceived) solely and prominently. The subjective construal, by contrast, is ability to be unfocussed on oneself as the SUBJECT OF PERCEPTION. Imagine that you were ‘eyeballs’, you could see any object of perception, but you could not see yourself the subject of perception. In perceiving an object, you are not aware that you are functioning as a perceiving apparatus. That is to say, without this apparatus, any entity cannot be seen. Your role is thus crucial yet implicit (Langacker 1991b 315-318; 2002a 15-20).

The contrast between objective and subjective construal above reflects the inherent asymmetrical relationship between the entity perceived and the perceiver at the two extremes. Langacker (1991b: 316) refers to this situation as the ‘optimal viewing arrangement’, which is diagrammed in Figure 11.

⁸ Note that the terms subjective, objective and their derivative terms are proposed as technical terms in CG. They are not equivalent to our judgement being subjective or objective.

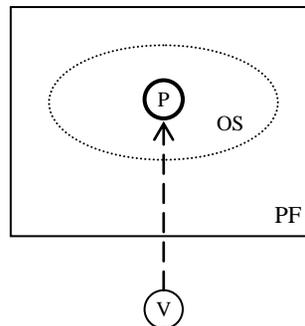


Figure 11. Optimal viewing arrangement

Figure 11 employs CG's notations, V is the viewer/perceiver, P is the perceived object, and the dashed arrow represents the perceptual relationship between them. The box labeled PF stands for the viewer's perceptual field, while the dashed oval labeled OS represents the objective scene or the onstage region.

Using Langacker's theatre analogy to clarify these notations, one can imagine a theatre scenario with a viewer as an audience. He is 'the viewer' (V) watching a play which can be referred to as 'the perceived object' (P) – the focus of viewing attention. Supposing that he sits in the back row of seats, what he sees is not merely the play on stage but the orchestra pit, lots of seats, and audience in front of him. These all are his 'perceptual field' (PF). However, he does not pay attention to seats or heads etc., what he focuses his attention on is the play on stage. The stage thus can be understood as his 'object scene' (OS) or the 'onstage region'⁹.

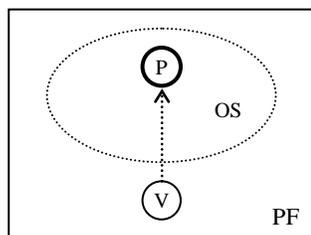
It is a great play; therefore he is so absorbed in his perceptual experience that he loses all awareness of himself. That is, his role as the subject of perception is construed maximally subjectively. The play (i.e., the object of the perception), on the

⁹ See also (Langacker 1991b, 2000, 2002)

other hand, is construed maximally objectively. Note that subjectivity, like other construals shown, can go beyond perception to conception. Exactly how this is implemented will be shown in section 3.3.2.

This situation is, however, an extreme case of a viewing arrangement. One is able to literally ‘arrange’ his viewing in alternate ways – the degree of subjectivity or objectivity.

(a)



(b)

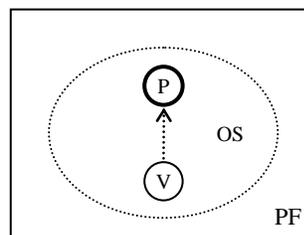


Figure 12. Alternate viewing arrangement

Notice in Figure 12(a) that the viewer construes himself more objectively so now he is in the perceptual field (PF), but his role still remains implicit and nonsalient. However, sometimes he is concerned with himself and the relationship related to the perceived entity. When this happens, his role as the perceiver is more explicit or salient, i.e., he receives a less subjective (or a more objective) construal, whereas the perceived object receives a less objective (or a more subjective) construal. Langacker refers to this situation as ‘egocentric viewing arrangement’ diagrammed in Figure 12 (b) (1991b: 317). He is put on the ‘onstage’ region in which he gains more focus of attention. The closer V moves towards the onstage region, the more he gains his objectivity (and the less that of P remains).

Consider the two expressions in (2).

- (2) a. *The monkey is on the tree.*
b. *I saw the monkey on the tree.*

In (2) a, the role of the speaker¹⁰ (as the perceiver) is not expressed. This corresponds to the viewing arrangement in Figure 12 a, whereas in (2) b, the speaker is mentioned explicitly (that is, *I*). This corresponds to the viewing arrangement in Figure 12 b.

This is a matter of the speaker's perspective (more precisely, the speaker's subjectivity). A speaker does not need to linguistically encode every facet of the scene he perceives (or conceives). As Taylor states, it is enough to select just a few, prominent facets of the scene for linguistic encoding (2002: 168). However, one should bear in mind that whichever facet of the scene is chosen to encode, linguistically varies from language to language. That is, the facet symbolized linguistically in one language may not be so in another.

Note also that the speaker is one component of the content of the speech event or the 'ground' itself (See section 3.2.1 for the discussion of the ground). Subjective and objective construal therefore is much related to grammatical behavior of grounding elements. This will be explained more in Section 3.2.3 after the notion of grounding and its derivatives are introduced.

It is apparent from the discussion above to say that there is a correlation between implicitness and subjectivity, which will be explained again in Section 3.3.3.

¹⁰ Corresponding to the viewer is the conceptualizer, who can be identified primarily with the speaker, and secondarily with the addressee. (Langacker 1991b: 318).

3.3 Grounding

Before going to the discussion of grounding, some basic concepts to grounding need to be addressed first, namely **verbs** and **finite clauses**. (Note that nouns and nominals (noun phrases) are also basic concepts subject to grounding but they are not the focus of the paper)

3.3.1 Verbs and finite clauses

The category verb is a fundamental class in all languages. However, it is insufficient for both cognitive and communicative utility. It is not enough for a verb (a process type) to conceptualize a particular situation and communicate it. This is because the semantic function of verbs is merely to provide an initial **type** specification (that is the schematic conception) which is by no means anchored to any situation of speech. An example can clarify this construct.

Compare ‘*sleep*’ and ‘*John slept on the floor*’. The verb *sleep* just presents a certain process type. It fails to evoke a specific **instance** of the process type. In other words, although we are able to recognize and differentiate it from other related activities such as ‘taking a nap’ or ‘dozing’, it is not located in relation to any context of the speech event or the ‘**ground**’ (the term used in CG). The term ground includes ‘the participants in the event, its time and place, the situational context, previous discourse, shared knowledge of the speech-act participants and such like’ (Taylor 2002: 346). The clause ‘*John slept on the floor*’, in contrast, is conveyed out of the countless number of instances. Just one instance is chosen for attention in this communication (Taylor 2002: 343-351). Notice that what turns the verb into the finite clause¹¹ is the past tense morpheme (in this particular example).

¹¹ A clause is finite when it has both communicative and cognitive utility. That is, it has a path and an indicator for speech-act participants to anchor a given situation in relation to the ground.

Before explicating why it is the past morpheme that serves that function, one should ask first why it is not the participant (*John*) and the location (*on the floor*) that is capable of deriving the finite clause. One should bear in mind that a finite clause in CG is not merely a group of words which contains a subject (and/or an object) and a finite verb. Exactly how it is defined will become clearer by the end of this section (Section 3.3.1). My discussion of it is based on Taylor (2002: 343-349, 389-390).

Recall that verbs are conceptually dependent. Owing to this nature, *John sleep on the floor* is still a type specification and it is specified in greater detail (the process is not performed by anybody but a particular person, namely, *John* and specifically on the floor). By means of the past tense marking, on the other hand, the clause not only instantiates the process type (i.e., designates one specific instance of the process out of the countless potential instances of the type), but also locates one specific instance of the process at a time preceding the moment of the speaking. This process is thus called ‘grounding’ because both speech act participants (speaker and hearer) have access to the time in which this process took place via the tense morpheme. The semantic structure of the finite clause *John slept on the floor* is illustrated in Figure 13.

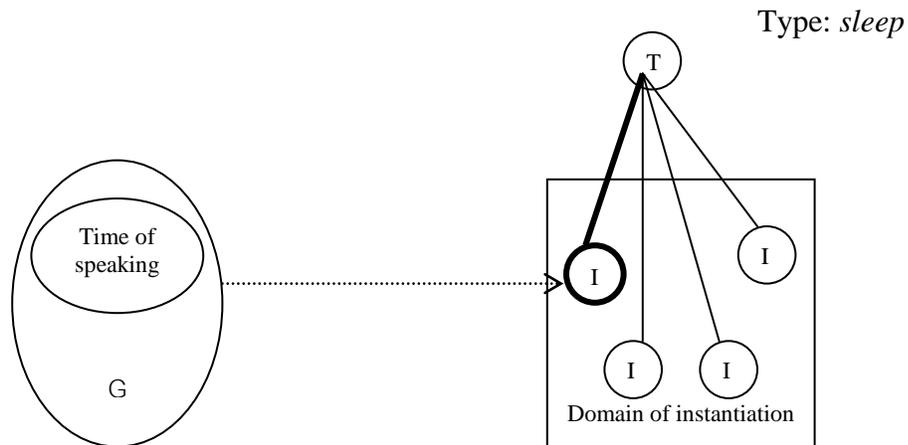


Figure 13. The semantic structure of the finite clause
(Adapted from Taylor 2002: 349)

In Figure 13 the circle labeled ‘T’ represents the process type which is given by the verb *sleep*. In other words, the simple verb *sleep* designates a type of process. The circles labeled ‘I’ represent countless potential instances, one of which is designated (in bold) and identified from the ground (G).

From the above remarks the difference between a verb and a finite clause can thus be summarized as follows. A verb designates a type of process, whereas a finite clause designates a grounded instance of that type (Langacker 2002: 7)

The notion of grounding will be used in Chapter 5 to show that the evidential system in Lahu Shi from a CG view is a grounding system.

3.3.2 Grounding predications vs. deictic expressions

The concept of ground has been introduced in Section 3.3.1. In this section, grounding predication and its grammatical properties will be discussed.

Grounding predications are grammatical elements that turn verbs into finite clauses (Brisard 2002: xi). In English the class of grounding predications for finite clauses are tense and modals. This implies that there is something that makes them capable of deriving a finite clause.

According to Langacker (2002: 8), grounding predications are deictic in nature since they indicate a relationship between some facet of the ground (speech event) and the processual profile (i.e. a specific instance of the process type). As a result, they can be referred to as deictic expressions. However, not every deictic expression functions as a grounding element that derives a finite clause. Before making the distinction between deictic expressions and grounding elements, the class of deictic expressions should be defined first.

An important basis for classification of deictic expressions suggested by Langacker (1991b, 2002a) is the salience of the ground's role within the conception that constitutes the meaning of a deictic element.

Deictic expressions inherently invoke the ground to serve as a reference point, in contrast to nondeictic expressions like *table* or *run* which do not invoke the ground at all (and therefore are nondeictic for this reason). At this point we can say that the presence of the ground is important to define deictic expressions. Compare each diagram sketched in Figure 14, where G, MS, and IS stand for the ground, the maximal scope, and the immediate scope (onstage region) respectively (Langacker 1991b: 318-320, 2002a: 8-10).

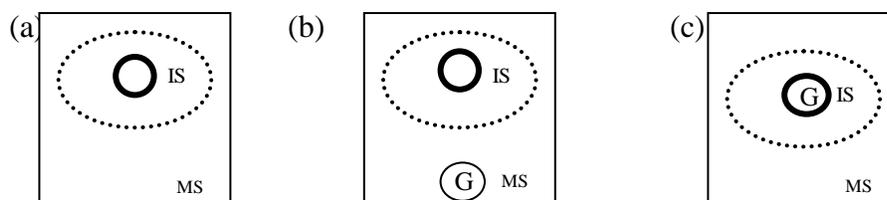


Figure 14. Alternate presence of the ground

Figure 14(a) illustrates the nondeictic expression (e.g. *book*, *ghost*, *sleep*, and *work*) where the ground is not invoked or mentioned at all, as a result, the ground is not sketched in 14(a).

Deictic expressions inherently invoke the ground, and there are at least two kinds of presence the ground (its location) can have in a conceptualization as diagrammed in Figure 14 (b) and 14(c). Figure 14 (b) illustrates the presence of the ground in deictics such as *yesterday* and *tomorrow*. Notice that the ground does fall within the maximal scope of expressions (MS) (i.e., expressions invoke the ground as part of their meaning), but it remains implicit and nonsalient; serves only as an ‘offstage’ reference point.

Figure 14 (c), on the other hand, illustrates the presence of the ground in deictics such as *I*, *you* which appear onstage (mentioned explicitly and saliently) as the specific focus of attention. Because of this, the class of deictic expressions is defined as those which invoke the ground and include it in their scope of predication (Langacker 1991b: 318).

Now turn to grounding predications. The ground of grounding elements typically is left offstage or unprofiled. Consequently, a grounding element appears to be most similar to deictic expressions like *tomorrow* as sketched in 14(b). However,

they are by no means the same. Langacker (2002: 10-11) suggests that grounding predications (e.g. *will*) are distinguished from deictic expressions (e.g. *tomorrow*) because of their grammatical status and the nature of their conceptual content. In other words, it is these properties that make grounding predications different from deictic expressions like *tomorrow*. By grounding status, he means a grounding element is grammatical (abstract and schematic semantically) rather than lexical in nature (semantically specific and detailed). Regarding the nature of their conceptual content, grounding predications like other grammatical elements tend to have a relativistic nature. To clarify, a grounding element like the past tense morpheme does not indicate a specific time of an event, rather it merely and abstractly indicates that a process is distant from the ground in time.

3.3.3 Grounding and subjectivity

It was mentioned in Section 3.2.3 that subjectivity is important to understanding the concept of grounding elements, more especially their grammatical behavior (why the ground is implicitly evoked).

Compare the two sentences in (3) (Langacker 2002b: 19).

