The Grammar of Lahu

by James A. Matisoff

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Northern South-east Asia showing approximate limits of Lahu settlement (shaded). Map courtesy of A. R. Walker. Redrawn by Narca DeWoskin.

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dà˧ jâ ve ɔ̀-mî꞊ma Susan ò !

nɔ̀

lɛ

nɔ̀ pɔ tā̄ ve

ŋà꞊hɨ́-mà ve yâ-mî꞊ɛ́ nî g̈â

(Na-dà˧ lɛ Na-lɛ)

ɔ̀-pon

hà˧-pɛ̂n jâ ve ɔ̀-qhɔ lo

Lâhū-lɨ̀˧ chi ma ve

ŋà bù˧ lâ šā̄ mɛ̄̄ !

nɔ̀ ŋà thà˧ g̈â-thè˧ mâ ga lâ á qo

ŋà lɨ̀˧ chi qhe ve thà˧

qhà-qhe bù˧ phɛ̀˧ tù nā̄ â šɨ̄̄ ɛ̀˧

ɔ̀-bo ɨ̄ jâ mɛ̄̄

nɔ̀ pɛ̂-g̈ɨ̀ qhe chɔ ve chɔ ò !

Man (Thû-yì) squatting by fireplace. Note heavy cooking tripod and rack for drying chili-peppers.

Girl (Na-šέ) in formal costume, with closely sewn rows of silver buttons on her tunic. She is daughter of Cà-ší and later became wife of Yâ-pā-έ.

Girls (I-khâ and Na-lê?) winnowing rice on their veranda.

Fastening a hoe handle with bamboo strips. The man is Cà-ší, father of Na-šέ.
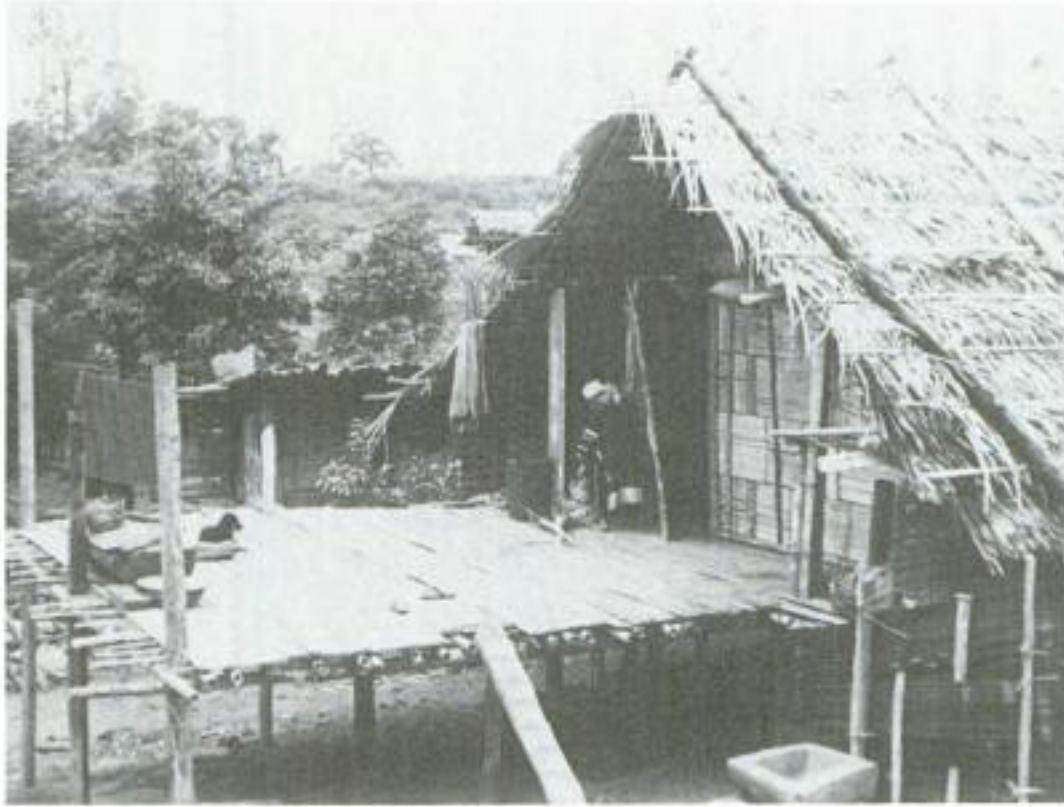
A Lahu home. Access is by the notched ramp in the foreground.

Author en route to an animist Lahu village, 1970. Photo by A.R. Walker.

At the watering place. A system of split bamboo conduits supported by forked sticks "pipes" water for bathing and dishwashing down to the village from a stream higher up the mountain.

Gossiping on the veranda. Photo by Susan Matisoff.

Boy (Cà-ye) carrying firewood in a head-basket. Photo by Hideo Haga.

Eliciting the calendrical cycle from the priest in an animist village (1977). The author is flanked by Cà-thɔ̂ and Yâ-pā-ɛ́.

Cà-mɔ́'s father, one of the most respected elders in Huey Tad.

Mother and child.

Working with Yâ-pā-ɛ́ in Chiang Mai.

CONTENTS

[ix]

LIST OF FIGURES

[xxi]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

[xxv]

When in Thailand I benefitted from contacts with many know-
ledgeable people. Gordon Young and his father Harold, director of
the Chiang Mai Zoological Gardens and formerly a missionary among
the Lahu in China and Burma, gave me expert help in the identifi-
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Rev. Paul Lewis of the American Baptist Mission offered encourage-
ment and practical assistance of many kinds.

A special word of thanks is due to my good friend Anthony R.
Walker of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University.
During my second fieldtrip in 1970, Anthony generously allowed me
to romp through the precious and voluminous corpus of religious
and other texts he had collected in the course of his four-year
research among the Red Lahu, and encouraged me to use whatever I
wanted.

To my former teacher and present senior colleague in the
Berkeley Linguistics Department, Professor Mary R. Haas, I offer
my sincere thanks. It was she who got me started in Southeast
Asian studies in the first place, and her constant encouragement
and guidance have been much appreciated.

I am especially indebted to my chief informant, the city-bred
Càː-lɔ̀, alias Paul, with whom I spent several hours a day for well
over a year in 1965-1966 transcribing Lahu texts from tapes we
had collected together in the various villages. His enthusiasm,
stamina, and good command of English were invaluable, particularly
in the earlier stages of my research.

To the Lahu of the villages, particularly to Pastor Càː-bo of
Huey Tad, I owe a great debt of love and gratitude. I shall never
forget their hospitality, their goodwill, their eager and intelli-
gent cooperation. Getting to know the Lahu through their language
has been the greatest human and intellectual adventure of my life.

Last but not least in love, my wife Susan (now Assistant Professor of Japanese at Stanford University). Besides coping with the problems of running a household and caring for small children in an alien environment, she typed the whole first draft of this grammar under atrocious conditions in 1966. For eight years she has served as a sympathetic and constructive sounding-board for the evolution of my ideas on Lahu. She understands me and she understands my work. (She is the one who invented the term 'unrestricted particle'!) It's good to have a wife like that.

Berkeley, California
October, 1972

I. <u>Non-alphabetic symbols</u>

   A. <u>General</u>

        *   1. reconstructed or hypothetical

                     2. ungrammatical

        (*)   semi-grammatical; aberrant but not absolutely impossible

        →   goes to; becomes; may be rewritten as; is exemplified by; [in 4.61] direction of bene-faction

        $\overset{\rightarrow}{\text{opt}}$ optionally becomes; is optionally rewritten as

        $\geq$ equal to or greater than

        X^n any number of X's (e.g., P_{uf}^{n} 'any number of final unrestricted particles')

        X/Y   either X or Y (e.g., <u>gɨ̈-ša ve bo</u>/<u>ɔ-bo pa-tɔ</u> means 'either <u>gɨ̈-ša ve bo pa-tɔ</u> or <u>gɨ̈-ša ve ɔ-bo pa-tɔ</u>')

   B. <u>Phonological</u>

        ⌒   short checked tone

        / /   phonemic representation; underlying phonological shape (e.g., /bù?/ 'write')

        [ ]   phonetic representation; superficial phono-logical shape (e.g., [bᵛɨ̈?] 'write')

        /X__Y   in the environment X__Y

#	sentence-pause
!!	extra-high pitch; falsetto
,	comma-pause

C. <u>Constituent boundary (morphological)</u>

   (1) boundedness:

X-	rightward bound (e.g., <u>là?</u>- 'hand')
-X	leftward bound (e.g., -<u>pɨ</u> 'noun-formative')
-X-	fore-and-aft bound (e.g., -<u>thɔ̀?</u>- in
	<u>à-thɔ̀?-ma</u> 'what')

   (2) compound analysis:
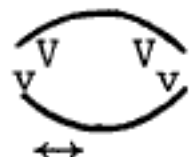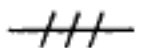
-	syllable boundary; lowest morpheme-boundary (e.g., <u>ha-pa</u> 'moon'; <u>yɛ̀-mí</u> 'door')
=	constituent boundary one degree higher than '-' (e.g., <u>ha-pa=ɛ́</u> 'little moon'; <u>yɛ̀-mí=qhɔ</u> 'in the doorway')
≡	constituent boundary one degree higher than '=' (e.g., <u>ha-pa=lì?≡ɛ́</u> 'little calendar')
≡̄	constituent boundary one degree higher than '≡' (e.g., <u>ha-pa=lì?≡ɛ́=̄pâ-nê</u> 'near the little calendar')

D. <u>Constituent boundary (syntactic)</u>

NP ⦙ NP	boundary between two noun-phrases
NP ǀ VP	boundary between noun-phrase and verb-phrase
Cl ‖ Cl	boundary between clauses in compound sentences
⦀	sets off (a) interjections (b) displaced adverbs

/ P_{uf} separates unrestricted particles from pre-

ceding phrase [Chapter II only]

,   1. sets off vocative noun-phrase from rest

of sentence [3.81 etc.]

2. sets off conjunction from rest of sentence

[4a.1 etc.]

sentence-boundary

⟷   1. disjunctive question (alternatives are

natural nouns)

2. separates correlative noun-phrases

[5.44(1) etc.]

⟷   1. disjunctive question (alternatives are

verbs or nominalized clauses)

2. separates equi-verbal co-clauses

E. <u>Transcapital relationships</u> [4.36]

<   post-primacy

>   pre-primacy

V V   transcapital co-ordination
v   v

↔   (indeterminate) transcapital co-ordination

⟺   ambi-primacy

⫽   mutual exclusion

F. <u>Clause-types</u>

{XYZ}   XYZ is a nominalized clause

[XYZ]   XYZ is a relative clause

→XYZ←   XYZ is a purpose-clause

{XYZ}   XYZ is an adverbial clause

<<XYZ>>   XYZ is a quotative clause

[XYZ]   [in 6.493] XYZ is an adnominal subordinate

            expression

G. <u>Deletions and permutations</u>

▢   1. deleted possessed head

            2. deleted relative head

X/̃Y   permutation of X and Y

⌠   separates permuted VP from an associated NP

⌠⌠   separates permuted clauses

⌡   separates nuclei of a permuted genitive

            construction

⌠⌠ [XYZ]   separates a permuted left-relative clause or

            adnominal subordinate expression, XYZ, from

            its preceding noun-head

II. <u>Alphabetic symbols</u>

[Note: <u>beta</u> is alphabetized after B, and <u>nu</u> after N.]

Adv   adverb

AE   adverbial expression

AE_{qha} <u>qha</u>-adverbial

AE_{stat} stative adverbial

B_{elab} bound constituent of an elaborate expression

B_n bound nominal morpheme

B_v bound verbal morpheme

BL	Black Lahu
Bs	Burmese
β	verbal nucleus
C	consonant; compound; complement; concatenation
C_{gpfx}	general prefixial compound
C_{pfx}	prefixial compound
C_r	resultative complement
C_{r-neg}	obligatorily negated resultative complement
C_{spfx}	specified prefixial compound
C_v	post-head verb concatenation
caus	causative
Cl	clause
Cl_f	final clause
Cl_{nf}	non-final clause
$Cl_{nf}/\tilde{\ }Cl_f$	permutation of non-final and final clauses
Cl_{nom}	nominalized clause
Cl_{purp}	purpose-clause
Cl_{qt}	quotative clause
Cl_{rel}	relative clause
$Cl_{tù}$	purposive tù-clause (not nominalized)
Clf	classifier
Clf_{rn}	round-number classifier
Conj	conjunction
cont	continuant
Det	determiner

E	extentive
E_{ma}	<u>ma</u>-class extentive
$E_{má-ɛ̀}$	diminutive extentive of the <u>má-ɛ̀</u> class
E_{qhe}	<u>qhe</u>-class extentive
Elab	elaborate expression
$Elab_{adv}$	adverbial elaborate expression
$Elab_{n}$	nominal elaborate expression
$Elab_{v}$	verbal elaborate expression
Ex	example
Intj	interjection
lab	labial
LRC	left-relative clause
LRC/X͂	permutation of a left-relative clause with the rest of its sentence
M_{pfx}	prefixable morpheme
$M_{pfx-spat}$	spatial prefixable morpheme
$mini-Cl_{qt}$	minimal quotative clause
mini-qt	minimal quoted expression
N	noun
N_{a}	autonomous noun
N_{count}	count noun
N_{desc}	descriptive noun
N_{ext}	extentive noun
N_{h}	noun-head; head noun
N_{intg}	interrogative noun

N_{lim}	limited noun
N_{mass}	mass noun
$[N-N]_n$	noun–noun compound
N_{obj}	object noun
N_{poss}	possessor noun
N_{qh}	quantified head; noun–head of a quantified nucleus
N_{rh}	relative head; noun–head of a relative clause
N_{sd}	spatial-demonstrative noun
N_{sp}	specifying noun (in prefixial compounds)
N_{spec}	specifying noun (in transhemistichial relationships)
N_{subj}	subject noun
N_{topic}	topic noun
nas	nasal
NP	noun–phrase
NP_f	final noun–phrase
NP_{nf}	non-final noun–phrase
$\widetilde{NP/VP}$	permutation of a verb-phrase with an associated noun-phrase
Num	numeral
ν	nominal nucleus
ν_{det}	determined nucleus
ν_{ext}	extentive nucleus
ν_{gen}	genitive nucleus

ν_h	head-nucleus of a genitive construction; possessed head
ν_{ord}	ordinary nucleus
ν_p	possessor-nucleus of a genitive construction
ν_p/ν_h	permutation of possessor nucleus and possessed head
ν_q	quantified nucleus
ν_{spec}	special nucleus
P	particle
P_{dev}	deverbative particle
P_n	noun-particle
P_{quot}	quotative particle
P_u	unrestricted particle
P_{uf}	final unrestricted particle
P_{unf}	non-final unrestricted particle
P_{univ}	universal unrestricted particle
$P_{univ-nom}$	nominalizing universal unrestricted particle
P_v	verb-particle
P_{v-I}	verb-particle of Group I
P_{v-II}	verb-particle of Group II (etc.)
P_{v-nom}	nominalizing verb-particle
PLB	Proto Lolo-Burmese
Pron	pronoun
psm	passim [used only in Indexes]
Q	numeral plus classifier; quantity-expression

QQ	polyquantificational expression
RC	relative clause
RRC	right-relative clause
S	sentence
S_{mtx}	matrix sentence
SAE	standard average European language (< B. L. Whorf)
SE	subordinate expression
SE_{adn}	adnominal subordinate expression
$SE_{adn}\tilde{}/X$	permutation of an adnominal subordinate expression with the rest of its sentence
smn	someone
sthg	something
strid	strident
$\underline{\breve{\bar{se}}}_r$	the $\underline{\breve{\bar{se}}}$ of regret [4.62]
T	tone
Tb	Tibetan
V	verb; vowel
V_{act}	action-verb
V_{act-f}	free action-verb
V_{adj}	adjectival verb; adjective
$V_{adj-intens}$	intensified adjective
$_vC$	pre-head verb concatenation
$_vC_v$	fore-and-aft verb concatenation
V_{caud}	caudal post-head versatile verb [also V_{v-caud}]

V_{free}	free verb
V_h	verb-head
V_{juxt}	juxtacapital post-head versatile verb [also V_{v-juxt}]
V_{med}	medial post-head versatile verb [also V_{v-med}]
V_{qha}	verbal constituent of a <u>qha</u>-adverbial
$_vV$	pre-head versatile verb
V_v	post-head versatile verb
V_{var}	variable post-head versatile verb [also V_{v-var}]
vce	voice
v]e	relative-genitive <u>ve</u> [6.496]
VP	verb-phrase
VP_f	final verb-phrase
VP_{nf}	non-final verb-phrase
YL	Yellow Lahu

INTRODUCTION

1. <u>Genetic affiliations</u>. Lahu is an important member of the
Loloish branch of the Lolo-Burmese (or Burmese-Lolo) subgroup of
the vast Tibeto-Burman family, which comprises hundreds of lan-
guages spoken all over south-, south-central, and southeast Asia
(in Assam, Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, southwestern China, Burma,
Thailand, and Laos). The Tibeto-Burman family, far-flung and
ramified as it is, is only part of a larger linguistic stock,
Sino-Tibetan, which includes Karen and Chinese. There are in fact
more speakers of Sino-Tibetan languages than of any other linguis-
tic stock in the world, with the exception of Indo-European. The
relationship of Chinese to Tibeto-Burman, which used to be re-
ferred to skeptically as the 'Sino-Tibetan hypothesis', has long
since been proved beyond any shadow of doubt.[1]

The Lolo-Burmese subgroup of languages, spoken in the eastern
portion of the Tibeto-Burman area, is characterized by the radical
simplification of initial consonant clusters and the disappearance
of most syllable-final consonant contrasts, compensated for by a
proliferation of vowels and tones. All these developments are
carried further in Loloish than in Burmish. Lahu is a typical
case, with no initial consonant clusters or final consonants, but
boasting nine vowels and seven tones.

Although the relationship between Chinese and Lahu is a
remote one, it is instructive to compare their grammars whenever
possible. Chinese forms cited in this book (see Index of Topics)
are given in the National Romanization, or <u>Gwoyeu Luomaatzyh</u>,
devised by Y. R. Chao.

No one has seriously suggested that there is any genetic   *
connection between Tibeto-Burman and Japanese, though several
scholars have informally commented on some striking grammatical
similarities between them. This similarity is of considerable
typological interest, and frequent comparisons with Japanese are

[xxxix]

made parenthetically in this book. Japanese forms are cited in
phonemic transcription, except in the Bibliography, where the
standard Hepburn romanization is used.

   Attempts have been made to link Sino-Tibetan with the Tai
family of languages, although Benedict (1942; 1966-67) has offered
highly persuasive evidence that Tai is rather to be related with
Malayo-Polynesian and Miao-Yao in a superstock to which he gives
the name 'Austro-Thai'. At any rate, Tibeto-Burman speakers have
long been in intimate cultural contact with Tai-speaking peoples
in Burma and Siam. In particular, the language of the Lahu
communities I studied in Thailand is heavily infiltrated with
loanwords from Shan and Northern Thai, including several words of
abstract grammatical function. Lexical and syntactic influence
from Thai is bound to get stronger in the future, and reference
to particular points of linguistic contact are made throughout
this book.

2. The Lahu people. The Lahu people as a whole are not in
control of any particular block of territory.[2] Like other hillfolk
of southeast Asia they live in scattered villages in the mountains,
high above the plains-dwelling majority populations who live by
wet-rice cultivation. Such is the ethnic and cultural complexity
of southeast Asia that on any given mountain one is apt to find
several different villages inhabited by hillfolk whose languages
are all mutually unintelligible (and sometimes not even remotely
related genetically). Lahu villages are to be found over a wide
area, including the far western portion of China's Yunnan
Province; the Kengtung area of Burma's Shan State; the northern
Thai provinces of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, Mae Hong Son,
and Tak; and Nam Tha Province in northwestern Laos. Sharing this
vast mountainous region bounded on the west by the Salween and on
the east by the Mekong are dozens of other 'hill-tribes' of
various ethnic affiliations, including fellow-Loloish groups like
the Akha, Lisu, Ahi Lolo, Hani Lolo, Nyi Lolo, Nasu, Woni, and

Bisu; other Tibeto-Burman communities like the Jinghpaw (Kachin) and the Burmish Atsi, Maru, and Lashi; the more remotely related Karen; the 'Austro-Thai' Miao (Meo) and Yao; and various Mon-Khmer peoples like the Wa and the Khmu?.

It is impossible to give a precise figure for the total Lahu population, though the best estimates run in the vicinity of 250–300 thousand persons, divided roughly by country as follows: China 180,000–200,000; Burma 66,000–90,000; Thailand 15,000–17,000; Laos 2,000–2,500. The oldest Lahu settlements are those of China and Burma. The Lahu in Thailand and Laos have all immigrated within the last hundred years or so, and many much more recently than that. New arrivals continue to slip across the Burmese-Thai border, as the political and economic situation in Shan State deteriorates.

The staple crop of the Lahu is hill-rice, cultivated in 'swiddens' on the steep mountainsides by the age-old 'slash-and-burn' technique. Since fertilizers are not available, the land in a given area is soon played out, and the village must move elsewhere. The chief cash crop is opium, with tea, chili-peppers, and maize of relatively minor importance. As population pressure from the lowlands intensifies, the Lahu and the other hillfolk find their traditional semi-nomadic way of life increasingly threatened: it is no longer so easy to find fresh land.

Most Lahu are still animistic in religion, believing in a variety of good, neutral, and evil spirits. Above all of these is a supreme supernatural called g̈ɨ-ša, the Creator or Great Spirit. This deity has been reinterpreted as the Christian God by the American missionaries who have been working on the Lahu since the turn of the century. The most active proselytizers have belonged to the American Baptist Mission, which claimed 28,000 converts in Burma and Thailand in 1950. There are now 17 villages of Christian Lahu in Thailand comprising some 2,300 people, or about 14 per cent of the Lahu in the country. In these villages, needless to say, no opium is grown.

3. Dialects and cultural subdivisions. The Lahu traditionally
divide themselves into a number of ethnic subgroups. Walker 1970b
(pp. 36-40) has collected 23 such designations from knowledgeable
informants in Thailand, though there are only four subgroups of
any size in the country at this time: Black Lahu (Lâhū-nâʔ); Red
Lahu (Lâhū-ní); Yellow Lahu (Lâhū-ši); and Lahu Shehleh (Lâhū=
šε-lέ). The first three appellations are said to derive from the
distinctive color of the women's dress. The etymology of the word
šε-lέ remains obscure to the Lahu themselves.

These divisions have a certain amount of psychological and
cultural validity, though they are highly misleading from the
linguistic point of view. There is a striking lack of agreement
from village to village as to just what differentiates the Black
Lahu dialect from the Red Lahu one, or either of these from Lahu
Shehleh. A text I tape-recorded in a Christian village that calls
itself 'Black' was pronounced 'Red' by an animist village that
also considers itself Black. Contrariwise, a text recorded in
this animist village was unanimously and hilariously described as
'Shehleh' by the Christian village.

The entire question of subdivisional nomenclature is current-
ly being warmly debated by the three anthropologists who have
recently worked on the Lahu of northern Thailand: Jones, Spiel-
mann, and Walker. All of these scholars take sharp issue with the
conclusions reached previously by G. Young (1962). At any rate,
it is safe to say that the Black, Red, and Shehleh dialects are
all extremely close to one another, mutually intelligible with
only slight difficulty. They differ somewhat in their tone-
systems, in their repertoire of particles and other functors, and
especially in certain areas of their lexicons, particularly flora
and fauna names. Yellow Lahu, on the other hand, is clearly
divergent from the other three. The tonal, grammatical, and lexi-
cal differences are more pronounced, and the system of segmental
phonemes is quite idiosyncratic as well,[3] to the point where it is

not easy for the Yellows to communicate with their brethren who speak other dialects.

4. Evolution of this study. I first worked on Lahu as the subject of my doctoral dissertation for the University of California, Berkeley, during a fieldtrip in northern Thailand from January 1965 to May 1966. This dissertation, entitled A Grammar of the Lahu Language, was submitted in the spring of 1967. From September 1966 to January 1970, while teaching in the Columbia linguistics department, I wrote several articles on Lahu grammar and Tibeto-Burman comparative linguistics (see Bibliography), and worked intermittently on a Lahu dictionary and a revision of the Grammar. Early in 1970 I returned to Thailand for a second fieldtrip, remaining there until August. During this period I completed the second version of the Grammar, making many additions and correcting a number of errors of fact. Also, I studied the voluminous corpus of liturgic-poetic texts collected by Anthony R. Walker during his four years of research on Red Lahu society, incorporating a large number of specialized vocabulary items into my dictionary files.

During the academic year 1970-71, while teaching at Berkeley, I prepared the final version of this Grammar, finally submitting it to the press in the fall of 1971. The dictionary will hopefully be submitted for publication during the academic year 1973-74.

* * *

The language described in this book is spoken in three Christian villages of Chiang Mai Province inhabited by Black Lahu who have immigrated from the Kengtung area of Shan State, Burma, within the last twenty years. This language corresponds in nearly every particular to the 'standard Black Lahu' used in the various missionary translations of the New Testament (see note 5).[4]

Walker confirms that these people, along with the inhabitants of
a few other Christian villages in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
Provinces, are the only 'true' Black Lahu now in Thailand. How-
ever, the Black Lahu are numerically the largest group among the
Lahu people as a whole, and are far and away the predominant group
in Yunnan and Burma.[5] (Contrariwise, the Lahu Shehleh, who by
all accounts constitute a tiny fraction of the total Lahu popula-
tion, are the second largest group now resident in Thailand.)

My three villages included, first and foremost, a place
called Huey Tad (Hwè-tàʔ), about 65 kilometers north of Chiang
Mai, near Chiang Dao, situated on a Thai government nikhom or
'Hill Tribes Resettlement Center' (population about 150); Pashu
(Pa-šú), an offshoot of Huey Tad some three hours' walk further
up the mountain, since disbanded and resettled in Fang District;
and Shatodu (Šá-to-dū), a large prosperous village (population
about 300) approximately 120 kilometers north of Chiang Mai,
beyond Fang, on the Burmese border.

The men and boys of these villages all had considerable
knowledge of Northern Thai or 'Kham Myang'; the men aged 30 and
above knew Shan well; and a number of the older generation were
still fluent in Burmese (especially if they had done military
service in the British army in Burma against the Japanese). Loan-
words from all three languages are numerous, though the Thai
contribution is naturally on the ascendant.

5. Theoretical orientation of this Grammar. It is a measure of
the growing esotericism of linguistic theory in the last few years
that one almost feels constrained to offer an apology for having
written a 'grammar of a whole language'. Since it is obviously
so difficult to deal even with the minutest amount of data from a
language which one commands natively in such a way that all
'implications for linguistic theory' have been wrung out of it,
it is clearly an act of hubris, or worse, to presume to make any-
thing but the most superficial remarks about a whole language

which is not only not one's mother tongue, but is also of so alien
a nature as to require a complete rewiring of any intuitional
circuits the analyst may have.

In a sense this is perfectly true. Microscopic examination
of small amounts of artificially simplified and familiar data
can be of enormous value in clarifying basic theoretical issues.
Yet at the same time it makes it easy to exaggerate the importance
of one's analytical technique,[6] to be preoccupied with sharpening
and refining its formal expression, to the point where the raw
data of the language itself become viewed as an uncouth, irritat-
ing, and rather messy adjunct to one's theoretical labors. The
door is then open for the exegetes and the scholastics to leap in,
attacking one another's formalizations, buttressing their argu-
ments with ever more far-fetched and dubious examples, twisting
and idealizing the data beyond recognition. The 'universal theory
of language' itself tends to get lost in the shuffle, as patches
are applied to patches. Since the edifice has rested from the
beginning on such a fragile and limited data-base, every new bit
of data adduced (from English or such canonically exotic languages
as Japanese) sets the whole theory atremble. And so, it seems to
me, the macroscopic linguist has a vital task to perform: the
providing of massive doses of new food for thought, the raising
of entirely new issues, the asking of new questions. Linguistic
problems, like philosophical ones, never receive definitive
answers. They are disposed of because they are no longer felt to
be worth worrying about -- something more general, more interest-
ing, or more difficult comes along to take their place.

As indicated above, the first draft of this grammar was
written in Thailand in 1965-66. At that time I was operating
more or less within the framework of pre-Aspects generative
theory,[7] though even then I wanted to deal with a whole language
rather than with a small self-contained subpart of the grammar.
It is hard to recapture the naive enthusiasm of those days, when

it was still possible to burn with righteous indignation against
the very real inadequacies of 'taxonomic' linguistics, when the
straw-men were going up in flames all around you, when to be
'trivial' or 'unmotivated' was a fate worse than death. At last
one was on the right track. It would be possible to account for
'all and only the grammatical sentences' of a language by inter-
locking systems of neatly ordered rules, phrase-structural, trans-
formational, and morphophonemic. Syntax, instead of being rele-
gated to a perfunctory postscript at the end of the grammar,
would now occupy the central position. It was recognized that
there remained such problems as degrees of grammaticality, selec-
tional restrictions, performance betrayals of one's underlying
competence -- but these were deemed to be of minor interest. In
its essence, language was rule-governed behavior. For every
dialect there existed some simplest system of rules that correctly
characterized this behavior.

    Yet the intractible sponginess of language won out.
Generative grammars, it was found, leaked like any others. On my
return from Thailand, it gradually became clear that recent
developments in generative theory would be of little help in the
practical business of revising my Lahu grammar for publication.
For the neo-generativists, dismayed by the complexity of the
relationship between what is actually said and how it is under-
stood,[8] have retreated from the 'surface' of linguistic structure
to an ever-increasing extent. The emphasis is more and more on a
kind of universal grammar, or super-deep structure, none of whose
properties are known but which resembles a dictionary of universal
concepts, a Platonic heaven of grammatically usable ideas, from
which every natural language makes a selection, somehow managing
to pull them up to the not-very-interesting surface in the shape
of sounds and words. Actually this view of language, where the
boundaries between syntax and semantics have been obliterated,
has the great virtue of giving meaning its rightful place at the

core of language. The earlier, over-formalized versions of
generative grammar had banished it to the periphery. Yet many
neo-generativists go vastly too far in the other direction. For
them, meanings need not necessarily be wedded to forms at all.
There are therefore few theoretical constraints on what deep
structures may be said to underlie a given surface sentence --
full rein is given to the whimsy of the analyst. As one surveys
the current linguistic scene, it is as if somebody had opened
Pandora's box. All kinds of extravagances are seriously put forth
as possessing explanatory power. Thus we are told with a straight
face that English is a VSO language, because some rules work
better that way (perhaps a symbol is saved). A sort of univer-
salistic fallacy is gaining ground, whereby if it can be shown
that some language overtly marks a grammatical distinction, that
distinction can then be assumed to be covertly present in the same
sense in all human languages. Thus a recent treatment of the
English preposition <u>with</u> purported to relate its instrumental
function to the verb 'use', not only on the grounds of paraphrase
possibilities within English, but also because other languages
express instrumental ideas in such a way. With equal justice one
might say that the verb 'take' underlay English instrumentals,
since Lahu says things like 'taking a knife he cut the wood'
[3.85; 4.51(1)]. Similarly, why not say that English distin-
guishes between alienable and inalienable possession, since we
can say 'I sold my car', but 'I sold my belly-button' sounds
aberrant at best? All that such semantic universalizing will
succeed in demonstrating is that it is possible to translate any-
thing from one language to another, given sufficient latitude of
periphrasis. And most people have long had a sneaking suspicion
that was true anyway.

Meanwhile I have had a grammar to write. Although I cannot
go along with some of the latest twists and turns of generative
grammar, it will be obvious that I am in basic sympathy with many

aspects of the generative approach to language: (a) This grammar
is not, I think, a simple taxonomic pigeonholing job, where the
entities are neatly segmented on each of their tidy levels, and
the impression given that nothing more remains to be said. (b) I
do not share the butterfly-collector's passion for data for data's
sake.[9] I value copious data, but only because it is indispensable
for finding out how the language works, on its own terms. (c)
When a particular grammatical phenomenon is of general theoretical
interest, I am delighted, note the fact, and try to discuss it in
a wider context. (d) I share the (early) generative idea of
basic vs. derived constructions, along with a belief in a loose
kind of paraphrasticism: it _is_ possible to gain insight into
constructions by comparing them with syntactically-other ones of
roughly similar meaning -- but the meaning equivalence, I now
believe, is rarely if ever absolute. (e) I share the basic
generative position that there are times when a blind concentra-
tion on 'surface' phenomena obscures deeper regularities in the
language which are best handled by setting up abstract underlying
structures; but I insist that these be motivated at every point
by a concern for rationalizing and explicating the surface struc-
ture. (f) I share the (not uniquely generative) belief that a
grammar is an organic whole, that analytical decisions made in one
part of the grammar will have repercussions in other parts, and
must be consistent therewith. (g) I like the historicism of the
generative approach to phonology [see Chapter I].

At the same time there are several fundamental points where
my orientation is opposed to what I conceive to be the main thrust
of the generative tradition. I am increasingly impressed by the
continuum as a better characterization of linguistic structure
than the 'all-or-none' model: sentences may be more or less
grammatical, more or less idiomatic (natural); they may mean more
or less the same thing (sentences may be more or less perfect
paraphrases of each other); homophonous strings of phonemes may

represent more or less the same morpheme; selectional restrictions
may be more or less rigid, but so may 'strict subcategorizational'
ones. It is impossible and misguided to draw a sharp distinction
between competence and performance, since it is not clear in what
sense it is possible to speak of a 'rule of syntax' at all. There
are no absolute, unbreakable rules for the ordering of NP's in a
Lahu sentence [3.10.0], though this ordering is not random. It is
not always possible to decide whether an unusual string of Lahu
'unrestricted particles' is to be attributed to a performance
quirk, or whether it is to be included in the speaker's competence
[4.72.10d; 5.43]. It is theoretically possible to have strings
of nine or more Lahu verbs in a row, but as a matter of fact one
never finds more than five. A mere fact of performance? It is
possible to say much of interest about these 'verb concatenations'
[4.3]; but the ones which actually occur in the language are the
result of a complex and flexible interplay of syntactic and
semantic factors which make any attempt at rigorous formalization
look amateurish. This grammar therefore has what one might call
a 'semi-formal' character. Symbolic representation is often
handy and perspicuous where prose is turgid and clumsy, especially
in phonology.[10] But symbols and arrows are pictures, not sacred
icons. We use them as abbreviatory devices, no more.

A grammar is a work of art.

My theoretical views, such as they are, are the product of
many influences besides generative grammar: a kind of Berkeley
neo-Sapirianism; the light-hearted good sense of Y. R. Chao;
Whorfian relativism; Labov's empirical approach to linguistic
variation; W. Diver's brand of neo-Saussureanism known as 'form-
content analysis', which in turn owes much to Dwight Bolinger —
but above all, my own philological, polyglot, and humanistic bent.
My primary interest is, I suppose, Southeast Asian comparative-
historical linguistics. Few compendious, let alone 'modern'
grammars of any Tibeto-Burman languages exist. In view of the

present fluid state of linguistic theory, perhaps there is room
for what might be called my 'eclectic heuristicism'. I have
merely tried to present the data on an alien and fascinating
language with as much clarity, copiousness, and fidelity as I
could; to point out the areas of difficulty or special interest,
where further investigation is needed, or where current linguistic
theories fail to provide any insight; finally to contribute to
Tibeto-Burman studies in general. To those who will say, 'So then
because thou art lukewarm and neither hot nor cold I will spew
thee out of my mouth' (Rev. 3:16), I can only reply: 'Prove all
things; hold fast that which is good' (I Thess. 5:12).

Notes

1. See, for example, Benedict 1972. (For full references to
    works cited here and below, see the Bibliography.)

2. More detailed information on the matters discussed in this
    section is to be found in the Introduction of Anthony R.
    Walker's invaluable recent study (Walker 1970b).

3. For example, the distinction between velar and post-velar
    stops is not made before many of the vowels, there are only
    seven vowels instead of nine, etc. See Chapter I.

4. In fact it was at the behest of missionaries (particularly
    the Young family -- Vincent, Harold, and Gordon) that these
    villagers left Burma for Thailand in the first place.

5. It is for this reason that the missionaries selected this
    dialect for their Bible translations. The first of these,
    by the Rev. J. H. Telford (1949), is deficient in that the
    tones are not indicated at all in the transcription. The
    other two versions, by the Rev. Vincent Young (circa 1955)
    and the Rev. Paul Lewis (1962) are written in what we may
    call the 'Standard Orthography', a transcription that is not
    phonemic but which has the great merit of indicating the
    tones accurately.
        Two brief grammatical sketches of Lahu exist, one by
    Telford (1938) and one by the Rev. Larry M. Peet (1961,
    1964). Both are intended as practical handbooks for
    missionaries in the field, and make no pretensions to
    scientific accuracy or completeness, though they do contain
    some interesting material.

A more detailed account of missionary publications in
Lahu is to be found in Walker 1970b, pp. 72-76.

6. This 'structuralist' or 'taxonomic' vice is no less charac-
   teristic of the generative school.

7. Chomsky's <u>Aspects</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Theory</u> <u>of</u> <u>Syntax</u> first appeared in
   1965, but I had no access to a copy until the end of 1966.

8. No one can deny that by demonstrating this complexity with
   hitherto unparalleled vividness the generative school has
   made a contribution of major proportions.

9. In fact no first-rate lepidopterist would be so blindly data-
   oriented either.

10. I espouse no particular version of feature theory. Here
    again the all-or-none has prospered unjustly at the expense
    of the continuum.

PREFACE TO SECOND PRINTING

Eight years have flown by since the first publication of
this book. Although the present reprinting cannot be called
a completely new edition - there hasn't been enough time for
that - a serious attempt has been made to make the Grammar
easier to use, and to update and validate its contents in the
light of what I have been able to learn about Lahu since
1972-3.

In general, I think it is fair to say that The Grammar
of Lahu has stood the test of time pretty well. Although its
non-orthodox theoretical approach has provoked pained bewild-
erment on the part of one reviewer, it has found favor with
most.[1] What was said in the Introduction (pp. xliv-li) about
the impending demise of formalistic generative grammar has
been amply borne out in the intervening years. The 'planned
obsolescence' of linguistic theories has reached almost comic
proportions, as ever more fragmented theoretical cliques,
each claiming to have discovered the Ultimate Truth about
language, vie for the hearts and minds of graduate students.
Students themselves are in a quandary, as they try to thread
their way through the corpse-strewn landscape of half-baked
ideas. In this climate, it is comforting to feel that what
one wrote several years ago still does not need to be thrown
out the window.

The present reprinting reflects some of the additional
data I collected on my third fieldtrip to Thailand (April-
August 1977). During this time I was not concerned primarily
with Lahu grammar, but rather with rechecking and amplifying
the manuscript of my Lahu dictionary.[2] Inevitably, however,
the process of working through the entries one by one with my
best informants uncovered new grammatical facts and exposed
old mistakes.

[liii]

Simple 'typos' (of which there were very few) and easy-
to-fix mistakes like wrong tone-marks have been corrected in
the text itself without comment.[3] More substantive changes
have been incorporated into the list of Addenda and Corrigen-
da ("AC") at the end of the book. The reader is referred to
these by means of marginal asterisks next to the relevant
passages in the text.

It is always embarrassing to learn that one has made a
mistake in print - even when nobody else has ever noticed it![4]
Yet with one or two exceptions, all the errors I have been
able to find are quite minor. Frequently these involved ut-
terances I had branded as anomalous but thought to be correct,
which further checking has shown to be wrong indeed, thus ac-
tually improving the generalizations they had apparently con-
tradicted (e.g. *chi-thâ [AC 545], *qhà ve qhe [AC 135], 'se-
quences of adjectival head + medial' [AC 231]). Another
class of mistakes affects a few high-frequency expressions I
had 'learned wrong' at the beginning of my experience with
Lahu in 1965-6, and which had become so ingrained that they
had gone unquestioned ever since (e.g. *tā for tà 'begin',
*chi-qhɔ̀ for cì-qhɔ̀ 'this year', and *jɛ̂ pí ve 'urinate'
[lit. "give urine"] for jɛ̂ pí ve [lit. "squirt urine"]). In
a couple of cases I had declared a verb to be 'versatile' on
the basis of insufficient evidence, and then apparently brow-
beaten my first informants into accepting ungrammatical verb-
strings with them (cf. the non-existent $_v$V cɛ̂ [AC 213] and
V$_v$ šɔ̌ [AC 226]).

The most subtle and important changes in our grammatical
analysis involve the innumerable particles in their interre-
lationships with each other and with other morphemes in their
sentences. Here some real advances in understanding have
been made (e.g. the reanalysis of the several particles pro-
nounced ɛ̀ ~ ɛ̀ʔ [AC 382-3], the colloquial ɛ̀ which can substi-
tute for kà? [AC 428-9], the connection of qha-pâ? with audi-
tory evidence [AC 355]). On the other hand, the aspectual
verb-particle šɔ̄ 'still' has proven particularly troublesome,
and several unsolved questions have arisen about its behavior

after negated verbs and in relative clauses [AC 339, 584].

In fact, the more I learn about Lahu the less I think I
know. It has seemed that the more fluently I came to speak
the language, the more apt people were to correct my mis-
takes, and the less likely they were to accept unidiomatic
utterances from me.[5] I have had to work alone during the
long intervals between fieldtrips, and many is the time I
have wished that a Lahu lived around the corner.[6] This Gram-
mar is still very incomplete - perhaps necessarily so, since
grammar-writing is an open-ended task.[7]

Despite the revisions which sometimes contradict the
text, this version of the Grammar should prove much easier to
use than the original one. Many readers[8] have justifiably
complained that the section numbers were not printed on each
page, and that the notes were all relegated to the end of the
book without reference to the relevant pages in the text, ne-
cessitating 'much flipping back and forth.' This has been
remedied in the present version. The section numbers have
been pasted in as 'running feet' on every page, and each page
of notes is now headed by an indication of the part of the
text they refer to.

The Chinese characters that appear here and there have
been redrawn with a steadier hand. The Dedication has been
rewritten, and the selection of photographs at the beginning
of the book is somewhat different. Finally, a small Supple-
mentary Bibliography has been provided. Except for an updat-
ing of my own works on Lahu and related languages, this makes
no pretensions to completeness - there has been an explosion
of new publications on Tibeto-Burman linguistics since 1973.
In particular, only a sampling of the Lahu religious texts
published by Anthony R. Walker has been included. This enor-
mously valuable material has appeared in a series of more
than thirty separate articles in journals all over the world,
and is still coming out. A complete inventory of Walker's
publications will appear in the bibliography of the Diction-
ary of Lahu.

It is a pleasure to thank those who have made this re-

printing possible, especially James H. Clark, Director of the University of California Press; Rose Anne White of U.C. Press, my sympathetic and efficient editor; my colleagues Charles J. Fillmore and Wallace L. Chafe; and my student Julian K.Wheatley. I am grateful to the readers of the original version – a select group – for their support and constructive criticism. Finally, and most of all, I thank the two Lahu friends who worked most closely with me in alternate weeks through the spring and summer of 1977, Yâ-pā=ɛ̀ ("Sonny") and Cà-bí (head-man of Hwè Tàʔ village). I had first met Yâ-pā=ɛ̀ in 1965, when he was a young man of about 18, and I showed him the few chords I knew how to play on the guitar. By 1977, he was a solid family-man, no mean guitar-player, and one of the finest and most intelligent people I have ever known.

JAM
Berkeley, California

August, 1981

[1]For a complete list of the reviews which have appeared so far, see the Supplementary Bibliography.

[2]I have stopped making predictions about when The Dictionary of Lahu will finally appear. (The estimate of 1973-4 [p.xliii] has proved to be a bit too sanguine!) The manuscript now comes to about 2200 pages, of which 969 have been processed into final form as of this writing. I can only hope it will be worth waiting for.

[3]One of these tonal errors involves a high-frequency V (tà 'begin' [NOT tā̱], which appears dozens of times in thȇ sec-tion on verb concatenation alone. In a case like this, I can't be sure that all occurrences in the book have been caught.

[4]This is the case with virtually all our errata. Ironically, the elaborate system of cross-referencing in the Grammar en-sured that once an error was made, it would recur several times in the book!

[5]Perhaps this is because in the earlier stages there were so many mistakes that people didn't know where to begin.

[6]This wish may be granted sooner than I would have thought. A group of some 150 Yellow Lahu from Laos have just been reset-tled near Salt Lake City.

[7]It has been possible to incorporate only a small fraction of the new information acquired in 1977.

[8]Including the two most perceptive reviewers, Okell and Haud-ricourt.

Chapter I

PHONOLOGY

1.1 Syllable structure. In Lahu, as in all languages of the
Sino-Tibetan family, the most fruitful point of departure for
phonological analysis is the syllable.[1] Native Lahu stressed
syllables have the canonical form (C)VT , where C represents
an optional class of 24 initial consonants, V is an obligatory
vowel nucleus, and T is an obligatory tone. Consonant clusters
do not occur. The vocalic nucleus is usually one of nine simple
vowels, but diphthongs of various types also appear. There are
seven distinctive tones, five open and two checked. [See Fig. 1.]

FIGURE 1. Lahu Phonemes

C →	p	t	c	k	q	V →	i	ɨ	u	T →	[unmarked]	33
	ph	th	ch	kh	qh		e	ə	o		`	21
	b	d	j		g		ɛ	a	ɔ		^	54
	m	n			ŋ						‾	11(2)
	f		š		h						ˏ	45
	v		y		g̈						^ʔ	5͡4
		1									`ʔ	2͡1

Note: Pitch values are roughly indicated on a scale from
1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). The tones under the dotted line
are derived from older syllables with final stops. Unstressed
syllables may be regarded as toneless [below 1.6].

1.1

[1]

If all conceivable CVT combinations actually occurred, there would be approximately 25 x 9 x 7 = 1575 canonical syllables in native Lahu morphemes (allowing for a zero-initial). However, the vicissitudes of phonological change since the Proto Lolo-Burmese period have left synchronic holes in the co-occurrence patterns of the syllabic elements. The most interesting of these are mutual exclusions between tones and initial consonants [below 1.6]. Consonant/vowel constraints are less structured [below 1.34], and vowel/tone limitations are all but non-existent.

1.2 Initial consonants. Lahu has three series of stops and affricates (voiceless unaspirated or 'plain', aspirated, and voiced) in five articulatory positions (labial, alveolar, palatal, velar, post-velar):

p	t	c	k	q
ph	th	ch	kh	qh
b	d	j	g	-

* The plain row represents a merger of the old PLB *plain and *glottalized series; the aspirated row derives from the PLB *aspirates; and the voiced row, it now appears, descends from a PLB *pre-nasalized series.[2] This voiced row lacks a post-velar member according to our analysis [below 1.24].

Lahu, unlike Burmese, has only one set of nasals /m n ŋ/. These represent a merger of the PLB *plain and *glottalized nasal series.

As we shall see [below 1.6], the manner of the initial consonant is intimately connected with the tone of the syllable. Mergers in the manner-series have in part been compensated for by the proliferation of tones.

1.21 The labials /p ph b m f v/. Unlike the palatals /c ch j š y/, where all five affricates and spirants exhibit parallel historical and synchronic properties [below 1.23], the labials divide themselves naturally into two groups, /p ph b m/ versus /f v/. The non-spirantal members derive from the PLB simple

1.2; 1.21

labial stops and nasal, and from clusters of these with *-y and
*-r. /f v/, on the other hand, are non-obstruental in origin
(v < *w, f < *hw, *?w). /p ph b m/ occur freely before all nine
simple vowels, but certain vocalic contrasts are neutralized
after /f v/. Most importantly, /p ph b m/ are all affricated
before /u/, a fate which the already spirantal /f v/ obviously
cannot share:

$$\text{(a)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{strid}] \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} .$$

$$\qquad\qquad \text{p ph b m} \qquad\quad \text{pf pfh bv mv} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{u}$$

Thus, /pû/ [pfû] 'carry on the back'; /phû?/ [pfhû?] 'turn
around'; /bù?/ [bvù?] 'write'; /mû-yè/ [mvû-y̌è] 'rain'. Note
that the /u/ itself loses its roundedness in this environment by
a sort of 'dissimilation of lip-action' that is difficult to
capture in present versions of distinctive-feature terminology.
One might suggest something like the following:

$$\text{(b)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{labial} \\ \quad \text{involvement} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} .$$

$$\qquad\qquad\quad \text{u} \qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{ɯ} \qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{p ph b m}$$

(This rule must obviously precede (a), since [pf, pfh, bv, mv]
are [+cont].) The combined effect of (a) and (b) is to transfer
the roundedness of the vowel to the preceding consonant. This
interdependency between initial consonant and vowel quality is
strikingly parallelled by the behavior of the palatals and /ɨ/
[below 1.23].

After /m/ the /u/ is not only unrounded, but nasalized as
well, [ɯ̨]. We may thus amend (b) as follows:

$$\text{(b')} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{labial involvement} \\ <+\text{nas}> \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \\ <+\text{nas}> \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} .$$

$$\qquad\qquad\quad \text{u} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{ɯ ; <ɯ̨>} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{p ph b <m>}$$

With some speakers, in fact, the vowel of /mu/ is often swallowed
up entirely, yielding a kind of syllabic nasal affricate pro-

nounced with extreme lip-spreading, [m̥^{V}]. Thus, /í-mû/ [í-mvṵ̂ ∿
í-m̥̂^{V}] 'horse'; /mù/ [mvṵ̂ ∿ m̥̂^{V}] 'mushroom'.

The spirants /f v/ do not occur before /o/, and /v/ does not
occur before /u/ either. Both spirants appear before the central
vowels /ɨ ə/, but /v/ is here realized with a labial glide, [v^W]:

(c) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{lab} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{vce} \end{bmatrix}$ →   [+rounded]^3 /   ____ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{central} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$.

v   v^W ɨ ə

Thus, /vɨ/ [v^{W}ɨ] 'far'; /vɨ/ [v^{W}ɨ] 'snake; to buy'; /vəʔ-qâ/
[v^{W}əʔ-qâ] 'clothing'.

The similarity between the labial second element of [v^W] and
the fricative offset of [pf pfh bv mv] might tempt one to analyze
[v^{W}ɨ] as /vu/. This would be a mistake, however. The phone [ɯ]
does not occur after [v], any more than the phone [u] does.
There is thus no symmetry anyway with the behavior of /p ph b m/
before /u/. Rather, we find not only [v^{W}ɨ], but also [v^{W}ə],
while the four other labials show no hint of affrication before
either /ɨ/ or /ə/. Furthermore, the phonetic sequence [fu] does
occur (ɔ-fû 'bubble; foam'). There is no labial glide *[f^{W}u].
It is clear then that (a) and (c) represent distinct (though not
entirely unrelated) phenomena. The restrictions on the co-
occurrence of /f v/ with the non-low non-front vowels /ɨ u ə o/
may be viewed as a network of neutralizations. Since the only
occurrent sequences are   fɨ   fu   and   vɨ   --

                             fə   --   və   --   ,

we may say that both the ɨ/u and ə/o contrasts are neutralized
after v, but only the ə/o (or alternatively, the u/o) distinction
is neutralized after f.[4]

There are a few morphemes in which f freely varies with p or
ph: pə ∿ fə 'send'; phī ∿ fī 'empty; dried up, desiccated';
phá ∿ fá 'hide (sthg)'. These doublets are to be attributed to
proto-variation between *pʔ ∿ *wʔ, and between *ph ∿ *hw. [Cf.
Written Burmese phak ∿ hwak 'hide (sthg)'.]

The labial phoneme /w/ occurs syllable-initially in a hand-
ful of words, all of foreign (usually Shan) origin: nà?-wɛ̄-šī
'candy', qha wɛ̄ 'weakly', ğâ?-mɛ̄-wî 'quail-tailed chicken', etc.
In these cases we consider the /w/ to belong to the vocalic
nucleus, so that the syllable has zero-initial. [See 'Pre-
labialized nuclei', below 1.43-1.44.]

1.22 The alveolars /t th d n l/. The alveolars present few
problems. The nasal /n/ is palatalized to [nʸ] before /i/:

$$(d) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +nas \\ +coronal \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+high] \Big/ \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +high \\ -back \end{bmatrix} .$$
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad n \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad n^y \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad i$$

Thus, /ni/ [nʸi] 'red'; /mû-ni/ [mᵛû̧-nʸi] 'sun'; /nī-qhɛ̀?/
[nʸī-qhɛ̀?] 'penis'.

None of the alveolars occur before the non-low central
vowels /ɨ ə/ in native syllables. (The pre-Lahu split of PLB
*i̱/*i̱y into Lahu i̱ and ɨ/ə did not take place after alveolar
initials.) /l/ is rare before /i/ in native words, since PLB
*li̱ > Lahu lɔ, and PLB *hli̱ > Lahu hɔ.

1.23 The palatals /c ch j š y/. The five palatal initials are
all pronounced rather fronted: [tš̬, tš̬ʰ, dž̬, š̬, y̬]. The affri-
cates /c ch j/ represent a three-way merger of the PLB alveolar
affricates */ts tsh dz/, palatal affricates */c ch j/, and
clusters of velars + y, */ky khy gy/. The palatal spirants /š y/
derive from *s and *š̬, and *z and *y̬, respectively.

It is clear that /y/ patterns synchronically as a spirant,
not a semivowel. First of all, it has local friction before the
high front vowels /i e/, where it is realized as a slit spirant,
the voiced homologue of German ich-Laut [ç], which we may
symbolize as [y̆]:

$$(e) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +coronal \\ +high \\ +cont \\ +vce \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+strid] \Big/ \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix} .$$
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad y \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad y̆ \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad i \ e$$

Thus, /mû-yè/ [m‸û̬-y̆è] 'rain'; /gú-yî?/ [gú-y̆î?] 'mat'; /yà?-yí-šī/ [yà?-y̆í-šī] 'potato'. Furthermore, /y/ participates with its palatal brethren, including its voiceless homologue /š/, in the following alveolarization rule.

Before the high central vowel /ɨ/, the palatals are realized as their alveolar counterparts:

$$\text{(f)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{high}] \Big/ \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{retracted} \end{bmatrix} .$$

c ch j š y　　　　　ts tsh dz s z　　　　　ɨ

This rule, which is best regarded synchronically as a dissimilatory phenomenon, need not apply before (d), since /n/, like the other alveolars, does not occur before /ɨ/ anyway. Historically, the merger of the PLB *alveolar affricates and spirants with the *palatal series did not take place before *i. Instead the vowel was retracted after the old alveolars until it joined the new phoneme /ɨ/, leaving the alveolarity of the initial undisturbed, although it had now become a redundant phonetic feature. Thus, Lahu /ci/ < *ci and *kyi, but /cɨ/ [tsɿ] < *tsi; /chi/ < *chi and *khyi, but /chɨ/ [tshɿ] < *tshi; /ji/ < *ji and *gyi, but /jɨ/ [dzɿ] < *dzi; /ši/ < *ši, but /šɨ/ [sɿ] < *si; /yi/ < *yi, but /yɨ/ [zɿ] < *zi. As a result of these developments, Lahu has become one of the few languages of the world to lack an /s/-phoneme. In modern Lahu, syllables with palatal initials plus high central vowel are strikingly numerous: /cɨ/ [tsʅ] 'stick, stab'; /chɨ/ [tshʅ] 'wash'; /jɨ/ [dzʅ] 'liquor'; /šɨ/ [sʅ] 'die'; /yɨ?/ [zʅ?] 'sleep', etc.

It will be noticed that /ɨ/, which is [ɨ] in all other environments, has an especially high allophone [ʅ] after the palatals. This is the second instance we have seen where initial consonants determine unique allophones of the following vowel and vice versa:[5]

(g)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{retracted} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+2 \text{ high}] \Big/ \begin{array}{c} [+\text{coronal}] \\ \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \cdot \\ \text{ts tsh dz s z} \end{array}$$
ɨ

(This rule applies vacuously to the alveolar stops and sonorants, which do not occur before /ɨ/ at all. The integer 2 refers to a higher degree of presence of a phonetic feature than 1, which is always left unmarked by convention.) [ɨ̰] is pronounced with the tongue so high that it is actually touching the roof of the mouth, and the effect is of a 'vocal prolongation of the preceding consonant'.[6] It is as if these syllables had no vowel at all, but rather consisted merely of a prolonged, sharply hissed spirant that is either voiced throughout /jɨ yɨ/ or else first unvoiced then gradually voiced /cɨ chɨ šɨ/.

Phonetic sequences like *[tšɨ tšhɨ] or *[tšɨ̰ tšhɨ̰] do not occur. Additional support for assigning [ts tsh dz s z] to the palatal phonemes, if any were needed, is to be found in the following facts: a) The Lahu sometimes mishear an [alveolar + ɨ̰] and interpret it as a palatal + other vowel. 'Did you say [chi] /chi/ or [tshɨ̰] /chɨ/?' b) When a syllable S consisting of a palatal initial plus /i/ occurs next to a syllable T with a phonemically palatal (but phonetically alveolar) initial plus /ɨ/, it sometimes happens in rapid speech that the vowel of S is assimilated to the vowel of T and becomes /ɨ/; simultaneously the palatal initial of S becomes its alveolar homologue. Thus,

chi šɨɛ [tšhi sɨɛ] → chɨ šɨɛ [tshɨ̰ sɨɛ] 'such a short one';
S₁ T₁   S₂ T₂

šɨʔ-cí-qu [sɨ̰ʔ-tší-qu] → šɨʔ-cɨ́-qu [sɨ̰ʔ-tsɨ̰́-qu] 'gnarled stump'.
T₁ S₁   T₂ S₂

c) Since [s] occurs only before /ɨ/, Lahu will sometimes borrow a foreign word with /s + i/ as /š + ɨ/, sacrificing the vowel quality in order to preserve the alveolarity of the initial. Thus, Shan sí 'law' > Lahu /šɨ́/ [sɨ̰́]; Shan sǐ 'color' > Lahu ɔ-šɨ [ɔ-sɨ̰] ∿ ɔ-šɔ.

