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Tai Lue of Xishuangbanna in China’s Yunnan Province:
Description and a study of the OV order in the ?AU
construction

Jagacinski, Ngampit, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1987

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TAI LUE OF XISHUANGBANNA IN CHINA'S YUNNAN PROVINCE: DESCRIPTION AND A STUDY OF THE OV ORDER IN THE TAU CONSTRUCTION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Ngampit Jagacinski, B.A., M.A.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my sincere appreciation to the members of my committee, Professors Timothy Light (Chairman, and adviser), Feng-sheng Hsueh and Eugene Ching (East Asian Languages and Literatures), Brian Joseph (Linguistics), and Gong-jin Zhang (Central Institute of Nationalities), for their suggestions and support throughout the writing of the dissertation. I am very grateful to Professors Gong-jin Zhang and Brian Joseph for their generous and extensive help and comments in their specialties.

I would like to express my gratitude to my teachers in China whose kind help made it possible for me to begin my research on the Lue of Xishuangbanna: Professor Xue-xun Yan of the South Central Institute of Nationalities, Professors Shi-xun Dao, Qiu-sheng Zhang and Ling-yun Wu of Yunnan Institute of Nationalities. Also special thanks to friends in Kunming and Jinhong: Li Yankeu and her wonderful family whose hospitality I cherished, Li In, Li Xa-long, Ai Xam, Ai Xamping, and Ai Wunten. Without the Ohio State-Wuhan University Exchange Program and the generosity of the staff of Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing and Yunnan Institute of Nationalities, my research would not have materialized.

My further thanks go to Dr. John Hartmann whose help and support are greatly appreciated; Drs. Gérard Diffloth, John Grima and David Strecker for references in Tai Linguistics; Dr. Dudley Childress for generously making available his computer system; Dr. H. Y. Tien and Josephine Matthews for Chinese references.

Finally, to my husband, Richard, I am deeply grateful for his patience and understanding.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ................................................................. ii
VITA .......................................................................................... iii
LIST OF TABLES ................................................................. vi
LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................... vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ...................................................... viii
INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1

## CHAPTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. GENERAL DESCRIPTION I</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonology</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. GENERAL DESCRIPTION II</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lue and Other Tais</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE REVERSED OV ORDER: THE \textit{\textau} CONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The \textit{\textau} Usages in Lue</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the \textit{\textau} Construction</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The \textit{\textau} Construction in Other Tai Groups</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Examples of \textit{\textau}</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLES</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vowel system</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Consonant system</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sample words for initial and final consonants</td>
<td>28-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tonal system</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Examples of consonant substitutions for Chinese loanwords</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Comparison of NH and SVM tones and tonal substitutions in Lue</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Possible occurrences of vowels and diphthongs in Lue</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Traditional alphabets</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Traditional and modern tone marks</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Traditional and simplified vowels</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Possible finals in consonants and partial markers</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. General properties of the 11 partial markers</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Possible combinations of the partial markers and consonants in graphic blend spelling I</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Possible combinations of the partial markers and consonants in graphic blend spelling II</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Simplified alphabets</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURES</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Map of Xishuangbanna</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Map of Tai autonomous areas in Yunnan</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Map of Tai and other minorities in Xishuangbanna</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Map of the Tai minority in Xishuangbanna</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Areas visited for data collection around Jinhong</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Comparing the traditional hand copy writing and the printed simplified writing</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Examples of conventional abbreviated orthographic forms in traditional and simplified writings</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Samples of other Tai writings in Yunnan</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASP Aspect
AUX Auxiliary
BEN Benefactive
CL Classifier
DEM Demonstrative
DIR Directional
DO Direct object
EMP Emphatic marker
GEN Genitive
INSTR Instrumental
IO Indirect object
ITJ Interjection
LOC Locative
NEG Negative
NU Numeral
O Object
OO Oblique object
PAR Particle
PASS Passive
PCL Particle
PP Preposition
Q Question marker
RDP Reduplication
REL Relativizer
S Subject
TOP Topic
V Verb
INTRODUCTION

This study presents an overall discussion concerning different aspects of the language of Tai Lue of Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) in Yunnan province in China. The historical background and the general descriptions of Lue in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax, and writing system are presented in the first half of the dissertation while the second half focuses on one atypical object-verb order construction, which is a feature inconsistent with the predominantly verb-object order in the Tai languages. The aims of this study are twofold: one is to describe the nature and the development of Lue within the context of the Tai languages; the other is to pinpoint the study on one atypical feature, commonly occurring in Lue as well as in other Tais, which may have an effect on the previous proposals concerning the Sino-Tai language contact.

The first half of the dissertation shows how the language of Tai Lue developed into its present form. There are two major foreign influences in the development of the Lue language. One factor was the Indian culture which was spreading through Buddhism and Pali scripts in the past. The other is the Chinese influence which has been increasing considerably particularly through education and the new socio-economic system since 1949.
Historically and linguistically, Lue is most closely related to Tai Yuan of northern Thailand, and Tai Khuen of eastern Burma. In general the obvious differences among various Tai groups are the relative degree of distinctions in phonology and lexicon. Siamese, for example, is more distinct from Lue than Tai Yuan. Syntactic differences, although less obvious, do occur. These differences are often due to a neighboring foreign influence. Gedney (1976) mentions word order changes in some Tai languages spoken in China and in Khamti, the Tai language spoken in Burma area. The former has adopted a Chinese grammatical feature while the latter a Tibeto-Burman's (Gedney 1976). In Lue, a few changes in certain grammatical features also occur. Along with loanwords, these changes mark the differences between Lue and other related Tais. The historical background, the general description of the language, and the discussion of Lue in comparison to other Tais are in the first three chapters.

The last half of the dissertation presents the study of the 2au construction in Lue. The 2au construction is a common syntactic construction occurring in all Tai languages. One of the unique characteristics of the 2au construction is its object-verb feature. The peculiarity of this OV feature is that its nature and development bears certain similarities to the OV feature in the ba construction in Mandarin Chinese. Tracing the development of this type of OV order has been done extensively only on the ba construction in Chinese, but not on the 2au construction in Tai. The present dissertation focuses on the Tai 2au construction while also incorporating analyses and interpretations of
the Chinese ba construction. A comparative study of the Chinese ba and the Tai rau constructions not only is necessary for the study of this particular type of OV syntactic order, but also raises questions concerning Sino-Tai language contact. The last three chapters of this dissertation therefore have three major concerns: first, an analysis of an OV syntactic order in the Tai rau construction; second, a comparative study of the Chinese ba and the Tai rau constructions; third, the reexamination of previous proposals regarding the role of the ba construction in the Sino-Tai language relationship.

The study is based primarily on data from Tai Lue of Xishuangbanna in Yunnan province in the People's Republic of China. Examples from other related Tais (i.e. Nung, Tho, Nuea, Yuan and Siamese) are also presented. The dissertation is composed of the following chapters.

Chapter I covers historical accounts of the land and people of Xishuangbanna and the development of Lue language. The Indic and Chinese influences which are clearly evident in Lue are briefly compared. Chapter II focuses on both typical and atypical features in Lue in comparison to other Tais. The general description of Lue is presented in three levels: phonology, morphology, and syntax. Due to the controversial nature of assigning a language family to the Tai languages, only a brief overview is summarized. The general description of Lue continues on in Chapter III which deals with the adoption of a writing system based on Pali. A comparative study of Lue to some other Tais is also included at the end of the chapter. In Chapter IV the OV word order of the rau construction is discussed. Samples of the rau construction
occurring in some early historical records and in some other Tai languages are also presented. Chapter V deals with a comparative study of the Chinese ba and the Tai laLL constructions. Both similarities and differences are pointed out. Chapter VI gives the implications resulting from various interpretations of the Chinese ba construction which have an effect on the Sino-Tai relationship.

The data were collected during my one and a half month stay in Yunnan in 1983. Both oral and written forms of data given by native Lue speakers are used. Data collected at Yunnan Institute of Nationalities in Kunming (YIN) were from four native Lue ranging in age from early 20's to early 30's. These materials include paper and pencil data of specific isolated sentences, folk stories retold in modern day-to-day language, and recorded conversations. From Xishuangbanna, Lue folk stories narrated by ten native Lue in Jinghong are used for grammatical and lexicicon studies, and not for the contents of the stories. The age range of the speakers is from early 30's to 70's. Lue written materials include children school textbooks, reprints of folk stories, and Sipsongpanna newspaper. Additional data are from the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing (CIN). Various sources on Lue are also possible under the guidances of professor Gong-jin Zhang at CIN and professors Shi-xun Dao, Ling-yun Wu and Qiu-sheng Zhang at YIN.

Transcriptions for Siamese is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet system. The Siamese five tones are marked according to Haas (1964) as follows (with vowel [a] as an example): midd'3 [no marker], low [a], falling [â], high [á], and rising [á]. The
Library of Congress transcriptions are used only for references in Siamese. Transcriptions for Lue is based on the system used at YIN. Namely that, instead of CIN's additional tones seventh, eighth, and ninth for a syllable with [p], [t], [k] endings, all syllables are marked the same disregarding types of consonant final ending. Except for the tone marks distinction, the rest of the transcriptions is similar in both YIN and CIN systems. The orthographies for certain consonants in the transcriptions are a matter of choice rather than a true distinction. For example, the symbol [ts] in Lue is the same as [c] in other Tais. Similarly, for [xi]-[kh], [x] is chosen for orthographic form following the conventional practice used in Chinese materials. Long vowels are marked for vowel length distinction. The transcriptions for Tai Yuan is based on Bangkok Thai-Chiangmai Thai Dictionary (1981). There are altogether eight tones in Tai Yuan. The assignments of the tone numbers are the following: first tone (24), second tone (33), third tone (21), fourth tone (452), fifth tone (32 or 42), sixth tone (45), seventh tone (34), and eighth tone (45). As for examples in other Tai languages, which add up to only few sentences, the transcriptions are kept as they appear in their original sources. Chinese transcriptions are in Pinyin system.
CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Lue, a member of the Tai language family, is spoken in the southernmost part of China's Yunnan province called Xishuangbanna Autonomous Region. Xishuangbanna, or Sipsongpanna as pronounced in Tai, is an area of about 25,000 square miles located between 21.10 and 23.40 degrees north latitude, and 99.55 and 101.50 degrees east longitude (Monograph Series, 1983, I). The region borders on Burma to the southwest and Laos to the southeast. Within China, this autonomous region extends to the cities of Jiangcheng to the northeast, Simao to the north, and Lancang to the northwest (See Figure 1). Historically, Sipsongpanna, homeland of the Tai Lue, covered a much larger area than what it is at the present time. It included the total area of China's Jiangcheng county, Meng Wu, and Wu de of Phongsaly province in Laos (Monograph Series, 1983, I). Since the 13th century, Jinhong has been the political and cultural capital of the region. The city is situated on the left bank of the Lancang River, internationally known as the Mekhong.

The name Sipsongpanna refers to the 12 historical fiefdoms. Sipsong means '12,' and panna literally means 'one thousand fields.' In reality, each panna covers a different land area. Based on records from northern Thailand, a land unit in Lue is not measured by its physical
area, but rather by the amount of rice seeds that can be grown on it. The measuring unit of rice seeds is called ta:n. Each panna is supposed to be able to grow one thousand ta:n (Phûmisak, 1981). Under a ta:n or panna, the area is further divided into different levels of smaller units, and each level has its own local leader. All pannas were administratively tied together under the jurisdiction of one leader called zhào piàn lìng, which is a transliterated word for tsao phen din 'king' in Tai. This title occurs in various Chinese records throughout Yuan, Ming and Qing periods. There were altogether 44 zhào piàn lìng throughout Lue history.

The presence of Tais in Yunnan can be traced as far back as the western Han period (206 B.C.-24 A.D.). Recent archaeological evidence, cultural artifacts of the New Stone Age, show that the ancestors of the Tai speaking people were in Yunnan in areas such as Jinhong, Meng Lián, and Meng La (Yûnnán shào shù mínzú, 1983). Various hypotheses have been proposed in the past about the possible homeland of the Tais. Some early claims suggested the Tais lived in China before the Chinese. Different locations in China such as Sichuan and Yunnan had been proposed. However, many studies since Mote's (1964) paper oppose the early claims of Tais' homeland in China. Although the issue of the original dwelling or the pattern of migration of the Tai people is still controversial, there is no denying that the Tai groups have long been living in the present day five nation border area of China, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. Chinese historical records had long mentioned the Tais along China's southwestern border. Various names
referring to the Tais had been used. 黴越 Diàn yuè 拥 diàn and/or
担 shàn were used before the Tang period (618-907 A.D.), 黝齿 Heîchi
‘black teeth’, 金齿 jînchî ‘golden teeth’, 银齿 yînchî ‘silver teeth’;
茫蛮 màngmán ‘reckless ignorant’, 白衣 bîiyî ‘white clothes’, and 百夷
bîiyî ‘foreigners’ were used after the Tang period (Yînnán shào shû
mînzû, 1983). After the establishment of the PRC, the Chinese
government, recognizing that these terms are derogatory, promoted the
use of the term 傣族 dàizû ‘Tai nationality’ instead.

Although the Tais have long been in the southwestern region of
China, the Chinese government was not administratively involved in the
Tai area until the 13th century. It was in 1284 A.D. that the Yuan
government took over Cheli, present day Jinhong, and first set up the
御 fèi 里军民总管府 chèichî lî jûn mîn zîng guăn fù tu administer
Xishuangbanna. Subsequently this type of administrative unit went
through several changes reflecting the different policy and style of
each central government over the years. In reality, throughout its
history, the Chinese government never did actively rule Xishuangbanna.
The region’s local government was usually run by local leaders who were
all under zhào phîân lîng. The Chinese government’s administrative unit
dealt primarily with economic issues such as taxation.

One of the major interests of the Chinese government in the Tai
areas is the richness of mineral resources of the region. Mining set up
by the Ming government had been attempted since 1429 A.D. (Yînnán shào
shû mînzû, 1983). The Ming administrative unit called 土司制度 tû sï zhî
dû was also set up in Xishuangbanna. It was a system in which a minority
hereditary headman or zhào piàn lǐng was not selected, but was approved and appointed by the central government. It was also in the Ming period, 1570 A.D., that the region was divided based on Lue traditional structure into 12 pannas (Zhōngguó shāo shù mínzú, 1981). Although it was also during the Ming period that cultural and economic exchange took place extensively between the Tais and the Chinese, not all the Tai areas developed a close relationship to the Chinese. Xishuangbanna is one of the Tai areas where the traditional social structure was strongly preserved (Zhōngguó shāo shù mínzú, 1981).

Throughout the Qing period (1644-1911), the 改土归流 gǎi tǔ guī liú which was set up to give more power to the central government was not established in Xishuangbanna (Yúnnán shāo shù mínzú, 1983). The panna structure still existed during the Republic era (1911-1949). The new administrative system of 思普边行政总署 sī pǔ yán biān xíng zhōng zǔ was set up in 1913, but later changed to 思普殖边总署 sī pǔ zhí biān zǔ shù in 1925. Under this new policy, Xishuangbanna was divided into seven counties: Jinhong, Menghai, Mengzhe, Yiwu, Xiangming, Pu-wen, and Liukun (Yúnnán shāo shù mínzú, 1983). However, in practice because of the physical distance, there was still no real ruling power from the Chinese central government. Only some traders and representatives of the central government were present (Morev, 1978). The Chinese cultural influence was quite miniscule throughout the dynasty periods, particularly before the Qing, but increasing in the Republic era and thereafter.
During the last half of the Qing period and throughout the Republic era, there was sporadic unrest in Xishuangbanna. The weakness of the Chinese central government combined with economic interests of western powers such as Britain and France in southeast Asia brought some changes into the region. Xishuangbanna's border with Laos was under dispute with the French, who controlled Vietnam at the time. In 1695 the French encroached upon Xishuangbanna and forced the Qing government to settle the dispute by drawing a map of the new border line. As a result, Meng Vu, Wu de, and Meng Xing became part of Vietnam under French control (Yunnan shao shu minzü, 1963). There was some resistance to the French among Lue and Chinese. Meng La and Man Fen were among a few active areas of resistance, but in general there was no serious fighting. Besides the unrest against outsiders, there was also some unrest against local leaders during the Republic era. One incident occurred in 1936 in Ganlanba and Meng Xam where the local people revolted against a high tax levy. The other incident was in 1940 when a group of Lue in Da Meng Long ousted some local leaders. In the past the local unrest had been the result of wars between local leaders, not citizens against their leaders. The uprising against local leaders was a new phenomenon signaling the coming of changes in Lue society. By 1941 the unrest in the area came mostly from some fighting when the 93rd Kuomintang army came through from Burma (Morev, 1978).

After the Chinese Communist revolution and the establishment of the PRC government, the Chinese government's policy toward a minority area was to set up, by and large, a self-governing administrative unit. The
new system of autonomous regions began in 1953. The present day Xishuangbanna became officially one of the Tai nationality autonomous regions in 1955. Since then close cultural and linguistic contacts between Lue and Chinese have grown even more. There are now increasing numbers of Chinese living and working in the region. Many are officials such as the cadres. These Chinese working in Xishuangbanna learn to speak the local minority languages (Ma, 1984). At the same time the central government's policy of spreading 普通话 pútōnghuà or Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) has also encouraged many minority people to learn Chinese. Native Lue, particularly the younger generation who have had their education in schools, also know some Chinese.

Based on the 1982 survey, there are 839,797 people of Tai minorities in Yunnan (Ma, 1984). Lue of Xishuangbanna belongs to a Tai group classified by the Chinese as Shuí Dài (water "ai"), which is the name referring to them as the high stilt-type dwellers living near water. There are an estimated 216,000 Lue in Xishuangbanna (Yùnnán shào shù mínzú, 1983). Lue speakers are also scattered in some areas outside Xishuangbanna such as Lancang, Pu-er, Mojiang, and Jiangcheng (Vu & Zhang, 1981). Due to wars and migrations in the past, there are also Lue settlements in the surrounding areas adjacent to the Chinese border such as Burma, Laos, and northern Thailand. Various Lue settlements outside China have been mentioned, for example, those near Moeng Yong in Burma, in Bin Lue area and Cheng Tung community in northern Vietnam and area west of the Black River along the China-Vietnam border, in and around Muang Sing and Luang Phrabang in
northern Laos, and in an area such as the Chiengkham district of Chiangrai in northern Thailand (Lebar, et al. 1964, cited in Hartmann 1976). Besides Chiangrai, Lue settlements in northern Thailand are also in a few other areas such as Phayao and Nan (Pankhû’ankhat, 1982).

As in many other neighboring Tai groups, the Buddhism of the Hinayan sect is the mainstream of Lue's religious and cultural existence. Buddhist beliefs and many other aspects of Hindu culture were the cultural foundation of various small kingdom states scattered throughout Southeast Asia. The rulers of many of these small states are related through kinship. Lue culture belongs to the Lanna kingdom which was one of the oldest highly developed Tai states flourishing around the 13th century. Mangrai, the founder of the Lanna kingdom, was a fifth generation descendent on his mother's side from Phaya Tsan, who established Sipsongpanna (Dao, 1982b). Under Mangrai's rule, Lanna, which was influenced by Hindu culture, was at its peak in art, architecture, and education (Morev, 1978). Records show that Mangrai kept close contact with his motherland. Xishuangbanna customs, laws, and administrative structure were all similar to Mangrai's laws and customs (Dao, 1982b).

One of the obvious shared aspects of Lanna heritage among Lue and other Tai groups, notably Tai Yuan of northern Thailand, Tai Khuen of eastern Shan state of Burma, and Tai in Laos, is the Lanna writing. Although it is not clear how or exactly when these Lanna alphabets came about, most scholars generally agree that the script has as its root an Indian script called Brahmi writing. Buddhist teachings have always been
recorded in Pali, which is a written language used specifically for preserving teachings. The practice of carving on palm leaves such as in Tai Lue and Tai Yuan early writings was originally for the purpose of recording Buddhist teachings. Lue writing is called to\textsuperscript{1} tham\textsuperscript{4}, nan\textsuperscript{1} su\textsuperscript{1} tham\textsuperscript{4}, or lai\textsuperscript{4} tham\textsuperscript{4} (Dao, 1982a). All of these terms mean 'alphabet for religious writing'. Similarly, the Tai Yuan writing is called to nānsū\textsuperscript{1} tham in Laos and in the northeastern part of Thailand, where it is only used for religious purposes (Phayōmyong, 1984).

Based on Chinese documents, Lue writing can be traced back without a definite date to the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.). According to Lue sources, one important document for dating this writing system is a work analyzing the Lues' own language and writing. Zhang Gong-jin (1982a) describes the work as part of an old Lue document called sà pú chān tí or phonological explanatory notes, which discussed in detail various categories and properties of consonants and vowels, pronunciation distinctions, and the spelling method. Zhang also points out that this text does not even mention the addition of 15 letters to the alphabet (see writing section). These letters were used extensively in other records around the 15th century. Therefore, the phonological explanatory notes must have been written some several hundred years beforehand (Zhang, 1982a). Another document called Duō Lā Vêi Tí indicates that Lue writing started in the Lue year 639 (1277 A.D.) when a priest named Shù Ying Tá recorded Buddhist texts by carving on palm leaves (Dao, 1980).
Some Chinese scholars believe that Lue writing can even be traced back a few hundred years earlier on the basis of Lue Buddhist related materials. It is difficult, however, to pinpoint the date based on palm leaf materials no matter how abundant they are. The dates and the names of the authors are usually omitted in these old Lue materials (Zhang, 1982a). Other reliable sources such as stone inscriptions, so far, have not been found to support these claims. Estimates of the dates are generally based on orthographic forms. The script being rounded and bearing striking similarities to Ancient Mon writing led to the belief that Lanna writing had already come into existence in the middle of the 13th century when Mangrai was forming the Lanna kingdom (Phayëmyong, 1984; Rungrü'angšì, 1984). These Ancient Mon alphabets combined with the Pali writing system and some new native forms developed to become known later on as Lanna writing (Phayëmyong, 1984). Although it is generally believed that the adoption of the Lanna writing among different Tai groups was through the spread of Buddhism, there is no clear evidence indicating either the earliest date of use or the detailed pattern of adoption of Lanna writing. In Yunnan, besides the Lue themselves, other minorities such as the Pulang also use this kind of writing (Dao 1980; Wu & Zhang 1981). It is also known that some Wa minority also use it.

The close ties between Buddhism and the Lanna writing resulted in a very large number of Buddhist classics in Tai Lue early materials. Two famous Buddhist works in Lue are 維先達罗本生因缘 Véi Xiàn Dà Luó Běn Shēng Yīn Yuán and 十世书 Shi Shì Shū (Luo, 1981). However,
there are also various non religious materials. A large number of Lue materials in Yunnan are hand written documents done on cotton paper on subjects ranging from folklore ballads, to medicine, to astrology to various types of historical documents (genealogy, annals of local history, law, government correspondence etc...), to documents on economic issues such as irrigation management systems (Gao, 1982).

By tracing back the development of the Lue language through the history of the Lue writing system, changes in texture can be seen clearly. There are two major trends of influence which have significant impact on the Lue language. One is the Indic influence in which Buddhism and its Pali writing form traditional Lue. The other is the Chinese influence in which the results of the new socio-political environment form what gradually is becoming modern Lue. Under the Indic influence, the writing based on Pali scripts was adopted along with a tremendous number of Pali loanwords. Although these polysyllabic Pali loanwords are adapted to fit in the Lue phonological system, the contrast of Pali-based words to Lue's own native words is obvious.

The Chinese influence in Xishuangbanna in the past was quite small compared to that in other Tai areas such as Jindong, Xinping, and Yuanjiang (Zhōngguó shǎo shù mínzǔ, 1981). Early loanwords from Chinese were a lexicon which dealt with commerce and things the Chinese brought into the Tai area (Morev, 1978). In recent years, the socio-political changes in China and the effort of the Chinese central government to recognize minority areas as a component of the newly established Chinese nation have had a profound impact on minorities.
Since the establishment of various autonomous regions in China in the 1950's, the Chinese government has been quite active in rebuilding the minority areas along with the rest of China into the new socialist state. The changes have increased rapidly particularly as a result of the Language Reform Movement. The major impact of change is obvious in the modification of traditional Lue writing to a simplified form. Besides the tremendous complexities of traditional writing, the ease in printing is another motivation to make Lue writing systematic and easier to use. The new Lue writing is now compulsory in schools. It is used in government materials, grade school textbooks, and various reprints of Lue literary works as well as Chinese works in translation. The Xishuangbanna newspaper was in print in 1956. The change in the New Lue writing is not only in orthographic form, but also in the lexicon which contains new socio-political terms used in present day China. The present-day close contacts between Chinese and Lue has also created many Chinese loanwords in Lue. New technology has also contributed to many new terms adopted from Chinese. This new lexicon spread out quickly partially through the availability of various materials printed in the new simplified Lue writing.

Social and political changes in China, particularly during the Chinese Cultural Revolution in the 60's, also contributed to the decline of Buddhism and particularly the Lue tradition of having a Buddhist temple as the cultural center of village life. The changes brought upon Buddhist temples are an additional factor which enhances the differences between traditional and modern Lue. The traditional learned men who receive
literacy through Buddhist priesthood from temples are declining in number. Although there have been vigorous attempts to revive Buddhist temples among the Lue for the last past decade, present day temples are no longer cultural centers as they used to be in the old days. The unavailability of materials written in traditional Lue writing also adds to the problem. Pali words in the Old Lue writing has therefore become more and more archaic to present day Lue speakers. It is difficult for young Lue speakers to understand Lue texts because they lack knowledge of Pali (Dao, 1982b).

The new Lue writing has been gaining popularity over the years. Perhaps one significant effect of the new simplified Lue writing is to prevent the loss of previous Lue literary works. Many of these works have traditionally been hand copied by Lue men, who have learned to read and write from Buddhist priests. Printing these literary works in simplified form is believed to help popularize them among the new generation as well as encourage people to learn the simplified form. However, the long term success of the new Lue writing is not yet clear since there has also been an active campaign to revive the old Lue writing in the past few years.