- (3) a. *Mary was sitting across the table from me.*
 b. *Mary was sitting across the table.*

According to Langacker, the difference between 3 (a) and 3(b) (explicit and implicit vantage points) is a matter of subjectivity. That is, in 3(b) the speaker's role is construed maximally subjectively, whereas in 3 (a) the speaker merely receives a subjective construal (i.e., less subjective, more objective) to the extent that it functions as the subject of conception but not as the object. So, it is the example (b) which is subjective and therefore not expressed explicitly.

Owing to the correlation between implicitness and subjective construal, the ground cannot be simultaneously mentioned explicitly and construed maximally subjectively (Langacker 2002b: 19). That is, it is impossible to cognitively put the speaker offstage and at the same time encode it linguistically. But, it is possible to cognitively put the speaker onstage and at the same time encode it linguistically.

Recall that the ground includes the participants in the situation, its time and place, the situational context, previous discourse, shared knowledge of the speech-act participants and the such. This illustrates that there are many facets of the ground. I will refer to these facets as ‘**the ground components**’¹². It should be borne in mind that when a grounding predication invokes the ground, it doesn’t actually invoke all the ground components at once. Rather, only some ground components are invoked. Of the many ground components, it is the speaker which can be put onstage and made a specific focus of attention. This can happen due to the speaker’s perspective, namely, subjectivity. This phenomenon can be referred to as ‘onstage’ construal of the ground. Figure 15 illustrates Example (3) a in which the speaker is expressed explicitly.

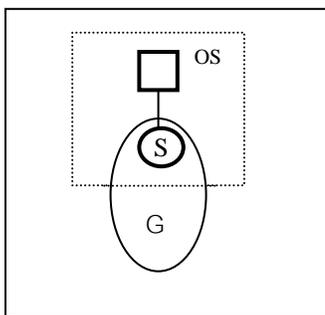


Figure 15. Onstage construal of the ground
‘Mary was sitting across the table from me’

¹² Langacker refers to them as **ground elements**. In order to avoid confusion over the similar word **grounding elements**, I will refer to them as **ground components**.

The speaker (the circle labeled ‘S’) is represented inside the ground (the oval labeled ‘G’) indicating that it is one facet of ground components. The speaker is put onstage (‘OS’) where he gains a specific focus of attention. This explicit vantage point is encoded linguistically by the expression *from me*¹³. While the rest of the ground components remain outside of the onstage region (for example, past tense marking).

The notion of grounding and subjectivity presented here will be used in the analysis of the evidential particles in Chapter 5.

3.4 Relations between units

From a CG perspective, the linguistic inventory is not merely very large, but it is also structured in complex and intricate ways. Of several kinds of relations between units, there are two main kinds that are important for the present discussion: the ‘vertical’ relation and the ‘horizontal’ relation (Taylor 2002: 22-25).

3.4.1 The vertical relation

The vertical relation is derived from the notion of ‘level of specificity’. That is, units are specified in differing degrees of detail. A unit which is characterized with lesser specificity and detail can be considered a **schema** of another unit, which is characterized with greater specificity and detail, and can be considered as an **instance** of the former. The notion of schema and instance can apply to phonological, semantic, and symbolic units. Only schema and instance in semantics are exemplified here.

¹³ Note that the expression *from me* in this example is not a grounding element. It is just meant to show how a ground element invokes the ground and how grounding is related to subjectivity. That is, the ground is implicitly evoked.

For example, the semantic unit [TREE] is **schematic** for [OAK], [PINE] and such; [OAK], [PINE] and further instances of the schema in turn are instances of the more schematically characterized semantic unit [TREE]. In other words, [OAK], [PINE] and other instances **elaborate** [TREE] by filling semantic detail. As a result, the instances are similar in the fact that they **inherit** the specification of the schema, and at the same time are different since they flesh out the schema in different and contrasting ways (i.e., they are all trees but different kinds of trees). This relation is exemplified in Figure 16.

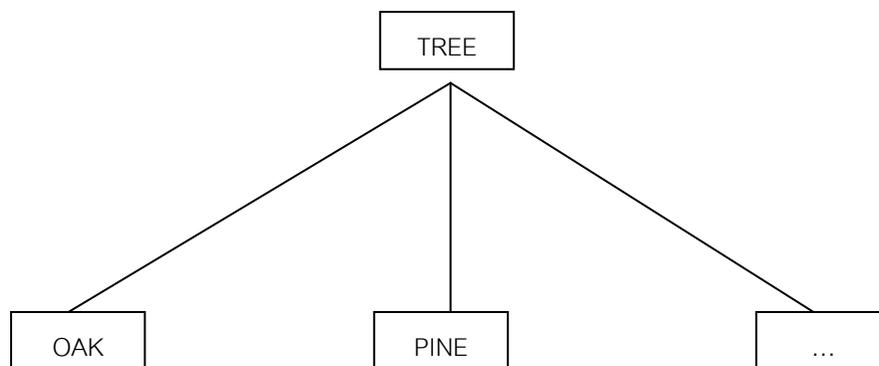


Figure 16. The relation between a schematic concept and some of its instances

The relation between schema and its instances can be depicted in a more schematic way, as in Figure 17.

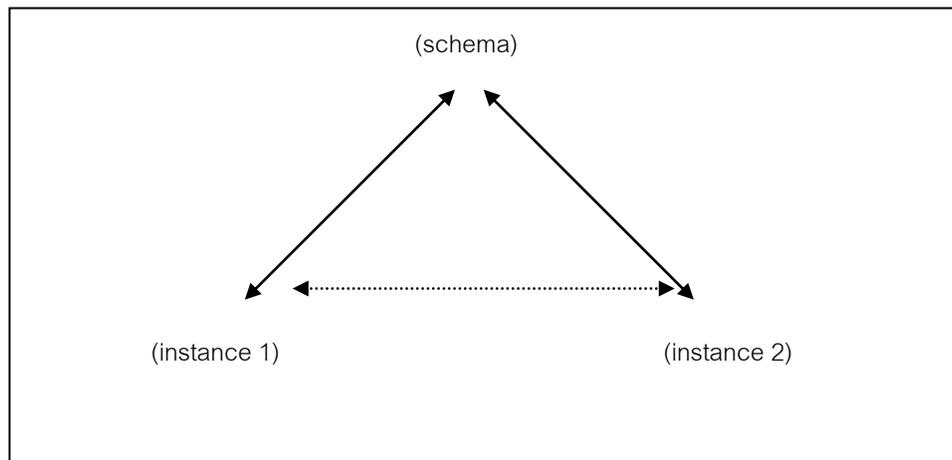


Figure 17. A more schematic representation of the relation between a schema and its instances

The solid lines represent a relationship of elaboration; the dotted line represents the similarity between the instances. Both instances together provide a general pattern in which to conceptually create a schema. In other words, a schema is abstracted from two or more instances¹⁴.

It should be noted here that the notion of schema and instance apply not only to relations between lexical units, but also to function units (e.g. *in*, *on*, *under* are the instances of the schema *the stative relation*). This notion is essential to understand the similarity of two progressive aspects in Lahu Shi in Section 4.2.3

3.4.2 The horizontal relation

In Section 3.4.1, the vertical relation of schema and instance was discussed. In this section, I turn to the horizontal relation between units, that is the, ‘syntagmatic

¹⁴ See Inglis 2003 for an example of this applied to numeral classifier languages, specifically Thai.

combination of simpler units into larger, internally more complex units' (Taylor 2002: 225).

When two linguistic units are combined to form a larger unit, they are not conceptualized in a sequence as discrete units. Rather, there is a horizontal conceptual relation between the two. Take, *under the tree*, as an example. The preposition *under* designates a relation between a schematic trajector and a schematic landmark. *The tree*¹⁵ designates a thing of the type 'tree' (represented by the circle labeled 'T' in Figure 18). To conceptualize the integrated concept of [UNDER THE TREE], the landmark of [UNDER] and the profile of [THE TREE] are not conceived as two distinct concepts but instead they are construed as two concepts of the same entity. This relation is symbolized by the dotted line. What happens is that [THE TREE] elaborates the schematic landmark of [UNDER]. That is to say, it gives a fuller specification of the semantic content of the landmark. Consequently, one is able to conceive that it is [THE TREE] that is the landmark of this relation not a schematic thing or any other kind of thing.

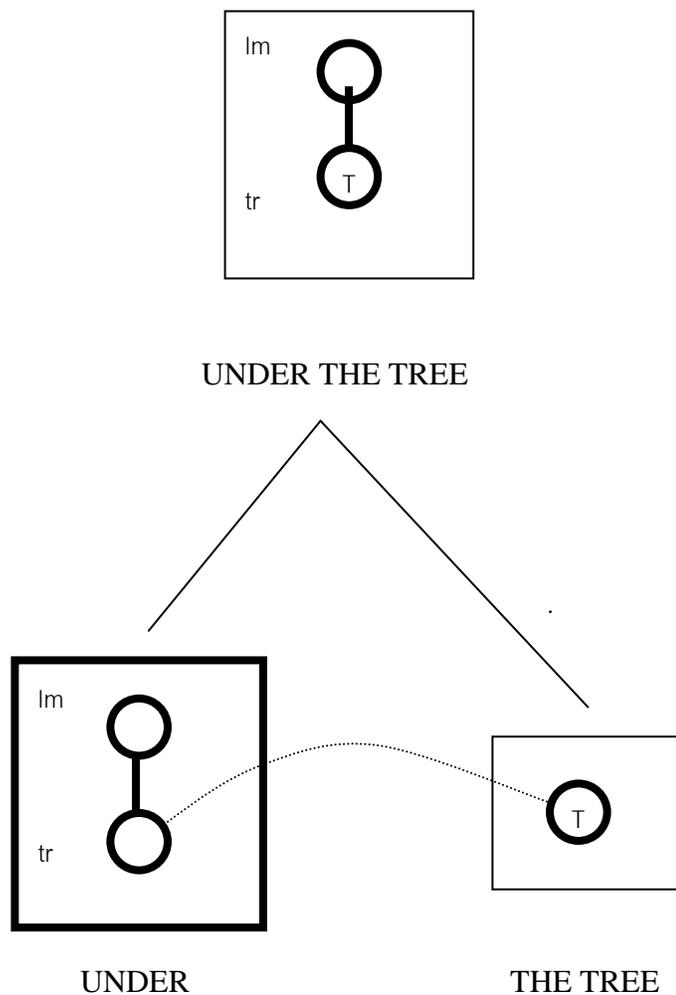


Figure 18. The assembly of [UNDER THE TREE]

However, it is not merely the elaboration of [THE TREE] on the landmark of [UNDER] that derives the resulting concept. In a CG approach, all linguistic expressions profile something. This includes the result of the combination – the complex concept [UNDER THE TREE] – which has a relational profile, even though it consists of the two distinct profiles (*under*: relational profile and *the tree*: nominal

¹⁵ To simplify matters, the contribution of the definite article to the expression is ignored. Moreover, only the semantic pole of the linguistic expression *under the tree* is discussed.

profile). This illustrates that [UNDER THE TREE] inherits the relational profile from that of [UNDER]. In other words, the profile of [UNDER THE TREE] is determined by the profile of [UNDER] (not that of [THE TREE]). Langacker (1987a: 235) refers to [UNDER] as the **profile determinant** (so-called **head** in traditional grammar) of [UNDER THE TREE], because it determines the profile of the complex concept. The profile determinant is represented by the heavy box in Figure 18.

The concepts of vertical and horizontal relations presented here will be used in the analysis of aspect in Section 4.2.

3.5 Lahu studies

This section provides an overview of previous Lahu Na and Lahu Shi studies. Lahu Na work will be discussed first, followed by that of Lahu Shi.

3.5.1 Matisoff and Lahu Na

Lahu Na is a member of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Lahu Na is verb-final. According to Matisoff (1973), the verb phrase is ‘king’ in Lahu Na clauses, since a clause must have a verb phrase, while noun phrases are optional. Two or more verbs can be strung by simple juxtaposition to form a complex verb phrase. Matisoff calls this juxtaposition verb concatenation.

Verb concatenation consists of the verb head (Vh) and non-head elements which can occur either before or after, or between their verb head. They are called pre-head versatiles (vC), post-head versatiles (Cv), and ‘fore-and-aft’ versatiles (vCv) respectively by Matisoff (1973: 200ff). It is the second type of versatile concatenation which is relevant to my research and will be discussed here.

Matisoff divides post-head versatile into four subclasses: juxtacapitals, medials, caudals, and variables.

Juxtacapitals always occur directly after the verb head. They all carry meanings related to motion or directionality, for example, *taw*[^] ‘out’, *keu* ‘into’.

Medials have meanings related to notions of ‘Manner’, for example, *sha* ‘easy’, *leh* ‘late’. The post head verb *to*[^] ‘walk’ (or *tod* in Lahu Shi) is also classified as a medial (a non-adjectival medial, to be more precise) by Matisoff.

Caudals involve notions of ability or potentiality, for example, *hpeh*^v ‘can’, *caw*^v ‘should’

Variables have meanings related to notions of aspect, for instance, *cheh*^v ‘continuous’, *peu*_v ‘completive’ (or *chehd* and *peor* respectively in Lahu Shi).

The so-called medial (*tod*) and the variables (*chehd* and *peor*) will be analyzed differently along the lines of CG in Chapter 4.

As for evidentials, only one evidential is mentioned by Matisoff, namely *ce*[^] ‘reported information’ (or *ced* in Lahu Shi). This particle has the general function of indicating that the source of information was told by someone else. In Chapter 5, I will introduce evidentials found in Lahu Shi and analyze them on the basis of ‘grounding’.