The palatals do not occur before the mid-central vowel /ə/, except in loanwords: ɔ̄-cə̀ 'thing', ɔ̄-s̆ə́ 'color', etc.

1.24 The velars /k kh g/, post-velars /q qh/, /ŋ/, and /ğ h/. Lahu is notable for its contrast between velars and post-velars: khâʔ 'crossbow' / qhâʔ 'village'; ɔ̄-khɔ 'horn' / ɔ̄-qhɔ 'inside'; khê 'dish, vessel' / qhê 'excrement'. Historically the post-velar stops q and qh derive from the PLB simple velar initials *k or *ʔk and *kh respectively, while the velars k and kh descend from PLB clusters of *velar + r: *kr or *ʔkr and *khr, respectively. [PLB *velar + y clusters merged with the palatal affricates in Lahu (above 1.23).] But there is no voiced member of the post-velar series. Lahu /g/ is the reflex of both *g and *gr (or *Ng and *Ngr [above 1.2]). Both the velars and the post-velars occur with excessive rarity before /i e/,[7] and the post-velars hardly ever occur before /ɨ ə/ either:

$$\text{velars} + \begin{Bmatrix} & ɨ & u \\ & ə & o \\ ɛ & a & ɔ \end{Bmatrix} \quad ; \quad \text{post-velars} + \begin{Bmatrix} & & u \\ & & o \\ ɛ & a & ɔ \end{Bmatrix}.$$

This is largely because PLB *ki(y), *khi(y), *gi(y) merged with *kyi(y), *khyi(y), *gyi(y) to /ci chi ji/; but in the case of the r-clusters *kri(y), *khri(y), *gri(y) the vowel was retracted and the initial did not palatalize, yielding /kɨ khɨ gɨ/. It would appear that the shift of *velar + r > simple velars was the factor which forced the backing of the *simple velars > post-velars.

/ŋ/ descends from simple *ŋ. There seems never to have been a PLB *ŋr cluster. It is thus on a historical par with the modern post-velars, despite the fact that phonetically it is the ordinary velar nasal [ŋ]. /ŋ/ is even more severely restricted in distribution than /q qh/, occurring only before low vowels and /ə/:

$$\eta + \begin{Bmatrix} & ə & \\ ɛ & a & ɔ \end{Bmatrix}.$$

That which we write /ğ/ is the voiced velar spirant [γ]. It descends from PLB *r, which suggests that the latter must have

1.24

had a uvular articulation. /ǧ/ is perhaps best regarded as the
voiced homologue of /h/, since /h/ derives from voiceless reso-
nant initials like *hr, *hy, *hl. [There is very little evidence
for a PLB *h.] The missionary romanization treats /ǧ/ as the
voiced counterpart of the post-velars /q qh/, writing all three
with apostrophes: k', hk', g'. If one knew nothing of the
history of the language, this would be a plausible enough anal-
ysis, especially in view of the fact that in rapid or emphatic
speech /qh/ is sometimes affricated to [k$\overset{x}{\cdot}$], thus providing a
spirantal analogy to [γ]. A further argument for identifying /ǧ/
with the post-velars is the fact that the combinations *ǧi, *ǧe,
*ǧɛ do not occur,[8] while /h/ appears before all nine vowels. One
might say that it is the distinction between /ǧ/ and /y/ which is
neutralized before the three front vowels. (/y/ itself is rather
rare before /i e/, but does occur frequently before /ɛ/.)

     There is a certain amount of interplay between /ǧ/ and the
labial spirant /v/. Occasionally one finds doublets (ǧɔ̂ʔ ∿ vɔ̂ʔ
'hold in the hand / pick up'; ɔ̀-ǧɔ̂ ∿ ɔ̀-vɔ̂ 'a ring', etc.) which
point to an old *r ∿ *w alternation. Furthermore, Burmese words
with w- initial are regularly borrowed into Lahu not with /v/ but
with /ǧ/: Bs hsəyawùn > Lh šālā-ǧūn 'doctor'; Bs sîwêi > Lh
ší-ǧwé 'meeting'.

1.25 Zero-initial. Many Lahu syllables have no initial conso-
nant at all: ɨ̄ 'big', a-yɛ́ 'slowly', i 'little', í-kâʔ 'water',
ə̀ʔ 'hiccup', ó-qō 'head', ɔ́ 'bend', ɔ̀-e 'mother', ô̂ʔ e 'blister',
nà̀ʔ-wɛ̄-šī 'candy', qha wɛ̄ 'weakly', etc. Glottal stop is almost
always phonetically absent before the initial vowel in such syl-
lables pronounced in isolation, and is never found when such
syllables are not phrase-initial. Occasionally in emotional
speech a [ʔ] will crop up before a phrase-initial vowel, but it
is always in free variation with zero. The phenomenon of vocalic
fusion that sometimes occurs between vowels in hiatus [below 1.42]
would be inconceivable if an underlying */ʔ/ were deemed to pre-

cede all syllables that do not begin with another consonant.
Further, when a syllable ending in an unchecked vowel precedes a
syllable beginning with the same vowel, the phonation is never
interrupted by a glottal catch. Rather the effect is that of a
single long vowel under a long composite tone: ŋà à ̀ʔ pè ̀ʔ lâ a
[ŋâ̂aʔ pè ̀ʔ lâ̂a] 'Please give it to me.' [ʔ] thus has no phonemic
status at all in syllable-initial position. In syllable-final
position we consider it to be a feature of the tone (high- or
low-checked) [below 1.62].

1.3 Simple vocalic nuclei. The vast majority of Lahu syllables
have a vocalic nucleus consisting of one of nine simple vowels
which form a system superficially identical to that of Central
Thai (3 high, 3 mid, 3 low; 3 front, 3 central, 3 back):

$$\begin{array}{ccc} i & ɨ & u \\ e & ə & o \\ ɛ & a & ɔ \end{array} \quad .$$

[The missionaries' romanization writes ɛ, ɔ, ɨ, and ə as eh, aw,
ui, and eu, respectively.] However, the three rows are com-
pressed into a much higher and narrower range than in Thai. Lahu
/ɛ/, e.g., is higher than the English vowel in 'bed', whereas the
corresponding Thai vowel often transcribed with the same symbol
is about the same as English /æ/ in 'bad'.[9] The mid-row vowels
/e ə o/ are particularly high, and are often in free variation
with /i ɨ u/, especially after labial and velar initials. Speak-
ers will admit to such variation in a certain number of cases
(different speakers have different sets of variable morphemes),
but do insist on one or the other vowel in most instances.

As always, the relative frequency of the vowels, and the
syntagmatic restrictions on their occurrence, are a function of
their historical antecedents. In general, the low vowels are the
most frequent and the least restricted, the mid vowels the least
frequent and the most restricted, with the high vowels occupying
an intermediate position.

1.3

1.31 <u>Front vowels.</u> /i/ is a high front unrounded vowel with a
tense quality much like French [i]. /e/ is a mid-to-high front
unrounded vowel [eˆ ∿ Iˇ]. /ɛ/ is a not-too-low front unrounded
vowel [ɛˆ]. Exs: ší 'gold' / še 'louse' / ɔ-šɛ 'headman's
portion (of killed game)'; ší? 'wipe' / šê? 'pour' / šê? 'three';
ví 'dry' / ve 'genitive particle' / vɛ 'lay claim to'. Morphemes
displaying <u>i</u> ∿ <u>e</u> variation include <u>ci</u> ∿ <u>ce</u> 'sour', <u>mû-yè</u> ∿ <u>mû-yî</u>
'rain', <u>ǧâ-thè?</u> ∿ <u>ǧâ-thî?</u> 'diligently', <u>hí</u> ∿ <u>hé</u> 'thousand'
(< Shan), etc. In general, however, /i/ and /e/ are kept apart
rather more consistently than either <u>i</u>/<u>ə</u> or <u>u</u>/<u>o</u>. (There is no
possibility of confusing <u>i</u>/<u>e</u> after /n/, since the latter becomes
[n^{y}] before /i/ [above 1.22]: <u>nî</u> [nyî] 'two' / <u>nê</u> 'spirit'.)
1.32 <u>Central vowels.</u> /i/ is a high central unrounded vowel
usually pronounced much like the corresponding vowel in Central
Thai. It has an especially high allophone [ʅ] after palatal
initials [above 1.23]. /ə/ is a mid-to-high central vowel pro-
nounced with slight lip-rounding, [əˆ ∿ ɨˇ]. It is the rarest
of the Lahu vowels, and is clearly marginal to the system. A
good percentage of the syllables in which it does occur are of
foreign origin. Nevertheless, there is a hard core of apparently
native words in which /ə/ appears and does not vary with /i/:
<u>kə</u> 'put into', <u>pə</u> 'send', <u>pə̀</u> 'finish', <u>mə̀?</u> 'blow', <u>mə̀?</u> 'be
hungry', <u>hə̀?</u> 'get', <u>mə̀?-kə</u> 'star', etc.

/a/ is the Lahu vowel with the highest lexical and textual
frequency. It is a low central unrounded vowel, much like
English /a/ in 'father'. Despite its centrality, /a/ has very
little in common systematically with /i ə/.

Perfect minimal pairs showing <u>i</u>/<u>ə</u> contrast are hard to come
by, and must be eked out with loanwords. The following list is
practically exhaustive:

> <u>pə</u> 'send' / <u>pi</u> 'lower; bow (as the head)'
> <u>pə̄</u> 'differ' (< Shan) / <u>pī</u> 'comb'
> <u>mə</u> 'reduce to powder' / <u>mi</u> 'sit'
> <u>fə</u> 'send' / <u>chi</u> <u>fi</u> 'so far'

kə̄ 'be worthy' (< Shan) / kɨ̄ 'sweat'

khə 'swear' (< Bs) / khɨ 'foot; moment'

ɔ-cə̄ 'thing; kind' (< Shan) / cɨ̄ 'cough'.[10]

Imperfect minimal pairs include:

kə 'put into' / kɨ̂ 'rot'

və 'particle of transportatory motion' / vɨ̂ 'far'

khə̂ʔ 'let's go!' / khɨ 'ungrateful' (< ?)[11]

chə̂ 'fine, all right' (< ?)[11] / chɨ̂ʔ 'tie up'[10], etc.

Notice that all of these contrasts that do not involve loanwords
are after either labial or velar initials, since /ə/ does not
appear after the alveolars, palatals, or post-velars in native
lexical items. Among loanwords from Shan or Thai having original
ə or ɨ, some get borrowed with a Lahu /ə/, some with /ɨ/, and
some with /ə ∿ ɨ/. A full study of this question would require
a detailed knowledge of the various Shan and Thai donor dialects.

The Yellow Lahu dialect has /i/ corresponding to Black Lahu
/ɨ/, and /e/ where Black Lahu has /ə/. The YL simple vowel
system is thus:

                    i   u

                 e   o

                 ε   a   ɔ   .

1.33 _Back vowels._ /u/ is usually a high back moderately
rounded vowel [u]. It is unrounded and slightly lower and front-
er after the labials /p ph b m/ [above 1.21], where it is pro-
nounced with extreme sideways spreading of the lips,[12] something
like the phone symbolized by IPA [ɯ]. /o/ is a mid-to-high back
vowel pronounced with greater lip-rounding than /u/, and having
some very high allophones in the u-range. /ɔ/ is a low back
slightly rounded vowel, a bit higher than the Thai vowel usually
transcribed with the same symbol. It is quite close to the vowel
of German 'Kopf' or Yiddish /kop/ 'head'.

Despite the highness of /o/, there are many clear contrasts
between it and /u/: ɔ-tu 'handle' / ɔ-to 'body' (< Shan) / ɔ-tɔ
'section of long object'; šu 'other people' / šo 'iron' / šɔ
'collect'; nû 'cow, ox' / nô 'up there' / nɔ̂ 'be awake'; bûʔ

1.33

'satiated' / b̂ôʔ 'fall over' / b̂ɔ́ʔ 'shoot', etc. However, there
are a goodly number of morphemes in which there is free variation,
either in the speech of a single speaker at different times, or
between different speakers in the same village. Most of these
cases are syllables with aspirated initials: khô ∿ khû 'break,
shatter'; kho ∿ khu 'garden, orchard'; nôʔ ∿ nûʔ 'cut, as with
scissors; hold, as with pincers'; phô ∿ phû 'meet' (< Shan);
po ∿ pu 'portion; sake' (< Shan); pho ∿ phu 'something white;
silver; money'.

Of particular interest is the realization of the two high
back vowels after the aspirated labial initial /ph/. We are
faced with such contrasts as (a) [phû] 'sac, bladder' vs. (b)
[pfhɯ̂] 'price'.[13] Symmetry of allophony with /p b m/ requires
that we phonemicize (b) as /phu/. What then are we to do about
(a)? Since there is no phonetic syllable *[pho], it is clear
that (a) is to be analyzed as /pho/. The alternatives --
recognizing 'pfh' as a phoneme, occurring only before /u/, or
setting up 'ɯ' as a phoneme, occurring only after /ph/ -- are too
jejune to contemplate. This is thus a classic example of 'par-
tial overlapping'. Our solution is supported by the fact that
there are examples of free variation between non-affricated [ph]
+ [u] and affricated [pfh] + [ɯ]. This is simply a special case
of /o ∿ u/.[14] Note, however, that in checked syllables (i.e.,
syllables under tones /ˆʔ/ or /ˋʔ/), /o/ is not raised to [u]
after /ph/: /phôʔ/ [phôʔ] 'pile up', /phûʔ/ [pfhɯ̂ʔ] 'turn
around'.

Interplay between /u/ and /o/ is not confined to the sub-
phonemic realm. There are several families of morphophonemically
related words, some members of which have /o/ and some /u/: ó-qō
'head', ó-kôʔ 'skull', ú-cɨ̄ 'hat', ú-gê 'pillow'; tɔ̀ʔ 'burn,
catch fire (v.i.)', tú 'kindle, set fire to (v.t.)', etc.

1.34 Historical proveniences of the simple vowels. The evolu-
tion of the complex vowel systems of the Loloish languages from
the three simple vowels */a i u/ and four diphthongs */iy uw ay

aw/ of PLB is a vast and intricate topic. As in Sino-Tibetan
generally, the developments are the product of influences on the
vocalic nucleus from all the other parts of the syllable: the
initial consonant, the medial glide, the final consonant, and the
tone. The reflexes of *-a in any given language need have no
obvious relationship to the reflexes of, say, *-am or *-at.
Similarly, *Cya, *Cra, *Cwa, *Cla are all liable to yield differ-
ent vowels. It is therefore imperative to deal with syllables
as a whole, or at least 'rhymes' as a whole (i.e., whole syllables
exclusive of the initial consonant).

In the case of Lahu, the disappearance of the syllable-final
nasals */-m -n -ŋ/ and the neutralization of the final stops
*/-p -t -k/ to [ʔ] greatly contributed to a proliferation of
contrasts in the vowel system. The skewed distributions and
widely different frequencies of occurrence of the nine modern
Lahu vowels are a reflection of such historical vicissitudes.

/a/, by far the most frequent vowel[15] in Lahu (occurring
after every single consonant in native syllables), derives ex-
clusively from PLB *-a and *-ak: a tribute to the overwhelming
preponderance of these rhymes in PLB *open and *stopped sylla-
bles, and a confirmation of the Jakobsonian conception of [a] as
the archetypal vowel.[16] /ɔ/, the second most frequent vowel,
also appears after every modern initial consonant. It derives
from a variety of open */iy uw aw/, nasal */aŋ waŋ uŋ/ and
stopped /*up ok wak/ rhymes. /ɛ/, next in frequency, occurring
after every initial but /ğ/, derives from *ya, *im, *um, *iŋ,
and *yak. In sum, the three low vowels enjoy the securest
position in the Lahu vowel system, and are the least likely to
undergo mergers with other vowels in the foreseeable future.

The high vowels /u/ and /ɨ/ rank next in frequency, in that
order. /u/ occurs after all initials but /v ŋ/, and is the re-
flex of */u uk ūk/ and sometimes of *ɣwan waŋ ap/. /ɨ/ does not
appear after the five alveolars or after /q qh ŋ/. It derives
from *in and sometimes from */i iy ip it ik/. The occurrence of

/i/, next in frequency, is much more restricted. It is absent
after the velars, post-velars, and /ğ/, and is quite rare after
/l y/. It is the reflex of *ay, and shares with /ɨ/ the honor
of descending sometimes from */i iy ip it ik/.

The mid vowels are in the shakiest position, as they push
ever higher in phonological space. The proveniences of /o/ and
/e/ are few and similar: /o/ comes from */am (wam) ap/, and /e/
from */an wan at wat/. /o/, similarly to /u/, occurs after all
initials but /f v ŋ/. /e/ does not appear after the velars, post-
velars, or /ğ/. The weak sister of the entire system is /ə/,
which does not occur in native syllables after the five alveolars,
the five palatals, or /q qh/. It is not the exclusive reflex of
any PLB rhyme, deriving from */i iy ip it wat/ after some *labi-
als, *r, *velar + r clusters, and perhaps *ŋ, under conditions
which are not yet fully understood.

1.4 Complex vocalic nuclei. A vocalic nucleus which consists of
more than a simple vowel is 'complex'. Complex nuclei in Lahu
are either 'intrinsic' (occurrent within a single morpheme) or
'fusional' (the result of phonetic telescoping across morpheme
boundary). Almost all intrinsic complex nuclei have come into
the language through borrowing.

1.41 Intrinsic non-rising diphthongs. The most frequent diph-
thong of this type is /ay/, found in a great number of loanwords
from Shan and Thai: hày 'evil, fierce'; láy 'several'; ɔ̀-thāy
'level, story, shelf, tier'; vây 'fast'; láy-láy 'in vain,
empty'; kɔ̂ʔ-fây 'lamp, lantern', etc. Phonetically, the second
element of this diphthong is a semivowel intermediate in height
between e and i, [ẹˆ].[17]

In addition to these clearly foreign words, /ay/ also occurs
in one of the most common words of the language, qay 'go'. There
is no evidence that qay is of foreign origin, but there are no
plausible cognates in the other Loloish languages either. It is
entirely possible that it represents a fusion of a now obsolete

1.4; 1.41

verb *qa plus the directional verb-particle e. This is supported
by the fact that e is never found after qay in the modern lan-
guage. [See the discussion of na-e and pā-e, 1.42b below.]

    Other, rarer diphthongs found in loanwords include /aw/ [aʀ]
(qāw 'tell, narrate', màʔ-pāw 'coconut'), and /ew/ [eᴼʀ] (màʔ-tèw
'gambling, card-playing', khè-mèwʔ 'a Meo').

1.42 Fusional non-rising diphthongs. A characteristic feature of
Lahu phonology is the phenomenon whereby certain morphemes begin-
ning with a vowel are absorbed into the vowel of a preceding (non-
checked) syllable to yield complex nuclei that are a single mora
long. Sometimes it is quite obvious what the individual morphemes
are, so that the nucleus is a 'diphthong' only in the lowest pho-
netic sense. There are also cases, however, which are not so
clear-cut, where one might want to grant the diphthong a systema-
tic status.

a) Fusions with the P_v ò. When the verb-particle ò [below 4.64]
indicating 'change of state' or 'completed action' follows a verb
under the same tone as itself /ˋ/, the two syllables are fused
into a single mora without affecting the quality of either vowel.
We choose to write these sequences with a hyphen (pò-ò 'It's fin-
ished now', gà-ò 'We've arrived already', mò-ò 'Now I see it').
Phonetically 'a-o' is identical to the intrinsic diphthong of qāw
'narrate', but there would be little point in obscuring the mor-
phemic identity of verb + ò sequences by such spellings as pòw,
gàw, or mòw.

b) Fusions with the directional P_v e. The verbs na 'get well,
recover' and pā 'fall over' often appear in a form where they
rhyme with qay 'go': [naᵉʀ], [pāⁿᵉʀ]. These are to be regarded
as fusions with the verb-particle e [below 4.61] indicating
'transitive motion' (in the case of na the motion is figurative
-- the passage from sickness to health). We write the fusions
with a hyphen: na-e, pā-e.

c) Fusions with the particle è 'only'. It is possible to formu-

1.42; 1.42a-c

late a rule of some generality concerning the phonetic realiza-
tion of fusions between the central vowels /a ə ɨ/ and a follow-
ing /ɛ/. The underlying sequences /a-ɛ/ and /ə-ɛ/ are realized
as [a$\hat{^e_ʌ}$], while /ɨ-ɛ/ is realized as [ɨ$\hat{^i_ʌ}$].

     One of the ɛ-morphemes involved in such fusions is the un-
restricted particle ɛ̀ 'only'. Thus, tê pə̀ 'one mouthful' / tê
pə̀-ɛ̀ [tê pə̀$\hat{^e_ʌ}$] 'only one mouthful'.[18]

d) Fusions in adverbial expressions of the form qha + V + ɛ̀.
Lahu has a type of adverbial expression composed of the adverb
qha 'all' + V + the adverbializing P$_v$ ɛ̀ [below 4.421], 'in such
a way that it is all V'ed'. Thus, bî 'be full' / qha bî ɛ̀ 'fully,
as full as possible'. When the vowel of the constituent verb is
/ə/ or /a/, it may be fused with the particle according to the
rule given in the preceding section: pə̀ 'finish' / qha pə̀-ɛ̀ [qha
pə̀$\hat{^e_ʌ}$] 'completely, all, to a conclusion'; g̈a 'reach' / qha g̈a-ɛ̀
[qha g̈a$\hat{^e_ʌ}$] 'until it is reached, up to the point that'; mâ 'be
numerous' / qha mâ-ɛ̀ [qha mâ$\hat{^e_ʌ}$] 'equally, to the same extent'.[19]

e) Fusion in stative adverbials. In a similar type of adverbial
expression, a verb appears with a following ɛ̀, with the meaning
'in the manner of V' [below 4.422]. Fusions occur here as well,
following the rule of section (d): vî 'be sharp' / vî-ɛ̀ [vî$\hat{^i_ʌ}$]
'sharply'. In this construction, however, the fusion is 'gramma-
tically conditioned', occurring only with certain specific verbs.
Thus ší ɛ̀ 'yellowly' is pronounced [ší ɛ̀].

f) Fusion in diminutive extentives. A few Lahu adjectives re-
ferring to measurable quantities have morphophonemically related
morphemes that occur together with the determiner chi 'this' to
form expressions of 'extentive' meaning [below 3.61-3.62]: mâ
'be many' / chi ma 'this many'; ɨ̄ 'big' / chi hɨ 'this size'; yɨ
'long' / chi šɨ 'this length'; vɨ 'far' / chi fɨ 'this far'; mu
'tall, high' / chi mu 'this high'. To these extentives may be
added a further morpheme, to be identified with the particle ɛ̀
'only' [section (c) above], which serves to diminutivize the

                                                        1.42d-f

degree of the quantifiable characteristic in question. Whether
fusion [in the manner of section (d)] occurs or not, and if so,
whether it is optional or obligatory, depends on the particular
morpheme, and cannot be predicted by general rule. Thus, chi ma
can only undergo fusional diminutivization: chi má-ὲ [máɛ̂ʳ] 'only
this many; such a small amount'.[20] chi hɨ and chi fɨ each have
two possible diminutives, one 'fully' fusional (chi hɨ́-ὲ [hɨ́ʳ̂ⁱ]
'such a small one', chi fɨ́-ὲ [fɨ́ʳ̂ⁱ] 'such a short distance') and
one where the vowel quality of the underlying /ὲ/ is kept intact,
even though the latter assumes the tone of the preceding vowel and
the entire vocalic event is only one mora long. We conventionally
write these words with no space between the vowels, reserving the
hyphen for those cases where the vowel quality changes. Thus, chi
hɨε [hɨ́ɛ], chi fɨε [fɨ́ɛ]. chi šɨ may only be diminutivized in
this latter way: chi šɨε [sʃɛ́] 'such a short one; only this
long'. These 'semi-fused' nuclei are neither falling nor rising
diphthongs.[21] Both vowels receive about the same prominence, much
like the Central Thai diphthongs ia, ɨa, ua.

   chi mu has a back vowel, so that its diminutive will be a
rising diphthong [below 1.43].

g) Cases where the morphemic identity of the second element is
not clear. There are several words that exhibit a 'fully fused'
or 'semi-fused' vocalism, such that one would like to postulate
some kind of suffix of the shape /ε̇/.[22] The suffixial nature of
this element is proven by the fact that some of these words have
alternate pronunciations with simple vowels. However, it is im-
possible to attach any plausible meaning to this 'suffix'. Fully
fused items include: ɔ-lɔ́-ε̇ [ɔ-lɔ́ɛ̂ʳ] 'something special, sthg
extra' (cf. lɔ́ 'be left over, extra' < Shan); ɔ-mə-ε̇ [ɔ-məɛ̂ʳ]
'powder' (cf. ɔ-mə 'powder', mə 'reduce to powder'); mê?-ğɔ́-ε̇
[ğɔ́ɛ̂ʳ] 'mirror' (cf. mê?-ğə? 'id.'); ɔ-pɨ-ε̇ [ɔ-pɨ̂ʳ] 'pink'; ɔ-kɨ-
ε̇ [ɔ-kɨ̂ʳ] 'scar' (cf. ɔ-kɨ 'id.'). Semi-fused items, where the
'suffix' retains its [ε]-quality, include: tɔ-chɨε? [tɔ-tshʃɛ̂?]
'whisper' (cf. tɔ 'words', chɨ? 'block up, impede'); ğâ?-šɨε?

1.42g

[sʳ̂ɛʔ] 'measles' (cf. g̈âʔ 'chicken'); cɫɛ [tsʳɛ́] 'smaller variety
of the species', as in na-qú-cɛ̀ 'banyan' / na-qú-cɫɛ-cɛ̀ 'small
kind of banyan', má-nɔ̌ʔ-cɛ̀ 'fig-tree' / má-nɔ̌ʔ-cɫɛ-cɛ̀ 'small fig-
tree'. This last example points to a possible diminutive origin
for our putative suffix, in which case it would be quite analogous
to the now meaningless Mandarin noun-suffixes tzyy 子 and eel
兒 , which both mean 'child' in isolation and must once have
had diminutive effect.

1.43 <u>Intrinsic rising diphthongs</u>. Lahu rising diphthongs always
have a labial (never a palatal) semivowel. We write this as /w/,
with the understanding that its precise phonetic quality depends
on the height of the following vowel, thus: /wi/ [u̯i], /we/ [o̯e],
/wɛ/ [ɔ̯ɛ], /wa/ [ɔ̯a].[23] Intrinsic rising diphthongs occur mostly
in loanwords from Burmese, Shan, or Thai: pwê 'festival' < Shan
< Bs; akhwà(n) 'permission' < Bs; ší-g̈wé 'meeting' < Shan < Bs;
Hwē-tàʔ 'name of Lahu village' < Thai; hwɛ́-šī̄ 'oyster' < Thai;
kwân 'govern' < Bs; nàʔ-wɛ̄-šī̄ 'candy' < Shan; šālā-g̈un ~ šālā-wūn
'doctor' < Bs < Pali, etc.

    Of especial interest are the numerous doublet-formations where
forms having simple back vowels /u o ɔ/ may also be pronounced
with a nucleus consisting of /w/ plus the <u>front</u> vowel of the same
height /i e ɛ/: ŋâ-ku ~ ŋâ-kwi 'dried fish', yè-mí-tɔ̄ ~ yè-mí-twē
'bear (animal)', khɫ-qɔ̌ʔ ~ khɫ-qwɛ̀ʔ 'underside of the knee', ɔ̄
'cooked rice' ~ á-qhâ=wɛ̄ 'ritual rice sent to grave of dead man',
etc. This doublet-making is still a living process in Lahu, and
is even applied to loanwords: co ~ cwe 'era, period of time' <
Shan; ɔ-lɔ̌ʔ ~ ɔ-lwêʔ 'terraced field' < Shan; lɔ̌ ~ lwê 'swim' <
Shan, etc. The prelabialized variant sometimes conveys a more
colloquial, vivid, or folksy tone than the variant with simple
vowel. In a few cases the non-labialized form has been completely
displaced: chɫ-pí-qwɛ̀ʔ 'barking-deer', but not *chɫ-pí-qɔ̌ʔ.[24]

1.44 <u>Fusional rising diphthongs</u>. Syllables ending in a back
vowel are subject to the same kinds of fusions discussed above
[1.42]. The fusion deprives the back vowel of its syllabicity,

and the peak of sonority is displaced to the following vowel.

a)   Fusions with the particle ὲ 'only'. Exs: tê khɔ̂ 'one word'
/ tê khwê [khɔ̰̂ê] 'only one word'; tê tɔ 'one section' / tê twɛ
'only one section'; tê cɔ̂ʔ 'one strip' / tê cwêʔ 'only one strip'.
We conventionally spell these syllables with /w/ (as if they were
intrinsically diphthongal), rather than hyphenating them, since
the fusion may operate even if the back vowel is under a checked
tone, in such a way that the [ʔ] follows the second of the two
vowels. Thus "cɔ̂ʔ-ὲ" would be an unfortunate spelling for [cɔ̰ɛʔ].

b)   Fusions in qha + V + ὲ adverbials. If the vowel of the con-
stituent verb is back, it is likely to be fused with the particle.
Thus, cɔ̂ 'be correct' / qha cwê 'perfectly, correctly'; lɔ̂ʔ
'enough' / qha lwὲʔ 'sufficiently, until it's enough'; s̆ū 'be the
same' / qha s̆ū ὲ ∿ qha s̆wí (ὲ) 'in the same way'.[25]

c)   Fusions in diminutive extentives. The extentive expression
chi mu 'this high' has a corresponding 'semi-fused' diminutive
chi mwɛ́ 'only this high'. Phonetically, the m is affricated, the
vowel is nasalized, and the /w/ is realized as a non-syllabic
unrounded semivowel: [m̬ʮ̰ɛ̰́].

1.5 Final -n. Syllables with nasalized vowels (written -n) are
marginal to Lahu phonology. The nasalization has systematic
status only in loanwords from Shan, Burmese, or Thai, where the
donor language had -m, -n, -ŋ, or a nasalized vowel: ɔ̂-yân 'time',
hín 'thousand', akhwàn 'permission', s̆āla-wūn 'doctor', khān
'bear, endure'. The nasalization is always optional, retained
only in the more careful speech of people who have a fair know-
ledge of the donor language.[26] Occasionally the nasalized variant
is favored to avoid confusion with a homophonous native word in a
certain context. Thus the pair ɔ̂-yâ 'child' / ɔ̂-yâ(n) 'time'
would be ambiguous in such sentences as ɔ̂-yâ cɔ̂ mâ ve lâ: (a)
'Is there much time?' (b) 'Do you have many children?'

     In all other cases the nasalization is conditioned by the
initial consonant, and is subphonemic. We have seen that /mu/ is
realized as [m̬ʮ̰]. More interesting is the optional nasalization

that occurs (even in native syllables) with the vowels -a̱ or -ɔ̱,
where the initial is ẖ- or zero.[27] ɔ́(n) 'four', ɔ́-ha(n) 'spirit',
hɔ(n) 'elephant', ɔ́(n)-qā 'water buffalo', ɔ́-hɔ́(n) 'under',
hɔ́(n)ʔ 'to coil', hâ(n)ʔ-hâ(n)ʔ 'fast', etc. This is strikingly
similar to the situation in Central Thai,[28] in Lao,[29] in Lisu,[30]
and indeed in RP British English, where such pronunciations as
[hã:t] 'heart' and [hã:f] 'half' are common. It seems obvious
that the widely observed connection between laryngeal opening and
nasalization is grounded in universal articulatory fact.[31]   *

1.6 Tones. Every stressed syllable has a tone. Standard Lahu
has five open (non-checked) tones, and two checked tones, as indi-
cated in Figure 2. Over a syllable occurring in isolation, or
before comma- or sentence-pause, the very-low tone /‾/ is often
realized with a slight upward curl at the end, and the whole syl-
lable is prolonged in duration ⅃ 112.[32] Thus, mâ ší [šii ⅃] 'I
don't know' / mâ ší ɛ̀ʔ [šī⅃ ɛ̀ʔ] 'I don't know!!' This curl is
useful in distinguishing /‾/ from the tonetically quite similar
low-falling tone /ˋ/. In rapid speech it is difficult to tell the
two apart in the Huey Tad dialect. In isolation, or at a slower
speed, a certain number of minimal pairs may be found: nɔ́ 'you'
/ nɔ̄ 'kind of flute'; cà 'fierce' / cā 'feed'; mà 'classifier for
things' / mā 'teach', etc. Loans from Burmese, Shan, Thai, and
English are frequently Lahuicized under /‾/, particularly if the
loanword is polysyllabic: nālī 'time, o'clock', kɔ̄mītī 'commit-
tee', lɔ̄lī 'car, truck', šalā-wūn 'doctor', etc. Perhaps this is
because /‾/ is lexically the rarest of the Lahu tones [below 1.61],
so that these loanwords are prevented from compounding the
already severe homophony problem in the language.

1.61 Originally non-checked syllables. The development of tones
in the Lolo-Burmese languages has been influenced primarily by the
manner of articulation of the syllable-initial consonant.[33] The
comparative evidence compels one to reconstruct three non-checked
tones for PLB (i.e., tones which occurred over syllables ending
with a vowel or a nasal[34]). It is customary to designate these

FIGURE 2.   Lahu Tones

	NAME	APPROXIMATE CONTOUR	SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	PROVENIENCE
OPEN	Mid	33 ⊤	(unmarked)	ca 'look for'	< *1 A, G, S; *3
	Low-falling	21 ⌐	/ˋ/	cà 'fierce'	< *1 P, V
	High-falling	54 ⌐	/ˆ/	câ 'eat'	< *2 P, A, V
	Very-low	11 ~ ⌐ 112 ⌐	/ˉ/	cā 'feed'	< *2 G, S
	High-rising	45 ⌐	/ˊ/	cá 'boil'	< *G {p, t, k} ; *S
CHECKED	High-checked	54	/ˆʔ/	câʔ 'string'	< *-V___ p, t, k
	Low-checked	21	/ˋʔ/	càʔ 'machine'	< *V___ p, t, k

P = plain, A = aspirated, G = glottalized, V = voiced,
-V = voiceless, S = voiceless spirantal

arbitrarily as *1, *2, and *3.[35] [Tone *3 is much rarer than the
other two, and is clearly secondary, though it must be set up for
the PLB stage.] A few languages, notably Burmese and Akha, main-
tain the original three-way distinction faithfully, but most
members of the family have undergone tonal splits conditioned by
the initial consonant.

As Figure 2 shows, original Tone *1 syllables became Lahu
low-falling tone /ˋ/ if the initial was *plain or *voiced (ult.
*prenasalized). Otherwise, after *aspirated, *glottalized, or
*voiceless spirantal initials, *1 became Lahu mid-tone. Original
Tone *2 syllables split along different lines. If the initial
was *plain, *aspirated, or *voiced, *2 developed into Lahu high-
falling tone /ˆ/, but after *glottalized or *voiceless spirantal
initials, it became Lahu very-low tone /ˉ/. The relatively rare
Tone *3 syllables all merged with the Tone *1 aspirates, and
became Lahu mid-tone.

As with all Lahu phonemes, the historical origins of the
tones are reflected synchronically by assymmetries in their dis-
tribution in modern native syllables. The mid-tone is lexically
the most frequent, deriving as it does from most Tone *1 syllables
plus all Tone *3 ones. It occurs after all the modern initials.
The high-falling tone /ˆ/ is next in frequency, appearing in
native syllables from old Tone *2 beginning with any modern ini-
tials but the voiceless spirants /f š h/ Third in frequency is
the low-falling tone /ˋ/, which comes only from *plain and *voiced
Tone *1 syllables. It does not appear after modern aspirates or
voiceless spirants. The least frequent of the tones which descend
from original non-checked syllables is the very-low tone /ˉ/,
appearing only in old Tone *2 syllables after the modern plain
obstruents, nasals, and voiceless spirants.

Since the modern plain obstruents and nasals represent a
merger of the old *plain and *glottalized series, they are the
only consonants which occur in all four of these tones. Figure 3
summarizes the co-occurrence patterns of these tones with the
various classes of modern initial consonants in native syllables.

FIGURE 3. Modern Initial/Tone Co-occurrences in Originally Non-checked Syllables

Modern initial		Mid-tone < *1, *3	ˊ < *1	ˋ	¯ < *2
Plain:	p t c k q	yes	yes	yes	yes
Aspirated:	ph th ch kh qh	yes	no	yes	no
Voiced:	b d j g	yes	yes	yes	no
Nasal:	m n ŋ	yes	yes	yes	yes
Vl spirant:	f š h	yes	no	no	yes
Vd spirant:	v l y ğ	yes	yes	yes	no

1.62 Original checked syllables. Lahu has a two-way tone con-
trast in syllables with final [ʔ], high-checked [˥ 54] vs. low-
checked [˩ 21].[36] Since the quick drop in energy caused by the
abrupt glottal closure conveys the impression of a fall in pitch,   *
we choose to transcribe these tones with the same symbols used
for the open falling tones /ˆ ˋ/ plus glottal stop, thus: /ˆʔ/
vs. /ˋʔ/. These digraphic symbols serve a dual purpose. Prac-
tically speaking it is easier to deal with four distinct tone-
symbols than six (the mid-tone being left unmarked in any case).
Also, the use of 'ʔ' reminds one of the consonantal origin of
these tones.[37] Exs: ch‡ʔ 'be blocked' / ch‡ʔ 'tie up'; mə̂ʔ
'blow' / mə̀ʔ 'be hungry'; pâʔ 'crack, collapse' / pàʔ 'copulate';
hâʔ 'dare' / hàʔ 'love, receive' (all three < Shan); bûʔ 'sati-
ated' / bùʔ 'write'; khɔ̂ʔ 'fence, corral' / khɔ̀ʔ 'six'; ǧâʔ
'chicken' / ǧàʔ 'drive', etc. Native syllables under /ˆʔ/ and
/ˋʔ/ all derive from PLB syllables ending in a stop */-p -t -k/.

There is no mechanical way to decide whether a syllable-
final [ʔ] in a given Lolo-Burmese language is better to be re-
garded as a final consonant or as a tonal feature. The decay of
final stops has proceeded at different rates in the various mem-
bers of the family (faster in Loloish than in Burmish), so that
the entire 'continuum of consonanticity' is exemplified in one
language or another. Some languages (Phunoi, Bisu, etc.) actually
preserve a stop or two besides -ʔ. Many others (Modern Burmese,
Akha, etc.) have reduced all original final stops to -ʔ. Others
(Lahu, Nasu, Lisu) have [-ʔ] from some *stopped syllables but an
open vowel in other cases. Still other languages simply have
laryngeal constriction of the vowel (short of glottal stop) in
all (Hani) or some (Lu-Ch'üan Lolo) *stopped syllables. Finally,
some languages (Woni, etc.) have lost all trace of final stops,
except for compensatory quality changes in the vowel and/or the
tone.[38]

In the case of Lahu, the decision to treat [-ʔ] as a tone-

1.62

feature has been based on several considerations: (a) ʔ does not
occur distinctively in syllable-initial position; (b) all the
open tones disappear in singing, and so does final [-ʔ]; (c) cer-
tain checked syllables may simultaneously have a nasalized vowel
[see exs. above, 1.5], and we choose to abstract nasalization as
the more segmental feature; (d) glottal stop may also occur 'in-
tonationally' after verbs in non-checked tones to convey an im-
perative meaning [below 4.65]; (e) some originally stopped sylla-
bles have lost their [-ʔ] entirely, acquiring a special compen-
satory tone.

There is no trace of any two-way tone-contrast in stopped
syllables in the Burmish branch of the family. This is a Loloish
innovation, shared by almost all the Loloish languages for which
reliable data are available. It now seems clear that the condi-
tioning factor was the voicedness or voicelessness of original
prefixes, now totally lost in most cases.[39]

In some ways the most interesting of the Lahu tones is the
high-rising one /´/.[40] As Figure 2 shows, /´/ is now non-checked,
though it originated from checked syllables of a certain phono-
logical structure. When a pre-Lahu syllable ending with /-ʔ/
< */p t k/ also <u>began</u> with a glottalized initial (including *ʔ-
> modern Lahu zero-initial) or a voiceless spirant, the syllable
underwent a dissimilatory upheaval. The -ʔ disappeared, leaving
in its place a compensatory rise in the tone.[41] Thus, 'branch':
Old Burmese ăkhak, Atsi/Maru ăkʔoʔ, Lahu ɔ-qá (*kʔak > pre-Lahu
*kʔaʔ > Lh qá); 'hide (v.t.)': OB hwak, Lh fá (*wʔak > pre-Lh
*wʔaʔ > Lh fá), etc. This glottal dissimilation could also occur
across syllable boundary, e.g., when a glottal-initialled open
syllable was followed in close juncture by another syllable
beginning with a consonant which could be metanalyzed as the
final consonant of the first syllable. Thus PLB *ʔu[2] 'head' +
*kʔoŋ[2] 'hollow object' > Lahu ó-qō 'head'; *hya[1] 'field' + *krak
'chicken' > Lahu hɛ́-g̈âʔ 'jungle chicken, wildfowl'.

The three tones deriving from old stopped syllables,
/ˆʔ ˋʔ ˊ/ occur after most initial consonants in native syllables.
The most significant excluded combinations are as follows: (a)
aspirates and the voiced spirants /ğ y v/ do not often occur under
/ˊ/;[42] (b) h does not appear under either /ˆʔ/ or /ˋʔ/ in native
words; (c) /f š/ occur only under /ˆʔ/ and /ˊ/, not under /ˋʔ/;
original low-stopped syllables with these initials passed into
the high-rising tone, while high-stopped syllables retained their
final -ʔ. See Figure 4.

FIGURE 4. Tones of Modern Syllables with Voiceless
Spirantal Initials

	< PLB Low-stopped	< PLB High-stopped
f	ˊ	ˆʔ
š	ˊ	ˆʔ
h	ˊ	ˊ

1.63 **Tone morphophonemics and sporadic word-families.** The Lahu
tones do not exhibit any strictly automatic, phonologically con-
ditioned sandhi behavior (of the sort exemplified by the Mandarin
rule that the first of two successive underlying third tones is
realized tonetically as 'second' tone). All 49 mathematically
possible two-syllable tonal sequences freely occur in close junc-
ture: thɛ-du 'skirt', a-kɛ́ 'more', chɔ-mɔ̂ 'adult', qha pə̀ 'all
done', chɔ-qā 'fool', chɔ-nâʔ 'bandit', chi bɔ̀ʔ 'now'; á-ni
'yesterday', kɔ́lɔ́ 'northern Thai', hɪ́ ğâ 'eight people', á-tà
'stick', há-qō 'cave', khɪ́-nû̂ʔ 'shoes', cá dàʔ 'be related';
chê-ša 'healthy', nû-cú 'cow's milk', jɔ̂-mɔ̂ 'master', mû-yè 'rain',
mâ šī 'do not know', tê pɔ̂ʔ 'once', nô kàʔ 'up there'; cà-qha
'paddy', mì-cɪ́ 'boundary', ğɪ̀-phɪ̀ 'otter', mì-gɪ̀ 'ground', à-mɪ̄
'fire', qhà-thâʔ 'always', chɔ̀ kàʔ 'here'; šī ve 'know', šī pɪ́
'be knowledgeable', šī jâ 'knows much', šī tù 'will know', šī šɔ̄
'still knows', šī hâʔ 'dares to know', šī kàʔ 'even if one knows';

qhâʔ-šɛ 'headman', nâʔ-tɔ́ 'jet-black', hâʔ jâ 'very fast', š̵̶ʔ-cɛ̀ 'tree', jûʔ pē 'stab to death', hâʔ-hâʔ 'quickly', fâʔ-chàʔ 'rat'; yàʔ-qɔ 'road', yàʔ-p̵ 'tonight', yàʔ-qhâ 'but', yàʔ k̵ 'landing-place', chɔ̀ʔ-šī 'barley', vàʔ-khɔ̀ʔ 'pigpen', yàʔ dàʔ 'quarrel with each other'.

Rather than automatic, phonologically conditioned interplay with each other, the Lahu tones show a variety of grammatically conditioned interrelationships, some of which furnish invaluable clues to earlier stages of the language. These will be discussed in ascending order of historical interest.

1.631 /ˆʔ/ ∿ /´/ and /ˋʔ/ ∿ /ˉ/. A number of morphemes under the high-rising and very-low tones vary freely with alternants under the high-checked and low-checked tones, respectively: vên-bá ∿ vên-bâʔ 'sin' (< Shan); qha-pá ∿ qha-pâʔ 'verb-particle used for vivid effect'; cá dàʔ ∿ câʔ dàʔ 'be related to, connected with'; kɔ́-fây ∿ kɔ̀ʔ-fây 'lantern' (< Shan). Similarly, šɛ̌ ni ∿ šɛ̀ʔ ni 'three days'; yɛ̀-mí-twē ∿ yɛ̀-mí-twɛ̀ʔ 'bear'; ɔ-kā-ɔ-nu ∿ ɔ-kàʔ-ɔ-nu 'elsewhere'; lē-g̵ ∿ lɛ̀ʔ-g̵ 'play'; šɔ̄ ∿ šɔ̀ʔ 'still' (verb particle), etc. This variation is easily seen to be of a mechanical nature, since it occurs in recent loanwords as well as in native syllables. The faster the speed of utterance, the more likely the speaker is to use the checked variant; Lahu checked syllables take less time to utter than open ones. Yet these alternations are not automatic in the strict sense. Most morphemes under /´/ or /ˉ/ may not alternate with /ˆʔ/ or /ˋʔ/, no matter how fast they are pronounced, and there is no way of predicting which morphemes will or will not vary. [The Yellow Lahu dialect has no equivalent to Black Lahu /ˉ/. YL cognates of BL /ˉ/-syllables have been absorbed into the low-checked tone altogether: BL ɔ-yâ-pā / YL ɔ˥ya˥pàʔ 'son'; BL šɔ́-pɔ̄ / YL sɔ˥pɔ̀ʔ 'tomorrow', etc.]

1.632 Sporadic word-families. There are many pairs of words in Lahu that bear a semantic resemblance to each other, and differ

only in tone -- but such that the tonal alternation does not fol-
low any particular pattern. Most of these resemblances are un-
doubtedly fortuitous; but some must reflect the existence of
morpheme alternants within particular proto-'word families'. A
few likely candidates: m̄û- 'heaven, sky' / mu 'be high, tall';
phɛ 'tie up' / phɛ̂ 'free, release'; hê? 'be true, be the case' / *
hē 'tell a lie'; phô? 'pile up' / phò? 'swell up'; ch̄ɨ? 'be
blocked, clogged' / ch̄ɨ? 'tie up, restrain'; phu 'silver, money' /
phû 'price, cost'.

1.633 <u>Tone-changes at morpheme boundary</u>. More significant from
the historical point of view are instances where what is indisput-
ably one and the same morpheme changes its tone in combination
with other morphemes. Here again, however, there is a continuum
ranging from the idiosyncratic and inexplicable to the regular
and quasi-paradigmatic.

(<u>a</u>) Idiosyncratic cases include: kh̄ɨ 'foot' / khɨ́-nû? 'shoes',
ɔ̄-khɨ́-p̄ɨ 'base'[43]; šê? 'three' / šɛ̄ ni 'three days' / šɛ̌ g̈â 'three
people'[44]; kh̄ɨ-šɛ 'foot' / khɨ-šɛ̄-qú 'toenail'[44], etc.

(<u>b</u>) When mid-tone or /¯/ alternate with /´/ in the same morpheme,
it is sometimes appropriate to invoke the glottal dissimilation
rule: hɛ 'field' + g̈â? (< *<u>krak</u>) 'chicken' > hɛ́-g̈â? 'jungle
chicken'; kh̄ɨ-šɛ 'foot' / khɨ-šɛ́-qɔ̄ 'heel'; ša 'be easy, light' /
šá ɛ̀ 'rather, somewhat'; ɔ̄-dɛ̄ ∿ ɔ̄-dɛ́-qɔ̄ 'tube (as of bamboo)';
à-mɨ̄ 'fire' / mɨ́-jɔ̀? 'flint' ("fire-stone"); qha šǔ ɛ̀ ∿ qha šwɨ́
'in the same way'; t̄a ∿ tá 'perfective verb-particle'. In cases
like these, the alternating syllable has a voiceless spirantal
initial, or else an initial descending from an old *glottalized
consonant. If it is from Tone *1 it has modern mid-tone, if from
Tone *2, it has modern very-low tone. When the following syllable
in the compound also had a *glottalized initial (including plain
*glottal stop > modern zero), the high-rising tone was engendered.[45]

1.64 <u>Systematic tonal variation</u>. The most interesting sort of
tonal alternations are those which occur in functionally parallel

morphemes which stand in a paradigmatic relationship to one
another. Lahu has three such 'paradigms', one of which is of
great comparative-historical importance. All three involve the
positing of proto-prefixes which had developed into the feature
of glottalization by the pre-Lahu stage [namely, the PTB prefixes
*ʔə- (Tibetan ḥ) and *sə- (Tb. s̠-)].

1.641 Stative adverbials. There are several morphemes (notably
five with meanings relating to color) which are under the mid-
tone when functioning as nouns, but which acquire /´/ when fol-
lowed by the adverbializing particle ɛ̀: nɔ 'blue, green' / nɔ́ ɛ̀
'bluely, greenly'; ni 'red' / ní ɛ̀ 'redly'; ši 'gold, yellow' /
ší ɛ̀ 'yellowly'; pho ∿ phu 'white' / phó ɛ̀ ∿ phú ɛ̀ 'whitely'; phɨ
'blue-gray' / phɨ́ ɛ̀ 'blue-grayly'; also chu 'fat' / chú ɛ̀ 'fatly'.
There is good evidence that a sibilant color-prefix existed in
Tibeto-Burman.[46] This had induced glottalization of the initial
by the PLB stage, reflected by the Lahu mid-tone of 'blue', 'red',
'yellow'. When joined to a following zero-initialled ɛ̀, the
glottal dissimilation rule applied and the tone became /´/. The
remaining examples ('white', 'blue-gray', 'fat') reconstruct with
aspirated initials, so that the change to /´/ must be ascribed to
analogy. [For a general discussion of stative adverbials, see
below 4.422.]

1.642 Adjective/extentive-noun pairs. The alternations of
initial and tone we observed above [1.42f] in the adjective/
extentive/diminutive-extentive triads are now explicable in terms
of a glottal prefix and the glottal dissimilation rule. See
Figure 5.

The neutral extentives were derived from their adjectives by
the prefixation of an element (perhaps *s̠-) that had caused
glottalization of the initial by the pre-Lahu stage. (The adjec-
tive 'high' already had a glottalized initial, so the prefix had
no effect.) For some reason the tone of the syllable was simul-
taneously shifted to Tone *1, if it had not been under *1 already.

1.641; 1.642

FIGURE 5. Origins of Extentive Tone-Sandhi

	Adjective		Neutral Extentive		Diminutive Extentive	
	PLB	Lahu	PLB	Lahu	PLB	Lahu
A. MANY	*mra² >	mâ	*ʔmra¹ >	ma	*ʔmra¹ + ɛ̀ > má-ɛ̂	[maê]
B. FAR	*wiy² >	v‡	*ʔwiy¹ >	f‡	*ʔwiy¹ + ɛ̀ > f‡-ɛ̂	[f‡ñ] ~ f‡ɛ [f‡ɛ]
C. BIG	*ryi² >	‡	*ʔryi¹ >	h‡	*ʔryi¹ + ɛ̀ > h‡-ɛ̂	[h‡ñ] ~ h‡ɛ [h‡ɛ]
D. LONG	*yin¹ >	y‡	*ʔyin¹ >	š‡	*ʔyin¹ + ɛ̀ > š‡ɛ	[sʔɛ]
E. HIGH	*ʔmu¹ >	mu	*ʔmu¹ >	mu	*ʔmu¹ + ɛ̀ > mwɛ	[mwɛ]

When the prototype of the particle è 'only',[47] which then began
with *ʔ-, was added to these, the vocalic nucleus of the extentive
found itself flanked by two 'glottal incidents' and assumed the
/ˊ/ tone. The particle then lost its ʔ- onset and became fused
into the preceding vowel, losing its original tone.

* 1.643 Simplex/causative verb pairs. Evidence from other lan-
guages (Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Lisu, etc.) amply demonstrates
that PTB must have had a regular process of forming causative
verbs from 'simplex' ones. This process survives faintly but
unmistakably in present-day Lahu as well. There remain more than
a dozen pairs of verbs related to each other semantically as sim-
plex/causative or intransitive/transitive, and differing phono-
logically from each other only by tone (and sometimes voicing of
the initial consonant). These phonological differences are not
haphazard. They are so systematic, in fact, that they point
unmistakably to glottalization as the marker of causativization
at the PLB stage.[48] These verb-pairs fall into several well-
defined tonal categories, as displayed in Figure 6.

A glance at the tone-provenience column of Figure 2 will
reveal what is going on. The simplicia in the first two groups
are from Tone *1 and *2 words respectively, with initials deriving
from the old *plain or *voiced series. The corresponding causa-
tives have *glottalized initials, so their tones are modern mid-
tone and very-low tone, respectively. The simplicia of the third
group are under the low-checked tone. The corresponding causa-
tives thus contained two glottal incidents, and the high-rising
tone developed.

There are several other pairs of verbs in Lahu that are cer-
tainly related, but whose tones and meanings are such that they
cannot be said to stand in a simplex/causative or intransitive/
transitive relation to each other: vi 'be dried up' / fī 'be
dried up' (both intransitive); jîʔ 'move' / cī 'move' (both either
transitive or intransitive, according to context); tôʔ 'come out,

1.643

FIGURE 6. Simplex/Causative Verb-Pairs	
Simplex /ˋ/	**Causative** /mid/
d̠ɔ̀ 'drink'	t̠ɔ 'give to drink'
d̠ɛ̀ 'come to rest'	t̠ɛ 'put down'
m̠ɔ̀ 'see'	m̠ɔ 'show'
m̠ɛ̀ 'taste good'	m̠ɛ 'well-cooked, ripe'
n̠à 'hurt, be sore'	n̠a 'be cured'[49]
Simplex /ˆ/	**Causative** /ˉ/
c̠â 'eat'	c̠ā 'feed'
n̠ɔ̂ 'be awake'	n̠ɔ̄ 'awaken, rouse'
d̠û 'dig'	t̠ū 'bury (as a corpse)'
Simplex /ˋʔ/	**Causative** /ˊ/
l̠ɛ̀ʔ 'lick; eat (esp. of animals)'	l̠ɛ́ 'feed an animal'
v̠ə̀ʔ 'wear'	f̠ɨ́ 'clothe, dress someone'
v̠à̠ʔ 'hide (oneself)'	f̠á 'hide (something)'
t̠ɔ̀ʔ 'catch fire'	t̠ú 'set fire to, kindle'
y̠ɨ̀ʔ 'sleep'	ɨ́ 'put to sleep'

emerge' / t$\bar{\text{ɔ}}$ 'be showing completely, be manifest' (both intransi-
tive). These pairs must simply be regarded as descendants of
alternants within proto-word families, in the sense of 1.632,
above. Similarly, the pair là 'come' and la 'verb-particle show-
ing cisative motion' cannot be said to be a simplex/causative
pair even though their tones are the same as those of the first
group in Figure 6: the semantics are wrong, and la is not a verb
at all in modern Lahu.

1.7 Rhythm: stress and juncture. The vast majority of Lahu
syllables receive sufficient stress so that their tonal contours
do not significantly change regardless of the syntactic position
of the syllable in the sentence. Completely stressless, and
therefore toneless, syllables are excessively rare. The only
examples are to be found in the speech of some fastidious speakers
in a few recent loanwords from Burmese, Shan, or Thai,[50] where the
donor language has a prefix with unstressed shwa: ăkhwàn [ɔ̆kh₂ʒ̀]
'permission' (< Bs), kănán [kə̆ná] 'number' (< Bs), măpāw [mə̆pāw]
'coconut' (< Shan/Thai). (We conventionally spell the unstressed
shwa with a-breve 'ă'.) Yet even here there is a strong tendency
to restress the prefix. As Burmese loanwords become more inte-
grated, the shwa-prefix is either replaced by the corresponding
native prefix /ɔ-/, or else by a fully-stressed mid-tone /a-/:
a-khwà 'permission', a-nà 'illness', a-l$\bar{\text{o}}$ 'will (of God, etc.)'.
Alternatively, the shortness of the original shwa may be approxi-
mated by a checked Lahu syllable (usually low-checked, /ˋʔ/).
Thus, 'coconut' is pronounced màʔ-pāw by most speakers.

A few native functor-morphemes do have reduced stress, how-
ever, to the point where their tones are affected. The negative
adverbs mâ 'not' and tâ 'do not!' are often treated this way in
rapid speech, so that their tones are truncated and lose the final
drop in pitch. This stress reduction is sometimes even marginally
contrastive in the case of mâ, since there exists a homophonous
full-stressed morpheme 'many': là mâ pɛ́ 'many can come' (come-
             1   1   1

1.7

many-able) / <u>là mâ pɛ́</u> 'cannot come' (come-not-able). The only
          1 2 1

other syllable which typically has reduced stress is the noun-
prefix /ɔ̂-/, which we conventionally write with /ˋ/, though the
vowel is too short for there to be a noticeable fall in pitch.
While there is no exact full-stressed homophone *ɔ̀, near-minimal
rhythmic contrasts between the prefix and full-stressed /ɔ/ may
be found:

   <u>ɔ̂-thîʔ</u> 'a packet' / <u>ɔ̄-thîʔ</u> 'rice-packet' (ɔ̄ 'cooked rice');
   2 1   1 1

   <u>ɔ̂-cē-ɔ̂-nà</u> 'polygon' / <u>ɔ̄-cē-ɔ̄-nà</u> 'quadrilateral' (ɔ̄ 'four').
   2 1 2 1   1 1 1 1

A more detailed study of Lahu stress must await further research
into Lahu intonation.