In comparison, loanwords from both Pali and Chinese are similar in that they were first introduced into Lue through education and formal situations. They are also used mainly as government and administrative terms. In both cases they are official terminology, one being Buddhist-related terminology and the other socialist terminology. In the case of Pali, its peak of popularity had passed, although its influence
remains a solid part of the Lue language. As for Chinese it is too early to clearly state the situation. It is not clear how widespread the actual usages of the new socio-political terms are among Lue speakers. However, there is no denying that changes which have occurred over the years under the present Chinese government have gradually brought about closer contact between the minorities and the Chinese. It is inevitable that modern Chinese loanwords do and will play an important role in Lue. These are not only socio-political terminology, but the day-to-day words particularly the newly borrowed lexicon which contains words denoting new technologically developed items. Some of these Chinese words are more established than the others. Some that are in a probationary state will need to be further monitored. More discussion of Pali borrowing and how Chinese words are adapted in Lue are presented in the morphology section in Chapter II and also in the writing section for Pali.
CHAPTER II
GENERAL DESCRIPTION I

Due to its length, the general description of Lue, which covers all four aspects of the language, phonology, morphology, syntax, and writing system, is divided between Chapters II and III. The description is based on the language of present day Lue of the Jinghong area which is considered to be the standard due to the fact that Jinghong has long been Xishuangbanna's cultural and political center. Various analyses from previous works in Chinese, particularly from the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing and the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities in Kunming are also incorporated. This chapter focuses on the overall description of Lue at three levels: phonology, morphology, and syntax. The phonology section includes a survey of the basic sound system while the morphology and syntax sections contain a selective description of the language. Since it is not possible to list all features in the language, certain core characteristics of the language are highlighted instead. The morphology section discusses the strategies in forming and building up words in Lue. The syntax section explores the grammatical functions of certain unique word categories and demonstrates how a meaningful utterance can occur in a manner which is unique among members of the Tai language family, particularly Lue. The ongoing debate over which
language family the Tai languages belong to is briefly summarized along with the classification of Lue within the Tai languages in the immediate section below.

Classification

Most linguists in China classify Lue, a member of the Tai languages, in the Zhuang-Dong (Kam-Tai) branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Although the grouping of Kam-Tai has generally been accepted, the issue of what language family the Tai languages belong to is still very controversial. The question often asked is, which of the three major language families in present-day southern China is the Tai languages closely related to: Sino-Tibetan, Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer), or Austronesian (Malay-Polynesian)? Many early scholars claim close relationships between Chinese and Tai, but skepticism over this claim has grown over the years. Egerod (1976) points out that as early as the beginning of this century hypotheses on the genetic relationship between Tai and Chinese, which was first suggested in 1887 by Lacouperie, had already been challenged by Schlegel's suggestion for the genetic relationship between Tai and Austronesian. The support for a Tai-Chinese connection is mainly from works in the 1930's by scholars such as Wulff and Maspero (Egerod, 1976). However, there is also some evidence which indicates a different interpretation. Based on additional analysis of certain cognates and the reanalysis of some old Tai-Chinese
reconstructions, Benedict (1942, 1966, and 1967) sees the relationship between Tai and Austronesian. There is evidence indicating that languages in south China such as Laqua, Lati, Kelao and Li (of Hainan island), which are believed to be related to the Indonesian language family, contain many possible cognates with Tais. Benedict therefore proposes the Indonesian substratum of the language group in south China called "Kadai" and links Tais to the proto-language with Kadai. Other independent work, such as Haudricourt's (1948), also supports Benedict's early proposal. The Austro-Tai hypothesis which Benedict proposes is based on his firm belief that lexical correspondence and not the reconstructions based on phonological rules decide genetic relationship (Benedict, "reply to Haudricourt", 1976). This means that lexical items along with tones can be borrowed, for example, from Chinese to other non-genetically related languages such as Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao and others.

Benedict's proposal has received both positive and negative responses. The controversial issue here involves the origin and the interaction of tonal development in East and Southeast Asia, particularly the hypothesis that Tai, being a member of the toneless Austronesian language family, borrowed tones from Chinese. As far as lexicon correspondence is concerned, foreign influences from Chinese, Malay, Mon, Khmer and so on have long pervaded the Tai languages. It is difficult to pinpoint not only which aspects are borrowings and which are roots, but also who borrows from whom as well. The attempts to establish Austro-Tai or a link of Tai to proto-Chinese often meet
scepticism due to the lack of a reasonable number of agreed upon reconstructed cognate words. Many of the reconstructed words do not demonstrate clearly the direction of borrowing. A few scholars still consider the proposed evidence for Tai-Kadai scanty and on a 'shaky ground'. For example, Gedney expresses doubts concerning many of Benedict's reconstructions of Proto-Tai words in connection to the Austro-Tai hypothesis (Gedney, 1976). It is still the belief of many scholars that evidence showing how the Tai languages are related to many other surrounding languages in the region is also needed to show where Tais stand in terms of a language family. The evidence so far is not firmly established to enable anyone to judge precisely the language family for Tais. Until all the evidence concerning other languages in the south and southwestern parts of China and Southeast Asia area is well documented, one cannot clearly state the division among the languages of the region.

The division within the Tai languages, on the other hand, is less controversial than the question of wider genetic relations. Based on lexicon and phonological analysis, Li Fang-kuei (1959) divided the Tai languages into three subgroups. The northern group (e.g., Wuming, Po-ai, Dii, Pu-i, Saek) is spoken mainly in eastern Yunnan, southern Guizhou, western Guangxi and northern Vietnam. The central group (e.g., Tho, Tay, Nung, Lungchow, Tienpao) is mainly in the area between China and northeastern part of Vietnam. The southwestern group (e.g., Siamese, Lao, Black Tai, Shan, White Tai, Rhom, Lue) covers northwestern Vietnam, Laos, southwestern China, Burma, Assam and Thailand. Due to migrations
in the past there are a few displaced groups, for example Saek in Laos and the northeastern part of Thailand (Gedney, 1977).

Li's three divisions of the Tai languages are by and large conveniently used among scholars. However, Gedney (1978) points out that, among the three, only the northern group shows clear distinctions from the others. For example, the lack of glottalization in words which can be traced back to having a certain proto-Tai tone only occurs in northern group and not the central or southwestern groups. Based on the analysis that there is no sharp boundary distinction between central and southwestern Tai groups and that a reconstruction of a common intermediate language is possible for the two groups, Gedney believes there should be only two divisions (Gedney, 1978; also Chamberlain, 1975). In any case there is no dispute that Lue is not in the northern group.

Dao Shixun, a linguist and a native Lue scholar, considers Lue language to have a historical origin closely related to Siamese, Lao, Shan of Burma, Black Tai in Vietnam, White Tai, Tai Nung, and Tai Tho (Dao 1982b). Hartmann (1976) cites detailed references concerning the close proximity of Lue to other Tais. The general conclusion is that linguistically Lue is close to Tai Yuan of northern Thailand and Tai Khuen of eastern Burma (e.g., Cushing 1881; Egerod 1959; Seidenfaden 1925; Moerman 1965 (all cited in Hartmann 1976)). Lebar (1964) includes Lue in a group comprises of northern Tai dialects and Tais in the middle Mekhong area. According to Hartmann (1976) Lue, Khuen, White Tai, northern Tai, and some varieties of Shan can be considered as one uniform group. Hartmann's informant, a second generation Lue living in
northern Thailand, estimated that Lue shares about 90% of its vocabulary with Tai Yuan and 70% with Siamese (Hartmann, 1976). The differences in vocabulary, particularly Siamese, are likely to be from the influences of its southern neighbors such as Khmer and Malay.

Within Yunnan province, the Tai languages are generally divided into three groups based on three, more or less, standard and uniform dialect distinctions. The differences among the three groups are so great that mutually intelligible communication is generally not possible. The first group is Dehong Tai or Tai Nuea, a dialect spoken in the western part of Yunnan and in close contact with Burmese. The second group is Jinping Tai or white Tai, a dialect spoken in the southeastern part of Yunnan next to the Vietnamese border. The third group is Xishuangbanna Tai or Tai Lue, which is the subject of discussion here. (See Figure 2 for locations of the three Tai groups in Yunnan.)

Phonology

Aside from various research papers on different phonological aspects of Lue based on W. G. Gedney's fieldwork (e.g. Hartmann 1979a), there is only one phonological description of Lue printed in a western language. The English description of Lue is by F.K. Li (1964). Most of the works either before or after Li's are in Chinese (Fu, Dao, Tong & Dao, 1956; Yu & Luo, 1979; Vu & Zhang, 1981). The phonological description of Lue among these works in Chinese and in Li's are generally similar. A
few differences (e.g. vowel length distinction) that distinguish these analyses are minor dialectal distinctions originating from different localities of Lue speakers. The following phonological description is based on Wu and Zhang (1981) plus additional descriptions and examples provided by the present author.

The minimum syllable form in Lue consists of a consonant and a vowel. There are nine single vowels or 18 altogether, including the vowel length contrasts:

Table 1
Vowel system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front Unrounded</th>
<th>Central Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i, i:</td>
<td>w, w:</td>
<td>u, u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td>s, s:</td>
<td>0, 0:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ε, ε:</td>
<td>a, a:</td>
<td>ɔ, ɔ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example words illustrating vowel length contrasts are:

- pi₁ ‘to dip in’
- kw₁ ‘kiss’
- tu₁ ‘strong’
- pi:₁ ‘year’
- kw:₁ ‘cow halter’
- tu:₁ ‘we’
- me⁵ ‘rare’
- ps₁ ‘vet’
- ho⁵ ‘mess’
- me:₄ ‘wife’
- ps:₁ ‘for’
- ho:₄ ‘ox’
- se⁵ ‘drive out’
- ka₁ ‘rotten’
- ko₁ ‘island’
- se:₄ ‘toes’
- ka:₁ ‘crow’
- ko:₁ ‘CL for tree’
There are two possible semi-vowel endings, [i] and [u], for the 13 complex vowels. These diphthongs are: [ai], [ui], [oi], [oi], [ui], [xi], [au], [iu], [eu], [eu], and the newly created vowel [xu]. Among them, only [ai] and [au] have vowel length contrasts, for example:

- sau¹ 'pillar post'
- sa:u¹ 'young girl'
- bai¹ 'leaf'
- ba:i¹ 'to pull up'

As for the occurrence of a semi-vowel prior to a vowel, only the semi-vowel [u] is possible. This occurrence of [u] is limited to after the velar stop [k] and velar fricative [x], for example, kuan¹ 'deer' and xue⁴ 'river stream'. In general, there is no glide preceding a primary vowel. The only exception is one peculiar case, pi:t² 'eight'. Words with high diphthongs in Siamese such as [ia], [ua], and [ua] become Lue [e:], [o:], and [o:], respectively. This change of high diphthongs to mid monophthongs occurs consistently across many Tai dialects in the border areas of China, Vietnam and Burma (Gedney, 1972).

In the present-day Lue language, diphthongs do not carry a consonant final ending. If Vp stands for a primary vowel, the syllabic construction in Lue is [C (C) Vp (V) (C)]. Examples of possible patterns are:

- [C Vp] pi¹ 'to dip in'
- [C Vp V] ja:¹ 'medicine', koi¹ 'bottom'
- [C Vp V C] ja:ŋ¹ 'rubber'
- [C Vp C] jun³ 'in disorder'
There are 19 consonant phonemes in Lue:

Table 2
Consonant system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops: VI Unasp.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Asp.</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Unasp.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives: VI</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates: VI</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals: Vd</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals: Vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All 19 consonant phonemes can occur as initials. A non-distinctive glottal stop occurs as an initial of a syllable which begins with a vowel. A velar fricative [x] and a velar voiced unaspirated stop [kh] are non-distinctive. As in many Southeast Asian languages, voiced unaspirated stops [b] and [d] are preglottalized and there is no counterpart in the velar group. Based on the data, [n] has the value of a
palatal nasal similar to Tai Yuan [n]. Consonants [ts] and [s] before [i], [e], and [u] become [tc] and [c], respectively (Dao, 1980).

Among consonant phonemes, only [m], [n], [ŋ], [p], [t], [k], and [?] can occur in the post vocalic position, and are conveniently called ‘finals’. Finals, [p], [t], and [k] are unaspirated. The glottal stop final [?] occurs only with a short vowel in a one syllable word or in a final syllable of a word and is generally omitted in a written transcription, for example: pha₄ ‘monk’ pronounced phaʔ₄; pa₃pa₄ ‘kasaya’ (a patchwork outer vestment worn by a Buddhist monk) pronounced pa₃paʔ₄. In present day Lue, consonant finals occur only with single vowels.

Table 3 below illustrates sample words of the 19 contrasting consonant phonemes in initial positions and the 7 consonant finals [m], [n], [ŋ], [p], [t], [k], and [?] in final positions.

Table 3
Sample words for initial and final consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Finals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pa¹ 'fish'</td>
<td>kip⁴ 'hold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>phx¹ 'rake'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bəŋ³ 'tile'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>min¹ 'smelling'</td>
<td>hem¹ 'ill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fa¹ 'leaf'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>ven⁴ 'town'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>teu⁴ 'walk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>tho⁴ 'to pare'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>daŋ³ 'cold'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Table 3 (continued),"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>net¹ 'numb'</th>
<th>fa:n⁴ 'muntjac'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>la:n⁶ 'bald'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>so³ 'purple'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tse:² 'back'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka:² 'to go'</td>
<td>jok¹ 'ugly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>ηa:m¹ 'hold'</td>
<td>pers¹ 'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xa:i¹ 'sell'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?xp² 'box'</td>
<td>so¹ 'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hwŋ¹ 'for a long time'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jeu² 'braid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the semi-vowel [u] mentioned earlier, there are no consonant clusters in Lue. In a word with two or more syllables, the short vowel [a] of the first syllable becomes schwa [a] (Dao, 1980; Wu & Zhang, 1981). Examples are:

- patu:¹ 'door'
- phaja:⁴ 'chieftain'
- phaja:t⁴ 'disease'
- samut¹ 'ocean'
- sapau¹ 'steam boat'
- kada:t¹ 'paper'
- kala:⁴ 'white people'

There are six tones in Lue. The tone scale describing each tone is based on Y. R. Chao's tonal system (Chau, 1968):
### Table 4

**Tonal system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example words demonstrating the contrast of the six tones are:

- `xa:u¹ 'white'`
- `xa:u² 'news'`
- `xa:u³ 'horizontal'`
- `xa:u⁴ 'a while'`
- `xa:u⁵ 'condition'`
- `xa:u⁶ 'nucleus'`

There are also tone sandhi phenomena in Lue. Although there is no question of which tones exhibit tone sandhi, the descriptions of the tonal changes show some variations. The occurrences of tone sandhi in Lue involve the second tone which is a rising tone (25 / A , Li, 1964; Veroha, 1975; Huebner, 1975; 35 / , Wu & Zhang, 1981) and the fourth tone which is a falling tone (52 \ , Veroha, 1975; 41 \ , Wu & Zhang, 1981). Veroha (1975) and Huebner (1975)'s data are from Lue living in northern Thailand while Li's data, although a few decades old, and the data from Wu and Zhang are from Lue of Jinghong in Xishuangbanna. Wu and Zhang's (1981) description of the change in tonal quality of the fourth tone as a result of the preceding first, second, and third tones is different from that of Veroha's (1975). Veroha (1975) has the fourth tone changing to a high rising tone while Wu and Zhang point out that the
fourth tone (41) will change to (51) under two conditions. One condition is when it occurs after a syllable in the second or the third tone. The other condition is after a first tone syllable which has [ʔ], [p], [t], or [k] endings. The examples given by Wu and Zhang are reprinted here with additional meanings provided (Wu & Zhang 1981, p. 14).

- **first tone**:  
  - hzn⁴ (41) ➔ xa¹hzn⁴ (51) ‘clean the house’  
  - lun⁴ (41) ➔ tok¹lun⁴ (51) ‘fall behind’  
  - fai⁴ (41) ➔ mat¹fai⁴ (51) ‘spark’  
  - kun⁴ (41) ➔ sip¹kun⁴ (51) ‘ten people’

- **second tone**:  
  - fu⁴ (41) ➔ ha:p²fun⁴ (51) ‘carry firewood’

- **third tone**:  
  - tsa:i⁴ (41) ➔ phu³tsa:i⁴ (51) ‘man’
  - jsm⁴ (41) ➔ su:³jsm⁴ (51) ‘happy’
  - mun⁴ (41) ➔ xau³mun⁴ (51) ‘round flat cake’

The descriptions of tone sandhi for the second tone have many discrepancies. Li (1964) gives the condition for the second tone as starting low and rising to mid tone before a pause, first, fifth, and sixth, and otherwise is low level. Huebner (1975) indicates that the second tone becomes a level tone (22) when preceded by the first and the fourth tones. Wu and Zhang (1981), on the other hand, have different conditions for the change in tonal quality of the second tone. Their description is based on data which involve the negation word bau² and the word ma:k² ‘fruit’ when ma:k² occurs as a morpheme component of a compound (e.g., ma:k¹pa:u⁴ ‘coconut’, ma:k¹xon² ‘peach’). When bau² and ma:k² change to syllabic m before a second, third, fifth, and sixth tone, they will also change from a second tone to a first tone (from 35 to
For example, bau\(^2\) in bau\(^2\) pai\(^1\) 'not go' and bau\(^2\) po\(^4\) 'not enough' still remain in the second tone after changing to a syllabic \(\text{m}\) in m\(^2\) pai\(^1\) and m\(^2\) po\(^4\) respectively, but not in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BAI</th>
<th>TAI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bau(^2) ju:(^2)</td>
<td>m(^1) ju:(^2) 'not present'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau(^2) tem(^3)</td>
<td>m(^1) tem(^3) 'not write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau(^2) men(^5)</td>
<td>m(^1) men(^5) 'not the case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau(^2) pe:(^6)</td>
<td>m(^1) pe:(^6) 'not win'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tonal quality for the second tone according to Wu and Zhang is the change from mid high to high level, while Li and Huebner have low rising change to low level. These discrepancies will probably have to be taken up in future phonological analyses of Lue.

One more report of tone sandhi is in the first tone among the occurrences of the word *good*. The first tone (55) in di\(^1\) changes to a mid high (35) when it precedes a first and fourth tones. Zhang gives the examples such as: di\(^1\) ka\(^2\) 'good going', di\(^1\) tem\(^3\) 'good writing', di\(^1\) va\(^5\) 'speak well', di\(^1\) lu\(^6\) 'hold (it) well', but di\(^2\) xep\(^1\) 'good shoes', di\(^2\) ma\(^4\) 'good going'.

The vowel, consonant, and tonal systems as described above represent the standard Lue speech of Jinhong. As for dialectal differences among Lue of Xishuangbanna, the distinction is quite minimal phonologically. Except for the substitution of the first tone by the fifth tone in Menghai and Mengzhe areas, all six tones have no discrepancies in Xishuangbanna (Wu & Zhang, 1981). Vowel length distinctions are not consistent. The differences are not due to dialectal differences only; age groups and locations play an important role. For example, only the
older generation maintains [u]/[u:] and [ɛ]/[ɛ:] contrast in the Jinghong and Menghai areas (Hartmann, 1976). Hartmann (1976) also points out that Gedney's informant has vowel length distinctions for [ɛ], [ɛ:] and [ɔ], [ɔ:] before a nasal, while others have discovered that vowel length distinctions exist for all age groups only in the southeastern area of Jinghong. Hartmann (1976) believes that vowel length distinctions in Lue are not phonemic, but phonetically conditioned. In present-day Lue of Jinghong, except for [a], vowel length distinctions only occur in words without consonant finals. A few exceptions are: [kun⁴] 'person' and [ku:n⁴] 'multiplication'; [luk⁵] 'to get up' and [lu:k⁵] 'daughter' (Dao, 1980). Dialectal differences in terms of consonants exist in a few areas. Since data on dialectal differences within Lue of Xishuangbanna are not easily available here, Wu and Zhang's observation and examples are reported as is known below. The substitutions of certain consonants in the Mengzhe area, excluding part of Menghai and Menghun are as follows (Wu & Zhang, 1981, p. 15):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b} & \rightarrow \text{v} & \text{ba:n}³ \rightarrow \text{va:n}³ \text{ 'village'} \\
\text{d} & \rightarrow \text{l} & \text{da:u}¹ \rightarrow \text{la:u}¹ \text{ 'star'} \\
\text{kv, xv} & \rightarrow \text{k, x} & \text{xva:i}⁴ \rightarrow \text{xa:i}⁴ \text{ 'water buffalo'} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{f} & \text{fa}⁶ \rightarrow \text{pha}⁶ \text{ 'sky'}
\end{align*}
\]

The substitutions of [v] and [l] for [b] and [d], respectively, also occur in Jingna. In the Jingdeng area, [x] and [kh] are two separate phonemes (Wu & Zhang, 1981). The data also show the confusion among some informants between [n] and [l]. (See Figure 1 for all the mentioned place names.)
The cause of consonant variations is not only differences in locality. Social conditions can also have an effect on the speech. For example, the distinction between the initials $[h]$ and $[l]$ in certain words depends on the level of education one has. Dao (1982a) states that $[hr]$ is the pronunciation among the educated group while $[r]$, $[l]$, or $[hl]$ occurs among the less educated. Besides literacy, class related vocabularies can also determine distinctions in pronunciation. Li (1964, cited in Hartmann, 1976) points out that words related to the ruling class are pronounced with the initial $[hr]$ while day-to-day words are pronounced with $[h]$. Thus it is not surprising to find the $[hr]$ pronunciation in many Pali based words.

Morphology

Lue is morphologically analytic. The process of forming a word in Lue is structurally simple. There are no complex grammatical morphemes (e.g., inflection for tense, gender or verb agreement system in English). The majority of morphemes in Lue are monosyllabic or rather should be called morphosyllabic, a term which refers to a characteristic of a language in which almost every syllable in that language has a morphemic referent (Light, 1978). Therefore Lue can be classified typologically as an isolating type. A large number of one morpheme word in the old basic lexicon are also shared among various other Tai groups, although with slightly different phonological features unique to each particular dialect.
Although basic words are morphosyllabic, a large number of words occurring in actual usage are composed of two or more morphemes. They are the products of two methods of forming words in Lue, compounding and reduplication. The lexicon is built up mainly from word combinations and borrowing. The older basic lexicon consists of words of daily life, which are quite different from the elaborate polysyllabic words borrowed from Pali and the recent borrowing words from Chinese. The following discussion covers the two methods of word forming and the pattern of adapting Chinese words into Lue.

I. Word formation

1. Compounding: A compound is a single unit word composed of two or more morphemes bound together to create a new meaning. The meaning of a compound may or may not be based on the original meanings of its components. Both the meaning and the free or bound status of a compound component are subject to language change over time. Therefore, the internal structures of compounds classified by a semantic relation of the components are rather diverse. Syntactically, some of these compounds may have a similar structure to a phrase. The distinction between a compound and a phrase has long been of concern to many linguists. The distinction can be based on the definition of a word as a minimum free form whether or not it consists of one or more morphemes (Bloomfield, 1933 cited in Chao, 1968). A word, which is a lexical item, is therefore one unit of a free form while a phrase is not. A phrase is composed of at least two units of free form (i.e. two or more words). In Lue, the lack of a potential pause between compound
components also demonstrates the boundary of the unit. In general, the stress in a compound is usually on the last syllable in the Tai languages.

In a compound combination some morphemes are limited and some are versatile. The terms 'limited' and 'versatile' refer to the frequency of morpheme occurrences similar to the various usages in Chao (1968). A versatile component of a compound with its high frequency of occurrence may appear to be more like a prefix than a morpheme combination of a compound. Quite often it is difficult to distinguish between a prefix and a compound component morpheme. For example, nam₆ 'water' is a component of a compound in nam₆din¹ 'land' (water+soil) and nam₆təm³ 'ink' (water+write). However, in nam₆tsa:n⁵ 'experience' (nam₆ + able) or nam₆vai⁴ 'speed' (nam₆ + quick), nam₆ appears to be more like a prefix than a component of a compound. However, the distinction between the two morphological processes of prefixing and compounding can be based on the criterion that each component of a compound must belong to an open ended word class (Anderson, 1975). In Lue, as in many other languages, the four open-ended word classes are nouns, verbs, nominal modifiers, and verbal modifiers. The combinations of a noun nam₆ and the modifiers tsa:n⁵ or vai⁴ in the above examples fall in the category of compounding. Furthermore, with the exception of a few borderline cases, a versatile component of a compound can occur alone. Following Chao's (1968) definition of a free morpheme as "sometimes free" and a bound morpheme as "always bound", a versatile component of a compound is a free morpheme while a prefix is a bound morpheme which generally will not occur alone. nam₆ in the above
examples is a free morpheme and can occur alone as a noun. Other similar types of examples are compounds in which one of their components functions as a categorical marker. For example, nok⁴ 'bird' in nok⁴ ja:n⁴ 'crane'; nok⁴ jun⁴ 'peacock'; nok⁴ tan² 'swallow'; mak¹ 'fruit, round object' in mak¹ ko³ 'pear', mak¹ xs¹ 'eggplant', mak¹ xan² 'peaches'.

Based on the grammatical relations of their components, four major types of compounds in Lue are the following:

I.i.i. **Coordinate compounds**: Each component of a compound is grammatically equal to the other, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
N + N : & \quad b\text{un}³ \quad m\text{en}⁴ 'insect' \\
& \quad \text{insect insect} \\
& \quad b\text{a:n}³ \quad t\text{un}⁵ 'village' \\
& \quad \text{stockade earth dyke} \\
V + V : & \quad k\text{ot}¹ \quad t\text{em}³ 'write' \\
& \quad \text{write write} \\
& \quad k\text{ut}¹ \quad x\text{ani}n⁴ 'imagine' \\
& \quad \text{think think} \\
H + H : & \quad k\text{ot}⁴ \quad k\text{on}⁶ 'winding' \\
& \quad \text{curved bend} \\
& \quad k\text{at}¹ \quad n\text{a:u}¹ 'cold' \\
& \quad \text{cold cold}
\end{align*}
\]

I.i.i. **Subordinate compounds**: One of the components of a compound is an attribute of the other.
Subject-predicate compounds: The term subject-predicate is used here based on Chao's (1968) definition of subject-predicate as containing a topic-comment, and not actor-action, grammatical relation.