3.5.2 Chaikuna and Lahu Shi

According to Chaikuna (2003), Lahu Shi verb phrases are either a simple head verb (the verb phrase contains a single verb) or a concatenated verb (the verb phrase contains two or more head verbs). She divides verb phrases into action verbs and auxiliary verbs based on their functions. Action verbs include intransitive, transitive,

and bitransitive verbs. Three auxiliary verbs are discussed in her thesis, they are *gha* (modality), *chehd* (imperfect aspect), and *vehr* (perfective aspect).

Lahu Shi clause structure is composed of noun phrases followed by a verb phrase. It has a clause-chaining characteristic which employs sequences of medial clauses called non-final clauses, completed by a final clause. These two clauses have particles at the end of the clause.

There are some other clause types explained in her thesis, one of which is a relative clause. According to Chaikuna, a relative clause may be embedded in either the subject element or the object element. It can be a 'left relative clause' or a 'right relative clause'. The former is a clause in which a relative clause precedes the head noun, whereas the latter is a clause in which a relative clause is after the head noun (2003: 91-92).

CHAPTER 4

LAHU SHI ASPECT AND AN ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUAL

4.0 Introduction to an analysis of construal

Linguistic expressions are directly connected to conceived situations or scenes. However, it is not adequate to characterize the meaning of an expression just by identifying or describing the situation in question since expressions can differ in meaning, while pertaining to the same situation. Compare the two expressions in (4). (Taken from Langacker 2000: 208)

- (4) a. *The scar extends all the way from his wrist to his elbow.*
 b. *The scar extends all the way from his elbow to his wrist.*

Notice that (4) a and b are semantically different, although they describe the same scene (the scar on his arm). This is due to how the speaker mentally scans the scene. One can scan from the wrist to elbow or from the elbow to wrist.

The attempt of this chapter is to show that some cognitive abilities are involved in Lahu Shi. In other words, the wording we choose to linguistically encode a situation hinges on the way in which the situation is mentally construed. The discussion is organized under two main sections, perspective and profiling. The former is meant to be the basis for linguistic investigation of construal in Lahu Shi. It is the latter that is the main focus of this chapter.

4.1 Perspective as a facet of construal

Perspective relates to the position from which a scene is viewed. The term subsumes two specific notions **vantage point** and **orientation** which are important

for our discussion. Consider the three situations given by a Lahu Shi informant below.

Situation 1

Three men, Ehrkhad, Ehrganx, and Ehrdawx, wanted to go to their orchard, but they set out one after the other at different intervals. Ehrkhad went off to the orchard first, and now he was waiting for the others there. Not long afterwards, Ehrganx left for the orchard and he was on his way. At last, Ehrdawx set off towards the orchard, and he met a woman on his way. She said ‘I’ve heard someone just walking passed. Who is he?’

Ehrdawx answered.

(5) *Ehrganx kho lo **veh** tod law* (Situation 1)

*Ehrganx orchard LOC **go** walk Pt.*

Ehrganx is going to the orchard.

Situation 2

Then Ehrdawx caught up with Ehrganx and overtook him. Ehrdawx then met another woman. She said ‘I’ve heard someone coming this way. Who is he?’

Ehrdawx answered in (6),

(6) *Ehrganx kho lo **lag** tod law* (Situation 2)

*Ehrganx orchard LOC **come** walk Pt.*

Ehrganx is coming to the orchard.

Situation 3

Ehrdawx arrived at the orchard and met Ehrkhad. Ehrkhad asked where is Ehrganx?

In answer to this question a perfectly reasonable reply would be either (5) or (6). The focus here is on the two possible ways to reply to the question in Situation 3. They are quite distinct in meaning but they are used to express the same conceived situation (Ehrganx was walking towards Ehrkhad and Ehrdawx). To analyze why the reply *veh tod law* 'is going' is perfectly acceptable, situation 1 and 2 need to be examined first.

In (5), the answer of Ehrdawx corresponds to his vantage point (his position from which a scene is viewed; Ehrganx was walking away from him), and his orientation (the direction in which the viewer Ehrdawx is facing; he was behind Ehrganx). As a result, Ehrdawx's answer is *veh tod law*. In other words, the speaker's vantage point and orientation at the time of speaking is important in the selection of the verb *veh* which can be glossed as 'to go' in English describing motion away from a place or a speaker.

In (6), on the contrary, the vantage point of Ehrdawx has changed (now Ehrganx was walking towards Ehrdawx), and so has his orientation (he was in front of Ehrganx). His reply thus is *lag tod law* 'is coming'. As with *veh*, the speaker's perspective at the time of utterance is important in the selection of the verb *lag* 'to come' which is describing motion toward and not away from a place or a speaker.

The answer *veh tod law* 'is going' is acceptable in Situation 3, even though Ehrganx was coming towards the speaker.

I suggest that (5) *veh tod law* is acceptable in situation 3 because Ehrdawx can mentally locate himself as if he was walking after Ehrganx.

The answer (6) *lag tod law* ‘is coming’ of Ehrdawx to Ehrkhad presupposes the normal selection of the verb he perceives in relation to his actual physical position, this in turn reflects his real vantage point and orientation of his visual field. The alternate answer ignores the real vantage point and orientation, and mentally locates the speaker in terms of a conceived (imaginary) position with respect to the situation at the moment of speaking. In reply to Ehrkhad’s question, Ehrdawx is saying implicitly that he overtook Ehrganx, whereas there is no such implication in the answer *lag tod law* ‘is coming’.

It can be said from this that the choice of each answer not only depends on the conceived situation, but also from the way one chooses to construe it (our construal of it).

4.2 Profiling as a facet of construal for aspect

According to Comrie (1976: 3), aspects are “different ways of viewing the internal constituency of a situation”. Payne (1997: 238) puts it like this; “aspect is a grammatical category which relates to the internal temporal shape of events and states”. The underlying nature of aspect is ‘the internal temporal shape of a situation’ derived from how one perceives that situation. The problem is how aspect marking derives ‘the internal temporal shape’ of a situation. Since a verb itself does not inherently have aspectual meaning¹⁶, therefore an aspect marker must have certain semantic effects of deriving the internal constituency of a situation.

I suggest that the resulting aspectual meaning is derived from the change of profile¹⁷. In order to elucidate this remark, one notion of profile should be addressed

¹⁶ Except some verbs as *finish, begin*.

¹⁷ This idea relating aspect to a change in profile has been discussed at length by Croft (2000) in relation to English.

again. As seen in Section 3.2.1.1, profile¹⁸ (and base) is a critical part of the meaning of the expression, for example *radius*, and *chord* invoke the same base (*circle*) but profile different aspects of that base. They are different semantically because they profile different subparts of the background conception (*circle*). Profile is also essential for categorizing word classes (e.g. verb, noun)¹⁹. It thus can be said that every linguistic expression has a profile as a part of its semantic value. I am suggesting that an aspect marker serves the semantic function of changing the nature of the profile of a process more specifically, the temporal profile (cf. Langacker 1991b, 1999; Taylor 2002). In this section, I focus on how some aspect markers observed in Lahu Shi make a change on the nature of the profile of a process resulting in semantic and grammatical differences.

4.2.1 Perfect aspect in Lahu Shi

According to Comrie (1976: 56-61), there are several types of perfect aspect. The most typical one expresses a state resulting from an earlier event, which is called the ‘perfect of result’²⁰ (i.e., ‘the continuing relevance of a previous situation’). The perfect in Lahu Shi, however, does not focus on the resulting state, but instead focuses on the final stages of an event. Moreover, it does not make any reference to place in time. In Lahu Shi, the aspectual particle *vehor* indicates the perfect of result as exemplified in (7)²¹.

(7) *Ekhadlar yehg lo kawq -aq vehor*

¹⁸ Profile can also be understood as a viewing effect: ‘an expression’s profile is the focus of attention within its immediate scope’ (Langacker 2002: 222).

¹⁹ A noun profiles a region in some domain while a verb profiles an interaction conceived through time. See Langacker 1991 for a thorough discussion of word classes and profiling.

²⁰ The term ‘perfect of result’ may mislead our understanding of Lahu Shi *vehor* in a sense that it should focus only on the **resulting-state**. Bear in mind, however, that the aspect operations grammaticalized in any given language may not line up exactly with this notion. As seen, Lahu Shi *vehor* does not follow exactly with the notion. **Neither do the other Lahu Shi aspects.**

²¹ This analysis is adapted from Taylor (2002: 211-214).

Ekhadlar home LOC come back move towards the speaker PERF

Ekhadlar has come back home.

The verb *kawq* ‘come back’ itself profiles a complex temporal relation. It profiles a process in which a trajector (tr) is initially outside of the landmark (lm). Then the tr moves towards the lm, when it occupies a series of locations in relation to the lm. Finally, it arrives at the lm. *Kawq* here profiles a dynamic event, which involves a change in the relation between trajector and landmark over time, as sketched in Figure 19. Notice that it is the whole series of relations (all five states of the process) that is profiled (not just a portion). This whole series in bold represents the nature of the profile of *kawq* (heavy lines represent profiling)²².

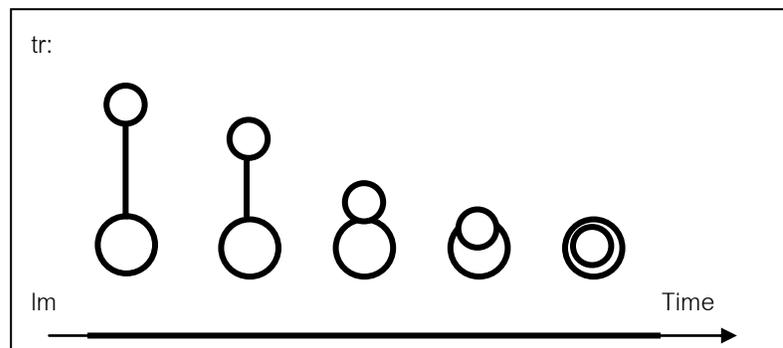


Figure 19. A complex temporal relation *Kawq: Tr comes back lm*



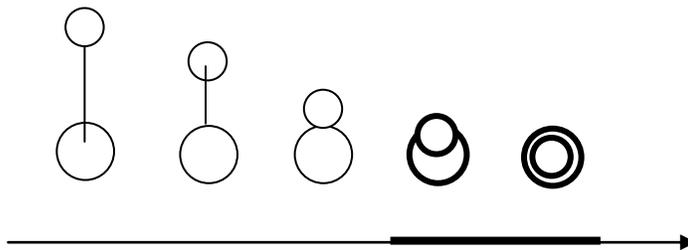


Figure 20. A complex temporal relation

Kawq + vehor: Ekhadlar has come back home.

What the aspect marker *vehor* does is that it restricts the profile to the last few final stages of the trajector's path²³ rather than just the end state. It changes the nature of profiling of the process *kawq*. Notice in Figure 20 that only the last two final stages of the relation along with the last time segment is profiled, as opposed to Figure 19.

Because *vehor* does not profile just the end-result (last state) of the trajector's path, it is perfectly acceptable to say (7), even though Ekhadlar has not reached home yet. That is to say, not only can we say (7), when Ekhadlar is already inside the house, but also when he is in the vicinity of the house (e.g. at the gate).

Take, as another example, the process *cad* 'eat'. In answer to (8),

²² This analysis is adapted from Taylor (2002: 212-214).

²³ Note that the diagram presented here is just an attempt to represent the changing relation which is designated by the particle *vehor*. Thus, it does not exactly represent the actual process of *kawq* 'come back'. Only five states of the process are shown explicitly, but they represent a continuous series (for one reason, it is impossible to depict the complete conception of any given process in a sequence as discrete states). By 'the last two final stages', I do not mean its very literal sense (thus it can be 'the last three' or 'the last four' depending on how detailed a diagram is.) That the last two of the relation is in bold is meant merely to illustrate that it is not only the end point which is profiled, but also a certain portion of its previous state (it is not an attempt to specify the definite profile, by no means).

- (8) *Nadsehnx awr cad vehor la*
Nadsehnx rice eat PERF QM
Has Nadsehnx eaten yet?

A perfectly reasonable reply would be *eh, awr cad vehor* ‘yes, she has eaten’ which can then be followed by a sentence like *She is now eating in the kitchen, She is not finished* or *She is almost finished*. This can be taken as evidence that *vehor* does not impose quite a tight restriction of profiling on the end point because the perfect of result aspect can be used while the action has not quite reached the end state.

It should be emphasized in Figure 20 that although the last two states are in profile, the previous unprofiled movement of the trajector is still a necessary part of the base of the expression. If Ekhadlar had not been away from his house, we could not say that *Ekhadlar yehg lo kawq vehor* ‘Ekhadlar has come back’. What we should say is that he was inside the house. In other words, a situation of Ekhadlar’s having been away from home (this is the necessary base) is essential to the semantic value of (8), but it does not itself constitute that value. The particle *vehor* has the semantic effect of changing the profile of the verb stem; thereby deriving the aspectual meaning of perfect of result. The difference of meaning is a matter of construal, which is analyzed here as a difference in profiling. In Langacker’s terminology, *vehor* is the **profile determinant** (see Section 3.3). That is, the profile of the conceived event (e.g. Ekhadlar’s coming back home) is determined by the profile of the aspect marker.

4.2.2 Completive aspects in Lahu Shi

There are two kinds of completive aspects in Lahu Shi: *peg vehor* and *peor*. Each will be discussed in turn.

The perfect *vehor* can be combined with an aspectual verb *peg* ‘finish’ to express completive aspect which is the completion of an event²⁴. Consider the expression in (9).

- (9) *ngag mednged tawx peg vehor*
I clothes sew COMPLI
I finished sewing the clothes.

Sentence (9) is also a relational profile, which is not in a single tr-lm configuration, but in a series of relations over time as represented in Figure 21.