    We recognize two junctures, both of which must be defined in
grammatical terms: sentence-pause and comma-pause. Sentence-
pause, /./ or /#/, is realized as a potential cessation of phona-
tion of somewhat longer duration than /,/, optionally preceded by
a prolongation of the vowel of the last preceding syllable, if it
is non-checked. This juncture is not necessarily associated with
any particular intonational contour, pitch, or stress. It occurs
only in sentence-final position. Comma-pause /,/ is realized as
a brief cessation of phonation perhaps one mora long, optionally
preceded by a prolongation of an immediately preceding open vowel.
It occurs optionally in the following environments: (a) between
noun-phrases (symbolized by a vertical dotted line " ⋮ " as a
diagrammatic convention), (b) between a noun-phrase and a verb-
phrase (symbolized by a solid vertical line " | " in diagrammed
sentences), (c) after a non-final clause in a compound sentence
(symbolized by double solid vertical lines " ‖ "), (d) in certain
special environments in sentences of complex structure (to be
indicated in their proper place in the grammar).[51]

    /,/ may not occur within a single NP or VP, or sentence-
final. This fact sometimes furnishes the decisive criterion in

determining whether a given sequence of words is one NP or two, one VP or two, one sentence or two. Thus: ôo, nɔ̀ kàʔ là ve || ŋà ha-lɛ̀ jâ # 'Oh, I'm so happy that you came too!' (a single big sentence) / ôo, nɔ̀ kàʔ là ve # ŋà ha-lɛ̀ jâ # 'Oh, you have come too! I'm so happy!' (two sentences); nɔ̀ kàʔ là ve mâ hêʔ lâ # 'Aren't you coming too?' / nɔ̀ kàʔ là ve # mâ hêʔ lâ # 'You're coming too -- aren't you?'

The presence or absence of /,/ is often of prime importance in distinguishing pairs of utterances that are different in meaning but otherwise phonologically identical. Thus: nâʔ-chɨ 'medicine', šɛ̄-phâ 'agentive suffix' > nâʔ-chɨ=šɛ̄-phâ 'medicine man, doctor'[52] / nâʔ 'gun', chɨ 'wash, clean', šɛ̄-phâ > nâʔ | chɨ=šɛ̄-phâ 'gun-cleaner'; ŋâ 'five', chi 'ten', hí 'eight', ğâ 'classifier for persons', ve 'genitive particle' > ŋâ-chi-hí ğâ ve 'of fifty-eight people' / ŋâ 'fish', chi 'this' > ŋâ chi ¦ hí ğâ ve 'This fish is for eight people' ("eight people's").

The genitive construction ν_p + ve + ν_h 'the ν_h possessed by ν_p' is a type of unitary derived NP [below 3.7]. /,/ may therefore not intervene within it. Now the genitive-marker ve may be deleted under certain conditions [below 3.75], yielding ν_p + ν_h (possessor-nucleus + head-nucleus), which is still a unitary NP. This gives us numerous minimal pairs between (a) two consecutive separate NP's, and (b) two nominal nuclei united into a single NP in a genitive construction from which ve has been deleted. In the first sort of case, /,/ may be inserted between the nuclei; in the second, it may not. Thus: yɔ̂ ¦ yɛ̀-qhɔ | lɔ̂ʔ e ve (he -- house-interior -- enter) 'He went into the house' (where yɔ̂ 'he' is in a separate NP from yɛ̀-qhɔ 'house-interior') vs. yɔ̂ yɛ̀-qhɔ | lɔ̂ʔ e ve '(Somebody) went into his house' (where yɔ̂ yɛ̀-qhɔ represents the underlying genitive yɔ̂ ve yɛ̀-qhɔ 'the inside of his house'.

Nevertheless, the large proportion of homophonous morphemes in the Lahu lexicon makes for a considerable number of possible

sentence pairs of identical phonological shape whose constituent structure is sufficiently similar that /,/ is powerless to disambiguate them: n̯ɔ ¦ qhà-ma │ hɔ̂ ve le 'How much do you weigh?' / 'How much are you selling it for?' (hɔ̂ 1. 'be heavy, have a weight' 2. 'sell'). In this case, the structural descriptions of the two sentences are identical. In the following example, the SD's are quite different: ŋâ chi ¦ hí ğâ ve 'This fish is for eight people' vs. ŋâ chi │ hí ğâ ve 'They got this fish by competing for it' (hí 1. 'eight' 2. 'compete', ğâ 1. 'classifier for persons' 2. 'get, obtain'). The first member of this pair is a verbless ('minor') sentence consisting of two NP's, while the second sentence contains both a NP and a VP. However, the only place /,/ may occur in these sentences is between the NP's and between the NP and VP, respectively -- and this is the same place, phonologically speaking.

1.8 Special or aberrant features of vivid colloquial speech. In jocular, emotional, or angry speech, the palatal affricates /c ch j/ are occasionally pronounced like alveolar affricates [ts, tsh, dz] before /a/: [dàʔ dzâ] < /dàʔ jâ/ 'Very good!'; [tèʔ-chí mâ ğa tsâ o] < /...câ.../ 'We won't get a thing to eat!'; [khɔ̂ dzâ nē] < /khɔ̂ jâ nē/ 'You talk too much!' ("Your words are excessive!"). When this phenomenon is called to the attention of a native speaker, he is almost sure to deny it. When asked to repeat such a morpheme 'the way he just said it', he always substitutes the normal palatal phone for the 'aberrant' alveolar one.[53]

Many interjections have special features of vowel prolongation and exaggerated tone that lead us to write them conventionally with non-canonical double vowels: âa 'well...' (pause-filler), 'ah!' (satisfaction, geniality); ôo 'oh!' (mild surprise); pòthôo 'good grief!, no kidding!' (surprise, shock, disbelief) < Thai phúdthôo 'by the Buddha!'; alôo ∿ alōo 'dear me!, alas!' (chagrin), 'bravo!' (approbation); hɛ̄ɛ 'here!, take it!' (when handing something over); hâay ∿ hāay 'huh?, what did you

say?' (asking for a repetition), etc.

Aside from interjections, the only morpheme of non-canonical phonological shape that we must recognize is an imperative verb-particle of the shape /-ʔ/, which occurs only after verbs in non-checked tones [below 4.65]. It is obvious that this abrupt glottal offset is a suprasegmental phenomenon, unlike the true verb-particles. Yet it does carry a meaning and is not to be identified with either of the checked tones, since it occurs after verbs in any open tone. It seems simplest, therefore, to set up a morpheme-boundary between it and its verb: ni-ʔ 'look!', câ-ʔ 'eat!', fá-ʔ 'hide it!'.

For dramatic effect a syllable is sometimes pronounced with unusually high pitch, which for male speakers may mean lapsing into falsetto. This may be symbolized by a double exclamation point over the syllable in question: ô ɔ̄ ¦ lɔ̀-qá qhô ɔ̄ | chê šɔ̄ 'He's still wa-a-ay over there above the river'; tê-ni-tâ-vâ qay-qay-qay á lɛ 'after going and going and going all day long . . .'.

In humorous or emotional conversation, incantatory style, and especially in women's speech, a special triple-contoured intonation is often encountered. Starting with the high-falling contour, it rapidly descends to the very-low tone, whence it rises again to the mid range: pòthô-ō-o 'Good grief!'. A convenient notation for this is the tilde: pòthõo.

In rapid colloquial speech the dropping of initial consonants is widespread in high frequency words like particles and adverbs: mâ ∿ â 'not' (Adv), tā ∿ ā ∿ tá ∿ á 'perfective' (P_v), lɛ̀ ∿ ɛ̀ 'topicalizer' (P_{unf}), le ∿ è 'marker of substance questions' (P_{uf}), lɛ̀ ∿ ɛ̀ 'adverbializer' (P_u),[54] qha ∿ ha ∿ a 'vivid action' (P_v), thàʔ ∿ àʔ 'accusative' (P_n).

Chapter II

SENTENCE-TYPES AND FORM-CLASSES

It is useful to classify Lahu utterances as sentences or
fragments; major or minor; simple, compound, complex, or permuted.
The basic terminology we shall be using for types of sentences
and linguistically significant parts of sentences may be presented
as a kind of deductive system in which certain concepts ('head',
'constituency', 'behaves as a grammatical unit', 'relationship')
are left undefined.

a) <u>Utterance</u>: a stretch of meaningful speech that conforms to
the rules of Lahu grammar as hereinafter described.

b) <u>Sentence</u>: an utterance boundable by long pause, #_____#,
that contains at least one phrase.

c) <u>Phrase</u>: a string of morphemes that behaves as a grammatical
unit, within which comma pause may not intervene, and whose head
is a nominal or verbal nucleus. If the head is nominal, the
phrase is a <u>noun-phrase</u> (NP); if the head is verbal, the phrase
is a <u>verb-phrase</u> (VP). VP's are either final (VP_f) or non-final
(VP_{nf}).

d) <u>Clause</u>: a VP together with zero or more preceding NP's that
stand in some kind of constituency with it.[1] The NP or NP's
which may precede the VP of a clause are said to be 'associated
with' or 'dominated by' the VP. In other words, a clause must
consist minimally of a single VP, but may contain any number of

[39]

preceding, associated NP's as well. In addition, a clause may contain one or more unrestricted particles after the VP.

e) <u>Nominal</u> <u>hemistich</u>: all the NP's of a clause taken collectively in opposition to the VP.[2]

<u>2.1 Sentence types</u>. A <u>major</u> <u>sentence</u> is a sentence whose final phrase is a clause, i.e., a sentence which ends in a VP. (All NP's in a major sentence are non-final.) A <u>minor</u> <u>sentence</u> is a sentence whose final phrase is a natural NP.[3]

　　　A <u>simple</u> <u>sentence</u> is one which contains no non-final clause. A simple sentence contains one (final) clause if major, and no clauses if minor. Formulaically:

1.　$S_{\substack{simple \\ major}}$　$\rightarrow$　$[(NP^n) + VP_f + (P_u)]$　, where $n \geq 1$.

　　　Ex:　<u>yɔ́</u> ¦ <u>ŋà thàʔ</u> ¦ <u>khɔ̄ tê šī</u> | <u>ŋā lâ tù</u> / <u>ve cê</u>.[4]
　　　　　NP_1　　NP_2　　　NP_3　　　　VP_f　　P_u

　　　'He says <u>he</u> (NP_1) will lend <u>me</u> (NP_2) <u>a top</u> (NP_3).'

2.　$S_{\substack{simple \\ minor}}$　$\rightarrow$　NP^n　, where $n \geq 1$. (Alternatively:　$(NP^n) + NP_f$.)

　　　Ex:　<u>à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma</u> / <u>le</u> .　　<u>khɔ̄ tê šī</u> / <u>yɔ̀</u> .[5]
　　　　　　　NP　　　　P_{uf}　　　　NP　　　　P_{uf}

　　　'What is it? It's a top.'

　　　A <u>compound</u> <u>sentence</u> is one which contains at least one non-final clause that is in constituency with another clause, such that neither is embedded in the other. If the last phrase of a compound sentence is a VP, it is major; if a NP, it is minor. Formulaically:

3.　$S_{\substack{compound \\ major}}$　$\rightarrow$　$[(NP^n) + VP_{nf} + (P_{unf})]^n + [(NP^n) + VP_f + (P_{uf})]$,

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　where $n \geq 1$.

2.1

Ex: $\bar{\text{ɔ}}$ | câ á / lɛ || yɨʔ gâ / ve thɔ́ || ni-ma | hā jâ /
    NP   VP$_{nf_1}$ P$_{unf}$ VP$_{nf_2}$ P$_{unf}$ NP   VP$_{nf_3}$

lɛ || yɨʔ mâ gà   'He ate his rice and || though he
P$_{unf}$ VP$_f$

wanted to sleep || since he was very depressed || he
couldn't get to sleep.'[6]

4. $S_{\substack{compound \\ minor}}$ → $[(NP^n) + VP_{nf} + (P_{unf})]^n + NP^n + (P_{uf})$,

                                              where n $\geq$ 1.

Ex: chɔ-qhɔ́ | phɛ̀ʔ / thɔ́ || ŋà-hɨ ve qhâʔ-šɛ / yò
    NP   VP$_{nf}$ P$_{unf}$ NP   P$_{uf}$

'Though he's a thief || he's our headman.'

A <u>complex sentence</u> is one that contains an embedded clause.[7]
Complex sentences may be major or minor, simple or compound.

Ex: { nɔ̀ ¦ á-thâ | mɘ̀ʔ pɨ́ / ve }   thàʔ ¦ ŋà | mâ yō
     NP$_1$ NP$_2$ VP   P$_n$ NP   VP$_f$
                    ⎵ NP ⎵

'I don't believe {that you know how to play the jewsharp}.'
This sentence has an embedded nominalized clause that stands in
an accusative relationship to the verb of the VP$_f$. Another im-
portant type of complex sentence has a relative clause modifying
a noun of a larger clause:

[á-thâ | mɘ̀ʔ pɨ́ / ve]   yâ-nɛ̀ | là-ò / lâ
  NP   VP   N$_{rh}$ VP$_f$ P$_{uf}$

'Has the young man [who can blow the jewsharp] come yet?'
(N$_{rh}$ means 'noun-head of relative clause'.)

A <u>permuted</u> <u>sentence</u> is one where certain major constituents appear out of the normal order. This category is reserved for such egregious departures from normal order as NP's following the VP of their clause, or clause + P_{uf} preceding a clause + P_{unf}.[8] (Thus a sentence where the NP's of the nominal hemistich occur in an unusual order would not thereby be considered 'permuted', since the relative order of NP's is not rigidly fixed in any case [below 3.10.3].) Exs:

qhɔ̂ | qay / le ⌡ ô ve tê ğâ   'Where's he going, that guy?'[9]
NP   VP P_{uf} NP

ŋà | mâ qay ⫽ yɔ̂ | qay qo   'I'm not going -- if he goes.'
NP VP_f NP $VP_{nf}P_{unf}$

The clause structure of Lahu (indeed of Lolo-Burmese in general) is remarkably similar to that of Japanese and Korean, where one also finds strings of NP's each standing in a subordinate relationship to their following VP.[10] Lahu clauses are weighted to the right, in the sense that the bulk of the abstract content of the clause comes at the end: in the verbal nucleus, verb-particles, and/or unrestricted particles whose scope extends over the whole clause.[11]

A <u>fragment</u> is an utterance containing neither a NP nor a VP (i.e., one consisting solely of an interjection, onomatopoetic expression, or the like).

2.2 <u>Form-classes.</u> Any serious attempt to deal with the infinite variety of sentences in a language must involve the assumption that it is somehow possible to group its morphemes into a few large classes on the basis of certain salient distributional and semantic characteristics. This is not to say that the grouping may be done mechanically, or even non-arbitrarily. There are all sorts of difficulties of principle and practice, and ultimately the analyst's decisions (whether he admits it or not) will be

2.2

based on esthetic considerations. But the attempt must be made.
The alternative is to regard each individual morpheme as being
<u>sui generis</u>, and to try to explicate all aspects of its occurrence
in sentences as the product of its own unique semantic properties
and those of the other morphemes in each context.[12]

A distributional approach (that is, one where the form-
classes are set up on the basis of possibilities of co-occurrence
with certain preceding or following morphemes or morpheme-classes)
immediately runs into severe difficulties: (a) How does the
analyst arrive at his criterial environments, given the fact that
any morpheme may occur in an infinite number of environments?
(b) Once he has decided on the criteria for membership in such
great form-classes as 'nouns' and 'verbs', on what basis does he
go on to make such further subclassifications as 'appositional
noun', 'extentive noun', 'action verb', 'adjectival verb'? Are
not the potential subclassifications also infinite? (c) Are
there no formal constraints on the class of possible criterial
environments? (d) How does one avoid such vicious circularities
as defining 'numerals' as that class which precedes 'classifiers',
and 'classifiers' as that class which follows 'numerals'?
(e) What is to be done with the considerable residuum of border-
line cases that can be depended upon to exist: <u>hapax legomena</u>
which occur in a single set expression; morphemes which only
appear in sentences of complex structure; classes of morphemes
which can be interpreted as being in immediate constituency with
either the previous or the following morpheme-classes?

There are no pat answers to these questions. The analyst
arrives at his major classes through trial and error, guided by
the principles of 'generality', 'economy', and 'simplicity', and
his sense of what is 'linguistically significant'.[13] As many
minor classes are set up as the analyst feels to be worthwhile in
terms of capturing striking selectional affinities or mutual
exclusions, without unduly complicating the description.[14] As a

rule of thumb, we adopt the principle that major form-classes be
set up as far as possible on the basis of purely syntactic cri-
teria; but minor classes may be arrived at through at least
partially semantic considerations as well.[15]

As a matter of common sense, certain restrictions on poten-
tial diagnostic environments must be enforced: an environment to
be valid must be intra-phrasal. That is, classes which occur in
NP's (nouns, noun-particles, classifiers, etc.) must be defined
in terms of environments within the NP; classes occurring in VP's
(adverbs, verbs, verb-particles) must be defined within the VP.
Thus, although nouns occur in _____V, so do adverbs. The en-
vironment is 'accidental' for the former, 'essential' for the
latter.

Circularities of the type 'A occurs in _____B, B occurs in
_____A' are often best avoided by simply enumerating all the mem-
bers of one's smallest class,[16] or by defining either A or B in
terms of a particular morpheme rather than a whole class (thus,
Lahu verbs are those entities which occur after the negative
adverb mâ).

Borderline cases are decided more or less ad hoc by analogy
with clear cases. When the evidence is not conclusive one way or
the other, this fact is to be noted, not obscured. In Lahu the
most significant indeterminacy of this type involves morphemes
whose semantic and syntactic behavior partakes of the nature of
both nouns and adverbs. These 'nadverbials' are discussed in a
separate section [below 4.52].

The following are the basic form-classes we have found
necessary to set up for Lahu:
(1) Numerals (Num). These are defined, appropriately enough, by
enumeration. They include the numbers from 1-9, additive and
multiplicative compounds of these, and the words for 'several'
and 'how many?' [3.41].

2.2(1)

(2) <u>Classifiers</u> (Clf). These occur only and always after numerals [3.42].

(3) <u>Nouns</u> (N). 'Autonomous' nouns are those words which may occur all by themselves before and in constituency with a Num + Clf. The various types of 'limited' nouns, when combined with other nominal morphemes of appropriate type, form 'second-order autonomous' nouns which may then occur in _____Num + Clf. We may regard the combination Num + Clf itself as a second-order autonomous noun.[17]

(4) <u>Noun-particles</u> (P_n). Must modify a preceding autonomous noun (first or higher order), or may follow another P_n which does so [3.8].

(5) <u>Verbs</u> (V). Must be precedable by the negative adverb mâ; i.e., must be negatable[18] [4.1].

(6) <u>Adverbs</u> (Adv). Must modify a following verb with which it is in immediate constituency [4.4]. There are cases where the classes of nouns and adverbs intersect [4.52], and also cases where an adverb may be displaced from its pre-verbal position [4.46].

(7) <u>Verb-particles</u> (P_v). Must be preceded by a V, which it modifies, or by another P_v [4.6].

(8) <u>Unrestricted particles</u> (P_u). May directly follow either a noun [3.9], or a verb [4.7; Ch. V], or another particle (P_n, P_v, P_u), or certain adverbials [e.g., 4.44]. P_u's occurring after a noun are in semantic constituency with that noun alone. P_u's occurring after a VP are in semantic constituency with the clause as a whole (i.e., the VP plus any associated NP's that may precede it).

(9) <u>Conjunctions</u> (Conj). Occur first in their clause, and stand in loose constituency with the clause as a whole, belonging neither to any NP nor any VP [4a.1].

(10) <u>Interjections</u> (Intj). May constitute fragments by themselves; insertible freely at any point between phrases; marked by

special features of tone, vowel length, and intonation [above
1.8, below 4a.2].

It goes without saying that morphemes may belong to more
than one major form-class, or to more than one sub-class within
a major class.

2.3 Final vs. non-final phrases. The internal structure of non-
final phrases (NP_{nf} and VP_{nf}) is identical to that of final ones
(NP_f and VP_f). The difference lies in the subtype of P_u that may
occur after each. We recognize three subtypes of unrestricted
particles: Universal P_u's, or P_{univ}'s, may occur after both
final and non-final phrases. P_{univ}'s always precede any other
kinds of P_u after a given phrase.[19] Non-final P_u's, or P_{unf}'s,
may occur only after non-final phrases (in non-permuted sen-
tences). Final P_u's, or P_{uf}'s, may occur only after final phrases
(of non-permuted sentences). It follows that all NP's which are
followed by a P_{uf} are in minor sentences, for in major sentences
all NP's are non-final.

2.4 Looking ahead. In Chapter III we discuss the Lahu noun-
phrase; in Chapter IV, the verb-phrase; in Chapter V, compound
sentences; and in Chapter VI, the various grammatical processes
which operate on simple sentences to generate complex sentences.

2.3; 2.4

Chapter III

THE NOUN-PHRASE

3.1 Noun-phrase (NP) and nominal nucleus (ν). The structure of
the Lahu NP may be represented formulaically as follows:
$NP \rightarrow \nu + (P_n)^n + (P_u)^m$, where n is 1 or 2, and m an indeterminate
number never observed to exceed six in actual utterances, sponta-
neous or artificially elicited. That is, the NP consists of a
nominal nucleus ν, optionally followed by one or two noun-
particles (P_n) and/or up to six unrestricted particles (P_u).[1]

In major sentences, all NP's are non-final:
$NP_{nf} \rightarrow \nu + (P_n)^n + (P_{univ}) + (P_{unf})$.[2] That is, they may not
contain any P_{uf}'s. Minor sentences, on the other hand, do end
in a final NP, and may thus conclude with a P_{uf}:
$NP_f \rightarrow \nu + (P_n)^n + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf})$.

Most of this chapter will be devoted to an expansion of the
symbol ν; that is, to a characterization of the various types of
nominal nucleus that occur in the Lahu sentence.

The only element that is obligatorily present in every ν is
a noun-head (N_h). A ν which contains only a N_h is termed an
ordinary nucleus: $\nu_{ord} \rightarrow N_h$. The N_h of an ordinary nucleus may
be morphologically simple (consisting of only a single morpheme),
or complex. Complex N_h's result from the processes of compound-
ing [below 3.3], reduplication [3.38], or elaboration [3.39].

3.1

We might use the word 'compound' in both a looser and a
stricter sense. Loosely speaking, any polymorphemic structure
in the nominal nucleus could be thought of as a compound, since
there is no non-arbitrary way to define the Lahu 'word' so as to
draw a strict line between morphological compounds and syntactic
constructions. However, it is preferable to single out certain
extremely productive morpheme sequence-types for separate treat-
ment under the rubric of special nuclei:[3]

$$\nu \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \nu_{ord} \\ \nu_{spec} \end{array} \right\}; \quad \nu_{spec} \rightarrow \nu_{gen} , \; \nu_q , \; \nu_{det}, \; \nu_{ext}.$$

Genitivized nuclei (ν_{gen}) resemble morphological compounds
the least [below 3.7]. They contain one or more expressions of
the form ν_p + ve before the N_h, ν_p being the 'possessor nucleus'
and ve a subordinating particle of very general meaning. ν_{gen}'s
are clearly parallel to relative clauses, which have the
structure VP + ve + N_h [below 6.4]. Quantified nuclei (ν_q) may
have a numeral-plus-classifier (Q) after the N_h [3.4].[4]
Determined nuclei (ν_{det}) may have the words chi 'this' or ô-ve
'that' after the N_h [3.5]. Extentive nuclei (ν_{ext}) resemble
lexical compounds somewhat more than the other special nuclei.
They include as their final constituent a member of one of
several related classes of bound morphemes ('extentive nouns'),
which serve to characterize the N_h along various dimensions of
extension in space, quality, or quantity [3.6].[5]

A given ν may be special in more ways than one. It may
simultaneously contain a genitive expression, a numeral plus
classifier, a determiner, and an extentive noun, or any sub-
combination of these, according to the following rough schema:

$$\nu \rightarrow (\nu_p + ve)^n + N_h + (Det) + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Q \\ E_{ma} \end{array} \right\} + (E_{qhe}), \text{ where } n \geq 1.[6]$$

This superficial formula will be broken down and refined term by
term in the sections to follow.

3.2 Autonomous nouns (N_a). A (first-order) autonomous noun (N_a) is a free form which may constitute a nominal nucleus all by itself. Subtypes of autonomous nouns include common nouns, pronouns, interrogatives, spatial demonstratives, and the determiner chi.

A limited noun (N_{lim}) may not constitute a ν by itself, but must be preceded or followed by another element. When combined with this other element, which may itself be autonomous or limited, N_{lim}'s form polymorphemic nominal expressions which are 'higher-order autonomous'; i.e., which taken as a whole may occur in #_____Num + Clf, or #_____P_n, or other environments characteristic of autonomous nouns. Subtypes of limited nouns include prefixes, prefixable morphemes (M_{pfx}), other types of bound constituents of compounds (B_n), and extentives (E). Numerals and classifiers clearly belong in this category as well, though it is convenient to treat them separately.

3.21 Common nouns. The vast majority of Lahu nouns belong to this 'unmarked', open class, whose only 'idiosyncrasy' is the absence of noteworthy distributional peculiarities. Common nouns occur both in #_____Num + Clf and #_____P_n. They may serve as the heads of genitivized, determined, quantified, or extentified nuclei. Morphologically, they range from the monomorphemic to the high-order compound variety. There is no reason to regard proper nouns (i.e., the names of persons and places) as anything more than a not very interesting subclass of common nouns. As a convention we write the names of persons and places with an initial capital letter: Cà-lɔ̂ 'man's name', Cî-màɨ 'Chiengmai', Man=mû-mì 'Burma', Nà-kû? 'the Kok River'.

3.22 Pronouns. Lahu has four simple pronouns:[7] ŋà 'I'; nɔ̀ 'you ⋆ (sg.)'; yɔ̂ 'he, she, it'; šu 'the other one, others, they, contrastive or remote 3rd person'. Like common nouns, pronouns occur both in #_____Num + Clf [nɔ̀ tê ĝâ 'you alone' ("you one person")] and in #_____P_n [yɔ̂ gɛ 'with him'; ŋà thà? 'me (acc.)'].

3.2; 3.21; 3.22

They have the unsurprising logical property of being substitut-able for certain common nouns (usually those referring to persons) with no change in denotation.

Pronouns differ from common nouns in several syntactic respects. They may not be determined (*ŋà chi 'this me') or possessed (*qhâʔ chi ve nɔ̂ 'this village's you'). Neither may they be reduplicated, nor serve as the heads of relative clauses (*yàʔ-qɔ qay ve nɔ̂ 'you who are walking down the road').

3.23 Interrogative nouns. Interrogative nouns (N_{intg}) form a small class: a-šu 'who'; à-thòʔ-ma ∿ à-ma 'what, what kind of'; qhɔ̂ 'where'; qhɔ̂-qhe 'where, how, what kind of';[8] qhà ∿ qhɔ̂ 'which one'; qhà-thâʔ 'when'; qhà-qhe 'how, what kind of'.[9] N_{intg}'s are distinguished by their intimate connection with the P_{uf} that marks substance questions, le. All sentences containing le must also have a preceding N_{intg}. [The converse is not true, since the N_{intg}'s may be indefinitized by a following mâ qôʔ 'it does not matter': qhà-thâʔ tê yân | mâ qôʔ || te phèʔ ɔ 'You can do it whenever you like.' Below 5.44(1).] If such sentences are major, le will come at the end of the VP_f; if minor, at the end of the NP_f: à-thòʔ-ma le 'What is it?', a-šu le 'Who is it?', qhɔ̂ le 'Where is it?', qhà-thâʔ le 'When is it?'[10]

The N_{intg}'s typically stand in a subordinate relationship to another noun within the same ν. à-thòʔ-ma, alone of the group, may stand directly before a common noun: à-thòʔ-ma šɨ̂ʔ-cɛ̀ le 'What kind of tree is it?' All members of the class occur direct-ly before Num + Clf (thus satisfying our criterion for nounhood [above 2.2]), with the numeral usually being tê 'one': à-thòʔ-ma tê cɔ̀ le 'What kind of thing is it?', qhà-qhe tê šɨ̄ le 'What kind of (small) round object is it?', qhɔ̂-qhe tê cɛ̀ le 'What kind of plant is it?', a-šu tê ğâ le 'Who is it?' ("Which one person is it?"), qhà nɨ̂ khɛ le 'Which two animals is it?', qhɔ̂ tê phɔ̂ le 'Which direction is it?', qhà-thâʔ tê yân le 'What period of time is it?' [cɔ̀, šɨ̄, cɛ̀, ğâ, khɛ, phɔ̂, yân are classifiers for things,

3.23

round objects, plants, persons, animals, directions, and time, respectively.]. Semantically the Num + Clf is the head of these constructions, and in fact they are to be regarded as covert genitives [below 3.75]. It is always grammatical to insert the subordinating particle ve between the N_{intg} and the Num + Clf, with no change in meaning: qhà-qhe ve tê šī le 'What kind of round object is it?', qhà ve nî khɛ le 'Which two animals is it?'[11] The head of such a genitive construction may also be a common noun: qhà-qhe ve nâʔ le 'What kind of gun is it?' However, in this case the ve is not deletable unless the N_{intg} is à-thòʔ-ma.

à-thòʔ-ma and a-šu may be followed directly by P_n's: à-thòʔ-ma thàʔ | hǝʔ gâ ve le 'What (acc.) do you want to get?', a-šu gɛ | qay gâ ve le 'Who do you want to go with?'

The word qhà-nî 'how many' is a N_{intg} in that it requires the wh-question particle le. However, it is also a numeral, since it must always be followed by a classifier: qhà-nî ni | chê tù le 'How many days will you stay?', qhà-nî ğâ le 'How many people are there?' [Below 3.41].

The Lahu expression translatable as 'why' is a whole clause, consisting of the N_{intg} à-thòʔ-ma 'what' + the verb te 'do' + the suspensive P_{unf} lɛ, literally "having done what". In non-elliptical utterances, another clause follows: à-thòʔ-ma | te lɛ || mâ hǝʔ gâ ve le 'Why don't you want to get it?' ("Having done what, don't you want to get it?").

3.24 Spatial demonstratives. Five nouns belong to the class of spatial demonstratives (N_{sd}): chò 'here', ô 'there', cô 'way over there', nô 'up there', mô 'down there'. See Figure 7.

FIGURE 7.   The Spatial Demonstratives

3.24
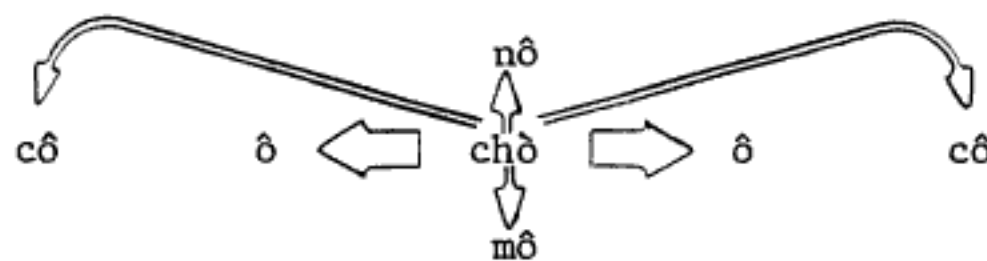
The N$_{sd}$'s satisfy the criterion for nounhood by occurring in
_____Num + Clf: nô tê mà 'the one up there', ô tê g̈â 'that per-
son there', etc. However, here again we are really dealing with
underlying genitives [below 3.75]. ve may always be inserted
between a N$_{sd}$ and a Num + Clf, with no change of meaning: nô ve
tê mà 'the one up there' ("the one of up there").

The N$_{sd}$'s also occur before P$_n$'s, especially the locatives
ɔ̄, lo, kàʔ: hɛ-vàʔ ¦ cô kàʔ | cɔ̀ ve 'The boar is way over there',
mô lo | yàʔ e ve '(He) went down there', nô ɔ̄ | chê s̈ɔ̄ 'He's
still up there'. We find them as well before extentives of the
ma-class, where they may lose their spatial reference, retaining
only their demonstrative force: nô s̈ɨ 'as far as up there', ô ma
'that much', chɔ̀-ma-ô-ma 'I don't care how much' ("this much,
that much"). The N$_{sd}$'s may not be followed by the determiner chi,
though they do appear in compounds with such bound morphemes as
pá 'side' and thâ 'time' (mô-pá 'the side down there'; ô-thâ
'that time', etc.).

3.25 The determiner chi 'this'. This important word will be
dealt with in detail in the section on determined nuclei [3.5].
Here we are concerned simply with demonstrating its autonomy and
showing the criteria involved in setting it up as a one-member
subclass of noun.

chi may occur directly before a Num + Clf: chi s̈êʔ g̈â
'these three people', chi tê khɛ 'this animal'. Once more we may
freely insert ve after the chi to get overt genitives [3.75]:
chi ve s̈êʔ g̈â 'these three people' ("the three people of this").
chi may also constitute a ν all by itself (chi ¦ à-ma le 'What is
this?'), and may be followed by P$_n$'s (chi thàʔ | tâ yù mē Please
don't take this').

The most important of chi's idiosyncrasies is the fact that
it is the only autonomous, morphologically simple noun in Lahu
that may occur directly after any common noun:[12] chɔ chi 'this
person', Thâi=mɨ̀-gɨ chi 'this Thailand (of ours)', yàʔ-ni chi

3.25

'this day, today, this day that is today'. chi also combines
with extentive nouns of the ma, má-ɛ̀, and qhe classes (chi ma
'this much', chi má-ɛ̀ 'only this much', chi qhe 'like this'), and
may appear directly before a reduplicated V_{adj} in relative
clauses: [chi chu-chu ve] chɔ 'such a fat person' [below 4.423].
$$N_{rh}$$

Semantically, chi and the N_{sd}'s may be grouped together under the
rubric of deictic morphemes: words whose referents change accord-
ing to the speaker's viewpoint of the moment.

3.3 Compound nouns in ordinary nominal nuclei. Lahu morphemes
are one syllable long in the overwhelming majority of cases.
When confronted with a polysyllabic string whose most important
component seems to be a nominal morpheme, the analyst has only
two likely alternatives to consider: either the string is a syn-
tactic construction consisting of more than one word, or it is a
noun-compound. In most cases there is little difficulty in com-
ing to a decision one way or the other; yet some construction-
types[13] are of an intermediate nature, such that they can only be
pigeonholed by arbitrary fiat based on esthetic considerations or
practical convenience.[14] There is nothing surprising about this,
nor is the problem unique to Lahu. 'Morphological compounds' and
'syntactic constructions' are situated along an axis of produc-
tivity-of-combination which is more like a continuum than a
series of discrete compartments. The more freely elements may
combine with other morphemes, the more independent they are of
one another, and the greater the advantage in calling the combi-
nations separate words. The more restricted the possibilities of
combination, the greater the boundedness or mutual dependency of
the components, and the more reasonable it is to interpret the
string as a single, compound word. Thus we consider particles
(P_n's or P_u's) to be separate words from their N_h's; numerals to
be separate words from their classifiers, and both separate from
the N_h of their v_q; the determiner chi, extentive nouns, and

possessor nuclei of genitive constructions to be separate words
from their N$_h$'s. All other polysyllabic structures in the NP are
compounds of one sort or another.[15]

All Lahu noun-compounds are autonomous. The vast majority
are binary, in the sense that they may be analyzed into two
immediate constituents. In the following discussion, 'compound'
may be taken to mean 'binary noun-compound' unless otherwise
stated. Ternary compounds are treated below, 3.37.

3.31 Compound orders and hyphenization. A <u>first-order</u> <u>compound</u>
is one whose elements are both single morphemes: <u>mɔ́ʔ-šā</u> 'monkey-
meat', <u>yɛ̀-qhɔ</u> 'in the house' ("house/interior"), <u>pê-ğɨ</u> 'honey'
("bee/fluid"), <u>ó-qō</u> 'head' ("head/hollow object"). They are
written with a single hyphen between the constituents. A <u>second-</u>
<u>order</u> <u>compound</u> has a first-order compound as one or both of its
constituents: <u>vɨ=tɔ́ʔ-ma</u> 'poisonous snake' ("snake/poison"),
<u>nī=ó-qō</u> 'glans penis' ("penis/head"), <u>šɨ́ʔ-qá=ku</u> 'dry branch'
("branch/dried thing"), <u>chɔ-hē=ma</u> 'a lying woman' ("liar/female"),
<u>á-pɔ̀ʔ=yɨ-ma</u> 'outer gown' ("shirt/long thing"), <u>šɨ́ʔ-cɛ̀=ɔ-hɔ́</u> 'under
a tree' ("tree/underpart"). These compounds are written with a
double hyphen "=" between the two major constituents, with single
hyphens between the other syllables. Similarly, <u>third-order</u>
<u>compounds</u> (i.e., those having a second-order compound as consti-
tuent) are written with a triple hyphen "≡" at the point where
the first cut is to be made, and double and single hyphens where
appropriate: <u>ŋâʔ=ɔ-phɨ≡ɔ-hɔ́</u> 'under a bird's nest' ("bird/nest/
underpart"), <u>vàʔ-šā=chu≡ɔ-cɨ</u> 'raw pork-fat' ("pig/meat/fat/raw
thing"). For each higher order we may add a hyphen at the point
of primary division. Thus, <u>ó-qā=qhê≡phɔ̀ʔ≡lő</u> 'a big mound of
buffalo-dung' ("buffalo/dung/mound/big thing"), <u>Lâhū≡qa-mɨ=khɔ́≡ɛ́</u>
'a little Lahu song' ("Lahu/sing/words/little thing").[16]

So far we have assumed that the hierarchy of constituency is
always clear and unambiguous. This is usually the case, though
there are several situations which present tricky problems. For

3.31

example, most trisyllabic compounds of the form A-B-C can easily
be shown to have the structure A=B-C or A-B=C on the basis of
simple distributional facts. However, sometimes both A-B and B-C
recur in other combinations, and the analyst must have recourse
to the finer points of the semantic interrelationships of the
components in order to come to a decision. Even more difficult
are those cases where neither A-B nor B-C otherwise occurs, and
where two or even all three of the syllables are bound mor-
phemes.[17] One might claim that any adjacent uniquely bound
syllables should be run together in writing. Yet we prefer to
insert hyphens even there, on the basis of our faith in the
ultimate monosyllabicity of the Tibeto-Burman morpheme. [It has
already happened many times that compounds I had thought to be
unanalyzable turned out to have meaningful parts on the basis of
more Lahu information or comparative data from other languages.]
It is undoubtedly true that this may sometimes falsify the native
speaker's synchronic feelings about the simplicity or compounded-
ness of a word, but since these feelings are highly subjective
and variable, I have chosen the safer course. However, pending
the discovery of the individual meanings of the syllables, it
would be unwise to try to indicate by different kinds of hyphens
the constituent structure of such words; in these cases, we use
single hyphens throughout (thus, a-lâ-mì-ší-jɔ 'rainbow').

The only places where we run syllables together are in loan-
words that are not easily segmentable even in the donor language,
like lâthâbâ 'government' (< Thai), lɔ̄lī 'lorry, truck, vehicle'
(< Eng.), kɔ̄mītī 'committee' (< Eng.); and in a few unsegmentable
proper names of native or uncertain origin: Lâhū 'Lahu', Pîchɔ̀   *
'Shan', Kɔ́lɔ́ 'northern Thai'.

* * *

In the commonest type of noun-compound, all the constituents
are themselves nominal morphemes, either autonomous or limited.[18]
These we call 'noun-noun compounds', $[N\text{-}N]_N$. It is convenient to

subdivide noun-noun compounds into those where the immediate
constituents are themselves autonomous ('locally autonomous
compounds') and those which contain a bound morpheme of one sort
or another.

3.32 <u>Locally autonomous (genitival) noun-noun compounds</u>. In
these compounds it is the rightmost constituent which is the
logical head of the construction: [First order] <u>yɨ</u> 'grass', <u>yὲ</u>
'house' / <u>yɨ-yὲ</u> 'thatched house'; <u>phɨ</u> 'dog', <u>qhê</u> 'excrement' /
<u>phɨ-qhê</u> 'dog-dung'; <u>bo</u> 'merit, grace' / <u>bo-yὲ</u> 'church'; <u>hε</u>
'field', <u>vàʔ</u> 'pig' / <u>hε-vàʔ</u> 'wild boar'; <u>šā</u> 'meat' / <u>vàʔ-šā</u>
'pork'. [Second order] <u>ɔ-ğâ</u> 'strength', <u>nâʔ-chɨ</u> 'medicine' /
<u>ɔ-ğâ=nâʔ-chɨ</u> 'a stimulant'; <u>ha-pa</u> 'moon, month', <u>lìʔ</u> 'sthg writ-
ten' / <u>ha-pa=lìʔ</u> 'calendar'; <u>šɨʔ</u> 'wood', <u>ɔ-cɨ</u> 'raw thing' / <u>šɨʔ=</u>
<u>ɔ-cɨ</u> 'green wood' ("a wooden raw-thing"); <u>vàʔ-šā=ɔ-cɨ</u> 'raw pork'
("a pork raw-thing"); <u>yâ-έ</u> 'baby', <u>ɔ-ha</u> 'image' / <u>yâ-έ=ɔ-ha</u>
'doll'; <u>phɨ-qhê</u> 'dog-dung', <u>làʔ-nɔ</u> 'finger' / <u>phɨ-qhê=làʔ-nɔ</u>
'index finger' (because of its shape and size).

The direction of modification in locally autonomous N-N
compounds is exactly analogous to what we find in genitive con-
structions, where the possessor nucleus is connected to the fol-
lowing head nucleus by the subordinator <u>ve</u>. The possessed
nucleus is the head, and the possessor nucleus stands in a modi-
fying relationship to it: <u>cà=pí-nêʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-phɨ</u> 'a starling's
nest'. In many instances there is no significant difference in
meaning, and it is equally natural and grammatical, to omit the
<u>ve</u>, yielding a locally autonomous N-N compound:[19] <u>cà=pí-nêʔ≡ɔ-</u>
<u>phɨ</u>. Similarly, <u>vàʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ó-qō</u> 'a pig's head' means about the same
as <u>vàʔ=ó-qō</u> 'a pig-head' (especially when considered as something
to eat); <u>ŋà</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-po</u> 'for my sake' ("the sake of me") is equi-
valent to <u>ŋà=ɔ-po</u>; the Num + Clf <u>tê</u> <u>ğâ</u> 'one person' may be sub-
ordinated genitivally to <u>khɔ</u> 'words, speech' (<u>tê</u> <u>ğâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>khɔ</u> 'one
person's words') or else juxtaposed directly to <u>khɔ</u> as a com-
pound (especially in the set expression <u>tê-ğâ=khɔ</u> ¦ <u>tê</u> <u>ğâ</u> ¦ <u>mâ</u> <u>na</u>

'Nobody listens to anybody else' ["One man's speech the other man does not heed"]; the nouns mû-šɔ́ 'morning' and mû-phə̂ʔ 'evening' are genitivally attributable to the Num + Clf tê khàw-vâ 'a/one meal' (< Shan) [mû-šɔ́ ve tê khàw-vâ 'the morning meal'], or may alternatively be joined directly to this head-noun by simple jux-taposition: mû-phə̂ʔ≡tê=khàw-vâ 'supper'. Compounds of this sort, where ve is insertible between the elements with no notable mean-ing-change, we may term genitival compounds.[20]

While it is not profitable to try to subclassify genitival compounds in detail, one particularly well-defined type is worthy of special mention: those where the last element is a prefixed noun referring to spatial location, e.g., ɔ́-qhɔ 'inside', ɔ́-qhɔ̂ 'above, over', ɔ́-hɔ́ 'underneath', ɔ́-bà 'outside', ɔ́-pâ 'nearby', ɔ́-thàʔ 'on top of', ɔ́-na 'upper'. Corresponding to such genitives as ta-qō ve ɔ́-qhɔ 'the inside of the box', hɛ ve ɔ́-bà 'the outside of the field', há-pɨ ve ɔ́-thàʔ 'the surface of the rock', it is always possible to use genitival compounds of roughly the same meaning: ta-qō=ɔ́-qhɔ 'inside the box', hɛ=ɔ́-bà 'outside the field', há-pɨ=ɔ́-thàʔ 'on top of the rock'.[21]

The Lahu genitive construction is recursive. A possessed nucleus may be preceded by an indefinite number of possessor nuclei, each lefter one modifying all those to the right: cà=pí-nê̂ʔ ve ɔ́-phɨ ve ɔ́-qhɔ 'the inside of the nest of the starling', Lâhū ve chɔ-mɔ̂ ve kâ-law 'anecdotes of the elders of the Lahu', mì-cɨ́ ve tàʔnòʔ ve càʔ-pò ve ɔ́-qō 'the nose ("head") of the plane of the police of the border'. Under favorable semantic circum-stances more than one of the subordinating ve's may be omitted, yielding higher-order genitival compounds: cà=pí-nê̂ʔ≡ɔ́-phɨ≡ɔ́-qhɔ 'inside a starling's nest', Lâhū=chɔ-mɔ̂≡kâ-law 'a traditional Lahu tale', mì-cɨ́=tàʔnòʔ≡càʔ-pò≡ɔ́-qō 'a Border Police plane-nose'.

Of special interest are locally autonomous compounds having a pronoun as first element. Sometimes these are unambiguously of the genitival type: nɔ̀ 'you, ɔ́-pa 'father' / nɔ̀ ve ɔ́-pa, nɔ̀=ɔ́-pa

'your father' [the still conciser n̄ɔ̀-pa is a specified prefixial
compound, below 3.342]; ŋà 'I', yâ 'child' / ŋà ve yâ, ŋà-yâ 'my
child'; šu 'others, remote 3rd person', khɔ̂ 'language' / šu ve
khɔ̂, šu-khɔ̂ 'foreign language'. Often, however, the semantic
relationship between a pronoun and a following common noun is
appositional rather than genitival. They both have the same
referent: šu + Kâlâ-phu 'white man, European' / šu=Kâlâ-phu 'they
who are Europeans; those white men'; šu + Pîchɔ̂ 'Shan'/ šu=Pîchɔ̂
'those Shans; they who are Shans'; šu=chɔ-ɨ̄ 'those big-shots'.
Usually an appositional pronominal compound will have a natural
genitival interpretation as well: ŋà 'I', mɔ́ 'teacher' / ŋà-mɔ́
'I who am teacher' or 'my teacher'; yɔ̂ 'he', qhâʔ-šɛ 'headman' /
yɔ̂=qhâʔ-šɛ 'he who is headman' or 'his headman'; ŋà-hɨ 'we',
Lâhū-yâ 'Lahu people' / ŋà-hɨ=Lâhū-yâ 'we Lahu' or 'our Lahu';
šu + ašɔ́yàʔ 'government' / šu-ašɔ́yàʔ 'those in the government,
they the government' or 'other people's government, the govern-
ment of other countries'; yɔ̂ + ɔ́-qā=hɔ́≡pā 'buffalo-herder'[22] /
yɔ̂=ɔ́-qā=hɔ́≡pā 'he who is a buffalo-herder' or 'his buffalo-herder'.

Two pronoun-compounds must be mentioned separately. Both of
the third person pronouns, šu and yɔ̂, may be combined into šu-yɔ̂
'others; other people'. Similarly, the interrogative a-šu 'who'
combines with yɔ̂ to give the indefinite or distributive pronoun
a-šu=yɔ̂ 'each one, everybody'. a-šu=yɔ̂ appears mostly in posses-
sor nuclei of genitive constructions (a-šu=yɔ̂ ve tɔ̂-khɔ̂ 'every-
body's advice; the advice given by each person in turn'), though
it is sometimes found alone in a ν: a-šu=yɔ̂ | hɘʔ lɔ̀ʔ hɘʔ lɔ̀ʔ te
a tɛ̀ te ve yɔ̀ 'I'll try to see that everybody gets enough'.
[Compounds involving pronouns plus bound morphemes are treated
below, 3.335; 3.342.]

3.33 Compounds containing a bound constituent. Most N-N com-
pounds have at least one constituent that is not a free morpheme.
Sometimes the meanings of the bound elements are readily apparent;
often they are only dimly or vaguely definable; and in a fair

3.33

number of cases no meaning can reasonably be assigned at all on
the basis of the data currently available. In the following sec-
tions we discuss the various subtypes of bound nominal morphemes
(B$_n$'s) in rough order of ascending interest.

3.331 <u>Loan-syllables</u>. A small percentage of polysyllabic loan-
words are not readily segmentable even in the donor language.
These are written with run-together syllables [above 3.31]: <u>s̄alà?</u>
'teacher' (< Shan < Bs < Pali), <u>nîkhô</u> 'tribal resettlement cen-
ter' (< Thai), <u>úpamā</u> 'example' (< Shan < Bs < Pali), <u>Yúdà?-chɔ</u>
'Jew' (< missionary Latin), <u>Hēlašà?</u> 'Greece' (< missionary
Greek), <u>kɔmītī</u> 'committee' (< Eng.), <u>tà?nò?</u> 'police' (< Thai
<u>tamrùad</u>, ult. < Khmer; cf. Thai <u>trùad</u> 'check, examine'), etc.
Most loanwords are segmentable in the donor language, but not by
the ordinary Lahu speaker: <u>hɔ́-khâ</u> 'king' (< Shan "palace's gold-
en one"); <u>ú-pə̄(n)</u> 'govern, rule' (< Shan "cover-distinguish",
first syll. < Bs <u>?up</u> 'cover'); <u>lâthâ-ví</u> 'airplane, flying-
machine' (<u>lâthâ-</u> < Shan < Bs <u>rəthâ</u> 'cart'; <u>-ví</u> < Shan 'to fly').
A certain number of these loanwords are segmentable by the aver-
age Lahu, either because the donor language is so familiar or
because more than one compound containing a given morpheme has
been borrowed: <u>tâ-vâ</u> 'all day', <u>tâ-khɨ̂</u> 'all night' (< Shan);
<u>Khɨ̀?-yâ</u> 'Christian', <u>Khɨ̀?-šamâ?</u> 'Christmas', <u>Yēšû?-Khɨ̀?</u> 'Jesus
Christ' (< Eng.); <u>Cê-mày</u> 'Chiengmai', <u>Cê-hāy</u> 'Chiengrai', <u>Cê-dāw</u>
'Chiengdao' (< N. Thai <u>chieŋ</u> 'town'); <u>mà?-kê=šī</u> 'tamarind', <u>mà?-</u>
<u>ŋɔ́?=šī</u> 'rambutan', <u>mà?-cɔ̂?=šī</u> 'Mandarin orange', <u>mà?-pāw</u> 'coco-
nut', <u>mà?-phà</u> 'lime', <u>mà?-mò</u> 'betel-nut', etc. (< Shan/Thai <u>ma?</u>
< *<u>hmaak</u> 'fruit').

There is a strong tendency to read meanings into incompre-
hensible foreign syllables. Such recent folk-etymologies in-
clude: <u>cà?-tɔ̄</u> 'tractor' (< Eng., 1st. syll. identified with <u>cà?</u>
'to push'); <u>šú-kâ?lê?</u> 'cigarette' (< Eng., 1st. syll. identified
with <u>šú</u> 'tobacco'); <u>mà?-cú=šī</u> 'navel orange' (conflation of <u>mà?-</u>
<u>cɔ̂?=šī</u> 'Mandarin orange' with native <u>cú</u> 'nipple'); <u>hɔ=šá-phɔ̀</u>

'steamboat' (orig. borrowed as hɔ̂-ša-phɔ̂ < Shan hə 'boat' [cf. Thai rya] + Bs saŋ-bhaw 'steamboat', remodelled under influence of native Lahu hɔ 'boat' and šá 'air, steam').

3.332 Bound variants of free morphemes. In perhaps a dozen cases, a free morpheme assumes a different tone in certain compounds: hɛ 'field', but hɛ́-g̈âʔ 'jungle chicken' ("field-fowl"); khɨ 'foot', but khɨ́-dɔ 'socks'.[23]

3.333 Morphans. By this term we mean 'orphan morphs' that only occur in one or two compounds, and to which it is usually impossible to assign any meaning distinct from that of the compound as a whole. Lahu abounds in these hapless entities. In a great many cases the morphans occur in names of plants and animals, which often run to several syllables:[24] cɨ̀-g̈ɨ̀ʔ-lɨ̀ʔ 'horned brown fish-owl', khɨ́-yɨ̀ 'great sambar deer', pā-pā-qú-ti-ni 'dragonfly', a-gɔ̂-a-lí-pɛ̄ ∿ a-g̈ù-na-gá-pɛ̄ 'spider' (cf. ɔ̂-pɛ̄ 'web'), jû-lí-qō 'the lesser bee-eater', ji-bɔ 'wild turmeric', na-qú=cɛ̀ 'banyan', etc. Some other obscure compounds are of religious or mythic import: g̈ɨ̈-ša 'Great Spirit, God'; nâʔ-chɨ 'medicine, potion, efficacious substance'; a-lâ-mɨ̀-šɨ́-jɔ 'rainbow'.[25] For some of the remaining morphans, one can offer fairly plausible guesses as to the meaning. In mû-yɛ̀ 'rain', -yɛ̀ clearly means 'water', since mû- is 'sky, heaven'. In í-kâʔ 'water' and í-šɨ̄ 'fruit', the first syllable must also mean 'water, juice', especially in view of the Chinese compound shoei-guoo 水果 'fruit' ("water-berry/nut/round edible object"). In g̈û-tu=šɨ̄ 'navel', g̈û- means 'belly' and -šɨ̄ means 'round object', so -tu- must itself mean 'navel'. In làʔ-nɔ=jɨ 'middle finger' and khɨ-nɔ=jɨ 'middle toe', -jɨ might mean 'middle' or 'long' (cf. yɨ̀ 'long'), or something entirely unexpected like 'auspicious' or 'malevolent' or even 'urine' (also pronounced jɨ; cf. phɨ-qhɛ̂=làʔ-nɔ 'index finger', lit. "dog-turd finger"). The second syllable in qhâʔ-šɛ 'village headman' (qhâʔ 'village') may or may not be identifiable with the homophonous syllables in

3.332; 3.333

là?-šɛ 'hand' and khɨ-šɛ 'foot' and/or the verb šɛ 'lead' (as
the hands and feet lead the body, so does the headman lead the
village?). In mû-lɔ̂?=qɔ 'daytime; noontime', perhaps -lɔ̂?- is
to be identified with the V$_{adj}$ lɔ̂? 'enough, plenty' ("sky-plen-
teous", the time when there is enough light). In yà?-qɔ 'road',
maybe the first syllable is the same morpheme as the verb yà?
'descend'. The second syllable of á-nâ?=qā̄ 'crow' is undoubted-
ly the same as the noun nâ? 'black'. Examples of these more or
less speculative etymologies may be multiplied at will. There
remains a residue of more hermetic compounds containing sylla-
bles which do not seem to recur in other combinations, and for
which there is no reliable clue to the meaning: pa-tɔ 'reason,
cause', g̈û-šɨ̄ 'before, in front of', fɨ-kô?-ni 'orphan deprived
of both parents', etc. Some of these hapax legomena will prob-
ably never be relatable to anything else, but many others will
eventually be elucidated by comparisons with related languages
and investigations into the archaic Lahu liturgical vocabulary.
3.334 <u>Noun-formatives: recurrent bound morphemes with elusive
meanings</u>. Quite different from the morphans in flavor are what
we call 'noun-formatives': bound morphemes which occur as the
last syllable in large numbers of compounds, but which have no
individual meaning, or at best only a very vague one.[26] A few
of these may once have had a specific morphological function;
but one suspects that most of them arose simply to give greater
phonological weight to compounds, as Lahu found itself turning
from a monosyllabic to a polysyllabic language, under the pres-
sure of a growing homophony problem due to sound-change. The
following are some of the more frequently encountered formatives.
(1) -ma: ni-ma 'heart', ša-ma 'maize', g̈à?-ma 'driving-comb of
a loom', ɔ=tɔ̂?-ma 'poison', mû-nɔ=ma 'sky, heaven', jù-ma 'cow-
rie shell', ɔ=ló-ma 'sthg big; the major part', á-pò?=yɨ-ma
'long tunic', ŋâ=dê-ma 'catfish', yɨ=hɔ́-ma 'lemon grass', jà?=
nù-ma 'kind of odoriferous green plant', cɔ=sɛ̄-ma 'mythical rep-

tile', etc. This -ma must originally have been some sort of
nominalizer. Among the above examples, g̈à? 'drive', tɔ̂? 'be un-
willing to eat', dê 'sting', yɨ 'long', hɔ́ 'be fragrant', and nù
'stink' are all verbs. [Though this abstract -ma occasionally
participates in the formation of new compounds (hɔ́ 'fragrant' is
a loanword from Shan), it must be sharply distinguished from a
genuinely productive and meaningful suffix -ma, that occurs with
the meaning 'female' after N-V compounds (below 3.36), chɔ-hē=ma
'a lying woman', chɔ-mɔ̂=ma 'old woman', mɔ̂-hɔ̂=ma 'saleswoman',
etc., and in other compounds referring specifically to women:
Kɔ́lɔ́-ma 'northern Thai woman', Kâlâ-phu=ma 'white woman', ɔ̂-mî=ma
'wife', ɔ̂-s̆ɛ̄=ma 'a woman's body', etc.[27]] (2) -pa: ha-pa 'moon;
month', ɔ̂-ne=pa 'gristle', g̈ò?-pa 'wall', etc. This meaningless
formative is much rarer than -ma in Lahu, occurring in only a
handful of words. Both -pa and -ma have a long history in Tibeto-
Burman,[28] though even in Classical Tibetan they functioned more
like sporadic derivational morphemes than like markers of an
obligatory inflectional category of gender. (3) -pɨ: qhɛ̂-qhɔ=pɨ
'buttocks', thú-pɨ 'sack', ɔ̂-dî=pɨ 'knot', ni-ma=pɨ 'heart', nā=
qā-pɨ 'forehead', há-pɨ 'stone', là?-qá=pɨ 'shoulder', là?-chɨ̂?=
pɨ 'fist'. We recognize a variant under the very-low tone in pù-
cɨ=pɨ̄ 'hip'. This is one of the formatives to which a fairly
definite meaning may be assigned: 'smoothly rounded object'. It
is marginally productive in that it occurs after an occasional
foreign root (thú- 'sack' < Shan; cf. Thai thǔŋ). (4) -qā: ɔ́-qā
'water buffalo', á-nâ?=qā 'crow', pù-lú=qā 'butterfly', pɛ̄-cɨ=qā
'slaty-headed parakeet', ɔ̂-phu=qā 'male of the species (of cer-
tain birds and quadrupeds)'. This formative occurs mostly in
animal names, and is perhaps to be related to the verb qā 'be
dumb, mute' (i.e., incapable of human speech). (5) -qɔ: yà?-qɔ
'road', mû-lɔ̂?=qɔ 'noon; daytime', là?-tɔ=qɔ 'palm of the hand',
khɨ-tɔ=qɔ 'sole of the foot', mɔ̂?-qɔ 'mouth'. The meaning here
possibly involves the idea of enclosing, as a wrapper or recep-
tacle.