N + V:  xau³  xo:³  'fried rice'
       rice  fry

pa:¹  nwj³  'steamed fish'
       fish  steam

Verb-object compounds: The relationship among the components is similar to the relationship between nominals and verbals in a basic (S)V0 structure.

V + N:  pe:¹  lum⁴  'fan'
       blow  wind

   tsak¹  kep¹  to:¹  'typewriter'
       machine  pick up  letter

There is, however, a certain type of compounding that is like prefixing ---namely that the process involves syntactic derivations. Nominalization is generally the case. For example, kā:n¹ and xua:m⁴ are attached to a verb, a modifier or a VP to form a noun:
Although ka:n¹ and xua:m⁴ function similarly to prefixes in terms of changing a syntactic category of word class, they are not true prefixes. Both are nouns. ka:n¹ ‘work’ and xua:m⁴ ‘matter’. ka:n¹, in particular, can occur alone, for example, ka:n¹ bau² di¹ (work/not/good) ‘not a good work’. Moreover, certain occurrences of ka:n¹ do not have an effect on the syntactic category of words. Instead, the combination of ka:n¹ and a noun in a noun compound shifts the semantic focus of a noun from itemization to the operational aspect of the noun. For example, ka:n¹ also occurs with a noun indicating the activity corresponding to that noun. Examples are: pa₂maï⁶ ‘forest’ becomes ka:n¹pa₂maï⁶ ‘forestry; hai⁴na⁴ ‘farm’ becomes ka:n¹hai⁴na⁴ ‘farming’.

There are very few prefixes in Lue. For example, ?a:i³ and ?i¹ are attached to a pronoun or a personal name to mark terms of address. ?a:i³ is usually for males, and ?i¹ is for females, though there are quite
a few exceptions for \( z\i^1 \). Examples are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
2\i^3 & \quad 2\i^3 \ \text{Xam}^1 \text{ 'Mr. Xam'} \\
2\i^3 & \quad \text{nai}^6 \text{ 'uncle'} \\
2\i^3 & \quad \text{long}^1 \text{ 'elder brother'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{ln}^2 \text{ 'Ms. In'} \\
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{ta}^1 \text{ 'maternal grandfather'} \\
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{long}^1 \text{ 'elder sister'} \\
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{vok}^4 \text{ 'monkey'} \\
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{hok}^4 \text{ 'squirrel'} \\
\text{Zi}^1 & \quad \text{kun}^3 \text{ 'shrimp'}
\end{align*}
\]

The exceptions are the occurrences of \( \text{Zi}^1 \) for certain animals' names, and in certain cases of addressing terms for males.

1.ii. Reduplication: Reduplication is a morphological process where a morpheme is repeated either fully or partially (i.e., consonant only or vowel only). The repetition process can occur in either monosyllabic or polysyllabic words. The original morpheme and the repeated one then form a new word. The process of repetition is irregular and cannot be applied to a whole word class. The meaning of the new word, while still containing the original meaning, also conveys additional meaning from a speaker's perspective. Typically, besides indicating plural such as the difference between \( \text{pop}^4 \text{ mai}^2 \text{ 'new book(s)'} \) and \( \text{pop}^4 \text{ mai}^2 \text{ mai}^2 \text{ 'new books'} \), repeating the whole original syllable gives an emphatic meaning to the new word, for example \( \text{vai}^4 \text{ 'quick'} \) becomes \( \text{vai}^4 \text{ vai}^4 \text{ 'very quick'} \). Supporting evidence abounds as well in other Tais such as Siamese (Haas, 1942). Repeating a part of the original word usually conveys a
nonchalant attitude of a speaker, for example, in Lue nun⁴ 'to dress' becomes nun⁴ n̂en⁴ 'just to dress oneself'. Reduplication can occur in any word category, but most often in onomatopoetic words which forms a certain type of intensification in Lue, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ps}^1 & \quad \text{wet} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ps}^1 \text{ mok}^6 \text{ lok}^6 \\
\text{dam}^1 & \quad \text{black} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{dam}^1 \text{ m̄w}^6 \text{ hu}^6 \\
\text{de}^1 & \quad \text{red} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{de}^1 \text{ ps}^5 \text{ l̄s}^5 \\
\text{sum}^3 & \quad \text{sour} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{sum}^3 \text{ tsut}^1 \text{ kut}^1
\end{align*}
\]

The reduplication process also plays an important role in forming certain types of four-syllable expression

**AABB type:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pai}^1 & \quad \text{pai}^1 \quad \text{ma}^4 \quad \text{ma}^4 \quad \text{coming and going} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{go} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{come}
\end{align*}
\]

**ABAB type:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kok}^5 & \quad \text{kak}^5 \text{ kok}^5 \quad \text{kak}^5 \quad \text{sounds of footsteps}
\end{align*}
\]

**AB₁AB₂ type:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na:u}^1 & \quad \text{hai}^6 \quad \text{na:u}^1 \quad \text{hap}^2 \quad \text{very cold} \\
\text{cold} & \quad \text{very} \quad \text{cold}
\end{align*}
\]

**II. Borrowing.**

In addition to the three methods of forming words in Lue described above, the vocabulary has been enriched by borrowing. In the past, Pali and Chinese were the main source. However an impressive number of Chinese loanwords in Lue occurred after the establishment of Xishuangbanna as an autonomous area. Loanwords from both Pali and
Chinese are similar in that they are adopted first through the educated group. They are mainly in official usages which means that a large number of them are also introduced through written forms. Pali is less in active usage at present. Although Chinese loanwords still need further data to determine the extent of their use, it is quite clear that they have increasingly become a part of the present-day language of Lue. The following description will focus on the pattern of adopting Chinese words. The pattern of adopting Pali loanwords is not included here. Borrowing from Pali is described mainly through the writing system (see Chapter III). Since data on Old Lue is not available, only a few examples are mentioned.

Il.1 Pali loanwords: There is a clear distinction in the methods of adopting words from Pali and from Chinese. Preservation of the original words is the strategy when adopting Pali words. The fact that the Lue writing system is derived from the same Indian source makes it possible to retain the original spelling. Although the pronunciations of the loanwords have already been adapted based on Lue's phonological system, Pali spellings still remain. The retention of various endings and the use of different orthographic symbols or other complex spellings all for the same sound represent an attempt to keep original sound distinctions in original Pali words.

Pali loanwords constitute a large portion of the Lue lexicon, for example, \textit{tsi}^{4}\textit{vit}^{5} `life', \textit{ka}^{1}\textit{ja}^{4} `body', \textit{tham}^{4}\textit{ma}^{6}\textit{da}^{4} `ordinary'. Some Pali loanwords are used side by side with native words. For example, both the Pali loanword \textit{su}^{1}\textit{van}^{4}\textit{na}^{6} `gold' and the native Lue word \textit{xam}^{4}
'gold' are used. In some cases a Pali loanword and a native word form a compound and are used in combination, for example,

Pali: sala¹ 'pond'
Lue: (native word) noŋ¹ 'pond'
(combination) sala¹noŋ¹ 'pond'

One interesting aspect of borrowing in Lue is the combination of Chinese and Pali-based words in a loanword. For example, in tsa:n² letha:⁴ or tsa:n² lot⁴ 'train station'; tsa:n² is from Chinese zhān 'station', and letha:⁴ or lot⁴ 'vehicle' comes from Pali. Another example is pha¹tet⁴ tsun⁵ ko:⁶ 'China'.

Il.ii. Chinese loanwords: Like Pali borrowing, many present day Chinese words in Lue are introduced through the written form. However, since the writing systems are different, Chinese being a graphic system and Lue an alphabetic system, there is no way to preserve the original spelling in writing. For example, various aspirated affricates (tʂh), (tʂh), and (tɕh) as well as fricatives such as [ʂ] and [s] can all be represented by a fricative [ʂ]. The actual pronunciations vary to a certain degree depending on how fluent one's Chinese is. Individual differences also play an important role. Final [ʊŋ] in Chinese can be either [ʊŋ] or [oŋ] depending on individual differences. For example zhōng_quó 'China' can be either tsun⁵ko:⁶ or tsun⁵ko:⁶. Aside from these variations, however, there is a definite pattern of phonic interference in Chinese loanwords among Lue speakers.

The consonant and tone substitutions of Chinese loanwords in Lue have been observed and briefly summarized by Wu and Zhang (1981).
However, based on Lue materials, there are some examples which are discrepancies from the pattern observed by Wu and Zhang. The general pattern is shown first in Table 5 below. Examples from Lue materials are added in each substitution. In a compound, the intended syllables for substitution in Chinese are underlined for clarity. The IPR equivalents of Chinese sounds are in parentheses.

Table 5
Examples of consonant substitutions for Chinese loanwords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(kh) kāihui 'meeting'</td>
<td>x xai⁵xui²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h(X) wénhuà 'culture'</td>
<td>wènxuà:²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z(ts) zìzhèzhòu 'autonomous region'</td>
<td>ts(tċ) tsw²tsw²tsu⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh(tʃ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j(tɕ) fāngjià 'have a day off'</td>
<td>rǎng²tsa:⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(ʦh) cū</td>
<td>s nam⁶su:²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch(tʃh) nónghǎng 'factory'</td>
<td>nom⁶sa:n⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh(ʂ) lǎoshī 'teacher'</td>
<td>lau⁴sw:⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q(tʃh) qǐngjià 'ask for leave'</td>
<td>sin⁴tsa:²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x(ɕ) wǔxiàndiàn 'radio'</td>
<td>vu:⁶sen²ten²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(j) gōngrén 'person'</td>
<td>j kon⁵jen⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(i) shèyuán 'commune member'</td>
<td>sə²jen⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The substitutions in Table 5 above reflect certain aspects of the Lue phonological system. For example, given that a velar stop [kh] and a velar fricative [x] are allophones in Lue, Chinese words with [kh] consonants are, therefore, underdifferentiated when borrowed into Lue. [x] is substituted for both [kh] and [x]. Chinese sounds which do not exist in Lue are also organized and represented according to Lue's phonological pattern. For example, there are no affricates in Lue's consonant system, either unaspirated [ts], [t$,] [tc] or aspirated [t$h], [t$h], [tc]. Lue also lacks a retroflex fricative [§] and a palatal fricative [ç]. It is interesting to note that in the substitution process all the affricates are not represented the same way. The unaspirated affricates are substituted with [tc] while the aspirated ones, along with the two fricatives [§] and [ç], are substituted with a fricative [s]. Some of the substitution patterns, not only reflect Lue's own phonological system, but also show that the pattern in Lue occurs similarly in some other Chinese dialects. The substitution of a retroflex [J] with a palatal continuant [j] is similar to changes which occur in Chinese dialects that lack a retroflex sound, for example the Shandong pronunciation of Modern Standard Chinese (MSC).

However, there are also exceptions to the rules shown in Table 5 above. Further investigation shows some discrepancies, for example, jiǎo ‘dime’ is ts$a^6$ but jǐn ‘measure for weight (about one half kilo)’ is jǐn$^3$. biè ‘to graduate’ is pì$^6$ne$^6$, which is puzzling since a nasal [n] occurs as a substitute for [j] in this case. These discrepancies lead to the question of which Chinese dialect is really the donor language. The
characteristics unique to the donor language in the above examples demonstrate that the Lue pronunciations reflect the Chinese pronunciations of the southwestern branch (SVM), rather than the standard speech which is based on the northern branch of Mandarin (NM).

The distinction in pronunciation between jiāo and jīān in SVM is from the fact that certain words in NM with palatal initials [tc] and [c] have velar initials [k] and [x], respectively, instead in SVM. It is known that the palatales have historically developed from dental and velar groups. The residue of this phonological process in Chinese is also passed over to Lue. Similarly, certain zero initials in NM, such as yè in biè in the above example, have a nasal [n] as an initial instead in SVM. This feature is also reflected in Lue.

The influence of SVM on the borrowing of Chinese words in Lue is perhaps clearer in terms of tonal substitution. Wu and Zhang (1981, p. 17) point out tonal substitutions with the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st (55)</td>
<td>5th (33)</td>
<td>tiān 'sky' → then⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (35)</td>
<td>6th (11)</td>
<td>mén 'door' → mn⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (45)</td>
<td>4th (51)</td>
<td>dān 'The CCP' → ta:ŋ⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (51)</td>
<td>2nd (35)</td>
<td>di 'land' → ti:²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above substitutions and examples, Wu and Zhang (1981) compare Lue to the standard speech which is based on NM. However, with a three-way comparison of NM, SVM, and Lue, it can be seen that the substitution of tones is actually closest between Lue and SVM as is
shown in the following Table 6:

Table 6
Comparison of MM and SVM tones and tonal substitutions in Lue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>SVM</th>
<th>Lue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st (55)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st (33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (35)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd (31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (214)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>3rd (53)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (51)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>4th (13)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the Chinese fourth tone, the substitutions of all other tones show the parallel rising and falling contours between Lue and SVM. Further evidence of the SVM influence, besides tonal substitutions, also shows up in the nasal consonant final ending of Chinese words in Lue. The nasal final endings [ŋ] and [n] are two distinct phonemes in Lue. However, among Chinese words in Lue, such distinctions exist in some and disappear in others. This phenomenon can also be explained when one looks through the unique characteristics in SVM. The nasal final ending [ŋ] in SVM occurs only with a back rounded vowel [o] while the MM nasal final ending [n] is replaced with a nasalized vowel in SVM. Therefore, the [ŋ]/[n] distinction disappeared in words with a vowel other than [o]. Examples below list only Mandarin pronunciations in order.
to avoid misrepresenting other phonological aspects of SVM:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diànyīng</td>
<td>tên² jîn⁴</td>
<td>movies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēijīng</td>
<td>pê⁶ tsin⁵</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qǐngjià</td>
<td>sin⁴ tsa:²</td>
<td>ask for leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóngzhì</td>
<td>thon⁶ tsw:²</td>
<td>comrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gònghékuò</td>
<td>koŋ² xo:⁶ ko:⁶</td>
<td>Republic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples demonstrate that Chinese words in Lue are patterned after SVM. The nasal consonant [ŋ] after the back rounded vowel [o] remains the same in Lue while the nasalized vowel endings for the rest of the vowels are substituted with [n].

Vowel changes among Chinese words in Lue involve three different methods of adaptation: substitution, reduction, and addition. The need for all three methods reflects the discrepancies between Chinese and Lue's vowel systems, particularly in diphthongs. As has been mentioned earlier, the occurrence of a vowel either preceding or following a primary vowel in a syllable is very limited in Lue (see phonology section). The possible occurrences are summarized in Table 7 (the following page) for convenience:
Table 7
Possible occurrences of vowels and diphthongs in Lue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a, a:</th>
<th>ai, a:i</th>
<th>au, a:u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i, i:</td>
<td></td>
<td>iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, u:</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o, o:</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o, o:</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w, w:</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, x:</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>(xu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in Table 7 above, there is no medial [i] preceding a primary vowel in Lue. Therefore a reduction of a vowel is often necessary for adopting Chinese words in Lue. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lǎodòngjié</td>
<td>lau⁶ton⁵tse⁵</td>
<td>labor day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diànyīng</td>
<td>tēn⁴jin⁴</td>
<td>movies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūlián</td>
<td>Su⁵tēn⁶</td>
<td>USSR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for a vowel occurring after a primary vowel, the semi-vowel ending [i] and [u] have limited occurrences in Lue. The semi-vowel ending [i] occurs only with back vowels, while [u] occurs only with front vowels. Therefore a diphthong such as [ei] needs a substitution, for example, Bēijīng is pronounced pē⁵tsin⁵.

In Table 7 the vowel in parentheses [su] is a newly created vowel in Lue similar to the SVM pronunciation of NM [ou]. For example, dōu.
'struggle' is pronounced *dju* (with an appropriate tone) in SVM. This new vowel 
[su] in Lue is used for adopting Chinese words with a diphthong consisting of 
a back vowel and the semi-vowel [u]. A few examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mántou</td>
<td>xau³ma:n⁶thau⁵</td>
<td>steamed bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōuróng</td>
<td>s-su⁵vaï⁶</td>
<td>take in, accept</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above examples *tou* in mántou and *shōu* in shōuróng are substituted 
with the new vowel [su].

Syntax

Various grammatical features in Lue are typical of the Tai language family. 
The relative order of object to verb is VO. Greenberg's (1963) typological correlates 
to the VO type of language generally hold true in Lue. A modifier usually follows 
what it modifies. Adjectives, genitives, and relative clauses all follow the head noun 
in a noun phrase. However, there are also a few exceptions, particularly among the order 
of other elements in a VP aside from a verb and an object noun. A few examples of the OV features in Lue are the forming of an interrogative sentence 
with a question particle, some irregularities in the order of adverbs, intensifiers, auxiliaries, 
and prepositional phrases in relationship to a verb, and the OV order in the 2au construction, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV. Many of these typical and
atypical features show signs of possible continuous borrowing resulting from the intermingling language contacts in the East and Southeast Asian region.

The following is a general survey of how words are ordered in a meaningful utterance, basic types of utterances, how certain concepts are expressed in an analytic language like Lue, and what the shared characteristics are of Lue and other Tais. The description is not intended to cover all syntactic aspects of the language, but, rather, to focus on certain fundamental ones. The first section covers the descriptions of the typical word orders and the make up of an NP, VP, and the basic sentences. The ordering of different categories of words includes both the open and the closed word classes. Certain unique word classes such as classifiers and intensifiers are pointed out along with the discussion of ordering. Typical features are described first, then the exceptions. The last section covers some syntactic features typical of Lue and the Tai languages. The unique characteristics of Lue are summarized and discussed in the section on Lue and other Tais of the next chapter.

Ordering

Lue is syntactically analytic and generally has a rigid word order for basic structures. The parts of speech in Lue can be categorized according to a universal linguistic classification of words as open and closed word classes. In Lue, the open word class comprises nouns, verbs, nominal modifiers (e.g. adjectives), and verbal modifiers (e.g. adverbs). These are words which function as subject, object, and
attributes in an utterance. The ordering of these words also forms a basic syntactic structure in the language. The closed word class is composed of words which are traditionally called function or grammatical words. Auxiliaries, prepositions, and negatives are a few categories of words within this class. Unlike the open word class, the closed word class consists of a small number of members and there is no variation in usage among speakers (Lakoff cited in Anderson, 1985). However, the role of the closed word class is usually extensive in a non-inflection language. In Lue, certain concepts such as time are expressed through the use of these function words. In the following description, the ordering of various categories of words from both the open and the closed word classes is presented, first, in a noun phrase, then a verb phrase.

**Noun phrases**: The overall possible order of elements in an NP is \([N ± M ± NU ± CL ± GEN ± DEM]\). A demonstrative marks the boundary of a phrase, for example:

(1) \(\text{teu}^2 \text{ mai}^2 \text{ scn}^1 \text{ phun}^1 \text{ xcn}^1 \text{ man}^4 \text{ ni}^4\)

trouser new two CL belong to s/he this his/her two new trousers

The basic composition of a qualified NP is Head before Modifier. Examples of various types of nominal modifiers in an NP are:

**noun + adjective**

(2) \(\text{gap}^2 \text{ jai}^2 \text{'a big box' }\)

box big
The genitive marker is often omitted, particularly in the case of an inalienable possession. In many cases personal belongings are also treated intimately and thus require no genitive marker. Personal pronouns in Lue generally do not have genitive markers. The occurrence of nouns in succession indicates the genitive relationship between the most immediate nouns. Examples from Wu and Zhang (1981, p. 55) are:

(6) luk⁴ pi⁵tsa:i⁴ to¹xa:³
    child brother 1
    my brother’s child

(7) pop¹ lau⁴sw:² hau⁴
    book teacher 2
    our teacher’s book

Like most other East and Southeast Asian languages, Lue has classifiers. Any noun, whether abstract or concrete, must occur with a
classifier in order to express quantity. There are several dozens of classifiers in Lue, which classifier is used with what noun has already been predetermined conventionally, sometimes based on semantic features, but not always. Lehman (1986) considers a classifier to be a designated pro-form of a noun. Based on the definition of a pro-form as "a cover term for several closed classes of words which, under certain circumstances, are used as substitutes for words belonging to open classes" (Schacter, 1985), a classifier in Lue belongs to a pro-form category in the closed word class. Although the number of classifiers in Lue is large, their function is constant and there is very little variation in usage among speakers. Different types of nouns can share one same classifier, but the selection is not a random choice by a speaker. There is also a close relationship between the functions of a classifier and its position in an NP. This unique class of classifier is closely related to how the language marks a relative clause. In Lue, a classifier which functions as a counter in a quantified NP can occur in one of the two orderings [N ♦ NU (two and above) ♦ CL] or [N ♦ CL ♦ NU (one)]. However, as a noun substitute, a classifier functions as a relative clause marker in a qualified NP and its position is immediately after the head noun. Examples are:

\[
\text{noun ♦ NU ♦ classifier}
\]

\[(8)\]  
\[
\text{sax}^3 \quad \text{son}^1 \quad \text{phun}^1
\]

\[
\text{shirt}^{\text{two}} \quad \text{CL}
\]

\[
\text{two shirts}
\]
noun ♦ CL ♦ NU

(9) tan² noi² num⁵
chair CL one
one chair

noun + relative clause

(10) xep¹ ku:⁵ mu⁶ni⁴ su:⁶ ma:⁴
shoe REL yesterday buy DIR
the pair of shoes which was bought yesterday

Both phum¹ and noi² in examples 8 and 9 above are classifiers which function as counters indicating the quantity of the items. In example 10, a classifier ku:⁵ 'pair' acts as a noun substitute specifying a particular pair of shoes. When a head noun is [+ human], a classifier to:¹ can occur in place of it, for example:

(11) to:¹ tan⁵ ju:² pa:i⁴ lan¹
CL sit exit side behind
the person who sits in the back

(12) to:¹ lot⁴ tam¹ sa:² nan⁶
CL car hit into that
the man who was hit by a car

More common, however, is the use of the general classifier tan⁴ for inanimate objects instead of a specific classifier for marking a relative clause, for example:
(13) kam⁴ pai¹ ʔan⁴ mau⁶ sê⁶ ton⁵ kot¹ tem³ ʔan⁶
poem REL Mao Zedong write that
the poem which Mao wrote

(14) kam⁴ kon² ʔan⁴ ʔuŋ² leu⁴ ʔan⁶ pin¹ xaː u⁵ bau² san¹
story REL speak ASP DEM be matter what
What is the name of the story that has just been told?

ʔan⁴ is also used to link a series of modifiers in the case of more
than one modifier being present. Examples are:

(15) bai¹ mai⁶ noi⁶ ʔan⁴ san¹
leaf small REL yellow
a small yellow leaf

(16) ka¹ daː t¹ xaː u¹ ʔan⁴ baː n¹ saː m¹ bin³
paper white REL thin three CL
three sheets of thin white paper

The above examples show the occurrence of ʔan⁴ as a substitute
for the head noun which otherwise would be repeated for clarity in Lue.

In Siamese, modifiers can occur in succession. Compare the following
examples of Siamese and Lue:

Siamese

(17) tó jài thonthaː n diː nùg tua
table big durable good one CL
A good big solid table
In Lue, there is also a case where both ?an and a classifier can also co-occur, for example:

\[(13) \quad \text{man}^4 \text{ hum}^1 \text{ nuŋ}^5 \text{ ss}:^3 \text{ xen}^1 \text{ ja:u}^4 \text{ ?an}^4 \text{ phwn}^1 \text{ den}^1\]

s/he like wear shirt long-sleeve REL CL red
S/He likes to wear a red long-sleeved shirt.

The position of a classifier may vary according to its function. However, the ordering within an NP is consistent in terms of the relationship between a modified and a modifier.

**Verb phrases:** The composition of a verb phrase is generally more complex than a noun phrase. As a predicate of a sentence, various grammatical categories such as time, negation, and mood are expressed by the closed word class in a VP. It is generally known that some categories of the closed word class are functionally equivalent to the inflections in a complex morphological system. In Lue, the open word class (e.g. verb, noun and modifier) forms a basic structure while the closed word class (e.g. auxiliaries, negation) expresses other grammatical categories of a sentence.

Unlike the NP, the ordering in a VP is less rigid. Some adverbial modifiers and auxiliaries occur in a preverbal position and some
postverbally. Likewise, intensifiers generally occur after a modifier, but some do precede it. Only the order of an object noun in relation to a verb is consistent. A noun functioning as an object typically follows a transitive verb, for example:

(20) kin^1 xau^3
    eat    rice

(21) thai^1 na^4
    plough field

A VP generally has verbal modifiers following a verb, for example:

(22) va:5 sw:5 'speak honest'
    speak    direct

(23) teu^4 vai^4 'walk fast'
    walk    fast

But there are some exceptions in ordering. Zhang's (1981) examples below demonstrate a modifier occurring before a verb:

(24) hx:2 xo:1 'laugh loudly'
    loud    laugh

(25) lsk^5 xut^1 / xut^1 lsk^5
    deep    dig    dig    deep
    'dig deeply'

In example 24 the adverbial modifier hx:2 occurs before the verb xo:1 while in example 25 lsk^5 can occur either before or after the verb
The co-existence of two orders shows that it is likely that the new order is the borrowed one.

The reversed order is even more obvious in the case of modifier di:¹ 'good'. Morev (1978) gives the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{di:¹ } \text{din}^{3} '\text{interesting}' & \text{di:¹ a:n}^{2} '\text{good to read}' \\
&\text{di:¹ xo:¹ } '\text{funny}' & \text{di:¹ fən}^{4} '\text{harmonic}'
\end{align*}
\]

Morev (1978) believes that these forms are analogous to Chinese forms. The occurrence of di:¹ before a verb is ungrammatical in the Tai languages of the southwestern branch, particularly in Siamese (e.g., khian di: 'write well', *di: khian). The data in this dissertation also agree with Morev's observations. More examples in sentences are:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(26)] pop¹ di:¹ ton⁴
book good see
The book is pretty.
\item[(27)] kam⁴ phai¹ ran⁴ mau⁶ sw⁶ ton⁵ kot⁵ em³ nan⁶
poem CL Mao Zidong write that
tsa·t⁴ di:¹ fan⁴ leu⁴
very good listen PAR
Mao Zedong's poems are very beautiful to listen to.
\end{enumerate}

A phrase which consists of the modifier di:¹ and a verb appears to be more like a compound. However, whether it is a compound or a phrase, the occurrence of a modifier before a modified is not typical in Lue. The order of the modifier di:¹ maintains the Tai order, however.
when it is followed by an intensifier that occurs after a modifier such as \textit{tæ} \textsuperscript{6} 'very'; for example, \textit{di} \textsuperscript{1} \textit{tæ} \textsuperscript{6} 'very good'.