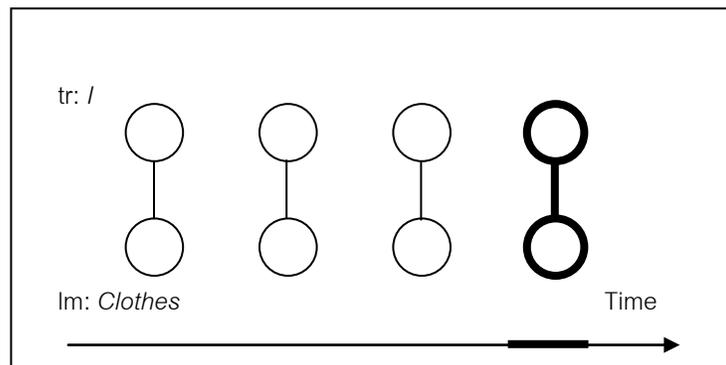


Figure 21. A temporal relation: *I finished sewing the clothes.*

²⁴ According to CG, all linguistic expressions profile something. A verb profiles a process (a temporal relation). Most verbs do not profile a static relation, but a dynamic event (for example *kawq* ‘come back’ in (7)). The profile is complex in that it involves a change in the relation between tr and lm over time. That is, the whole series of relations is profiled (see Figure 19.). The whole profiling is construed as a continuous series. However, there are some verbs that are not profiled in such way due to their inherent aspectual meaning, for example *peg* ‘finish’. It is the end-point of a complex relation of *peg* that is designated.

The combination²⁵ of *peg* and *vehor* imposes a tight restriction of profiling on the end point of the situation, that is the completion of making clothes. In other words, the verb *tawx* ‘sew’ itself profiles the change over time (the whole series of relations is profiled), but the contribution of *peg* ‘finish’ and *vehor* ‘perfect’ to the verb changes its nature of profiling.

In reply to the question in (10),

- (10) *nawg mednged tawx peg vehor la*
you clothes sew COMPL1 QM

Have you made the clothes?

It is quite natural to reply *eh, mednged tawx peg vehor* ‘yes, I have made the clothes’. However, it is strange to answer (10) with ‘I am almost finished’, or ‘I am making clothes’. This answer is perfectly acceptable, though, if (10) has only the perfect *vehor* because *vehor* profiles more than the end result state. This illustrates that the semantic effect of both *peg* and *vehor* is important to the profiling of a given process because each aspect marker adjusts the profile.

The second completive aspect is *peor*, which has semantic value similar to the completive aspect (*peg vehor*) in a sense that it also profiles the end (or the termination) of the situation. Consider the expression in (11).

- (11) *ngag apoq te khoz tawx peor*
I shirt sew COMPL 2

I have made a shirt.

²⁵ Although *peg*, as a grammatical unit, inherently has aspectual meaning it cannot occur by itself. It needs to occur with the aspect marker *vehor*. This shows that *vehor* serves not only the semantic function of changing the nature of the profile of a process, but the function of turning a verb into a finite clause, that is to say, it functions as a grounding element. However, since it is beyond the scope of the paper, to simplify matters, I will ignore the precise contribution of *vehor*, that is its role of grounding, to the process.

Although *peg vehor* and *peor* are both completive aspects, they are by no mean the same. They have different semantic effects. What makes *peor* different from *peg vehor* is the base (the conceptual context of the expression). In (11), *peor* also invokes another activity of making, for example, a dress.

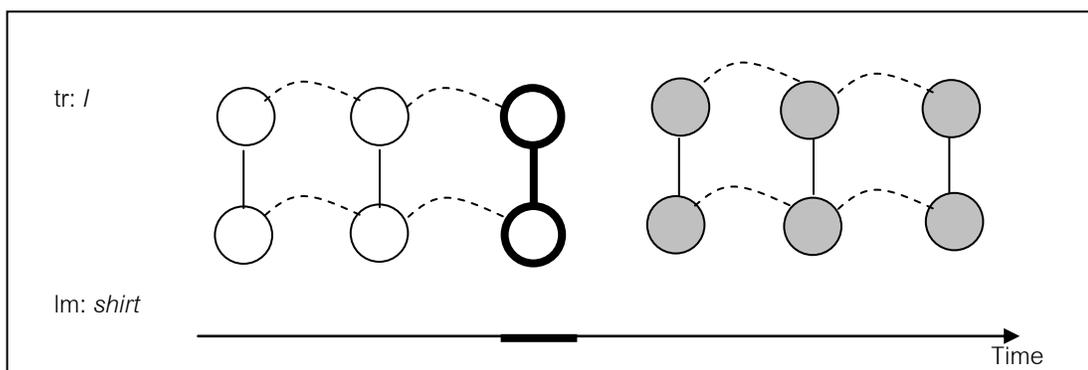


Figure 22. A temporal relation: *I finished making a shirt*.

A series of the two gray circles²⁶ joined by a line represents another activity of ‘making a dress’, which the speaker intends to make. This conceptual context is not invoked by the verb stem (and its participants) itself. It is the semantic effect of *peor* which not only profiles the end stage of the situation (making a shirt) but also invokes the knowledge of the speaker, namely, her intention to make a dress after her finishing making a shirt (in this particular example). Sentence (11) thus implies there is some continuing activity (I finished making a shirt, but I have not made, say, a dress yet). If the speaker had not intended to make any other clothes, there would be no basis for such a use of *peor*.

²⁶A series of two gray circles connected by a line is meant to represent the conceptual base of the process (an afterthought of the process) which is not inherently evoked by the verb itself, but by the speaker’s knowledge. The dashed, curved lines indicate that each successive relation corresponds to the previous.

Take, as another example, the expression in (12).

- (12)a. *Ekhadlar yehg lo kawq -aq* ***peor***
Ekhadlar home LOC come back move towards the speaker **COMPL2**
Ekhadlar came back home (but he is not home/here now).

- b. **Ekhadlar yehg lo kawq -aq*
Ekhadlar home LOC come back move towards the speaker
peg vehor
COMPL1
 **Ekhadlar has come back home.*

- c. *ihedh yehg lo kawq -aq*
they home LOC come back move towards the speaker
peg vehor
COMPL1
They have come back home.

Sentence (12) a implies that now *Ekhadlar* is not home (he came back home and then he went out). In other words, not only does *peor* profile the end-state of the process (arriving home), it also evokes the afterthought of the process (going out/not being here) which is a part of the base of the expression. However, there is no such implication in (12) c, which only highlights the end state of arriving home. Notice that (12) b is ungrammatical due to conceptual incompatibility between the participant *Ekhadlar* and *peg vehor*. This suggestion will be further discussed towards the end of this section.

From the examples in (12), it can be said that both *peor* and *peg vehor* have a completive profile. What distinguishes between the two is that *peor* has a semantic

The entire farming domain²⁷ is part of the knowledge used to interpret the use of *peor*. This domain the linguistic expression (*ha sehr ni te*) evokes, however, is necessary to its meaning but it is not sufficient. The semantic value of (13) a has to involve the way the speaker perceives the scene. It is the grammatical element *peor* that embodies conventional imagery, which constitutes an important part of its semantic value. In choosing *peor*, the speaker construes the situation in a certain way. The meaning of (13) a thus includes both the knowledge system it evokes and the particular construal the speaker imposes on the scene.

Sentence (13) b, however, is unacceptable. I claim that it is because of the collective profile of *peg vehor*. That is, the contribution of *peg vehor* to *ha sehr ni te* ‘working in fields for three days’ creates semantic conflict. The expression *ha sehr ni te* invokes one activity of the whole event, and it implies that **there are certain succeeding activities to do**. *Peg vehor*, on the other hand, has the semantic value of collective profile. That is, it designates the whole event, which expresses the completion of the event or **there is no succeeding activity to do**. Consequently, Sentence (13) b is not communicable. It only says that the participant spends three days to work in fields, but it does not tell whether farming is finished or whether there is more work that needs to be done. This illustrates that the difference in semantic value between *peg vehor* and *peor* shows up grammatically.

The remainder of this section focuses on the collective profile of *peg vehor* – the second semantic effect (of *peg vehor*) which makes the two completives different from each other. Compare the two expressions in (14).

(14) a. *ngag nazchuhd dawg peor*

²⁷ The notion of domain (See section 3.2.1.2) is quite similar to Lakoff’s Idealized Cognitive Models (1987).

I medicine drink COMPL2

I have taken the medicine.

b. *ngag nazchuhd dawg peg vehor*

I medicine drink COMPL1

I have taken the medicine.

Example (14) a expresses the situation in which the speaker has finished taking his dose but there is more left in the course of medication. Example (14) b, in contrast, says that he has finished taking the entire course of medicine (there is no medicine left).

The evidence in (14) shows that *peg vehor* expresses not only the completion of a process (verb), but also the completion of a thing (noun). *Peg vehor*, on the other hand, not only restricts the profile to the end-state of a situation, but also lends its ‘**collective**’ profile to a noun, causing it to be construed as a ‘**bounded plural mass**’ of a thing type²⁸. Before going further, the import of this statement should be defined first.

Plural mass a plural mass is a noun whose amount of an entity type does not have a definite number. The number is plural but left open.

Bounded plural mass when a plural mass is bounded, the amount of an entity type is construed as a whole.

I am claiming that there is a semantic extension of the collective profile from a process (a verb) to a thing (a noun). In considering these notions it will be useful to pay separate attention to the semantic aspects of nouns in Lahu Shi.

²⁸ See the discussion of **type** and **instance** in Section 3.3.1

Like Lahu Na (Manson 1995: 7), Lahu Shi does not make the distinction between count nouns and mass nouns and between singular and plural. That is, a simple noun²⁹ designates an entity type which is inherently unspecified for both the count-mass and number distinctions. Nouns, in Lahu Shi, distribute rather like mass nouns in English, as in (15). In order to quantify a noun, it is necessary to do so by means of a numeral classifier, as in (16).

(15) *ngag phid cawg che yaog*

I dog have Pt Pt

I have a dog/dogs

(16) *Ix mag geh daq jad che phid teq kheh*

3rd Dual COM good very Pt dog one CLF: animal

cawg che yaog

have Pt Pt

They have a very good dog.

Whether it is a count or mass noun or whether the meaning is singular or plural is understood from the other words accompanying the noun (as in 16) or can be inferred from context, (as in 15). However, it should be noted here that there are some words that have plural or singular meaning inherently (e.g. plural and singular pronouns).

The present focus is on the situation described in (14) b in which the quantity of medicine is irrelevant and it does not need to be indicated. The problem is where the concept of a ‘**bounded plural mass**’ in (14) b (a course of medicine) comes from. This semantic content, I claim, cannot be inferred from context. It is *peg vehor* that is

²⁹ The analysis of Lahu Shi nouns is not in the scope of this paper. The discussion of nouns is meant only to explain the conceptual property of *peg vehor*.

capable of deriving the concept, causing a noun (a thing type) to be profiled collectively and construed as a bounded plural mass. This is depicted in Figure 23.

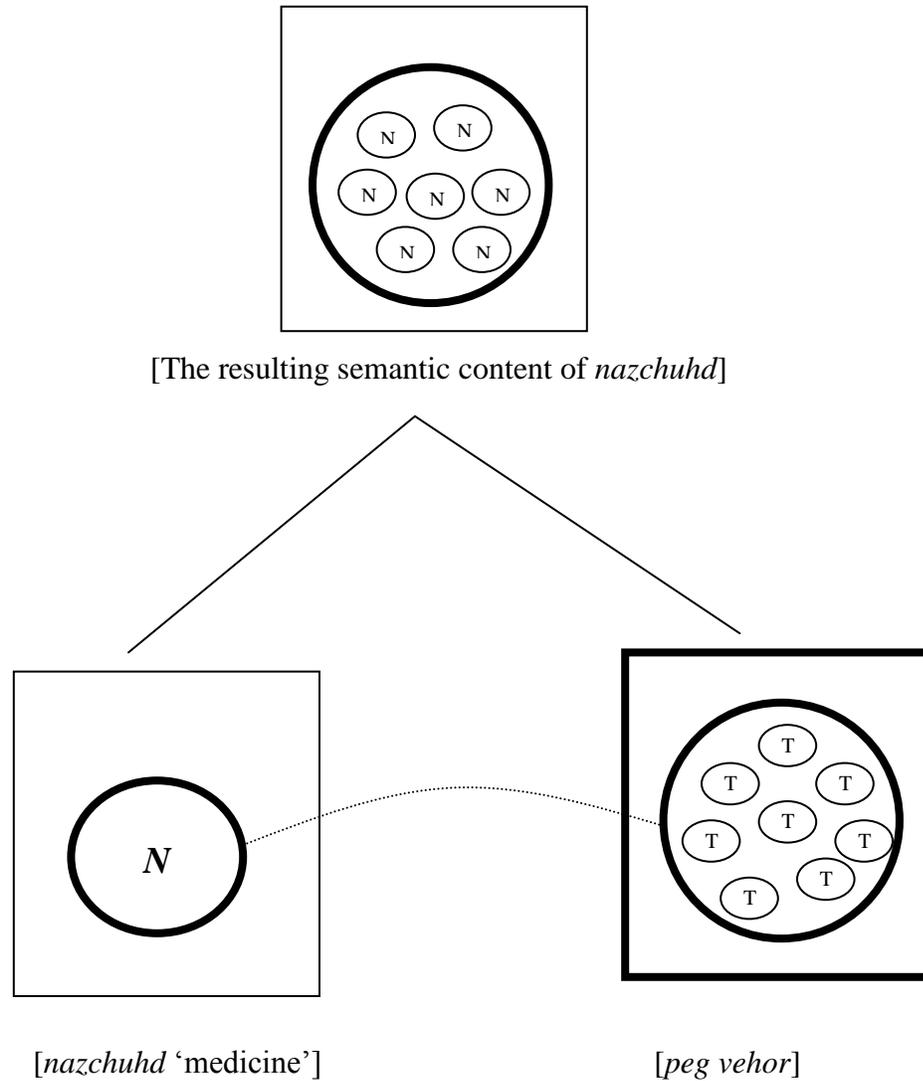


Figure 23. Semantic effect of the completive *peg vehor*

In Figure 23 *nazchuhd* profiles an entity of the type 'medicine' (represented by the circle labeled 'N'). *Peg vehor* profiles a set of an unspecified plural number of entities, all of the same type, but the identity of which is not specified (a number of

entities are represented by circles labeled ‘T’. Notice that only the big circle is profiled. That is, attention is focused to the amount of a thing type as a whole. *Peg vehor* is the profile determinant (see Section 3.3), in that the resulting semantic content of *nazchuhd* inherits the collective profile and thereby is construed as a bounded plural mass. Therefore it can be said that in (14) b the resulting effects of *peg vehor* are that the end-point of taking medicine activity is designated, and that the medicine is profiled collectively causing it to be construed as a course of medicine not an individual dose. That *peg vehor* is able to lend its collective profile to a noun is also evidenced from the omission of the main verb, as exemplified in (17) (See Appendix 2 A for more examples of *peor* and *peg vehor*).