Among the many formatives which may be suspected of once having had a definite meaning, but whose significance is now totally obscure, we may mention: (6) -ni: cɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄=ni 'waist', kɨ̄-ni 'sweat', pa-pa-qú-ti=ni 'dragonfly', fɨ̄-kôʔ=ni 'orphan deprived of both parents'. [This formative has nothing to do with the homophonous morpheme meaning 'day' (á-ni 'yesterday', yàʔ-ni 'today'), though perhaps there is some connection with ni ∿ ní 'red; naked' (Lâhū-ní 'Red Lahu', ɔ̂-qu=ni 'nakedness', g̈âʔ-qú=ni 'featherless chicken'). An orphan is, as it were, naked in the world, etc.   (7) -têʔ: ɔ̂=g̈ù-têʔ 'intestine', nɪ̄-u=têʔ 'testicle'. (8) -pɔ: nā-pɔ 'ear', ɔ̂-cɔ=pɔ 'marrow'. (9) -cwi: làʔ-ŋɛ̄=cwi 'elbow', á-cè=cwi 'sparrowhawk'.

In the category of noun-formatives belongs one prefix, á-, which occurs before a good number of bound-nominal or verbal roots: á-cè 'hawk', á-chû 'thorn', á-chèʔ 'goat', á-tà 'stick', á-thɔ 'machete', á-thèʔ 'small knife', á-pòʔ 'shirt', á-phèʔ 'pepper, chili', á-thâ 'jewsharp', á-lèʔ 'salt', etc. (In this list, thâ 'tap gently' and lèʔ 'lick' are verb-roots, while the rest are apparently nominal.) á- is to be distinguished from the kinship prefix a- [below 3.335], and from the much more productive prefix ɔ̂- [below 3.34].[29]

Notice that in non-prefixial trisyllabic compounds whose second syllable is a bound root-morpheme and whose last syllable is a noun-formative, we make the primary constituent break before the latter: làʔ-qá=pɨ 'shoulder', mû-lɔ̂ʔ=qɔ 'noontime', làʔ-ŋɛ̄= cwi 'elbow'. We adopt this policy even in cases where the second syllable recurs in other compounds together with the same formative: làʔ-tɔ=qɔ 'palm of hand', khɨ-tɔ=qɔ 'sole of foot'. The formative, being highly abstract in meaning, is more loosely connected to the rest of the compound than the middle syllable is. In fact it is sometimes only optional [below 'Pleonastic syllables in compounds', 3.35]. In prefixial trisyllabic compounds, the primary break is after the first syllable: ɔ̂=g̈ù-têʔ 'intestine', vàʔ=g̈ù-têʔ 'pig's intestine' [below 3.343].

3.335 <u>Recurrent bound morphemes with clear-cut meanings</u>. B_n's
of this type are conveniently subdivided into two categories:

* (1) <u>Bound root-morphemes</u>. Some radical B_n's occur in large num-
bers of compounds. Thus, <u>là?-</u> 'hand, arm' → <u>là?-qá=pɨ</u> 'shoul-
der', <u>là?-ŋɛ̄=cwi</u> 'elbow', <u>là?-chɨ̄?=pɨ</u> 'fist', <u>là?-tɔ=qɔ</u> 'palm',
<u>là?-nɔ</u> 'finger', <u>là?-šɛ</u> 'hand, arm', <u>là?-šɛ̄=qú</u> 'fingernail',
etc.; <u>mû-</u> 'sky' → <u>mû-tí=pwè?</u> 'lightning', <u>mû-tɔ̄</u> 'thunder', <u>mû-ni</u>
'sun', <u>mû-nê</u> 'sky spirit', <u>mû-nɔ=ma</u> 'vault of heaven', <u>mû-phe</u>
'sky, ceiling, upper regions', <u>mû-mɪ</u> 'country, world' ("heaven
and earth"), <u>mû-hɔ</u> 'wind', <u>mû-lɔ̂?=qɔ</u> 'noon, daytime', etc.; <u>ú-</u> ∿
<u>û-</u> ∿ <u>ó-</u> 'head; top part' → <u>ó-qō</u> 'head', <u>ú-gê</u> 'pillow', <u>ú-cɨ̄</u> 'hat',
<u>û-ní</u> 'turban', <u>ú(-nɔ-)-nê?</u>[30] 'brains', <u>ú-ğâ</u> 'fontenelle', etc.;
<u>há-</u> 'stone, rock' → <u>há-qō</u> 'cave', <u>há-de</u> 'rocky ground', <u>há-jɔ̂?=le</u>
'rocky ridge', <u>há-mɔ̂?</u> 'rock ape', <u>há-vɨ̀</u> 'rock snake', <u>há-pɨ</u>
'stone, rock', etc. Other radical B_n's have perfectly clear
meanings although they occur in only two or three compounds: <u>ni-</u>
'heart, thoracic region' → <u>ni-ma</u> 'heart', <u>ni-kû</u> 'rib', <u>ni-qhâ</u>
'viewpoint, opinion' ("heart's-path"); <u>-nɔ</u> 'digit' → <u>là?-nɔ</u> 'fin-
ger', <u>khɨ-nɔ</u> 'toe'; <u>-phô</u> 'bladder-like receptacle' → <u>cú-phô</u>
'udder', <u>ɔ-jɨ̄=phô</u> 'urinary bladder', <u>pê-phô</u> 'kind of bees' nest';
<u>ğô-</u> ∿ <u>ğû-</u> ∿ <u>ğù-</u> 'belly' → <u>ğô-pè</u> 'belly', <u>ğû-tu=câ?</u> 'umbilical
cord', <u>ɔ=ğù-tê?</u> 'intestine'. (2) <u>Bound peripheral morphemes</u>.
In this category belong several B_n's which may productively be
attached to head-nouns of certain types. The least restricted of
these is the morpheme <u>-ló</u> ∿ <u>-lón</u>, a Shan borrowing meaning
'great, big, large'. It is freely postposable to common nouns:
<u>yè-ló</u> 'big house', <u>và?-ló</u> 'great big pig', <u>vên-ló</u> 'big town,
city', <u>á-pè=ló</u> 'goose' ("big duck"), <u>khɨ-nɔ̂?=ló</u> 'large shoes',
<u>ɔ=ğù-tê?≡ló</u> 'large intestine'. [Compounds of opposite, diminu-
tive meaning are freely formed with the prefixable morpheme <u>-ɛ́</u>:
<u>ɔ-ɛ́</u> 'small thing; baby', <u>và?-ɛ́</u> 'piglet', <u>ɔ=ğù-tê?≡ɛ́</u> 'small in-
testine', <u>á-pè=ló≡ɛ́</u> 'gosling' ("little big-duck")[31] [below 3.342].
There is no prefixed form *<u>ɔ-ló</u>.]

3.335

Several prefixes with clear-cut functions occur in names and kinship terms. Most traditional Lahu names for men begin with the prefix cà-: Cà-lɔ̄, Cà-phɨ, Cà-vàʔ, etc. Most female names begin with na-: Na-dàʔ, Na-phɨ, Na-vàʔ, etc. Vocatives of kinship terms are formed with the prefix a-: a-ví=pā 'elder brother!', a-e 'mother!', a-pū 'grandfather!' The word a-pi 'grandmother' always has the a- prefix, whether or not it is vocative. [This kin-prefix is extremely widespread in Tibeto-Burman, and occurs also in Chinese; it must certainly be reconstructed for Proto Sino-Tibetan.]

Lahu nouns, like those of the other Sino-Tibetan languages, are not obligatorily marked for plurality whenever more than one is meant. There exists, however, a B_n -hɨ which forms compounds of plural meaning with certain kinds of autonomous nouns,[32] especially with the three personal pronouns: ŋà-hɨ 'we', nɔ̀-hɨ 'you (pl.)', yɔ̂-hɨ 'they'. [The remote 3rd person pronoun šu does not combine with hɨ.] ŋà-hɨ may be taken in either an inclusive or an exclusive sense. Inclusive 'we' may unambiguously be expressed by the curious compound ŋà-nɔ̂=hɨ "I-you + plural". 'You' may here refer to one or more persons. If 'me and you-plural' is specifically meant, ŋà lɛ nɔ̂-hɨ "I and you-plural" is used. [For the conjunctive particle lɛ, see below 3.92g.] -hɨ also occurs with the interrogative a-šu 'who' (a-šu=hɨ 'who all?; which ones?'); with proper names (Cà-lɔ̂=hɨ 'Jalaw and his friends, Jalaw's group, Jalaw and his family, etc.'); and, more sparingly, with common nouns referring to living things: šala-ḡun=hɨ 'doctors, the medical profession', khɨ-yɨ=hɨ 'sambar deer (in general)', khɨ-yɨ̄ chɨ-pí=qwɛ̀ʔ=hɨ 'sambar deer and barking-deer'. It may even occur after the Num + Clf láy cɔ̀ 'all sorts of things' (< Shan), in the sense of 'et cetera': Pîchɔ̂-hɨ Kɔ̂lɔ̂-hɨ láy-cɔ̀=hɨ 'the Shans, the northern Thai, and so forth'.

With the three personal pronouns only, the B_n =hɨ-mà ∿ =hɨ-nɛ̀ forms compounds indicating exactly two people: ŋà=hɨ-mà 'we

two, the two of us, both of us', n<u>ɔ</u>=h<u>ɨ</u>-mà 'you two, the two of
you, both of you', y<u>ɔ</u>=h<u>ɨ</u>-mà 'they two, the two of them, both of
them'. =h<u>ɨ</u>-mà is often used resumptively after the individual
pronouns naming the two people have been uttered: n<u>ɔ</u>-lɛ-ŋ<u>à</u>=h<u>ɨ</u>-mà
'you and I: the two of us' (cf. French 'toi et moi nous deux').
If 'you and the two of us' is meant, the intonation is different:
n<u>ɔ</u> l<u>ɛ</u> ŋ<u>à</u>=h<u>ɨ</u>-mà.

Falling under the rubric of 'recurrent bound morphemes with
clear-cut meanings' are <u>prefixable</u> <u>morphemes.</u> However, these
constitute such an important and ramified topic that they are
treated separately in the following section.

3.34 Prefixable morphemes (M$_{pfx}$) and prefixial compounds (C$_{pfx}$).

A prefixable morpheme (M$_{pfx}$) is defined as one that may take the
<u>ɔ</u>- prefix. <u>ɔ</u>- is far and away the most important prefix in Lahu.
Beside it such restricted prefixes as <u>á</u>-, <u>a</u>-, <u>cà</u>-, and <u>na</u>- pale
into insignificance. <u>ɔ</u>- occurs before literally hundreds of
roots, including many integrated loanwords from Shan and Burmese.
It is the Lahu functional equivalent (and often the direct phono-
logical cognate) of a prefix of vague meaning that appears all
over Tibeto-Burman, represented by Burmese ʔə-, Bisu <u>aŋ</u>- ∿ <u>ak</u>-,
Jinghpaw ʔ<u>ə</u>-, Written Tibetan <u>h</u>-, etc.[33] This morpheme may orig-
inally have been a nominalizer of verb-roots, as well as a func-
tor which connected nouns to preceding nouns in a pronominal-
possessed relationship: 'mouse=his-tail' > 'mouse's tail'.[34] In
modern Lahu it serves to convert both nominal and verbal roots
into autonomous nouns, which may or may not then be compounded
with preceding, 'specifying' nouns (N$_{sp}$); or in some cases simply
to give more phonological weight to roots which are already
autonomous nouns.

Prefixable morphemes may participate in two basic types of
compounds: (1) <u>general</u> <u>prefixial</u> <u>compounds</u> (C$_{gpfx}$), where the
M$_{pfx}$ follows <u>ɔ</u>-, but no further noun precedes the <u>ɔ</u> + M$_{pfx}$; and

3.34

(2) <u>specified</u> <u>prefixial</u> <u>compounds</u> (C$_{spfx}$), where the M$_{pfx}$, with or without the ɔ̄- prefix, is preceded by a specifying noun: N$_{sp}$ + [ɔ̄ + M$_{pfx}$] , or N$_{sp}$ + M$_{pfx}$. Thus the M$_{pfx}$ <u>-vî</u> 'blade' occurs in compounds like ɔ̄-vî 'blade' (C$_{gpfx}$), á-thɔ=ɔ̄-vî 'the knife's blade' (C$_{spfx}$), and á-thɔ=vî 'knife-blade' (C$_{spfx}$).

<u>3.341 Subclasses of prefixable morphemes</u>. Prefixable morphemes are of several distributional types:

(a) <u>Intrinsically prefixed M$_{pfx}$'s</u>. A tiny minority of roots occur nowhere else in the language except after ɔ̄-. They are never found alone in a NP, and are never in constituency with a directly preceding nominal morpheme other than the prefix: ɔ̄-chɔ̂ 'friend', ɔ̄-cɨ̄ 'raw thing', and perhaps a few others. It seems certain that in older stages of the language no native root was thus indissolubly welded to the prefix. Preliminary investigations of the archaic ritual language, proverbs, etc., show ɔ̄- to have once been much less widespread than in modern Lahu. Thus an unprefixed morpheme chɔ̂ 'friend' appears in two C$_{spfx}$'s in the proverb: nɛ-dà? qo ¦ yâ-chɔ̂ | tâ mɨ̄ ; yâ-dà? qo ¦ yɛ̀-chɔ̂ | tâ mɨ̄ 'A fair maid should not make friends with a youth; a fair youth should not make friends with a bear' ("A fair maid should not be a youth-friend; a fair youth should not be a bear-friend").

All remaining types of M$_{pfx}$'s occur both in general and specified prefixial compounds.

(b) <u>M$_{pfx}$'s that are autonomous nouns in their own right</u>. In a fair number of cases, the ɔ̄- is optional. The M$_{pfx}$ is a perfectly good N$_a$ all by itself, and the prefix is merely a bit of phonological ballast. Exs: má ∿ ɔ̄-má 'son-in-law' (má/ɔ̄-má chi mâ chɔ̂ 'This son-in-law [of mine] is no good'), bo ∿ ɔ̄-bo 'favor, grace, advantage' (g̈ɨ̄-ša ve bo/ɔ̄-bo pa-tɔ 'due to the grace of God'), jɔ̂-mɔ̂ ∿ ɔ̄=jɔ̂-mɔ̂ 'master, lord' (jɔ̂-mɔ̂/ɔ̄=jɔ̂-mɔ̂ thà? cû ve 'to follow a master').

3.341; 3.341a-b

In a few instances the presence or absence of the prefix makes a difference in the meaning. Exs: šā 'animal, game' vs. ɔ̄-šā 'meat' (chò kàʔ šā pɛ jâ 'There are plenty of animals here' / chò kàʔ ɔ̄-šā pɛ jâ 'There's plenty of meat here'); khɔ̂ 'language, speech' vs. ɔ̄-khɔ̂ 'noise, sound' (khɔ̂ ô-ve à-thòʔ-ma le 'What's that language?' or 'What's he talking about?' / ɔ̄-khɔ̂ ô-ve à-thòʔ-ma le 'What's that noise?').

(c) M_{pfx}'s that are (free) verb-roots. A large number of M_{pfx}'s are verbs which the prefix converts into nouns of corresponding meaning: u 'to hatch', ɔ̄-u 'egg'; qɔ̂ʔ 'be bent', ɔ̄-qɔ̂ʔ 'bent object, corner'; cā 'to sprout', ɔ̄-cā 'a sprout, a shoot'; cɛ 'to fork off, intersect', ɔ̄-cɛ 'a pair'; chu 'be fat', ɔ̄-chu 'fat, grease'; phôʔ 'to pile up', ɔ̄-phôʔ 'a heap'; mɛ 'to name', ɔ̄-mɛ 'a name'; mə 'grind to powder', ɔ̄-mə ~ ɔ̄-mə-ɛ̣ 'powder'; hêʔ 'be true, be the case', ɔ̄-hêʔ 'sign, augury, true omen'; ğâ 'overcome, win', ɔ̄-ğâ 'strength, power'; ğəʔ 'to shine', ɔ̄-ğəʔ 'luster'; lɛ 'come to an end', ɔ̄-lɛ 'end, extremity'; lɔ́ 'be left over', ɔ̄-lɔ́ 'excess, superfluity'.

If the verb is transitive, it will typically occur with its derived noun in cognate-object constructions: ɔ̄-u u ve 'hatch eggs', ɔ̄-cā cā ve 'sprout shoots', ɔ̄-cɔ cɔ ve 'go around in circles', ɔ̄-chɨ̂ʔ chɨ̂ʔ ve 'tie bundles', ɔ̄-thɨ̂ʔ thɨ̂ʔ ve 'wrap packages', ɔ̄-phôʔ phôʔ ve 'pile in heaps', ɔ̄-mɛ mɛ ve 'give a name to', etc.

[We do not consider prefixial compounds of this type to be 'deverbative' in the sense of section 3.36 below.]

(d) M_{pfx}'s that are also classifiers. Many M_{pfx}'s, including several of the most widely occurrent ones, are also used as numeral classifiers [below 3.42(6)]. Some (but not all) of the nouns counted by these 'prefixable classifiers' contain the same M_{pfx} as one of their constituents: šī 'round object' / 'Clf for spherical objects' → ɔ̄-šī tê šī 'one/a pellet, a round or spher-

3.341c-d

ical object', và-šī́ láy šī́ 'several hailstones', qhɔ nî šī́ 'two mountains'; câʔ 'string, cord' / 'Clf for extended or stringlike objects'→ ɔ-câʔ hí câʔ 'eight ropes', khɨ́-nôʔ=câʔ nî câʔ 'two shoelaces', yàʔ-qɔ tê câʔ 'one/a road'; cὲ 'plant' / 'Clf for plants' → ɔ-cὲ ŋâ cὲ 'five plants', šɨ́ʔ-cὲ láy cὲ 'several trees', chû-pɨ́ khɔ́ʔ cὲ 'six ginger-plants'; qàʔ 'sheaf' / 'Clf for sheaves' → ɔ-qàʔ ɔ̂ qàʔ 'four sheaves', cà-qàʔ tê qàʔ 'one/a sheaf of paddy'.

Some prefixable classifiers are also verbs. These versatile roots thus belong to three different form-classes: thî́ʔ 'to wrap', ɔ-thî́ʔ 'a package', šā̄-thî́ʔ nî thî́ʔ 'two packets of meat', šā̄-thî́ʔ nî thî́ʔ thî́ʔ ve 'wrap up two packets of meat'; chɨ́ʔ 'to tie up', ɔ-chɨ́ʔ 'a bundle', vɔ̀ʔ-qâ=chɨ́ʔ láy chɨ́ʔ 'several bundles of clothing', vɔ̀ʔ-qâ=chɨ́ʔ láy chɨ́ʔ chɨ́ʔ ve 'tie up several bundles of clothing'; phốʔ 'to pile up', ɔ-phốʔ 'a heap', cà-phốʔ qɔ̂ phốʔ 'nine heaps of paddy', cà-phốʔ qɔ̂ phốʔ phốʔ ve 'pile up nine heaps of paddy'.

(e) Ordinary M_pfx's: M_pfx's that are B_n's. The great majority of M_pfx's are neither verbs nor classifiers, but simply bound nominal morphemes that occur both after ɔ- and after specifying nouns: -qá 'branch', ɔ-qá 'id.', šɨ́ʔ-qá 'tree-branch'; -qú 'outer covering', ɔ-qú 'id.', šɨ́ʔ-qú 'bark of a tree'; -qō 'hollow object, hole', ɔ-qō 'id.', šɨ́ʔ-qō 'hollow tree'; -gɨ 'skin', ɔ-gɨ 'id.', lâ-gɨ 'tiger-skin'; -cɨ 'juice', ɔ-cɨ 'id.', šɨ́ʔ-cɨ 'sap of tree'; -cwêʔ 'ball, patty', ɔ-cwêʔ 'id.', šā-cwêʔ 'meatball'; -de 'broad expanse', ɔ-de 'id.', šɨ́ʔ-de 'forest'; -ne 'fiber', ɔ-ne 'id.', và-ne 'bamboo fiber'; -pā 'male', ɔ-pā 'id.', yâ-pā 'male child, son'; -phɨ 'receptacle', ɔ-phɨ 'id.', ŋâʔ-phɨ 'bird's nest'; -phû 'price, cost', ɔ-phû 'id.', ha-pa=phû 'monthly wages'; -ma 'female', ɔ-ma 'id.', Lâhū-ma 'Lahu woman'; -mu 'body-hair', ɔ-mu 'id.', ŋâʔ-mu 'feather'; -gɨ 'liquid', ɔ-gɨ 'id.', pê̂-gɨ 'honey', etc.

3.341e

Some M$_{pfx}$'s which are 'ordinary' according to the above criteria must still be further distinguished on the basis of idiosyncratic distributional and semantic properties. (1) Un-possessable M$_{pfx}$'s may never occur as the head of a genitival construction, even when prefixed. Although grammatically they are definitely nouns, their meanings have to do with qualities, which makes them unfitted to serve in all typical nominal capac-ities: -šɨ 'sthg new', ɔ̄-šɨ 'id.', yɛ̀-šɨ ~ yɛ̀=ɔ̄-šɨ 'a new house', but *yɛ̀ ve ɔ̄-šɨ 'the house's newness' is impossible; -pī 'sthg old', ɔ̄-pī 'id.', cɔ̀-pī ~ cɔ̀=ɔ̄-pī 'an old bridge', but not *cɔ̀ ve ɔ̄-pī; ɔ̄-cɨ 'sthg raw', và?-ša=ɔ̄-cɨ 'raw pork', but not *và?-šā ve ɔ̄-cɨ.[35] Note that despite their quasi-adjectival

* nature these unpossessable M$_{pfx}$'s are still the heads of their compounds. yɛ̀=ɔ̄-šɨ is a kind of new thing, not a kind of house. A more faithful English gloss would be 'domiciliary novelty'. và?-šā=ɔ̄-cɨ is more 'porcine rawness' than 'raw pork'. (2) M$_{pfx}$'s **of spatial reference** like -hɔ́ 'underside', =pâ-nê 'near-ness', -bà 'outside' are juxtaposable to previous nominal material with particular freedom, and may in fact occur in final position in special nominal nuclei. They are treated below in a separate section [3.344].

* (f) Quasi-M$_{pfx}$'s. We arbitrarily use this term to designate those few morphemes that behave like M$_{pfx}$'s insofar as they may be preceded by specifying nouns, but which take other prefixes than ɔ̄-. Thus -tà 'stick' occurs in specified compounds like šɨ?-tà 'stick of wood', jû-fɨ=tà 'walking stick', but is only precedable by á-, not by ɔ̄-: á-tà 'stick'. (This morpheme hap-pens to be a classifier as well: á-tà šɨ tà 'seven sticks'.) Similarly -chû 'thorn', šɨ?-chû 'splinter', but only á-chû or í-chû, not *ɔ̄-chû.

3.342 **Specified prefixial compounds.** As indicated above, a general prefixial compound (C$_{gpfx}$) consists of ɔ̄- plus the M$_{pfx}$, with no further preceding noun in the nucleus. A specified

3.341f; 3.342

prefixial compound (C$_{spfx}$) does have such a preceding nominal morpheme, called the 'specifying noun' (N$_{sp}$). The second element in the compound is the head. The head may be preceded by the prefix (e.g., nâʔ=ɔ̌-šĭ̄ 'the gun's bullet'), in which case the compound is at least second-order, since the head is already a C$_{gpfx}$; or the prefix may be absent (e.g., nâʔ-šĭ̄ 'a bullet' ("a gun-pellet")). Specified compounds of the former type we call 'free-headed', since the head may occur in a nominal nucleus with no preceding noun; those of the latter type are called 'bound-headed'.

There is an elusive but real difference in meaning between free- and bound-headed C$_{spfx}$'s. The free-headed ones are some-what more specific and definite in meaning (và ʔ=ɔ̌-šā 'the pig's flesh; the flesh of a pig'), while the bound-headed ones are vaguer and more general (và ʔ-šā 'pork').[36] Historically the older type of compound was undoubtedly the free-headed variety, where both constituents retained their autonomy. In the course of time the prefix came to be omittable, and the elements could fuse into a tighter unit. Generally speaking, most N$_{sp}$ + M$_{pfx}$ pairs may combine with or without an intervening prefix, but the following restrictions must be noted: (a) If the M$_{pfx}$ is 'intrinsically prefixed', the ɔ̌- may obviously not be omitted [see footnote 35]. (b) If the N$_{sp}$ is a bound morpheme (below), the ɔ̌- _must_ be omitted. Thus the B$_n$ há- 'rock' combines with the M$_{pfx}$ -qō 'hollow thing' to form há-qō 'cave', but *há=ɔ̌-qō is impossible.

It is interesting to think of the various N$_{sp}$'s that may precede a given M$_{pfx}$ as constituting a 'family'. Some M$_{pfx}$'s, by virtue of the generality of their semantic content, have very large specifying families with dozens of members. Thus, -g̈ĭ 'liquid' → ci-g̈ĭ 'vinegar', cī-g̈ĭ 'dew', cí-g̈ĭ 'saliva' [notice the tone-change], cú-g̈ĭ 'milk', cha-g̈ĭ 'Bartholin's fluid', jĭ-g̈ĭ * 'urine', nī-g̈ĭ 'semen', pê-g̈ĭ 'honey', mê ʔ-g̈ĭ 'tears', lâ-chĭ=g̈ĭ 'ocean', là-g̈ĭ 'tea', etc.; -câʔ 'string' → khĭ-nôʔ=câʔ 'shoe-

lace', <u>tá-pô?=câ?</u> 'strap of a bag', <u>tī-câ?</u> 'guitar-string', <u>pê-</u>
<u>hɔ̄=câ?</u> 'candle-wick', <u>ši-câ?</u> 'wire' ("gold/brass string"), <u>šo-câ?</u>
'chain' ("iron string"), <u>g̈û-tu=câ?</u> 'umbilical cord', <u>kɔ̂?-fây=câ?</u>
'lantern-wick', etc.; <u>-šī</u> 'spherical object' → <u>ɔ=lâ-šī</u> 'kidney',
<u>í-šī</u> 'fruit', <u>ó-qō=šī</u> 'head', <u>nâ?-šī</u> 'bullet', <u>nī-šī</u> 'testicle',
<u>ni-ma=šī</u> 'heart', <u>pɔ-lè=ní≡šī</u> 'tomato', <u>mê?-šī</u> 'eye', <u>g̈û-tu=šī</u>
'navel', <u>vâ-šī</u> 'hailstone', etc.; <u>-qú</u> 'outer covering' → <u>ɔ-g̈ɨ=qú</u>
'skin', <u>í-šī=qú</u> 'fruit-peel', <u>u-qú</u> 'eggshell', <u>khɨ-šɛ̄=qú</u> 'toe-
nail', <u>ša-ma=qú</u> 'cornhusk', <u>šɨ̌?-qú</u> 'tree-bark', etc.

A general prefixial compound is usually used in preference
to a specified one when the N$_{sp}$ is amply clear from the linguis-
tic or situational context. Thus in the sentence <u>šɨ̌?-cɛ̀</u> <u>chi</u> ¦
<u>ɔ-šī</u> │ <u>mâ</u> <u>dà?</u> 'This tree's fruit is no good' ("As for this tree,
the round objects are not good"), it is the C$_{gpfx}$ that we find.
To use the C$_{spfx}$ <u>í-šī</u> 'fruit' in this context would be as
strangely redundant to a Lahu's ears as "Je me suis lavé <u>mes</u>
mains" would be to a Frenchman. Similarly, in the sentence <u>nâ?</u>
<u>chi</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-šī</u> │ <u>mâ</u> <u>dà?</u> 'This gun's bullets are no good' ("As for this
gun, the round objects are no good"), it would be gilding the
lily to use the C$_{spfx}$ <u>nâ?-šī</u> 'bullet' instead of the C$_{gpfx}$.

C$_{spfx}$'s may be subclassified according to the subtype of
noun to which the N$_{sp}$ belongs. Sometimes the N$_{sp}$ is a B$_n$, as is
the case with all of the following members of the <u>-qō</u> ('hollow
object') family: <u>ó-</u> 'head' (<u>ó-qō</u> 'id.'), <u>cɛ̀-</u> 'drum' (<u>cɛ̀-qō</u>
'id.'), <u>co-lô?=</u> 'bell' (<u>co-lô?=qō</u> 'id.'), <u>ta-</u> 'box' (<u>ta-qō</u> 'id.'),
<u>há-</u> 'rock' (<u>há-qō</u> 'cave'). More often the N$_{sp}$ is autonomous,
usually a common noun, though other types of N$_a$'s also occur as
N$_{sp}$'s. Thus the determiner <u>chi</u> is the specifier in such C$_{spfx}$'s as
<u>chi-pá</u> 'this side', <u>chi-phâ</u> 'this fellow', <u>chi-phɔ̂</u> 'this direc-
tion', <u>chi-há</u> 'tonight'. <u>chi</u> may also occur as specifier before
all of the M$_{pfx}$'s of spatial reference [below 3.55]: <u>chi-hɔ̂</u>
'under this'; <u>chi=qhɔ̂?-nɔ̂</u> 'after this, behind this'; <u>chi-qhɔ</u> 'in-
side this', etc. Similarly, the spatial demonstratives (N$_{sd}$'s)

act as specifiers for M_{pfx}'s of locative meaning (chò-pá 'this
side here', cô-phô 'that area way over there', ô-hô 'under that',
etc.), as does the interrogative locative qhô 'where' (qhô-phô
'which direction'). The personal pronouns serve as N_{sp}'s to some
kinship terms that are M_{pfx}'s: ŋà-e 'my mother', nô-pa 'your
father', yô-pū 'his grandfather', ŋà=vî-pā 'my elder brother'.
[These expressions look very much like cases of the deletion of
genitive ve (below 3.75). They are true compounds, however,
because if ve is present the prefixed form of the kinship term
must be used: ŋà ve ô-e, nô ve ô-pa.]

3.343 Polysyllabic M_{pfx}'s. The prefix ô- occurs as the first
syllable in many trisyllabic compounds of the form ô + B + C.
These compounds are always to be segmented ô=B-C, whether or not
ô + B happens to form an autonomous unit. This is apparent when
a N_{sp} is substituted for the prefix. The N_{sp} is invariably less
closely related to the second syllable than it is to the second
and third syllables as a unit. (a) When ô + B is autonomous:
ô-khɨ 'leg', but ô=khɨ-qôʔ 'the whole leg, underside of the
knee', vàʔ=khɨ-qôʔ 'pig's shank'; ô-ni 'younger sibling', but
ô=ni-pā 'younger brother', yô=ni-pā 'his younger brother'; ô-qhâ
'line', but ô=qhâ-šɨ̄ 'trail, wake', lâ=qhâ-šɨ̄ 'tiger's trail';
ô-pâ 'nearby', but ô=pâ-nê 'id.', yɛ̂=pâ-nê 'near the house'.
(b) If ô + B never occurs alone, the situation is even more
clear-cut: ô=tôʔ-ma 'poison', vɨ̀=tôʔ-ma 'poisonous snake'; ô=g̈ù-
têʔ 'intestine', ŋâʔ=g̈ù-têʔ 'bird intestines'; ô=mú-dɔ 'sthg left
standing', ša-ma=mú-dɔ 'corn-stubble', šɨ̀ʔ=mú-dɔ 'tree-stump';
ô=g̈û-šɨ̄ 'in front of', mɛ̂ʔ=g̈û-šɨ̄ 'before one's eyes'.

3.344 M_{pfx}'s of spatial reference in the final position of
special nuclei. Almost all prefixial compounds are restricted
to the noun-head position in special nominal nuclei; that is,
before any determiner, Num + Clf, and/or extentive noun that may
also be present. Exceptions are an important group of nouns we

3.343; 3.344

have already mentioned in connection with genitival compounds
[above 3.32]: the C_{gpfx}'s of spatial location.[37] Just as these
extremely active words occur freely as possessed nuclei in geni-
tive constructions, so may they also freely follow the determiner
(yὲ chi ɔ-pâ 'near this house'), and/or a Num + Clf (chɔ [chi] nî
ğâ ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ 'behind [these] two people'), or an extentive noun
(qhâʔ chi hɨ-ὲ ɔ-bὰ 'outside such a small village'). In this
position the spatial noun is almost always in its general pre-
fixial form. The preceding material in the ν serves as its N_{sp}.
However, if all that precedes is the N_h + chi, the spatial noun
may optionally occur without the prefix: yὲ-chi=qhô ∿ yὲ chi
ɔ-qhô 'over this house'. In this case we make an exception to
our practice of never treating chi as an ordinary compound-con-
stituent, and connect it to the neighboring morphemes with
hyphens.

     Also sharing the property of occurrability late in special
nuclei is the noun ɔ-po 'sake': màʔ-yâ chi tê ğɨ ɔ-po 'for the
sake of this group of soldiers'.[38]

3.35 Pleonastic syllables in compounds: khɔ-yɨ and khɔ-ŋɛ. A
goodly number of Lahu compounds may optionally contain a syllable
whose function is not so much to amplify the meaning as to pro-
vide some additional phonological weight or stylistic dignity to
the word. Thus ó-qō is the normal word for head, and is perfect-
ly clear as it stands. Sometimes, however, the syllable -šī
'round object' is added for emphasis: ó-qō=šī. The Lahu them-
selves recognize this phenomenon, and call the fuller form khɔ-yɨ
("long word") and the shorter form khɔ-ŋɛ ("short word"). [The
words khɔ-yɨ and khɔ-ŋɛ are themselves compounds of the $[N + V]_n$
type. See next section.]

     The khɔ-yɨ may be classified on the basis of the nature of
the supplementary syllable. Often the supplement is a M_{pfx}:
ɔ-má ∿ ɔ=má-pā 'son-in-law', qhâʔ-šɛ ∿ qhâʔ-šɛ=pā 'headman',
mêʔ ∿ mêʔ-šī 'eye', há-pɨ ∿ há-pɨ=šī 'stone', ni-ma ∿ ni-ma=šī

3.35

'heart', mə̂ʔ-kə ∿ mə̂ʔ-kə=šī 'star', jɨ̱ ∿ jɨ̱-g̈ɨ 'urine', etc.
Note that the morpheme -pā 'male' is clearly redundant in 'son-
in-law'; in 'headman' the -pā may become fully meaningful in the
context of a contrast with qhâʔ-šɛ=ma 'headman's wife'. The mor-
pheme -g̈ɨ 'liquid' is redundant in the case of 'urine', but
meaningful in the case of là-g̈ɨ 'brewed tea', since là 'tea' it-
self is neutral with respect to liquidity.

Sometimes the supplement is an ordinary B_n: á-tà ∿ á-tà=du
'stick', ɔ-pâ ∿ ɔ=pâ-nê 'nearby', cha ∿ cha-pɛ̀ʔ 'vagina', tá-ve
∿ tá-ve=le 'cicada', ni-ma ∿ ni-ma=pɨ 'heart', nɪ̄ ∿ nɪ̄-qhɛ̀ʔ
'penis', mɛ̂ʔ-qha ∿ mɛ̂ʔ-qha=phu 'eyeball'. Each khɔ̂-yɨ/khɔ̂-ŋɛ
pair must be examined on an individual basis with respect to the
relative frequency and stylistic flavor of the two variants.
Thus mɛ̂ʔ-šī is more common than mɛ̂ʔ and not particularly elegant
at all, while há-pɨ=šī, mə̂ʔ-kə=šī, and ó-qō=šī are all rarer and
higher style than the corresponding short forms. (The number of
syllables in the short form seems to be a major factor in the
relative stylistic value.) Occasionally there is a perceptible
meaning difference between the members of a pair: ni-ma means
'heart' in the figurative sense (seat of the emotions), ni-ma=šī
refers to the heart as an organ (hence the morpheme -šī which
describes its shape), while ni-ma=pɨ is just a more poetic vari-
ant in the 'seat-of-emotions' sense. The even longer variant
ni-ma=pɨ≡šī is the most elegant of all; here the -šī is pure
window-dressing, since the meaning is still 'seat of the emo-
tions'.

Often the supplementary syllable is not tacked onto the end
of the compound, but rather inserted between the constituents of
the short form: ú-nê? ∿ ú-nɔ-nê? (but not *ú-nɔ) 'brains';
pɔ-lɛ̀=šī ∿ pɔ-lɛ̀-nɪ́≡šī (but not *pɔ-nɪ́=šī) 'tomato'; mɛ̂ʔ-kā ∿
mɛ̂ʔ-tɛ-kā ∿ mɛ̂ʔ-cɛ-kā 'the space between the eyes' (but not
*mɛ̂ʔ-tɛ or *mɛ̂ʔ-cɛ); mà?-khà=šī ∿ mà?-khà=kɛ̂≡šī (but not *mà?-kɛ̂=
šī) 'tamarind'.

A special type of long/short pair is exemplified by the fol-
lowing words: pā ∿ pā=tɛ́-nɛ̂ʔ 'frog', nā ∿ nā=qā-pɨ 'forehead',
chɨ ∿ chɨ=pí-qwɛ̂ʔ 'barking-deer', yɛ̀ ∿ yɛ̀=mí-tɔ̄ 'bear'. It is
the short forms of these words which are poetic and archaic, and
the trisyllabic ones which are in normal, everyday use. This is
in keeping with our hypothesis that the shorter the base form,
the more likely it is that a fuller variant will supplant it as
the usual, stylistically unmarked form. The trend in Lahu is
clearly against the monosyllabic word.

Pleonastic embellishment of noun-roots reaches its highest
development in the four-syllable compounds we call 'elaborate
expressions', treated in a separate section below [3.39].

3.36 Deverbative noun-compounds. A deverbative noun-compound
is one which functions syntactically like a noun, but has a verb
as one of its constituents.[39] The verbal constituent typically
stands in a subordinate, modifying relationship to the nominal
head of the compound. Deverbative compounds are of several dis-
tinct structural types:

(a) $[V + N_h]_n$ compounds. In this relatively rare sort of com-
pound the first element is a verb which modifies a following
noun-head: ti 'to plant' + mi (B_n) 'plains farming' → ti-mi
'irrigated lowland field'; qa-mɨ 'to sing' + khɔ́ (M_{pfx}) 'sound,
noise' → qa-mɨ=khɔ́ 'song, poem'; na-ni 'to ask' + khɔ́ → na-ni=khɔ́
'question'. A more complex variation of this structure has the
verb preceded by a subject-noun, thus: $[(N_{subj} + V) + N_h]_n$.
Exs: šɨ̌ʔ-phàʔ 'leaves of trees', pɨ̀ 'to fall (as leaves), moult
(as hair)', yâ 'time' → šɨ̌ʔ-phàʔ=pɨ̀≡yâ 'autumn' ("leaves fall
time"); mû-ni 'sun', qɛ̀ 'to set (of the sun)', phɔ́ 'direction' →
mû-ni=qɛ̀≡phɔ́ 'the west' ("sun sets direction"); chɔ-mɔ́ 'elder,
ancestor', qôʔ 'say', khɔ́ 'words' → chɔ-mɔ́=qôʔ≡khɔ́ 'wisdom of the
ancients'. These compounds are clearly reduced versions of rela-
tive clauses, where a VP (along with any preceding, associated
NP's) are subordinated to a following N_h by the particle ve:

3.36; 3.36a

[chɔ-mɔ̂ | qô? ve] khɔ̂ 'words which our ancestors uttered'. [See
Nrh   below 6.482.]

(b) [(Nobj + V) + Nh]n compounds. This well-established com-
pound-type consists of a bipartite first element, a verb preceded
by its logical object, followed by the noun-head. The meaning is
'a Nh which V's Nobj'. These compounds appear to have existed
for some time in Lahu. Thus, mɔ̂ 'things' + ğa 'to get' + tì?
'eternal power' → mɔ̂-ğa=tì? 'eternal acquisitive power' (i.e.,
the power of getting so much that it can never be used up), which
is an old animist concept. However, most compounds of this type
are neologisms: lì? 'writing, a letter' + pə 'to send' + yὲ
'house' → lì?-pə=yὲ 'post-office'; lì? + bù? 'to write' + cà?
'machine' → lì?-bù?=cà? 'typewriter'; cha 'vagina' + hɔ̂ 'to sell'
+ yὲ → cha-hɔ̂=yὲ 'brothel'; yâ 'child' + ni 'to look after' + cὲ
'servant' → yâ-ni=cὲ 'governess, babysitter'; cì 'tooth' + šî?
'to wipe' + tà 'stick' → cì-šî?=tà 'toothbrush', etc.

(c) [Nh + V]n compounds. In a common deverbative compound-type
the noun-head comes first, followed by a verb which modifies it.
If the verb is an action-verb, the Nh is its underlying subject:
chɔ 'person' + qhɔ̂ 'to steal' → chɔ-qhɔ̂ 'thief'; cà? 'machine' +
pò 'to fly' → cà?-pò 'airplane'; chɔ + hē 'to tell lies' → chɔ-hē
'liar'. If the verb is adjectival (Vadj), the construction is
really a reduced version of a 'right relative clause' [below
6.49]: á-pò? 'shirt' + lὲ 'be warm' → á-pò?=lὲ 'sweater' ("shirt
that is warm"); chɔ + dà? 'be good' → chɔ-dà? 'a nice person';
khɔ̂ 'word' + yɨ 'be long' → khɔ̂-yɨ 'long form of a compound'; chɔ
+ mɔ̂ 'be old (of people)' → chɔ-mɔ̂ 'adult, aged person, elder,
ancestor'; chɔ + lù 'be ruined, no good' → chɔ-lù 'a wretch'. It
will be noticed that many of these compounds have chɔ 'person' as
first element. When it is desired to specify the sex of the per-
son indicated, either of the Mpfx's -pā 'male' or -ma 'female' is
appended: chɔ-mɔ̂=pā 'old man, old people',[40] chɔ-mɔ̂=ma 'old
woman'. The Mpfx -pā, as pointed out above [3.334], is distinct

3.36b-c

from the agentive nominalizer p$\bar{a}$, which has the power of nominal-
izing a clause of any degree of complexity. Theoretically, such
a sequence as chɔ + qhɔ̃ + p$\bar{a}$ could mean either 'male thief' (with
p$\bar{a}$ functioning as a M_{pfx}) or 'people-stealer' (with p$\bar{a}$ serving as
the nominalizer of an object-verb construction chɔ | qhɔ̃ 'steal
people').

   We might mention here another type of compound where the N_h
is followed by a non-nominal modifier, namely a 'stative adver-
bial' (AE_{stat}). (The AE_{stat}'s [above 1.641, below 4.422] are
morphemes that behave as if they were intermediate between nouns
and V_{adj}'s. They usually occur subordinated to verbs via the
adverbializing particle ɛ̀.) Ex: Lâh$\bar{u}$ + ní 'red' → Lâh$\bar{u}$-ní 'Red
Lahu'; á-lɛ̀ʔ 'salt' + chɔ 'sweet' → á-lɛ̀ʔ=chɔ 'sugar'; vɨ 'snake'
+ nɔ 'green/blue' → vɨ-nɔ 'the green viper'; jɛ̀ʔ 'earth' + phu
'white' → jɛ̀ʔ-phu 'chalk'.

(d)   [(X + V) + $P_{v-nom}]_n$ constructions. The most interesting
kind of Lahu deverbative construction involves one of a class of
verb-particles that convert whole clauses into nominal structures.
[These are discussed in detail below, 6.1.] When the nominalized
clause has a simple structure (e.g., when it consists merely of a
verb, or adverb + verb, or a short NP + verb), it looks very like
a noun-compound: câ 'to eat' + tù 'purposive nominalizer' → câ-
tù 'something to eat, food'; mɨ 'to sit' + kɨ 'locative nominal-
izer' → mɨ-kɨ 'place to sit, chair'; s̆a 'animal' + g̈aʔ 'to drive,
hunt' + p$\bar{a}$ '(masculine) agentive nominalizer'[41] → s̆a-g̈aʔ=p$\bar{a}$ 'hunt-
er'; yâ 'child' + pɔ 'be born' + ma 'feminine agentive nominal-
izer'[41] → yâ-pɔ=ma 'midwife'; m$\hat{a}$ (Adv) 'not' + cɔ̀ 'to have' + p$\bar{a}$
→ m$\hat{a}$-cɔ̀=p$\bar{a}$ 'needy person'; à-mí 'fire' + cɛ 'to kindle' + kɨ →
à-mí=cɛ≡kɨ 'fireplace'; í-kâʔ 'water' + lwɛ̂ 'to swim' + p$\bar{a}$ →
í-kâʔ=lwɛ̂≡p$\bar{a}$ 'swimmer'. It is clear that these constructions are
not true compounds, since the nominalized clause is indefinitely
expandable: ŋà-hɨ tɛ̂ g̈â le-le tɛ̂ gɛ í-kâʔ lwɛ̂ g$\hat{a}$ p$\bar{a}$ 'those who
want to swim together with all of us', etc. Yet the dividing

3.36d

line between 'true deverbative compounds' and nominalized clauses
is impossible to draw with precision.

(e) [NP$_1$ (NP$_2$) VP]$_n$ compounds. In an extremely rare kind of
compound, one or more NP's combines with a VP to form a unit that
functions like a noun, even though the usual NP/VP relationship
holds within the compound (i.e., even though the VP is not 'modi-
fying' the NP or NP's). When a prospective son-in-law renounces
his bride-to-be and leaves the father-in-law's house before the
period of probationary service is over, but later changes his
mind and wishes to re-enter the household, he must pay compensa-
tion, 'buying the privilege of putting his foot again on the
ladder of the house'. This compensation, along with the atten-
dant ceremonies, is called go-khɨ-vɨ-tâʔ (go 'house-ladder', khɨ
'foot', vɨ 'to buy', tâʔ 'climb up'). In the underlying struc-
ture, go is a NP standing in a locative relationship to tâʔ, while
khɨ is a NP that is instrumentally related to the verb ("climb
with one's foot onto the ladder"). The verbs in the compound are
in 'fortuitous concatenation' [below 4.312], i.e., they are
joined by simple juxtaposition even though they represent two
separate, consecutive actions (the buying must be performed be-
fore the climbing).

3.37 Non-binary compounds. Lahu has a few types of compounds
that are truly ternary. The simplest kind consists of a list of
three items, each co-ordinate with the others: Lâhū-Thâi-Pîchɔ̂
'Lahu, Thai, and Shans'; vàʔ-ğâʔ-nû 'pigs, chickens, and cattle';
kâʔ-khâʔ-ŋâʔ 'the ABC's, the alphabet'. Such compounds cannot be
considered to be three separate NP's. A following determiner or
Num + Clf modifies the whole structure as a unit: vàʔ-ğâʔ-nû chi
'these pigs, chickens, and cattle', vàʔ-ğâʔ-nû chi tê phā 'this
group of pigs, chickens, and cattle'.

In two other kinds of ternary compounds, the first and third
elements are the same: (1) N$_1$ + qhâ + N$_1$. A noun (usually a
pronoun) is repeated twice, with the M$_{pfx}$ qhâ 'way, line, track,

3.36e; 3.37

path' intervening between the two occurrences. This construction emphasizes that the twice-mentioned noun is indeed acting or acted upon all by itself ("on its own path"). Thus, ŋà-qhâ-ŋà 'I by myself, to me myself'; yɔ̂-qhâ-yɔ̂ 'all by itself, automatically, by his own efforts, separately, etc.'; yɔ̂-hɨ=qhâ=yɔ̂-hɨ 'they themselves, all by themselves'; yâ-qhâ-yâ 'the child(ren) all by himself/themselves';[42] yâ-mî=qὲʔ≡qhâ≡yâ-mî=qὲʔ 'the women all by themselves'. The compound pronoun a-šu=yɔ̂ 'each one' [above 3.32] also occurs here (a-šu=yɔ̂≡qhâ≡yɔ̂ 'each by himself'), as well as in a parallel construction where the M_{pfx} phɔ̂ 'side, direction' appears instead of qhâ: a-šu=yɔ̂≡phɔ̂≡yɔ̂ 'each on his own side'.[43]   (2) Q_1 + pə̀ + Q_1. A numeral (usually tê 'one') plus classifier is repeated twice with the intervening morpheme pə̀ (from the verb pə̀ 'to finish; do to completion'). The construction indicates a 'continuous temporal succession of counted entities': tê ǧâ pə̀ tê ǧâ 'one person after the other' ("one person having finished, another person [arrives on the scene]"). [See below, 'Quantified nuclei' 3.47.]

3.38 Reduplication in the noun-phrase.[44] Lahu employs noun-reduplication for several interrelated sorts of semantic effect. (a) Inclusive reduplication signifies all possible members of the class represented by the noun: yâ-mî=yâ-mî[45] ¦ tê kà │ chê; hɔ̂-qhâʔ=hɔ̂-qhâʔ ¦ tê kà │ chê 'All the girls stay in one place, and all the men in the other'; ɔ̂=qhâ-qhâ │ šîʔ bà lɔ̀ 'Wipe away all the spots!' (b) Sequential or distributive reduplication shows that the entities represented by the reduplicated noun are considered one after the other, or severally: šā ¦ ɔ̂-tɔ=ɔ̂-tɔ │ kɨ qay tù ve yɔ̀ 'The meat will get rotten little by little' ("section by section"); ɔ̂-cɛ=ɔ̂-cɛ │ te tù ve yɔ̀ 'They will go off in pairs' ("pair by pair"); ɔ̂-phâʔ=ɔ̂-lɔ̂ ɔ̄ ¦ a-šu=a-šu │ kə tù le 'Who will contribute the side-dishes and who the second helpings?' (c) Indefinite reduplication indicates diffidence as to the exact scope of reference of the noun. It is most frequent

in quantified and extentive nuclei [see below 3.47, 3.87 and
3.615 for more detailed discussion]: <u>tê g̈â-g̈â</u> | <u>là ò cê</u> 'They
say that somebody or other has come'; <u>tê chi kîlô-lô</u> | <u>cɔ̀ s̆ɔ̄</u>
'There are about ten kilos left.' (d) <u>Emphatic</u> or <u>augmentative</u>
reduplication serves to heighten or intensify the meaning of the
noun: <u>mô-mô ɔ̄</u> | <u>qay ò</u> 'He's already gone way down there';
<u>ɔ=lɛ-lɛ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tê</u> <u>qhâʔ</u> 'the very last village'.

Needless to say, the precise shade of meaning conveyed by a
reduplication depends on the context. Thus if the noun <u>ɔ-hɔ́</u>
'under; inferior' in the sentence <u>ɔ-hɔ́</u> <u>ve</u> <u>chɔ</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>là</u> <u>tù</u> <u>hɛ́</u> 'The
inferior people will probably come too' is reduplicated to <u>ɔ=hɔ́-
hɔ́</u>, the NP could be interpreted variously as 'all the inferior
people' (inclusive), 'the very inferior people' (emphatic), 'the
rather inferior people' (indefinite), or even 'the inferior
people one after the other, the people in ascending order of
inferiority' (sequential). If the classifier <u>g̈â</u> is reduplicated
after <u>nî</u> 'two', the resultant <u>nî g̈â-g̈â</u> could mean either 'about
two people' (indefinite) or 'both people' (inclusive), etc.

All types of autonomous nouns (except for pronouns and the
determiner) are reduplicable, as are several sorts of limited
nouns like classifiers and extentives. General prefixial com-
pounds are reduplicable either $\underline{ɔ=M}_{pfx}\underline{-M}_{pfx}$ or $\underline{ɔ-M}_{pfx}\underline{=ɔ-M}_{pfx}$, with
the latter typically having a sequential meaning.

When bisyllabic noun-compounds (e.g., <u>co-tāy</u> 'eternity') are
reduplicated A-A=B-B, they function as adverbial expressions
(<u>co-co=tāy-tāy</u> 'eternally'). [See below 4.52.]

3.39 Nominal elaborate expressions (Elab_n). Elaborate expres-
sions are a particularly interesting type of construction which
are typical of Southeast Asian languages in general,[46] and which
are intermediate in structure between ordinary compounds and re-
duplications.

An elaborate expression (Elab) is a compound containing four
(usually monosyllabic) elements, of which either the first and

3.39

third or the second and fourth are identical[47] (A-B-A-C or A-B-C-B). They characteristically convey a rather formal or elegant impression. Skillful speakers sprinkle Elab's liberally through their conversation,[48] using four syllables where two would have conveyed the same information. Thus instead of qhɔ-qhô 'in the mountains', one tends to say qhɔ-qhô-lɔ-qhô 'in the mountains and valleys'; instead of mêʔ-ní 'red eyes', it is nicer to say mêʔ-ní-mêʔ-qa 'red and smarting eyes'; more sonorous than ɔ-lî 'custom, tradition' is the pleonastic ɔ-lî-ɔ-lɔ 'id.'. There are hundreds of Elab's in common use. They may be headed either by nominal or verbal morphemes. Syntactically they function as nouns (Elab$_n$), verbs (Elab$_v$), or adverbs (Elab$_{adv}$) [see below 4.425]. We often conventionally write Elab's with single hyphens throughout.

The situations most appropriate for the systematic use of Elab's are occasions of high seriousness: prayers to the spirits in the case of the animist Lahu,[49] sermons and lectures in the case of Christianized villages. Yet it would be easy to exaggerate the elegant effect of an isolated Elab thrown into the stream of an ordinary conversation. Constant use has robbed the more common Elab's of their distinction, and many are now freely used in the most informal situations. In any event, Elab's are a rich source of information for the historical linguist. Being set expressions, many of them preserve fossil-elements (B$_{elab}$) that now occur nowhere else, but which were once undoubtedly active morphemes in the language.[50]

The elements of an Elab are often conjoined in an order which is a violation of the ordinary rules of Lahu syntax. Of especial importance is a process we might call 'compound ionization',[51] whereby a normally indissoluble bisyllabic compound is split up by inserting an identical element before or after each of its syllables. Thus, mû-mì 'country' ("heaven-earth") [N] → chi-mû-chi-mì [Elab$_n$] 'this land of ours'; pɔ-ša 'be well-off,

prosperous' ("born-easy") [V] → chɔ-pɔ-chɔ-ša [Elab$_n$] 'a wealthy man; a nabob'.

Many Elab's have Shan, Burmese, or Thai loan-syllables as their two non-reduplicated elements; i.e., foreign compounds are often ionized by intercalating the same Lahu syllable before or after each element. Thus the Shan-derived compound mè?-phôn 'glory' becomes an Elab$_n$ via the prefix ɔ- : ɔ-mê?-ɔ-phôn. Sometimes all four syllables of a foreign Elab are borrowed wholesale into Lahu: tâ-khɨ-tâ-vâ (< Shan) 'night and day, all day and all night'; thī-ŋɘ-thī-khâ 'a silver and gold altar'. More often, Lahu will create new Elab's by pairing a native mor-pheme with a foreign one of similar meaning. Thus tê-khɨ-tê-yân 'temporarily' is formed from the native Lahu khɨ 'time' and the Shan-derived yân 'time', with the numeral tê 'one' preceding both; tê khɨ also occurs by itself with the same meaning. Simi-larly, the Elab$_n$ phu-thī-ši-thī 'a silver and gold altar' con-   *
tains the native phu 'silver' and ši 'gold', alongside the Shan borrowing thī 'altar'.

The two non-reduplicated elements of an Elab are convenient-ly referred to as an 'elaborate couplet'. The same couplet may appear in a large number of different Elab's simply by varying the reduplicated element. Elab's which share the same couplet may be called an 'elaborate family'. If a given couplet occurs in an Elab where the reduplicated element is the prefix ɔ- (i.e., if the Elab consists of a pair of C$_{gpfx}$'s), it is often possible to freely create new Elab's belonging to the same family by sub-stituting different N$_{sp}$'s for the prefix. Thus, ɔ-qɔ?-ɔ-le 'nooks and crannies' ("the corners and the middle") may become yɛ̀-qɔ?-yɛ̀-le 'every nook and cranny of the house', qhâ?-qɔ?-qhâ?-le 'every nook and cranny of the village', etc.

A full-scale study of Lahu Elab's is a worthwhile enterprise which we shall eventually undertake, but which leads us deeper into the realm of lexicography than we can go here. For the

moment, we simply catalogue some of the morphological subtypes of Elab$_n$'s.

(1) Where the first and third elements are identical (A-B-A-C).