Lue has a large number of intensifiers. Intensifiers are words from one to four syllables in length which are used to express the emphatic degree in either a modifier or a verb. There are two types of intensifiers: restricted and unrestricted. In general, the unrestricted intensifiers in Lue differ greatly from those in Siamese. Examples of both types of intensifiers in Lue are:

\textit{restricted intensifiers:}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{na} \textsuperscript{1} \textit{wp} \textsuperscript{1}\textit{wp} \textsuperscript{1}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{ba:g} \textit{wp} \textsuperscript{1}\textit{wp} \textsuperscript{1}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \textit{thick}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \item \textit{dam} \textsuperscript{2} \textit{mu} \textsuperscript{6}\textit{hu} \textsuperscript{6}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{xa:u} \textsuperscript{1} \textit{mu} \textsuperscript{6}\textit{hu} \textsuperscript{6}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \textit{black}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

\textit{unrestricted intensifiers:}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{mak} \textsuperscript{4} \textit{ha:i} \textsuperscript{6}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{like very}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \textit{to like (something) a lot}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \item \textit{teu} \textsuperscript{4} \textit{dai} \textsuperscript{3} \textit{la:i} \textsuperscript{1}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{walk able a lot}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \textit{to be able to walk a lot}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}
Unlike the unrestricted intensifiers ha:i⁶ and lai¹, the restricted intensifiers in examples 28 and 29 can occur only with their respective adjectives. For example, mu:⁶hu:⁶ can occur only with 'black', and not with any other colors.

One peculiar occurrence among intensifiers is the unrestricted intensifier tsa:t⁴ 'very', which is the only intensifier that can occur before a modifier, for example:

(32) luk¹ton² to¹ ni⁴ tsa:t⁴ ri¹du¹ ma:c⁵ bup¹ tsu:⁵van⁴
child CL this very pity mother hit everyday
This child is really pitiful. He is hit by his mother everyday.

Besides tsa:t⁴ ri¹du¹ 'really pitiful' in the above example, other common occurrences with other modifiers are, for example, tsa:t⁴ jxm⁴tai¹ 'very happy', tsa:t⁴ nam¹ 'very pretty'; tsa:t⁴ usage is very extensive, particularly when compared to the usages in Tai Yuan. Besides preceding modifiers, tsa:t⁴ can also precede different types of predicates (see Lue and other Tais, Chapter III).

Unlike synthetic languages, which depend on complex morphological process (e.g., stem modification), an analytic language must depend on certain lexical items and word orders to express what Langacker (1972 cited in Steele, 1975) called "non-objective content" of a sentence. In Lue, the non-objective content is expressed through a few categories of the closed word class which are traditionally called function words. These are words which are limited in number and have specific grammatical usage. Many of these categories of the closed word class
occupy a preverbal position while some do occur in a postverbal position. In some cases both positions are co-occur. These function words are in a general category of words called auxiliaries, which Schacter (1985) defines as a class of words which express, for example, aspect, modal, mood, voice. Directionality is also another dimension which is expressed through auxiliaries in the Tai languages. In Lue, as well as other Tais, auxiliaries must co-occur with verbs. An auxiliary can occur alone only when the verb is understood from the context. Examples of some modals are:

(33) hau⁴ tan³ dai³ ham⁵ hen⁴ di:¹dî:¹
we must allow to study well
We need to study hard.

(34) ?i:¹vok⁴ tsa:n⁵ xwn³ ko:¹mai⁶
monkey able to up tree
A monkey can climb up a tree.

(35) man⁴ xai⁵ pai¹ man⁴ sc:¹
s/he want go Kunming
S/He wants to go to Kunming.

(36) to¹ luk⁴ px:⁶tsin⁵ ma:⁴ nan⁶ kon⁴ pin⁴ xu:⁴son¹
CL from Beijing come DEM should be teacher
That person from Beijing should be a teacher.

Some of the auxiliaries can also occur as verbs. The distinction is in the ordering. Notice the position of dai³ in the following examples:
(37) man⁴ dai³ pai¹ xun⁵min⁶
s/he AUX go Kunming
S/He got a chance to go to Kunming.

(38) mui₄ni⁴ to¹xa:³ kep dai³ pi:³ ?an⁴ nui⁵
today I pick up AUX pen CL one
I picked up a pen today.

(39) man⁴ xai⁵ dai³ san¹ t:¹to:¹ ko⁶ swi⁵ hu³ man⁴
s/he want receive anything grandpà then buy to her
The grandfather buys him/her whatever s/he
wants (to have).

In the above examples, dai³ as a verb has the meaning 'to receive'.
As an auxiliary, dai³ has the meaning of 'able to' when it occurs in a
postverbal position, and 'have an opportunity to do something' in a
preverbal position. The order of an auxiliary is either after or
immediately before a verb. The above examples demonstrate that certain
changes in order can signify semantic differences. Beside dai³, many
directional verbs also function as auxiliaries (See Shared
Characteristics).

Like Chinese and other Southeast Asian languages, a time distinction
between the occurrence of a situation and the time when a situation is
mentioned in a conversation is not the main focus. A situation is to be
seen as an independent event without being embedded in a temporal
context (e.g., a completed action, duration and such) (Li & Thompson,
1981). Examples of some aspect markers are:
(40) xau¹ twk¹ kin¹ xau³ ju:³
s/he ASP eat rice ASP
S/He is eating.

(41) xau¹ sa¹ kam⁴ kin¹ xau³
s/he ASP eat rice
S/He just ate.

(42) man⁴ bau² ma:⁴ ts⁵
s/he NEG come ASP
S/He has not come yet.

(43) to¹ xaː³ kin¹ thxn³ hxn³
I eat finish ASP
I finished eating.

(44) man⁴ kin¹ xau³ leu⁶
s/he eat food ASP
S/He has already eaten.

(45) man⁴ di² ma:⁴ px:⁶ tsin⁵
s/he will go Beijing
S/He will go to Beijing.

(46) meː⁵ ?um³ luk⁴ vai⁶
mother hold child ASP
The mother is holding a child.

(47) kam⁴ kon² xa:u⁵ ni⁴ tan⁴ la:i¹ ko⁴ hu:⁶ ju:²
story matter DEM everyone EM know ASP
Everyone knows of this story.
The examples above show both preverbal and postverbal aspect markers.

Utterances: Sadock and Zwicky (1985) point out that by using a form-use parameter for speech act distinctions in syntax, the three basic sentence types in most languages are: declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences. The fact that each type is exclusively different from the others and has no simultaneous membership underlines this classification (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). In Lue, the three types do not differ so much in terms of word order as compared to English where the reverse order occurs between the interrogative (e.g. wh movement) and the declarative forms. The distinction is rather in terms of usages and the occurrences of a certain word category, for example, question words and particles for interrogative sentences.

Declarative. A declarative sentence can be an utterance of any length, and consist of various types of structure from simple to complex. The relative order of subject, verb and object in Lue is SVO. Examples of simple sentences are:

(48) meu⁴ noi⁶ tek¹ nu:¹
kitten catch mouse
A kitten caught a mouse.

(49) xu:⁴ son² bu⁴ vai³ xam⁴ se:² se:²
teacher hit Ai Xam often
The teacher hit Ai Xam often.
I went to see the teacher today.

The hunter cut trees in the woods everyday.

The time adverbials can occur either initially or in a sentential final position. A prepositional phrase, on the other hand, generally occurs after a verb phrase. Prepositional markers such as ti⁵ 'at', nai⁴ 'in' (example 51 above), are used to introduce a noun phrase which comes after a VP. Lue also has a preposition which is used to introduce a noun phrase that comes before a VP, for example luk¹ (rise) 'from' in example 40 below. The preverbal preposition introducing an NP luk¹ in Lue is the same in Tai Yuan, but not in Siamese. There is no preverbal preposition introducing an NP in Siamese. Examples of sentences with prepositional phrases either preceding or following a verb are:

The student put a book on the table.

I go to school in Beijing.

Who is that man from Beijing?
There is also a ditransitive verb which requires two object nouns, a direct and an indirect object. A preposition is needed to introduce the indirect object, for example:

\[(55)\]  
\[\text{tan}^5 \ bok^2 \ xa:u^2\text{san}^1 \ di:^1 \ \text{hw}:^3 \ \text{to}^1\text{xa}:^3 \]
\[s/he \ tell \ news \ good \ to \ ]
\[S/he \ told \ me \ the \ good \ news.\]

Beside a VP with a transitive verbs, other different types of VP's are, for example, a sentential complement and a copulative:

**Sentential complement VP**

\[(56)\]  
\[\text{to}^1\text{xa}:^3 \ \text{kut}^5 \ \text{va}:^5 \ \text{tsuw}:^5 \ \text{to}^1\text{tsau}^3 \ \text{pin}^1 \ \text{?a}:^3\text{sa}:^3\text{m}^1 \]
\[I \ think \ that \ name \ you \ be \ ?a:isa:m \]
\[I \ thought \ your \ name \ was \ ?a:isa:m.\]

\[(57)\]  
\[\text{to}^1\text{xa}:^3 \ \text{bau}^2 \ \text{hu}:^6 \ \text{to}^1\text{tsau}^3 \ \text{ju}^2 \ \text{nan}^4\text{jin}^5 \]
\[I \ \text{NEG} \ know \ you \ live \ Nanjing \]
\[I \ did \ not \ know \ you \ live \ in \ Nanjing.\]

**Copulative VP**

\[(58)\]  
\[\text{xau}^1 \ \text{pin}^1 \ \text{tsau}^3\text{sathi}:^1 \]
\[he \ be \ rich \ man \]
\[He \ is \ a \ rich \ man.\]

\[(59)\]  
\[\text{to}^1\text{xa}:^3 \ \text{pin}^1 \ \text{luk}^4\text{hen}^4 \]
\[I \ be \ student \]
\[I \ am \ a \ student.\]
Beside an NP-VP composition, a nominal modifier can also occur as a predicate of a sentence:

**adjectival VP**

(60) han⁴ xau¹ lan¹ jai² lan¹ loŋ¹ nam¹ nam⁴
    house s/he CL big CL big beautiful
    His/Her house is big (and) beautiful.

(61) pop⁴ ni⁴ mai² laː¹ pop⁴ nan⁶
    book this new than book that
    This book is newer than that book.

Example 60 demonstrates a succession of modifier phrases acting as a predicate of a sentence. Example 61 has a modifier phrase occurring in a comparative construction.

**Imperative** The deletion of a subject noun is obligatory. Examples of the imperative sentences are:

(62) hap¹ patuː¹
    close door

(63) teu⁴ vai⁴ vai⁴
    walk quickly

**Interrogative** The order in an interrogative sentence is the same as the order in a declarative sentence. A question word occurs where new information is inquired in a sentence. Question particles occur at the end of a sentence. There are three ways to form a question in Lue: question words, question particles, and choice type question. Examples
**Question Words**

(64) \(\text{sin}^1 \text{ ha}^3 \text{ ?athanai man}^4 \text{ pin}^1 \text{ bau}^2 \text{ san}^1\)

What are the five Buddhist principles?

(65) \(\text{to}^1 \text{ na}^5 \text{ ju}^2 \text{ pai}^4 \text{ la}^1 \text{ pin}^4 \text{ phai}^1\)

Who is the person sitting in the back?

(66) \(\text{?au}^1 \text{ kun}^1 \text{kwen}^1 \text{ pai}^1 \text{ me}^4 \text{ ti}^5 \text{ sai}^1\)

Where did you fix your bicycle?

**Question Particles**

(67) \(\text{phak}^1 \text{ xa}^1 \text{ sam}^6 \text{ le}^5\)

Did you sell all the vegetables?

(68) \(\text{man}^4 \text{ mi}^4 \text{ kun}^1 \text{kwen}^1 \text{ ha}^5\)

Does s/he have a bicycle?

(69) \(\text{mu}^5 \text{ni}^4 \text{ to}^1 \text{tsau}^3 \text{ dai}^3 \text{ sau}^4 \text{ he}^4 \text{ ?a}^5\)

Did you get some rest today?

The use of question particles is unique in Lue and Tai Yuan. Siamese does not have interrogative particles. This feature is also not correlated with VO type language categories.
Choice type questions

(70)  tæt² nɔi⁶ ıt¹nun⁵ a.⁵ tæt⁷ jai ıt¹nun⁵ a.⁵  
      cut small a little PAR, cut big a little 0-PAR  
Do you to cut it small or big?

(71)  kam⁴ kɔn² xa:u⁵ ni⁴ pin¹ sip¹ sɔŋ¹ pàn¹ na:⁴ ha:⁴  
      story DEM be Sipsongpanna 0-PAR  
      pin¹ ti⁵ ʔun² ha:⁴  
      be place other 0-PAR  
Is this story (from) Xishuangbanna or another place?

(72)  xau³ kɔn¹ ʔim³ le³ bau² ʔim³ ts⁵ ka⁴  
      rice eat full 0-PAR, NEG. full PAR 0-PAR  
Have you had enough to eat or not?

Notice that in a choice type question, a question particle also occurs after each choice. Morev (1978) observes that in an interrogative sentence which has the juxtaposing of an affirmative and a negative choice, without any conjunction, is used only among the Tais within the Chinese border.

Shared Characteristics

The following description highlights a few key syntactic features which are shared among the Tai languages. The interaction among some of these key features forms a scheme of syntactic operation in the language. For example, it appears that the strategy for dealing with the concept of reference (i.e. deletion or repetition) also is related to how a certain syntactic pattern (e.g. SVO or Topic-comment) occurs.
It is true that word order in Lue is rather rigid. The function and meaning of a word depend on its position in a sentence, for example the usages of a directional verb as a verb or as an auxiliaries in a preverbal and postverbal position. However, in terms of usage, the position of a constituent does not necessarily show its grammatical function and its relation to other constituents in the strict VO order. The concepts of emphasis and definiteness are expressed through preposing operations in a topic-comment structure. In this way the SVO is not as rigid as generally thought since any part of speech can be preposed while the ordering of the rest stays fixed. Therefore the topic-comment structure has a grammatical relation to the theme-information approach, the emphasis and definiteness in function, and the initial position of a word or a phrase as its form. Examples are:

(73) \( \text{mu}^{1} \text{xai}^{1} \text{sam}^{6} \text{leu}^{4} \text{kæt}^{1} \text{ka}^{5} \text{kai}^{2} \)  
pig sell all ASP surplus only chicken 
All the pigs are sold; only chickens are left.

(74) \( \text{xøn}^{1} \text{thu:k}^{2} \text{man}^{4} \text{bau}^{2} \text{xai}^{5} \text{sw}^{6} \)  
thing cheap s/he NEG. want buy 
sw^{6} \text{ka}^{5} \text{xøn}^{1} \text{pen}^{4}  
buy only thing expensive 
S/He does not like to buy cheap things, only expensive things.

(75) \( \text{luk}^{4} \text{tæn}^{2} \text{to}^{1} \text{ni}^{4} \text{tæ:a:t}^{4} \text{va}^{5} \text{ja:k}^{4} \)  
child CL DEM very stubborn 
This child is very stubborn.
The above examples demonstrate that a VP, modifier or object nouns can all be preposed to the initial position.

As preposing is a strategy to express emphasis and focusing on definite items, zero pronominalization is a strategy to deemphasize what has already been known. NP deletion occurs when an NP is understood or commonly aware of by both speakers in the context. The pattern of NP deletion occurs in both the SVO type and the topic-comment type sentences. Repetition of a personal pronoun or any topic which is already known is not desirable. This type of optional deletion is quite common in many East and Southeast Asian languages. The deletion of either a subject or an object NP can be seen in the following transcription of a partial conversation.16

A pi:5 ton4 ten2 jin4 ?a:5?
    sister (you) see movie Q-PAR
    Have you seen any movies?

B ton4 ?a:5
    see PAR
    (Yes), I have.
As we can see in the above conversation, once the topic of the conversation 'movie' is established at the beginning of the conversation, the occurrences of 'movie' after that are deleted. Personal pronouns are also deleted except when switching the focus of a conversation. For example, when speaker A in the above example changes the focus from 'what movie?' to 'what do you think of the movie?', the title for speaker B's 'sister' needs to be addressed again. However, notice that since the movie is still the topic of a conversation, speaker B needs not mention it again when commenting about the movie in the last sentence.

The deletion of an NP in a declarative sentence, either a subject or an object, is common. These forms look similar to imperative type sentences. However, the distinction is that the deletion is optional in a declarative sentence, but not the case in the imperative. In terms of comprehension, the deleted noun phrases do not hinder the flow of the conversation. Huang (1984) discusses the "hot" and "cool" type languages.
in which communicative comprehension in the former type depends on obvious surface structures (e.g., agreements), while the latter type depends on full participation of a hearer or reader (e.g., context). The possible deletion of the topic "movie" in the above Lue conversation also shows that Lue is, in Huang's terms, a discourse-oriented and not a sentence-oriented language.

The zero pronominalization shown above illustrates how a language expresses the concept of reference. Contrary to the fact that there is no class of words functioning as reference markers (e.g. articles in English), the language does express the concept in other ways. There is a close relationship between nominal references and the ordering of constituents. There are two strategies in dealing with references. The main focus is on the unknown and the known items. The unknown item is expressed through a declarative sentence which provides new information in a SVO order syntactic structure. The known item, on the other hand, is dealt with in two ways. One is the deletion of a known item, particularly when repetition serves neither a syntactic nor aesthetic purpose. The other is the preposing of a known item for the purpose of focusing, emphasis or definiteness. The preposing process can occur in both the marked and unmarked forms. The marked form occurs in preposing object constructions such as passivization or the ?au construction (see Chapter IV). The unmarked form occurs in topic-comment type sentences where a constituent can be placed in a sentential position for the purpose of focusing. Notice the relationship between word order and reference in the following conversation. The
consecutive numbers are assigned for convenience in the discussion.\textsuperscript{17}

$$A_1 \; \text{pi}:^5 \; \text{hu}:^6 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{ho}:^3$$

sister (you) know writing Chinese

Do you know (how to write) Chinese?

$$B_1 \; \text{ve}:^4 \; \text{mx}:^5 \; \text{kon}:^2 \; \text{no}:^4 \; \text{pi}:^5 \; \text{ko}:^6 \; \text{hen}:^4 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{ho}:^3$$

ITJ previous PAR sister then study writing Chinese

Uh, I have studied it before.

$$A_2 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{tai}:^4 \; \text{ni}:^4 \; \text{hu}:^6 \; \text{a}:^5$$

writing Tai (Lue) DEM know 0-PAR

How about Tai writing?

$$B_2 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{tai}:^4 \; \text{ko}:^6 \; \text{a}:^3 \; \text{tan}:^2 \; \text{ko}:^6 \; \text{dai}:^3$$

writing Tai (Lue) ITJ read then able

tem\textsuperscript{3} ko\textsuperscript{6} dai\textsuperscript{3}

write then able

I can read and write in Tai.

$$A_3 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{tai}:^4 \; \text{kau}:^2 \; \text{ni}:^4$$

writing Tai old DEM

How about the Old Tai writing?

$$B_3 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{tai}:^4 \; \text{kau}:^2 \; \text{tem}:^3 \; \text{ni}:^4 \; \text{bau}:^2 \; \text{sa}:^1 \; \text{hs}$$

writing Tai old write DEM NEG whatever PAR

\text{tan}\textsuperscript{2} ni\textsuperscript{4} bau ko\textsuperscript{6} \text{a}:\textsuperscript{4} \text{ma}:\textsuperscript{4} ma\textsuperscript{4} dai\textsuperscript{3}

read DEM NEG then answer RDP come RDP able

I don't know how to write the Old Tai writing and can only read a little

$$A_4 \; \text{to}:^1 \; \text{thai}:^4 \; \text{ni}:^4$$

writing Thai DEM

How about Thai writing?
In the above conversation, the first A and B question and answer pair set up the topic of the conversation. The SVO order is used for the purpose of inquiring and giving out new information which is "learning of a writing." There is no deletion of the subject or object nouns. The A speaker, then proceeds to ask the question mentioning only the topics throughout the conversation. Notice that in B_2, B_3, and B_4 the topic are repeated but the subject and the object of the sentences are all deleted.

Another commonly shared characteristic among the Tai languages is the occurrence of a few directional verbs. The directionality indicates the distance relationship between the place of occurrence and the place of utterance based on the perception of a speaker and also both the speaker and the listener in some situations. Moss (1964) describes the functions of a directional verb in Siamese according to the three positions it occurs in, verbal, preverbal, and postverbal positions. Both preverbal and postverbal occurrences express directionality. The difference is that the preverbal occurrence reflects the attitude of the speaker while the postverbal occurrence indicates the result of the action (i.e. aspect and direction).
Motion verbs such as \textit{pai}^1 \textquote{go} and \textit{ma}^4 \textquote{come} normally occur as the main verb of a sentence, for example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{78) man}^4 \textit{pai}^1 \text{ka.t}^1 \text{se.}^2\text{se.}^2 \\
\quad s/he go market often \\
\quad S/He often goes to the market.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{79) man}^4 \textit{ma}^4 \text{ho}^4\text{hen}^4 \text{tsu}^5\text{van}^4 \\
\quad s/he come school every day \\
\quad S/He comes to school every day.
\end{itemize}

However, these motion verbs are also used extensively with main verbs to express the general direction of the action relative to the speaker. English verbs such as \textquote{take} or \textquote{bring} have a built in directional meaning. In Lue, \textit{ma}^4 is used to indicate a direction of the action toward the speaker and \textit{pai}^1 is away from the speaker. Examples of the occurrence in a preverbal position are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{80) na}^1\text{su}^1\text{phim}^4 \text{ka}^6 \text{j\`a}^4 \text{bau}^2 \text{tsa}^5 \text{na}^2 \text{ta}^5, \\
\quad newspaper then yet NEG able to read PAR \\
\quad \text{j\`a}^4 \text{di}^1 \text{pai}^1 \text{na}^2 \text{vo}^4\text{ha}^1 \text{ka}^1\text{tem}^3 \\
\quad yet will DIR read literature \\
\quad (S/He) cannot even read newspaper, how can (s/he) reads literature.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{81) d\`e}^2 \text{\`a}^2 \text{ha}^3 \text{\`a}^1 \text{ma}^1\text{xa}^1 \text{pai}^1 \text{ta}^1 \text{do}^4 \\
\quad sunshine out PAR \text{\`a}^1 \text{eggplant DIR dry PAR} \\
\quad The sun is out, let's dry the eggplants outside.
\end{itemize}

The preverbal occurrences can indicate directionality in a physical sense such as example \textbf{81} and also in an abstract sense such as example
Examples of the occurrence in a postverbal position are:

(82) tha¹han¹ phu³ ni⁵ tso³ psn² ben²
soldier CL this PASS they divide
pai¹ ju² mas⁴ la⁶
DIR exist Mengla.
This soldier was dispatched to Mengla.

(83) xep¹ ku⁵ mw⁶ ni⁴ sw⁶ ma⁴
shoes pair today buy DIR
pen⁴ ksn² ni⁵
expensive surplus this
The pair of shoes I bought today are too expensive.

(84) xa:u⁵ kam⁴ kon² ni⁴ dai³ hu⁶ ti⁵ nai¹ ma⁴
matter story DEM able know where DIR
Where have you heard this story?

pai¹ and ma⁴ in the above examples indicate, not only directionality, but also the completion of the action. Beside pai¹ and ma⁴ in the above examples, other directional verbs are, for example, xau³ 'enter', rək² 'exit'. These verbs also share the common property of being auxiliary verbs indicating direction.

Wu and Zhang (1981) also point out the extended usage of pai¹ and ma⁴ to indicate a favorable or an unfavorable aspect of the action. ma⁴ has good connotations while pai¹ does not. Examples are: dai³ ma⁴ 'receive' and haːi¹ pai¹ 'loss'.

Another one of the typical sentence types in Lue, as well as in Chinese and many Southeast Asian languages, is the serial verb construction. The structure has an extended VP part. The multiple
occurrences of a V (O) sequence is the main feature. Li and Thompson (1981) define SVC as a construction which is characterized by the stringing together of two or more verb phrases without any marker to indicate a relationship between them. Most linguists agree that an SVC sentence represents one whole event, not a conjoining of separate events. An example in Chinese is the following:

(85) tā zuótiān pái yi ge rén
s/he yesterday send one CL person
dào chēnli qù mǎi yīdiǎn
PP town go buy some
jídàn gěi tā bàba chī
eggs give s/he father eat
Yesterday s/he sent somebody to town to buy some eggs for her father (to eat)

Examples in Lue are:

(86) xau1tsau3 san2 to1xa3 ma1 xu4son2
they tell I DIR find teacher
They told me to look for the teacher.

(87) pσn4 hoŋ6 man4 pai1 kin1 xau3
they call s/he DIR eat rice
They invited him/her to eat (at their house).

(88) xau1tsau3 xau3 ka:t1 sw4 pik1 pok1
they enter market buy cloth return
ma2 jep1 ss3
DIR sew clothes
They went to the market to buy cloth (and) came home to sew.
The shared characteristics as described above are core characteristics of not only Lue and the Tai languages but also many other languages in the east and southeast Asian region. It is also possible that many of these features are shared among non-related languages in the region as a result of language contact.
Chapter III
GENERAL DESCRIPTION II

The fourth part of the general description of Lue, the writing system, is discussed in this chapter. As has mentioned earlier in Chapter I that the indic and the Chinese influences can be seen clearly through the development in Lue writing. There is a very striking parallel developments of how loanwords from either Indic or Chinese are first introduced and later on established in Lue. The borrowing of a writing system based on Pali and the follow up of a large amount of Pali loanwords had a profound impact in Lue in the past. At present the new simplified Lue writing and the modern Chinese words in Lue are becoming a part of what eventually will be a modern Lue. The discussion of the writing system covers the description of how the native sounds are represented as well as the comparison between the Old and the New writings. In the last section, the unique characteristics of Lue within the context of the Tai languages is the main focus. Similarities between Tai Yuan and Lue are summarized briefly. Some dialectal differences and certain distinctive features of Lue compared to other Taís which have been pointed out throughout the descriptions in the previous chapter are summarized.
Writing system

The writing of Sipsongpanna is one of the four types of Tai writing in Yunnan. The obvious rounded shape alphabet of Lue writing makes it very different in appearance from the writing of Dehong Tai (Tai Nuea) in western Yunnan and from White Tai in the Jinping area of southeastern Yunnan, which is adjacent to the Vietnamese border (See Figure 8). The following description of Lue writing is based primarily on Dao Shixun's works (1982a, 1982b).