- (17) *nazchuhd* ***peg vehor***
medicine **COMPLI**
(All) medicine is finished.

Notice that omitting the main verb does not result in an ungrammatical sentence. In uttering (17), the speaker does not emphasize the completion of the process, but instead that the noun ‘medicine’ is finished (i.e., the speaker does not say how, though). The fact that the completion of medicine is still conveyed in (17) even though the main verb is omitted should support my claim that there is a semantic extension of the collective profile from a process (a verb) to a thing (a noun). This difference in grammatical behavior between *peor* and *peg vehor*, I claim, is based on their distinct profiles and semantic values. Observe the expressions in (18).

- (18) a. **yawd* *yehg lo kawq -aq* ***peg vehor***
 3rd person home LOC return motion towards the speaker **COMPLI**
 He has returned home (but he is not here now).

- b. **imad* *yehg lo kawq -aq* ***peg vehor***

They: dual home LOC return motion towards the speaker COMPLI

The two of them have returned home (but they are not here now).

c. *ihedh yehg lo kawq -aq* *peg vehor*

they home LOC return motion towards the speaker COMPLI

They have returned home (but they are not here now).

Although the three sentences express the very same process (returning home), Only Sentence (18) c is grammatical. To explain this one needs to look at the distinction between *yawd*, *imad*, and *ihedh*.³⁰

There are some words that are singular or plural inherently (they are not unspecified or ‘neutral’ in nature like *nazchuhd* ‘medicine’, exemplified above). The pronoun *yawd* ‘he’ in (18) a has the concept of singularity in nature. That is, it is the specified number (one person) which is evoked from the expression itself, whereas *nazchuhd* is inherently unspecified. However, *peg vehor* has the conceptual property of collective profile and the construal of a bounded plural mass. Therefore, the reason (18) a is ungrammatical is that the coexistence of *peg vehor* with *yawd* is conceptually incompatible. It is conceptually impossible to collectively profile *yawd* which inherently specifies a singular person. Regarding *imad* it is also conceptually incompatible with *peg vehor*. This conceptual clash is due to a linguistic pattern of Lahu Shi. That is, Lahu Shi has dual number *imad* for referring to just two of something and also has plural number *ihedh* for referring to more than two.

This means that the conception of plurality in Lahu Shi excludes dual number. Since *imad* has **dual** number (which conceptually does not evoke the

³⁰ It should be noted here that although *Ihedh yehg lo kawaq peg vehor* in (18 c) is acceptable, it is more common to say *Ihedh yehg lo kawaq vehor*. That is because it is more preferable to use *peg vehor* with animals or inanimate objects.

conceptualization of a collective group) but *peg vehor* has the property of collective profile and the construal of a bounded **plural** mass, their coexistence thus causes a conceptual clash. *Ihehd*, on the other hand, has the concept of plurality in nature which is conceptually compatible with *peg vehor*. *Ihehd* is thus able to receive the collective profile causing it to be construed as a bounded plural mass (a group of people). The example (18) above is evidence that the concept of a bounded plural mass is not inferred from context but from *peg vehor*. It also illustrates the valence³¹ of *peg vehor* is in part motivated by its semantic structure. That is, *peg vehor* cannot occur with any pronoun, it has to occur with a plural pronoun. In other words, which pronoun can be used and which cannot is determined by the semantic structure of *peg vehor*.

Returning to example (12) a. above, it is ungrammatical because *Ekhadlar* is a proper name. This has an inherent value of one particular person. Like *yawd*, *Ekhadlar* has the concept of singularity in nature and it is thus conceptually conflicting with *peg vehor*.

The completives *peg vehor* and *peor* can thus be defined as the end of a set of activities and the end of a subset of a set of activities, respectively.

4.2.3 Progressive aspects in Lahu Shi

In Section 4.2.1-4.2.2, I illustrated the aspectual elements which are expressed analytically, and whose meanings are crucially dependent on construal and essential for their grammatical properties. In this section, I show that some aspectual elements in Lahu Shi are grammaticalized (i.e., a lexical content word becomes a grammatical word). It is found that the progressive aspect construction in Lahu Shi derives

³¹ A linguistic unit's valence is its disposition to combine with other units (Taylor 2002: 266).

historically from two lexical elements, namely, *chehd* ‘stay’ and *tod* ‘walk’. Each will be discussed in turn.

4.2.3.1 The progressive aspect ‘*chehd*’³²

The main burden of this section is to show how the concept of progressive is derived from *chehd*.

Consider the following uses of *chehd*.

(19) a. *yaqni ngag yehg huh chehd che yaog*
today I house LOC stay Pt Pt
I stay at home today.

b. *Ehrkhad awr cad chehd lar*
Ehrkhad rice eat PROGI Pt
(I saw) Ehrkhad eating rice.

In (19) a, *chehd* is the content verb of the sentence (i.e. main verb) meaning approximately the same thing as English ‘stay’. It would be no dispute to say that (19) a is a prototypical use of *chehd*. Sentence (19) b, however, does not seem to be anything like (19) a. Although *chehd* in (19) b is basically a **location** verb³³, no actual location is involved in it. It is another use of *chehd* (progressive marking) which involves some kind of semantic attenuation. The problem is to give an account for this phenomenon.

³² According to Matisoff (1982: 240), In Lahu Na when *cheh^* ‘stay’ occurs after the main verb of the sentence, it serves as a *V_{VAR}* (a variable post-head versatile verb). That is, ‘when it combines with the main verb, it entails a new semantic interpretation that then is different in a predictable way’. *V_{VAR}* is a verb which occurs after the head verb and has an aspectual meaning. (Note that *cheh^* is Lahu Na not Lahu Shi).

³³ The source of the notion ‘location verb’ is from *The Evolution of grammar* (Bybee, et al 1994). It refers to locative source of progressive aspect (for example, ‘sit’ is a locative source of progressive in Alyawarra, ‘stand’ in Dakota, ‘stop’ in Tok Pisin) (1994: 128). Locative source is one of several lexical sources of progressive in languages of the world.

My attempt here is to go beyond a mere description of the linguistic phenomenon, and analyze it in light of what is known about the mind. Following Langacker's analysis of *go* (1991b: 330-333), I suggest that the distinctive use of *chehd* does not derive from metaphorical extension of a basic location sense (i.e., a spatial notion is being mapped on to a temporal notion (cf. Lakoff and Johnson: 1980³⁴), but from the abstract conceptual structure of 'continuation' of *chehd*.

In elucidating this remark, the conceptualization of spatial location of *chehd* should be taken into consideration first. Intuitively, at successive points in time (e.g. 10 a.m., 11 a.m.... 6 p.m. and so on) the participant in (19) a occupies the same spatial location (*house*). The participant is at the same location over time. There is the **continuation** of remaining in the same location. From this abstract conceptual structure of spatial domain, one is able to recognize the commonality between continuation of being in the same location and continuation of doing the same activity. That is, in (19) b instead of Ehrkhad's 'continuing' being at the same place, he continues doing the activity of eating. This is possible because of our ability to conceptualize an entity in differing degrees of detail (schematic vs. elaborated)³⁵, which includes *chehd*. We can conceptually eliminate the particulars associated with *chehd*, and conceptualize only its abstract and schematic notion of continuation (see the discussion of schema in Section 3.4). Since *chehd* can be conceptualized schematically (not specifically), it thus can be instantiated not only in the domain of

³⁴ The essence of metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5). They claim that the major function of metaphor is to understand difficult, complex, abstract, or a less clearly delineated concept in terms of more concrete concepts. For example, *That flat tire cost me an hour*, we are able to understand this statement by trying to understand the concept TIME in terms of the concept MONEY which is a more concrete and clearly delineated concept. The concept we try to understand (TIME) is called the 'target domain', and the concept used for this purpose (MONEY) is called the 'source domain'. Our ability to conceive one thing in terms of another makes a language creative. In order to do this, target and source domain must not share major characteristics, but they must share some. Those minor characteristics do not have to match exactly but they have to be sufficiently similar, which leads to semantic motivation that allows us to interpret or create a new concept.

³⁵ An entity can be construed differently according to the degree of specificity. For example, the same entity might be described by any of the following: *creature, animal, mammal, dog, poodle*.

space but in the domain of time as well, which enables us to recognize the commonality between ‘spatial continuation’ in (19) a and ‘temporal continuation’ in (19) b. This is why the progressive sense of *chehd* derives, not from metaphorical extension, but from the abstract characterization of continuation.

4.2.3.2 The progressive aspect ‘*tod*’³⁶

In this section, I introduce another progressive, namely *tod*. Then I show the similarities and differences between the two progressives *tod* and *chehd*.

Consider the uses of *tod*.

(20) a. *ngag tod gheh jad che yaog*

I walk fast very Pt Pt

I walk very fast.

b. *Ehrsax cixsir cad tod lar*

Ehrsax fruit eat PROG2 Pt

(I saw) Ehrsax eating (and moving from one place to another at the same time).

As with *chehd*, in (20) a, *tod* is the content verb of the main sentence which can be glossed as ‘walk’ in English. It is a prototypical use of *tod*. Sentence (20) b, however, is an example of another use of *tod* to express progressive aspect. Although *tod* in (20) b is basically a motion verb, no walking/transportory is involved in it.

In (20) b, at successive points in time, Ehrsax occupies different spatial locations. In order to move from one (spatial) location to another, he needs to

³⁶ According to Matisoff (1982: 228), In Lahu Na when *to*^ ‘walk’ occurs after the main verb of the sentence, it serves as a V_V (post-head versatile verb). V_V is a verb which is juxtaposed after the head verb.

continue moving his feet. As with *chehd*, one can also recognize the commonality between continuation of movement and continuation of time. Because *tod* is conceptualized schematically, it thus can be instantiated in both spatial and temporal domains. It is this schematic notion that captures what is common between the lexical form in (20) a and the grammaticalized form in (20) b.

The idea that both *tod* and *chehd* are used to express progressive might seem counterintuitive. This reaction is probably based on the assumption that *tod* and *chehd* have different conceptions (e.g. motion verb vs. location verb). As a matter of fact, this is perfectly reasonable. Although, they are different activities, at the schematic level they share the same conceptual schema (i.e. the concept of continuation). This notion is depicted in Figure 24.

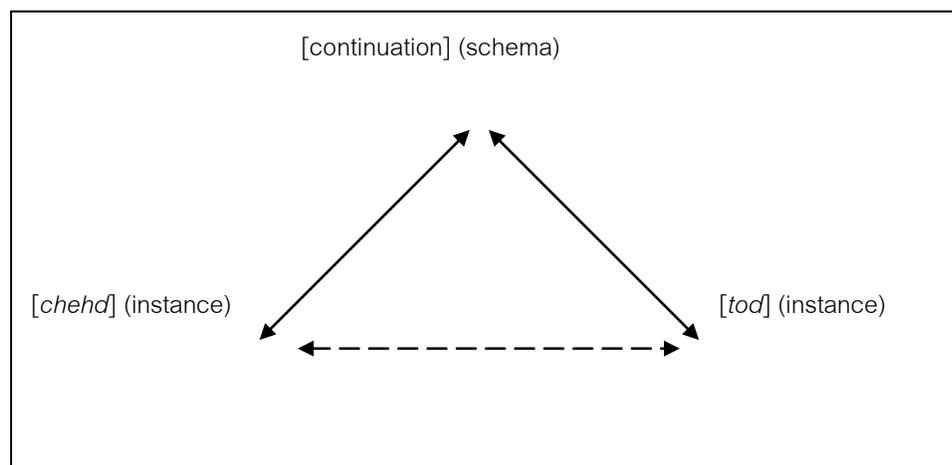


Figure 24. A schematic representation of the relation between a schema and its instances (Adapted from Taylor 2002: 125)

Figure 24 illustrates the schema-instance relation in which there are two instances (*chehd* and *tod*)³⁷ of the schema (continuation). *Chehd* and *tod* are related

³⁷ Note that *tod* and *chehd* discussed here are the grammaticalized forms.

by similarity of a concept of continuation. The schema encapsulates the way in which *chehd* and *tod* are perceived to be similar; consequently they both are progressive aspects.

The shared semantic effect (continuation) of *chehd* and *tod* can be depicted in Figure 25.