(a) $[\underline{ɔ} + M_{pfx-1}] + [\underline{ɔ} + M_{pfx-2}]$ (double general-prefixial): ɔ-kàʔ-ɔ-nu 'elsewhere', ɔ-cè-ɔ-phûʔ 'slave', ɔ-mî-ɔ-yâ 'wife and children'; (b) $[N_{sp} + M_{pfx-1}] + [N_{sp} + M_{pfx-2}]$ (double specified-prefixial with same specifier): šu-cè-šu-phûʔ 'a slave and thrall to others', qhâʔ-jâ-qhâʔ-ji 'all over the village';

(c) $[N_h + V_1]_n + [N_h + V_2]_n$ (double noun-verb deverbative noun-compound): chɔ-qhɔ́-chɔ-nâʔ 'bandit, blackguard', chɔ-mɔ́-chɔ-kɛ̄ 'old person', khɔ́-mu-khɔ́-nɛ̀ 'tonal variations, tones of words' ("words-high-words-low"); (d) $[\underline{chi} + N_1] + [\underline{chi} + N_2]$ (double determined): chi-mû-chi-mî 'this land of ours', chi-tɔ-chi-ná 'so deeply and profoundly' ("this-extent-this-depth");

(e) $[Num + Clf_1] + [Num + Clf_2]$: tê-khî-tê-yân 'temporarily'.

(2) Where the second and fourth elements are identical (A-B-C-B).

(a) $[N_{sp-1} + M_{pfx}] + [N_{sp-2} + M_{pfx}]$ (double specified-prefixial with same head): qhɔ-qhô-lɔ́-qhô 'in the mountains and the valleys'; yɛ̀-vêʔ-qa-vêʔ 'ornament of hearth and home' ("house-flower-hearth-flower", i.e., epithet for a good wife); qhâʔ-qhɔ-cɨ-qhɔ 'in the villages and the markets'; (b) $[N_1 + N_a] + [N_2 + N_a]$ (double locally autonomous noun-noun compound): fâʔ-ɔ̄-ŋâʔ-ɔ̄ 'rat food and bird food' (epithet for harvested paddy left out in the fields too long); (c) $[V_1 + P_{v-nom}] + [V_2 + P_{v-nom}]$ (double nominalization): câ-tù-dɔ́-tù 'food and drink' ("things-to-eat things-to-drink"); (d) $[\underline{qhà} + Clf] + [\underline{chi} + Clf]$ (the 'each-and-every' construction[52]): qhà-ğâ-chi-ğâ 'each and every person'.

Some constructions are on the borderline between true Elab's and merely coincidental sequences of parallel but independent NP's. For example, the determiner chi does not normally occur before its head noun (unless the latter is an extentive); this is why there is no doubt that chi-sequences like those of (1-d)

3.39(1-2)

above are true Elab's. However, <u>chi</u> does occur regularly <u>after</u>
its head-noun. Sequences like <u>và? chi ğâ? chi</u> 'these pigs and
chickens' are thus intermediate between Elab's (<u>và?-chi-ğâ?-chi</u>)
and pairs of independent NP's (<u>và? chi ¦ ğâ? chi</u>). Similarly
with sequences of two nouns each followed by the same noun-par-
ticle (<u>yɔ̌ gɛ ŋà gɛ</u> 'with him and with me', <u>ô ɔ̄ chò ɔ̄</u> 'here and
there' ["at there at here"]); and with sequences of the type
[N$_{poss-1}$ + N$_h$] + [N$_{poss-2}$ + N$_h$], where the same noun-head is pre-
ceded by two different possessors (<u>ŋà phɛ̂ nɔ̌ phɛ̂</u> 'my dog and your
dog'). On balance we must deny elaborate status to these con-
structions, since they are not formed with 'elegant intent'. [As
limiting cases of four-element constructions which are obviously
not Elab's, despite the fact that their second and fourth con-
stituents are the same, we have <u>ordinal</u> expressions (<u>šɛ̌? ğâ tê ğâ</u>
'the third person') and <u>fractions</u> (<u>hí pun tê pun</u> 'one eighth').
See below, 'Polyquantification' 3.47.

A special sort of Elab involves pairing off the nonsense-
syllable <u>-mû-</u> with one element of an ordinary compound while the
other element is repeated. This yields expressions which are
jocular or casually contemptuous, much like the Yiddish (and
Yiddish-influenced American) reduplication of the C- ∿ <u>šm-</u> type.
The <u>-mû-</u> may occupy various positions in the Elab: (a) X + N$_1$
+ <u>mû</u> + N$_1$ → <u>yâ-khɔ̌-mû-khɔ̌</u> 'childish prattle' ("child-talk-shmild-
talk"); (b) N$_1$ + <u>mû</u> + N$_1$ + X → <u>à-thɔ̌?-mû-thɔ̌?-ma</u> 'whatever the
hell it is' (ionized from the interrogative noun <u>à-thɔ̌?-ma</u>
'what'). [<u>-mû-</u> occurs in Elab$_v$'s as well, below 4.425.]

There exist other four-syllable set expressions in the lan-
guage which do not satisfy the definition of Elab's in that none
of the elements are repeated. However, the fact that they con-
tain elements which are otiose from the point of view of convey-
ing meaning,[53] and that they have obviously been formed 'with
elegant intent', lead us to distinguish them somewhat from ordi-
nary compounds and to call them 'quasi-elaborate expressions'.

Exs: <u>phu-ši-mɔ̂-jɛ̀</u> 'property, possessions' ("silver-gold-things-goods"); <u>chǝn-ɛ̀-kán-kàʔ</u> 'head over heels, sprawling'; <u>tàʔ-í-gɔ̂-</u><u>lɛ̀ʔ</u> 'quiet, silence'; <u>tê-ni-tâ-vâ</u> 'all the livelong day' (<u>tê ni</u> is native Lahu for 'all day', <u>tâ-vâ</u> is from a synonymous Shan expression); <u>á-pòʔ-vɔ̂ʔ-qâ</u> 'clothing' ("shirts-clothes"); <u>bɨ-šâʔ-</u><u>á-nâʔ</u> 'savage, uncivilized, strange' ("bushy-rough-?-black").

An elaborate expression as a whole may serve as a constituent in a higher-order compound. Thus <u>qhɔ-qhô-lɔ̂-qhô</u> 'in the mountains and valleys' combines with <u>yâ</u> 'people, tribe' to form <u>qhɔ-qhô-lɔ̂-qhô=yâ</u> ($[\text{Elab}_n + \text{N}]_n$) 'hill tribesmen, mountain-folk (as opposed to plains-dwellers)'. Similarly, the verbal Elab <u>tɔ̂-jɛ̀-sɨ-jɛ̀</u> 'to advise, give counsel' may be converted to a noun-compound via the nominalizing agentive P_v <u>sɛ̄-phâ</u>: <u>tɔ̂-jɛ̀-sɨ-jɛ̀=</u><u>sɛ̄-phâ</u> ($[\text{Elab}_v + P_{v\text{-nom}}]_n$) 'advisers, counsellors'.

<u>3.4 Special types of nominal nucleus (I): Quantified nuclei</u> <u>(ν_q)</u>. A quantified nucleus (ν_q) is one which contains a numeral plus classifier. The sequence of Num + Clf is symbolized as "Q" for brevity's sake. A 'minimal ν_q' contains only a Q. An 'expanded ν_q' contains additional material before and/or after the Q. If the material precedes the Q, the ν_q is said to be 'headed'. If the additional material follows the Q, the ν_q is 'codaed'. ['Minimal' vs. 'expanded' is a distinction relevant primarily to Lahu surface grammar. In almost all cases we shall want to posit an underlying head for a minimal ν_q.] Numerals and classifiers are both types of limited nouns, but Q's are autonomous.

<u>3.41 Numerals</u>. There are twelve numerals in Lahu: <u>tê</u> 'one', <u>nî</u> 'two', <u>šêʔ</u> ~ <u>šɛ̄</u> ~ <u>šɛ</u> 'three',[54] <u>ɔ̂</u> 'four', <u>ŋâ</u> 'five', <u>khɔ̂ʔ</u> 'six', <u>šɨ̄</u> 'seven', <u>hí</u> 'eight', <u>qɔ̂</u> 'nine', <u>láy</u> 'several' (< Shan), <u>qhà-nî</u> 'how many?', <u>chi-nî</u> 'this many' [below 3.48]. Tens, hundreds, and thousands are expressed by the appropriate numeral followed by the round-number classifiers <u>chi</u> 'ten', <u>ha</u> 'hundred' or <u>hí</u> ~ <u>hé</u> 'thousand' (< Shan) [below 3.42(8)]. No numeral may be reduplicated. The form <u>láy-láy</u> is not a reduplication of

3.4; 3.41

'several', but a quite different lexical item (also < Shan) mean-
ing 'idle; empty; in vain'.

A numeral must always be followed by a classifier, except in
a few special cases. In doing arithmetic (a new and far from
widespread activity among the Lahu), numerals are occasionally
treated as autonomous nouns, appearing alone in their v, with no
following Clf: ɔ̂ thàʔ ¦ nî │ yù tɔ́ʔ qo ‖ nî │ phὲʔ ve 'Four
minus two is two' ("If you take out of four two, it becomes two";
the verb lɔ̂ 'be left over' may be used instead of phὲʔ 'become').
However, even in arithmetical discourse, the general Clf mà is
usually used: ɔ̂ mà thàʔ ¦ nî mà │ yù tɔ́ʔ qo ‖ nî mà │ phὲʔ ve.[55]
Counting is done either with an appropriate classifier after each
successive numeral, or more rarely, with the bare numerals, sepa-
rated from each other by comma-pause: tê mà, nî mà, šê̌ʔ mà... /
tê, nî, šê̌ʔ... '1, 2, 3...'. [One other marginal and neologistic
exception to the principle that Num's must be followed by Clf's
is in titles of books, etc., which come in more than one part.
Here a numeral may be compounded with a following noun: tê-
Kɔ̂lê̌ʔthûʔ 'I Corinthians'.]

The numeral tê 'one' is of particular importance. Not only
may it assume several different shades of meaning, but there are
also certain constructions where it, and no other numeral, may
occur. (a) Often tê means specifically 'exactly one less than
two': vàʔ tê khɛ │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ 'There's still one pig left.' (b) Even
more often perhaps, the meaning of tê is more like that of the
English indefinite article 'a/an': á-ni thâ ¦ vàʔ tê khɛ │ šɨ̌ e ɔ̀
'A pig died yesterday' (i.e., some pig or other). Since Lahu
nouns are not inflected for number, tê + Clf is often used simply
to make the plural interpretation impossible. Thus the relative
clause dàʔ ve ŋâʔ [dàʔ 'be pretty', ŋâʔ 'bird'] might be trans-
lated 'a pretty bird', 'the pretty bird', 'pretty birds', or 'the
pretty birds'; the addition of tê + khɛ (Clf for animals) excludes
the last two interpretations: dàʔ ve ŋâʔ tê khɛ 'a/the/one pretty

bird'. (c) Sometimes tê is best translated as 'a whole' or 'the whole': yɔ̂ ¦ šɔ́-pɔ̄ tê ni ¦ ká │ ğa te ve cê 'He says he has to work the whole day tomorrow.'[56] It is even possible to have two successive Q's with tê, in the first of which it means 'one' and in the second 'whole': chi tê qhɔ̂ʔ tê qhɔ̂ʔ 'this whole year; all year this year' ("this one year whole year"). (d) Occasionally tê has the indefinite meaning of English 'any one at all': tê kà │ tâ qay 'Don't go anywhere at all' ("Any place don't go"). (e) Finally, tê is often understood in the sense of 'first in a series': tê ğâ ¦ chi qhe │ ğa qa-mɨ ve yɔ̀ 'The first person has to sing this way.' In order to exclude other possible interpretations, the noun a-lɔ́ ∿ ɔ́-lɔ́ may precede: a-lɔ́ tê ğâ 'the first person'.

Alone among the numerals, tê occurs (1) with certain Clf's referring to groups [3.42(5)]; (2) before Clf + le(-le) 'every' [3.43]; (3) in the second half of all ordinal expressions higher than 'first' [3.47]; and (4) in both halves of distributive constructions of the form Q + Q. [Other numerals may exceptionally occur in one Q of a distributive construction, but in these cases the particle ve usually intervenes between the Q's. Below 3.48.] tê is also the most frequent numeral used before reduplicated Clf's with an indefinite meaning [3.421]. In the nature of things, tê is likely to be the numeral when the Clf is followed by the P_{univ} tí 'only'. Several set expressions of the form tê + Clf + tí are especially important: tê ğâ tí 'alone, by oneself'; tê khɨ tí 'suddenly, all at once'; tê qhe tí 'id.'; tê pɔ̂ʔ tí 'simultaneously, suddenly', etc.

3.42 Classifiers. A classifier is a type of limited noun that occurs only after numerals (or after another classifier), and whose selection is determined by a preceding (overt or implicit) noun. [A noun that precedes a Q and determines the selection of the classifier we call a 'quantified head' or N_{qh}. Below 3.44.] Many nouns can select more than one Clf; sometimes one alternative

3.42

is more elegant than the other. Several subtypes of Clf's can be distinguished on formal or semantic grounds:

(1) <u>Auto-classifiers</u>. Some nouns may be their own classifiers.[57] That is, there are some N$_{qh}$'s whose Clf's have the same phonological shape as themselves: <u>yè</u> <u>tê</u> <u>yè</u> 'a/one house; the whole house; the first house'; <u>qhâʔ</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhâʔ</u> 'two villages'. Occasionally a polysyllabic N$_{qh}$ is auto-classified: <u>mû-mî</u> <u>láy</u> <u>mû-mî</u> 'several countries'. More often, compound N$_{qh}$'s are 'partially auto-classified'; i.e., their Clf has the same shape as their last syllable: <u>šú-lèʔ</u> 'cigarette' ("tobacco-roll"), <u>šú-lèʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>lèʔ</u> 'one cigarette'. [This is similar to, but distinct from, ν$_q$'s like <u>šú-cè</u> <u>tê</u> <u>cè</u> 'one tobacco plant', where the Clf is of the prefixable type (the form <u>ɔ-cè</u> 'plant' exists).]

(2) <u>Special classifiers</u>. Some N$_{qh}$'s select one of a small group of arbitrary or special Clf's that bear no morphophonemic relation to any autonomous noun: <u>ğâ</u> (for human beings)[58] → <u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> <u>khɔʔ</u> <u>ğâ</u> 'six headmen'; <u>khɛ</u> (for animals) → <u>mɔʔ-nâʔ</u> <u>qhà-nî</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'how many gibbons?'; <u>kà</u> (for places) → <u>càʔ-pò=yàʔ≡kɨ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>kà</u> 'an airfield'; <u>pêʔ</u> (for fields) → <u>hɛ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pêʔ</u> 'a mountain field'; <u>qhɔ</u> (for elongated objects) → <u>pê-hɔ̄</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>qhɔ</u> 'seven candles'; <u>qôʔ</u> (for books or papers) → <u>thɔ-ğɔʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>qôʔ</u> 'a sheet of paper', etc. Many of the special Clf's are giving way to the general Clf <u>mà</u> [below 3.42(7)].

The Clf's <u>ğâ</u> and <u>khɛ</u> are only used of people or animals that are alive;[59] otherwise <u>mà</u> is required. Thus, <u>chɔ-šɨ</u> <u>láy</u> <u>mà</u> 'several corpses', <u>pa-thû</u> <u>khɔʔ</u> <u>mà</u> 'six dried fish'. Insects are not deemed worthy of <u>khɛ</u> in any case (<u>pɨ=cá-qɔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> 'a mosquito'), though birds, amphibians, reptiles, and fish are (<u>á-cè</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'a hawk', <u>pā=tɛ́-nêʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'a frog', <u>vɨ-nâʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'a king cobra', <u>pa-mō</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'a carp'). <u>khɛ</u> is also the Clf used for the sub-human spirits of Lahu animistic religion (<u>nê-hāy</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> 'an evil spirit'), though the supreme Lahu supernatural <u>ğɨ-ša</u> 'the Great Spirit' (the word has been taken over by the missionaries to

3.42(1-2)

designate the 'Christian' God) requires ğâ: ğɨ̌-ša tê ğâ tí 'God
all by Himself'.

(3) Measure classifiers. N_{qh}'s referring to non-discrete,
liquid or massy entities (roughly corresponding to English mass-
nouns) usually select measure- or receptacle-words as their Clf's:
í-kâʔ šêʔ lîʔ 'three liters of water', mì-gɨ ɔ̂ hay 'four rai of
land (about 10 acres)', là tê khê 'a cup of tea', na-mâ hí kɔ
'eight bottles of oil', nālī̃ tê khwê 'half an hour', phu qhà-nî
bàʔ 'how many baht of money?' [When the N_{qh} is a mass noun, it
is often possible to convert this $N_{qh-mass}$ + Q to a genitive con-
struction of the form Q + ve + N_{mass}, with no change in meaning:
nā-mâ hí kɔ → hí kɔ ve nā-mâ 'eight bottles of oil'. See below
3.45; also 'Extentive nuclei' 3.617b, and 'Genitives' 3.77h.]

(4) Time classifiers. Words referring to units of time may occur
directly after numerals: tê qhɔ̂ʔ 'one year', nî ší 'two weeks',
ɔ̂ ni 'four days', šêʔ jɔ 'three cycles' (the traditional Lahu
weeks of 12 days), tê nālī̃ 'one hour', hí ha-pa 'eight months',
tê khɨ 'an instant' [khɨ occurs only after tê], tê pɔ̂ʔ 'once, one
time'. Q's containing a time-classifier are rarely preceded by
a N_{qh} other than chi 'this' or ô 'that' (chi tê qhɔ̂ʔ 'this year').
Another possible N_{qh} is the word ɔ̂-yâ(n) 'time, duration':
ɔ̂-yân tê qhɔ̂ʔ 'a year's time'. The only other N_{qh}'s that may
take a time-classifier are the time-words themselves (qhɔ̂ʔ tê
qhɔ̂ʔ 'one year', ha-pa láy ha-pa 'several months'). [When a
time-word is used as a N_{qh} it need not be auto-classified, how-
ever: mà is also permitted (qhɔ̂ʔ tê mà 'one year'). In elegant
style the prefixable Clf šī̃ 'round thing' may be used for months
(because of the shape of the moon): ha-pa láy šī̃ 'many a moon;
several months'.]

(5) Group classifiers. Several Clf's referring to aggregates or
collectivities may occur only after the numeral tê 'one'. Here
tê has a meaning like 'all' or 'whole': tê ğɨ 'a group, a bunch,
a pack' (yâ-ɛ tê ğɨ 'a bunch of kids'); tê ca 'a couple, a pair'

3.42(3-5)

(ɔ-phɔ-ɔ-mî tê ca 'husband and wife'; ɔ-pa-ɔ-e tê ca 'father and
mother'); tê gɛ 'together' ("one withness":[60] ŋà tê gɛ 'together
with me'); tê phā 'the whole group' (qhɔ-qhô-lɔ-qhô=yâ tê phā
'all the hill-tribes'); tê pa 'some' (màʔ-yâ tê pa 'some sol-
diers'; chi tê pa 'some of these'). When reduplicated, tê phā
is weakened to the meaning of 'some' [see below, 'Approximative
reduplication of Clf's', 3.421]: Lâhū tê phā-phā 'some Lahu'
(synonymous with Lâhū tê pa). *tê pa-pa itself does not occur,
probably because tê phā-phā has displaced it. The other Clf's
of this group (ğɨ, ca, gɛ) are also not reduplicable.

    The Clf mō (< Shan) 'group, party, faction' does not belong
to this subclass. Other numerals than tê may precede it, and
there exists a form ɔ-mō. It is thus a 'prefixable Clf' (below).
(6) Prefixable classifiers. An important subclass of Clf's com-
prises forms which are homonymous with M_{pfx}'s [above 3.341d].
The preceding N_{qh} may or may not be a compound whose second syl-
lable is the homophonous M_{pfx}. When it is, the construction re-
sembles a 'partial auto-classification' [above 3.42(1)]: Exs:
šɨ̄ 'Clf for round (usually small) objects'; ɔ-šɨ̄ 'a pellet, a
(usually small) round object'; ó-qō tê šɨ̄ 'a head', cà-phôʔ láy
šɨ̄ 'several rice-stoops' (heaps of harvested paddy left in the
fields to dry); bɔ-šɨ̄ nî šɨ̄ 'two balls', nɨ̄-šɨ̄ nî šɨ̄ 'two tes-
ticles'.

(7) The general all-purpose classifier mà. Like many languages
with systems of numeral classifiers, Lahu has an 'unmarked' Clf
of very general scope which is freely substitutable for more
specific classifiers:[61] vàʔ tê khɛ ~ vàʔ tê mà 'a pig'; šɨ̄ʔ-cɛ̀
tê cɛ̀ ~ šɨ̄ʔ-cɛ̀ tê mà 'a tree'; yè tê yɛ̀ ~ yè tê šɨ̄ (eleg.) ~ yè
tê mà 'a house'. One may even say chɔ tê mà, alongside chɔ tê ğâ
'a person'. [The use of mà with a N_{qh} referring to persons car-
ries a slightly pejorative meaning, since it amounts to treating
a human being as if he were an inanimate object. Using the ani-
mal Clf khɛ with a N_{qh} referring to persons is highly insulting

and provocative: Kɔ́lɔ́ chi šê? khɛ 'these three northern Thai
dogs'.]

Since mà is the unmarked Clf, it is the proper one to use
in purely abstract arithmetical contexts, as when giving the
score of a game: ŋà-hɨ¦qhà-nî mà|gà-ò le 'What's our score now?'
("As for us, how many has it reached now?"); khɔ̀? mà lɛ ŋâ mà
'It's six to five' ("Six mà and five mà"). There is no Lahu
word for 'points in a game', and no other noun that could be a
candidate for an underlying N_{qh}.

The only other Clf that can compare to mà in generality is
cɔ̀ (< Shan), meaning 'kind, variety': ŋâ? tê cɔ̀ 'a kind of bird',
Lâhū šê? cɔ̀ 'three kinds of Lahu', etc. Technically this is a
prefixable Clf, since a form ɔ-cɔ̀ 'thing; kind' exists.

(8) Round-number classifiers. The Clf's chi 'tens', ha 'hun-
dreds', hí ∿ hé 'thousands', mɔ̄ 'ten thousands',[62] and lân 'mil-
lions' constitute the class of round-number classifiers. [hí,
mɔ̄, and lân are Shan loanwords. Note that 'thousand' is homony-
mous with 'eight': hí hí '8000'.] Clf's of this group have
several peculiarities. They may be followed directly by other
Clf's of any other subclass (except for group-classifiers, which
must be preceded by tê): chɔ šê? chi ğâ 'thirty people', á-pò?
nî hé mà '2000 shirts', tê chi mɔ̄ '100,000', vɨ tê chi mɔ̄ khɛ
'100,000 snakes'. Not surprisingly, the round-number Clf's fre-
quently occur in 'polyquantificational' expressions with more
than one Q [below 3.47]:

nā-mâ khɔ̀? ha hí lî? '608 liters of oil';
  N_{qh} Q_1 Q_2

chɔ-qhɔ̀ ɔ hí šê? ha nî chi qɔ̀ ğâ '4329 thieves'.
  N_{qh} Q_1 Q_2 Q_3 Q_4

As in all Sino-Tibetan languages (and *mutatis mutandis* in most
languages generally), the round-number morphemes are in a multi-
plicative relationship with the numeral of their own Q (qɔ̀ chi

3.42(8)

'9 times 10'), but this Q is in an additive relationship with any
<u>following</u> Q (qɔ̂ <u>chi</u> ¦ hɨ́ <u>mà</u> '9-times-10 plus 8'). The last Clf
in the series is in deep constituency with all the preceding
Num's and Clf's as a whole: in our '4329 thieves' example, the
g̈â classifies the entire sequence '4-times-1000 plus 3-times-100
plus 2-times-10 plus 9' as if this were a unitary numeral. [The
high round numbers mɔ̄ and <u>lân</u> may be preceded by a Q that is
multiplicatively related to it (<u>tê chi</u> mɔ̄ '100,000' ("1-times-10
times 10,000"); nɨ́ <u>ha</u> <u>lân</u> '200,000,000' ("2-times-100 times
1,000,000")). This is because Lahu has no single morpheme for
'100,000' or for any round number higher than 'million'.]

<u>3.421 Reduplication of classifiers</u>. Clf's of all types are re-
duplicable (except that reduplication of auto-Clf's is rare).
This reduplication is most common after <u>tê</u> 'one', or after <u>tê</u>
plus round-number Clf. It usually has either of two rather
opposite semantic effects. (a) <u>Inclusive</u>: 'each Clf; every
Clf; all the Clf's'. ŋà-hɨ ¦ tê <u>qhɔ̌ʔ-qhɔ̌ʔ</u> ¦ <u>cà-š̌ɨ=ɔ̄</u> | câ <u>ve</u> 'We
celebrate the New Rice Festival every year'; [ŋà-hɨ ¦ š̌u lɔ | mâ
š̌ū] <u>tê</u> <u>cɔ̂-cɔ̂</u> <u>àʔ</u> | <u>qha-dὲʔ</u> dɔ̂ <u>ni</u> mὲ̄ 'Let us carefully consider all
the respects ("all the kinds") in which we are inferior to other
peoples'. (b) <u>Indefinite</u> or <u>approximative</u>: 'some Clf's; cer-
tain Clf's; approximately-Num Clf's'. More frequently the re-
duplicated Clf conveys an indefinite or approximative meaning.
If the Clf is polysyllabic (not necessarily polymorphemic), only
the last syllable is reduplicated: <u>chɔ tê g̈â-g̈â</u> 'somebody or
other', <u>nâʔ-chɨ=š̌ɨ́ tê š̌ɨ́-š̌ɨ́</u> 'a pill or two', <u>tê pɔ̂ʔ-pɔ̂ʔ</u> 'some-
times', <u>yâ-ɛ́ tê phā-phā</u> 'certain children', <u>tê ha-pa=pa</u> 'about a
month', <u>tê chi kɨlô-lô</u> 'about ten kilos', <u>tê ha-ha</u> 'about a hun-
dred', <u>màʔ-cɔ̂ʔ=š̌ɨ́ tê chi-chi</u> 'about ten oranges'. Taken out of
context, there is no way of telling which of the two semantic
interpretations is appropriate: nɨ́ <u>g̈â-g̈â</u> 1. 'both people'
2. 'about two people'.

A reduplicated round-number Clf may not be followed by any
other Clf. Expressions of the form $(N_{qh}) + $ <u>tê</u> $+ Clf_{rn} + Clf_{other}$

(e.g., nâʔ tê ha qhɔ́ '100 guns') are thus reduplicable in only two ways: (1) (N_{qh}) + tê + [Clf$_{rn}$ + Clf$_{rn}$] nâʔ tê ha-ha 'about 100 guns', or (2) (N_{qh}) + tê + Clf$_{rn}$ + [Clf$_{other}$ + Clf$_{other}$] nâʔ tê ha qhɔ́-qhɔ́ 'about 100 guns'. *nâʔ tê ha-ha qhɔ́ is impossible.

Numerical approximation for figures other than one or round numbers is expressible in several ways: Q + qhe [3.43f]; à-là= qhe + Q [ibid.]; and approximative polyquantification [3.47(4)].

3.43 Codaed v_q's. A codaed v_q is one whose Q is followed without pause by an additional morpheme that modifies it.

(a) tê + Clf + le(-le) 'every Clf'. The B$_n$ le,[63] usually reduplicated to le-le, occurs only after Q's whose numeral is tê 'one', and conveys an all-inclusive meaning: ʼevery Clf; all Clf's; whatever Clf': ŋà-hɨ tê ɠâ le-le 'each and every one of us'; tê kà le-le 'everywhere'; tê ni le 'every day'; tê ha-pa le-le 'every month'; šɨʔ-cὲ tê cὲ le-le 'all the trees'. A similar meaning is obtained by reduplicating the Q: tê ni tê ni 'every day' [below 3.47].

(b) tê + Clf + bà 'the next Clf over; on the other side of the Clf'. The M$_{pfx}$ bà is related to the spatial noun ɔ-bà 'outside of' and the verb bà 'throw away, discard'. A determined v of the form N$_h$ + chi + bà is to be translated 'on the other side of this N$_h$': qhɔ chi bà 'the other side of this mountain', qhâʔ chi bà 'the other side of this village'. After tê + Clf, bà indicates an object or location that is one degree removed from a certain point: qhɔ tê mà bà 'the next mountain; one mountain over'; tê qhâʔ bà 'the next village'. The same idea is expressible by the N$_{sd}$ ô 'that one; the one over there' followed by tê + Clf: qhɔ ô tê mà, qhâʔ ô tê qhâʔ. To express the idea of 'the next Clf but one; the Clf after next' one would usually use both ô before the Q and bà after it: (qhâʔ) ô tê qhâʔ bà 'the village after next' ("on the other side of that village there"), qhɔ ô tê mà bà 'the mountain after next'. More rarely a Lahu might use bà alone with

3.43; 3.43a-b

the numeral nî 'two' instead of tê: qhɔ nî mà bà 'the mountain
after next'. When pressed, a Lahu will admit the logic of (*)qhɔ
šê? mà bà 'the next mountain but two', though this is quite un-
idiomatic.

(c) [Num + Clf] + phâ? 'more-than-Num Clf's'. The M$_{pfx}$ phâ?
(ɔ-phâ? 'an excess, that which is left over') may occur after Q's
to indicate a quantity vaguely in excess of that which the numer-
al specifies:[64] tê qhɔ̂? phâ? 'more than a year', nî kîlô phâ?
'more than two kilos'. There exists a homophonous verb phâ? 'to
exceed, surpass'. Sometimes the phâ? following a Q is preceded
by an adverb like a-cí 'a little' or mâ 'not', and/or followed by
a verb-particle. In these cases phâ? may not belong to the ν$_q$ at
all, but rather to the VP of the clause:

tê qhɔ̂? │ mâ phâ? šē 'It hasn't been more than a year yet.'
          Adv V P$_v$

However, in the event that a further VP follows such a phâ?, the
presence of adverbial modifiers still would not deter us from
considering the phâ? to be a coda on the ν$_q$: tê qhɔ̂? a-cí phâ? │
chê tù ve hɛ́ 'He'll probably stay a little more than a year'.
Here a-cí=phâ? 'a little more than' is best regarded as a unitary
coda.

(d) Q + pɛ 'a whole Q'. Similarly, the verb pɛ 'be enough,
plenty' may attach itself as a coda to a Q, with the meaning 'the
whole Q': tê jɔ pɛ 'a full twelve days; one complete duodecimal
cycle'.

(e) Q + khwê 'a Q and a half'. The morpheme khwê 'half' may
occur as the coda of a ν$_q$, indicating a quantity one-half greater
than that specified by the numeral: tê lî? khwê 'a liter and a
half', tê nālī khwê 'an hour and a half'. [khwê is also a Clf of
the measure-subclass [above 3.42(3)], used to indicate a quantity
half as great as the N$_{qh}$: nālī tê khwê 'half an hour', cà-šī tê
khwê 'half of the paddy'.][65] khwê is used of non-material enti-
ties like time, or non-solid or non-discrete objects (liquids,

3.43c-e

rice, etc.). For solid discrete objects, Lahu has only the Clf
khô-bá 'piece, fragment' (< the verb khô 'break'; màʔ-pāw tê khô-
bá 'half a coconut; a piece of a coconut'), though the loanword
kə̀n is apparently gaining ground: màʔ-pāw tê šī kə̀n 'a coconut
and a half'; màʔ-pāw tê kə̀n 'half a coconut'.

(f) Q + qhe ~ à-là + Q + qhe ~ à-là(=qhe) + Q ~ Q + qhe-lê 'ap-
proximately Q'. The extentive nouns qhe or qhe-le [below 3.641-
3.642] following a Q indicate that the number specified by the
numeral is only approximate: ŋâ ğâ qhe 'about five people'; vàʔ
tê chi khɛ qhe-lê 'about ten pigs; to the tune of ten pigs'. A
similar meaning may be conveyed by the morpheme à-là preceding
the Q: à-là nî ha-pa 'about two months'. [à-là is basically an
adverb meaning 'nearly'; see below 4.412(8).] The à-là may be
reinforced by qhe, so that both co-occur with the same Q. Either
they both precede the Q (à-là=qhe šêʔ qhɔ̀ʔ 'about three years'),
or else à-là precedes and qhe follows (à-là šêʔ qhɔ̀ʔ qhe 'id.').
For a 'polyquantificational' way to indicate numerical approxima-
tion, see below 3.47(4).

(g) Q + AE. Q's may be followed by a variety of modifying struc-
tures which seem to be inherently adverbial expressions ('AE's');
i.e., they either recur in other sentences where they clearly
modify a following verb and/or have a morphological structure
typical of true adverbials. These modifiers usually contain
either the subordinating particle ɛ̀ [below 4.42] or the true ad-
verb qha [4.412(3)].

1. tê nàʔ šá ɛ̀: The AE šá ɛ̀ 'rather; slightly' appears after
the Q tê nàʔ 'early in the morning' ("one early-morningsworth"),
to form the expression tê nàʔ šá ɛ̀ 'fairly early in the morning'
(i.e., about 6:00 A.M., as opposed to simply tê nàʔ 'the crack of
dawn; about 4:00 A.M.'). The šá ɛ̀ here is in closer constituency
with the preceding Q than it is to the following verb: tê nàʔ šá
ɛ̀ | ğa yɨ̀ʔ-tu ve cê 'He says we'll have to get up kind of early
in the morning'. This does not preclude the possibility of re-

3.43f-g

'the whole year long; a whole year'. [More rarely, when the nu-
meral of the head-Q is <u>tê</u>, the same meaning may be conveyed by
adding a second Q with <u>tê</u> after the head-Q: <u>chi tê qhɔʔ tê qhɔʔ</u>
'this whole year' ("this one year whole year"). See above 3.41.]
<u>5</u>. Q + <u>qha gà</u>. The expression <u>qha gà</u> 'until it reaches; up to
the end' functions both as an AE and as an extentive noun [3.643].
After Q's referring to time or distance its meaning is similar to
that of <u>qha yɨ</u>: <u>tê ni qha-gà</u> ¦ <u>kán</u> | <u>ǧa te ve yò</u> 'We have to do
work all day long' ("Up to the end of one day work must do"); <u>nî</u>
<u>chi kîlô qha-gà</u> ¦ <u>yàʔ-qɔ</u> | <u>ǧa jû ve yò</u> 'We have to walk this road
for fully twenty kilometers'.

3.44   Headed ν_q's. A headed ν_q is one which has a noun-head
(N_{qh}) preceding the Q. The distinction between headed and un-
headed ν_q's applies at the level of Lahu surface grammar only.
We shall want to claim that all true quantified nuclei have an
underlying N_{qh} on a deeper level [below 3.45]. On the other hand,
certain structures of the form N + Q, where a noun does overtly
precede the Num + Clf, are really covert genitives of the form
N + <u>ve</u> + ν_q.

In true quantified nuclei, the Num + Clf is semantically
subordinate to the preceding noun, modifying it by counting it:
<u>yè=mí-tɔ̄ ɔ̂ khɛ</u> 'four bears' ("four beastsworth of bear"); <u>í-kâʔ</u>
<u>tê lîʔ</u> 'a liter of water'; <u>Lâhū nî ǧâ</u> 'two Lahu' ("two peoples-
worth of Lahu"); <u>šɔ́-pɔ̄ tê nàʔ</u> 'early tomorrow morning' ("tomor-
row one morningsworth"); <u>Cà-lɔ̂ tê ǧâ</u> 'Jalaw alone; Jalaw by him-
self' ("one peoplesworth of Jalaw"); <u>Man-chɔ tê phā</u> 'all Burmese'
("one collectivity of Burmese"). In true ν_q's like these, it is
either ungrammatical to insert <u>ve</u> before the Q (*<u>í-kâʔ ve tê lîʔ</u>),
or else it completely changes the meaning (<u>Lâhū ve nî ǧâ</u> 'the two
people of the Lahu'; <u>yè=mí-tɔ̄ ve ɔ̂ khɛ</u> 'the four animals of the
bear'). By and large, whenever the noun preceding a Q is common,
the nominal nucleus is a true ν_q. [An exception is the prefixed
nouns of spatial reference, above 3.32, 3.344; below 3.75(2).]

3.44

When the noun preceding a Q is a pronoun, the structure is always a true v_q, providing the Clf is ğâ; i.e., provided that it is the people referred to by the pronoun which are being counted: yɔ̂ tê ğâ 'he alone; he himself'; ŋà-hɨ ŋâ ğâ 'we five people; the five of us'.[66] When the Clf refers to a group or a collectivity, however, it is always grammatical to insert genitive ve before the Q: yɔ̂-hɨ tê mō ∿ yɔ̂-hɨ ve tê mō 'the group of them; they as a group'; šu tê qhâʔ ∿ šu ve tê qhâʔ 'the others' village'; ŋà-hɨ tê qhâʔ ∿ ŋà-hɨ ve tê qhâʔ 'our village'.

There are certain types of nouns which always stand in a genitival relationship to a following Q:

(a) N_{intg} + Q = N_{intg} + ve + Q. When the surface N_{qh} is an interrogative noun, it is really the possessor nucleus of a genitive construction: à-thòʔ-ma tê cɔ̂ ∿ à-thòʔ-ma ve tê cɔ̂ 'what kind of thing?' ("a thing of what?"); qhɔ̂ tê ğâ ∿ qhɔ̂ ve tê ğâ 'which person?'; qhà-thâʔ tê yân ∿ qhà-thâʔ ve tê yân 'what time?' ("a time of when?"). The numeral in these constructions is usually tê, though after qhɔ̂ ∿ qhà 'which?', higher numerals are also possible.

(b) N_{sd} + Q = N_{sd} + ve + Q. When the noun preceding a Q is a spatial demonstrative [above 3.24], a similar analysis holds: chò hí mà ∿ chò ve hí mà 'the eight (things) that are here' ("the eight things of here"); ô tê ğâ ∿ ô ve tê ğâ 'that person; the person over there'. Here it is obviously not the location which is being counted; rather, a certain number of objects are being described by reference to their location. The situation is exactly analogous when the noun preceding the Q is a prefixed noun of spatial reference, like ɔ̂-qhɔ 'inside', ɔ̂-hɔ̂ 'underneath', etc. [above 3.32]: ɔ̂-qhɔ tê šɨ̄ ∿ ɔ̂-qhɔ ve tê šɨ̄ 'the round object that is inside'; ɔ̂-hɔ̂ nî pêʔ ∿ ɔ̂-hɔ̂ ve nî pêʔ 'the two pieces of land below'.

(c) chi + Q = chi + ve + Q. The determiner chi 'this/these' also bears a genitival relationship to a following Q: chi khɔ̂ʔ

3.44a-c

mà ∿ chi ve khɔʔ mà 'these six things'; chi tê khɛ ∿ chi ve tê
khɛ 'this animal'. What holds for chi alone is also true of
structures consisting of chi plus an extentive noun of the ma-
or má-ɛ̀ classes: chi hɨ tê khɛ ∿ chi hɨ ve tê khɛ 'an animal
this size'; chi hɨ-ɛ̀ tê šī ∿ chi hɨ-ɛ̀ ve tê šī 'such a small
round thing'.

A few expressions of the form chi + tê + Clf have been lexi-
calized by deleting the numeral, yielding noun-compounds of the
form chi + Clf: chi-há 'tonight' < chi tê há 'this night' < chi
ve tê há; chi-qhɔʔ 'this year' < chi tê qhɔʔ < chi ve tê qhɔʔ.
[chi-qhɔʔ is usually pronounced /cì-qhɔʔ/, which represents a
still more advanced state of lexicalization (below 3.55).]

(d) a-1ɔ́ and ɔ-šɨ̌ before Q's. The words a-1ɔ́ ∿ ɔ-1ɔ́ 'first' and
ɔ-šɨ̌ 'something new; another; the next one' function sometimes
as adverbs [below 4.412(5)] and sometimes as nouns. In the latter
capacity they may be directly followed by Q's: a-1ɔ́ tê g̈â 'the
first person', ɔ-šɨ̌ tê yɛ̀ 'a new house; another house; the next
house'. Here also genitive ve is insertible without change of
meaning (a-1ɔ́ ve tê g̈â, ɔ-šɨ̌ ve tê yɛ̀), although the ve is more
often absent here than in the analogous structures described in
sections (a)-(c) above.

Genitival quantified expressions share the important property
of being subordinable as a whole to a preceding noun-head [see
below, next section].

3.45 Unheaded ν_q's, covert N_{qh}'s, and headed genitival ν_q's. In
the context of Lahu surface grammar, a [Num + Clf] sequence is
autonomous; i.e., it may constitute a nominal nucleus all by it-
self. Thus, tê mà │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ 'There's still one left'. Yet it is
obvious that these 'unheaded ν_q's' are really modifying an implic-
it N_{qh} to be found in the immediate linguistic or situational
context (e.g., á-tà tê mà │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ 'There's still one stick left').
It is the underlying N_{qh} which determines the choice of Clf.
This is especially clear when the Clf is more specific than mà:

3.44d; 3.45

tê tà | cɔ̀ s̆ɔ̄ 'There's still one stick left' (where tà is the Clf
for stick-like objects); tê khɛ | cɔ̀ s̆ɔ̄ 'There's still one animal
left', etc. In most cases, an unheaded ν_q conveys the same
elliptical impression as English sentences like 'I have two too',
where the reaction of a newcomer to the discourse would surely be
'Two what?'

An exception to this principle is provided by Q's which have
a purely abstract mathematical reference, as when a child counts
nothing in particular in order to practice his numbers: tê mà,
nî mà, s̆ê? mà '1, 2, 3', or when keeping score in a game. Anoth-
er apparent exception is unheaded ν_q's with time-classifiers (tê
qhɔ̀? 'one year'). It is implausible to derive these from the
rather rare ν_q's with the noun ɔ-yâ(n) 'time' as head (ɔ-yân tê
qhɔ̀? 'a year's duration'. However, there is nothing stopping us
from deriving them from ν_q's where the time-word is itself the
head: qhɔ̀? tê mà 'one year'. [See above, 'Time-classifiers'
3.42(4).]

Still another construction where a Q appears with no overt
preceding N_{qh} is genitive expressions of the form Q + ve + N,
where N is a mass-noun: s̆ê? lî? ve i-kâ? 'three liters of water',
tê to ve jè?-nê? 'a bodyful of mud' ("the whole body's mud"), etc.
[Note the similarity here to English word-order.] We derive
these strings from N_{mass} + Q constructions (í-kâ? s̆ê? lî?; jè?-
nê? tê to) via the 'Genitivization of the quantifier of a mass-
noun' transformation. More often than not, a further transforma-
tion ('Rightward genitive shift'; see below 3.77) is applied to
the output of this one, so that the Q + ve ends up again to the
right of the N_{qh}: í-kâ? s̆ê? lî? ve 'id.'; jè?-nê? tê to ve 'id.'
The development is thus as follows: N_{mass} + Q → Q + ve + N_{mass} →
N_{mass} + Q + ve. If a noun is not a mass-noun, its quantifier
may not be genitivized. Thus pā̀=tɛ́-nê? tê khɛ 'a frog' cannot be
paraphrased as *tê khɛ ve pā̀=tɛ́-nê?.

It is now time to re-examine the genitival ν_q's discussed in
3.44. First of all, if the head nucleus of a genitive construc-

tion consists simply of a Q, it is always possible to expand it
to N_{qh} + Q; that is, NP + ve + Q > NP + ve + N_{qh} + Q.[67] Thus,
qhɔ ve tê khɛ 'which (animal)?' is underlain by sentences like
qhɔ ve pā=tɛ́-nêʔ tê khɛ 'which frog?', qhɔ ve hɔ tê khɛ 'which
elephant?', etc. Similarly for quantitial genitives like mô ve
tê cɛ̀ 'the (plant) down there' < e.g., mô ve là-cɛ̀ tê cɛ̀ 'that
tea-plant down there'; ɔ=pâ-nê ve tê yɛ̀ 'the (house) nearby' <
e.g., ɔ=pâ-nê ve yɛ̀ tê yɛ̀ 'the house nearby', ɔ=pâ-nê ve bo-yɛ̀ tê
yɛ̀ 'the church nearby'; chi ve nî pêʔ 'these two (pieces of
land)' < e.g., chi ve hɛ nî pêʔ 'these two mountain-fields'; chi
hɨ ve nî khɛ 'two (animals) this size' < e.g., chi hɨ ve ğɨ-phɨ
nî khɛ 'two otters this size'; a-lɔ ve tê tà 'the first (stick-
like object)' < e.g., a-lɔ ve vêʔ-tà tê tà 'the first flower-
stalk'; ɔ-šɨ ve tê qhɔ 'another (elongated object)' < e.g., ɔ-šɨ
ve nâʔ tê qhɔ 'another gun'.

   We are now ready to enunciate a principle of great general-
ity in the structure of the Lahu NP. Any genitival expression of
the form $N_{non\text{-}common}$ + ve + N_{qh} + Q, where '$N_{non\text{-}common}$' is de-
fined to include N_{intg}'s, N_{sd}'s, prefixed nouns of spatial refer-
ence, chi, extentive compounds containing chi or a N_{sd}, a-lɔ, and
ɔ-šɨ, may be converted to synonymous expressions of the form N_{qh}
+ $N_{non\text{-}common}$ + ve + Q. That is, a noun heading a quantified
nucleus that is the possessed head of a genitive construction
whose possessor nucleus is a non-common noun (as defined above)
may be shifted to the leftmost position in the construction, so
that it now heads the entire 'new' genitive sequence consisting
of $N_{non\text{-}common}$ + ve + Q. We may refer to this process as the
'Promotion of quantified head' transformation. [The 'non-pro-
moted' construction where the Q was directly preceded by its N_{qh}
would have to be considered more basic, since we do not want
unheaded v_q's in our deep structure.]

   Taking examples from all our sub-types of $N_{non\text{-}common}$, we
have equivalent structures like the following: qhɔ ve pā=tɛ́-nêʔ

tê khɛ → pā=tɛ́-nɛ̂ʔ qhɔ̄ ve tê khɛ 'which frog?'; mô ve là-cɛ̀ tê cɛ̀
→ là-cɛ̀ mô ve tê cɛ̀ 'that tea-plant down there'; ɔ=pâ-nɛ̂ ve yɛ̀ tê
yɛ̀ → yɛ̀ ɔ=pâ-nɛ̂ ve tê yɛ̀ 'the house nearby'; chi ve hɛ nî pê? →
hɛ chi ve nî pê? 'these two mountain-fields'; chi hɨ ve ğɨ-phɨ nî
khɛ → ğɨ-phɨ chi hɨ ve nî khɛ 'two otters this size'; a-lɔ́ ve vê?-
tà tê tà → vê?-tà a-lɔ́ ve tê tà 'the first flower-stalk'; ɔ-šɨ̌ ve
nâ? tê qhɔ̄ → nâ? ɔ-šɨ̌ ve tê qhɔ̄ 'another gun'.

For brevity's sake let us take chi 'this' as typical of all
N$_{\text{non-common}}$'s. There are no less than five types of NP where chi
may co-occur with a Num + Clf (i.e., five types of 'determined
quantified nuclei'). The underlying or 'most basic' structure
has chi alone in the possessor nucleus of a genitive expression,
with a possessed head consisting of a headed ν$_q$: chi ve qhâ?-šɛ̌
nî ğâ 'these two headmen'. The noun of the possessed nucleus may
then be promoted to the beginning of the string, yielding qhâ?-šɛ̌
chi ve nî ğâ 'id.'. In this new structure, qhâ?-šɛ̌ is modified
by chi ve nî ğâ as a whole. Now, taking this as a point of depar-
ture, several shorter constructions may be derived. As we have
seen, it is grammatical to delete the ve from genitive expressions
of this type, yielding strings like qhâ?-šɛ̌ chi nî ğâ 'id.'. [We
may refer to this process as the 've-Deletion after non-common
possessor' transformation.] Alternatively, the speaker may choose
rather to delete the promoted head of strings like qhâ?-šɛ̌ chi ve
nî ğâ, while retaining the ve: chi ve nî ğâ 'these two (people)'
['Deletion of promoted genitive head' transformation]. Finally,
it is possible to delete both the ve and the promoted head, so
that one ends up with a construction consisting simply of the
determiner followed by the Q: chi nî ğâ 'these two (people)'.[68]

The other N$_{\text{non-common}}$'s behave just like chi in these con-
structions. With ɔ-šɨ̌ 'something new; another; the next one'
there is an additional complication. This noun freely forms com-
pounds with preceding head-nouns: yɛ̀=ɔ-šɨ̌ 'a new house; another
house' (yɛ̀=ɔ-šɨ̌ | te ğâ ve lâ 'Do you want to build a new house?').

When a N + ɔ-šɨ is followed by a Q, there are two possible inter-
pretations. Either (a) the Q is taken as modifying a unitary
compound, yὲ=ɔ-šɨ tê yὲ; in this case the speaker will pause
slightly before the Q, and the construction can only mean 'a/one
new house'; or (b) ɔ-šɨ plus the Q is understood to be a unitary
modifier of the head-noun, yὲ ɔ-šɨ tê yὲ. In the latter case,
the speaker will pause after yὲ, and the construction can only
mean 'another house'. The modifier ɔ-šɨ tê yὲ derives from ɔ-šɨ
ve tê yὲ via ve-deletion, and the whole construction comes ulti-
mately from ɔ-šɨ ve yὲ tê yὲ, in the manner described above. It
is even possible to have two instances of ɔ-šɨ in the same NP,
the first being part of the compound head-noun and the second be-
longing to the complex modifier: yὲ-ɔ-šɨ ɔ-šɨ tê yὲ 'another new
house; the next new house' (ult. < yὲ=ɔ-šɨ ɔ-šɨ ve yὲ tê yὲ).

3.46 A further word on prefixed spatial nouns in quantified
nuclei. We have seen how a prefixed noun of spatial reference
may occur as possessor nucleus in a genitive construction whose
head is a ν_q: ɔ=pâ-nê ve šɨʔ-cὲ tê cὲ 'the nearby tree; the tree
that is nearby', and how this basic structure can be transformed
into šɨʔ-cὲ ɔ=pâ-nê ve tê cὲ or šɨʔ-cὲ ɔ=pâ-nê tê cὲ, with no
change of meaning. It is also possible, however, for a noun of
spatial reference to be the head of a genitive construction whose
possessor nucleus is a ν_q: šɨʔ-cὲ tê yὲ ve ɔ=pâ-nê 'near a tree'
("one tree's nearness"). The genitive ve may then be deleted to
yield šɨʔ-cὲ tê yὲ ɔ=pâ-nê 'near a tree'. A few non-spatial nouns
may also permit this deletion, especially ɔ-po 'sake': ŋà-hɨ tê
ğâ le-le ɔ-po 'for the sake of us all' (< ŋà-hɨ tê ğâ le-le ve
ɔ-po 'id.'). [See above 3.32; below 3.75.]

3.47 Polyquantification. A polyquantificational expression,
'QQ', is one which contains two or more [Num + Clf]'s belonging
to the same NP. [QQ's are to be distinguished from sequences of
Q's, each one of which belongs to a separate NP. This is 'inde-
pendent multiple quantification' (next section).] QQ's may be

subdivided into 'QQ reduplications' (where the Q's are identical)
vs. 'QQ combinations' (where the Q's are different). QQ redupli-
cations are further divisible into 'unmediated QQ reduplications'
(where nothing intervenes between the successive Q's), and
'mediated QQ reduplications', where a verbal or nominal morpheme
occurs between the identical Q's. In this mediated type, the
numeral of the Q's is almost always t̲ê̲ 'one'.

QQ reduplications are usually sequential or distributive in
meaning. The Q's represent entities that are considered either
one after the other in time, or else severally at the same time:
y̲�譎 ¦ t̲ê̲ k̲h̲ɨ̲ t̲ê̲ k̲h̲ɨ̲ | n̲a̲-n̲i̲ v̲e̲ t̲í̲ y̲ò̲ 'He asked it again and again'
("one-time one-time"); n̲î̲ n̲i̲ n̲î̲ n̲i̲ ¦ c̲h̲ò̲ k̲à̲ʔ | l̲à̲ j̲ɔ̲ v̲e̲ 'He used
to come here every two days' ("two-days two-days"): n̲î̲ g̲̈â̲ n̲î̲ g̲̈â̲ |
t̲e̲-̲ʔ̲ 'Do it two (people) at a time'; t̲ê̲ g̲̈â̲ t̲ê̲ g̲̈â̲ t̲h̲à̲ʔ | q̲h̲a̲-d̲è̲ʔ
p̲è̲ d̲à̲ʔ m̲e̲̅ 'Divide it up properly among everybody!' ("One-person
one-person properly divide it!").

The most common morpheme that may intervene between the Q's
of a QQ is p̲ᵊ̲ (< the verb 'to finish'). The sequence Q + p̲ᵊ̲ + Q
conveys a strong sequential meaning: 'one Q after the other'
("having finished one Q, then another Q"). t̲ê̲ g̲̈â̲ p̲ᵊ̲ t̲ê̲ g̲̈â̲ t̲h̲à̲ʔ |
t̲â̲ p̲î̲ 'Don't give it to one person after the other'; t̲ê̲ m̲à̲ p̲ᵊ̲ t̲ê̲
m̲à̲ | c̲â̲ p̲ᵊ̲ ò̲ 'He ate them one after the other'; t̲ê̲ n̲i̲ p̲ᵊ̲ t̲ê̲ n̲i̲ |
ɨ̲̅-l̲a̲-m̲u̲-l̲a̲ t̲ù̲ v̲e̲ h̲ɛ̲ 'You will undoubtedly increase your standing
("get-big-get-high") day by day'.[69] [There is one set expression
(really a sort of ionized Elab), where p̲ᵊ̲ intervenes between two
unlike Q's: t̲ê̲ c̲o̲ p̲ᵊ̲ t̲ê̲ c̲á̲ 'generation after generation' (∿ t̲ê̲
c̲á̲ p̲ᵊ̲ t̲ê̲ c̲á̲).]

Two other mediated QQ reduplications, both involving Shan
loanwords, have been modelled on the Q + p̲ᵊ̲ + Q construction.
These are: $[\underline{t\hat{e}} + Clf]_1 + \underline{kh\bar{a}} + [\underline{t\hat{e}} + Clf]_1$ (< the verb k̲h̲ā̲ 'to
cross over; skip; omit') 'every other Clf' (t̲ê̲ n̲i̲ k̲h̲ā̲ t̲ê̲ n̲i̲
'every other day'; t̲ê̲ h̲a̲-p̲a̲ k̲h̲ā̲ t̲ê̲ h̲a̲-p̲a̲ 'every other month');
and $[\underline{t\hat{e}} + Clf]_1 + \underline{pu}/\underline{po} + [\underline{t\hat{e}} + Clf]_1$ (< the M_{pfx} and Clf p̲u̲ ∿ p̲o̲

'portion; share; sake') 'a Clf's-worth at a time' (<u>tê ni pu tê ni</u> 'a day's worth at a time').

For the use of the P$_n$ <u>è̱ʔ</u> ∿ <u>è̱</u> in QQ reduplications, see below 3.87.

In all our above examples of QQ reduplication, there is no overt N$_{qh}$. There is nothing stopping us from inserting one in every case, however: <u>á-tà tê tà pə̀ tê tà thàʔ</u> | <u>yù la pî ve</u> 'They
         N$_{qh}$
brought him the sticks one after the other'. Note that there is no need to set up an underlying N$_{qh}$ before <u>each</u> individual Q, since the entire reduplicate belongs to the same NP and modifies its N$_{qh}$ (overt or covert) as a unit.

'QQ combinations' fall into several well-defined classes:
<u>(1) Big numbers</u>. We have seen [above, 'Round number classifiers', 3.42(8)] that numerical expressions above ten (except even hundreds, thousands, etc.) contain more than one Q:

<u>nâʔ hî hέ ɔ̂ ha tê chi qɔ̂ qhɔ̂</u>   '8419 rifles';
N$_{qh}$ Q$_1$ Q$_2$ Q$_3$ Q$_4$

<u>tê hέ qɔ̂ ha khɔ̂ʔ chi khɔ̂ʔ qhɔ̂ʔ</u>   'the year 1966'.
   Q$_1$ Q$_2$ Q$_3$ Q$_4$

The Q's in these big numbers are not all co-ordinate. Rather, everything in the string functions as a single, compound numeral, in constituency <u>en bloc</u> with the Clf of the last Q.
<u>(2) Ordinal numbers</u>. Ordinality (from 'second' on up) is expressed in Lahu by two consecutive Q's, the first containing the appropriate numeral plus a Clf, and the second always consisting of the numeral <u>tê</u> 'one' plus the same Clf: <u>vàʔ ɔ̂ khε tê khε</u> 'the fourth pig'; <u>nî kà tê kà</u> 'the second place'; [ŋà-hɨ | qa-mɨ tā ve] <u>qa-mɨ=khɔ̂ šê̱ʔ mà tê mà</u> 'the third song we had sung'. 'First' is expressed either by <u>tê</u> + Clf alone (<u>chɔ tê ğâ</u> 'a/one person; the first person') or, more specifically, by the noun <u>a-lɔ́</u> + [<u>tê</u> + Clf], with or without an intervening genitive <u>ve</u>: <u>a-lɔ́ (ve) tê ğâ</u> 'id.'.

3.47(1-2)

(3) **Fractions**. Fractions are expressed by QQ combinations such that the Clf of both Q's is <u>pu(n)</u> ~ <u>po(n)</u> 'part, portion' (< Shan, ult. prob. < Chinese <u>fen</u> 分), while the numeral of Q_1 is the denominator and that of Q_2 the numerator: <u>hɛ</u> <u>šê̂ʔ</u> <u>pun</u> <u>nî</u> <u>pun</u> 'two-thirds of the field'; <u>ha-pa=phû̂</u> <u>hí</u> <u>pun</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pun</u> 'one-eighth of the monthly wages'. [For a discussion of the words for 'half' (<u>khwê̂</u>, <u>kɔ̀n</u>, <u>khô-bá</u>) see above 3.42(3) 'Measure classifiers', and 3.43(ẹ) 'Codaed ν_q's'.]