At present, there are two types of Lue writing, traditional and simplified. The traditional writing system consists of the letters as shown in Table 8. The 56 letters are arranged in a set of nine lines. The first line consists of eight vowels which occur alone. Additionally, [a] has various other properties including being an initial and occurring as part of a complex vowel. For example [a] combines with [s] in words like [s], which means 'bait' (Dao, 1982). Vowel shifts occur in some vowels with finals. For example, short vowels [u] and [i] become long [u:] and [i:]; the unrounded [a] becomes the back rounded vowel [o] (Dao, 1982). Lines two through seven consist of 32 consonants plus one syllabic letter [an]. These first 41 letters are derived from Pali both in terms of their sounds and order of arrangement. They are used mainly for formal writing, particularly in Buddhist and official documents which contain many Pali loanwords. The 15 letters in the last two lines were created to correspond to some native sounds which are not represented by the 41 Pali-based letters.
For example, the additional letters \( \text{ʒ} \) and \( \text{ɕ} \) correspond to the fricative [ʃ], which is a native sound, but does not exist in Pali. These additional sounds, called toː teə̯ man⁴, are used in local style of writing (Dao, 1982b). Among them, only [ɕ] [pha] and [sa] can be used to write Pali words. The rest are used for native words only (Dao, 1982b).

Table 8

Traditional alphabets

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional alphabets</th>
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<td>L. Pha</td>
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<td>L. Sa</td>
<td>(tsaː)</td>
<td>(tsaːː)</td>
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<td>L. That</td>
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<td>L. Pat</td>
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</table>
These 56 letters altogether represent 19 initials: p, ph, b, m, f, v, t, th, d, n, l, s, ts, k, n, x, ?, h, and j. Only the glottal stop [?] occurs as an initial in the forms of syllabic vowels. The consonants are divided into two groups, corresponding to high and low tones. Within each group there are three tonal variations. The tonal distinction feature of the consonants makes it possible to use only two tone marks for the existing six tones. The tone marks in both traditional and simplified forms are in Table 9 below. The tone scale column on the far right represents tone variations in modern Lue, but not in old Lue.

Table 9
Traditional and modern tone marks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones</th>
<th>Traditional form</th>
<th>Simplified form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Tone</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
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<td>Low Tone</td>
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<td>5</td>
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Besides the eight syllabic vowels [a], [a:], [i], [i:], [u], [u:], [e], and [o:], there are also 18 single vowels and 13 complex vowels. These are vowels which cannot occur alone, but are used in spelling. Table 10 below shows these vowels in their traditional variant forms and simplified forms. Single vowels which are derived from Pali are indicated by a plus sign in the rightmost column. Except
for the long vowel \( \text{j} [a:] \) which is related to the syllabic vowel already mentioned above, the vowels without plus signs are the additional ones created for native Lue.

### Table 10
Traditional and simplified vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplified form</th>
<th>Traditional form</th>
<th>Pali base</th>
<th>Simplified form</th>
<th>Traditional form</th>
<th>Pali base</th>
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The following Table 11 summarizes possible orthographic forms for consonant finals in Lue as discussed in Dao Shixun's work (Dao, 1982a)
As shown in Table 11 above, the six consonant finals in Lue can be written in many orthographic forms. The original pronunciation and form of each consonant are shown in the middle column. In addition to ə for final [-ŋ], there are three more variants for [an]: ə, æ, and ɔ. These forms are used for Pali words. ə for final [n] is rewritten as ə when it is a final of the first syllable and simultaneously an initial of the second syllable. The rightmost column will be explained later on in the text. The following are a few examples to illustrate the spelling in Lue: ʃə [pa: j] 'fish'; ʃəŋ ʃəŋ [pi: ma: 5] 'grandmother'; ə ə [ləp] 'sleep'.

Spelling in Lue poses two major difficulties, the carry-over of writing conventions from Pali and the use of complex orthographic rules.
The influence of the Pali writing method and the enormous number of Pali loanwords create many complications. The combination of preserving Pali and the adaptation of Pali sounds into the native sound system allow great diversities in Lue spelling. A clear example can be seen in the attempt to maintain Pali writing for finals eventhough the distinction in pronunciation does not exist in Lue. Regarding orthographic rules, Lue employs a unique method of writing called to \^fat\^ or \^hè tâ zi\ in Chinese which, may be translated as 'graphic blend'. The method is used for combining the spelling of two or more syllables together (Vu & Zhang, 1981). There are two types of spelling using the graphic blend method. One is to write the initial of the second syllable under the final of the first syllable. The other type is to use a single letter as both the final of the first syllable and the initial of the second syllable. Examples are \(\text{but}^1\text{ti}^1\) (\(\text{bu}^2\text{t}^2\)), which means 'daughter'; and \(\text{set}^1\text{thi}^1\) (\(\text{se}^2\text{t}^2\)), which means 'rich man' (Vu & Zhang, 1981). So far the graphic blend method has been found only in Pali loanwords and not in native words (Dao, 1980). Moreover, the initials in a two syllable word can share the same vowel, for example \(\text{ka}^4\text{thi}^1\) (\(\text{ka}^1\text{th}^1\)) 'curse', in addition to the various possible positions for placing both consonants and vowels, orthographic complexity also arises from the fact that a phoneme can be presented by various different forms and that each form can occur only in certain environments. Some letters can occur both in initial and final positions, but some cannot. Some letters can be used to write Pali or native words only, and some can do both. In the spelling of a word with two or more syllables, only parts of the orthographic
symbols for certain designated consonants are used (Dao, 1982a). These abbreviated symbols may be called partial markers. There are 11 common partial markers which can be used with, or in place of, the regular consonants. Dao Shixun (1982a) discussed in detail properties of both partial markers and consonants. The following is a partial summary of this complex system, based on the extensive discussion in Dao Shixun's work (Dao, 1982a). We begin with Table 12 which summarizes general properties of the 11 partial markers.

Table 12
General properties of the 11 partial markers

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Original form</th>
<th>j</th>
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<th>th</th>
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<tr>
<td>Properties:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Initials</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Initials of 2nd syllable</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Initial clusters</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>4. Finals</td>
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<td>5. Aspirate feature</td>
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<td>6. Distinguish sound/meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Conventional writing</td>
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</table>
As shown in Row 1 of Table 12 above, the three occurrences of partial markers that occur as initials are (y) [j], (y) [p], and (th) [th]. In Row 5, partial marker (th), is added on to the following consonants to indicate an aspirate feature: (th) [p]—(ph), (th) [b]—(ph), (th) [k]—(kh) or (x), (th) and (th) [t]—(th). Some occurrences of (th) also carry an initial cluster at the same time and thus become (thl). In Row 6, (th) is also used to distinguish both the pronunciation and meaning of words which otherwise would be homographs, such as: (th) [ha3] meaning 'five' and the emphatic marker (th) [hak2]. The category "conventional writing" in Row 7 refers to words which still retain their original Pali spelling even though their pronunciations have already changed in Lue. The three markers used for this purpose in conventional spelling are (th) [j], (th) [p], and (th). For example, (th) and (th), both pronounced [kai3], mean 'near' (Siamese pronunciation is [klai]); (th) and (th), both pronounced [tsai1], mean 'heart'; (th) [sat2], which was at one time pronounced [savat2] means 'incantation'.

The properties of partial markers in Rows 2 (initials of second syllable), and Row 3 (initial clusters), of Table 12 can only occur with certain consonants, which are shown in the next table below. The right sides of Table 13 and 14 are an expansion of Rows 2 and 3 of Table 12 showing the possible combinations of markers and consonants in graphic blend spelling. In this table, a check mark (✓) indicates a combination in which the marker is an initial of the second syllable. The symbol (cl) indicates a combination in which the marker is an initial cluster. The left sides of Table 13 and 14 indicate general properties of consonants.
Plus signs (+) indicate that a consonant has a particular property. The asterisk marker (*) means that the consonant occurs in the category only in Pali loanwords in graphic blend spelling.

Table 13
Possible combinations of the partial markers and consonants in graphic blend spelling

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<th>Consonant</th>
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<th>Low Tone</th>
<th>No H/L</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Pali loan</th>
<th>Native loan</th>
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<td>c</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14
Possible combinations of the partial markers and consonants in graphic blend spelling II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>High Tone</th>
<th>Low Tone</th>
<th>No Hi.</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Full use</th>
<th>Notion use</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>√/√</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>√c</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td>√c</td>
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<td>x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In Table 13 and 14 above, three of the consonants have variants in form: \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) \([d]\) is rewritten \(\mathfrak{g}\) when used in a low tone group; \(\mathfrak{g}\) \([n]\) is rewritten \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) when it occurs with a long vowel \(\mathfrak{g}\) \([\mathfrak{a}]\); \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) retains its original form when it occurs as a final in graphic blend spelling, but it has three alternate forms \(\mathfrak{g}, \hat{\mathfrak{g}}, \text{ and } \hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) when it occurs somewhere else. \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) has no vowel height distinction when it occurs with \(\mathfrak{g}\) \([s]\) in graphic blend spelling. Two of the consonants have variants in pronunciation. The consonant \(\mathfrak{g}\) has the pronunciation \([hr]\) among educated people, and \([r], [l], \text{ or } [hl]\) among the other people. When the consonant \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) occurs with the partial marker \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) it will have three alternate pronunciations \([x], [xr], \text{ and } [xl]\).

The property of partial markers in Row 4 (finals) of Table 12 has been expanded on the rightmost side of the previous Table 11. There are three partial markers representing final \([n]\) in graphic blend spelling. Consonants which can occur with the three partial markers are listed in the parentheses. A few examples are the following words (Dao, 1982a):

\(\mathfrak{g}\) or \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) \(\text{[pun]}\) 'forest'; \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) \(\text{[sip]}\) \(\text{[son]}\) \(\text{[pan]}\) \(\text{[na]}\) 'Sipsongpanna'; \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) \(\text{[nam]}\) 'beautiful'; \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) \(\text{[bup]}\) 'hit'.

We can see from the description and the examples above that traditional Lue writing demands a lengthy period of time to master. Problems associated with the system include complicated regulations, variants in form and pronunciation, and Pali loanwords which have become more and more obscure in modern Lue. There is also a need to adjust the system to conform to modern technology, for example placing vowels and consonants on the same line for ease in printing (See Figure
With very few exceptions the conventional abbreviated orthographic forms had been replaced by regular way of spelling (see Figure 7). Attempts to make Tai writing more systematic and easier to use are not new. Tai writing systems, both Lanna and Siamese, are based on foreign writings which have been adapted for the native sound system. Many people have found Tai writing difficult and various attempts to change it have occurred throughout its history. For example, in Siamese writing, the most recent attempt was in 1942 during the administration of Prime Minister P. Piboonsonkhram. His administration proposed changes to reduce many variant forms carried over from Pali and Sanskrit (Phongphaibûn, 1980). However, this attempt did not prevail. Language reform projects need a strong central government as well as the acceptance of the people who use the system.

As part of China's language reform movement, the revision of Lue traditional writing began in 1953. China Academy of Science's Institute of Linguistics and the Commission of Minority Affairs of Yunnan Province carried out the project which was approved by the central government in 1955 (Wu & Zhang, 1981). The result is Lue's simplified writing system (see Figure 5 for comparison between the traditional hand copied and the new printed simplified versions). The simplified vowels are illustrated in Table 10 and the simplified tones are in Table 9. The consonants are shown in Table 15.
Table 15
Lue simplified alphabet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lue simplified alphabet</th>
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The above simplified form is an attempt to systematize the traditional writing. Each simplified letter is not newly created, but is a selected variant form of the traditional letter. The high and low tone division of consonants is preserved while the total number of consonants is reduced to 42. Each consonant phoneme is represented by one high and one low tone consonant. Regular consonants also replace partial markers which were previously used in graphic blend spelling. Four orthographic forms are added on to the alphabet to represent both high and low tone for [kw] and [xw]. The glottal stop [], which was traditionally represented by many syllabic vowels, is now one of the consonants. Consonants like [b] and [h], which traditionally represented many sounds, now only represent one sound (Wu & Zhang, 1981).

Minimizing the number of variants both in form and pronunciation is the major achievement of the new system. Perhaps the most obvious change is in the writing of finals. Various complex Pali finals are omitted. The finals of the new system clearly show the relationship between the finals and the consonant representing the same phoneme. The possible finals are [ŋ], [n], [m], [p], [t], and [k].

Besides abolishing the traditional graphic blend spelling, the new system also eliminates the traditional way of placing certain vowels and tone marks above and below the consonants.

The marking of tones in the new system is still based on the old principle that the first and fourth tones are unmarked because the division of consonants already marks the distinction. Therefore the
second and third tones in the high tone consonant group are marked the same way as the fifth and sixth tones in the low tone consonant group. The traditional tone marks are replaced with the symbols 6 and € which can be written on the same line as the consonants. Since words which have finals [p] and [k] occur in the 1st, 2nd and 5th tones, only the 2nd tone needs to be marked (Wu & Zhang, 1981).

The following is a comparison of the traditional and simplified forms of a sample sentence from Dao (1981, pp. 85-88):

**Traditional form**

\[ \text{Traditional form} \]

**Simplified form**

\[ \text{Simplified form} \]

Drink the water but do not forget the person who dug the well.

Lue and Other Tais

Among the Tais of northern Thailand, Lue is related to Tai Yuan. There are many shared characteristics between these two Tai dialects which are different from Siamese. The similarities and differences are
due to the historical development of the sound system in the Tai languages. The development in the consonant system is a clear example. Both Tai Yuan and Lue lack the Siamese [r] and [l] distinction. Moreover, words that have [l] as an initial in Siamese have [h] as an initial in these two Tai dialects. Initial [ch] occurs in Siamese but not in Tai Yuan nor Lue. Certain aspirated consonants which are similar between Tai Yuan and Lue are different from Siamese. The correspondence of the initial consonants [c], [p], [t], and [k] in Tai Yuan and Lue which are distinct from Siamese [ch], [ph], [th], and [kh] can be traced back to the proto-Tai form of voiced initials *j, *b, *d, and *g, respectively (Sarawit, 1973). A few examples to demonstrate the differences between Siamese on one hand and Tai Yuan and Lue on the other hand are: Siamese ช้าง 'elephant' and ชัย 'use' are Tai Yuan คาอ and ไค, and Lue ตสอ and ตซี; Siamese ผู้ 'father' and แพง 'expensive' are Tai Yuan โป and ปnen and Lue โป and ปเณ; Siamese ทาง 'way' and ที่ 'at' are Tai Yuan ตาน and ติ, and Lue ตาน and ติ; Siamese ขาย 'commerce' and คู 'a pair' are Tai Yuan คา and คู, and Lue คา and คู.

It has also been known that, except for Siamese, many other Tai languages do not have the consonant cluster feature, particularly with [r] and [l] in a second position. Even in Pali loanwords, a consonant cluster often remains in written forms only. In Tai Yuan, similar to Lue, a short vowel occurs between the two segments of a cluster. A few examples comparing Tai Yuan and Siamese from Phayomyong (1984) are: สระ pronounce สำ for 'pond' and สำระ for 'vowels' in Siamese, but สระ (and also following Siamese สะ) for both meanings in Tai Yuan; similarly,
sri: is si: in Siamese and sari: (and also following Siamese si:) in Tai Yuan. Although Siamese has up to the present time developed many combinations of consonant clusters, in actual pronunciation the dropping of [li] is very common in a day-to-day speech. The only true consonant clusters in Tai Yuan and Lue are those with a semi-vowel [u] occurring in the second position of an initial. There are as many as eleven combinations in Tai Yuan (Bangkok Thai-Chiangmai Thai Dictionary, 1981). Lue has fewer combinations and is more similar to Tai Yong which according to Pankhu'ankhat's (1978) report has [u] occurring only with the velar consonants.

Certain vowel features in Lue, on the other hand, differ from Tai Yuan and Siamese. Lue has monophthongs instead of the diphthongs [ia], [wa], and [ua] as in Tai Yuan and Siamese. For example, Lue: me:⁴ 'wife' and hen⁴ 'study' are Siamese mia and rian, and Tai Yuan mia² and hian²; Lue sx:¹ 'tiger' and ks:¹ 'salt' are Siamese swa and kluwa, and Tai Yuan swa¹ and kwa¹; Lue ho⁴ 'cow' is Siamese vua and Tai Yuan nua². Lue also has the vowel raising features of o — u and e — i, (Li, 1964).

The result is the distinction in Lue from Tai Yuan and Siamese, for example, Lue sum³ 'sour' and tsum¹ 'submerge' are Siamese som and tsom, and Tai Yuan som⁵ and tsom¹; Lue sin³ 'line' and pin¹ 'to be' are Siamese sen and pen, and Tai Yuan sen and pen¹. Besides the distinction above, there are, however, a few similarities. Some vowel correspondences between Lue and Tai Yuan which differ from Siamese are, for example, between [w] and [a] or [i] such as: Siamese luk 'deep' and tswan 'then' are lax⁵ and tsin² in Lue and lax and tsin in Tai Yuan, but Siamese kit 'think'
and *pèt* 'open' are **kwùt** in Lue and **kwùt** and **pùt** in Tai Yuan.

In terms of syntactic features, the role of a question particle, which is lacking in Siamese, is very prominent in the two Tai dialects. One of the unique characteristics about question particles is that one same particle is sometimes used in both the question and the response to that question. Hartmann (1976) gives an example for the particle **kà». The data in this dissertation also show **tà»** behaves similarly (see transcriptions of a conversation in Chapter II). In terms of word order, many features which do not exist in Siamese do occur in both Tai Yuan and Lue. The reversed order in certain noun compounds, an intensifier before a modifier, a prepositional phrase precedes a verb phrase (e.g. **lùk kà:t pík ma lé:w** (from/market/return/DIR/ASP) 'I am back from the market' in Tai Yuan) are among the obvious features which have already been mentioned.

As previous comparative studies have shown, although most of the Tai languages are by and large typologically uniform, various distinctive features do exist. Some of these distinctive features appear to be newly acquired features which are distinctly foreign to the native form. Two major concerns regarding these changes naturally involve the causes of the change and the nature of the change itself. The cause of the change is a complex issue, particularly in a linguistic area such as south China and southeast Asia where various languages, related or unrelated, have had contacts throughout their long historical development. Some of the striking differences appear to be the result of the external influence on a particular Tai dialect. However, the
causes of some of the differences are difficult to identify. As for the nature of the change, a comparative study of Lue reflects two dominant trends. One is the change that occurs in a feature which is formerly shared among certain Tai dialects but has now developed, under partial external influence, into a unique feature of its own. The other is the change created by the additional features brought about solely through linguistic contacts.

It is true that genetically related languages often develop in parallel fashion. However, diversities in the development of a formerly shared feature do occur. In Lue there is a case of a unique development of the intensifier `tsa:t', or `ca:t' in Tai Yuan, which is one of the formerly shared features between the two Tai dialects. Moss (1964) speculates that `ca:t' in Tai Yuan is related to Siamese `càt'. However, the Siamese intensifier `càt' only follows a modifier, for example `wà:n càt' very sweet. `ca:t' in Tai Yuan occurs before a modifier as in Lue, but has much more limited usage, for example, `ca:t' `muan' 'a lot of fun', `ca:t' `lam' 'very tasty', `ca:t' `di:' 'very good', `ca:t' `lai' 'many'. In Lue `tsa:t' has developed more extensively than in Tai Yuan. Besides occurring before a modifier such as `tsa:t' `nam' 'very pretty', `tsa:t' can occur before a predicate of either adjective or verb phrases in Lue. Examples are:

(1)  `màk' `mài6 ti5ni3 van1 `ka:6 van1 `hom1 `ka:6 fruit here sweet EMP sweet fragrance EMP `hom1 `tsa:t4 di:1 kin1 fragrance very good eat
This fruit is sweet and fragrant (and) very good to eat.
He is a rich man, and his house is very big.

The word 'tsa:t' in example 1 precedes an adverbial modifier 'di.' which is followed by a verb. This expanded usage of 'tsa:t' appears to bear a certain similarity to 'hēn' 'very' in Chinese, particularly in the usages such as 'tsa:t di.1 kin1 'good to eat'; 'tsa:t di.1 fan4 'good to listen to', which correspond to 'hēn hǎo chī' and 'hēn hǎo tīng', respectively, in Chinese. Similar examples in verb phrases are 'tsa:t xai4 pai1' (very/want/go) 'very much want to go' and 'tsa:t mak4 ton4 pop4' (very/like/read/book) 'very much like to read books' which are 'hēn xiāng qù' and 'hēn xīhuān kàn shū', respectively, in Chinese. The similarity which has been pointed out here does not mean that the words 'tsa:t' and 'hēn' are related. The examples only demonstrate that the usages of 'tsa:t' appear to diverge from those in Tai Yuan and that the development seems to resemble only certain usages of 'hēn' in Chinese. Another 'tsa:t' usage is, however, unique to Lue only. In example 2 above, 'tsa:t' occurs before a classifier which is followed by a modifier. This type of structure does not occur with 'hēn' in Chinese and neither with 'ca:t' usage in Tai Yuan. The development of 'tsa:t' usages in Lue, therefore, show both unique characteristics and the possible indirect influences from foreign structures on the already existing native structures.

Another example of an external influence which has an effect on the formerly shared feature is the word order. It is apparent that there
are two co-existing word orders in which the native order of Head before modifiers can be reversed. Besides examples such as ḷsk\textsuperscript{5} xut\textsuperscript{1}~xut\textsuperscript{1} ḷsk\textsuperscript{5} 'dig deeply', there is the case of a modifier di\textsuperscript{1} 'good' preceding its verbal Head. The striking change of order may seem drastic. However, the condition of the change is supported by a known fact that change in a language is likely to occur if there is already a tendency in that direction. As has been mentioned before, besides the relatively rigid order of a verb to an object noun, there is a variation in the positions of other elements in a VP in Lue. The intensifier tsaːt\textsuperscript{4} can occur either before or after a modifier. Therefore changing the order of modifier di\textsuperscript{1} is possible, particularly when it occurs together with an intensifier tsaːt\textsuperscript{4}. The Chinese order of [intensifier ♦ modifier ♦ verb] is therefore possible in Lue in the combination of [tsaːt\textsuperscript{4} ♦ di\textsuperscript{1} ♦ predicate]. One also has to keep in mind that the order of a modifier may not be as consistent as one would think. For example, an isolated case from the Tai dialect spoken in Songkhla also has a modifier occurring before its verbal Head in waːj phlun (quick ♦ boil) 'boil rapidly'.

On the other hand, the order in a noun phrase remains typical of the southwestern branch of the Tai languages. In nominal compounds of loanblends where Chinese and Lue words form a new combination, the order does not change. There are a few nominal compounds in Lue which have a reversed order from Siamese, but these are not a new order. Many of them are similar to those of Tai Yuan. Examples are nam\textsuperscript{4} mcː\textsuperscript{5} 'river', kai\textsuperscript{2} mcː\textsuperscript{5} 'hen', faːi\textsuperscript{3} dɔk\textsuperscript{2} 'cotton (flower)', which are mɛnɛm, mɛkài, and dɔkfâːj, respectively, in Siamese. The reversed order of
compounds in Siamese compared to other Tais has been pointed out in some previous works, for example between Tai Yuan and Siamese (Purnell, 1965). The Tai spoken in Songkhla in southern Thailand has tan khaːu 'a layer of dried cooked rice' and taː luːan 'a term addressing an old and respectable priest', while the Siamese order of the same words is khāu tan and luān taː, respectively (Phânuphong, 1976). It seems that the order in certain nominal compounds in Siamese is the reverse of other Tais both north and south.

Grammatical changes, although small, do signify interesting developments in Lue. Besides changes in word order of a certain modifier, there are some Chinese-like features such as the choice type question forming (see Syntax, Chapter III), and some isolated cases of prepositional usage. For example, the use of the preposition nxː¹ 'on' in nxː¹ kat¹ 'at the market' seems to follow the Chinese usage shàng jiè (on street) 'go shopping'. The correct prepositions in Lue are ti⁵ 'at', and nai⁴ 'in'. Omission of prepositions is often the case.

However not all the unique grammatical features are necessarily the result of an external influence. One of the unique characteristics in Lue which has not been mentioned in the previous chapter is the alternate occurrence of a noun as a verb. The usage of a noun as a verb is atypical in the Tai languages. Notice that the word jaː¹ 'medicine' can also occur as a verb 'to give medicine' in the following examples.
(3) luk⁴ko³n² to:¹ ni⁴ bau² xaι⁵ kin¹ ja:¹  
child CL DEM NEG want eat medicine  
me:⁵ xaυ¹ ha:k¹ ja:¹ man⁴ kin¹  
mother s/he EMP give medicine s/he eat  
This child did not want to take the medicine (so)  
the mother forced him/her to take it.

(4) kan⁴va⁵ ho⁴ tsap¹ phajaːt⁴ ni⁴  
if cow hold decease DEM  
to¹ tan⁵ ko⁶ ja:¹ hw³ haːi¹  
you then give medicine get well  
If the cow gets sick, then (you) give it medicine  
to get well.

In example 3, the first occurrence of ja:¹ is an object noun of the  
verb kin¹, while in the second occurrence ja:¹ is a verb which precedes  
the pronoun man⁴. In example 4 ja:¹ is a verb.