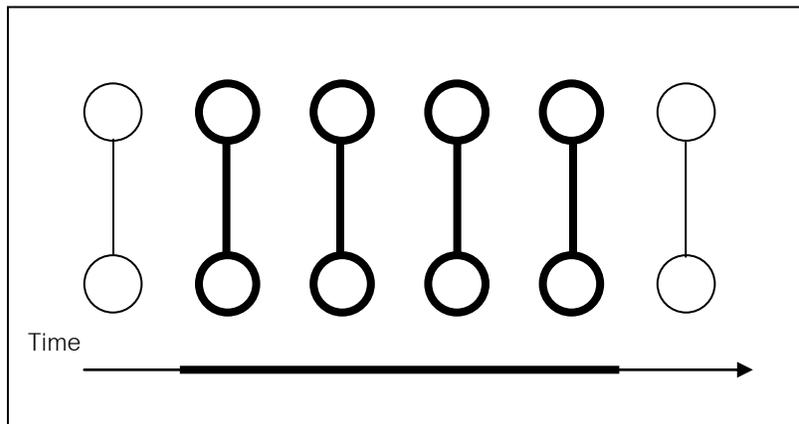


Figure 25. A schematic representation of the progressive aspects:
tod and *chehd*

The two progressive aspects derive an ongoing process by restricting the profiled relationship to an internal portion of the overall event. In Figure 25 the beginning and end-point of the process are not profiled. They are part of the base of the process. Without the onset and offset of the designated process conceived as the base there would be no basis for conceptualizing the continuation over time.

However, the two are by no means the same. They flesh out the schema in contrasting ways. As a result, although they both are progressive aspects, they have

different semantic effects on the same process. I turn now to the difference between *chehd* and *tod* and that their difference is due to the fact that they are derived from the two distinct lexical sources, and that they are not semantically void at the grammatical level.

With respect to *chehd*, the semantic content idea of remaining in the same location is not completely lacking in its grammatical use. Consider the expression in (21).

- (21) *Ehrkhad* *cex* ***chehd*** *lar*
Ehrkhad *run* ***PROG1*** *Pt*
(I saw) Ehrkhad running.

The sentence in (21) only invokes the conception of Ehrkhad's running, not a specific length of distance that he ran.

Now compare (21) with the expression in (22).

- (22) *Ehrdawx* *cex* ***tod*** *lar*
Ehrdawx *run* ***PROG2*** *Pt*
(I saw) Ehrdawx running (in distance).

The semantic value of *tod* is also in a continuation of process (i.e., causing the process to be construed as an ongoing activity). However, it is the semantic idea of motion that still remains in (22). The consequence is that (22) implies a long distance of Ehrdawx's running (i.e., extensive running), while there is no such implication in (21).

This illustrates that the two progressives convey much more than simple aspectual meaning. What they convey seems to be directly derivable from their

lexical sources (location and motion), which causes them to be distinct semantically and functionally from one another. These semantic effects show up grammatically.

As mentioned, the semantic notion of location in the progressive *chehd* is not completely lacking. A semantic effect of this idea is to highlight the location of the event. I will refer to this semantic effect of *chehd* as ‘**locational restrictedness**’. That is, it causes a process to be construed as restricted or situated within a particular (spatial) location. For example, the activity in (19) b *Ehrkhad cad chehd lar* ‘(I saw) Ehrkhad eating’ implies that at successive points in time the eating activity proceeds through time but at the same spatial location. Although the location is not expressed explicitly, the implication of the process being restricted locationally is very important for the distinction between the two progressives. That is, *chehd* emphasizes the location of a situation, whereas, there is no such implication conveyed in *tod*.

It should be noted that in order to use *chehd* it does not mean that the participant must strictly eat on the spot – not moving forward or around the area. That is to say, *chehd* can be used, even though the participant eats and moves around in the area, as long as the participant does not move from one spatial location to another.

The semantic effect of *tod*, in contrast, is ‘**locational unrestrictedness**’. It does not make reference to any location. The idea of the activity performed at the same place is not inherent to *tod* since the semantic notion of motion is not completely lost. A process is thus construed as the activity in motion. For example, the sentence in (20) b *Ehrkhad cad tod lar* ‘(I saw) Ehrkhad eating (and moving from one place to another at the same time)’. Ehrkhad does not remain at the same (spatial) place while he is eating. Rather, he is eating and physically moving (from one spatial place to another) simultaneously. It can be said that the function of *tod* is to lend the concept of motion to the process, causing it to change its internal shape. What *tod* emphasizes is thus the moving process (i.e. moving from one place to another). This

illustrates that the semantic effect of *tod* is not opposite to that of *chehd*. As a result, ‘locational unrestrictedness’ does not truly convey the semantic effect of *tod*. A better term to convey the conception of moving from one spatial location to another, I suggest, is a ‘**locational shift**’. What it does is it imposes a specific image of a trajector moving from one location to another on the conceptual content of the process/situation.

The distinct functions between *chehd* and *tod*, that is, spatial boundedness and spatial unboundedness/spatial shift can be depicted in Figure 26.

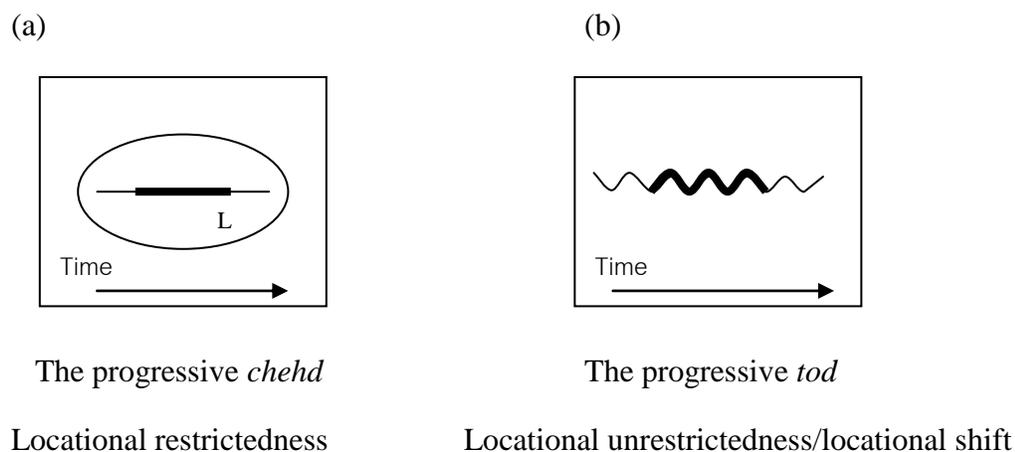


Figure 26. The semantic effects of the progressives *chehd* and *tod*

The progressives *chehd* and *tod* are represented abstractly in Figure 26, where heavy lines represent the continuation over time. The oval labeled ‘L’ in Figure 26a stands for the location. That is to say, *chehd* locates the designated process in a particular spatial location. *Tod*, in contrast, is spatially unbounded. It lends the idea of motion of the designated process from one spatial location to another. The idea of motion, together with spatial shift, is represented by the wavy line, sketched in Figure 26b.

It should be noted that although *tod* would seem to be conceptually incompatible with ‘still’ processes (events in which it is impossible to be performed and in motion simultaneously, for example, *yuhq* ‘sleep’ ??*Ehrkhad yuhq tod aq* ‘Ehrkhad is sleeping in motion’). However, there are certain situations that the co-occurrence between, say, *yuhq* ‘sleep’ and *tod* is perfectly acceptable. That is when the participant (*Ehrkhad*) is sleeping in a moving vehicle (or on a moving animal (e.g. elephant, horse) If, however, a vehicle does not move, *tod* cannot be used). This shows that *tod* does not place a restriction on the motion made by the participant (walking, running). As long as the participant is not at the same place (although it is a vehicle that carries him from one place to another), *tod* can co-occur with ‘still’ verbs (See Appendix B).

The examples of *tod* discussed so far only illustrate situations in which *tod* causes a process to be construed as the activity in motion, i.e., the participant performs the activity and moves from one place to another simultaneously. It should be emphasized that ‘**simultaneity**’ is not the main issue of *tod*. It is also possible to have situations in which the participant moves from one place to another before performing the activity – the motion and the activity are in **sequence**, as shown in (23)

(23) *ngag awr te tod che awg*

I rice do PROG2 Pt Pt

I am moving (to another location) to cook rice.

In uttering (23), it does not mean that the participant is cooking and moving from one place to another at the same time (this is strange). Rather, it means that the participant moves from one spatial location to another in order to cook rice. As a result, functionally this expression is acceptable only when the participant does not cook rice at his own place. The ‘situation’ restriction is due to the semantic effect of

tod – locational shift. That is to say, ‘cooking rice at one’s own place’ lacks the concept of locational shift; consequently, this usage event is incompatible with *tod*. This shows that the resulting effect of *tod* (whether it derives simultaneous reading or sequential reading) depends on types of activities. Moreover, its linguistic use (whether or not it is functionally acceptable) depends on usage events. In this particular example, the context that needs to be considered is where the participant cooked rice.

Another linguistic facet that makes *tod* distinct from *chehd* is its expandability; that is, a process designated by *tod* is not instantiated at the moment of speaking. However, *tod* is still considered progressive since it profiles the continuation over time, though that of the general picture of the situation. An example will clarify this remark.

Situation: In the morning Ehrkhadpanx went to catch fish at his pond. On his way, Ehrkhadpanx met a friend. His friend asked ‘what are you doing here?’ Ehrkhadpanx answered (24).

(24)a. *ngag ngad ber tod che yaog*

I fish hook PROG2 Pt Pt

I am moving (to another location) to catch fish.

b. ? *ngag ngad ber chehd che yaog*

I fish hook PROG1 Pt Pt

I am catching fish.

When he reached the fishpond, he met another friend. His friend asked him what he was doing there. In reply to this question, he also said (24) a.

After fishing for a few hours, he had a lunch break. While he was eating, his friend walked past and asked him what he was doing there. Again, the perfectly reasonable answer is (24) a.

In reply to his friends' question, Ehrkhadpanx does not answer what he is doing at the moment the question is asked (going to the fishpond, arriving at the fishpond, or taking a break). Instead, he tells his friend about his moving (from one place to another) to do the fishing activity. The question is why the progressive *tod* can function in this manner but not *chehd*.

My suggestion is that *tod* with its concept of continuation over time is more expandable than *chehd*. To assert (24) a, the speaker does not state that he is doing the activity at the moment of speaking but that this activity began in the past, continues at the present, and will be (presumably) carried on in the future (i.e. his moving from home to the pond to do fishing). In other words, *tod* causes the designated situation to be construed as expandable. *Tod* is not fully instantiated at the moment of speaking (a 'true' present time). Consequently, any portion of the situation (e.g. going to the fishpond, arriving at the fishpond, or taking a break) will count as a valid instance. It can be said that the contribution of *tod* causes a process to be construed as a sequence, it profiles the continuation over time of the general picture of the situation and not the continuation of the situation at the moment of speaking.

The progressive *chehd*, on the other hand, is fully instantiated at the moment of speaking (i.e., it cannot hold over a period of time). The consequence is that the expression in (24) b is considered unacceptable in the three circumstances exemplified above. In fact, it is used when the fishing activity is performed at the moment the question is asked, as shown in (25).

(25) *ngag ngad ber chehd che yaog*
I fish hook PROGI Pt Pt

I am catching fish.

The examples discussed so far illustrate the different semantic effects of *chehd* and *tod* which are used to describe different conceived situations. In the following discussion *chehd* and *tod* describe the same situation.

Situation 1: There are three people, Naleh, her friend, and another person. Naleh left home to go to the market. Later, her friend stopped by and asked another person where Naleh was. In reply to the question, it is acceptable for the other person (who knew Naleh was going to the market) to say either (26) a or (26) b.

(26) a. *Naleh kax lo veh **chehd** lar*

*Naleh market LOC go **PROG1** Pt*

(I saw) Naleh is going to be at the market.

b. *Naleh kax lo veh **tod** lar*

*Naleh market LOC go **PROG2** Pt.*

(I saw) Naleh is going to the market.

The two sentences can be employed to describe precisely the same objective situation. However, this same scene can be construed by means of alternative images. In (26) a, the goal/location of the situation (market) is profiled owing to the semantic effect of ‘locational restrictedness’. The market in (26) b, on the contrary, is merely a part of a two-participant process. Since *veh* itself is a motion verb, it is not construed the same way as are non-motion verbs. The concept of motion thus is not at issue. That is to say, the overall effect of *tod* is to profile the ongoing process.

Situation 2: On the way to the market. If Naleh was met on the way to the market, the most common answer which the speaker would give to the question ‘where is Naleh?’ or ‘Have you seen Naleh?’ is (26)b.

This example illustrates our ability to mentally construe a situation in alternative ways. The very wording that a speaker chooses in order to linguistically encode a situation is based on the way in which the situation is mentally construed. However, it is not necessary that the alternative conceptualizations describing the same scene are **entrenched**³⁸ and conventionalized equally. In contrast to Situation 1, although Situation 2 can be construed in alternative ways, (26) b. is most commonly thought of³⁹ – it is more entrenched and conventionalized. The higher frequency of use of (26) b, I suggest, is motivated by the prototypical image of the scene (the facet of the scene – Naleh was going to the market – is rendered more salient than others) which is symbolized by *tod* in (26) b.

This shows that even though we have the capacity to conceptualize the same situation in alternative ways, the different images do not have equal status in every situation.

4.2.4 Habitual aspect in Lahu Shi

In Section 4.2.3, I discussed the progressives *chehd* and *tod*. In this section, I show that the two progressives can derive habitual meaning.