(4) **Numerical approximation**. Much as one says in English 'three or four', 'six or seven', etc., when it is not necessary or feasible to specify an exact number, there is a Lahu construction that conveys the idea of numerical approximation consisting of two Q's whose Clf's are the same, and whose second Q contains a numeral that is one greater than that of the first: <u>chɔ</u> ɔ̂ <u>ğâ</u> ŋâ ＊ <u>ğâ</u> 'four or five people'; <u>í-kàʔ</u> <u>khɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>líʔ</u> <u>š̵ɨ̄</u> <u>líʔ</u> 'six or seven liters of water'; <u>š̵ɨ̄ʔ-cɛ̀</u> <u>hí</u> <u>cɛ̀</u> <u>qɔ̂</u> <u>cɛ̀</u> ｜ <u>thu</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> ɔ 'You may chop down eight or nine trees'. Often the P_{univ} <u>lɛ</u> 'conjoiner' is inserted between the Q's with no difference in meaning: ɔ̂ <u>ğâ</u> <u>lɛ</u> ŋâ <u>ğâ</u> 'four or five (people)'. Such Q + <u>lɛ</u> + Q constructions are still single NP's.[70] [For other ways of expressing numerical approximation, see above 3.43(f).]

(5) **Q + tê gɛ**. The Q <u>tê</u> <u>gɛ</u> 'together' freely follows many other Q's (especially those with group-classifiers and other Clf's referring to persons; above 3.42(5)), in a manner reminiscent of its parent noun-particle <u>gɛ</u> 'with': <u>màʔ-yâ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>phā̄</u> <u>tê</u> <u>gɛ</u> 'together with all the soldiers'; <u>Lâhū̄-yâ</u> <u>šɨ̄</u> <u>ğâ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>gɛ</u> 'together with seven Lahu'.

3.48 <u>Independent multiple quantification</u>. In the various polyquantificational constructions just discussed, there was no reason to regard the individual Q's as belonging to separate NP's. The QQ sequence formed a tightly-knit unit which shared a common relationship to the VP of the clause. In many other cases, however, successive Q's in a single nominal hemistich obviously re-

3.47(3-5); 3.48

late differently to the VP and must be considered separate NP's: tê g̈â ¦ tê g̈â thàʔ | tâ dɔ̂ʔ 'Don't hit each other' ("One person do not hit one person"). Here the first tê g̈â refers to the striker, while the second refers to him who is struck (as indicated by the accusative P$_n$ thàʔ). [Contrast this with our example above (3.47), tê g̈â tê g̈â thàʔ | qha-dɛ̀ʔ pɛ̀ dàʔ mɛ̄ 'Divide it up properly among everybody', where the reduplicated Q functions simply like a pluralized object.] When a noun comes between two Q's, that is conclusive evidence that the Q's belong to separate NP's: tê g̈â khɔ̂ ¦ tê g̈â | mâ na 'When one would speak the other

$$Q_1 \qquad\qquad Q_2$$

would not listen' ("One person's words one person not listen"). Here Q_2 is the 'subject' of the verb, while Q_1 is attributive to the object of the verb (khɔ̂ 'words').

Sometimes two successive Q's belong not only to separate NP's, but even to separate underlying clauses. Thus, when citing the score of a competitive game in answer to the question qhà-nî mà | gà-ò le 'What's the score?' ("How many has it reached?"), one uses expressions like hí mà š̆ɨ̄ mà 'Eight to seven' ("Eight thing seven thing"). Here no verb appears overtly at all, yet it is easy to see that the Q's each belong to a different underlying clause, something like ŋà-hɨ ¦ hí mà | gà lɛ || yɔ̂-hɨ ¦ š̆ɨ̄ mà | gà-ò 'We have reached eight, and they have reached seven'. The conjoining particle lɛ may intervene between the Q's in the reduced construction (hí mà lɛ š̆ɨ̄ mà). This case is then an exception to the general principle stated at the end of Note 70.

When two successive Q's each have the same numeral (usually tê) but different Clf's, they usually belong to separate NP's which are being compared or correlated: tê g̈â ¦ tê pɔ̂ʔ | te mɛ̄ 'Do it one person at a time!' ("one-person one-time": NP$_{subj}$/ NP$_{time}$); tê g̈â ¦ tê kà | tâ chê 'Don't live separately!' ("one-person one-place": NP$_{subj}$/NP$_{place}$); á-tà chi ɔ̄ ¦ tê g̈â ¦ tê mà | yù lɛ || qɔ̂ʔ qay ve yò 'Each person took one of the sticks and went back' ("one-person one-stick": NP$_{subj}$/NP$_{obj}$).

When the correlation between the quantified entities is not one to one, the particle ve usually[71] intervenes after the first Q. The two Q's remain coordinate, separate NP's. [This use of ve is distinct from its genitive, subordinating function, where it unites two NP's into a single more complex NP such that the first part is attributive to the second.] English 'per' constructions (e.g., 'two dollars per [one] week') are rather analogous: tê qhɔ̂ʔ ve ¦ šêʔ ha bà? | ǧa pî ve 'We have to pay 300
Q_1 Q_2
baht a year' ("one-year 300-baht"); chɔ tê chi ǧâ ve ¦ tê mō tí |
Q_1 Q_2
te mɛ̄ 'Put the ten people into a single group' ("ten-people one-group"); <<tê ǧâ ve à? ¦ nî chi hay qhe | pèʔ lâ a>> qôʔ ve
Q_1 Q_2
'They said they'd give each person about twenty rai';
šêʔ mà ve ¦ tê chi bà? | ǧa pî ve 'They're three for ten baht';
Q_1 Q_2
tê qhɔ̂ʔ ve ¦ qhà-ma | ǧa jɔ le 'How much do you usually get per
Q_1 Q_2
year?'[72]. Often the second quantified expression in this construction is itself a QQ reduplication, implying that the correlation holds through several successive events: tê há ve ¦
Q_1
tê kà? tê kà? | pə̀ qôʔ-ma 'We use up about a pack a night!'
Q_2
("one-night one-pack=one-pack"); tê tu ve ¦ nî tɔ nî tɔ | te ve
Q_1 Q_2
'We make each sapling into two sections'; tê ši ve ¦ nî khô nî
Q_1 Q_2
khô | tɔ̂ʔ lâ mɛ̄ 'Cut each fruit into two pieces for me'.

The interrogative noun qhà 'which' appears paired in elaborate expressions with chi 'this', where both are followed by the same Clf. Elab's of this form (qhà + Clf_1 + chi + Clf_1) have

the indefinite or all-inclusive meaning 'each and every Clf; any
Clf at all': qhà-ǧâ-chi-ǧâ 'each and every person'. [See above
3.39.] In earlier stages of the language it was possible to have
the qhà + Clf and the chi + Clf in separate clauses: qhà ǧâ
ú-thà? | mâ ɨ̄ mɨ s̆ē; chi ǧâ ú-thà? | mâ mu mɨ s̆ē 'Make each of us
no greater than others; make all of us no higher than anyone else'
[from a prayer]. In modern Lahu we still find sentences where
one clause contains the interrogative numeral qhà-nî 'how many?'
plus a Clf, while the following clause has the compound numeral
chi-nî 'this many' plus the same Clf. [chi-nî never occurs except
after a clause with qhà-nî.]^{73} The meaning of such correlative
clauses is 'however many Clf's VP$_1$, they will also all be in-
volved in the action of VP$_2$': qhà-nî ǧâ | qay || chi-nî ǧâ ve
ɔ-ha | thɔ̄ gâ ve yò 'However many people go, I want to take all
of their pictures' ("How many people go, that many people's pic-
tures I want to take"); ɔ-vî-ɔ-ni [s̆ɨ | mâ dà? ve] qhà-nî ǧâ |
cɔ̀ || chi-nî ǧâ ve ɔ-ci | tho pî lɛ || ǧà? cɨ ve yò 'However many
relatives you have that have died an evil death, you tell him all
of their names and have him drive (their spirits) away'. The
qhà-nî ... chi-nî construction is the origin of the type of Elab
mentioned above, and is only one of a class of correlative
clauses of indefinite or all-inclusive meaning that contain an
interrogative **word** in the first clause and a parallel word that
answers that question in the next clause [see below 5.24; 5.411].

3.5 Special types of nominal nucleus (II): Determined nuclei
(ν_{det}). We use the term 'determined nucleus' in both a wide and
a strict sense. In the strict sense, ν_{det}'s are those which con-
tain the word chi 'this/these'. In the wider sense, we also in-
clude in this category nuclei containing the morpheme ô 'that/
those', even though ô is really a member of the class of spatial
demonstratives (like mô 'down there', nô 'up there', cô 'way over
there', etc.), and often retains its deictic meaning '(over)
there'. In other words, Lahu has distinct words for 'this' (the

3.5

determiner chi) and 'here' (the N_{sd} chɔ̀), but only a single word
that translates both English 'that' and 'there' (ô). In most
respects, the syntactic behavior of chi is perfectly analogous to
that of ô and the other N_{sd}'s. chi is unique, however, in that
it can occur after and in constituency with any common noun
[3.52 below].

    Nuclei containing chi may also comprise extentive nouns
[3.6], and/or they may be quantified. We have already discussed
determined quantified nuclei in a wider context [3.45], and will
return to this subject in slightly more detail in what follows
[3.54].

3.51 chi as an autonomous noun. chi occurs freely as a N_a mean-
ing 'this; this thing here'. As such, it can constitute a nomi-
nal nucleus all by itself: chi lɛ̀ ¦ à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma le 'What is
this?'; chi thàʔ │ mâ hə̂ʔ gâ 'I don't want to get this' (lɛ̀ is a
topicalizing P_{unf}; thàʔ is the accusative P_n). There is no need
to set up a covert noun-head preceding the chi in sentences like
these (e.g., ɔ-cə̀ 'thing (abstract)'; or mɔ̂ 'thing (concrete)').
Rather we may just note that Lahu is no exception to the univer-
sal observation that languages have 'purely deictic' words whose
referents shift according to whatever aspect of the physical or
psychological world is engaging the speaker's attention.

3.52 chi in post-nominal position. chi (but not ô) may occur at
the end of a nominal nucleus directly after (and in subordinate
constituency with) any common noun:[74] ŋâ chi ¦ nɔ̀ ve lâ 'Are
these fish yours?'; pâ-cɨʔ=mu chi 'this beard'; ɔ-chɔ̂ chi 'this
friend'; a-lâ-mɨ̀-šɨ́-jɔ chi 'this rainbow'; Cà-lɔ̂ chi 'this (fel-
low) Jalaw', etc. This construction might be regarded as just a
particularly productive type of N + N compound. However, the
fact that this productivity is actually unlimited,[75] and that
N_h + chi constructions are systematically relatable to other
types of nuclei where chi occurs elsewhere in the nucleus, lead
us to introduce post-nominal chi into the grammar by a special

3.51; 3.52

phrase-structure rule. (Accordingly, we never connect <u>chi</u> to a preceding noun by a hyphen.)

How did <u>chi</u> acquire this property of unlimited occurrability after other nouns, especially in view of the fact that the spatial demonstratives, <u>chi</u>'s closest relatives, do not share it? The answer is adumbrated by the existence of a rather rare form with the ɔ- prefix, <u>ɔ-chi</u> 'this thing; this matter; that which we have been talking about'. Synchronically this is a compound of the ɔ- + N_a type, since unprefixed <u>chi</u> is already autonomous [3.51]. However, there is reason to suspect that chi was once a limited M_{pfx} which could only occur after ɔ- or other nouns. It was thus 'by nature' a morpheme that was subordinate to a preceding N_h, while the N_{sd}'s were by nature autonomous.

In connected narration, post-nominal <u>chi</u> often has less demonstrative force than English 'this', serving merely as an anaphoric marker to indicate that the preceding noun has already been mentioned in the discourse. It functions here much like our definite article 'the': <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>hê?-pɨ=qhɔ</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>lâ tê khɛ</u> | <u>ğa mɔ̀ ve</u> <u>yɔ̀</u>. <u>lâ chi</u> | <u>ğâ-thè? tā bù qo</u> || <u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>kɔ̂? jâ</u> 'In the jungle he caught sight of a tiger. When <u>the</u> tiger began to roar, he was scared to death'; <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>í-kâ? qhɔ</u> | <u>bɨ lò? e kà?</u> || <u>í-kâ? chi</u> | <u>kâ? jâ lɛ</u> || <u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>hâ?-hâ? qɔ̂? tɔ̂? la ɔ̀</u> 'He dove into the water, but <u>the</u> water was so cold that he came back out in a hurry'.

<u>3.53 Genitival chi</u>. (a)   chi + ve + N_h. For every construction of the form N_h + <u>chi</u> there is a semantically equivalent genitive expression of the form <u>chi</u> + <u>ve</u> + N_h, where <u>chi</u> is the possessor nucleus: <u>pā=tɛ́-nê?</u> <u>chi</u> / <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>pā=tɛ́-nê?</u> 'this frog'; <u>nà?-ú</u> <u>chi</u> / <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>nà?-ú</u> 'this conversation'; <u>Kâlâ-phu</u> <u>chi</u> / <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>Kâlâ-phu</u> 'this white man'. At first glance, it seems hard to rationalize the semantics of this construction. <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>pā=tɛ́-nê?</u>, for example, looks as if it should mean 'the frog of this'. The strangeness disappears, however, if we re-gloss <u>chi</u> as 'this context' ("the frog of this context"). Actually, it seems likely that <u>chi</u>

has come to stand in genitival position by analogy with the N_{sd}'s:
chò ve yâ-mî=há 'the maidens of this place' ("of here"); mô ve
há-qō 'the cave down there' ("of down there"); ô ve ɔ́-qā 'the
buffalo over there; that buffalo'.

An obvious alternative to introducing post-nominal chi into
the grammar by a special phrase-structure rule (3.52) would be to
derive N_h + chi from chi + ve + N_h. However, this would require
adding a 'Postposition of genitival determiner' transformation to
the grammar, and would have the further disadvantage of obscuring
what we take to be the different historical origins of chi as
opposed to the spatial demonstratives.

(b) chi-ve and ô-ve. Under certain conditions, as we shall see
[3.76], it is grammatical to delete the possessed head of a geni-
tive construction. In particular, this deletion is always possi-
ble if the possessor nucleus is chi (or a N_{sd}). Thus, sentences
like chi ve thɔ́-ğθʔ kàʔ | yê phèʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you use this paper
too?' may be reduced to chi-ve kàʔ | yê phèʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you use
this too?'; ô ve qa-mɨ=khɔ́ ɔ̄ | cɨ̂-cɨ mâ na ša 'That song doesn't
sound very good' may become ô-ve ɔ̄ | cɨ̂-cɨ mâ na ša 'That one
doesn't sound very good'. We conventionally hyphenate chi-ve and
ô-ve when the following head has been deleted.

(c) N_h + chi + ve. chi and the N_{sd}'s appear in one more con-
struction where they are genitivally subordinate to a head-noun.
In this 'permuted genitive' construction, the possessor nucleus
plus the ve come after the possessed head. These permuted geni-
tives are not discernibly different in meaning from those where
the possessor nucleus appears in its normal, pre-head position,
and we derive the former from the latter by the 'Rightward shift
of demonstrative possessor' transformation. Thus, chi ve ɔ́-qā →
ɔ́-qā chi ve 'these buffalo'; chi ve mì-gɨ → mì-gɨ chi ve 'this
land'; ô ve Kâlâ-phu → Kâlâ-phu ô-ve 'that white man'; mô ve há-
qō → há-qō mô ve 'the cave down there', etc. [For a more detailed
presentation of this transformation, see below 'Genitive construc-
tions' 3.77.]

3.53b-c

An alternative analysis might be to derive N_h + chi/N_{sd} + ve
strings from genitive structures whose heads are numeral-plus-
classifiers (N_h + chi/N_{sd} + ve + Q; see below 3.54d). Thus, 5̄-qā
chi ve would have its origin in quantified constructions like
5̄-qā chi ve ŋâ khɛ 'these five buffalo' ("these five animalsworth
of buffalo"). This suggestion must be rejected, however, since
a N_h + Q sequence as a whole may be followed by chi/N_{sd} + ve:
5̄-qā ŋâ khɛ chi ve 'these five buffalo'; há-qō̄ tê q̄o mô ve 'the
cave down there'. It would be absurd to derive these structures
from strings like *5̄-qā ŋâ khɛ chi ve ŋâ khɛ.

3.54 Determined quantified nuclei. The determiner occurs to-
gether with Q's in a variety of interrelated constructions within
single nominal nuclei.

(a) N_h + Q + chi. One option the speaker has is to keep the chi
in nucleus-final position [as in 3.52], after the head-noun plus
Q: 5̄-qā ŋâ khɛ chi 'these five buffalo'; mì-gɨ láy pê? chi
'these several pieces of land'.

(b) chi + ve + N_h + Q. Another possibility is to use the chi as
the possessor nucleus of a genitive construction [3.53] whose
head is the N_h + Q: chi ve 5̄-qā ŋâ khɛ 'id.'; chi ve mì-gɨ láy
pê? 'id.'.

(c) N_h + Q + chi + ve. The possessor nucleus plus ve of (b) may
be shifted to the right of the N_h by the 'Rightward shift of
demonstrative possessor' transformation (3.53c): mì-gɨ láy pê?
chi ve 'id.'; 5̄-qā ŋâ khɛ chi ve 'id.'.

(d) N_h + chi + ve + Q. Via the 'Promotion of quantified head'
transformation [3.45], the N_h in (b) may be moved up to first
position in the nucleus, so that the rest of the construction (a
genitive expression of the form chi + ve + Q) modifies it as a
unit: 5̄-qā chi ve ŋâ khɛ 'id.'; mì-gɨ chi ve láy pê? 'id.'.

(e) N_h + chi + Q. By means of the 've-Deletion after non-common
possessor' transformation [3.45], the ve may be deleted from (d):
5̄-qā chi ŋâ khɛ 'id.'; mì-gɨ chi láy pê? 'id.'.

3.54; 3.54a-e

(f) chi + ve + Q. Taking (b) or (d) as a starting point, the speaker may choose rather to delete the quantified head [3.45], so that it is merely understood from the context: chi ve ŋâ khɛ 'these five (animals)'; chi ve láy pêʔ 'these several pieces (of land)'.

(g) chi + Q. Superficially the simplest of all types of determined quantified nuclei, this construction results from the application of both 've-Deletion' and 'quantified head deletion' to (d): chi ŋâ khɛ 'id.'; chi láy pêʔ 'id.'.

3.55 chi in lexical compounds. The determiner appears in a number of constructions that do not fit into the above patterns, and which are best considered lexical compounds.

(a) chi + M_{pfx}'s of spatial reference: We have already encountered the important subclass of prefixable morphemes that have a spatial meaning [3.344]. These occur as second elements in compounds beginning with chi (or a N_{sd}). The spatial morpheme may appear in its unprefixed form, yielding compounds like chi-hɔ 'under this, under here', chi=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'behind this', chi-qhô 'above this', chi=pâ-nê 'near here', etc.[76] Alternatively, the spatial morpheme may be preceded by its ɔ- prefix, giving higher-order compounds like chi=ɔ-hɔ, chi≡ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ, chi=ɔ-qhô, etc.[77] In any case, chi + M_{pfx} sequences may always be preceded by a head-noun: go-chi=hɔ ∿ go-chi=ɔ-hɔ 'under this ladder'; cà-phôʔ=chi≡qhɔʔ-nɔ ∿ cà-phôʔ=chi≡ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'behind this rice-stoop'; ŋâʔ-phɨ=chi≡qhô ∿ ŋâʔ-phɨ=chi≡ɔ-qhô 'above this bird's-nest', etc. As the hyphenization indicates, the spatial noun is in constituency with the head-noun + chi as a unit: 'behind -- this rice-stoop', not 'behind this -- rice-stoop'. [This segmentation is just the opposite of that required for determined quantified nuclei of the form N_h + chi + Q (3.54d), where the N_h is in constituency with the chi + Q as a whole.]

Structures of the form (N_h) + chi + ɔ- + M_{pfx} are actually genitival compounds [3.32], since it is grammatical to insert ve

after the chi: go chi ve ɔ-hɔ́ 'under this ladder', ŋâʔ-phɨ chi
ve ɔ-qhô 'above this bird's-nest', chi ve ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ 'behind this',
etc.

Any of the constructions just discussed may as a whole be
subordinated genitivally to a following noun: chi-hɔ́ ve mɔ̂ 'the
things under here'; chi=ɔ-hɔ́ ve mɔ̂ 'id.'; ɔ-hɔ́ chi ve mɔ̂ 'id.';
go-chi=ɔ-hɔ́ ve vâ-ne 'the bamboo fibers under the ladder'; ŋâʔ-
phɨ chi ve ɔ-qhô ve šɨ̌ʔ-qá 'the branch above this bird's-nest'.
(b) chi in time-expressions: chi occurs in many fixed expres-
sions referring to time, some of which can be shown to be reduced
versions of fuller constructions. Thus alongside the νq chi tê
qhɔʔ 'this year', we have the compound chi-qhɔʔ (or, at a more
advanced stage of lexicalization, cì-qhɔʔ 'id.'). Similarly, chi
tê há ∿ chi-há 'tonight'; chi tê mû-šɔ́=nàʔ ∿ chi≡mû-šɔ́=nàʔ 'early
this morning'; chi tê ha-pa ∿ chi=ha-pa 'this month'. The com-
pound chi=ɔ-yân 'this time (duration)' is a genitival compound
derived from chi ve ɔ-yân 'id.'. With certain other time-ex-
pressions, such chi-compounds are not possible. Thus chi tê ší
'this week', but not *chi-ší;[78] yàʔ-ni 'today' or chi tê ni 'this
day', but not *chi-ni. Conversely, the compound chi-bəʔ 'now'
only exists in this form. [-bəʔ is a Bn that occurs nowhere
else; it is perhaps a Shan borrowing. Cf. Thai bàt níi 'this
moment'.]

*   The expressions chi thâ and ô thâ, both meaning 'then; at
that time', are not strictly compounds at all, since thâ is a
Puniv of temporal meaning [below 3.91a; 4.712(3)].
(c) Miscellaneous: chi and ô both form compounds with the
colloquial noun phâ 'fellow': chi-phâ 'this guy' (but not *chi
ve phâ), ô-phâ ∿ ô ve phâ 'that guy'.

Finally, chi appears in elaborate expressions of the form
qhà + Clf₁ + chi + Clf₁ 'each and every Clf'. It is here a fos-
silized remnant of an old numeral chi-nî 'this many'. [See above
3.48.]

3.55b-c

3.6 <u>Special types of nominal nucleus (III): Extentive nuclei</u>
(ν_{ext}). We group together under the rubric of extentive nouns
(N_{ext}'s) a number of abstract nominal morphemes of similar formal
characteristics and semantic nature. N_{ext}'s all share the defin-
ing syntactic property of occurrence after other nouns within a
single nominal nucleus. They all have meanings relating to the
characterization or comparison of nouns with respect to modes of
their extension in space: size, location, quantity, sameness or
difference, wholeness or partiality, etc. The N_{ext}'s divide
themselves rather neatly into five subclasses, each discussed in
one of the following sections.

3.61 <u>E_{ma}: reduplicable extentives of the ma-class.</u> There are
four principal members of this class, all of them related morpho-
phonemically to adjectives of similar meaning [above 1.42f,
1.642], and all having corresponding diminutive forms [below
3.62]: <u>ma</u> AMOUNT (cf. <u>mâ</u> 'be numerous'); <u>hɨ</u> SIZE (cf. <u>ɨ</u> 'be
big'); <u>šɨ</u> LENGTH/SPATIAL OR TEMPORAL EXTENT (cf. <u>yɨ</u> 'be long');
<u>fɨ</u> DISTANCE (cf. <u>vɨ</u> 'be far').[79] The E_{ma}'s are bound mor-
phemes which occur in constituency with preceding a) common
nouns, b) spatial demonstratives, c) the determiner <u>chi</u>, or d)
the N_{intg} <u>qhà</u>.

Constructions of the types $N_{common} + E_{ma}$ and $N_{sd} + E_{ma}$ are
translatable in a variety of ways: <u>lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ</u> <u>ma</u> 'an amount like
the ocean; as much as the ocean; the whole oceanful'; <u>yâ-ɛ́</u> <u>hɨ</u>
'the size of a child; as big as a child'; <u>làʔ-g̈ô</u> <u>šɨ</u> 'the length
of an arm; as long as one's forearm'; <u>Cî-mày</u> <u>fɨ</u> 'the distance to
Chiengmai; as far as Chiengmai'. Similarly, <u>ô</u> <u>ma</u> 'that much;
that many; as much as is over there'; <u>ô</u> <u>hɨ</u> 'that size; as big as
that'; <u>nô</u> <u>šɨ</u> 'all the way up there; along that stretch up there';
<u>ô, pɛ̄-pâ</u> <u>šɨ</u> 'over there, alongside the bird-trap.[80] It is not
easy to decide what the direction of modification is here.
English glosses where the extentive idea is conveyed by a noun

3.6; 3.61

('size', 'amount', etc.) make it look as if the Lahu E_{ma} is the semantic head, while glosses where English uses an 'as + Adj + as' construction give the opposite impression: that it is the noun serving as the basis for comparison which is the head, with the E_{ma} being a sort of particle that modifies it.[81] The internal Lahu evidence favors the first interpretation. The E_{ma}'s are derived historically from verbs, and their preceding nouns still seem to stand in a subordinate, quasi-adverbial relationship to them: 'To what extent is it a bigness? To a childlike extent it is big.'[82]

*   The morpheme most frequently encountered before an E_{ma} is the determiner chi: chi ma 'this much; this many; all these'; chi hɨ 'this size; this big; as big as this'; chi šɨ 'this long; along here'; chi fɨ 'this far'; chi mu 'this high'. Again it is the E_{ma} which is the modified, and the chi which is the modifier. Often the [chi + E_{ma}] as a unit appears in more complex constructions where it modifies another noun (e.g., á-thɔ chi šɨ 'this long a knife'). These will be treated below, 3.613.

The N_{intg} qhà 'which?' may be used to question E_{ma}'s: qhà-ma 'how much?; how many?'; qhà-hɨ 'how big?; what size?'; qhà-šɨ 'how long?; along what stretch?'; qhà-fɨ 'how far?'; qhà-mu 'how high?' These expressions (which we conventionally hyphenate) may also occur as units modifying other nouns (e.g., phu qhà-ma 'how much money?'; see below 3.614).

3.611 Nominality vs. adverbiality of N + E_{ma} constructions. One

of the subtlest problems in Lahu grammar is the interpretation of the semantic relationship between a noun and a following verb in those numerous cases where this is not overtly signalled by an intervening noun-particle.[83] Sometimes even in the absence of a P_n the interpretation is straightforward; the noun is the 'topic', 'subject', or 'object' of the verb (the casi recti of traditional grammar), and retains its independence of the latter. It stands on its own semantic feet. At the opposite extreme are those cases

3.611

where a noun is so intimately wedded to a particular verb that it
forms a compound unity with it, like the English 'sand-blast' or
'water-ski'. There remain many sentences where a noun occupies
an intermediate semantic position. It is still clearly a nominal
entity, but its contribution to the meaning of the sentence is
weighted in favor of the elucidation of the attendant circum-
stances of the verbal action (the instrument used to perform the
action, the action's spatial setting, etc. -- the <u>casi</u> <u>obliqui</u> of
traditional grammar), or even the manner or scope of the action's
performance, or the extent to which the verbal state obtains.
These latter functions may properly be called adverbial. NP's
containing N_{ext}'s, by virtue of their meaning, are particularly
susceptible of being drawn into the adverbial orbit.

(a) $N_{common} + E_{ma}$. In sentences like <u>lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ ma</u> | <u>tâ dɔ</u> 'Don't
drink as much as is in the ocean!; Don't drink the ocean dry!',
the NP_{ext} maintains its nominal autonomy as the object of the
verb. The accusative P_n <u>thàʔ</u> may optionally signal this rela-
tionship overtly: <u>lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ ma thàʔ</u> | <u>tâ dɔ</u>. On the other hand,
when the verb is an adjective (particularly when this V_{adj} is the
one etymologically related to the E_{ma}), the NP_{ext} behaves seman-
tically like a degree adverbial: <u>phɨ chi</u> ¦ <u>í-mû hɨ</u> | <u>ɨ̄ ve</u> 'This
dog is as big as a horse' ("big to the extent of a horse's size");
<u>hɔ-qhâʔ=pā chi</u> ¦ <u>yâ-mî=qèʔ hɨ</u> | <u>nè ve</u> 'This man is as short as a
woman' ("short to the extent of a woman's size"). It is worth
noting that when the verb is a V_{adj}, the noun preceding the E_{ma}
may itself be modified by a possessor nucleus, or even by a
relative clause: <u>Cà-lɔ ve phɨ hɨ</u> | <u>ɨ̄ ve yò</u> 'It's as big as
Jalaw's dog'; [<u>nɔ</u> | <u>vɨ tā ve</u>] <u>phɨ hɨ</u> | <u>nè ve yò</u> 'It's as short as
the dog which you bought'. The E_{ma} is in constituency with the
preceding nominal structure as a whole, like the English posses-
sive <u>'s</u> in 'the King of France's wig' or 'the man I saw yester-
day's umbrella'.

(b) $N_{sd} + E_{ma}$ and chi + E_{ma}. These NP_{ext}'s are 'fully nominal'

3.611a-b

when followed by a particle indicating topic or object: ô ma
thàʔ | tâ yù 'Don't take that many!'; chi ma thàʔ | kə qo || dàʔ
à lâ 'Is it all right if we put in this much?'; nô š‡ lὲ ¦ hɛ-vàʔ
| pɛ jâ 'There are plenty of wild boar up there' ("As for up
there, the wild boar are plenty"). When the NP_{ext} is directly
indicating the locale where the verb's action is performed, it is
semantically more like an adverb of place, whether or not it con-
tains a locative P_n: nô š‡ | qay chê ve 'He's walking up there';
nô š‡ kàʔ | yàʔ la ve yò 'They landed up there'; chi f‡ | lòʔ e ò
'It's already gone in this far'.

(c)   qhà + E_{ma}. These NP_{ext}'s often function as the subject or
object of their sentences, with the latter relationship option-
ally signalled by the P_n thàʔ: qhà-ma | cɔ̀ š̄ɔ le 'How much is
still left?'; qhà-ma (thàʔ) | v‡ gâ ve le 'How much do you want
to buy?'; qhà-h‡ thàʔ | te tù ve le 'What size will you make it?;
How big will you make it?'; qhà-f‡ thàʔ | jû qay tù ve le 'How
far will you walk?'. In minor sentences consisting simply of a
[qhà + E_{ma}] plus the interrogative P_{uf} le, the NP_{ext} is also be-
having in a 'fully nominal' way: qhà-h‡ le 'How big is it?';
qhà-f‡ le 'How far is it?'; qhà-ma le 'How much is it?; How much
is there?'.

Rather different are those sentences where another whole NP
intervenes between the [qhà + E_{ma}] and the VP: qhà-ma ¦ ɔ-bo |
cɔ̀ ve le 'How useful it is!' ("How much it has usefulness!").[84]
Here the NP_{ext} is firmly implanted in the nominal hemistich of
the sentence; it has no special relationship with the verb. In-
stead, it seems to be in constituency with the rest of the sen-
tence as a whole, like a 'sentence adverb' [below 4.46].

In other sentence-types, the [qhà + E_{ma}] is directly ques-
tioning the extent to which the verbal action is performed, or
the verbal state maintained, in the manner of an interrogative
adverb: qhà-š‡ | lòʔ e tù le 'How far will it go in?' (not
*qhà-š‡ thàʔ...). This is especially clear when the verb is a

3.611c

V_{adj} (a _fortiori_ when this V_{adj} happens to be the etymological
partner of the E_{ma}): qhà-ma │ mu ve le 'How high is it?' ("How
much is it high?"); qhà-hɨ │ ɨ̄ ve le 'How big is it?'

3.612 [N + E_{ma}]'s in the possessor nuclei of genitive construc-
tions. One of the most important syntactic roles of [N + E_{ma}]'s
is in genitive constructions, where the particle ve marks their
subordination to the head nucleus which is extentively character-
ized ([N + E_{ma}] + ve + v_h): yâ-ɛ́ hɨ ve hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā̄ 'a man the
size of a child'; lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ ma ve í-kâʔ 'as much water as is in
the ocean'; làʔ-g̈ɔ́ šɨ̆ ve nī̄-qhɛ̀ʔ 'a penis as long as a fore-arm';
Cî-mày fɨ ve yàʔ-qɔ 'the road as far as Chiengmai'. Similarly,
with a N_{sd} or chi preceding the E_{ma}: nô sɨ ve šɨ̆ʔ-cɛ̀ 'the trees
all the way up to there'; ô hɨ ve á-tà 'a stick that size'; chi
hɨ ve há-pɨ 'a stone this size'; chi ma ve nā̄-mâ 'this much gaso-
line'. Finally, with qhà as first element: qhà-hɨ ve hɔ 'how
big an elephant?'; qhà-ma ve á-lɛ̀ʔ 'how much salt?', etc.

[Constructions where the possessed head of a N + E_{ma} is only
a Q (chi hɨ ve nî khɛ 'two animals this size') are discussed
below, 3.614.]

The subordination of a [N + E_{ma}] to a nominal nucleus may be
marked with extra clarity by inserting the subordinating particle
ɛ̀ before the ve: chi ma ɛ̀ ve pɛ̂-g̈ɨ 'this much honey'; chi hɨ ɛ̀
ve mɔ̀ʔ-nâʔ 'a gibbon this size'. In this respect, [N + E_{ma}]'s
closely resemble the types of modifiers we call 'subordinate ex-
pressions' [4.42]. See note 86 below.

Genitives of the form [chi/N_{sd} + E_{ma}] + ve + v_h may be per-
muted via the 'Rightward shift of demonstrative possessor' trans-
formation [above 3.53c; below 3.77], to yield synonymous strings
of the form v_h + [chi/N_{sd} + E_{ma}] + ve: chi hɨ ve há-pɨ thàʔ ¦
nɔ̀ │ g̈a mɔ̀ jɔ ò lâ → há-pɨ chi hɨ ve thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ │ g̈a mɔ̀ jɔ ò lâ
'Have you ever seen a stone this size?'; ô ma ve cà-qha │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄
qo ‖ dàʔ ve yò → cà-qha ô ma ve │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ qo ‖ dàʔ ve yò 'If
there's still that much paddy left, it's all right'. [Note that

this transformation is less likely to apply if the noun preceding
the E_{ma} is a common noun or qhà: yâ-ɛ́ hɨ ve hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā 'a man
the size of a child' would only rarely be permuted to hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā
yâ-ɛ́ hɨ ve; similarly, qhà-sɨ̌ ve yàʔ-qɔ 'how long a road?' would
seldom be shifted to yàʔ-qɔ qhà-sɨ̌ ve.]

3.613   The N_h + [chi + E_{ma}] construction.   In this important con-
struction, extentives of the form chi + E_{ma} (more rarely, N_{sd} +
E_{ma}) modify as a unit a preceding head-noun: chɔ chi ma 'this
many people; all these people'; yàʔ-qɔ chi fɨ 'such a far way';
á-thɔ chi sɨ̌ thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | yê phɛ̂ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you use such a long
knife?'; vàʔ-phɨ̂ ô ma thàʔ | ğa ha a sɛ̄ 'We've got to winnow all
that chaff away first'.   There are two possible ways of account-
ing for this construction.   Either (a) we derive it from the per-
muted genitives of the previous section by some 'Deletion of
genitive ve' transformation; or (b) we introduce it directly into
the grammar by a phrase-structure rule.   These are the same al-
ternatives we had to choose from above [3.52-3.53], when we con-
sidered the simpler N_h + chi construction.[85]

3.614   N + [qhà + E_{ma}].   Strings of this form look superficially
like those of the preceding section.   In particular, they appear
to be related to genitives where the [qhà + E_{ma}] is the possessor
nucleus: qhà-ma ve phu | cɔ̀ sɔ̄ le → phu ¦ qhà-ma | cɔ̀ sɔ̄ le 'How
much money is still left?'. Yet the analogy is a false one.   The
constituents of a N_h + [chi + E_{ma}] string all belong to the same
ν; it is not possible to insert a particle after the N_h without
changing the meaning.   On the other hand, in a sequence N + [qhà
+ E_{ma}], the N belongs to a separate NP from the [qhà + ma].
Topic particles (such as lɛ̀, ɔ̄, tí qo, etc.) may intervene with
no significant meaning-change (phu tí qo ¦ qhà-ma | cɔ̀ sɔ̄ le 'As
for money, how much is there left?'), as may the determiner chi
(with predictable meaning-change): phu chi (lɛ̀) ¦ qhà-ma | cɔ̀ sɔ̄
le 'As for this money, how much is there left?'

3.613; 3.614

3.615 Reduplicated E_{ma}'s. The E_{ma}'s in all the above construc-
tions are freely reduplicable, both in their 'fully nominal' and
'adverbial' guises. Typically, however, the reduplication occurs
in one of two syntactic positions: either directly before verbs
('adverbial') or attributive to nouns via the genitive particle
ve.[86] Semantically, E_{ma}-reduplication has either a slight aug-
mentative or an approximative effect.[87] Often it is hard to find
any meaning difference at all from the simplex form. Reduplica-
tion in Lahu sometimes seems to function simply as a device for
giving phonological weight to a monosyllabic morpheme.[88]

(a) N_{common} + E_{ma} + E_{ma}. yâ-ɛ́ hɨ-hɨ 1. 'fully as big as a
child; exactly the size of a child' 2. 'about as big as a
child'; Cî-mày fɨ-fɨ 1. 'just as far as to Chiengmai' 2. 'a-
bout as far as Chiengmai'. Attributive genitivally to nouns:
là?-g̈ɔ̂ š̌ɨ-š̌ɨ ve nī-qhè? 'a penis fully as long as a fore-arm'.
Subordinate adverbially to V_{adj}'s: yâ-mî=qè? hɨ-hɨ | nè̠ ve 'be
about as short as a woman' ("be short approximately to a woman's
extent').

(b) N_{sd} + E_{ma} + E_{ma}. Attributive genitivally to nouns: ô hɨ-hɨ
ve á-tà 'a stick (exactly/about) that size'; mô fɨ-fɨ ve lɔ-qá
'a river [that goes] all the way down there'. Subordinate ad-
verbially to verbs: nô š̌ɨ-š̌ɨ | qɔ̂ ve 'to hoe along up there'.

(c) chi + E_{ma} + E_{ma}. Attributive genitivally to nouns: chi
hɨ-hɨ ve vɨ-fâ? 'a mongoose about this size; a mongoose fully
this big'; vɨ-fâ? chi hɨ-hɨ ve 'id.' (via 'Rightward shift of
demonstrative possessor'). Subordinate adverbially to verbs:
chi š̌ɨ-š̌ɨ | lò? e cɨ phè? ɔ lâ 'Can you make it go in its full
length?'. [Examples of the 'fully nominal' use of these kinds
of reduplicated extentives: thɛ-qō hɨ-hɨ thà? | tâ te 'Don't
make it (just/about) the size of a storage-basket!'; ô fɨ-fɨ
thà? | jû qo || khɨ-š̌ɛ | nà jâ 'If you walk such a distance,
your feet will be very sore'; chi ma-ma thà? | yù bà gâ ve yɔ̀

3.615; 3.615a-c

'I want to throw away all that many; I want to throw away about as much as that'. When a head-noun precedes chi/N_{sd} plus a E_{ma} (reduplicated or not), the structure as a whole is always 'fully nominal': Thây-chɔ chi ma-ma thà? | qô? pî-? 'Tell it to all of these Thais!'; á-thɔ chi šɨ-šɨ | mâ cɔ̀ qo || mâ phὲ? 'You can't do it unless you have a knife that long'.]

(d) qhà + E_{ma} + E_{ma}. Reduplication of a qhà-extentive may have any of several semantic effects. It may be approximative; augmentative but not interrogative; augmentative _and_ interrogative (i.e., an interrogative that expects a superlative answer); or simply interrogative, with no significant difference from the simplex form. Morphologically, the reduplication may be either A-B-B or A-B-A-B: qhà hɨ-hɨ ve cà?-pɔ̀ | yà? tù ve le 'What size plane will land? (may expect superlative answer)'; chɔ ¦ qhà-ma qhà-ma | là tù hέ 1. 'Every last person will probably come' (augmentative but not interrogative) 2. 'A certain number of people will probably come' (approximative).

Minor sentences like qhà hɨ-hɨ le may be interpreted either as approximative ('About how big is it?') or as expecting a superlative answer ('How huge is it?'). Before a non-negated verb, in a sentence ending with the P_{uf} le, qhà + E_{ma} + E_{ma} usually expects a superlative answer: í-kâ? ¦ qhà ma-ma | bî-šê? ɔ le 'How much water has overflowed by now (quite a bit, I daresay)?' When no le is present, the reduplicated qhà-extentive may be merely augmentative: yɔ̂ ¦ qhà šɨ-šɨ | ga câ mâ tù ve yɔ̀ 'He'll be able to earn a living [from it] for a very long time'.[89] Before a negated verb, qhà + E_{ma} + E_{ma} is approximative, but not interrogative. The sequence [qhà + E_{ma} + E_{ma}] + mâ 'not' + V translates the English 'not very Adjective' or 'not Verb very much': qhà ma-ma | mâ dà? 'It's not very good'; á-thɔ chi ¦ qhà šɨ-šɨ | mâ hê? 'This knife isn't so long'; mû-yὲ ¦ qhà ma-ma | mâ là mɔ̀ še 'I haven't seen it rain very much yet'. [This same idea may be expressed by the true adverb cɨ-cɨ before a negated verb: cɨ-cɨ mâ dà? 'not very good'. See below 4.411(5).]

3.615d

3.616 V_{adj}'s after chi and qhà vs. E_{ma}'s. Both <u>chi</u> and <u>qhà</u>
sometimes occur before V_{adj}'s (reduplicated or not), forming 'extentive adjectival' expressions [see below, 4.423] with meanings
quite similar to the corresponding E_{ma}-constructions: <u>fe</u> 'be
wide' > <u>chi fe(-fe)</u> 'so wide; as wide as this'; <u>chu</u> 'be fat' >
<u>chi chu(-chu)</u> 'so fat'; <u>dàʔ</u> 'be good; be pretty' > <u>chi dàʔ(-dàʔ)</u>
'so good/pretty'; <u>mɔ</u> 'be a long time' > <u>chi mɔ(-mɔ)</u> 'such a long
time', etc. Similarly, <u>qhà fe(-fe)</u> 'how wide?', <u>qhà mɔ(-mɔ)</u> 'how
long a time?' (but not *<u>qhà-dàʔ</u> 'how good?' or *<u>qhà-chu</u> 'how
fat?' -- see below). Like the reduplicated E_{ma}-constructions,
the extentive adjectivals appear primarily in two syntactic positions: (a) attributive to nouns, either preposed or postposed
to the noun-head [<u>chi dàʔ(-dàʔ)</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yὲ</u> 'such a fine house'; <u>chɔ</u>
<u>chi chu(-chu)</u> <u>ve</u> 'such a fat person']; or (b) adverbially,
directly before the VP of the clause [mû-yὲ ¦ qhà mɔ-mɔ │ mâ là
<u>tù hέ</u> 'It probably won't rain very long'; <u>chi fe</u> │ <u>phὲʔ ɔ là</u>
'Can it be this wide?'; <u>qhà mu-mu</u> │ <u>mu ve le</u> 'How high is it?';
<u>cà-phôʔ thàʔ</u> ¦ <u>chi mu-mu</u> │ <u>tâ te-ʔ</u> 'Don't make the rice-stoops
so tall!'; <u>chɔ chi chu-chu ve</u> ¦ <u>qhà mɔ-mɔ</u> │ <u>mâ ğa chê</u> 'Such a fat
person can't live very long'.] Occasionally, however, an extentive adjectival functions in a 'fully nominal' way, and may even
be followed by a noun-particle: <u>chi dàʔ(-dàʔ)</u> │ <u>cɔ̀ ve lâ</u> 'Are
there any this good?'; <u>chi chu(-chu) thàʔ</u> │ <u>mâ hɘʔ gâ</u> 'I don't
want to marry such a fat one'.

Nevertheless, V_{adj}'s differ from E_{ma}'s in several crucial
respects: (a) The E_{ma}'s are not verbs. They cannot be negated,
cannot constitute utterances by themselves, etc. (b) The only
V_{adj}'s that may be questioned by directly preposing <u>qhà</u> are a few
that refer to extension in space or time (<u>mu</u> 'high, tall', <u>fe</u>
'wide', <u>mɔ</u> 'long (of time)', and perhaps some others). V_{adj}'s
referring to qualities (<u>dàʔ</u> 'good', <u>chu</u> 'fat'), as well as many
that do indicate modes of manifestation in space (<u>qὲ</u> 'wide', <u>thê</u>
'straight', <u>thu</u> 'thick', etc.) can only be questioned by prepos-

3.616

ing qhà-ma: qhà-ma | thu (ve) le 'How thick is it? ("To what ex-
tent is it thick?"), but not *qhà-thu le. (On the other hand,
both qhà-ma | mu (ve) le and qhà-mu le 'How high is it?' are
possible.)   (c) V_{adj}'s may not appear directly in constituency
with a preceding N_{common} or N_{sd}. This applies even to those
V_{adj}'s which can be directly questioned by qhà. Thus š̆ɨʔ-cὲ hɨ̂
ve yâ-nὲ 'a youth the size of a tree', but not *š̆ɨʔ-cὲ mu ve yâ-nὲ
'a youth as tall as a tree'; yàʔ-qɔ š̆ɨ ve š̆ɨʔ-thɛ 'a log along
the road', but not *yàʔ-qɔ fe ve š̆ɨʔ-thɛ 'a log as wide as the
road'. If it is desired to qualify a V_{adj} by comparing it with a
noun, this may be done by means of the extentives qhe or qhe-lê
'like' [below 3.64]:   [š̆ɨʔ-cὲ qhe | mu ve] yâ-nὲ; [yàʔ-qɔ qhe-lê
| fe ve] š̆ɨʔ-thɛ.[90]   (d) Unlike the E_{ma}'s, the extentive adjec-
tivals have no corresponding diminutive forms belonging to the
má-ὲ class [below 3.62]. To convey such a meaning, particles
like (cɛ) tɨ́ 'only' must be used instead: chi mɔ-mɔ (cɛ) tɨ́
'such a short time'. The only exception is the V_{adj} mu 'high',
which has developed a corresponding diminutive chi-mwɛ́ 'so short;
so low' [above 1.44c]. This is strong evidence that the process
whereby the E_{ma}'s were spawned from V_{adj}'s is still a living one
in Lahu.

3.617 E_{ma}'s in quantified nuclei. The ma-class extentives appear
together with Q's in a wide variety of constructions within a
single nominal nucleus.

(a) [N_{count} + Q] + E_{ma}. In the simplest case, the E_{ma} is in
constituency with a preceding quantified count-noun: Kâlâ-phu tê
ğâ hɨ 'the size of a white man'; yàʔ-qɔ láy câʔ š̆ɨ 'along several
roads'.

(b) [N_{mass} + Q] + E_{ma}. When the quantified noun preceding the
E_{ma} is a mass-noun, further options are available. The basic
construction (e.g., ɨ́-kâʔ š̆ê̂ʔ lɨ̂ʔ ma 'as much as three liters of
water; water to the amount of three liters') may be converted via
the 'Genitivization of quantifier of a mass-noun' transformation

3.617; 3.617a-b

[above 3.45], to yield strings of the form $Q + E_{ma} + \underline{ve} + N_{mass}$ (šê? lî? ma ve í-kâ? 'id.'). This output may then be permuted by the 'Rightward genitive shift' transformation [above 3.45; this is a more general formulation of the 'Rightward shift of demonstrative possessor', above 3.53c, below 3.77], to give strings like $N_{mass} + [Q + E_{ma} + ve]$: í-kâ? šê? lî? ma ve 'id.'.

(c) $Q + E_{ma} (+ \underline{\grave{e}})$. A numeral plus classifier followed by a E_{ma} may stand in an adverbial relationship to the following verb: tê lâ? nî lâ? fɨ | vɨ ve yò 'It's one or two leagues away' ("It's far to the distance of one or two leagues"). Sometimes this adverbiality is overtly marked by the subordinating particle $\underline{\grave{e}}$: tê lâ? fɨ è cò 'It's one league away' ("It's there at a distance of one league"). In this case, we must consider the structure to be an adverbial expression in the strict sense [below 4.42], and not to belong to the nominal hemistich at all.

The other types of quantified nuclei involving E_{ma}'s can all be derived from genitive expressions where the E_{ma} is in the possessor nucleus and the Q is part of the possessed head.[91] That is, we assume an underlying structure of the following form:

(d) $[N + E_{ma}] + ve + N_{qh} + Q$,

as in chi hɨ ve g̈ɨ-phɨ nî khɛ 'two otters this size'.

Five variations on this basic genitival-extentive construction are then possible under certain conditions:

(e) With promoted quantified head: $N_{qh} + [N + E_{ma}] + ve + Q$.

When the noun preceding the E_{ma} is chi or a N_{sd} (i.e., 'non-common' in the sense of 3.54), the 'Promotion of N_{qh}' transformation may freely apply. Thus chi hɨ ve g̈ɨ-phɨ nî khɛ may be converted to g̈ɨ-phɨ chi hɨ ve nî khɛ 'two otters this size'. Similarly, chi ma ve í-kâ? tê kwɛ 'a bottle with this much water' → í-kâ? chi ma ve tê kwɛ 'id.'. If the extentified noun is common (hɔ-lò?=qō hɨ ve g̈ɨ-phɨ nî khɛ 'two otters the size of a boat'), the transformation is much less likely to apply: (*)g̈ɨ-phɨ hɔ-lò?=qō hɨ ve nî khɛ.

3.617c-e

(f) With rightward shift of the possessor nucleus: N_{qh} + Q +
[N + E_{ma} + ve]. Alternatively (d) may undergo the 'Rightward
shift of demonstrative possessor', especially if the noun preced-
ing the E_{ma} is non-common. This yields structures like g̈ɨ̈-phɨ̂
nî khɛ chi hɨ ve 'two otters this size'. (Rarely do we exercise
this option if the extentified noun is common: (*)g̈ɨ̈-phɨ̂ nî khɛ
hɔ-lò?=qō̄ hɨ ve.)

(g) With ve-deletion after quantified-head promotion: N_{qh} +
[N + E_{ma}] + Q. Once the quantified head has been promoted, as in
(e), the subordinator ve may be deleted by 've-deletion after
non-common possessor', yielding strings like g̈ɨ̈-phɨ̂ chi hɨ nî khɛ
'two otters this size'. This ve-deletion is completely blocked
if the noun preceding the E_{ma} is common.

(h) With deletion of the quantified head: [N + E_{ma}] + ve + Q.
When the context is sufficiently clear, the N_{qh} may be deleted.
(Again we assume the underlying structure to be (d), though it
will be observed that deletion of the N_{qh} from either (d) or (e)
yields the identical result.) We then find strings like chi hɨ
ve nî khɛ 'two (animals) this size', or hɔ-lò?=qō̄ hɨ ve nî khɛ
'two (animals) the size of a boat'.

(i) With both ve-deletion and deletion of quantified head:
[N + E_{ma}] + Q. Finally, if the noun preceding the E_{ma} is non-
common, both 've-deletion' and 'deletion of quantified head' may
be applied, so that we end up with simple-looking structures like
chi hɨ nî khɛ 'two (animals) this size'. Similarly, nô š̌ɨ tê pê?
'the piece (of land) up along there' derives ultimately from
strings like nô š̌ɨ ve hɛ tê pê? 'the field up along there'; ô hɨ-
hɨ š̌ê? mà ⋮ ŋà | hə? gâ qô?-ma 'I want three great big ones like
that' / 'I want three about that size' derives from strings like
ô hɨ-hɨ ve á-mò?=qō̄ š̌ê? mà ⋮ ŋà | hə? gâ qô?-ma 'I want three
great big gourds like that' / 'I want three gourds about that
size'.

3.617f-i

3.618 qha + E$_{ma}$ + è̱. The adverb qha 'all' combines with E$_{ma}$'s plus (usually) the subordinating particle è̱ ∿ ɛ,[92] to form adverbial expressions with the meaning 'V all to the same extent':[93] qha hɨ ɛ tɔ̀ʔ pî mē 'Cut it all up the same size for him, please'; ô ve nî qhâʔ | qha fɨ è̱ vɨ ve lâ 'Are those two villages equally far?'; chi nî cə̀ | qha ma è̱ yê phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you use both these kinds in the same amount?'; qha šɨ-šɨ (è̱) mâ lò̱ʔ cɨ qo || te lù ve yò 'If you don't make them all go in the same length, you'll ruin it'.

3.62 E$_{má-è}$: diminutive extentives of the má-è class. Corresponding to the four E$_{ma}$'s are four derived forms that carry a diminutive meaning: má-è [máᴿ̂] SMALL AMOUNT; hɨ-è [hɨᴿ̂] ∿ hɨɛ [hɨɛ] SMALL SIZE; šɨɛ [šɨɛ] SHORTNESS (LENGTH OR TIME); fɨ-è [fɨᴿ̂] ∿ fɨɛ [fɨɛ] SHORTNESS (DISTANCE).[94] To these may be added a diminutive derived from the adjective mu 'high': mwɛ [m̌wɛ] (above 3.616).

Extentives of this class are much more restricted in distribution than the E$_{ma}$'s. The E$_{má-è}$ occur only in constituency with a preceding chi: chi má-è 'such a small amount; this small an amount'; chi hɨ-è 'such a small size; so small a thing', etc. These [chi + E$_{má-è}$] compounds are identical in their syntactic behavior to [chi + E$_{ma}$] constructions. In their most autonomous substantival guise, they may occur alone in a nominal nucleus, followed by a P$_n$ or a P$_u$: chi má-è thàʔ | tâ yù mē 'Don't take such a small amount!'; chi má-è cɛ tí | cə̀ ò 'There's only this little bit left now'. With no particle intervening before the VP, the [chi + E$_{má-è}$] is weighted more toward the adverbial end of the spectrum: chi fɨ-è | lò̱ʔ e ve 'It only goes in this far'; chi hɨ-è | te mē 'Please only make it this big'. The E$_{má-è}$ are frequently attributive to head-nouns in genitive constructions: chi hɨ-è ve há-pɨ=šɛ́n 'such a tiny jewel'; chi má-è ve pê-gɨ 'so little honey'; chi šɨɛ ve khê-tà 'such a short pencil'; chi fɨ-è ve qhɔ 'such a nearby mountain'. Here too the 'Rightward shift

of demonstrative possessor' may apply, yielding strings like
á-thɔ chi šɨ́ɛ ve 'such a short knife'; á-pɔ̃ chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ ve 'such a
small banana'. Constructions of the form N_h + [chi + $E_{má-ɛ̀}$] may
either be derived from these permuted genitives by ve-deletion,
or else introduced directly into the grammar by a phrase-struc-
ture rule. Like the E_{ma}'s, the $E_{má-ɛ̀}$'s participate in the whole
panoply of quantified-nucleus types, ranging from structures like
chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ ve vàʔ nî khɛ 'two such small pigs' and vàʔ chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ ve
nî khɛ 'id.' to the covertly genitival chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ nî khɛ 'two such
small animals'; chi šɨ́ɛ tê cɔ̃ʔ 'such a short stretch (of road,
etc.)' [see above, 3.617]. Unlike the E_{ma}'s, the $E_{má-ɛ̀}$'s are not
reduplicable.

In adnominal position, the subordinate nature of a [N +
$E_{má-ɛ̀}$] may be underscored by the insertion of the unrestricted
particle ɛ̀ before the ve (we have just seen that the same is true
of [N + E_{ma}'s], above 3.612): chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ ɛ̀ ve pā-jɨ̀ʔ=šɨ̄ 'such a
tiny pimple'. This furnishes strong support for our contention
[above 1.42f] that the fused morpheme within the diminutive ex-
tentives is the minimizing noun-particle ɛ̀ 'only' [below 3.87]
rather than the homophonous subordinating unrestricted particle.
(To take the opposite view would require us to permit a particle
to follow itself.)

3.63 a-kɛ́ 'more' and dê-dê 'all'. Like all the extentives, a-kɛ́
'more than' and dê-dê 'all; the whole group' are limited nouns,
never occurring first in their nominal nucleus. Unlike the E_{ma}'s
and the $E_{má-ɛ̀}$'s, however, a-kɛ́ and dê-dê may occur not only after
natural nouns, but also after whole clauses that have been nomi-
nalized by the particle ve.[95] [Extentives of the qhe-class
(3.64) share this property, but differ in that the E_{qhe}'s some-
times function as true adverbs, while a-kɛ́ and dê-dê are always
more closely in constituency with the preceding nominal structure
than they are with the VP of the sentence.[96]]

3.63

3.631 a-kɛ́. A sequence of N + a-kɛ́ may be translated 'more than
N': ŋà a-kɛ́ 'more than me'; á-pɔ́=qu a-kɛ́ 'more than bananas';
Thây-chɔ a-kɛ́ ¦ Lâhū-yâ ¦ kán | te pɛ ve 'The Lahu are better
workers than the Thai' ("More than the Thai, the Lahu can do
work"). When the head-noun is already quantified, a-kɛ́ may not
usually follow; instead one uses the spatial prefixial C$_{pfx}$ ɔ-qhô
'above; over and above'. Thus, better than *yɔ́ ¦ á-pɔ́=qu nî kîlô
a-kɛ́ | câ pɔ̀ ve 'He ate more than two kilos of bananas', is yɔ́ ¦
á-pɔ́=qu nî kîlô ɔ-qhô | câ pɔ̀ ve. On the other hand, when that
which is quantified is the extent to which the noun preceding
a-kɛ́ (the 'basis for comparison') is surpassed by something else,
this is expressible by a Q coming after the [N + a-kɛ́]: X +
[N + a-kɛ́] + Q + V 'X is more V than N to the degree Q'. Thus,
Kâlâ-phu ô-ve ¦ ŋà a-kɛ́ ¦ tê pu | ɨ̄ ve 'That white man is twice
as big as me' ("than me one portion big"); Mɔ̂-fá ¦ Cê-dâw a-kɛ́ ¦
khɔ̀ʔ chi kîlô | vɛ ve yò 'Farng is sixty kilometers farther than
Chiengdao'.

a-kɛ́ plays a role in the NP parallel but opposite to that
of the true adverb a-cí 'more' [below 4.412(3)] in the VP. Both
words indicate a comparison; but where [a-cí + V] shows that a
greater degree of verbal quality or action is enjoyed by some
preceding NP, [N + a-kɛ́] means that this N is surpassed or ex-
ceeded with respect to a certain quality or action expressed in
the following VP. Thus, mɨ-kɨ chi | a-cí dàʔ ve 'This chair is
better (than something else)' vs. mɨ-kɨ chi a-kɛ́ | dàʔ ve 'It's
better than this chair' ("More than this chair, [something] is
good"). When appropriate, both comparative words may appear in
the same sentence: ğâʔ-šā a-kɛ́ ¦ nû-šā | a-cí qhâʔ ve yò 'Beef
is more expensive than chicken' ("More than chicken, beef is more
expensive").