The additional change brought about by external influence in the  
lexicon will perhaps be the most prominent change in the years to come  
in which close Tai dialects such as Tai Yuan and Lue are beginning to  
grow apart. The lexicon in Tai Yuan and Lue is typical of the  
southwestern branch of the Tai languages. The overlapping of Pali and  
native Tai words in both Tai dialects is considerable. However, social  
changes over the years start to have an effect on these Tai dialects  
Tai Yuan has grown closer to Siamese, while Lue is increasingly receiving  
Chinese influence. Siamese, which has been under the influence of its  
southern neighbors, diverges considerably from many other Tai dialects.  
Morev (1978) believed that the vocabulary in Lue is similar to the  
archaic lexicon in Siamese. However, much of the old basic lexicon in
Siamese has been abandoned, while Lue as well as many other Tai dialects have kept the old basic lexicon. Changes occurring in Siamese are due to the development of words from various foreign origins, such as Sanskrit, Mon, Khmer, and Malay. The elaboration of the newly developed words, particularly of Sanskrit, is considered to be 'learned'; and the simplicity of the native words is considered vulgar and unacceptable particularly in a formal situations. Social class distinctions in Siamese society also help accelerate the downward drift of the native words.

In Lue, the increasing amount of non-native words at the present time is due to Chinese. It is clear that more and more modern terminology from Chinese has become part of modern Lue. Besides the increasing number of loanwords, there are also occurrences of loan translations, for example, dā diànhuà (hit/telephone) 'make a phone call' has become ti₁ sai¹ (hit/line). Not all loan translations which are used to substitute for loanwords survive. Some are replaced by the original word in Chinese. For example the word for 'movie' formerly was a Pali based word thaːt⁵ sin², but later on it was replaced by ten² jin⁴, which is a loan from diàniēng 'movie' in Chinese.

There are also loanblends which are compounds consisting of combinations of Lue and Chinese words. In the following loanblend examples, the Chinese parts are underlined.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bànshì</td>
<td>pún̂gkañ¹</td>
<td>to manage work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cháiyou</td>
<td>nam⁶ man⁴ sai⁶ jiu⁶</td>
<td>diesel oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùliào</td>
<td>jang¹ su² leu²</td>
<td>plastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chêzhàn</td>
<td>tsan² lot⁴</td>
<td>station, depot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cídîan</td>
<td>pop¹ su⁶ ten⁴</td>
<td>dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diànxiàn</td>
<td>sai¹ ten²</td>
<td>electrical wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mánthou</td>
<td>xâu⁴ man⁶ thù⁵</td>
<td>steamed bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pîngguô</td>
<td>mak¹ phin⁶ ko⁴</td>
<td>apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diânkuan</td>
<td>ten² gùn⁴</td>
<td>loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wèixîng</td>
<td>dau¹ vxi² sin⁵</td>
<td>satellite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples show that the lexicon involved with modern technology and things to do with modern society consists of Chinese words, particularly MSC.

Foreign influences particularly of Chinese origin also have long been important in Siamese. However, most of the modern Chinese loanwords in Siamese are from southern Chinese dialects. Besides Fukianese, Hakka and others, the most dominant influence is Cantonese, particularly from the Swatow area, which is the homeland of many overseas Chinese in Thailand. Chinese words in Lue on the contrary are mainly from MSC. For example, a Chinese loanword for 'ticket' in Siamese is tuâ, but in Lue it is pesu², which is adopted from MSC.

Loanwords of non-Chinese origin are adopted through Chinese first in Lue, and therefore are also different from those in Siamese. Compare a few distinctions among loanwords which passed through different layers of borrowing.
Although Lue is close to Tai Yuan, modern Lue and the present day modern Yuan speech are different. Present day Tai Yuan speech, particularly in the younger generation, is heavily influenced by the Siamese of Bangkok, which is considered to be standard Tai in Thailand. The old lexicon of Tai Yuan is being replaced by that of Bangkok. Some native Tai Yuan speakers claim that present day Chiangmai speech is Bangkok speech spoken with northern tones. Given that Yuan is moving closer to Siamese, while Lue will gradually having more Chinese words, it seems that the lexicon in Lue will deviate from Tai Yuan and Siamese even more in the future.
CHAPTER IV

THE OV ORDER: THE TAI ?AU CONSTRUCTION

As has been known that the typical order of an object in relation to a verb in the Tai languages is VO, and that one of the commonly occurring syntactic structures is the juxtaposing of sequences of verb phrases in a serial verb construction (SVC). One peculiar syntactic structure which seems to exhibit sequences of verb phrases in a sentence is the ?au construction. Although ?au, which occurs in many SVC type sentences, is a verb, ?au in the ?au construction appears to have lost its original verbal quality and instead has gained a prepositional quality of introducing an NP. The function of ?au is thus more like a coverb than a verb. The distinctions between a coverb and a verb are discussed later on in this chapter. Unlike the first verb, which is the main verb in an SVC sentence, ?au in the ?au construction is not a main verb. ?au highlights and puts an emphasis on the object which has been proposed before the main verb. The new information in the sentence is in the predicate, which consists of the main verb and the sentential modifiers. Therefore the syntactic features of the ?au construction reveal a certain OV order which is different from the VO order in the serial verb constructions.
The OV order in the ʔau construction is obscured by the fact that ʔau not only can be a main verb, but can also occur in the regular VO order and often in the SVC. Teachers of Tai languages such as Siamese have long been aware of the difficulty of teaching the ʔau construction to non-native speakers, particularly English speakers. Unlike the VO order sequences of verb phrases in the SVC, the preverbalization of the object in the ʔau construction poses confusion when a non-native learns that sentences (shown here in English equivalents) such as “He eats (some) food” and “He takes hold of the food eat” can both occur.

The discussion in this chapter includes the differences between the OV order in the ʔau construction and the regular VO order of the SVC. Since Lue historical records are not available here, some early occurrences of the ʔau construction in Siamese are presented without any definite assumption about its development. The present-day usages of ʔau in Lue as well as in other members of the Tai language family are also pointed out for comparison, particularly Lue and Siamese.

The ʔau usages in Lue

Syntactically, ʔau usages in Lue can be divided into three types:

I. ʔau as the main verb of a sentence
II. ʔau as a resultative verb in a verb compound
III. ʔau as a coverb in the ʔau construction

Although the word ʔau may have different functions and meanings, these are not different words which happen to have the same
pronunciation. They are the same word. The diversity in usage either syntactically or semantically still remains within the realm of the original function and meaning of the word as shown below.

I tau as the main verb of a sentence. The basic meaning of tau is 'to take hold of'; however, tau also has the meaning 'to take/to bring' depending on the additional motion verbs pai, 'go' or ma, 'come' which indicate directionality of the sentence from a speaker's point of view. As a verb, tau often occurs as part of an SVC sentence. Many tau sentences are set phrases and idioms. Other derived meanings are 'to want', 'to do' and 'to marry'. Examples are:

1. tau, 'to take hold of' or 'to take/to bring':

   (1) man⁴ tau¹ pop⁴ pai¹ leu⁴
       s/he take book DIR ASP
       s/he has already taken the books.

   (2) tau¹ zap² den⁴ lan⁴ jai² nan⁵ ma⁴ pai⁴ ni⁶
       bring box red CL big that DIR side this
       Bring that big red box over here.

   (3) tau¹ man⁴ pin¹ pzn¹ jaj² ta:m⁴ sen⁴
       take s/he be example like follow example
       take him (her) as an example.

In example 3, both tau and pin are verbs. The syntactic structure of example 3 is the SVC of a pivotal type. The object of the first verb, tau also acts as the subject of the second verb pin. A few examples of tau in set phrases are the following:
(4) non^4 ?au^1 bai^3 ?au^1 ta^1
sleep take mute/dumb take die
Like to sleep for a long time.

(5) ?au^1 to^1 pin^1 nak^1 , ?au^1 sak^1 pin^1 jai^2
take self be heavy take status be big
Consider oneself important.

11 ?au 'to want':

(6) ?an^4 phiu^1 xeu^1 nan^6 (:a:t^4 nam^1 ?au^1 ŋ ʔau^1
CL. skin green that very pretty take NEG take
That green one is very pretty, do you want (it)?

111 ?au 'to do':

(7) ʔi^1 po^5 ʔi^1 me^5 ko^6 ?au^1/ext.4 ka:n^1 sam^6 ha^5
father mother then take/do work what Q-PAR
Do both of your parents work?

11v ?au 'to marry':

(8) tsau^7 man^4 ?au^1 me^4 lc^2
you take wife Q-PAR
Are you married?

11 ?au as a resultative verb in a verb compound: in a resultative
verb compound which consists of two elements. ?au occurs in the second
position preceded by another verb. Examples are:

(9) pat^1 ?au^1
beat

(10) xo^3 ?au^1
fry
A verb plus ʔau indicates how the activity is carried out. For instance, example 10 is an answer to the question of how one cooks the food. Example 10 indicates that it is by the frying method (i.e., not by boiling).

III. ʔau as a coverb in the ʔau construction: The structure of the ʔau construction is NP₁ ʔau NP₂ V X. NP₁ is the subject. ʔau functions as a coverb, NP₂ is the object of the main verb and this object is preposed to a preverbal position. X is a sentential modifier. An example sentence is:

(11) man⁴ ʔau¹ pop⁴ xa:⁴ pai¹ ʔeu⁴
    s/he ʔau¹ book sell DIP ASP
    s/he has already sold the books.

The distinctive features of the ʔau construction are the preverbalized position of the object and the status of ʔau which has become more like a coverb than a verb. Compare the structures of the SVC and the ʔau construction below.

SVC: NP V₁ (O₁) V₂ (O₂) Vₙ (Oₙ)

ʔau: NP₁ ʔau NP₂ V X

In the SVC structure, O₁, O₂ and Oₙ are all objects following their respective V₁, V₂ and Vₙ, for example.
However, in the *nau* construction the object does not follow the main verb. Instead, NP2 is preposed from the VP clause to a preverbal position in the *nau* clause. The preposed object *pop* can also occur in the postverbal position (i.e., VO order) without changing the basic meaning of a sentence, for example:

(13) **man** *xa:i* *pop* *pai* *leu*

s/he sell book DIR ASP

S/He has already sold the books.

The above example illustrates that with or without *nau*, the propositional meaning of the sentence is carried by the main verb and not the *nau*. The co-occurring of *nau* and the main verb represents one integrated activity. Phonological evidence also shows that a hesitation pause is possible in the SVC, but not in the *nau* construction. Notice that in a sentence such as example 14 below, a pause does not occur between the preposed object **lot** *'car' and the main verb *xa:i* *'sell'*

(14) **man** *nau* **lot** *xa:i* *leu*

s/he *nau* car sell ASP

S/he already sold the car.

The example above does not convey the two activities, *nau lot* *'take hold of the car' and *xa:i lot* *sold the car'. *nau* no longer retains its full verbal meaning, but instead is a part of an overall proposition. In
the SVC each verb phrase can be understood separately, but not in the 
2au construction 2au's verbal quality is somewhat depleted Consider 
the following comparison:

(15) a. man⁴ 2au¹ la:i⁴ fa:k¹ pai¹ xun⁵min⁶ 
    s/he 2au¹ letter send DIR Kunming 
    S/He sent a letter to Kunming

b. man⁴ fa:k¹ la:i⁴ 2an⁴ man⁴ 2au¹ pai¹ xun⁵ming⁶ 
    S/He sent a letter which s/he took (to Kunming)

(16) man⁴ tcm³ la:i⁴ fa:k¹ pai¹ xun⁵min⁶ 
    s/he write letter send DIR Kunming 
    S/He wrote a letter (and) sent (it) to Kunming

(17) man⁴ fak¹ la:i⁴ 2an⁴ man⁴ tcm³ pai¹ xun⁵min⁶ 
    s/he send letter that s/he write DIR Kunming 
    S/He sent a letter that s/he wrote to Kunming

In example 15, 2au in the 2au construction cannot occur in a 
relative clause following the main verb phrase in a V0 order sentence. 
The meaning of 2au which occurs as a verb in a relative clause in 
example 15b differs greatly from 2au which functions as a coverb in the 
2au construction in example 15a 2au is no longer a full-fledged verb in 
the 2au construction  Example 16, on the other hand, represents a 
typical SVC sentence  The initial verb tcm³ 'write' can also occur in a 
relative clause as shown in example 17  The possible occurrence of 
example 17 demonstrates that tcm³ is a full-fledged verb, and that the 
ungrammaticality of example 15b is the result of changing the function of 
2au from a coverb in the 2au construction to a verb 24
A coverb can be understood as an intermediate state of development of a verb into a preposition. Li and Thompson (1974b) explain that a coverb is originally a verb which later on develops so as to function like a preposition in a certain environment. Therefore some coverbs may have more or less verbal property than others depending on the stage of development. This seems to be the case for ?au, in which its verbal quality is still fluctuating. Since Lue is not an inflectional language, there is no morphological marking to indicate the status of ?au. In an inflectional language, the distinction between a coverb and a verb in a preposing object construction can be made clear by a change in the stem modification of the verb and not the coverb. Changes in the status of a verb have been previously observed in many African languages (Givón, 1975; Lord, 1973, 1976). The status of a coverb should not, however, be overlooked in a derivational type language just because of the lack of surface coding.

Li and Thompson (1974c) also point out that the distinction between a verb and a coverb is that the verbal meaning is lost when a verb becomes a coverb. In the case of ?au, further evidence also shows the loss of the original meaning in the verb ?au when it functions as a coverb, for example:

(18) man^{4} ?au^{1} xa:u^{5} ka:n^{1} ?an^{4} nam^{6}thum^{3} ni^{4}  
S/he ?au news matter CL flood this  
pai^{1} ?up^{2} to:2 na:i^{4}ba:n^{3}  
go tell to village head  
S/He told the village head about the flood.
The above example shows that the object NP that follows ʔau in the ʔau construction can also be an abstract noun. This is not the case when ʔau functions as a verb with its original meaning of 'to take hold of'. In a VO order sentence an object noun of the verb ʔau has the property of « concrete». For example, ʔau phak¹ 'take/want vegetable' are grammatical, but not ʔau ten² jin⁴ 'take/want movie', *ʔau nam⁶ vai⁴ 'take/want speed'.

The change in meaning and function of ʔau as shown in the above discussion and examples support the assumption that ʔau in the ʔau construction is no longer a verb, but a coverb. The status of ʔau as a coverb and the OV order of an object make the ʔau construction unique. It is this unique characteristic which distinguishes the ʔau construction from other syntactic structures of the SVC.

Analysis of the ʔau construction

Other than Zhang's (1958) article discussing the origin and usages of the word ʔau based on its semantic categories, there has been very little work done on the Tai ʔau construction. Perhaps it has been seen as having the same syntactic structure as in the SVC. One article written by David Filbeck (1975) on the serial verb construction (SVC) in Central Thai (or, as previously referred to in this dissertation, Siamese) also includes some ʔau construction sentences as one type of the SVC.
In his analysis of the serial verb construction in Siamese, Filbeck defines SVC as a structure which has the occurrence of two or more verbs in sequence. Filbeck characterizes the SVC as a structure in which all verbs in a series refer to a single proposition, while the initial verb of the series is propositional and any other subsequent verbs are functional in meaning (Filbeck, 1975). It is true that both SVC and the ʔauu construction are sentences which express one single proposition. However, the ʔauu construction differs from the SVC in many respects. As has been shown in the previous section, the main verb of the ʔau construction is propositional. The ʔauu construction and its correspondent VO order also demonstrate that with or without ʔau, the propositional meaning is still carried by the main verb and not the ʔau. The questions of concern here therefore involve the distinction between the OV order in the ʔauu construction and the corresponding VO order sentences, and how this specific OV order came about.

Semantically, the ʔauu construction and its counterpart VO order differ in terms of the emphasis and the definiteness of the preposed object. Consider the following sentence:

(19) man⁴ suu:⁶ xep⁴ ku:⁵ nuŋ⁵
s/he buy shoes CL one
S/He bought a pair of shoes.

Example 19 shows that when the object is 'a pair of shoes' and the verb is 'to buy', which does not require a definite object, a VO order is acceptable, but the ʔauu construction is not. Consider the difference in
emphasis in the object of the following sentences:

(20)  ?au$^1$ xau$^3$ kin$^1$ do$^4$
    ?au rice eat PAR
      Eat the food.

(21)  kin$^1$ xau$^3$ do$^4$
      eat rice PAR
      Eat some food

xau$^3$ in example 20 is definite while in example 21 it may or may not be depending on the situation. Example 20 occurs in a situation where, for example, xau$^3$ is physically obvious to both a speaker and a listener. Example 21, on the other hand, is just a statement of a general invitation.

The definiteness of the preposed object can also be seen by the fact that the ?au construction is not permissible for opening a conversation unless the object in the ?au construction has been mentioned before$^{25}$ Therefore, the process of preposing a noun phrase is governed by semantic or pragmatic criteria.

Syntactically, the preverbalization of an object in the ?au construction includes only direct objects and not indirect objects (+ human). Oblique objects (00), a term referring to a set of noun phrases which have grammatical relations such as instrumental, locative and benefactive (Johnson, 1977), are also included, although not all types of 00 are possible. Examples are:
NP₂, in [NP₁ ?au NP₂ V X], is a direct object (DO).

(22) man⁶ ?au¹ lot⁴ pai¹ sau⁴ ti⁵ nai¹
S ?au DO DIR V PP Q
s/he ?au car DIR park where
Where did s/he park the car?

(23) ?au¹ patu:¹ hap¹ pai¹ he¹
?au DO V DIR PAR
?au door close DIR PAR
Close the door

All the DO in the above examples can also occur after the verb in a
VO order (i.e., sau⁴ lot⁴, hap¹ patu:¹).

NP₂, in [NP₁ ?au NP₂ V X], is an oblique object (OO):

(24) man⁴ ?au¹ niu⁶mu:⁴ tsok¹/pon² sop¹
S ?au OO verb DO
s/he ?au finger touch mouth
S/He touches his/her mouth with a finger

(25) man⁴ ?au³ pha:³ soi⁴ (tst¹) tsin⁶
S ?au OO verb DO
s/he take knife cut meat
S/He cuts the meat with a knife

(26) ?au¹ kadat² bin³ nwn⁵ pai¹ tem³ to:¹
?au paper CL one DIR write letter
S/He wrote on a piece of paper

In the above examples, niu⁶mu:⁴ 'finger' in example 24 and pha:³
'knife' are an instrumental type OO. kadat² 'paper' in example 26 is a
In the case of 00, the VO order counterpart sentences are not well-formed sentences. A similar phenomenon also occurs in ?au constructions which have a ditransitive verb. In a double object construction where a ditransitive verb requires both a direct and an indirect object, the ?au construction is the preferred sentence among native speakers. Notice also that it is the DO which is preposed and not the IO (+ human) noun phrase. Consider the following example:

(27) po:4hai5me:5na:4 ?au1 dok2mai6
    farmers    ?au   flower
    pai1 tan4 pa4tsau3 tsu5van4
    DIR. offer priest everyday

Farmers offered flowers to the priests everyday.

It seems that preverbalization of an object in Tai is used as a syntactic device to reduce the number of noun phrases when too many are juxtaposed in a postverbal position. In Lue, there is no special dative structure. A prepositional marker is obligatory for a ditransitive verb. Otherwise, the alternative is the use of the OV order in the ?au construction. Examples are:

(28) man4 fa:k1 xoŋ1xo4 hw:3 pan5
    s/he send things to s/he
    S/He sent things to him/her

*man4 fa:k1 xoŋ1xo4 pan5
*man4 fa:k1 pan5 xoŋ1xo4
Example 28 shows that a structure which has a ditransitive verb occurring in a VO order must have a prepositional marker introducing the second noun phrase after a verb. The deletion of a prepositional marker or the transposition of the object noun phrases after a ditransitive verb results in the ungrammaticality of a sentence. However, the preverbal transposition of the direct object marked by *au in the *au construction is an acceptable alternative.

There is a close relationship between verbs, coverbs and prepositions. In Lue, verbs, other than *au which have prepositional quality are for example, man* to be similar to,' huu* to give,' *uk* 'to rise.' However, only *uk* 'to rise' and tso* 'to bring into contact' develop a syntactic feature with preposing NP order. *uk* 'to rise' also occurs as a prepositional marker for a locative NP which is in a preverbal position, for example, *uk* px* tso* (from Beijing come) 'come from Beijing.' In a passive construction, tso* functions as a coverb. An example of tso* in a VO order is the following:

(30)  
\[\text{mi}^4 \text{ ko}^1 \text{mai}^6 \text{ tsx}^5 \text{ hau}^4 \text{ pai}^1 \text{ tso}^3\]
exist tree kind one we DIR touch
\[\text{man}^4 \text{ nzn}^6 \text{ to}^1 \text{ hau}^4 \text{ ko}^5 \text{ tsa}^2 \text{ pin}^1 \text{ tum}^2 \text{ ask}^1 \text{ ma}^4\]
it flesh self we then will be rash out DIR
There is a kind of tree which will give us rashes when we touch it.
In the above examples, tso₃ is a main verb preceding the object of the sentence. However, in a passive construction, tso₃ becomes a coverb. Consider the following contrast between active and passive sentences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(31) xu₄son¹ bup¹ man⁴</td>
<td>(32) man⁴ tso₃ xu₄son¹ bup¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher hit s/he</td>
<td>s/he tso₃ teacher hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The teacher hit him/her.</td>
<td>S/he was hit by the teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process of preverbalization in Tai occurs in both marked and unmarked forms. The preverbalization in an unmarked construction such as in a topic-comment sentence includes not only a noun phrase but also a verb phrase and a modifier phrase. However, in a marked construction such as in the ʔau and the passive constructions, only noun phrases of certain types can be preposed.

This OV order in the ʔau construction also shows an inconsistent feature within the basic VO order of the Tai languages. Lehmann (1978) points out that the inconsistencies in a language come from pragmatic need or linguistic change (e.g., external influence). The definiteness of the preposed objects and the preference of OV over a VO order in certain types of noun phrase (e.g., in double object construction) show that the existence of the OV order in the ʔau construction can be both for pragmatic purposes and the result of linguistic change. The possible causes of this OV inconsistency are discussed in Chapter VI.
The ?au construction in other Tai groups

The use of ?au, either as a verb or a coverb, consistently occurs across various groups in the Tai language family. Examples of some present day ?au construction sentences from different Tai dialects other than Lue are the following:

Tai Yuan (Hope & Purnell, 1962)
(33) ?aw khaw them bo
take rice add PAR
Have some more rice.

Tai Tho (Day 1968)
(34) to pay le ni, dau phai chan chuyen,
now go ceremony self must speak conversation
la au ki cam day ma chan tai vo'
is take all word good come speak
Now when we go to the ceremony, we must find good words to speak.

Tai Nung (Saul 1980)
(35) áu ki áhn ma tec này
take several CL come place here
Bring several and put them here.

Siamese
(36) ?au baimái baijā. màk pen pūi
take leaf grass ferment become fertilizer
Make fertilizer from rotten leaves and grasses
Tai Nuea (Zhang, 1958)

(37) tsen⁵ ʔau⁶ la⁴xəŋ³ laŋ¹ hai⁴ het⁵ li⁶
first ʔau work CI this do good
he³ tsaŋ³ ka⁶ le²
after then go PAR
Finish this work first, then go.

Black Tai (Fippinger, 1975)

(38) ʔɔ:i³ tɔi⁴ ʔau¹ hwaŋ⁴ məw² xa:i¹ hɔw³ səu¹
father FUT take house new sell to them
Father is going to sell a new house to them

The above examples of the ʔau construction in these Tai groups show similar occurrences of the OV order. The structure of the ʔau construction [NP₁ ʔau NP₂ V X] is intact. The verbs them 'to add' in Tai Yuan, chang 'to speak' in Tai Tho, tec 'to place' in Tai Nung, màk 'to ferment' in Siamese, het⁵ 'to do' in Tai Nuea, and xa:i¹ 'to sell' in Black Tai are all preceded by ʔau and the preposed object. The differences among these sentences are only in the lexicon.

There is one particularly interesting occurrence in Lue data, however. The object of the ʔau clause can also be topicalized. Examples are:

(39) lo⁵ ʔau¹ xa:i¹ hə:³ pən⁵
0 S ʔau V PP 10
car s/he take sell to s/he
S/He sold her/him a car.
In example 39 above, the object of a sentence lai5 'car' is transposed to become the topic of a sentence. The tau construction with a zero object noun phrase along with the verb phrase became the comment part of a topic-comment type sentence. Similarly, pop5 noi2 nan6 'that book' in example 40 and lai4 'letter' in example 41 are all topicalized. This type of topicalization of the object in the tau construction is less common in Siamese. In a situation where a speaker shows his/her surprise or disbelief, a topicalization type sentence is used in Siamese. However, the comment part generally has a VO order.

The structures of the tau construction in the Tai languages are all similar. There are minor differences between Lue and Siamese, for example the tendency to topicalize the objects in Lue as shown in the above examples. Certain verbs or objects are sometimes preferred in Lue, but not in Siamese, for example (the Lue example is repeated here from Chapter II):
In the above examples, a sentence "Close the door" can occur in both VO and OV orders in Lue. In Siamese, only the VO order is acceptable.

Generally, the only major difference between the ʔau usage in Siamese and in Lue is that the usage of ʔau is avoided in modern Siamese particularly in formal situations. The reason might be that the word ʔau, with its derived meaning, also carries a sexual connotation and is considered vulgar in certain usages. Therefore in formal conversation ʔau is usually not used. For example, in a situation where one wants to find out whether a friend or a teacher has returned a certain book or
not, two different orders are used:

(45) ?au nā̀ngwː: kʰwː:n pai lēu rúː:  
 ?au book return DIR ASP Q-PAR  
 Have you already returned the book?

(46) ?əːcaː:n kʰwː:n nā̀ngwː: lēm nān pai lēu rúː: khā  
 teacher return book CL that DIR ASP Q-PAR PAR  
 Have you already returned that book?

The ?au construction in example 45 is used with a friend. However, a corresponding sentence of VO order in example 46 is used instead in a situation when one speaks to one's teacher. In general, ?au is still common in day-to-day language in Siamese.