Progressive refers to only one specific instance of the process, as occurring at the same time as the time of speaking. In order to obtain the habitual reading, the progressive (*chehd* or *tod*) has to co-occur with an adverb(s) of time. The contribution of the progressive in interaction with the adverb habitualizes the process and causes it to be construed as the normal practice during the time given by the adverb. The

³⁸ When an expression is repeatedly used, it becomes more ‘entrenched’ or ‘automated’ and is employed by a speaker without attention to their internal structure (Langacker 1987: 59)

³⁹ For example, in English the two sentences (*The book is on the table* and *The table is supporting the book*) could be used to describe the same objective scene although they embody different images and thus are semantically different. However, it is the former that is used more commonly.

concept of continuation over time of *tod* and *chehd* is also expandable⁴⁰. Compare the two expressions in (27).

(27) a. *ngag nazchuhd dawg chehd che awg*
I medicine drink PROGI Pt Pt
I am taking medicine.

b. *ngag nazchuhd dawg don chehd che awg*
I medicine drink ADV: freq PROGI Pt Pt
I take medicine.

Sentence (27) a implies that the participant is taking medicine at the moment of utterance. There is no such implication in (27) b. Sentence (27) b, in contrast, implies the normal practice of the speaker – that is he takes medicine regularly. The example suggests that *don* lends its temporal expandability to the situation, causing ‘the progressive’ to be able to expand from the strict interpretations (the precise moment of speaking) so as to incorporate larger periods of time which include the present. In addition, only one specific instance designated by the progressive is construed as the successive occurrence of several instances.

However, as mentioned in Section 4.2.3, the progressive *chehd* does not have only the semantic effect of continuation over time, but also the effect of locational restrictedness. That is, in uttering (27) b, the speaker implies that his normal practice of taking medicine is performed in a particular place (e.g. home). Compare this effect of *chehd* with the locational shift effect of *tod* in (28).

(28) *ngag nazchuhd dawg don tod che awg*

⁴⁰ It should be noted here that expandability of *tod* habitual aspect is different from that that of *tod* progressive.

Tod habitual conveys ‘normal practice’, while *tod* progressive conveys ‘the general picture of a given specific event’ (see Example 24).

I medicine drink ADV: freq PROG2 Pt Pt

I take medicine.

Sentence (28) also expresses the normal practice of taking medicine. However, owing to the locational shift effect of *tod*, the practice is performed in different places (e.g. the participant always takes medicine with him wherever he goes).

Take, the expressions in (29), as another example.

(29) a. *cigni khawq ngag bawqsir thez don chehd che awg*

this year I football kick ADV: freq PROG1 Pt Pt

This year I play football.

b. *cigni khawq ngag bawqsir thez don tod che awg*

this year I football kick ADV: freq PROG2 Pt Pt

This year I play football.

Both expressions in (29) express the habit of playing football in one year. However, in (29) b it implies that this event is not performed at his hometown or country. That is, he goes to play football in a different place for one year. There is no such implication in (29) a. The footballer does not move away to play football (he may play football in different provinces but he always goes back home). These examples show that the semantic effects of *chehd* and *tod* (locational restrictedness and locational shift) are very evident.

4.3 Conclusion of construal in Lahu Shi aspect

There are few linguists who have not tried to explain the notion of aspect in regard to ‘viewing’. Recall that the traditional definition of aspect is a grammatical category which deals with how the event is viewed, such as whether it is progressive,

perfective, completive. The importance of viewing to understanding of the notion of aspect is undeniable.

The analysis presented here illustrates that aspect does involve viewing but not in a mere literal sense. Viewing effects or ‘profiling’ in CG extend beyond perception to conception. It shows that profiling is involved in Lahu Shi aspect. In other words, the wording we choose to linguistically encode a situation hinges on the way in which the situation is mentally construed.

This analysis shows that the notion of profile, one aspect of construal, is crucial to the analysis of both semantic and grammatical meaning. All linguistic expressions profile some aspect of a predication (e.g. a verb profiles a process). This includes grammatical words like aspect markers. The contribution of aspect to a verb in CG has an influence on the nature of its profile (causing it to change its internal shape). Its presence thus is crucial to the overall meaning of the sentence. Moreover, the inherent meaningfulness of aspect markers influences their use in syntactic contexts. In other words, their distinct grammatical behaviors are motivated by their different inherent profiles and semantic properties.

CHAPTER 5

EVIDENTIALITY AND GROUNDING

5.0 Introduction

I start this chapter with a discussion of evidentiality as an obligatory grammatical category in Lahu Shi (Section 5.1). Then, in Section 5.2, I suggest that the evidentiality system can be considered grounding from a CG view. The complete discussion of the Lahu Shi evidentiality system, together with the grounding system, however, is outside the limit of this paper.

5.1 Evidentiality and grounding component.

According to Aikhenvald (n.d.), **evidentiality** is ‘an obligatory grammatical category which has “source” of information as its primary meaning’. An example of this is whether the speaker personally saw the situation himself, or was told about it.

It is found that evidentials in Lahu Shi are organized under two main sources of knowledge, **first-hand** and **reported observations**. Each will be discussed in turn.

5.1.1 First-hand observation

By first hand observation, it means that the situation is witnessed by the speaker himself (Payne 1997: 70, 250ff). Lahu Shi has the distinction between visual and non-visual⁴¹ terms, namely, *lar* and *paz* respectively. Consider the expressions in (30).

(30)a *Naleh awr cad chehd lar*

⁴¹ The visual evidential refers to information acquired through seeing. The non-visual evidential implies sensory perception other than seeing (hearing, smell, taste, and touch). See more examples of Lahu Shi non-visual evidentials in Appendix C.

Naleh rice eat PROG1 Pe

(I saw) Naleh eating.

b. *Naleh awr cad chehd paz*

Naleh rice eat PROG1 Pe

(I heard) Naleh eating.

The situation ‘Naleh eating’ can be described in two ways depending on how the speaker has learned this information. (30) a will be used if the speaker personally saw this happen. If the speaker just heard a noise of eating, (30) b would be used. Omitting an evidential results in an ungrammatical sentence.

5.1.2 Reported (or ‘hearsay’) information

Another type of evidential marker in Lahu Shi is the reported particle *ced*,

(31) *Ehrdawx yehq lo lag aq ced*

Ehrdawx home LOC come move towards the speaker Pe

Ehrdawx came home, someone said.

The information in (31) obtained through repetition of information related by someone else. That is, the speaker did not personally see Ehardawx come towards home but was told about his coming by someone else.

In uttering (31), the speaker does not claim to be sure of anything since he did not experience the situation himself. This is a way of distancing himself from the responsibility of the accuracy of the information.

5.2 Evidentiality and grounding in Lahu Shi

We have seen that what evidentials do is they codify the source of information. However, it is not their only function.

Evidentials, I suggest, serve a grounding function specifying the relationship between some facet of the ground and the entity profiled by the clause. That is to say, evidentials can be considered grounding predications from a CG view. With the notion of grounding (See Section 3.3), reconsider the clausal expression (30) a above, rewritten as (31) below.

- (31) *Naleh awr cad chehd lar*
Naleh rice eat PROG Pe
(I saw) Naleh eating.

The expression designates an event – a kind of ‘eating’ event, which is given by the verb *cad*. This process type is specified in greater detail by mention of the participants in the process, *Naleh*, and the object *awr* ‘rice’. However, this specified process *Naleh awr cad* is only a type specification which has an indefinite number of potential instantiations, one of which is a progressive event which is indicated by *chehd*, as in (30) a. In other words, the specified process is instantiated by *chehd*.

Nevertheless, even though one instance of the process type is profiled (i.e., *Naleh awr cad chehd*), it is still not communicable. Put differently, the ground has not been evoked, and the status of this instance has not been indicated in relation to the ground yet. A clause is not complete until the speech-act participants can access the situation. What *lar* does is it evokes the ground component (the speaker) and locates the designated instance in relation to the ground. By means of *lar*, the speaker and the hearer have both succeeded in establishing mental contact with the designated process, indicating that it is personally witnessed by the speaker himself not by someone else. In this way, the visual particle *lar* is capable of deriving a finite clause. Moreover, semantically *lar* offers a special perspective on a situation. In uttering (31), the speaker assesses the situation with respect to its likelihood. How *lar* evaluates the epistemic status of the situation will become clearer in Section 5.3. The clausal grounding can be depicted in Figure 27.

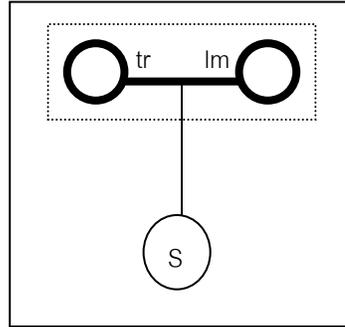


Figure 27. The clausal grounding

The speaker (labeled by S) is the ground component and falls within the scope of the expression in (30) a (the overall square in the diagram). But there it remains implicit and nonsalient, serving only as an ‘offstage’ reference point. In this way, it marks the speaker’s observation as the source of information without any explicit mention. The onstage area is the dotted rectangle in the figure.

This grammatical behavior of *lar* (implicit reference point) is due to the observational experience of the speaker. In other words, it pertains to subjectivity. In this way, *lar* does not specifically mention the ground (the speaker), despite invoking it as a reference point (source of information).

By the same token, in uttering (30) b, the speaker locates the instance with respect to his observation. What distinguishes *paz* from *lar* is that *paz* offers a non-visual observation and in this particular example, it offers an auditory observation.

The reported particle *ced*, by contrast, invokes someone else’s experience as the ground component.

In sum, the main import of the three evidentials is that they are ‘deictic’ in nature. That is, they help the speech act participants specify a relationship between

some grounding component and the profiled process. However, not every deictic expression serves a grounding function in that it can turn verbs into finite clauses. Grounding elements in CG have certain additional properties.

Another additional property showing why the Lahu Shi evidentials are identified as grounding predications is that they allow conceptualizers to address the epistemic status of events. They assess a situation with respect to its likelihood. *Lar* and *paz* provide a high degree of certainty while *ced* a low degree. Moreover, they have grammatical status in that they are abstract and schematic semantically. These properties distinguish evidentials from other deictic expressions and make them serve as an obligatory grammatical element. Omitting them thus not only results in a non-communicable sentence, but an ungrammatical sentence as well.⁴² In Section 5.3, I will show that visual attention is relevant to the grammatical property of *lar*.

5.3 Evidentiality and visual attention

I have suggested that the evidentials can be considered grounding elements. In this section, I focus on the visual evidential *lar* and show that it is not just a simple visual particle. That is, it is not always employed whenever the speaker personally sees a situation. Rather, the usage of *lar* depends on how the speaker sees the situation, to be more precise, on how the speaker visually pays attention to the situation. A couple of examples will clarify this remark. Consider the situation ‘playing football’ experienced in various ways as described below.

Experience 1: Naleh rode a bicycle back home. On the way home, while she was passing a football field, she recognized her brother Ehrganx playing with his

⁴² Here I distinguish a non-communicable sentence from an ungrammatical sentence since it is possible to have sentences that seem to obey all the syntactic rules but make no sense at all (for example, *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously*).

friends. When she arrived home. Her mother asked ‘where is Ehrganx?’ The perfectly reasonable answer is:

- (32) *Ehrganx bawqsir thez chehd lar*
Ehrganx football kick PROG1 Pe
(I saw) Ehrganx playing football.

Compare Experience 1 with Experience 2 below.

Experience 2: Naleh rode a bicycle back home. On the way home, while she was passing a football field, she saw a group of teenagers playing football. She stopped to see them playing. She saw her brother Ehrganx in the group. When she got home. Her mother asked ‘where is Ehrganx?’ However, even though she saw Ehrganx playing football, it is considered unacceptable to reply (32) above. The correct answer is:

- (33) *Ehrganx bawqsir thez chehd aq*
Ehrganx football kick PROG Pt
Ehrganx was playing football (the speaker was certain).

Take a different situation as another example.

Experience 3: Naleh helped her mother cook. She cleaned vegetables, and her mother chopped some pork. Then, Naleh’s mother went out to pick some lemon grass in the garden. When she came back, she couldn’t remember where she put the knife. However, Naleh remembered seeing her mother chop some pork near the cupboard. Naleh said:

- (34) *ateh nawg asid ix yehd chehd lar*
knife you just now use Pt Pe
(I saw) you using knife just a minute ago.

Experience 4: Naleh helped her mother cook. She cleaned vegetables, and her mother chopped some pork. Then, Naleh's mother went out to pick some lemon grass in the garden. When she came back, she couldn't remember where she put the knife. Naleh saw where the knife was. However, it is pragmatically wrong to say (34) above⁴³. In this situation, Naleh should say:

(35) *ateh chuhr huh chehd chehd aq*
knife here LOC stay PROG1 Pt

The knife is here.

As seen above, not every situation which the speaker personally witness is marked by the visual particle *lar*. The usage of *lar* is closely tied to our visual experience, that is to say, how the situation is viewed.

People all experience rapidly changing input. However, they do not pay attention to all the sights that besiege them. What they do is choose to focus their attention on a particular input and leave others as background in their visual field. Furthermore, they constantly shift their attention from one entity to another. However, not every entity receives the same focus of attention. At a certain moment, the viewer (or the speaker) sometimes directs his attention on something. At another moment, he faces in a particular direction, having only a dimly perceived periphery. It is when the speaker is dimly aware of his visual experience (that is, he has peripheral attention), I claim, that the visual particle *lar* is employed. Since the two situations in (33) and (35) are related to the specific focus of attention in that they are in great acuity, it is thus unacceptable to use *lar* in such situations.