The remote third person pronoun šu 'other people; somebody
else' combines with a-kɛ́ (šu a-kɛ́ 'more than anyone else'), as
the commonest way of indicating that some other entity, expressed

or not, enjoys a superlative degree of a verbal quality, or per-
forms a verbal action to a superlative extent: šu a-kɛ́ ¦ phu |
cɔ̀ mâ ve yò 'He has the most money of all' ("More than others,
[he] has much money"); ô-ve=phâ ¦ šu a-kɛ́ ¦ lì? | ğa hê jɔ ve yò
'That fellow has got the most education' ("That fellow more than
others has gotten to study books").

In complex sentences, a-kɛ́ may modify an entire preceding
clause that has been nominalized by ve, with the meaning 'rather
than Clause'ing; instead of Clause'ing'. This whole structure
stands in a subordinate relationship to the following clause:
{yà?-qɔ | jû qay ve} a-kɛ́ ¦ í-mû | khì? qay gâ ve yò[97] 'I'd
rather ride a horse than go on foot' ("More than going on foot,
I want to go riding a horse"); {phâ?-dà?-g₊-dà? ve} a-kɛ́ ¦ ɔ-chɔ̂
| te dà? cɔ̂ ve yò 'Instead of quarrelling and fighting, you ought
to make friends'.

3.632 dê-dê. This word may be literally glossed as 'totality'.
It occurs typically in minor sentences of the form:
$(NP_{topic}) + N_{description} + $ dê-dê + yò 'As for NP_{topic}, they are
all N_{desc}'s' (i.e., 'for all x, x is y'). Conversely, the
sentence may deny that the NP_{topic}'s all belong to the class
indicated by the N_{desc}: $(NP_{topic}) + N_{desc} + $ dê-dê + mâ hê? 'As
for NP_{topic}, it is not the case that they are all N_{desc}'s' (i.e.,
'for some x, x is not y'). The topic NP may be overtly expressed:
v₊-fâ? ô-ve ¦ ɔ-pā dê-dê yò 'Those mongooses are all males'
("Those mongooses are a male-totality"); và?-ğâ?-nû chi ¦ ŋà ve
mɔ̂ dê-dê yò 'These pigs, chickens, and cattle are all my proper-
ty'; yâ-ɛ́ chi ¦ ŋà ve dê-dê yò 'These children are all mine'.[98]
Alternatively, the topic NP may merely be understood from the
discourse: chɔ-dà? dê-dê yò '[They're] all good people';
chɔ-ğû=pā dê-dê | mâ hê? '[They're] not all madmen'.

A $NP_{topic} + N_{desc} + $ dê-dê sentence is often convertible to a
genitival NP of the form $[N_{desc} + $ dê-dê$] + $ ve $ + NP_{topic}$. Thus
from ɔ-pu ¦ hɔ-šā dê-dê yò 'The shares are all elephant-meat', may

be derived hɔ-šā̌ dê-dê ve ɔ̀-pu 'shares [that] all [consist] of
elephant-meat'.

When dê-dê follows a nominalized ve-clause, forming strings
like {NP^n + VP + ve} + dê-dê, the meaning is 'for some NP, all
members of its class participate in the action or state of the
VP'. Thus: {á-phɛ chi | dà? ve} dê-dê yò 'All these melons are
good' ("These melons being good is a totality"); {cà-šɨ̌=ɔ̄ | câ gâ
ve} dê-dê yò '[We] all want to celebrate the New Rice Festival'
("Wanting to celebrate the New Rice Festival is a totality");
{ŋà | te tā̄ ve} dê-dê yò 'I've made [them] all' ("My having made
[them] is a totality"). Note that these sentences are still
minor, though they are complex.[99] Still more complicated utter-
ances may be formed by postposing a particle to the nominalized
clause + dê-dê, so that it is governed as a whole by a following
VP in a major sentence: {ni ša jâ ve} dê-dê thà? | ğa mɔ̀ ve yò
'We got to see everything that was interesting' ("We got to see
the being-interesting totality").

A good case can be made for maintaining that sentences where
a natural noun precedes dê-dê are derivable from underlying
strings where that which precedes dê-dê is a nominalized clause
containing the verb phɛ̀? 'be'. (This phɛ̀?-insertion is always
grammatical, even on the surface.) Thus, šā̄ chi ¦ ɔ̀-pā̄ dê-dê yò
'These animals are all males' would derive from {šā̄ chi ¦ ɔ̀-pā̄ |
phɛ̀? ve} dê-dê yò 'id.'. Note, however, that it is not grammati-
cal to have phɛ̀? follow a noun plus dê-dê as a unit: *šā̄ chi ¦
ɔ̀-pā̄ dê-dê | phɛ̀? ve yò.

The extentive expression qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̀ [below 3.645] is also
usually translatable by English 'all', yet it differs fundamen-
tally from dê-dê, both formally and semantically. dê-dê never
functions as an adverb, though qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̀ may. More importantly,
qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̀ refers to the totality of a single entity ('all the
rice'; 'all the Lahu'; 'all x'), while dê-dê indicates that the
members of a group of entities considered severally all share a

certain characteristic ('[the pigs are] all males'; '[the cross-
bows are] all well-made'; 'for all x, x is y').[100]

3.64 E$_{qhe}$: adverbial extentives of the qhe-class. The five

members of this class (qhe, qhe-lê, qha-gà, qha=s̆ū-s̆ū, and qha=
pə̂-ɛ̂), occur not only in constituency with preceding natural
nouns and nominalized clauses, but also as true adverbs, with no
preceding noun at all.

3.641 qhe. This is the most general and versatile of all Lahu
words of comparison. It is usually translatable as 'like', 'as',
or 'thus'. A sequence of [N + qhe] sometimes behaves like an
autonomous noun, and may even be followed by a P$_n$: yɔ̂ qhe gɛ |
tâ qay [gɛ 'P$_n$ of accompaniment', below 3.85] 'Don't go with
(anyone) like him'; mô qhe | cɔ̂ hɛ́ 'There probably are some (in
places) like down there'; chi ve yâ-mî ve mɛ̂ʔ-phû ; nɔ̂ qhe yɔ̀
'This girl's face is like you';[101] yɔ̂ qhe thàʔ | mâ te cɨ cɔ̂
'You shouldn't let (anyone) like him do it'; [chɔ-ğû=pā | dɔ̂ mɨ
ve] s̆ú-lèʔ qhe thàʔ ; ŋà kàʔ | dɔ̂ gâ ve yɔ̀ 'I also want to smoke
(things) like the cigars those madmen always smoke'.[102]

More commonly, the [N + qhe] is semantically directed toward
the VP of the sentence. If the verb is a V$_{action}$, the [N + qhe]
may translate as a manner adverbial: yâ-ɛ́ qhe | te ve '[He] acts
like a child'; ɔ̂-cè qhe | yê ve '[They] use [him] as a servant'.
If the verb is a V$_{adj}$, the [N + qhe] translates as a degree ad-
verbial, 'as V$_{adj}$ as a N': á-thɔ qhe | cɨ̂ʔ ve 'be as sharp as a
knife'; lâ qhe | cà ve 'be as ferocious as a tiger'; pû-chɔ qhe |
mɛ̀ ve 'be as sweet as sugar-cane'. In these latter cases, one
frequently reinforces the qhe with the extentive P$_{univ}$ cɛ [below
4.45]: làʔ-ğɔ̂ qhe cɛ | yɨ ve 'be just as long as an arm'. Of
particular importance are the expressions chi qhe 'like this;
like that; thus' and ô qhe 'like that; thus': chi qhe | nà ve
'to hurt like this'; ô qhe | phɔ e ve 'to run away like that';
chi qhe | chu ve 'be as fat as that'.

3.64; 3.641

After Q's, <u>qhe</u> has an approximative meaning [see above 3.43
'Codaed v$_q$'s']: <u>ŋâ ǧâ qhe</u> 'about five people'; <u>nî ha lâʔ qhe</u>
'around 200 miles'. Exactly analogous is the use of <u>qhe</u> after
extentive expressions of the form [N + E$_{ma}$]: <u>Cî-mày fɨ qhe</u>
'about as far as to Chiengmai'; <u>lɔ-qá=qhɔ ma qhe</u> 'about as much
as is in the river'; <u>qhà-ma qhe</u> | <u>vɨ gâ ve le</u> 'About how much do
you want to buy?'

Sometimes <u>qhe</u> is used merely to set off the preceding noun
as the topic of the sentence. In this usage, it is common to
have the topic P$_{unf}$ $\bar{ɔ}$ precede the <u>qhe</u>:[103] <u>yɔ̂ ɔ-mî=ma ɔ̄-qhe</u> ¦
<u>cû-yɨ̄</u> | <u>cɨ-cɨ mâ cɔ̂ cê</u> 'As for his wife, now, they say she's not
too bright' ("...doesn't have intelligence very much").

<u>qhe</u> cannot constitute a possessor nucleus of a genitive con-
struction all by itself, but it often occurs in that environment
when preceded by a noun and/or the P$_{univ}$ <u>cɛ</u>: <u>Cî-mày qhe ve vên</u>
'a town like Chiengmai'; <u>pê-ǧɨ qhe ve ɔ-ǧɨ</u> 'a liquid like honey';
<u>ô qhe ve fâʔ-pu</u> 'that kind of porcupine; a porcupine like that';
<u>chi qhe ve ɔ-ti</u> 'a place like this';[104] <u>ô qhe ve šê̌ʔ ǧâ</u> 'three
people like that'; <u>qhe cɛ ve í-kâʔ</u> 'that much water' ("water to
thus an extent").[105] When the noun preceding <u>qhe</u> is <u>chi</u> or <u>ô</u>,
the 'Rightward shift of demonstrative possessor' may apply (as
long as the possessed head is not a Q): <u>fâʔ-pu chi qhe ve</u> 'a
porcupine like this'; <u>qhâʔ-šɛ̌ ô qhe ve</u> 'a headman like that'.
Note, however, that if the further step of <u>ve</u>-deletion is taken,
the <u>chi</u>/<u>ô</u> + <u>qhe</u> is likely to be interpreted as adverbially modi-
fying the following VP rather than the preceding noun: <u>fâʔ-pu</u> ¦
<u>chi qhe</u> ¦ <u>á-pɔ̂=qu</u> | <u>câ ve</u> 'Porcupines eat bananas this way',
rather than *<u>fâʔ-pu chi qhe</u> ¦ <u>á-pɔ̂=qu</u> | <u>câ ve</u> 'Porcupines like
this eat bananas'. If one wants to say 'Porcupines eat bananas
(which are) like this', the [<u>chi</u> + <u>qhe</u>] must be made genitivally
attributive to <u>á-pɔ̂=qu</u>: <u>fâʔ-pu</u> ¦ <u>chi qhe ve á-pɔ̂=qu</u> | <u>câ ve</u>.

<u>qhe</u> by itself may be the possessed head of a genitive con-
struction, provided that the possessor nucleus is the N$_{intg}$ <u>qhà:</u>   *

* qhà ve qhe 'what kind of (thing)?; like what?' (Kâlâ-phu=mû-mì
ɔ̄ ¦ qhà ve qhe le 'What's the white man's country like?'). Alter-
natively, 'what kind of N?' may be expressed as a genitive where
the compound word qhà-qhe 'how' is the possessor nucleus: Kâlâ-
phu=mû-mì ɔ̄ ¦ qhà-qhe ve mû-mì le 'What kind of country is the
white man's country?' (The possessed head of this latter construc-
tion may also be deleted: Kâlâ-phu=mû-mì ɔ̄ ¦ qhà-qhe ve le.
qhà-qhe ve le and qhà ve qhe le are quite synonymous.)

When qhe follows a nominalized ve-clause ({NP^n + VP + ve} +
qhe), the meaning is 'the way the NP VP's; like/as the NP VP's:
{ŋà | qôʔ ve} qhe ¦ nɔ̀ | ga̋ te ve yò 'You must do as I say';
{ŋâʔ | pò ve} qhe ¦ yɔ̀ | ga̋ pɛ̂ à 'He can run like a bird flies'.
The whole Clause + qhe construction behaves semantically like a
manner adverbial.

Sometimes qhe functions as a true adverb all by itself: qhe
ga̋ te ve yò 'You must do it thus/this way/that way'. The meaning
of qhe alone is about the same as that of chi qhe or ô qhe (chi/ô
qhe | ga̋ te ve yò), but it would be misleading to assume an under-
lying chi or ô in these cases. (Would it be chi that was under-
lying, or ô? Or perhaps either, or both?) qhe simply belongs to
a class of extentives that have both noun-modifying and verb-
modifying power. (Some members of the class have significantly
different meanings in their two functions; see qhe-lê, below
3.642.) It might be objected that qhe is functioning here as an
autonomous noun (qhe | ga̋ te ve yò "You must do a thusness"), but
this is implausible since the accusative P$_n$ thàʔ may not intervene
before the verb (*qhe thàʔ | ga̋ te ve yò).

qhe occurs adverbially in several expressions which are used
to begin sentences in connected narratives: qhe te qo 'thereupon;
then; after that' ("when it was done thus": te 'to do', qo (P$_{unf}$)
'if; when'); qhe te lɛ 'id.' ("having done thus": lɛ (P$_{unf}$)
'suspensive particle'); qhe te lɛ ɔ̄ 'id.' (ɔ̄ (P$_{unf}$) 'topic par-
ticle'); qhe te lɛ ɔ̄-qhe 'id.' (see footnote 103). In a few other

such expressions, the <u>qhe</u> is followed immediately by a particle as if it were an autonomous noun, with no intervening verb: <u>qhe qo</u> 'so...; in that case...; well then...'; <u>qhe kàʔ</u> 'but; however; nevertheless'; <u>qhe thɔ̂</u> 'id.'. One might either set up an underlying dummy-verb <u>te</u> in these cases, or else consider such expressions to be unitary compounds belonging to a class of <u>conjunctions</u>.[106]

3.642 <u>qhe-lê</u>. The word <u>qhe-lê</u> 'like; just like; appearing like' is very similar to <u>qhe</u> in formal behavior and meaning. However, its range of uses is more limited: it is not used after Q's with approximative meaning, it does not function as a setter-off of topics, it may not close quotations, etc. For this reason, when it is chosen to convey the meaning 'like; as', it has a somewhat stronger, less vague force than the simple <u>qhe</u>. <u>qhe-lê</u> insists on a palpable physical or psychological similarity.

a) <u>After natural nouns</u>. N + <u>qhe-lê</u> translates as '(just) like N': <u>chɔ-g̈û=pā qhe-lê</u> | <u>te chê ve</u> 'He's acting like a madman'; <u>nɔ̂-hɨ ¦ ɔ̂-chɔ̂ qhe-lê</u> | <u>mâ s̆u</u> 'You people are not acting like friends' ("are not the same as like friends"); <u>chɔ-dàʔ qhe-lê</u> | <u>phὲʔ ve yɔ̀</u> "He looks like a nice man" ("He is like a good man"); <u>qhâʔ-s̆ɛ ¦ s̆u qhe-lê ¦ kán</u> | <u>g̈a te ve yɔ̀</u> 'A headman must work just like everybody else'; <u>nɔ̂ yâ-pā chi ¦ mêʔ-phû ¦ nɔ̂ qhe-lê yɔ̀</u> 'This son of yours [has a] face just like you' (see note 101, above).

b) <u>After nominalized clauses</u>. {NP^n + VP + <u>ve</u>} + <u>qhe-lê</u> is translatable variously by 'as if the NP VP's; the way the NP VP's; as the NP VP's': {<u>tê g̈â-g̈â ¦ yɔ̂ thàʔ</u> | <u>dɔ̂ʔ ā ve</u>} <u>qhe-lê</u> | <u>qay ve</u> '[He's] going around as if someone had beaten him'; <u>nɔ̂ ¦</u> {<u>hêʔ ve</u>} <u>qhe-lê</u> | <u>tho cɔ̂ ve</u> 'You ought to tell it the way it is' ("the way it is the case").

c) <u>As a true adverb</u>. When <u>qhe-lê</u> occurs with no preceding noun, it is adverbially subordinate to the VP, and carries the rather different meaning of 'V as one is; V so the status quo is maintained; merely V (for no particular preason)': <u>qhe-lê là ve yɔ̀</u>

<div align="right">*3.642; 3.642a-c*</div>

'I've just come for the hell of it'; qhe-lê te chê -- tâ tu 'Stay
as you are -- don't get up!'; qhe-lê te là-ʔ 'Come as you are!';
phu chi | qhe-lê pî ve || mâ hêʔ -- chî tā ve cɛ tí yò 'They
didn't just give this money to us [with no strings attached] --
we've only borrowed it'. Note that there is even less reason to
assume an underlying head-noun preceding qhe-lê in this usage
than there is in the case of qhe (above). It is in fact conceiv-
able (though bad style) to have both noun-attributive and adver-
bial qhe-lê's occur in the same clause: yɔ̂ qhe-lê | qhe-lê là ve
yò 'Like him, I've come for no special reason'.

Derived from qhe-lê is the word a=qhe-lê, which behaves
sometimes like an autonomous noun, and sometimes as an adverb
[below 4.412(7)]. As a N_a it occurs typically in the possessor
nucleus of genitive constructions, with the meaning 'ordinary;
average; so-so': a=qhe-lê ve câ-tù 'mediocre food'. As an ad-
verb, it may mean either 'in a mediocre manner' (a=qhe-lê qā-qhêʔ
ve 'to dance fairly well; dance well enough to get by') or 'for
free; with little ado' (câ-tù chi ¦ šu | a=qhe-lê pî á ve 'They
gave us this food for nothing').

3.643 qha-gà. The true adverb qha 'completely' combines with
many verbs to form complex adverbial expressions [below 4.421].
Three of these (qha-gà, qha=šǔ-šǔ, and qha=pɔ̌-ɛ̀) function both as
adverbs and as extentive nouns. qha-gà (< the verb gà 'to reach,
arrive') appears after natural nouns and nominalized clauses, as
well as adverbially, with meanings like 'until; as far as; up to;
all the way'.

a) After natural nouns: mì-cɨ qha-gà | tâ qay 'Don't go as far
as the border'; tê chi qha-gà ¦ nɔ̀ | ɡ̌ɔ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you count
up to ten?'; á-qhɔ qha=gà-gà | qɔ̀ʔ pû gâ ve lâ 'Do you want to
carry it all the way back home?'; ŋà ¦ Cî-mày fɨ qha-gà | mâ ǧa
qay jɔ šē 'I've never yet gotten to go as far as Chiengmai'. As
the last two examples show, qha-gà may be reduplicated, and may
occur after [N + E_{ma}]'s.[107]

3.643; 3.643a

b) **After nominalized clauses.** Like the other extentives of its class, qha-gà occurs after nominalized ve-clauses: {ɔ-šā | ní ɛ̀ qay ve} qha-gà ¦ à-mī̄ | tɔ̀ʔ ve 'They burned it in the fire until the meat got red'. In addition, we typically find qha-gà after clauses that have been nominalized by the temporal particle thâ [below 3.91a; 4.712(3); 5.3] 'when; the time that Clause': {yɔ̂ | šɨ̌ e thâ} qha-gà ¦ tê pɔ̂ʔ kà? | mâ nà jɔ cê 'They say he was never sick once until the time he died'; ná jâ ve qo || {g̈ɔ̀ʔ thâ} qha-gà kà? | g̈a mù? ve yɔ̀ 'If it's very overgrown, we'll have to weed it until the time we harvest'.

c) **As a true adverb.** qha-gà qay a ni 'Try to go the whole way; Try to go until you get there'.

3.644 qha=šǔ-šǔ. When reduplicated, the adverb qha-šǔ (< the verb šǔ 'be the same') functions as a E_qhe, with the meaning 'the same as; in the same way as'.

a) **After natural nouns:** qhɔ-nê chi lɛ̀ ¦ chɔ-yâ qha=šǔ-šǔ ¦ ɔ-to | cɔ̂ ve || mâ hê? 'These mountain-spirits do not have bodies the same as human beings'; Thây-chɔ qha=šǔ-šǔ ¦ tɔ̂ | yɔ pɨ̄ à 'He can speak as well as a Thai' ("the same as a Thai").

b) **After nominalized ve-clauses:** {yɔ̂ | qô? tā ve} qha=šǔ-šǔ ¦ ŋà-hɨ̄ | te cɔ̂ ve yâ 'We ought to do it just the way he said'.

c) **As an adverb:** qha=šǔ-šǔ qɔ̂? te câ mɛ̄ 'Cook it the same way again, please'.

d) **In sentence-final position.** When qha-šǔ or qha=šǔ-šǔ occurs sentence-finally, followed by nothing but P_u's, its constituent morphemes are functioning as individuals. That is, the adverb qha 'all' and the verb šǔ 'be the same' here constitute a VP all by themselves: qha šǔ yɔ̀ 'It's just the same'. In these cases we write no hyphen after the qha.

3.645 qha=pə̀-ɛ̀. The word qha=pə̀-ɛ̀ 'all; completely; everything' (< the verb pə̀ 'finish, do to completion'), plays all the syntactic roles typical of the E_qhe's, and in addition may be used as an autonomous noun. In any of its functions, it may be reduplicated, either as qha≡pə̀-pə̀=ɛ̀ or as qha≡pə̀-ɛ̀=pə̀-ɛ̀.

a) <u>After natural nouns</u>: yɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̄ qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ thà? | câ ɔ̀ 'He has al-
ready eaten all the rice'; <u>chi</u> qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ | hâ? yù qay-? 'Hurry and
take all this away!'; ŋà-hɨ Lâhū-yâ qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ ¦ [šǎ | g̈à? pɛ́ ve]
<u>chɔ</u> <u>dê-dê</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'All of us Lahu are good hunters, every one of us'.
As this last example shows, both qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ (totality of a given
entity) and <u>dê-dê</u> (parallel sharing of a given characteristic)
are sometimes used together in the same sentence: 'for all x,
x is y; and x is an exhaustive class' [above 3.632].

b) <u>After nominalized ve-clauses</u>: {yɔ̂ | qô? tā̄ ve} qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ |
<u>qha-dɛ̂?</u> bù? lâ mɛ̄ 'Please write down for me everything that he
said'.

c) <u>As an autonomous noun</u>: qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ thà? | tâ yê 'Don't use all
of it!'; qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ | <u>qha-dɛ̂?</u> šî? bà ɔ̀ 'They've wiped it all up
nicely'.

d) <u>As an adverb</u>: qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ kɛ́ ɔ̀ 'It has rotted completely; it's
completely rotten'. If qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ were here functioning as an
autonomous noun, the meaning would be 'Everything has rotted'.
Noun-modifying and verb-modifying qha=pə̀-ɛ̂'s may both occur in
the same clause: <u>chɔ</u> qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ | qha-pə̀-ɛ̂ šî? bà ɔ̀ 'All the
people have wiped it away completely'. The second qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ may
here alternatively be interpreted as an autonomous noun: <u>chɔ</u>
qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ ¦ qha=pə̀-ɛ̂ | šî? bà ɔ̀ 'All the people have wiped every-
thing away'.

e) <u>In sentence-final position</u>, followed by P_u's, <u>qha</u> + <u>pə̀</u> func-
tion as an adverb-plus-verb sequence: <u>qha</u> <u>pə̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'It's all
finished; it's all used up'.

<u>3.7 Genitive constructions</u>. The most important of all relation-
ships Lahu nouns may have to one another is the genitive one. It
has, in fact, been impossible to discuss such basic topics in the
structure of the NP as compounding, quantified nuclei, determined
nuclei, and extentive nuclei without frequently relating them to
genitive constructions of one sort or another.[108]

3.645a-e; 3.7

An overt genitive construction of the simplest type consists of three elements, ν_p + ve + ν_h, where ν_h is the head nucleus (or 'possessed head'), to which the possessor nucleus, ν_p, is subordinated by means of the P_{univ} ve. These structures are usually to be translated as 'the ν_h of the ν_p' or 'the ν_p's ν_h'. A persuasive claim can be made that genitivization is a simplifying device employed by all languages to subordinate nouns to one another without necessarily specifying the precise nature of the semantic relationship between them. Analogues to the celebrated Latin example <u>statua Myrōnis</u>,[109] where Myro may be the sculptor, the model, or the owner of the statue, are readily found in any number of languages, including, of course, English ('the statue of Myro'; 'the shooting of the hunters'). In Lahu too, the genitive marker <u>ve</u> represents the neutralization of several different semantic relationships: <u>Cà-lŝ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-ha</u> 'Jalaw's picture' may be interpreted according to context as a <u>genitivus subjectivus</u>, <u>objectivus</u>, or <u>possessivus</u>. Clearly, however, there is no reason to stop here, once one begins to recognize fine shades of meaning-difference. Possessive genitives could, e.g., be further subdivided into 'alienable' and inalienable': <u>Cà-lŝ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>á-thɔ</u> 'Jalaw's knife' vs. <u>Cà-lŝ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>nī-šī=phɨ</u> 'Jalaw's scrotum'. Other pigeonholes would have to be found for such abstract genitives as <u>Cà-lŝ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-lɔ</u> 'about Jalaw; concerning Jalaw' ("Jalaw's matter") or <u>Cà-lŝ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-po</u> 'Jalaw's sake', etc. A wiser approach would seem to be to admit that Lahu genitive <u>ve</u> is no more nor less ambiguous than English 'of', French 'de', or Japanese 'no', and that much of this 'ambiguity' is irrelevant to the syntax of the language. <u>ve</u> is a subordinator of highly abstract meaning[110] which simply indicates that the preceding noun is viewed as having some connection with the following noun, and that the latter is the head of the construction in the sense that ν_h is more general than ν_p + ve + ν_h. Thus, <u>ɔ=mî-ma</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-chŝ</u> 'the wife's

friend' is less general than ɔ̄-chɔ̂ 'friend', while ɔ̄-chɔ̂ ve
ɔ=mî-ma 'the friend's wife' is less general than ɔ=mî-ma 'wife'.

Nouns connected by ve have a closer relationship to each
other than either does to the VP of their clause. They must in
fact be considered to belong to the same NP. A following P_n or
P_u is in constituency with the genitive construction as a
whole:[111] mɛ̂-chɔ̂=ma ve phu thà? | qhɔ̂ yù ve 'They stole the
P_n

widow's money'; qhâ?=šɛ ve yɛ̀ kà? | tɔ̂? pə̀-ɔ̀ 'Even the headman's
P_{unf}

house burned down'.[112]

There are few constraints on the internal structure of
nuclei that participate in genitive constructions, though pos-
sessed heads are slightly more restricted in this respect than
$ν_p$'s.

3.71 $ν_p$'s and $ν_h$'s that are ordinary nuclei. All subclasses of
autonomous nouns may function as $ν_p$'s: [Common] mɛ́-ni ve mɛ̄-tu
'the cat's tail'; [Pronouns] nɔ̀ ve ɔ́-qā=ŋâ? 'your mynah-bird',
a-šu=yɔ̂ ve mî-chɔ 'each person's shoulder-bag'; [Interrogatives]
à-thò?=ma ve šɨ̂?-cɛ̀ 'what kind of flower?', qhà ve khâ? 'which
crossbow?', qhɔ̀ ve ɔ̄-ti 'which place?' ("the place of where?"),
qhà-qhe ve qa-mɨ̄=khɔ̂ 'what kind of song?', qhà ve qhe 'what sort
of thing?' [above 3.641]; [Spatial demonstratives] mô ve lɔ̀-qá
'the river ["of"] down there', ô ve á-tà 'that stick'; [Deter-
miner] chi ve mû-mi 'this country'.[113] On the other hand, the
only types of nouns that may serve as possessed heads are common
nouns (yɔ̂ ve khâ?-ce 'his arrow') and the determiner (in its
guise as an autonomous noun: ŋà ve chi ɔ̄ | mâ hɔ̂ gâ 'I don't
want to sell this thing of mine' ["my this-thing"]). Pronouns,
N_{sd}'s, and N_{intg}'s may not be possessed.[114]

3.72 $ν_p$'s and $ν_h$'s that are special nuclei. Either or both of
the nuclei in a genitive construction may be quantified, deter-
mined, or extentified.

3.71; 3.72

(a) Quantified ν_p's and ν_h's. In the most straightforward type
of quantified genitive construction, the numeral-plus-classifier
is overtly preceded by its head-noun: Lâhū-yâ ve ɔ-lî láy cɔ̀
'several kinds of customs of the Lahu people' (quantified ν_h);
Lâhū-yâ láy cɔ̀ ve ɔ-lî 'the customs of several kinds [i.e.,
cultural subdivisions] of the Lahu people' (quantified ν_p); yɔ̂-hɨ
nî g̈â ve to-nû-to-šâʔ láy cɔ̀ 'the various kinds of animals of the
two of them' (quantified ν_p and ν_h). Often, however, the head-
noun is merely inferred from the context: ŋà ve nî khɛ 'my two
(animals)'; nî g̈â ve lɔ̄lī 'two (people)'s trucks; a two-people
truck'; tê g̈â ve nî khɛ 'one (person)'s two (animals)'. A nu-
cleus in a genitive construction that consists only of a Q we
call 'quantitial' [above 3.45]. The last three examples illus-
trate quantitial ν_h's, quantitial ν_p's, and quantitial ν_p-and-
ν_h's, respectively. When both nuclei in a genitive construction
are quantitial, the string may alternatively be interpreted as
two separate NP's undergoing 'independent multiple quantification'
[above 3.48]: tê g̈â ve ¦ nî khɛ 'two (animals) per one (person)'.
Sometimes this is the only possible interpretation: tê lîʔ ve ¦
tê ha bàʔ '100 baht a liter' (not *'one liter's 100 baht'). When
the ν_p is a N_{intg}, a quantified ν_h is particularly likely to be
quantitial. Thus qhà ve tê šī 'which one (of the round objects)?'
is more frequently found than such fuller constructions as qhà ve
màʔ-pāw tê šī 'which coconut?'[115]

When it is the ν_h which is quantified, it is a moot point
whether the Q is modifying merely the head of the ν_h or the en-
tire genitive construction as a whole. Thus, in a sentence like
ŋà ve phɨ šêʔ khɛ qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̀ ¦ šɨ e ɔ̀ 'My three dogs have all died',
it makes little difference whether we regard šêʔ khɛ as being in
immediate constituency only with phɨ 'dog' ("my three-animals-
worth-of-dogs"), or with ŋà ve phɨ 'my dog(s)' as a unit ("three-
animalsworth of my-dogs"). We find the same indeterminacy when
the head of a ν_h is followed by chi [below (b)].

3.72a

Quantified genitive constructions where the ν_p is non-common are discussed below [3.75(3)].

(b) <u>Determined ν_p's and ν_h's</u>. The determiner chi may appear either after the head of the possessor nucleus (qhâʔ-šɛ <u>chi</u> ve ɔ-má=pā 'this headman's son-in-law'), or after the possessed head (qhâʔ-šɛ ve ɔ-má=pā <u>chi</u> 'this son-in-law of the headman'), or even after both (qhâʔ-šɛ <u>chi</u> ve ɔ-má=pā <u>chi</u> 'this son-in-law of this headman'). When <u>chi</u> follows the possessed head, we may consider it to be modifying either the N_h of the ν_h alone ("the headman's this-son-in-law") or the whole preceding string ("this headman's son-in-law"). A similar indeterminacy remains even if we convert the N_1 + <u>ve</u> + N_2 + <u>chi</u> string to the equivalent one of the form <u>chi</u> + <u>ve</u> + N_1 + ve + N_2. In <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> qhâʔ-šɛ ve ɔ-má=pā, <u>chi</u> may be interpreted either as modifying only qhâʔ-šɛ ("the son-in-law of this headman"), or qhâʔ-šɛ ve ɔ-má=pā as a unit ("this headman's-son-in-law").

(c) <u>Extentive ν_p's and ν_h's</u>. Extentive nouns of all classes freely occur in possessor nuclei: lâ-chɨ-g̈ɨ-qhɔ ma ve í-kâʔ 'as much water as is in the ocean', chi fɨ ve nâʔ-chɨ=yɛ̀ 'such a distant hospital', chɔ chi ma ve phu-ši 'the wealth of this many people', nô šɨ ve yàʔ-qɔ 'the road up along there', qhà-hɨ ve cà-phôʔ 'how big a rice-stoop?' [above 3.612]; chi hɨ-ɛ̀ ve chɔ=kɛ-nɛ 'such a tiny midget', chi šɨɛ ve [yàʔ-qɔ] tê câʔ 'such a short (road)' [above 3.62]; ɔ-pā dê-dê ve vɨ-fâʔ 'mongooses that are all males' [above 3.632];[116] làʔ-g̈ɔ qhe ve nī-qhɛ̀ʔ 'a penis like a forearm' [3.641]; hɔ-qhâʔ=pā qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ ve cí-cī 'the pick-axes of all the men' [3.645].

It is equally possible for possessed heads to be followed by extentives of all types: lâ-chɨ-g̈ɨ-qhɔ ve í-kâʔ ma 'as much as the water of the ocean'; ŋà ve chi ma | tâ yù və mɛ̄ 'Please don't take away all I have' ("my this many"); màʔ-yâ ve tá-pôʔ chi hɨ 'a soldier's knapsack this size'; chi tê qhɔ ve nô šɨ lo | pɛ jâ 'There are plenty of them up there along this mountain' ("at the

upper stretches of this mountain"); <u>nɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>chi</u> <u>má-ɛ̀</u> 'only this little bit of yours'; <u>yɨ̄=hɔ́-ma</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ̂-cā</u> <u>a-kɛ́</u> | <u>hɔ́</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'It's much more fragrant than shoots of lemon-grass'; <u>šo</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ̂-qhə</u> <u>dê-dê</u> <u>yò</u> 'They're all iron weapons' ("weapons of iron"); <u>mɔ̂ʔ-nâʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>mɛ̂ʔ-phû</u> <u>qhe-lê</u> 'just like a gibbon's face'; <u>chò-phɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yâ-mɨ=há</u> <u>qha=pɔ̂-ɛ̀</u> 'all the girls from around here'. Note that whenever an extentive noun occurs in a possessed nucleus, it is in constit-uency with the entire genitive construction as a unit, not just with the N_h of the ν_h: e.g., in <u>mɔ̂ʔ-nâʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>mɛ̂ʔ-phû</u> <u>qhe-lê</u>, some-thing is being compared to 'a gibbon's face'; it is not a case of a face-likeness being possessed by a gibbon. In this respect, extentives behave like particles, which also govern preceding genitives as units [above 3.7].

3.73 ν_p's and ν_h's that contain embedded sentences. Either nucleus of a genitive construction may be a nominalized clause [below 6.1]. Thus, {<u>yɛ̀</u> | <u>te</u> <u>pā</u>} <u>ve</u> <u>làʔ-šɛ</u> 'the hands of those who build houses' (nominalized ν_p); <u>qhɔ-qhô-lɔ̂-qhô</u> <u>ve</u> {<u>chɨ-pɨ=</u> <u>qwɛ̀ʔ</u> | <u>bɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>kɨ</u>} 'a place for shooting barking-deer in the moun-tains' ("of the mountains"; nominalized ν_h).

Similarly, the head of either nucleus in the genitive con-struction may be modified by a relative clause [below 6.4]. Thus, [<u>Man=mû-mɨ</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> | <u>pɔ</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>chɔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>phu-ši-mɔ̂-jɛ̀</u> 'the property of the people who were born in Burma' (relativized ν_p); <u>Lâhū=qhâʔ-qhɔ</u> <u>ve</u> [<u>chɔ-mɔ̂=ɔ̂-lɔ</u> | <u>šɨ̄</u> <u>pɨ</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>chɔ</u> 'the people in ["of"] a Lahu village who know the lore of the ancestors' (relativized ν_h). In this latter case, the head-noun is modified by two structures which are both subordinated to it via the particle <u>ve</u>: the relative clause and the possessor nucleus.

3.74 Recursivity of the genitive. Recursivity is a formal char-acteristic of the genitive mechanism of perhaps all languages. That is, a construction consisting of possessor and possessed (no matter how or whether this relationship is overtly marked) may itself as a whole become the possessed of another possessor, and

so on indefinitely.[117] Lahu is no exception. Genitives may
occur telescoped into each other, the ν_h of each lefter one serv-
ing simultaneously as the ν_p of the next righter one, with the
rightmost ν of all functioning as the ν_h of the entire 'multi-
genitive' construction:

ŋà ve ɔ-cè=pā ve ɔ-chɔ ve ɔ=mî-ma ve phɨ ve mɛ̄-tu   'My slave's

ν_p ν_h/ν_p ν_h/ν_p ν_h/ν_p ν_h/ν_p ν_h

friend's wife's dog's tail'. The whole multigenitive string
still belongs to one and the same NP, in accordance with the
schema $\nu_{gen} \rightarrow [\nu_p + \underline{ve}]^n + \nu_h$, where $n \geq 1$. A following parti-
cle or extentive noun is in constituency with the multigenitive
string as a whole.[118]

There is some evidence, however, that the hierarchy of sub-
ordination in multigenitive strings is more complicated than this
schema suggests. For any string of the form $\nu_1 + \underline{ve} + \nu_2 + \underline{ve} +$
ν_3, there is always in theory an ambiguity between the inter-
pretations $[\nu_1 + \underline{ve} + \nu_2] + \underline{ve} + \nu_3$ and $\nu_1 + \underline{ve} [\nu_2 + \underline{ve} + \nu_3]$.
Thus, chi ve Kâlâ-phu ve ɔ-lɨ (chi 'this', Kâlâ-phu 'white man',
ɔ-lɨ 'custom') is potentially ambiguous between [chi ve Kâlâ-phu]
ve ɔ-lɨ 'the custom of this white man' and chi ve [Kâlâ-phu ve
ɔ-lɨ] 'this white-man custom'. The alternative interpretations
can be differentiated by intonational pauses in the appropriate
places. The problems involved here are analogous to those we
find when we analyze the hierarchical organization of verb-
concatenations [below 4.323].

3.75 Covert genitives and the deletion of ve. Languages having
genitive particles vary in tolerance for their ellipsis. Thus in
Japanese it is never possible to omit no from between the pos-
sessor and the possessed head, while in Thai khɔ̌ɔŋ is freely
omittable when the possessor and possessed head each consist of
a single morpheme (lɨ̌n khɔ̌ɔŋ mɛɛw ∿ lɨ̌n mɛɛw 'the cat's tongue').
The situation in Lahu is somewhere in between. There are a
variety of compound-types where two autonomous nouns are directly

3.75

juxtaposed to each other, and the first is modifying the second in
such a way that the intercalation of ve either does not change the
meaning at all, or (more frequently) does so only slightly and in
a predictable way. These constructions are properly considered
'covertly genitive'.[119] Nevertheless, it would be an oversimpli-
fication to try to formulate a 'Deletion of genitive ve' trans-
formation, which would imply that ve were mechanically deletable
from genitive expressions under precisely statable conditions. In
fact, it is the meaning of the individual nouns that plays a de-
cisive role in determining which genitive expressions may be
lexicalized into N_a-N_a compounds, and which may not. However, it
is still worthwhile to categorize the various covert genitives
according to the subtypes of nouns involved:

(1) When the ν_p is a pronoun. After a pronominal ν_p, ve is free-
ly omittable from a genitive construction, with no discernible
difference in meaning resulting: yɔ̂ ve ɔ=mî-ma → yɔ̂ ɔ=mî-ma 'his
wife'; šu ve khɔ̂ → šu khɔ̂ 'others' language; a foreign language';
ŋà ve phɨ → ŋà phɨ 'my dog'. Yet not all [pronoun + noun]
sequences are covert genitives. Some are appositional, with both
constituents having the same referent: ŋà-mɔ́ 'I, the teacher; I
who am teacher'; ŋà-hɨ=Lâhū-yâ 'we Lahu'; nɔ̂=qhâʔ-šɛ̌ 'you, the
headman'. Ambiguous cases are common: ŋà(-)mɔ́ | hɘʔ cɔ̂ ve 'I who
am teacher ought to get it' or 'My teacher ought to get it'. [See
above, 3.32.] When a pronoun is followed directly by a Q [see
section (3) below], there may be similar ambiguity between the
genitival and the 'simple quantificational' interpretations: yɔ̂ tê
g̈â 'he alone' ("he one personsworth": simple quantificational) vs.
'his one person' (< e.g., yɔ̂ ve ɔ-chɔ̂ tê g̈â 'a friend of his' via
'Deletion of quantified head' and 'Deletion of genitive ve');
ŋà-hɨ tê qhâʔ 'a villageful of us, this whole village' ("we one
villageworth") vs. 'our village' (< ŋà-hɨ ve qhâʔ tê qhâʔ).[120]
(2) When the ν_h is a prefixed noun of spatial reference. We have
already seen in several connections [3.32, 3.46, 3.55] that ve is

3.75(1-2)

freely deletable before a prefixed noun of spatial reference:
á-po-qo ve ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ ∿ á-po-qo ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ 'behind the field-hut';
chi ve ɔ=ğû-sˇɨ̄ ∿ chi ɔ=ğû-sˇɨ̄ 'before this; in front of this'.

(3) When the ν_p is non-common and the ν_h is quantitial. Expres-
sions of the form $N_{non-common}$ + Q have been shown to derive from
structures of the form $N_{non-common}$ + ve + (N_{qh}) + Q.[121] We list
the various subtypes here again for ease of reference.

(a) N_{sd} + Q: mô tê mà < mô ve tê mà 'the one down there'.

(b) $[N_{sd} + E_{ma}]$ + Q: ô sˇɨ tê câʔ < ô sˇɨ ve tê câʔ 'one (string-
                                  like object) of that length'.

(c) chi + Q: chi nî khɛ < chi ve nî khɛ 'these two (animals)'.[122]

(d) $[chi + E_{ma}]$ + Q: chi fɨ tê kà < chi fɨ ve tê kà 'such a far
                                  place'.

(e) $[chi + E_{má-ɛ̀}]$ + Q: chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ tê ğâ < chi hɨ́-ɛ̀ ve tê ğâ 'such
                                  a tiny person'.

(f) $ɔ-M_{pfx\ (spatial)}$ + Q: ɔ-hɔ́ tê pá < ɔ-hɔ́ ve tê pá 'the side
                                  beneath'.

(g) N_{intg} + Q: qhɔ tê kà < qhɔ ve tê kà 'which place?'

(h) Pronoun + Q: ŋà ɔ=khɨ̂-ma < ŋà ve ɔ=khɨ̂-ma 'my daughter-in-
                                  law' [see section (1) above].

(4) When both nouns are common. The most idiosyncratic cases are
those where the N_h of each nucleus is a common, autonomous noun.
Here it is the meaning of the particular nouns involved which
determines whether ve is omittable, and if so, whether the omis-
sion sounds natural or is infelicitous and hard to understand.
Furthermore, the presence or absence of ve may now make a notice-
able difference in the meaning: often ve contributes a nuance of
definiteness or specificity. Thus, hɔ=nā-qhɔ̂ 'an elephant-trunk',
but hɔ ve nā-qhɔ̂ 'the elephant's trunk; the trunk of an elephant';
sˇɨʔ-cɛ̀=á-phàʔ 'a tree-leaf', but sˇɨʔ-cɛ̀ ve á-phàʔ 'the leaves of
a/the tree'; vàʔ=ɔ-sˇā 'pork; pig-meat', but vàʔ ve ɔ-sˇā 'the flesh
of a/the pig'.[123] Formally there is no reason why phɨ-sˇe ve

3.75(3-4)

ğû-tu=ší 'the navel of a/the flea' should behave differently from hɔ ve nā-qhɔ̂ 'the nose of an/the elephant'. Yet *phɨ-še≡ğû-tu=ší 'a flea navel' sounds peculiar and is not likely to be understood on first hearing, while hɔ=nā-qhɔ̂ 'an elephant-trunk' falls quite naturally on the ear. The only reason for the difference is a semantic (actually extra-linguistic) one. Elephants' noses are more striking, more often talked about, than fleas' navels, and so more amenable to lexicalization as compounds, minus the genitive marker.

(5) When the first noun is a nominalized clause. Once in a while it looks as if an entire nominalized clause is standing in a covert genitival relationship to a following noun: {ɔ̂-mō qha= pə̀-ɛ̀ thàʔ | kâ pî tù} ɔ̂-lɔn | cɔ̂ qo || ɔ̂-yân | cɔ̂ ve yò 'If there's anything to let the whole group hear about, there's time for it'. Here the clause ɔ̂-mō qha=pə̀-ɛ̀ thàʔ | kâ pî 'Let the whole group hear (it)' is nominalized by the purposive P$_v$ tù [below 6.15] ('something to let the whole group hear about'), so that the whole structure modifies ɔ̂-lɔn 'matter; piece of busi- ness'. ve is readily insertible before ɔ̂-lɔn with no significant overall meaning-change. However, tù then loses its nominalizing force, and is interpreted simply as the P$_v$ indicating unrealized action [below 4.64]. The whole structure is then an ordinary rel- ative clause modifying ɔ̂-lɔn.[124]

3.76 Deletion of the possessed head. When the general context is clear, or to avoid repetition of a nucleus mentioned elsewhere in the discourse, the possessed head of a genitive construction may be omitted: ν_p + ve + ν_h → ν_p + ve. The residual ν_p + ve still functions syntactically as a noun, and may be followed by a P$_n$. These elliptical constructions have the same semantic relation to the full genitive expression that English possessive pronouns (mine, yours, ours, John's, etc.) bear to their corresponding possessive adjectives plus a noun (my house, your kidney, John's face, etc.), or that English pronominal NP's like 'the one (that)',

3.75(5); 3.76

'those (which)', etc., bear to their nominal antecedents (the house, those kidneys, etc.). As the following examples show, ν_h's may be deleted after any subtype of ν_h, common or not: Cà-lɔ̂ ve lî? lɛ̀ ¦ qhɔ̀ le 'Where's Jalaw's book?' > Cà-lɔ̂ ve □ lɛ̀ ¦ qhɔ̀ le 'Where's Jalaw's?';[125] nɔ̀ ve pɛ̂-hɔ̄ ¦ qhà-nî qhɔ̂ | cɔ̀ s̆ɔ̄ le 'How many of your beeswax-candles are left?' > nɔ̀ ve □ ¦ qhà-nî qhɔ̂ | cɔ̀ s̆ɔ̄ le 'How many of yours are left?'; qhà-qhe ve í-s̆ī le 'What kind of fruit is it?' > qhà-qhe ve □ le 'What kind is it?'; ɔ̂-nu ve ɔ̂-cɛ̀ | yɛ̂ phɛ̀? ɔ 'You may use a different plant' > ɔ̂-nu ve □ | yɛ̂ phɛ̀? ɔ 'You may use a different one'; ŋà-hɨ qhe ve chɔ-cɔ̀ lɛ̀ ¦ [i ve] chɔ-cɔ̀ | phɛ̀? ve yò 'Races like us are humble races' > ŋà-hɨ qhe ve □ lɛ̀ ¦ [i ve] chɔ-cɔ̀ | phɛ̀? ve yò 'Ones like us are humble races'; chi qhɔ ve vɔ̀?-qâ ¦ ŋà ve vɔ̀?-qâ yò 'The clothes in here are my clothes' > chi qhɔ ve □ ¦ ŋà ve □ yò 'The ones in here are mine'; ó-qō s̆ê? s̆ī ve cà?-pò | mâ yà? phɛ̀? 'A three-headed plane can't land' > ó-qō s̆ê? s̆ī ve □ | mâ yà? phɛ̀? 'A three-headed one can't land'; tê chi s̆ê? qhɔ̀? ɛ̀? tí ve yâ-mî lɛ̀ | â phɛ̀? s̆e nɛ̀-ɔ̄ 'A girl who's only thirteen ("a girl of only 13 years") probably can't do it yet' > tê chi qhɔ̀? ɛ̀? tí ve □ lɛ̀ | â phɛ̀? s̆e nɛ̀-ɔ̄ 'One who's only thirteen probably can't do it yet'; chi/ô ve á-tà thà? kà? | hâ? yù qay 'Hurry and take this/that stick away too' > chi/ô ve □ thà? kà? | hâ? yù qay 'Hurry and take this/that one away too';[126] {là | tɛ dɔ̀ ve} ¦ yà?-s̆ɔ̂ tê s̆ɔ̂ ve là ¦ {bû? thâ} yò 'I had enough of tea-drinking this morning' ("As for drinking tea, this morning's tea was [already] the satiated time") > {là | tɛ dɔ̀ ve} ¦ yà?-s̆ɔ̂ tê s̆ɔ̂ ve □ ¦ {bû? thâ} yò ("As for drinking tea, this morning's was [already] the satiated time").

3.77 Rightward shifts of possessor nuclei. We have already been exposed to permuted genitive constructions where the possessor nucleus plus <u>ve</u> appear after the possessed head: ν_p + <u>ve</u> + ν_h → ν_h + ν_p + <u>ve</u>. In the cases so far discussed, the permutable ν_p has contained either the determiner <u>chi</u> or a N_{sd}, plus perhaps an

3.77

extentive noun of the E_{ma}, E_{qhe}, or (in the case of chi) the $E_{má-è}$
class. We have thus referred to this permutation as the 'Right-
ward shift of demonstrative possessor' transformation. To review
the various structures accounted for up to this point:

(a) $\underline{chi}/N_{sd}$ + $\underline{ve}$ + ν_h → ν_h + $\underline{chi}/N_{sd}$ + $\underline{ve}$. chi ve ú-cī → ú-cī
chi ve 'this hat'; ô ve Kâlâ-phu → Kâlâ-phu ô ve 'that white man';
mô ve ɔ=pɨ-tâʔ → ɔ=pɨ-tâʔ mô ve 'the thicket down there' [above
3.53c]. (b) $[\underline{chi}/N_{sd} + E_{ma}]$ + $\underline{ve}$ + ν_h → ν_h + $[\underline{chi}/N_{sd} + E_{ma}]$ + $\underline{ve}$.

chi fɨ ve yàʔ-qɔ → yàʔ-qɔ chi fɨ ve 'such a far road'; nô ma ve
í-šī → í-šī nô ma ve 'as many fruits as are up there' [above
3.612, 3.617d]. (c) $[\underline{chi} + E_{má-è}]$ + $\underline{ve}$ + ν_h → ν_h + $[\underline{chi} +$
$E_{má-è}]$ + $\underline{ve}$. chi hɨ-è ve jù-ma=šī → jù-ma=šī chi hɨ-è ve 'such a
tiny cowrie-shell' [above 3.62]. (d) $[\underline{chi}/N_{sd} + E_{qhe}]$ + $\underline{ve}$ +
ν_h → ν_h + $[\underline{chi}/N_{sd} + E_{qhe}]$ + $\underline{ve}$. chi qhe ve ɔ-chî → ɔ-chî chi
qhe ve 'this kind of curry'; ô qhe ve ɔ-lî → ɔ-lî ô qhe ve 'that
kind of custom' [above 3.641].

In addition to these 'demonstrative possessors', ν_p's of sev-
eral other types may be shifted to the right of their ν_h's with a
greater or lesser degree of freedom: (e) $[N_{common} + E_{ma}]$ + $\underline{ve}$ +
ν_h → ν_h + $[N_{common} + E_{ma}]$. This permutation-type [referred to
above 3.612] is considerably less frequent than those where the
noun preceding the E_{ma} is chi or a N_{sd}: yâ-ɛ hɨ ve hɔ-qhâʔ=pā →
hɔ-qhâʔ=pā yâ-ɛ hɨ ve 'a man the size of a child'. In order to
facilitate understanding, the speaker usually pauses after the ν_h
in the permuted construction. (f) Equally rare is the case where
the noun preceding the E_{ma} is the interrogative qhà: $[qhà + E_{ma}]$
+ $\underline{ve}$ + ν_h → ν_h + $[qhà + E_{ma}]$ + $\underline{ve}$ (qhà-šɨ ve pê-hɔ=câʔ → pê-hɔ=câʔ
qhà-šɨ ve 'how long a candlewick?'). [See above 3.612.]
(g) More readily permutable are the N_{intg}'s qhà or qhà-qhe
'which?; what kind of' when they occur alone in the possessor nu-
cleus, particularly if the head-noun is followed by the concessive
P_{unf} thɔ. The combination of qhà/qhà-qhe ... + thɔ yields ex-
pressions that are indefinite (not interrogative) in meaning:

'whichever N$_h$; whatever kind of N$_h$'. Thus, qhà/qhà-qhe ve š$\pm$?-vâ
thɔ̂ | yê phὲ? ve → š$\pm$?-vâ qhà/qhà-qhe ve thɔ̂ | yê phὲ? ve 'You
can use any kind of wood or bamboo'.

    (h) We have seen [above 3.45, 3.617b] that the quantifier
of a mass-noun may be shifted around so that it becomes the pos-
sessor nucleus of a genitive construction whose head is the mass-
noun: í-kâ? tê lî? → tê lî? ve í-kâ? 'a liter of water'. This
'Genitivization of the quantifier of a mass-noun' transformation
works equally well when the Q is followed by an E$_{ma}$ or E$_{qhe}$:
nā-mâ šê? kɔ ma/qhe → šê? kɔ ma/qhe ve nā-mâ 'as much as/about
three bottles of gasoline'. Once this transformation has applied,
the quantifier-possessor may then be reshifted to the right of the
head mass-noun, taking the particle ve along with it: tê lî?
(ma/qhe) ve í-kâ? → í-kâ? tê lî? (ma/qhe) ve '(as much as/about)
a liter of water'.

    (i) When the possessor nucleus of a genitive construction
contains a Q whose classifier is the same as a morpheme in the
ν$_h$, the ν$_p$ is likely to be shifted to the right of the ν$_h$. Con-
sider the sentence [ŋà-h$\pm$ | qha yê tù ve] tê cɔ̂ le-le ve ɔ-cɔ̂ ¦
tê ğâ le-le | qha-dὲ? gu tā mɛ̄ 'Everybody please prepare carefully
all the various kinds of things that we're going to use'. Here
the noun ɔ-cɔ̂ 'thing' is being modified simultaneously by the
relative clause [ŋà-h$\pm$ | qha yê tù ve] 'We'll use all (of them)'
and by the possessor nucleus tê cɔ̂ le-le 'all kinds of' which
contains the same morpheme, cɔ̂ 'kind; thing' as the ν$_h$.[127] Fur-
ther motivating the rightward shift in this case is the consider-
able length of the modifying structures taken together, which can
be mitigated by distributing them both to the left and the right
of the head. In our actual text, the sentence appeared with a
permuted ν$_p$: [ŋà-h$\pm$ | qha yê tù ve] ɔ-cɔ̂ tê cɔ̂ le-le ve ¦ tê ğâ
le-le | qha-dὲ? gu tā mɛ̄. A similar example is the following:
{qhɔ̂? nî qhɔ̂? ve qhɔ̂?-pī-qhɔ̂?-š$\pm$ | câ ve} kà? ¦ šê? ni ɔ ni cɛ lâ
'Will our celebration of the two years of the Old Year-New Year

be only three or four days?' (i.e., "Will our New Year's celebra-
tions, which have relevance to two years, both the old and the
new, last only three or four days?"). Here again the ν_p contains
a morpheme, qhɔ̂ʔ 'year', which reappears in the ν_h, and in our
actual text the genitive construction was permuted: {qhɔ̂ʔ-pī-
qhɔ̂ʔ-š̆ɨ̀ qhɔ̂ʔ nî qhɔ̂ʔ ve | câ ve} kàʔ etc.

(j) Some possessor nuclei, nouns though they be, are de-
rived from verbs. These may occasionally be shifted to the right
of the noun-head by a process analogous to the 'Right-relative
transformation' [below 6.49], where true verbal structures are
involved. Thus, ɔ̂=lɛ-lɛ ve tê qhâʔ ɔ̄ | cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀ 'There are some
in the very last village' may be permuted to tê qhâʔ ɔ̂=lɛ-lɛ ve
ɔ̄ | cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀. The noun ɔ̂=lɛ-lɛ 'the very last one' is derived
from the verb lɛ 'to come to an end, be the last one'. Somewhat
similar is the shifted sentence, š̆ɨ̀ʔ-phàʔ nɔ ve | mâ yê phɛ̂ʔ 'You
can't use green leaves'. The word nɔ 'green' is a stative noun
(more accurately glossed 'greenness' or 'something green') that
typically occurs in the form nɔ́ as a stative adverbial joined with
the subordinating particle ɛ̀. As we shall see [below 4.422],
these AE_{stat}'s may occur either to the left or the right of the
head-noun they modify: nɔ́ ɛ̀ ve š̆ɨ̀ʔ-phàʔ ∿ š̆ɨ̀ʔ-phàʔ nɔ́ ɛ̀ ve 'green
leaves'. This property is shared by the underlying noun-like
allomorph in the mid-tone: nɔ ve š̆ɨ̀ʔ-phàʔ ∿ š̆ɨ̀ʔ-phàʔ nɔ ve.

As must be obvious from this discussion, it is still not
possible to formulate precisely the conditions under which ν_p's
may be shifted to the right of their ν_h's. Whether this is due
to faulty analysis, or (as I suspect) to an indeterminacy in the
language itself, this is a matter which is well worth further
investigation.