Historical examples of ?au

Based on traditional Lue writing, ?au, pronounced ?au⁴ or ?au⁴, is written ئ (Dao, 1982a). According to the Old Lue document, the Pali-based syllabic letter ʈ [uː] is used only in writing this particular word ?au, which has the meanings 'to want, take, fetch, get, and marry' (Dao, 1982b). Other words with the same vowel are all written with ʈ. For example hau⁴ 'we' is written ʈ. It is interesting that the long [uː] represented by the original Pali script ʈ is used in writing the word ?au. Based on Gedney's (1972) analysis, there are three diphthongs which have a symmetrical relationship to the high vowels in the Tai languages. These corresponding pairs are ai and iː, au and uː, au and uː.
The correspondence between the diphthongs and the three high vowels is consistent across many daughter languages, which suggests that this phenomenon should be included in the reconstruction of the parent language (Gedney, 1972). The representation of the word गाउ in the Old Lue writing with the long [u:] seems to reflect the early relationship of this particular diphthong and its high vowel.

Basically, गाउ means 'to take hold of' or 'to take/bring'. Other meanings are derived. For example, गाउ मेघ, which literally means 'take wife', renders the meaning of 'to marry'. गाउ मेघ, which literally means 'take or not take', renders the meaning of 'to want'. Although the basic meaning of गाउ is 'to take hold of', Zhang (1958) believes that the archaic meaning of गाउ was 'to want'. Zhang (1958) traces the historical phonological development of the Chinese word यां 'to want' and concludes that the Tai गाउ and the Chinese यां have a close relationship. He points out that यां was pronounced with a glottal stop in Archaic Chinese. During the time of the rhyme book Guangyun, the pronunciation of यां was [jäu], which later on became [au] in Ancient Chinese. Zhang concludes that यां and गाउ must have the same word origin. Zhang believes that the relationship between यां and गाउ was not borrowing, since words which have slightly different pronunciations but have the same meaning of 'to want' also occur in all Kam-Tai languages such as Siamese, Dong, Bouyi, Kam, and Sui (Zhang, 1958).

It is possible to trace back the गाउ usages to some early written materials in the Tai languages. However, the data from historical records are not sufficient to show clearly when the OV order occurred in the गाउ sentences. The Old Lue documents in Yunnan are not available.
The following examples are from a later Lue document, 

Xishuangbanna Zhao Piangling genealogy (1180-1782 AD) (Gao, 1982):

(47)  tsin² phom⁶ kan² ?au¹ tsau³ xan⁴ mang⁴
    then together ?au Prince Xanmang
    ton pi:⁵ kin¹ mang⁴
    elder enthrone

They then enthroned Prince Xanmang, the eldest son.

(48)  tan⁴ lai¹ tsin² ?au¹ luk⁴ phu:³ pi:⁵ pin¹ tsau³
    everyone then ?au elder son be prince

They then enthroned the eldest son.

Evidence of some earlier ?au usages can be found in various stone inscriptions in northern Thailand. Some examples from the 15th century stone inscriptions in northern Thailand showing common occurrences of the verb ?au are the following:

(49)  phu: dai hak ?au ?ok wat ni;
    whoever if take out temple this
    hu fai mai nai ?abaisi
    let fire burn in hell

Let whoever takes (this) out of the temple
    be burned in hell.

(Vat Sà-kon kanlaje: mähāntā ra:m 1488 AD)

(50)  ngən cam nam wai pen moon
    money pawn ASp be value
    hai ?au dok pen kha· ma·k miang
    let get interest be price

Deposit the original sum (and) use the interest.

(Vat Phrá Thâ:t, stone inscription = 71 1500 AD)
The object in example 49 is deleted and τóu is a verb. Example 50 is a pivotal type SVC. dok 'interest' is an object of τóu and a subject of the verb pen.

The earliest historical record which has the τóu construction probably dates from around the second half of the 13th century. The τóu usages on side one of the Rama Khamhang stone inscription (1283 A.D.) of Sukhothai Kingdom show an interesting occurrence of the τóu construction (Sila čhāru'k Phōkhun Rāmkhamhēng Maharāṭ, 1984: p14).

(51)  ku: dau tua-nua tua-pla:
        I obtain meat fish

ku: τóu ma: ke: pho: ku:
        I get DIR to father I

ku: dau ma:ksom ma:kwa:n an dai
        I obtain fruits Cl which

kin arcı kin di:
        eat delicious eat good

ku: τóu ma: ke: pho: ku:
        I take DIR to father I

ku: pai to:ba:n to:mmag dai chaq dai ɲaŋ
        I DIR to round up obtain elephants

da:i pua da:i ɲaŋ da:i ɲaŋ da:i ɲaŋ
        obtain men & women obtain silver & gold

ku. τóu ma: wen ke: pho: ku:
        I τóu DIR offer to father I

When I obtained some meat and fish, I brought (them) to my father. When I obtained any fruit that were tasty, I brought (them) to my father. When I rounded some elephants, (gathered) people, (collected) silver and gold, I offered (them) to my father.
There are altogether four occurrences of ?au in the above passage. The first three ?au are clearly verbs. All three have the repeated structure ku: ?au ma: ke: pho: ku: ‘I brought (them) to my father’. The fourth occurrence of ?au follows the sentence pattern, but with an additional verb wen ‘to offer’ occurring in the structure ku: ?au ma: wen ke: pho: ku: ‘I offered (them) to my father’. Only this fourth occurrence of ?au shows the structure of the ?au construction where the main verb also occurs. In the other examples ?au is used as a verb.

Another occurrence of ?au as a verb, also on side one of the Rama Khamhang stone inscriptions, is the following:

\[\text{(52) cau mwaŋ bo ?au cok ?op nai phrai prince NEG take toll tax PP citizen} \]

The prince does not collect taxes from citizens.

The above example is clearly a VO order sentence. The verb of the sentence is ?au which is followed by the object cok ?op ‘toll tax’.

There are two occurrences of ?au on side four of the Rama Khamhang stone inscription. One occurrence has ?au in a verbal compound:

\[\text{(53) hai khut ?au phrathat ?ok let dig ?au ashes out} \]

Let (some one) dig up the ashes.

\[\text{(54) cŋŋ ?au log faŋ nai mwaŋ si satchanalai then ?au DIR bury in town Sisatchanalai} \]

Then bury (the ashes) in Sisatchanalai.
Example 53 shows the usage of ?au as a resultative verb of a compound preceded by the verb khut. In example 54 fan is the verb of the object (ashes) which has been preposed and omitted. The above examples from the Rama Khamhang stone inscriptions show that all three usages of ?au, as a verb, a verbal compound, and a coverb, had already occurred. These historical examples demonstrate the continuity of various ?au usages at least as far back as the second half of the 13th century.
CHAPTER V

COMPARING THE TAI ?AU AND THE CHINESE BA CONSTRUCTIONS

The object preposing phenomenon similar to the one occurring in the ?au construction has long been the subject of interest in Chinese. The fact that both Chinese and Tai are geographically close leads to the need for a comparative study of this type of linguistic phenomenon. Both similarities and differences between the Chinese ba and the Tai ?au constructions are discussed in this chapter.

Historical background of ba

Ba originally was a verb meaning 'to grasp' or 'to hold'. Zheng (1978) points out early usages of ba as a verb before the Tang period in the following examples (Zheng, 1978, pp. 175-176):

 Mozi * fei gong xia (200 B.C.)
   (1 ) yu qin ba tian zhi rui ling
       Yu personally hold heaven of auspicious command
       yi zheng you miao
       in order to go to war Miao tribe
       Yu (the Xia leader) has the authority from heaven
       to go to war with the Miao tribe.
Guoce - Yance (around 200 B.C.)

(2) chen zuo shou ba chi xiu
I left hand hold his sleeve
I hold his sleeve with my left hand.

Shiji - Zhou ben ji: (9th century A.D.)

(3) zhou gong dan ba da yue
Zhou duke Dan hold big hatchet
bi gong ba xian yue
Bi duke hold small hatchet
Dan, the Duke of Zhou, holds the big hatchet; the Duke of Bi holds the small one.

Hou Han shu - Lu bu chuan (10th century)

(4) lin bie ba bi yan shi
just before parting hold arm speak pledge
He held (the other person's) arm and made a pledge just before (they) parted.

In the above examples is preceded by a subject noun and followed by an object noun phrases. There is no other verb in the sentence. In these early usages bā is a full-fledged verb occurring in a VO sentence. Historically, the Chinese bā construction emerged in the Tang period (618-907 A.D.). Cheung (1976) traces back the first occurrence of bā in the bā construction to a sentence in a poem written by Du Fu, zuí bā zhū-yú zī-xì kàn. bā in 'zuì bā zhū-yú zī-xī kàn' carries the meaning of a verb 'to hold'. The construction which is derived from the underlying serial verb construction is the following (cheung, 1976):
The second object zhū-yù 'dogwood' is deleted. This type of syntactic structure has become increasingly common. Bā later on developed to be more like a marker than a verb. In the bā construction, bā is no longer a verb, but a marker of the preposed object. The verb in a bā sentence is preceded by bā + object noun phrase. In early colloquial Mandarin or Bāihuà usages (Ming period 14th-17th century), there were a few substitutions for bā. Some of these substitutions are still in use in certain present-day dialects, for example jiānqīng 'to take' in Fuzhou, Xiamen (Zheng 1978), and in Cantonese (Chao, 1968; Cheung, 1975): nà 'to take' is used instead of bā in modern Shanghai dialect (Cheung, 1975; Zheng, 1978). Examples of nà usages in Shanghai dialect are (Zheng, 1978 p 176):

(5) nà dizhù dākuà
    take landlord collapse
    Bring down the landlords.

(6) nà dírén dāde luòhuā-liúshuí
    take enemy hit fallen flowers carried away
    by the flowing water
    (i.e., utterly uprooted)
    Utterly uprooted the enemy.
In the above examples, 伟大复兴 to hit in 大客 and 伟大复兴 to leu 反 liúshuí is the verb of the preposed object 迪古镇 landlord and 迪古镇 enemy, respectively. ná ‘to take’ functions similarly to ba as a marker of a preposed object.

Bā usages in Modern Standard Chinese

Zheng (1978) divided the usages of bā in modern Chinese into four types: a verb, a coverb or preposition in the bā construction, a nominal suffix, and a measure word. Based on historical development, the first two usages of bā as a verb and a coverb are closely related in function and meaning. As a nominal suffix, bā is attached to a noun to form a new nominal compound such as 重量chēbā ‘bicycle’s handle bar’. As a measure word bā is used to express both countable and uncountable units of nouns, for example 一bā dāo ‘one knife’ or 一 bā hua ‘one bunch of flowers’. However, the relationship between these last two types (a nominal suffix and a measure word) and the first two types (verb and coverb) is not clear. Homophones and homographs are common phenomena in Chinese. Therefore only the closely related two types of bā as a verb and a coverb are included here in the following descriptions and examples. Additional and similar examples for each type are also found in Han Ying Zi Dian (1980). As a verb, bā means ‘to hold’. Other derived meanings are ‘to guard’ and ‘to control’. Examples are.
Hold on to the railing.

Guard the door.

Hold a baby out to let it urinate.

(You) must give full play to the initiative of the masses and not keep such tight control of things.

As a copverb or preposition, bā is used in the bā construction. Examples are:

They ate the candy.
The distinction between the VO and the OV forms lies in the definiteness of the preposed object. More discussion of this point will be presented in the following section.

Comparative analysis of ba and 2au constructions

The similarities between ba and 2au constructions have been noticed earlier by Zhang (1958). In his article discussing the origin and usages of 2au, Zhang mentions one type of 2au usage which is similar to the Chinese usage of ba or jiang. Some of Zhang's examples in Tai Nuea are reprinted as follows (1958, p.69):

Tai Nuea

(13) man? 2au-f pha-f tsap-y pia-y piat-y
s/he 2au blanket lift drop
S/He dropped the blanket

Chinese

(14) tâ bâ pîtân xîân diân
s/he bâ blanket lift drop
S/He dropped the blanket.
Tai Nuea

(15) manh poks hzm ?au4 luk'l tsai ir long fang pen ko toc
s/he return home ?au son elder cut be two part
S/He came home (and) cut the son into two pieces.

Chinese

(16) tâ hui jia ba da erzi shakan cheng liang dun
s/he return home ba big son cut into two parts
S/He came home (and) cut the son into two pieces

Tai Nuea

(17) tsai ?au4 lai jwan hui manh
then ?au letter hand over to s/he
(They) then handed over the letter to him/her

Chinese

(18) cai ba xin di gei ta
then ba letter hand over to s/he
(They) then handed over the letter to him/her.

Zhang's above examples show a similar preposing object feature in both Chinese and Tai (Zhang, 1958). Further example sentences comparing the Chinese ba and the Tai ?au constructions in Lue are the following.

Direct object The NP of the ba or the ?au clause is the direct object of the verb.

Chinese

(19) wo yijing ba wode qiche mai le
I already ba my car sell ASP
I have already sold my car
Lue
(20)  tâu¹ phak¹ xa:i¹ sam⁶ de²
veggies sell all Q-PAR
Did you sell all the vegetables?

Chinese
(21)  tā cháng bā nèige gùshì shuō gěi rén tīng
he often bā that story tell to people listen
He often told that story to other people

Lue
(22)  man⁴ tâu¹ xa:u⁵ ka:n¹ rân⁴ nam⁶ thum³ ni⁴
s/he tâu news matter CL flood this
pai¹ ?up² to² na:f² ba:n³
go tell to village head
s/he told the village head about the flood.

In the above examples, the direct objects are preposed. The V0
order equivalents are māi qīcē 'sell a car'. xa:i¹ phak¹ 'sell vegetable'.
shuō liāngi gūshǐ 'tell story'. and ?up² xa:u⁵ ka:n¹ rân⁴ nam⁶ thum³ ni⁴
'tell (about) the flood'.

Oblique Object The NP of both the bā and the tâu can be a locative.
The function of bā as a preposition is clear when bā can occur in place
of another preposition. Examples 23 and 24 are from Shuang-fu Lin
(1974):

(23)  nǐ bā hēibān shàng xiě le
you bā blackboard on write ASP
yi gè zi
one CL letter
Write a character on the blackboard.
Examples 23 and 24 show the interchangeability between bā and zài.
The preposing of a locative similar to the two examples above also
occurs in Lue in the ʔau construction. Besides locatives, partial objects
(a part of one same entity) can also be preposed. Examples of locatives
and partial objects are:

Lue
(25) man⁴ ʔau¹ phɔ̄¹tun² maː⁴ sai² xɔŋ¹
s/he ʔau bag come put things
S/He put things in the bag.

(26) man⁴ ʔau¹ kadat² bin³ nɯŋ⁵ pai¹ teŋ³ toː¹
s/he ʔau paper CL one go write letter
S/He wrote on a piece of paper.

Chinese
(27) Zhāng sān bā jūzi buō le pi
Zhang San bā orange peel ASP skin
Zhang San peeled the orange.

Lue
(28) ʔau¹ mak₂tsuk¹ ni⁴ maː⁴ pok² pɔ̄k² se¹ he¹
ʔau orange this come peel skin PAR PAR
(Let's) peel the orange.

Examples 25 and 26 show the locative type of preposed oblique
objects phɔ̄¹tun² and kadat² in Lue. Examples 27 and 28 show similar
transpositions of partial identity of an object in both Lue and Chinese.

Both the Chinese *bā* and the Tai *zau* constructions in the above examples have similar surface structures:

\[
\text{NP}_1 \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{NP}_2 \quad V \quad X \quad \text{zau}
\]

\[\text{NP}_1\] is the subject of the sentence. It is optional in Tai, but obligatory in Chinese unless a sentence is intended to be an imperative type. The VP consists of the preverbal clause (i.e., the *bā* or the *zau* clause and the verb clause). \[\text{NP}_2\], which is the object of the verb in a sentence, is preposed from the verb clause to the *zau* clause. Each syntactic feature of the above structure is discussed below:

*Bā* and *zau* *bā* and *zau* are semantically similar. *Bā* was originally a verb meaning 'to grasp' or 'to hold'. *Zau* is also a verb meaning 'to take hold of' or 'to take/to bring'. Syntactically, both *bā* and *zau* occur as a coverb in a preverbal clause to mark the preposed object of a sentence. Since coverbs still retain a certain degree of verbal quality, it is not surprising that modifiers are generally attached to coverbs instead of verbs. This is also true in the case of *bā* and *zau*. Modals (e.g., will, have, must), negative markers, and progressive markers are also attached to *bā* and *zau*. Consider the following examples in the *zau* construction.
(29) man⁴ bau² ?au¹ nwn⁴ fa:k³ jin⁶ xa:ɲ⁶
s/he NEG ?au money deposit bank
S/He does not deposit money at the bank.

(30) man⁴ tuk⁵ ?au¹ phak¹ xa:i¹ nz:¹ ka:t²
s/he -ing ?au vegetable sell PP market
S/He is selling the vegetables at the market.

(31) xci³ po² da:i¹ ?au¹ xau³ kin¹ leu⁴ hɔn³
I already ?au rice eat ASP PAR
I already ate.

(32) tan⁵ tsak¹ ?au¹ sz:³ pai¹ sak⁵
s/he will ?au shirt DIR wash
S/He will wash the clothes.

(33) tan⁵ xai⁵ ?au¹ teu⁵ pai¹ nuj⁵ din³
s/he like ?au trousers DIR wear fun
S/He wants to try on a pair of pants just for fun.

(34) mun⁴ den⁴ teŋ⁵ ?au¹ pop⁵ pai¹ hu:³ xu:⁴ sɔn¹
you must ?au book DIR give teacher
You must return (give) the book to the teacher.

The difference between bā and ?au is their verbal status in present-day usage. ?au is still a full-fledged verb in certain environments (e.g., SVC), while bā no longer occurs as a verb except in a few leftover usages.

The interchangeability of bā with other verbs such as yòng ‘to use’, ná ‘to take/bring’, and jiāng ‘to take/bring’ in early bāihuà usage (14th-17th century) has some parallels with the Tai ?au. In Lue, ?au is
also interchangeable with *tsai*⁹ 'to use'.

As for *ná* and *jiāng*, semantically, they are similar to *zau*, which means 'to take/bring'. It is an interesting phenomenon that *ná* and *jiāng*, and not *bǎ*, are used in southern Chinese. At present, *bǎ* is used mainly in northern Chinese, while a few usages of *ná* and *jiāng* exist only in some southern dialects. It seems that this particular type of OV order, which previously occurred in both northern and southern Chinese, later lost its popularity in southern Chinese.

NP₂ The majority of NP's following *bǎ* and *zau* are direct objects (DO). Some possible oblique objects (OD) are marked with the symbol (✓) as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Lue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) instrumental</td>
<td>early <em>báihuà</em>  ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) locative</td>
<td>✓      ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) benefactive</td>
<td>-      -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chinese, only locatives are possible in the present usage of the *bǎ* construction. The instrumental type is possible in early colloquial *báihuà*, where *ná* 'to take', *yòng* 'to use', and *bǎ* 'to hold' are interchangeable. Wang Huan (1963) points out that a few examples of these usages can be seen in some of the novels of that time such as *Hóng Luó Mèng*, and that the distinction became more apparent in modern Pekinese (Wang, 1963). An oblique object of the benefactive type cannot be used in either construction.
Similar to the requirement for the preposed object in the *zau* construction (see Chapter IV), the object NP of the *bā* clause must express a certain type of definiteness. The concept of definiteness in the Chinese *bā* construction can be seen in the following examples:

(35)  wǒ chī le fàn
I eat ASP food
I already ate.

(36)  wǒ bā fàn chī le
I bā food eat ASP
I already ate the food.

Chinese linguists generally agree that an object NP like *fàn* ‘food’ in the above *bā* construction refers to a specific entity about which both the speaker and the listener have shared information. Y. C. Li (1974) points out further that the concept ‘definiteness’ in the *bā* construction must be interpreted in a certain way. Li gives detailed definitions of both the verb in the verb phrase and the NP after *bā* in the *bā* phrase. He emphasizes the obligatory anaphoric element in the *bā* construction, which is conveyed through the relationship between the NP after *bā* and its verb. From Li’s viewpoint the *bā* construction is a structure which describes a specific action upon a specific object. Li proposes semantic features required in the *bā* construction as follows:

NP  bā  NP  V  X

<noun>  <verb>
<object>  <transitive>
<source>  <action>
<anaphoric>  <anaphoric>
Li emphasizes that the definiteness in the NP «source» is not the definiteness which requires modification. Rather, the concept of definiteness must come from its specific relationship with the verb, and it must be presupposed «anaphoric», either through the understanding of the verb or through an antecedent in the immediate context. Without the understanding of ‘definiteness’ as such, yìjiàn in example 38 will not be acceptable (Li, 1974).

(37) tā bā nèi jiàn shiqìng xiāng qílài le  
he take that CL matter think up le
He recalled that thing.

(38) tā bā yī jiàn shiqìng xiāng qílài le  
he take one CL matter think up le
He recalled something.

Li also points out that by his definition of definiteness the following example ge pí bāo ‘a handbag’ does not necessarily mean ‘indefinite’ in Chinese. The semantic feature of «anaphoric» is in the verb diāo ‘to loose’.

(39) tā bā ge pí bāo diāo le  
she bā one leather bag loss le
She lost her handbag

Li believes that the anaphoric element in the NP and the VP are the most important features of the bā construction. Diāo ‘loss’ in example 39 indicates a certain definiteness in the object
Verbs. Both bable and ?au constructions have restrictions on certain types of verbs which can or cannot occur. A certain perceptual type of verb cannot be used in the bable or the ?au constructions. Examples in Chinese are from Fu (1981, p. 28):

*xiāulǐ bā huàxué shū yǒu le
Xiau Li bā chemistry book have ASP

A perceptual type of verb such as yǒu in the above example cannot occur in the bable construction. This is also the case in both Lue and Siamese. It is true that there are differences in the selection of verb types between the two constructions. For example, a verb in the verb clause of the Tai ?au construction must be a transitive action verb while this is not necessary in Chinese. However, in general, perceptual verbs cannot occur in the ?au construction in Lue, for example.

(40) ka:n¹ ?an⁴ man⁶ man⁴ pa⁴dai¹ kwí⁴ hu:⁶ lêu⁴
work REL. that s/he already think know ASP
S/He already know about that matter.

* man⁴ pa⁴dai¹ ?au¹ ka:n¹ ?an⁴ man⁶ kwí⁴ hu:⁶ lêu⁴

In the above example, a perceptual verb such as 'to know' can occur in a VO order but not in an OV order as in the ?au construction.

Not only the type, but also the structure of the verbs are different in the bable and the ?au constructions. The bable construction, being relatively new in the history of the Chinese language, generally has either a polysyllabic or morphologically complex verb. This phenomenon
coincides with the historical development of polysyllabicity in MSC. The ʔau construction, on the other hand, has no such restriction on the verb itself. However, a verb cannot occur alone in the ʔau construction. Besides a lengthy modifier, an aspect marker or a directional verb must co-occur with a verb. Examples are in the following section.

Modifiers. The grammaticality of both bā and ʔau constructions depends heavily on the additional modifiers. Consider the following examples:

\[(41) \text{man}^4 \text{kin}^1 \text{xau}^3 \]
\[s/he eat rice\]
\[S/He eats (some) food.\]

\[*\text{man}^4 \text{ʔau}^1 \text{xau}^3 \text{kin}^1\]

\[(42) \text{man}^4 \text{ʔau}^1 \text{xau}^3 \text{kin}^1 \text{sam}^6 \]
\[s/he ʔau rice eat all\]
\[S/He ate all the food.\]

\[(43) \text{tā chi fān} \]
\[s/he eat rice\]
\[S/He ate (some) food.\]

\[*\text{tā bā fān chi}\]

\[(44) \text{tā bā fān chi le} \]
\[s/he bā rice eat ASP\]
\[S/He ate the food.\]

The above examples show that a V0 order sentence is grammatical without adding any modifier. However, such is not the case in the bā and
?au constructions. The grammaticality of the bà and ?au constructions
depends on the additional modifiers, for example particles such as sam\(^6\)
in Tai and le in Chinese.

Li (1974) points out the importance of modifiers in the bà
construction in relationship to the anaphoric elements in the NP or VP.
Adding modifiers to either the NP or the VP always makes the bà
construction 'sound' better or more acceptable. Li gives the following
example (Li, 1974):

\[(45) \quad tâ \  bà \ nèi \ ge \ zhùântóu \ biàn \ le
   \quad \text{he take that CL brick change le}
   \quad \text{He changed that brick.}
\]

\[(46) \quad tâ \  bà \ nèi \ ge \ zhùântóu \ biànzùô \ jînzi
   \quad \text{he take that CL brick change as gold}
   \quad \text{He turned that brick into gold.}
\]

Similarly, when more modifiers are added on after the preposing
object clause in the ?au construction, the acceptability of a sentence
increases.

The relationship between the preposing object construction and the
SVC is clearer in the case of ?au. This is due to the fact that ?au still
occurs as a verb. However, exceptions do occur in certain present-day
bà constructions. For example, an NP following both bà and ?au clauses
generally must be an object. However, certain NPs after bà can also be
interpreted as the subject of the sentence. For example, consider the
following bà sentences (Thompson, 1973):
The above examples show one occurrence of *bā* similar to the pivotal type of SVC. Both *zè* 'thief' and *fǔqīn* 'father' are the subject of the verbs *pāo* 'to run' and *sǐ* 'to die', respectively. This pivotal type of SVC also occurs in the *zəu* usages as has been mentioned earlier.

Another example is given here for convenience:

(49) *zəu*¹ *lūk*¹ *ʔon*² *pın*¹ *saxì*¹

*take child be witness*

*Take a child as a witness*

Here *lūk*¹ *ʔon*² is an object of *zəu* and also a subject of the verb *pın¹*. One further note, *bā* in the above examples 47 and 48 also appeared to have causative meaning. In Lue, a few *zəu* sentences can also have causative meaning, for example:

(50) *mān*⁴ *daːŋ³* *kā⁴ *zəu*⁴ *mä:k² *pın¹* *xam⁴*

*s/he cast spell *zəu*do stone be gold*

*S/He cast a spell (and) turned the stone into gold*

In the above example, *zəu* is interchangeable with *hët⁴* 'to do' and appears to have a causative meaning.
Besides the above similarities, there are also differences between the two constructions. The dominant distinction lies in the fact that bā and ʔau are in different stages of development. Unlike bā, which has pretty much ceased its verbal function, ʔau still occurs as a verb in certain environments. The role of directional verbs, however, is sometimes helpful in determining the status of ʔau. For example, the status of ʔau as a coverb is supported by the position of a directional verb before the main verb in a sentence.