At this point, one may ask what is so special about visual attention that it can motivate the use of *lar*. It is because, I assume, the focus of visual attention is

⁴³ In uttering (34) in this situation, the speaker is saying it with sarcasm.

intrinsically associated with the viewer's involvement in the situation. The peripheral visual attention, on the other hand, is related with the viewer's non-participation in the situation. This is one facet of construal concerning the specific 'perspective' imposed on the scene. This perspective subsumes the **viewing relationship** existing between the viewer and the scene. This remark can be diagrammed as in Figure 29.

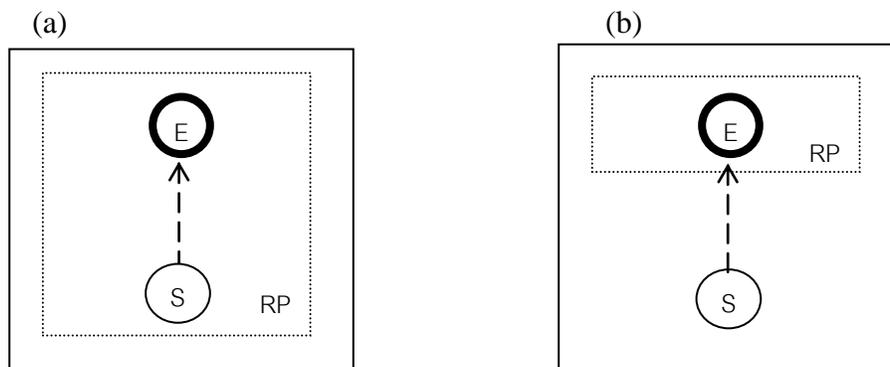


Figure 29. The speaker's participation

E is the event or situation, S is the speaker or the viewer, and the dashed arrow stands for the visual relationship between them. The dashed box labeled RP represents the region of participation. In the focus of viewing attention, the speaker participates either mentally or physically in the event. He is in the RP, as sketched in Figure 29 (a). In the peripheral viewing attention, the speaker is not involved in the situation. Rather he remains outside of the RP as a **glancer**, as diagrammed in 29(b). Since in Experiences 1 and 3 above Naleh did not pay attention on the two events. That is, she was not involved in the events. She was merely a glancer seeing her brother playing football, and her mother using a knife. *Lar* is thus employed in order to communicate her non-participatory relationship with the situation.

Because Naleh only has peripheral visual attention (that is, she is not involved in the situation), she thus is not absolutely committed to the certainty of the situation. As a result, it is possible to have a conversation like this.

Speaker A: *Ehrsanx bawqsir thez chehd lar* (I saw Ehrsanx playing football)

Speaker B: *Awg chehq maog la* (Really?)

Speaker A: *Chehd lar heh tea ghed ma* (Well, it looked like he was there)

It can be said that this peripheral visual attention or non-participatory relationship with the situation determines the epistemic status of *lar*. People are less certain of things they have seen prophetically or have not experienced directly.

It should be emphasized here that the discussion above is a prototypical case. Naturally, our visual experience extends beyond ‘visual attention’ to ‘**visual clarity**’. By visual clarity, I mean how clearly a situation is seen by the speaker. When the viewer cannot see a situation clearly (although he pays attention to it), *lar* is preferred as exemplified in (36).

(36) *chikehneh chehd chehd lar*
barking deer stay PROG1 Pe
I saw a barking deer.

To assert (36), the speaker thought he was seeing a barking deer but he was not sure whether it was really a barking deer since he could not see it clearly.

5.4 Conclusion of Lahu Shi evidentials

Following Langacker (2002a), I consider evidentials in Lahu Shi as grounding elements. They are deictic in nature. They also have additional grammatical properties that are capable of deriving a finite clause. That is, they are highly

grammaticalized elements and also are inherently epistemic. Semantically, the evidentials offer a special perspective on a situation. That is, they assess a situation with respect to its reliability. Omitting them a sentence will result in an unacceptable sentence. Furthermore, the analysis shows that visual attention is relevant to the grammatical behavior of *lar*. Not every visual experience is linguistically encoded with *lar*. Its usage depends on whether the speaker has peripheral visual attention on the situation or whether he involves himself in the situation, which in turn determines the epistemic meaning of *lar*.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.0 Summary of findings

Evidence from the analysis of Lahu Shi expressions has supported the claim that language is not an autonomous system that can be characterized in isolation from other aspects of cognition. It shows that cognitive abilities are reflected in Lahu Shi and that they are not only relevant to lexical expressions but also grammatical expressions. This is possible with what is known about cognitive processing. That is to say, it is possible because an expression's meaning can be treated as conceptual content which can be shaped and construed.

Chapter 4 focuses on construal – our ability to conceive the scene in more than one way, one aspect of which is profiling. It has reached the first objective that cognitive abilities (perspective and profiling) are reflected in Lahu Shi. It shows that aspect is a matter of how the speakers construe a situation (by means of profiling). That is, profiling is responsible for the difference between aspect markers. To be more precise, aspect is a linguistic device used to impose a specific profile on some conceptual content, and each language has its own way to impose a profile on the scene. In other words, whichever facet of the scene is chosen to encode linguistically varies from language to language. The facet symbolized and conventionalized linguistically in one language may not be so in another.

In addition, evidence from the analysis of the Lahu Shi aspect markers has supported the claim that grammar and meaning are inseparable and attained the second objective that the difference in nature of construal between aspect markers shows up grammatically, and semantically. In case of the grammaticalized forms *chehd* and *tod*, it appears that some loss of meaning is involved, but that they are far

from being semantically void. Furthermore, they still have a clear relationship to their lexical source. The analysis shows that the difference between semantic effect of *chehd* and that of *tod* are motivated by their lexical meanings.

This thesis also examines the evidentiality system in Lahu Shi language. The analysis illustrates the nature of evidentials that allow the Lahu Shi speaker to communicate without any outside stimulus. It has reached the last objective that Lahu Shi evidentials function as grounding elements. It shows that an evidential enables the discourse participants to establish mental contact with the designated process so that they are able to determine the epistemic status (the way in which information is measured, for example probability, reality etc.), and the source of information (whether it is personal or hearsay observation). This leads to the successful communication. Section 5.3 illustrates that by visual particle, it does not mean that it is used to encode every visual experience. It is employed only when the speaker is just a **glancer** of the situation, that is he neither pays attention nor participates in the situation. This relationship between the speaker and the situation has to do with the source of epistemic nature of *lar*.

6.1 Further investigation

The research findings of Lahu Shi aspect and evidentiality represents just the beginning. These findings should be further tested with more data. Also, this thesis is analyzed at sentence level. Further research with discourse taken into consideration would be helpful to uncover the conceptual structures and significant insights of Lahu Shi aspect and evidentiality which cannot be found at sentence level.

It is found that there are three independent motion verbs: *kae* ‘go’, *lar* ‘come’ and *veh* ‘motion away’ and two motion verb particles: *-e*, *-aq*. They all have a good etymology that can be traced back to ProtoLoloish: **ka + *e*, **la^l*, **we*, **-ay^l*, and *-la^l* respectively. One question arises as to why the language needs all these motion verbs and

particles. It seems to be redundant. One possible answer is that the directive construction in Lahu is in the process of grammaticalization. This can be another topic for further study. Interestingly, *kae* ‘go’ in Lahu Shi consists of two morphemes *ka* + *e*, even though it is considered as a single word by the speakers. There is some evidence showing that *ka* can occur without the suffix *-e*. Compare the following sentences. (1) *Lao kax to **kae** cheh yaog.* 2) *Lao kax lo **ka veh** cheh yaog.* These findings need to be further investigated.

A detailed description of Lahu Shi ground system also will be another topic for further study. For example, what is the function of the final particles *yaog*, *awg*. They seem not to be merely declaratives. There are some other particles that could be miratives *aq* and *law* which should be further tested.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM

GATHERING DATA

A: COMPLETIVE ASPECTS: PEOR AND PEG VEHOR

A1. *ngag awr cad peor*

I rice eat COMPL2

I have finished eating (I am not eating now/I am ready to go with you).

ngag awr cad peg vehor

I rice eat COMPL1

I have finished eating (all) rice.

awr peg vehor

rice COMPL1

(All) rice is gone

A2. *ngag laqsax chid peor*

I bag weave COMPL2

I have finished weaving (the clothe is made but the sewing is not done).

ngag laqsax chid peg vehor

I bag weave COMPL1

I have finished weaving a bag (everything is done – I have a bag now).

A3 *asuhz tox peg vehor*

firewood burn COMPLI

(All) firewood is burned

asuhz peg vehor

firewood COMPLI

(All) firewood is gone

**B: PROGRESSIVE ASPECTS: *TOD* AND *CHEHD*
WITH STILL VERBS**

- B1 *Naleh mi* ***tod*** *aq*
Naleh sit ***PROG2*** *Pt*
Naleh is sitting and moving simultaneously.
- Naleh mi* ***chehd*** *aq*
Naleh sit ***PROG1*** *Pt*
Naleh is sitting.
- B2 *Naleh tuq* ***tod*** *aq*
Naleh stand ***PROG2*** *Pt*
Naleh is standing and moving simultaneously
- Naleh tuq* ***chehd*** *aq*
Naleh stand ***PROG1*** *Pt*
Naleh is standing.
- B3 *Naleh phiq* ***tod*** *aq*
Naleh vomiting ***PROG2*** *Pt*
Naleh is vomiting and moving simultaneously
- Naleh phiq* ***chehd*** *aq*
Naleh vomiting ***PROG1*** *Pt*
Naleh is vomiting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achard, Michel. 1998. *Presentation of cognitive structures: syntax and semantics of French sentential complements*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 11. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler.
- _____. 2002. The meaning and distribution of French mood inflections. In Frank Brisard (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler. 197-250.
- Aitchison, Jean. 1994. *Words in the mind: An introduction to the mental lexicon*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (n.d.). Evidentials. (Unpublished Manuscript).
- Bilmes, Leela. 1995. The grammaticalization of Thai 'Come' and 'Go'. *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, February 17-20, 1995. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Bradley, David. 1979. *Lahu dialects*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Brisard, Frank. 2002a. (ed.). Grounding: The epistemic footing of deixis and reference. Cognitive Linguistics Research 21. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler.
- _____. 2002b. Introduction: The epistemic basis of deixis and reference. In Frank Brisard. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler. xi-xxxiv.
- _____. 2002c. The English present. In Frank Brisard. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler. 251-298.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

- Casad, Eugene H., and Gary B. Palmer. (ed.). 2003. *Cognitive linguistics and Non-Indo-European languages*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 18. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler.
- Chaikuna, Waraporn. 2003. *The analysis of clause structure in Lahu Shi*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Payap University: Thailand.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, Arthur. 1997. Report on the development of a picture dictionary for the Balan dialect of Lahu Shi. Technical Paper # 22. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap Research and Development Institute and The Summer of Linguistics.
- _____. 2002. The Lahu Shi people. *Minority Language Orthography in Thailand: five case studies*. Bangkok: the TU-SIL-LRDP Committee. 39-51.
- Cooper, Arthur D. and Pamela J. Cooper. 1996. *Preliminary phonology of the Balan dialect Lahu Shi*. In *PYU Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 1:17-52. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap Graduate Linguistics Department.
- Croft, William. 1990. *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2000. Verbs: aspect and argument structure. <http://lings.ln.man.ac.uk/Info/staff/WAC/Papers/Verbs0.pdf>
- Givon, Talmy. 1984. *Syntax: a functional-typological introduction*. Vol 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1996. (ed.). *Conceptual structure, discourse and language*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

- Healey, Joan. 1992. *Doing grammar*. 6th edition. Victoria 3097: South Pacific Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Inglis, Douglas. 2003. Lexical conceptual structure of numeral classifiers in Thai. In Eugene Casad and Gary E. Palmer. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 223-246.
- Janssen, Theo, and Gisela Redeker. 1999. (ed.). *Cognitive linguistics: Foundations, scope, and methodology*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 15. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire and dangerous things: what categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987a. *Foundations of cognitive grammar, volume 1, theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____. 1987b. Nouns and verbs. *Language* 63: 53-94.
- _____. 1991a. *Foundations of cognitive grammar, volume 2, descriptive application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____. 1991b. *Concept, image, and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 1. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- _____. 1996. A constraint on progressive generics. In Adele E. Goldberg. (ed.). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- _____. 1999. Assessing the cognitive linguistic enterprise. In Theo Janssen and Gisela Redeker. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 13-59.
- _____. 2000. *Grammar and conceptualization*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 14. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- _____. 2002a. Deixis and subjectivity. In Frank Brisard. (ed). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler. 1-28.
- _____. 2002b. Remarks on the English grounding systems. In Frank Brisard. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyler. 29-40.
- Lewis, Paul. 1986. *Lahu-English-Thai dictionary*. Chiang Mai: Thailand Lahu Baptist Convention.
- Manson, Kenneth Neil. 1995. *Complementation in Lahu*. La Trobe University, Australia. Unpublished M.A. Thesis.
- Matisoff, James A. 1973. The grammar of Lahu (Black). *University of California Publications in Linguistics # 75*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Palmer, Gary B. 1996. *Toward a theory of cultural linguistics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: a guide for field linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodgers, Nigel. 1998. *Incredible optical illusions*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Saeed, John I. 1997. *Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Taylor, John R. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: prototypes in linguistic theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2002. *Cognitive grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thurgood, Graham. The historical development of the Akha evidentials system. *BLS* 7, 295-302.
- Ungerer, Friedrich and Hans-Jorg Schmid. 1996. *An introduction to cognitive linguistics*. New York: Longman.

Ukosakul, Margaret. 1999. *Conceptual metaphors: motivating the use of Thai 'face'*.
M.A. Thesis, Payap University: Thailand.

Van Hoek, Karen. 1997. *Anaphora and conceptual structure*. Chicago: The
University of Chicago Press.

<http://www.ethnologue.com>