(51) man⁴ pai¹/ma⁴ sak⁴ sz:³
s/he DIR wash clothes
S/He washes the clothes.

(52) man⁴ ʔau sz:³ pai¹/ma⁴ sak⁴
s/he ʔau clothes DIR wash
S/He washes the clothes.

(53) man⁴ pai¹ ʔau sz:³ ma:⁴ sak⁴
s/he DIR ʔau clothes DIR wash
S/He washes the clothes.

The above examples show that a directional verb, which normally occurs in a preverbal position, precedes the verb sak⁴, but not the coverb ʔau. However, ʔau can also be more like a verb than a coverb, for example:

(53) man⁴ pai¹ ʔau sz:³ ma:⁴ sak⁴
s/he DIR ʔau clothes DIR wash
S/He washes the clothes.
A directional verb can occur before ʔau if another directional verb also occurs before a verb. ʔau in the above example appears to be more like a verb in an SVC, although the object is still preposed.

Other differences between the two constructions are in the selection of verbs and objects which can or cannot occur in the OV order. Consider the following examples:

Lue
(54) hau⁴ pai¹ tog⁴ dan¹
we DIR look moon
We have gone to see the moon
*ʔau¹ dan¹ pai¹ tog⁴

(55) fan¹ han¹ ba:u⁵
dream see boyfriend
S/He dreamt of her boyfriend.
*ʔau¹ ba:u⁵ fan¹ han¹

In the above examples, two perceptual verbs ‘to look at the moon’ and ‘to dream of a boyfriend’ cannot occur in the ʔau construction. However, similar examples are grammatical in Chinese. Consider the following examples from Li (1974):

(56) tā bā nèi ge yuèliàng kàn le yì xià
he take that CL moon look le one occasion
He took a look at the moon

(57) tā bā zhēn zhēn mèng dào le
he take Zhen Zhen dream le
He dreamt about Zhen Zhen
Although both direct and indirect objects can be preverbalized, it is not the case that any VO order sentence can occur with the preposing object construction. Therefore not all the bà and the zau constructions have VO counterpart sentences. Each construction has its own restrictions. Many semantic criteria for forming the bà construction have been previously pointed out in numerous places. Most analyses done by traditional Chinese grammarians mainly involve the description of the type of verb, object or the modifiers following the verb in the bà construction, for example, perceptual verbs like kànjiàn, tīngjiàn. Lu Shu-xiang's 13 bà sentence types are listed to demonstrate which types may or may not use bà based on the nature of the modifiers following the verb (Vang, 1963). Y.R. Chao (1968) describes the bà construction as a verbal expression in series and pointed out the relationship between the bà phrase and the verb phrase. The verb phrase conveys a comment on the definite reference in the bà object. Chao (1968) also distinguishes various types of verbal phrases following the bà phrase. These criteria often have exceptions and very often, like any semantic category, they are not generally agreed upon.

Summary

It is possible that Zhang's hypothesis (1958), which has incorporated the reconstruction of sound and the pattern of tone mergings in Chinese, is correctly pointed toward the relationship between the Chinese word
yào and the Tai ṭau having the same word origin (See Chapter IV). The reconstruction of the proto-Tai form for the verb 'to take' is [au] (Li, 1977). This reconstructed form is the same as the reconstructed form for yào 'to want' in Ancient Chinese. However, unlike yào, which shares the same meaning of "to want" with ṭau, there is no evidence supporting any direct relationship between the Chinese word ṭa and the Tai ṭau.

However, it is obvious that a similar OV order which is related to the SVC does exist in Chinese and Tai. Both the Chinese ṭa and the Tai ṭau constructions share various key features. The development of the Chinese ṭa and the Tai ṭau constructions shows that both ṭa and ṭau could occur as a verb in the SVC as well as in the preposing object construction. With few exceptions, ṭa in present day Mandarin usage has reduced its function mainly to a prepositional marker, not a full-fledged verb, while ṭau still continues to be used as a verb. The continuing usages of ṭau as a verb and in the preposing object construction make it difficult to distinguish the OV order from the regular SVC. In both ṭa and ṭau constructions, either direct or oblique objects can be preverbalized. In some cases the VO order counterparts of the ṭa and the ṭau constructions can also occur with slight nuances in meaning. In other cases, particularly the preverbalizing of an indirect object in Tai, the OV order is a strongly preferred construction. ṭa and ṭau constructions differ mainly in terms of what types of verbs, object NP or modifiers can occur in each construction. These distinctions should be considered independent choices in each language and should not interfere with the fact that both constructions show similar OV
syntactic patterns. Whether or not Chinese and Tai are remotely genetically related, this OV syntactic structure plays an important role in the hypothesis of the Sino-Tai language contact, which is the subject of discussion in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS

In the previous chapter, the OV order in the ʔau construction in Lue as well as in other members of the Tai language family has been shown to bear certain striking similarities to the Chinese bā construction. The existence of this type of OV order in the Tai languages leads to the need to reexamine certain interpretations of the bā construction over recent years. As we examine closely the structure and development of both constructions, we can see that other possible interpretations should be under review. Is the reversed order the result of an internal change or the result of an external influence? If it is an external influence, what are the possible conditions of borrowing? Is it also possible that this type of construction is simply a part of a syntactic operation common to languages of the East and Southeast Asia? It is the aim of this chapter to discuss various possible interpretations concerning this type of OV order in Chinese and Tai and the possible language contact, if any, for this particular structure.

It is evident from written records that classical Chinese is drastically different from Modern Standard Chinese (MSC). Like the Tai language family, the language of classical Chinese which is still evident in many Chinese dialects particularly in the south, is considered to be a VO type. The MSC which is based on northern Chinese (Mandarin), on the
other hand, contains many features which are correlates with OV type. So (1976) compares the changes in word order between Ancient Chinese and MSC which occur in four syntactic patterns. They are the positions of a prepositional phrase and an object noun phrase relative to a verb, passive constructions, and comparative constructions. A preposition in Old Chinese is preceded by a verb phrase and, likewise, the object is also preceded by a verb. In MSC, a prepositional phrase precedes a verb phrase, and the order of an object in relation to a verb in a marked structure such as the bà construction is OV. Unlike the passive bei construction in MSC, which is a marked construction with the verb final, the order in active and passive constructions in Old Chinese is the same. Passivization is expressed through the use of prepositions. Finally, a comparative construction in Old Chinese is \([ A \ast \text{MOD} \ast \text{compare to} \ast B]\) and not \([ A \ast \text{compare to} \ast B \ast \text{MOD} ]\) as in MSC. Although Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) is still predominantly a VO language, MSC does contain various OV features. The differences between Ancient and Modern Chinese seem clear.

One of the earliest OV features to be pointed out for extensive study among Chinese linguists is the bà construction. Many analyses have been done on the bà construction in the past. It is probably one of the most analyzed, but least agreed upon, syntactic constructions in Chinese. Traditional Chinese grammarians have long considered the bà construction “a disposal form.” Wang Li’s explanation of a disposal form is the following (cited in Li, 1974).
"...how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of, or how an affair is conducted..."

An explanation of the "liberal use" of the disposal form is also given.

"...shows that the matter at hand is the result of the influence of another matter. This sort of occurrence is frequently an unhappy one, or an involuntary happening..."

The traditional descriptions above explain the bable construction in terms of its usage. Syntactically, bable is often considered to be less than a full-fledged verb. Chao (1968) considered bable in the bable construction to be one type of transitive verb, which has a property of coverb or preposition and has no real substantial meaning of its own. Examples supporting Chao's interpretation can be seen from the interchangeability between certain locative constructions and certain bable constructions (Lin, 1974). Some native speakers have reservations concerning the nuances between using bable and the locative zài, and not all coverbs can be substituted with bable. However, the interchangeability of bable and the locative zài shows that certain bable constructions are coverb constructions, and that there is a close relationship between verbs and coverbs.

In the past, there have been various analyses suggesting how the bable construction may have developed and what it means to the development of the Chinese language as a whole. The analyses often concentrate on
the interpretations of the OV order. The most acclaimed proposal is perhaps Li and Thompson's (1974, 1975) interpretation of the OV order in the bā construction as a signal indicating the shift from a VO to an OV language in Chinese. Li and Thompson claim that the OV order in the bā construction is the result of the collapse of the serial verb construction. This phenomenon signals the word order shift from VO to OV in modern Chinese. The order change has a tendency to correlate with semantic functions of word order indicating definiteness for preverbal and indefiniteness for postverbal positions. However, the definite/indefinite distinction is by no means the cause of word order shift. The change of a verb to a coverb and finally to a preposition in bā is part of the process of changing from the postverbal to preverbal position of a verb. Li and Thompson (1974b) also point out that this process occurs in other prepositions in Chinese as well.

Li and Thompson's hypothesis has since been expanded and reinterpreted. Some favor it and some oppose it. Among the supporters of the VO changing to OV hypothesis, Hashimoto (1976) went further to suggest that the shift to OV does not occur randomly in all Chinese dialects. He emphasizes that the many OV features in Mandarin are more than just a coincidence. In fact, the OV features occur mainly among northern Chinese dialects and not among southern Chinese dialects, which still have predominantly VO features. Hashimoto points out various syntactic features in both NP and VP. For example, the order of a noun compound is NOUN + MODIFIER in southern China, which is the reverse of the order in the north. The order of adverbs, adjectives, and the structure of NP with classifiers are also reversed between the
north and the south A Hashimoto (1976) points out that the most
striking example is the comparative construction in which southern
Chinese dialects have the pattern [(R + MOD + compare to + B)] whereas
the pattern in the north is [(R + compare to + B + MOD)]. Besides syntactic
features, some phonological features such as tonal distinctions or vowel
length distinctions as well as some morphological features such as
monosyllable/polysyllable features, negative markers, and plural suffixes
have all shown that southern dialects of Chinese are close to the Tai
languages. Hashimoto (1976) points out that although Chinese of the
pre-Ch'in period was a VO type language, the changes to the OV features
in northern dialects are not the result of an internal change within the
language as Li and Thompson (1974, 1975) have suggested, but rather the
result of an external influence that developed over a long period of time
Hashimoto (1976) concludes that the differences between northern and
southern dialects in China are the result of the Altaic influence in
northern Chinese dialects as opposed to the Tai influence in the south.
Since southern Chinese dialects preserve many features of the classical
Chinese, Hashimoto believes that the Chinese language as a whole has
been undergoing a change from the Tai type to the Altaic type since
early on in its history (Hashimoto, 1976).

Hashimoto's hypothesis is based on surveys of VO/OV contrast in
various Chinese dialects, notably the contrast between Mandarin in the
north and some northwestern languages in China, on the one hand, and
many southern Chinese dialects on the other hand. His hypothesis
indicates a substratum in the south China region. He considers it a
language shift situation in which interference occurs when the primary
language (i.e., Tai) is absorbed into the newcomer's language (i.e., Chinese). It is true that besides linguistic similarities, the geographical factor supports Hashimoto's suggestion of the possible language contact between Tai and southern Chinese. However, the OV structure in Tai, similar to the bā construction, which is a characteristic of northern Chinese, presents a complication to this interpretation. The reason is that this type of OV structure as in the bā construction is not common in southern Chinese dialects. In fact, it is rare in Cantonese, a southern Chinese dialect which bears the most linguistic similarities to the Tai languages. It is puzzling that this preposing object construction, which is very common in the day-to-day usage in Tais, has been ignored in a linguistic area where Tais and southern Chinese dialects could have come into contact. It is also peculiar that this common syntactic structure of the bāo construction in Tai does not have strong influence on southern Chinese. Even more puzzling is the fact that northern Chinese and Tai do share this similar OV structure. If the bā construction marks the distinction between northern and southern dialects of Chinese, why do the Tai languages, which are supposed to have strong influences on southern dialects of Chinese, also have this particular OV structure of northern Chinese?

Since the historical data in Lue as well as other Tais only goes back as far as the 12th century, it is not clear how the OV order in the Tai bāo construction developed. If there was Sino-Tai borrowing of this OV order, then the likely Chinese candidate for this type of OV feature should be northern Chinese. The borrowing which occurred in the past prompted both northern Chinese and Tai to share one similar structure.
The fact that southern Chinese, particularly Cantonese, lacks this structure indicates that the OV structure is perhaps not original in Tai, but borrowed. Geographically and historically, there is a possibility of language interference between northern Chinese and Tai. However, at present, there is not much study of the xinanguanhuà, a southwestern branch of Mandarin which covers an area of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guangxi. It is possible to speculate that this OV feature in Chinese bā and Tai 2au constructions is the result of language contact between Tai and a southwestern branch of northern Chinese. However, there is not yet any evidence to support this speculation. The link between the OV order in the bā and the 2au constructions is not clear.

So (1976) suggests that the old Chinese of Zunghuan, which still remained in Shandong up to the time of Shuihu zhuan, spread down to south China and to Indo China in the past, and that this language differs from the languages of various northwestern tribes, which through many centuries afterward were the dominant rulers in China. The VO structure is claimed to be the original order in the Chinese language, and the new OV order was introduced by these new tribes (So, 1976). Again it is also possible to speculate that perhaps the OV order in both the bā and 2au constructions is the result of the language contact in a much earlier time. However, there is no evidence indicating when and how such contact may have occurred. Therefore, it is difficult to find evidence to support any hypothesis of borrowing between Tai and Chinese, or between these two languages and some third language.

In recent years, there have been various oppositions to the basic assumption that the OV order, particularly in the bā construction,
signals the changing of Chinese to become an OV language. Since Li and Thompson (1974, 1975) first proposed the internally changing of the word order in Chinese, various studies have come up with counterexamples rejecting the OV hypothesis For example, Huang (1978) reviews in detail the prepositional usages both in the old Chinese and modern Chinese and comes to the conclusion that the SVC theory of these prepositions is not totally true There is no clear cut proof that prepositions were all postverbal before moving to preverbal Nor is there proof that they all developed similarly to 何处.

Although many of Hashimoto's (1978) examples are quite convincing, there are also some counterexamples Some examples show that both VO and OV features occur in various localities both north and south For example, the locative construction in Cantonese in the south is preverbal, while in Shandong in the north a comparative structure is similar to Tai and southern Chinese This demonstrates that the OV/V0 feature is not a clear cut distinction between northern and southern Chinese.

A different interpretation suggested by Light (1979) is that the OV order is essentially the change in a language to shift important elements to the preverbal position. There are many linguists who believe that Chinese is still basically a VO order language Light (1979), for one, believes that the seemingly OV phenomenon in the 何处 construction should be interpreted as the moving to the preverbal position, and that this phenomenon occurs in various structures in Chinese This approach acknowledges an OV type structure not in the sense that Chinese is shifting to become an OV language, but to register the existence of OV
along with the predominant VO order as a shift in major constituents related to semantic change in that language. The O V order in the bā construction is the device within the Chinese language to express contrastive definiteness of the NP. Light (1979) strongly opposes Li and Thompson’s (1975) interpretation that there was a conflict between this historical development of shifting to OV order and the process of distinction between definite/indefinite by the position of NP relative to verb. Li and Thompson claim that as the OV order in the bā construction became more dominant in taking over the old VO order, the distinction of definite/indefinite in preverbal and postverbal positions weakened. Li and Thompson give as evidence recent occurrences of bā sentences which have an indefinite preposed NP.

There have been some studies supporting Light’s proposal. For example, Sun and Givón’s (1985) study agrees with Light’s proposal that Chinese is still basically a VO order language. In their quantitative text and oral studies of the current synchronic distribution of VO-OV order in Mandarin Chinese, Sun and Givón find that the functional distribution of OV construction in Mandarin has a strong tendency to be a “marked, specialized, contrastive/emphatic device” as Light has suggested. Sun and Givón point out that this device is rather typical and should not be considered a sign of word order change. Givón’s empirical result also negates Li and Thompson’s claim that VO features are being replaced by the OV order of the bā sentence, which had expanded to include indefinite preposed objects. Li and Thompson admit that the actual counting does yield more VO than OV order sentences. However, they still predict the shift in order of the Chinese language as a whole by
insisting that the relaxing of the restriction on the preposing object NP (i.e., definiteness) is indeed the signal of change within a language.

The existence of OV order in the Tai *2au* construction as has been discussed earlier seems to support Light's hypothesis of preverbalization as a syntactic means to indicate semantic criteria in a language. It also shows that perhaps the OV feature in the *ba* construction should be viewed as a process, not a signal of language shifting from VO to OV. Li (1971) also points out that at a communicative level, the *ba* construction deals with theme-rheme and focus. This interpretation seems to be the case for *2au* also. One clear aspect is that both *ba* and *2au* reflect the pragmatic function of the theme-rheme principle. It is the concept of known and unknown that underlies the structure. The occurrence of an indefinite object marker such as *ge* (e.g., *ge pībāo* 'a handbag') does not necessarily mean the object noun is indefinite. Even in a language which has definite/indefinite markers such as English, definiteness can be expressed through an indefinite article "a". Kramsky (in Brettschneider and Lehman 1980) points out that the article "a" can refer to a certain person who is assumed to be known to the hearer. He cites an example such as "---I wonder if you have come across a fellow called James Birch. We were at Eton together."

The question is whether this shared feature is the result of some external influences. The development of a verb to a coverb which created an OV syntactic order has been observed in various languages. Besides MSC and Tai, many African languages have been cited as having this feature (Givon, 1974; Lord, 1982). The fact that this structure occurs in other languages and the fact that southern Chinese does not
have this feature seem to lead to a conclusion that the Tai 2au construction perhaps should be considered to be independently developed rather than borrowed. It appears that in a language which has SVC as one of the predominant features, it is common for a verb which has the meaning of 'to take hold of' to become a coverb marking a preposing object of a sentence. The status of this coverb varies from a coverb to preposition or marker depending on the stage of the development. Some languages with morphological complex forms will distinguish a verb from a coverb by inflection. In an analytic language, other means must be considered. Semantic interpretation (e.g., pragmatic aspects of the construction), and the role of modification (e.g., a lengthy modification is obligatory) are a few examples in the case of the Chinese bā and the Tai 2au constructions.

The preverbalization process in both the bā and the 2au constructions should be considered as a peculiar syntactic feature shared by Chinese and Tai languages whether they have been developed in parallel fashion or the result of borrowing. Cheung (1976) points out that the concept "to hold" in bā is related to "to have." This concept of possession is the meaning of the modern usage of bā as a functional word. Bā in the modern bā construction is no longer a full verb, but only carries the meaning indicating the existential relationship between the subject and the object. Cheung supported his interpretation with synonyms of bā such as jiāng (to take), zhūō (to grasp), and nā (to take) which occur in other dialects and have undergone similar grammaticalization (Cheung, 1976). This interpretation not only can explain the 2au construction phenomenon, but can also support a
hypothesis that this OV feature is a result of historical development occurring in both Chinese and Tai. It is a development of one particular type of syntactic structure and does not necessarily include the development of all prepositions of the whole language as Li and Thompson (1974, 1975) had claimed. It does not mean that the word order is shifting from VO to OV either. It is also possible that this type of OV order can be independently developed despite the geographical closeness of Tai and Chinese. It could very well be part of the preverbalization process which is the very nature of the languages in this region (see Shared Characteristics, Chapter II). It is the process of selecting an NP to achieve semantic criteria by moving it out of the postverbal position.

Preverbalization can explain this particular OV phenomenon, but the issue of language contact between Tai and Chinese is still left unanswered. The study of historical syntax in East and Southeast Asia is still very limited. A comparative study, not of syntactic patterns per se, but of the interaction between sentence patterns and how a language expresses certain concepts should be considered for future research.
1. Based on the Chinese records, there were originally 13 pannas. There are two土把总: 六隄 and 勤邁;

and 11土把总: 勤邦, 易武, 勤腊

触横坦, 勤阿, 勤笼

普騰, 勤旺, 整童

勤鸟, 勤得

2. For example, tsau５mox４ 'prince of a town'

3. Tsau５mom２Xamlu: or Shi-xun Dao, a Lue scholar, was the last prince of Sipsongpanna

4. It is still controversial whether 摘 dian and 摘 shan are the same word or not. 摘 dian is the old name for Yunnan

5. In 1660 A.D., 流官政权 were set up only in areas such as

鎮沅, 思茅, 普洱, 威远
6. These areas belong to Laos at present.

7. Xishuangbanna was first set up on January 24th, 1953.

8. Zhang Gong-jin (personal communication) points out that the Tai minorities are classified by the Chinese into three types:

   水傣  Shùn Dǎi (Xiānghuángbānna and part of Dehong)

   旱傣  Hān Dǎi (Dehong)

   花腰傣  Huāyāo Dǎi (e.g., Yuanjiang, Xinping)

9. Contrary to the long held belief in Thailand that Sukhothai Kingdom is the oldest Tai state, Suwit Wongthet (1983) points out that the political arena in Southeast Asia prior to the 13th century was composed of various competing kingly states which flourished at different times. Some of these kingly states such as the Lanna Kingdom were part of the earlier culture of the Tais.

10. Some Chinese scholars believe that Lue stone inscriptions were customarily buried in the ground under the main Buddhist statue of a temple.

11. Zhang Gong-jin (personal communication)

12. The inclusion of some central Tai dialects such as Hung and Tho as pointed out by Dao indicates the closeness between the central and the southwestern branches of the Tai languages. The closeness
between the two branches of Tais has also been suggested earlier by W Gedney.

13. Zhang (1985) points out that recent research on Tai minority languages in China reveals that there are greater distinctions in basic lexicon among many other smaller Tai communities than among major areas such as Xishuangbanna and Dehong.

14. Studies of syllabic m in different Tai dialects are Hope and Purnell (1962) for Tai Yuan, Hartmann (1979a) for Tai Lue, and Sarawit (1979) for Tai Yoong.

15. The observation and examples are from Qiu-sheng Zhang of YIM.

16. The transcriptions of conversations here and on p. 75 are recordings of free style conversations (i.e. without any suggested topic given) at YLI.

17. I am grateful for Seree Veroha's help in clarifying certain unclear parts of the recorded conversation.

18. Samples of Tai Bêng, the fourth writing system was not available.

19. Translation suggested by Dr. Timothy Light.

20. All Tai dialects spoken in northern Thailand have all three diphthongs [ia], [ua], and [ua], except in areas such as Phrae, and Nan which have only [ia] and [ua] (Pankhû'ankhat. 1962).

21. See Sapir 'drift' (1921). Such a tendency for parallel development can be seen among most Indo-European languages (e.g., Greek, Romance, Germanic), which develop syntactic features such as paraphrastic verb constructions and definite articles.
22. In Siamese, jà: occurs as a verb in only one case, jà: rwa 'to seal a leak in a boat.'

23. W. Gedney's personal communication.

24. The close knit integrated activity in the ʔau construction can be seen also in the following comparison between SVC and ʔau constructions in Siamese, for example.

khâu sú: khôngkhuăn sôn pai hai jà: t
s/he buy gift send DIR to relative
S/He bought a gift (and) send (it) to a relative.

khâu sú: khôngkhuăn leu thúŋ cà sôn pai hai jà: t
s/he buy gift ASP then will send DIR to relative
S/He bought a gift (and) then (s/he) will send (it) to a relative.

khâu ʔau sù: sák leu
s/he ʔau clothes wash ASP
S/he has already washed the clothes.

* khâu ʔau sù: leu thúŋ cà sák (lėu)
s/he ʔau clothes wash ASP then will wash (ASP)

Notice that it is possible to separate the two verb phrases in the SVC such as in the first pair of examples. The insertion of lėu marks the completion of the first verb phrase. thúŋ cà, which are added to the second verb phrase, indicate the temporal order between the two verb phrases. Such insertions of an aspect marker and/or a conjunction are not possible in the ʔau construction.

25. Fippinger's (1975) paraphrases of Black Tai sentences show that an ʔau construction sentence is not possible if the NP following ʔau
has not already existed. Fippinger's examples are reprinted as follows (Fippinger, 1975, p. 164): 

\[ \begin{align*} 
&\text{?a:1}^3 \text{ tci}^4 \text{ ?au}^1 \text{ hwan}^4 \text{ maw}^2 \text{ xa:1}^1 \text{ hsw}^3 \text{ sau}^1 \\
&\text{father FUT take house new sell to them} \\
&\text{Father is going to sell a new house to them.} \\
&\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*} 
&\text{?a:1}^3 \text{ tci}^4 \text{ ?au}^1 \text{ hwan}^4 \text{ maw}^2 \text{ tan}^3 \text{ hsw}^3 \text{ sau}^1 \\
&\text{father FUT take house new build for them} \\
&\end{align*} \]

The typical structures for the above examples, \( \text{xaw}^1/\text{tan}^3 \text{ hwan}^4 \text{ maw}^2 \text{ hsw}^3 \text{ sau}^1 \) 'to sell/build a new house to (for) them' are grammatical.

26. See Ekrnyom 1977 for different types of Topics in Siamese.

27. A similar structure in Cantonese and Mandarin is marked by jiang. However, this construction is formal and not used in day-to-day speech.
Figure 1

Map of Xishuangbanna
Figure 2

Map of the Tai Autonomous Regions in Yunnan
Tai III
Hani ***
Yi]
Lahu ***
Pulang ▲▲▲
Zao △△△
Jizhu 000
Jinghong
the capital of Xishuangbanna

[Based on a map showing minorities in Yunnan province from Monograph Series 1, 1903]

Figure 3
Map of Tai and other minorities in Xishuangbanna
Figure 4
Map of the Tai minority in Xishuangbanna

[Based on 1956 map of Xishuangbanna from Monograph Series II, 1983]
Figure 5

Visited areas for data collection around Jinhong
Figure 6

Comparing traditional hand copy writing and printed simplified writing
Figure 7

Examples of conventional abbreviated orthographic forms in traditional and simplified writings
Jimping Tai

Dehong Tai

Figure 8

Samples of Other Tai writings in Yunnan
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