3.8 Noun particles (P_n's). We return now to the formula [above
3.1] that most generally characterized the structure of the Lahu
noun-phrase: NP → ν + (P_n) + (P_u). In the preceding sections,
we have been concerned with expanding the obligatory nucleus, ν,

3.8

of the NP. We proceed here to consider the optional element, P_n, which may follow the nucleus of a NP.

A noun-particle is a word which fulfills neither the criteria for nounhood nor those for verbhood, that cannot begin an utterance, and that occurs in simple sentences only directly after nouns or directly after another noun-particle.[128] The P_n's are highly abstract in meaning, serving as overt markers of the semantic relationship of the preceding ν to the VP of the clause, or to the clause as a whole.[129] The property of not occurring first in an utterance is not unique to P_n's; it is equally characteristic of limited nouns [130] -- hence the stipulation that the P_n's do not satisfy the criteria for nounhood (formulated above, 2.2, as occurrability before [Num + Clf]).

3.81 <u>Vocative noun-particles</u>. There are two P_n's of vocative meaning which are rather marginal to the system of Lahu noun-particles:

(a) The interrogative vocative P_n <u>à</u>. This morpheme occurs only in NP's tacked loosely onto the ends of sentences that are substance-questions marked by the interrogative P_{uf} <u>le</u>. The ν + <u>à</u> represents the person (or personified animal or thing) to which the question is addressed: <u>nɔ̂ e ¦ qhɔ̀ | qay le, yâ-mî à</u> 'Where has your mother gone, little girl?'; <u>yà?-ni ɔ̄-qhe lɛ ¦ à-thɔ̀?-ma te tù le nē, Cà-g̈â? à</u> 'Well, what'll we do today, Jagha?'.

(b) The vocative P_n <u>ò</u> ∿ <u>ò?</u>. This particle is used in vocative tags hitched on either to the beginning or the end of sentences (whether interrogative or not): <u>ŋà má ò, ŋà lɔ̂?-qɔ́ ¦ qhɔ̀ | te tā ve le</u> 'Son-in-law, where have you put my sickle?'; <u>Cà-lâ ò?</u> 'Hey, Jalaw!'; <u>tâ te ‖ tâ te, ŋà yâ-pā ò</u> 'Stop it, stop it, son!' ("Don't do, don't do, son!"); <u>chi ve ɔ̂-lɔ | a-cî qāw mā lâ phè? lâ, šalā ò</u> 'Can you explain this to me please, teacher?'. As might be expected, this P_n is often pronounced with a protracted vocative intonation, starting very high and ending very low: [ooo ＼].

3.81; 3.81a-b

Diagrammatically we may set off vocative NP's from the rest of their sentences by commas.

3.82   Co-occurrence chart of the non-vocative P_n's.   The core of the Lahu P_n-system is constituted by the nine morphemes in Figure 8:

FIGURE 8.   Noun-particles

		thà?	pa-tɔ	
gɛ	kà?	$\bar{ɔ}$		lo
		hɔ		
è?			
mɛ			

More than one P_n may appear in the same NP in the order indicated,[131] though it is not common to have even two P_n's in sequence, while three-particle strings (e.g., kà? hɔ lo) are excessively rare.

3.83   The accusative P_n thà?.   This is by far the most important P_n of them all.   It is pronounced /thà?/ in careful style, but is often reduced to /à?/ in rapid colloquial [above 1.8].   The variant /hà?/ appears in the speech of those under Yellow Lahu dialectal influence.

thà? has an accusative function: it may optionally occur after a v which is in some sense the 'object' of the following verb.   Note that we do not assign any very precise meaning to the term 'object' in Lahu grammar.   It is merely a convenient intuitive label for any NP whose last element is thà?, or wherein thà? may grammatically be inserted with no effect on the meaning beyond a certain change of emphasis.   thà? by no means occurs mechanically after every noun that is the 'recipient of the action of the verb'.   It is, rather, used quite sparingly, only where clarity demands or when special emphasis is desired.   When the

3.82; 3.83

accusative relationship of a NP to its VP is perfectly obvious,
especially when the NP occurs directly before the VP, thà? is
normally left out. To insert a thà? in these cases either stamps
the speaker as non-native, or else imparts a further nuance of
meaning. Thus, the usual way of saying 'I have eaten (rice)' is
ɔ̄ | câ ɔ̀ (ɔ̄ 'cooked rice', câ 'eat', ɔ̀ 'P$_v$ showing completed
action'). To say *ɔ̄ thà? | câ ɔ̀ is highly unidiomatic (some
speakers maintain it is totally unacceptable). If it is desired
to contrast the eating of rice to something else (e.g., 'I've
eaten the rice, but not the vegetables'), either of the universal
particles cɛ 'to the extent of' [below 3.91b] or tí 'only' [3.91c]
may be used rather than thà?. Similarly, nɔ̀ ¦ bɔ́-šī | dɔ̀? gâ lâ
'Do you want to play ("hit") ball?' is normal. Inserting thà?
after bɔ́-šī produces a strange effect, as if one were offering
the choice of hitting a ball or some other object.

In cases like the following, thà? is appropriate: (a) ŋà
thà? | tâ dɔ̀? 'Don't hit me!'. There is a strong suggestion that
somebody else should be hit instead. (b) yɔ̀ thà? ¦ chi qhe |
qô? tù ve lâ 'Is that what you're going to tell him?' ("Is it
like this that you'll say to him?"). yɔ̂ 'him' is separated from
the verb by the extentive NP chi qhe 'like this'. If the thà?
were omitted the sentence would almost inevitably be interpreted
as 'Is that what he's going to say?', with yɔ̂ the subject instead
of the object. (c) ɔ̂ thà? ¦ nî | yù tɔ̂? qo || nî | phɛ̀? ve
'Four minus two is two' ("If you take out two from four, it be-
comes two"). Without the thà? the numerals ɔ̂ 'four' and nî 'two'
would be adjacent, and the clause would be incomprehensible. With
good will one could perhaps interpret the successive numerals as
indicating numerical approximation, so as to mean "if you take
out four-or-two", but this is farfetched since the second numeral
is not one greater than the first [above 3.47]. (d) [ô ve yɛ̀ ɔ̄ |
tɔ̂? la ve] mû-qhɔ̂ à? | ni-? 'Look at the smoke coming out of that
house!'. Here the object mû-qhɔ̂ 'smoke' is modified by a relative

clause. The thàʔ serves to unify the whole complex preceding
structure into a syntactic unit. The P_n's presence is further
motivated by the exclamatory character of the utterance.

When a sentence contains two NP's that are both objects of
the verb (one 'direct' and one 'indirect'), it is bad style to
use thàʔ after both, but unclear not to use it after one. It
will usually appear only after the indirect object (generally the
person, not the thing, acted upon):[132] lìʔ chi ¦ ŋà thàʔ | pî-ʔ
'Give me (ŋà thàʔ) that book'; ŋà ¦ yɔ̂ thàʔ ¦ lìʔ chi | hê cɨ gâ
ve 'I want to have him (yɔ̂ thàʔ) study this book'. If the thàʔ
were omitted from this last example, yɔ̂ 'he' might be taken as
genitivally subordinate to lìʔ 'book', yielding the interpretation
'I want to have (somebody) study this book of his'. [See above
3.75 'Deletion of genitive ve'.] Sometimes neither of the two
object-NP's refers to a person. In these cases too, it is the
more remote of the two objects that gets the thàʔ: ɔ̂ thàʔ ¦ nî |
yù tɔ̂ʔ qo 'if you take two from four (ɔ̂ thàʔ)'.

thàʔ is sometimes used in a way strikingly reminiscent of the
'accusative of time' of Indo-European languages: {yɔ̂ | qɔ̂ʔ la
ve} ¦ ha-pa qhà ve thàʔ le 'In which month will he come back?';
{ŋà-hɨ ¦ khɔ̄ | dɔ̂ʔ ve} [qhɔ̂ʔ | câ ve] ha-pa thàʔ yɔ̀ 'We play with
tops ("hit tops") in the month that we celebrate New Year's'.
The thàʔ is here not marking the recipient of the verb's action,[133]
but rather the temporal setting of that action. It is perhaps no
accident that the temporal P_{univ} thâ [below 3.91a] is phonologi-
cally similar to thàʔ.

We frequently find thàʔ after nominalized clauses which are
the objects of their sentences' main verbs: {nɔ̂ | qɔ̂ʔ ve} thàʔ ¦
ŋà | mâ na ğa qɔ̂ʔ-ma 'I can't catch what you're saying'; {yɔ̂ ¦
šɔ̂-pɔ̄ | là tù} thàʔ ¦ ŋà | dɔ̂-lɔ ve yɔ̀ 'I hope he will come to-
morrow'; {yɔ̂ ¦ î-kâʔ | lɔ̂ʔ e kɨ} thàʔ ¦ nɔ̂ | mâ šī là 'Don't you
know the place where he went into the water?'; {qha qay gâ pā}
thàʔ ¦ chɔ̀ kàʔ | là cɨ mɛ̄ 'Make everyone who wants to go come
here!'.[134]

We have seen that it is often unnatural or impossible to use
thàʔ after a noun which our English intuitions tell us is the ob-
ject of a verb. Conversely, N + thàʔ sometimes occurs before
verbs whose closest English translations are intransitive: yὲ
thàʔ | tɔ́ʔ la ɔ̀ '(He) has come out of the house' (tɔ́ʔ 'emerge
from'); Kɔ́lɔ́ chi ¦ šu thàʔ | mâ šu 'This Northern Thai is not
like the others' (šu 'be the same as'); a-nà [chɔ-to gɛ | cɔ̀ ve] ¦
vâ-qhɔ thàʔ tí | chê še ve yɔ̀ 'The sickness in the person's body
is transferred only to the bamboo ring' (chê 'dwell, stay in a
place': "dwells only in the bamboo ring"); ɔ́-qā chi ¦ Hêʔ-pā
thàʔ | vɨ̀ ā ve lâ 'Did you buy this buffalo from a Chinese?'. In
this last example, the thàʔ appears after the indirect object,
Hêʔ-pā 'a Chinese', not after ɔ́-qā 'buffalo' (vɨ̀ 'buy from').[135]
In sum, it would be a gross oversimplification and falsification
to assume an 'underlying thàʔ' in all cases where the English
gloss has a direct or indirect object. The conditions favorable
to the occurrence of thàʔ are varied and complex. They have not
been worked out with absolute precision, nor perhaps can they ever
be in principle. At any rate, it is clear that we cannot divide
the class of action-verbs into neat 'transitive' and 'intransi-
tive' subclasses on the basis of whether or not they may govern a
preceding thàʔ-NP.[136]

It seems likely that there is a historical connection between
the P_n thàʔ and the spatial M_{pfx} (ɔ́-)thàʔ 'on top of; above and
in contact with'. Thus, NP's like yὲ ɔ́-thàʔ ∿ yὲ thàʔ must orig-
inally have had concrete spatial meanings ('on top of the house').
In time this could have become more abstract, developing into the
notion of being 'covered' or 'topped' (i.e., affected passively
by) the action of the verb.[137]

thàʔ occurs in sequence with the causal P_n pa-tɔ (next sec-
tion).

3.84 **The causal P_n pa-tɔ.** This P_n indicates that the existence
or activity of the preceding noun is the reason for what follows

3.84

in the sentence: chi pa-tɔ 'because of this; for this reason'; g̈ɨ̈-ša ve bo pa-tɔ 'because of the grace of God'; ŋà ve yâ-pā pa-tɔ ¦ phu | a-cí cɔ̂ la ò 'I have a little more money now, thanks to my son'; [mâ dàʔ ve] qhâʔ-šɛ pa-tɔ ¦ ŋà-hɨ ¦ ni-ma | lù jâ 'We're awfully depressed on account of the no-good headman'.

The meaning of a [N + pa-tɔ] sequence ('because N exists; because of N; due to the fact that N; on account of N; thanks to N') is quite different from [N + lɛ] 'because it is an N'. The causal P_{univ} lɛ indicates that the <u>identity</u> or <u>essence</u> of the preceding noun is the reason, not its existence or activity. [See below 3.91e.]

Alongside chi pa-tɔ 'because of this', we frequently find the expression chi ve pa-tɔ 'id.'. This is to be analyzed as a genitive construction with deleted v_h. We assume some such underlying structure as chi ve ɔ̂-lɔ pa-tɔ 'because of this reason'.

In elevated style, pa-tɔ may be preceded by the accusative P_n thàʔ: g̈ɨ̈-ša ve bo thàʔ pa-tɔ 'because of the grace of God'. This rather strange particle combination suggests that pa-tɔ may itself be of verbal origin: 'taking this N (accusative) as a reason'.

pa-tɔ, being a P_n, does not occur directly after verbs; but it does have the important property of occurring after verbs in clauses that have been nominalized by the P_{univ} ve: {phu | mâ cɔ̂ ve} pa-tɔ | qay mâ phɛ̂ʔ '(We) can't go because of the fact that (we) have no money'. pa-tɔ and thàʔ are the only P_n's that may occur after nominalized ve-clauses [below 6.115].

3.85 The concomitant P_n gɛ. This P_n has several shades of meaning, all of which are related to the idea of co-occurrence in a place or a situation. The English word which usually serves as the best translation is <u>with</u>. (a) gɛ of accompaniment: yàʔ-pɨ ¦ ŋà-hɨ gɛ | chɛ̂ mē 'Please stay with us tonight'; tâ-kà=pā gɛ | qay tù ve lâ 'Will you go with the merchants?'; yɔ̂ ¦ {ɔ̂-ha | thɔ̄

pā} gɛ ¦ yà?-qɔ | jû qay chê ve yò 'He's walking along the road
with the photographer'. (b) gɛ of bodily instrumentality:
ŋà-hɨ ¦ mê?-šɪ̄ gɛ | mɔ̄ ve 'We see with our eyes'; là?-šɛ gɛ | a-cí
šɪ a ni 'Try twisting it a little with your hand'; nê-hāy chi ¦
šɪ̄ gɛ | phɛ̀? tɔ̂? la ve pa-tɔ 'since these evil spirits arise out
of blood'. Instrumental gɛ seems to occur only after body-parts;
i.e., after instruments which are intrinsic to the user. (In the
last example above, the body-part is not only the instrument, but
the actual material used to perform the action.[138]) When it is a
question of external tools functioning as instruments, this is
usually expressed by a clause of the form N + yù + lɛ 'having
taken an N' (yù 'to take', lɛ 'suspensive P_{unf}'): á-thɔ | yù lɛ
|| tɔ̂? chê? phɛ̀? ɔ lâ 'Can you cut it through with a knife?'
("Having taken a knife, can you cut it through?"); khê-tà | yù
lɛ || qha-dɛ̀? bù? tā mē̄ 'Write it out nicely with a pencil'.
Note that the insertion of thà? before yù would shift the empha-
sis to the act of taking up the tool itself: á-thɔ thà? | yù lɛ
|| ɔ-yâ=pā gɛ ¦ á-qhɔ | qò? e ve yò 'He took up the knife, and
went home with his son'.

When an action involving an instrument is not performed
according to the volition of the agent, the yù lɛ construction
cannot be used, since it implies an act of will in taking up the
instrument. Thus, to express accidental events like 'I cut my
finger with a knife', a Lahu would simply say 'A knife cut my
finger': ŋà ve là?-nɔ ¦ á-thɛ̀? | tɔ̂? šē ve. If I say ŋà ¦
á-thɛ̀? | yù lɛ || là?-nɔ | tɔ̂? šē ve, it means that I cut my
finger on purpose.

For further discussion of Lahu instrumental constructions,
see below 4.51(1), 'Oblique NP's and specifying nouns'.
(c) gɛ before verbs of motion. Before a verb of motion, gɛ
usually has the cisative meaning 'to, toward': a-pa gɛ | là ɔ̀-?
'Come to your father!'; yɔ̂ gɛ | hâ? qay-? 'Hurry up and go to
him!'; ŋà ve chê-kɨ gɛ | yà? la ve 'He came down to the place

where I live'. The interpretation of [N + gɛ] in this environ-
ment is closely related to the idea of accompaniment. The basic
notion is 'performance of motion so that co-occurrence in a place
will result'. (After the child comes to his father, they will be
together, etc.) Sometimes, however, it looks as if gɛ conveys
the diametrically opposite, transitive meaning of 'from, away
from': yâ-ɛ́ gɛ | hâʔ yù qhɔ̂ʔ 'Hurry and take it away from the
child'; chɔ̀ kàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ gɛ ¦ ŋà | ğa phâʔ tù yò 'I shall have to
separate from you here'; Kɔ́lɔ́ gɛ | vɨ̀ cɔ́ ve 'You ought to buy it
from the Northern Thai'. This use of gɛ, apparently in direct
contradiction to the functions we have seen above, seems strange
only because of the English glosses. From the point of view of
Lahu, this is a logical extension of the accompaniment meaning.
Before verbs referring to separation or revertive motion (yù qhɔ̂ʔ
'take back', phâʔ 'separate', vɨ̀ 'buy from', etc.), [N + gɛ] is
interpreted as indicating a _prior_ state of accompaniment. (Be-
fore it was taken from the child, it had been with the child,
etc.) As we shall see [below 3.86, 3.89], it is characteristic
of Lahu to assign the semantic burden of directionality to the VP
of the sentence, and to view the noun involved statically, as it
was before or will be after the motion takes place.[139] When the
verb is unspecified with respect to the direction of motion rela-
tive to the focus of interest, the sentence is ambiguous. Thus,
out of context, the sentence ŋà ¦ ɔ̀-pa gɛ | là ve yò may mean
either 'I have come to Father' or 'I have come from Father'.

Note that in any case gɛ is only used after nouns referring
to animate beings (usually humans), or parts thereof.

(d) The quantified expression tê gɛ 'together with'. As men-
tioned above under 'Quantified nuclei' [3.42(5)], there exists a
classifier gɛ that occurs only after the numeral tê 'one', with
the combined meaning of 'together'. Historically the homophonous
classifier and noun-particle are obviously one and the same mor-
pheme. In present-day Lahu, however, their non-parallel behavior

requires us to assign them to different form-classes: n̂ɔ ¦ yɔ̂
gɛ | qay tù ve lâ 'Will you go to/from him?' (P$_n$ gɛ) vs. n̂ɔ ¦ yɔ̂
tê gɛ | qay tù ve lâ 'Will you go together with him?' (Clf gɛ).
The addition of the numeral tê serves to disambiguate gɛ so that
it unequivocally refers to accompaniment rather than motion.

(e) P$_n$ sequences with gɛ. The P$_n$ sequences gɛ + kà?, gɛ + ɔ̄, gɛ
+ hɔ, and gɛ + lo may all occur within a single NP, though this
is not common. See below 3.86.

3.86 Four P$_n$'s of spatial reference: lo, ɔ̄, hɔ, kà?.

(a) The literary locative P$_n$ lo. This P$_n$ has a general locative
meaning that is devoid of intrinsic directionality.[140] Whether a
[N + lo] is to be translated 'to/toward/into N', or 'in/at N', or
'from/out of/away from N', depends entirely on the semantics of
the clause's main verb. Before verbs indicating a motion which
is not specifically separative, the N is usually interpreted as
the end-point of the action: qhâ?-šɛ yɛ̀ lo ¦ ŋà | qay gâ ve yò
'I want to go to the headman's house'; phu chi thà? ¦ há-qō lo |
hâ? kə mɛ̄ 'Hurry and put this money into the cave!'. If the verb
refers to a state of rest in a single place, the noun preceding
lo is interpreted as the locale of the unmoving state: yɔ̂ ¦
qhâ?-šɛ yɛ̀ lo | chê ve yò 'He's staying at the headman's house';
phu ô-ve ¦ há-qō lo | cɔ̀ ve lâ 'Is that money in the cave?'.[141]
When the verb carries a separative meaning, the N is viewed as
the starting-point of the action -- the location of the object
before the act of separation took place: khɔ̂? nālī thâ ¦ yɔ̂ ¦
qhâ?-šɛ yɛ̀ lo | tɔ̂? la tù cê 'He said he'd come out of the head-
man's house at six o'clock'; phu thà? ¦ há-qō lo | hâ? yù qhɔ̂?
'Hurry and take the money back out of the cave!'. Sometimes the
verb itself may be taken in either a cisative or transitive sense,
and the sentence can be disambiguated only by the context. Thus,
yɔ̂ ¦ vên lo | là ve yò may mean either 'He has come from the city'
or 'He has come to the city'.

3.86; 3.86a

—

lŏ is much rarer in colloquial speech than either ɔ̄ or kàʔ,
but is much used in formal discourse and in the various Lahu
translations of the New Testament. In the high style, lŏ appears
in sequence with several other P$_n$'s [below (b)].

(b) The locative post-nominal use of the P$_{unf}$ ɔ̄. There is an
important non-final unrestricted particle, ɔ̄, which serves to
topicalize a NP or VP, setting it off as something to be commented
on later in the sentence [below 3.92c; 5.43]. When this particle
comes after a noun referring to a place, its meaning shades off
from that of a simple topicalizer to that of a weak locative.
Like lŏ, ɔ̄ in itself is neutral with respect to the ideas of mo-
tion vs. rest or cisative vs. transitive, these being supplied by
the VP of the clause. Thus: ɔ̀-kàʔ-ɔ̀-nu ɔ̄ | chê gâ cê 'He says
he wants to live in another place' (chê 'dwell, stay in a place');
nɔ̀-hɨ ve qhâʔ ɔ̄ | qay gâ 'He wants to go to your village' (qay
'go to'); ô ve yὲ ɔ̄ ¦ mû-qhɔ̂ | tɔ̂ʔ la ve 'There's smoke coming out
of that house' (tɔ̂ʔ 'emerge from'). This particle occurs with
especial frequency after the N$_{sd}$'s and the spatial M$_{pfx}$'s: cô ɔ̄
'way over there / all the way to there / from way over there';
nô ɔ̄ 'up there, etc.'; mô ɔ̄ 'down there, etc.' Also, chi ɔ̀-hɔ́ ɔ̄
'under this / to under here / from under here'; yὲ ɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ ɔ̄
'behind the house, etc.'; ɔ̀-na=phɔ̂ ɔ̄ 'on the upper side, etc.';
cɨ qhɔ ɔ̄ 'in the market, etc.'

We have so far begged the question as to whether ɔ̄ is to be
regarded as a P$_n$ when it occurs after nouns referring to places,
or whether it is always to be considered a topicalizing P$_{unf}$.
The fact that the ideas of location, motion, and direction are
here conveyed principally (if not entirely) by the preceding noun
and the following verb makes the latter decision simpler and more
attractive. However, there is strong evidence that ɔ̄ is being
absorbed into the class of noun-particles: (1) The P$_n$ lŏ occa-
sionally occurs after other P$_n$'s (gɛ, kàʔ, hɔ), to form sequences

3. 86b

whose meanings are essentially identical to what they would be without the addition of <u>lo</u>. These constructions are quite high-flown, and are marginal to the system of spoken Lahu: <u>ô</u> <u>kàʔ</u> <u>lo</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-vêʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hwē</u> 'In that place [Heaven] flowers do not wither'; <u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-pa</u> <u>gɛ</u> <u>lo</u> | <u>là</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'I have come from the Father'; <u>cô</u> <u>hɔ</u> <u>lo</u> | <u>fá</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'They have been hidden away yonder'. But the sequence <u>ɔ̄</u> + <u>lo</u> is also attested: <u>nô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> <u>lo</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-vêʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> 'There are no blossoms up yonder'. Since P_n's like <u>lo</u> cannot occur after unrestricted particles in the same NP, <u>ɔ̄</u> must here be considered a P_n as well. (2) It is actually possible to have two occurrences of <u>ɔ̄</u> in a single NP: <u>nô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> <u>qo</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> 'as for up there'. Since the topicalizing P_{unf} <u>qo</u> precedes rather than follows the P_{unf} <u>ɔ̄</u> in all clear cases, the first <u>ɔ̄</u> must be distinct from the latter, and in fact has to be regarded as a P_n.[142]

<u>ɔ̄</u> may follow the P_n's <u>gɛ</u> or <u>kàʔ</u> within the same NP: <u>ɔ-má=pā</u> <u>gɛ</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>šɔ̄</u> 'There are still some where [your] son-in-law is'; <u>ô</u> <u>kàʔ</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> | <u>tɛ</u> <u>a-ʔ</u> 'Please put it right over there'.

(c) The colloquial locative P_n <u>hɔ</u>. This particle conveys a rather more informal impression than the other P_n's in this group. In the vagueness of its semantic content it seems most similar to <u>ɔ̄</u>, and may even be related to it historically. It can occur after common nouns, but is especially frequent after the N_{sd}'s: <u>ô</u> <u>hɔ</u> | <u>lē-gɨ</u> <u>chê</u> <u>ve</u> 'They're playing over there'. The particle-sequences <u>gɛ</u> + <u>hɔ</u>, <u>kàʔ</u> + <u>hɔ</u>, and even <u>kàʔ</u> + <u>hɔ</u> + <u>lo</u> are all attested.

(d) The lexically-limited textually-frequent locative P_n <u>kàʔ</u>.

This P_n occurs regularly after very few nouns, but these are among the most frequently occurrent ones in the language: the N_{sd}'s (<u>chɔ̀</u>, <u>ô</u>, <u>nô</u>, <u>mô</u>, <u>cô</u>) and the N_{intg} <u>qhɔ̀</u> 'where?'. Thus, <u>chɔ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> 'here/hither/hence'; <u>nô</u> <u>kàʔ</u> 'up there/up to there/from up there'; <u>qhɔ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> 'where/whither/whence'. Like the other locative P_n's, <u>kàʔ</u> is neutral with respect to direction: <u>chɔ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> ¦ <u>chɨ=pí-qwɛ̀ʔ</u> | <u>pɛ</u> <u>jâ</u> 'There are plenty of barking-deer around here'; <u>chɔ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>hâʔ</u> <u>là-ʔ</u> 'Come here quick!'; <u>chɔ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>qay</u> <u>ò</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Has he gone back from here yet?'[143]

3.86c-d

Historically <u>kà?</u> is probably derived from the classifier for
places, <u>kà</u>, plus the accusative P_n <u>thà?</u> ∿ <u>à?</u>. Thus, one can
imagine a development like <u>nô</u> <u>tê</u> <u>kà</u> <u>à?</u> | <u>ni-?</u> > <u>nô</u> <u>kà?</u> | <u>ni-?</u>
'Look up there!'. Then the use of <u>kà?</u> could have been generalized
to locative contexts where <u>thà?</u> was inappropriate.

The P_n <u>kà?</u> is by no means to be identified or confused with
the homophonous P_{unf} which means 'also' or 'even' [below 3.92d;
5.44(2)], and which, like all P_u's, occurs after both nouns and
verbs: <u>ŋà</u> <u>kà?</u> | <u>qay</u> 'I'll go too' / 'Even I am going' [after
noun]; <u>nɔ́</u> | <u>qay</u> <u>kà?</u> || <u>ŋà</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>qay</u> 'Even if you go, I'm not
going' [after verb]. Conclusive proof that the two <u>kà?</u>'s are
distinct is the fact that they may appear one after the other in
the same NP: <u>chɔ̀</u> <u>kà?</u> <u>kà?</u> | <u>cɔ́</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u>
                                 P_n   P_{unf}

'Are there some here too?' / 'Are there some even here?'.

Locative <u>kà?</u> is found occasionally after a common noun + the
P_n <u>gɛ</u>: <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>Khè-mèu?</u> <u>gɛ</u> <u>kà?</u> | <u>chê</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'He has lived among the
Meos'. This last sentence is ambiguous. If the <u>kà?</u> is taken to
be the P_{unf} 'even; also', it would mean 'He has even/also lived
among the Meos'. (This in fact is much the more likely inter-
pretation. Note that a word /kà?/ occurring after any P_n except
<u>gɛ</u> is always understood as the P_{unf}.[144])

The various locative P_n's are quite similar in meaning. We
have seen in particular how the ideas of motion and direction are
extrinsic to all of them. <u>lo</u> differs from the other three by its
greater stylistic elevation, and by the distributional fact that
it rarely, if ever, occurs after the N_{sd}'s (*<u>mô</u> <u>lo</u>, *<u>chɔ̀</u> <u>lo</u>).
<u>kà?</u> and <u>lo</u> both seem to pinpoint a locality with more precision
or specificity than <u>ɔ̄</u> or <u>hɔ</u>; <u>ɔ̄</u> in particular retains the general-
ity of its topicalizing nature. Thus, <u>nô</u> <u>kà?</u> means, according to
context, 'right up there / to that (very) spot up there, etc.',
while <u>nô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> means something more like 'someplace up there / to
some point or other up there, etc.' Similarly, <u>yɛ̀</u> <u>lo</u> means,

according to context, '(directly) to the house / (right) in the house / (right) at the house / (right) out of the house', whereas yὲ $\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ shades toward meanings like 'toward the house / near the house / away from the house / someplace around the house / in the general neighborhood of the house'.

None of the locative particles are capable of conveying specific space-relational meanings like 'under', 'over', 'beside', 'on top of', etc. This is rather the province of the spatial M_{pfx}'s [above 3.341e].

3.87 The informal P_n ὲʔ ∿ ὲ 'only'. The P_n ὲʔ ∿ ὲ occurs chiefly in rapid colloquial speech.[145] It usually appears after a quantified expression, with the meaning 'only; just'.[146] In other contexts this often shades toward the meanings of the P_{unf}'s kàʔ and thɔ 'even; also' [below 3.92d; 5.44]. When it means 'only', ὲʔ is frequently reinforced by a following cε or tí, or both: ŋâ pù ὲ lὲ | â câ lɔʔ nὲ-$\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ 'With only five paddy-heaps,

$\qquad\qquad P_n\ \ P_{unf}$

I wonder if you'll have enough to eat'; tê chi šêʔ qhɔʔ ὲʔ tí ve lὲ | â phὲʔ šē nὲ-$\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ 'Seeing as how she's only thirteen years old, she probably can't [do it] yet'; {tê qhô ὲ cε | qay ve} | mâ hêʔ 'Not just one group is going' (i.e., more than one are going); tê chi tê ὲʔ | dɔʔ ve yɔ̀ 'We're just on the eleventh point' ("We're just hitting number-eleven"); Kɔlɔ-ma ὲ cê, fâʔ-šwε cê, fâʔ-gàʔ ὲ cê ... 'only Thai wenches and squirrels [is all you care about]' (fâʔ-šwε 'the red-cheeked ground-squirrel'; fâʔ-gàʔ 'striped ground-squirrel'); {làʔ-q$\bar{\mathfrak{o}}$ tôʔ} kɨ ὲʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | mâ là 'You didn't even come to the place where the wedding was'; phu ὲʔ | mâ cɔ̀ || kán kàʔ | mâ ǧa te 'Not only don't I have any money, but I can't find work either'.

This particle has a special use in reduplicated quantity-expressions, where it occurs after each reduplicate (Q_1 + ὲ + Q_1 + ὲ) to reinforce the meaning 'each and every Clf'.[147] The nu-

meral in these expressions is always t̠ê 'one'. The tone of ɛ̠
fluctuates in this environment, usually assimilating to the tone
of the preceding classifier. After Clf's under the mid, high-
falling, high-checked or low-checked tones, it is mid [ɛ]; after
/´/ it is high-rising [ɛ́]; otherwise it remains low-falling [ɛ̀].
However, for special emphasis it can be pronounced in the high-
rising tone, regardless of the tone of the preceding syllable.
Thus, t̠ê n̠i ɛ t̠ê n̠i ɛ ∿ t̠ê n̠i ɛ́ t̠ê n̠i ɛ̂ 'every single day'; t̠ê ğâ
ɛ t̠ê ğâ ɛ 'every last person'; t̠ê pɔ̂ʔ ɛ t̠ê pɔ̂ʔ ɛ 'every single
time'; t̠ê qhɔ̂ʔ ɛ t̠ê qhɔ̂ʔ ɛ 'every blessed year'; t̠ê šɔ́ ɛ́ t̠ê šɔ́ ɛ́
'every single morning'; t̠ê c̠ə̂ ɛ̀ t̠ê c̠ə̂ ɛ̀ 'every kind of thing'.
3.88 mɛ: a strong setter-off. The P_unf's l̠ɛ̀, ɔ̄, and q̠o [qq.v.]
are the commonest and most neutral of the Lahu particles which
serve to delimit the topic of a sentence. The relatively rare
P_n m̠ɛ is a topicalizer with a strong setting-off force: âa,
y̠â-m̠î c̠hi m̠ɛ ¦ ŋ̠à │ qha-dɛ̂ʔ â šī q̠ôʔ-ma 'Hmm, this girl now -- I
really don't know her very well!'; q̠he-q̠o, {ô t̠hâ ¦ nɔ̀ m̠ɛ ¦ y̠â-
m̠î=h̠á │ m̠âʔ v̠e} ¦ qhɔ̂-q̠he t̠e l̠e 'Well then, what about you -- how
did you use to court the girls in the old days?'.
3.89 Illustration of the incommensurability of cross-language
semantic-grammatical categories: how to say 'from' in Lahu.
It is obvious that there is no simple way to equate the meanings
of the Lahu P_n's with those of, say, the English prepositions or
complementary adverbs. One striking example of this fact, and of
the more general truism that there is usually no simple relation-
ship between the grammatical categories of genetically unrelated
languages, is the disparate variety of Lahu constructions that
may be brought to bear to translate one or another of the formal-
ly identical English prepositional phrases containing the word
'from'. Usually the 'fromness' is part of the semantic core of
the Lahu verb itself, and requires no further overt expression:[148]
hɛ-p̠ɨ́=qhɔ │ c̠a q̠ay ││ qɔ̂ʔ l̠a ɔ̀ 'He has come back from the woods'
("Having gone to the woods, he has come back"; qɔ̂ʔ 'come back

from'); nɔ̂ yɛ̀ lɛ lɔ̂-qá ô-ve lɛ̂ | vɨ̂ à lâ 'Is your house far
from that river?' ("As for your house and that river, is it far?";
vɨ̂ 'be far from'). The noun which is the object of 'from' in the
English translation may be construed with the accusative P_n thà?
in Lahu: ŋà-hɨ thà? ⋮ lì? | yù qhɔ̂? pɨ-à 'He might well take the
book back from us'; yɔ̂-hɨ thà? ⋮ ŋà-hɨ | ğa phâ? dà? tù yò 'We
shall have to separate from them'; nɔ̂ á-qhɔ ⋮ lɔ̂-qá ô-ve thà? |
vɨ̂ à lâ 'Is your house far from that river?' ɔ̂ thà? ⋮ nî | yù tɔ̂?
qo ‖ nî | phɛ̀? ve 'If you subtract two from four, you get two'.
Alternatively, the 'object noun' may be followed by one of the
other Lahu P_n's (gɛ, lo, kà?, ɔ̄): yɔ̂ gɛ | hâ? yù qhɔ̂? 'Hurry and
take it back from him'; mɔ̂?-qɔ lo ⋮ à-mī | tɔ̂? la ve 'Fire is
coming from his mouth'; yɔ̂ gɛ ⋮ qhà-thâ? | ğa phâ? tù le 'When
will you have to separate from him?'. Sometimes Lahu has a
spatial M_{pfx} referring to the position of the object before the
action of separation or withdrawal took place: í-kâ? qhɔ | tɔ̂?
la ò 'It came from [inside] the water'; í-mû qhô | hâ? yà? mɛ̄
'Hurry and get down from [on top of] the horse!'; ŋà là?-šɛ qhɔ |
yù qhɔ̂? gâ lâ 'Do you want to take it from [inside] my hand?'.

There is one Lahu expression which does specifically mean
'from': te lɛ. This is composed of the verb te 'do' and the
suspensive P_{unf} lɛ: 'having done'. The idea seems to be that
'having finished our consideration of this place, we will proceed
from it to another point'. However, te lɛ is of quite restricted
occurrence, appearing mostly in correlative expressions of the
form NP_1 + te lɛ + NP_2 + ɔ̄/qha-gà 'from NP_1 to NP_2': Há-ni hɔ̂
ɔ̄ | te lɛ ‖ mô ɔ̂ 'from below Red Rock downwards'; ɔ̂-hɔ̂ tê qhâ? |
te lɛ ‖ ɔ̂-na tê qhâ? qha-gà 'from the lower village right to the
upper village'.

3.9 Unrestricted particles in non-final NP's. We are now ready
to amplify the last term in our formula, NP → v + (P_n) + (P_u), as
follows:

$$NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_{\text{non-final}} \\ NP_{\text{final}}^{149} \end{array} \right\} ;$$

3.9

$$NP_{nf} \rightarrow \nu + (P_n) + (P_{univ}) + (P_{unf}) \quad ;$$

$$NP_f \rightarrow \nu + (P_n) + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf}) \quad .$$

It will be remembered from the discussion of the three types of unrestricted particle [above 2.2] that (a) final unrestricted particles (P_{uf}'s) occur only in final VP's or the final NP in a minor sentence; (b) non-final unrestricted particles (P_{unf}'s) appear after non-final NP's and after non-final VP's in compound sentences; and (c) universal unrestricted particles (P_{univ}'s) occur in both final and non-final NP's and VP's. P_{univ}'s precede all other P_u's in the same phrase. In this section we are interested only in NP_{nf}'s and therefore only in P_{univ}'s and P_{unf}'s _qua_ post-nominal morphemes. For ease of reference, and at the price of a certain repetitiveness, we nevertheless include parenthetical examples of their post-verbal occurrences as well.[150]

It would almost be adequate to define an unrestricted particle as 'any particle which may occur directly after nouns and directly after verbs'. However, the topic particle $\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$, for example, although it occurs directly after nouns, never appears immediately after a verb; a P_u such as _ve_, _tí_, _qo_, or _lɛ_ must intervene between the verb and the $\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$. Now we cannot classify (non-locative[151]) $\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ with the P_n's, since the latter may only precede P_u's, never follow them.[152] We are therefore forced to modify our definition slightly:

> An unrestricted particle is a particle which (a) occurs directly after nouns and directly after verbs; or (b) occurs directly after nouns and after other unrestricted particles as specified in (a).

It follows that any particle which follows a P_u in the same phrase is itself a P_u.[153]

The unrestricted particles are highly abstract in meaning, serving to relate the preceding nominal or verbal structure to the sentence as a whole[154] along any of a variety of semantic

dimensions. Returning to our schema of the non-final NP, NP →
$v + (P_n) + (P_{univ}) + (P_{unf})$, we find that our consideration of
P_u's in NP_{nf}'s is divisible into several questions: (1) What
contributions to the meaning of NP's are made by the various
P_u's? (2) What are the constraints on possible sequences of un-
restricted particles in NP's? Specifically, what are the possi-
ble combinations of $P_{univ} + P_{univ}$, $P_{univ} + P_{unf}$, and $P_{unf} + P_{unf}$?
(3) What P_n's may occur before which of the permissible P_u-
sequences within a single NP?

3.91 Universal P_u's and sequences thereof. All of the P_{univ}'s
may occur directly after nouns in non-final NP's.

(a) The temporal P_{univ} thâ in NP_{nf}'s: 'when N; the time that N'.
ŋà ¦ yâ-έ thâ ¦ qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ ¦ ɔ̄ | mɔ̀ʔ chê ve 'I was always hun-
gry when a child'; [ɔ̄ | mɔ̀ʔ la ve] tê yân thâ ¦ qhà-qhe | te ve
le 'What do you do when you get hungry?' ("when [it's] the being-
hungry time"). The Q, tê yân 'a time', preceding thâ in the last
example is the head of a relative clause. This important Clause
+ ve + tê yân thâ construction is discussed below [6.42(4)].
[Compare the use of thâ after the verb of a VP_{nf}: nɔ̀ ¦ ɔ̄ | mɔ̀ʔ
thâ || à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma | te ve le 'What do you do when you're hungry?'.
In its post-verbal function, there are convincing grounds for
maintaining that thâ is really nominalizing the preceding clause
(below 6.12).]

　　The semantic range of thâ (as opposed to qo, below 3.92a)
is normally restricted to the past or to a habitual present.
[See 3.97, below.]

(b) The extentive P_{univ} cɛ in NP_{nf}'s: 'to the extent of N; as
much as N'. vàʔ ŋâ khɛ cɛ | šɨ e ɔ̀ 'As many as five pigs died' /
'All five pigs died' ("to the extent of five pigs"); {šɨʔ-cὲ cɛ |
thu phὲʔ ve} | mâ hêʔ ɔ̀ 'We can't cut down so much as a tree any
more'; lɔ̀-qá cɛ ¦ ɔ̀-qhâ=ló ɔ̄ 'in the great stamping-ground as far
as the river'. [Compare the use of cɛ after the verb of a VP_{nf}:

3.91; 3.91a-b

ŋà-h‡ | qɔ́ mâ pɔ̀ cɛ || qay mâ phὲʔ 'As long as we haven't fin-
ished plowing, we can't go'. For a discussion of the adverbial
expressions qhe-cɛ and qhe=cɛ-cɛ, see below 4.45; also 'Extentive
nuclei', above 3.641.]

(c) The minimizing P~univ~ tí in NP~nf~'s: 'only N; just N; simply
N'. nī-šī tê pá tí | cɔ̀ ve cê 'They say he's only got one tes-
ticle'; yɔ̀ tí | te p‡ ve 'Only he can do it'. [Compare the use
of tí postverbally: qòʔ e tí yò lê 'Let's just go home, okay?']

(d) The asseverative P~univ~ tὲ in NP~nf~'s: 'N indeed; this very N'.

tὲ is a P~univ~ that is related to the noun ɔ-tὲ 'truth', which
seems to be a borrowing from Shan.[155] It is well integrated into
the Lahu particle system, however, and cannot be considered mar-
ginal to it. tὲ serves to set off the preceding noun (or verb)
vigorously, averring the truth of the entire proposition in which
it occurs as a key word: chi-phâ tὲ ¦ ŋà àʔ | šū-šàʔ lâ jâ qôʔ-
ma 'It's this fellow who's always bothering me!'; ašóyàʔ tὲ ¦
ŋà-h‡ àʔ | mâ ga pî jɔ ve yò 'The government! It's never helped
us yet!'. [Compare the use of tὲ in VP~nf~'s: cɔ̀ tὲ || mâ ve yò
'There are indeed many of them'.]

    The 'non-particle' origin of tὲ is demonstrated by the fact
that it may occur reduplicated in its role as a P~univ~. Thus,
after nouns: Kɔ́lɔ́-ma tὲ-tὲ ¦ a-šu | qay qo || chi àʔ | hàʔ ve
'Those Northern Thai girls, I tell you! They'll love whoever
goes to them!'. (If tὲ-tὲ is here taken to be the M~pfx~, the sen-
tence means 'Genuine northern Thai girls love whoever goes to
them'.) After verbs: {yɔ̀ | câ tὲ-tὲ ve} | mâ hêʔ 'He's not ac-
tually eating'.

(e) The causal P~univ~ lɛ in NP~nf~'s: 'because it's an N; since N'.

Two separate but homophonous unrestricted particles /lɛ/ must be
recognized in Lahu.[156] Although certainly related historically,
the two have become differentiated syntactically and semantically
to the point where there is no alternative to treating them as

3.91c-e

separate entities. One of the le's has a <u>conjunctive</u> or <u>suspensive</u> meaning, and occurs only in non-final NP's or VP's. It therefore belongs to the subclass of P_{unf}'s, to be discussed below [3.92g]. The other <u>le</u> has a <u>causal</u> meaning, and is a P_{univ}, occurring equally well in both final and non-final NP's and VP's. Thus, in NP_{nf}'s: y̲ɔ̲́ ¦ q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲-̲š̲ɛ̲ l̲ɛ̲ ¦ c̲h̲i̲ q̲h̲e̲ | m̲â̲ t̲e̲ c̲ɔ̲́ 'He shouldn't act that way, because he's the headman'; c̲h̲ɔ̲-̲m̲ɔ̲́ l̲ɛ̲ ¦ b̲ɔ̲́-̲š̲ī̲ | m̲â̲ d̲ɔ̲́ʔ̲ p̲ɨ̲ ɔ̲̀ 'He can't play ball any more because he's an old man'. [Compare the use of causal <u>le</u> in VP_{nf}'s: k̲â̲ʔ̲ j̲â̲ l̲ɛ̲ || ɔ̲-̲b̲à̲ | m̲â̲ q̲a̲y̲ g̲â̲ c̲ê̲ 'He says he doesn't want to go outside because it's very cold'.]

The causal P_n <u>pa-tɔ</u> [above 3.84] is slightly more literary than causal <u>le</u>, and also conveys quite a different meaning in postnominal position. Whereas [N + <u>le</u>] means 'because it is an N (and not something else)', [N + <u>pa-tɔ</u>] means rather 'because there exists an N; because of N's activity; due to the fact that N'. In other words, causal <u>le</u> gives the identity or essence of the preceding noun as the reason for something, while <u>pa-tɔ</u> gives the existence or activity of the preceding noun as the reason. The difference may be clarified by considering the word <u>chi</u> 'this'. No expression *<u>chi</u> <u>le</u> 'because it is this (and nothing else)' occurs. On the other hand, <u>chi</u> <u>pa-tɔ</u> 'because of this; because this is the case' is extremely common.[157] Similarly, [m̲â̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲] q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲-̲š̲ɛ̲ l̲ɛ̲ ¦ ŋ̲à̲-̲h̲ɨ̲ ¦ n̲i̲-̲m̲a̲ | l̲ù̲ j̲â̲ 'We're depressed because he's a no-good headman' vs. [m̲â̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲] q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲-̲š̲ɛ̲ pa-tɔ ¦ ŋ̲à̲-̲h̲ɨ̲ ¦ n̲i̲-̲m̲a̲ | l̲ù̲ j̲â̲ 'We're depressed on account of our no-good headman'. In the latter sentence the no-good nature of the headman is taken as a given; in the former sentence it is presented as new information.

[In postverbal position there is no discernible difference in meaning between <u>le</u> and <u>pa-tɔ</u>. The latter is simply more elevated style: p̲h̲u̲ | m̲â̲ c̲ɔ̲́ (v̲e̲) l̲ɛ̲ || q̲a̲y̲ m̲â̲ p̲h̲ɛ̲̀ʔ̲ 'I can't go 'cause I don't have any money' vs. {p̲h̲u̲ | m̲â̲ c̲ɔ̲́ v̲e̲} pa-tɔ | q̲a̲y̲ m̲â̲ p̲h̲ɛ̲̀ʔ̲ 'I cannot go, for I have no money'.]

(f) The P_{univ} ve in NP_{nf}'s: a special case. The most important
of all Lahu P_{univ}'s, <u>ve</u>, has only one post-nominal use, that of
subordinating one ν to another in genitive constructions. These
have been discussed in detail above [3.7]. We need only repeat
here that both (or all) of the ν's in a genitive construction be-
long to the same NP. <u>ve</u> is thus unique among P_u's in that it may
occur before a nominal nucleus within a NP. This fundamental
difference between <u>ve</u> and the other P_{univ}'s occurring in NP_{nf}'s
is obscured by the fact that a NP_{nf} sometimes does consist simply
of N + <u>ve</u>, just as it may consist of N + any other P_{univ}. How-
ever, such strings are simply the result of a deletion of the $ν_h$
of a genitive expression [above 3.76]: <u>ŋà ve</u> □ ¦ <u>qhɔ̂ le</u> 'Where's
mine?', < e.g., <u>ŋà ve khâʔ</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̂ le</u> 'Where's my crossbow?'.
There is nothing to stop another P_{univ} from occurring after the
reduced genitive: <u>ŋà ve</u> □ <u>lɛ</u> | <u>tâ yù qay</u> 'Since it's mine,
don't take it away!' < e.g., <u>ŋà ve mɔ̂ lɛ</u> | <u>tâ yù qay</u> 'Since it's
my property, don't take it away!'. <u>ve</u> thus falls outside the
system of P_{univ}'s in NP_{nf}'s, and does not participate in 'under-
lying' sequences with other P_u's in noun-phrases.

[Post-verbally the situation is quite different. Here <u>ve</u> is
basically a nominalizer, and so may be followed freely by any
P_u's that can appear after natural nouns.]

(g) Sequences of P_{univ}'s in NP_{nf}'s. Leaving aside <u>ve</u>, the se-
quence possibilities for P_{univ}'s in NP_{nf}'s are indicated in
Figure 9.

FIGURE 9. P_{univ}'s in NP_{nf}'s

thâ	cɛ	tí	tè
			lɛ

Exs: <u>Thây-chɔ cɛ tí lɛ</u> ¦ <u>Lâhū-khɔ̂</u> | <u>mâ šī</u> 'Since he's only a
Thai, he doesn't know Lahu'; <u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>yâ-nɛ̀ thâ cɛ tí tè</u> ¦ <u>yâ-mî=há</u> |
<u>mâʔ jɔ ve qôʔ-ma</u> 'I've actually only gone courting the girls when

I was an adolescent' ("I've courted the girls actually [tɛ̀] only
[tí] to the extent of [cɛ] the time when [thâ] an adolescent
[yâ-nɛ̀]"). However, of all the theoretical possibilities shown
in Figure 9, only the two-particle sequence cɛ + tí is commonly
met with. Indeed this sequence is perhaps more frequently found
in NP$_{nf}$'s than is either of the individual particles in isolation:
vàʔ=yê-έ cɛ tí | tâ hɔ̂ šē 'Just don't sell the piglets yet'
("Only the piglets don't sell yet"; i.e., you may sell all the
grown pigs).

3.92 Non-final unrestricted particles (P$_{unf}$'s) in NP's. All of
the P$_{unf}$'s may occur directly after nouns in NP$_{nf}$'s:
(a) The contrastive topic P$_{unf}$ qo in NP$_{nf}$'s. Post-nominally qo
functions as a contrastive setter-off of the topic of the sen-
tence. [N + qo] is variously translatable (or over-translatable)
as 'as for N; as far as N is concerned; if we talk about this N;
when it's N that is in question', etc:[158] phɨ chi tê g̈ɨ qo ¦
ɔ-mu | cɨ-cɨ mâ dàʔ 'This bunch of dogs, now -- their coats aren't
very good'; chi tê kà qo ¦ à-thòʔ-ma | te tù ve le 'What are you
going to do with this place?' ("As for this place, what will you
do?"); K515-ma qo | mâ hɘʔ cɨ gâ qôʔ-ma 'If it's a Thai girl, I
don't want to let them get married!'. [Post-verbally, qo has a
conditional meaning, or else indicates that the action of the
verb is merely envisioned, not yet realized: yâ | mâ cɔ̂ qo ||
chê bɔ̂ jâ 'If you don't have any children, life isn't worth liv-
ing'; vên qhɔ | qay qo || vɨ lâ a šā 'When I go to town I'll buy
it for you'.] For more on the semantics of qo, see below 3.97.
(b) The clarificatory topic P$_{unf}$ lɛ̀ in NP$_{nf}$'s. The P$_{unf}$ lɛ̀ sets
off a preceding nominal expression as the focus of interest of
the sentence.[159] It is much used as a device to make the syntax
of involved sentences clearer by unambiguously indicating where
this focus lies: [qhâʔ qhɔ ɔ̄ ¦ šu a-kέ ¦ phu | cɔ̂ mâ ve] chɔ lɛ̀ ¦
Cà-lɔ̂ yò 'Jalaw is the richest man in the village' ("As for the

3.92; 3.92a-b

one who has more money than anyone else in the village, it's Jalaw"); <u>chi lḕ</u> ¦ [<u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>má-mo=š̆ī</u> | <u>câ ve</u>] <u>a-lɔ́=pə̄ tê pɔ̂ʔ yɔ̀</u> 'This is the first time I've ever eaten a mango' ("This now, it's the first time..."); {<u>Lâhū</u> | <u>chê kɨ</u>} <u>lḕ</u> ¦ [<u>cà</u> | <u>ti phὲʔ tù ve</u>] <u>mû-yè</u> ¦ <u>qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ</u> | <u>cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀</u> 'The places where the Lahu live, there's always enough rain for planting the paddy'.

[<u>lḕ</u> does not ordinarily occur directly after verbs; usually <u>ve</u> or a P_{unf} like <u>qo</u> must intervene. An exception is compound sentences where the main verb is anticipated and topicalized in a preceding clause. Such constructions have a strong emphatic flavor:[160] <u>hə̄ʔ lḕ</u> || <u>hə̄ʔ ve hɛ́</u> 'We probably hit him, all right!' ("As for hitting, we probably hit him").]

(c) The weaker topicalizing P_{unf} <u>ɔ̄</u> in NP_{nf}'s. The P_{unf} <u>ɔ̄</u> has a weaker setting-off force than either <u>qo</u> or <u>lḕ</u>. It is often merely a pause-filler to give the speaker time to think. Sometimes it occurs after virtually every ν of a long sentence. <u>lḕ</u>, on the other hand, rarely if ever appears more than once per sentence. (<u>lḕ</u> and <u>ɔ̄</u> are mutually exclusive within a given NP.) Exs: <u>yɔ̂ ɔ̄</u> | <u>te mâ phὲʔ hɛ́</u> 'He probably can't do it'; <u>qhe ɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>ŋà-hɨ ɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>qhà-qhe</u> | <u>te tù ve le</u> 'Well - uh - what'll we - uh - do?'. In rather prolix style the extentive morpheme <u>qhe</u> may be hitched onto the <u>ɔ̄</u> to form a compound topic-particle of somewhat greater force than the simplex [above 3.641]: <u>yàʔ-ni ɔ̄-qhe</u> | <u>te mâ phὲʔ</u> 'Well, today I can't do it'. An even more verbose variant is <u>ɔ̄-qhe lɛ</u>, with the addition of the suspensive P_{unf} <u>lɛ</u> [below 3.92g].

As we have seen [3.86], <u>ɔ̄</u> has acquired a weak locative force of its own when it occurs after nouns referring to places, and is to be regarded as a P_n in that environment.

[<u>ɔ̄</u> and <u>ɔ̄-qhe</u> do not occur directly after verbs. A 'filler' particle such as <u>ve</u>, <u>qo</u>, or suspensive <u>lɛ</u> must intervene: <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>qòʔ la lɛ ɔ̄</u> || <u>ɔ̄-mî=ma thàʔ</u> | <u>mâ ğa mɔ̀ cê</u> 'He came back home, but he couldn't find his wife'.]

(d)   The 'also/even' P$_{unf}$'s thɔ̂ and kàʔ in NP$_{nf}$'s.   The two P$_{unf}$'s
thɔ̂ and kàʔ[161] are so similar in meaning and function that I sus-
pect their co-occurrence in Black Lahu is due to dialect mixture.
Post-nominally, thɔ̂ and kàʔ may be translated by 'even' or 'also',
according to context.   The basic idea they convey is 'the inclu-
sion of the preceding noun within the class of entities to which
the verb applies'.   The more the speaker is surprised at this in-
clusion, or finds it paradoxical, the more appropriate the trans-
lation 'even' becomes:[162] ŋà kàʔ | qay gâ ve yò 'I want to go
too' / 'Even I want to go'; yɔ̂ ɔ-mî=ma kàʔ | là tù ve lâ-o 'Will
his wife come too?' / 'Even his wife is coming?'; yâ-ɛ́ thɔ̂ | te
phèʔ ò 'The children can do it too now' / 'Even the children can
do it now'.   Often the speaker is not so much surprised at the
state of affairs as he is desirous of emphasizing that it really
is the case.   (Here kàʔ rather than thɔ̂ is the particle of
choice.)   In these contexts 'even' is an overtranslation, and the
flavor of the original is best conveyed by emphatic intonation,
or graphically by italics: yɔ̂ ɔ-to ¦ pɨ́-ma=u kàʔ | dɔ̂ ɛ̀ phèʔ ò
lɔ 'His body got all covered with blowfly-eggs!'.

        thɔ̂ does occur in one construction where kàʔ does not: after
both or the second of two nominal expressions which are treated as
alternatives of equal value or probability ('whether N$_1$ or N$_2$; no
matter if it be N$_1$ or N$_2$').   Thus, vɨ̂-kɨ ¦ nê-kɨ thɔ̂ 'whether
near or far' ("even a far place, even a near place"); yâ-mî=qèʔ
thɔ̂ ¦ yâ-ɛ́ thɔ̂ 'whether women or children; even women or chil-
dren'.[163]

        [After verbs, thɔ̂ and kàʔ are translatable by English con-
cessive conjunctions like 'even if', 'even though', 'although'.[164]
thɔ̂ occurs more readily in immediate post-verbal position than
does kàʔ.   kàʔ is preceded by a 'filler particle' after verbs much
more frequently than thɔ̂ is: mû-yè | là thɔ̂ || qay gâ ve yò 'I
want to go even if it rains'; nɔ̀ mû-mì ɔ̄ | mâ qay jɔ qo kàʔ ||
qay gâ yò 'Even if he's never gone to your country, he wants to
go'.]

3.92d

(e) The colloquial P$_{unf}$ nɛ́ 'even'. This P$_{unf}$ is roughly synon-
ymous with thɔ́ and kàʔ, but occurs much less frequently in our
data.[165] It apparently is more familiar in tone than the other
two. Ex: cì nɛ́ pɔ́ | ší ɔ̀ và 'Even my teeth have turned yellow!'.
[Post-verbally, nɛ́ is indistinguishable from thɔ́ or kàʔ: phu |
mâ cɔ̀ nɛ́ || tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'Even if we don't have any money, it
doesn't matter'.]

(f) The dialect-borrowing P$_{unf}$ pɔ̀ʔ ~ pɔ́ in NP$_{nf}$'s. This parti-
cle is native to the Red Lahu dialect, and apparently to Yellow
Lahu as well. It is occasionally used by Black Lahu speakers for
comic effect. Post-nominally it serves as an emphatic setter-
off: {yɔ́ pɔ̀ʔ ¦ lîʔ | bùʔ lâ ve} kàʔ | dàʔ à qôʔ-ma 'As far as
she's concerned, she can write you a good letter too!'. As the
example in (e) above showed, this particle may also follow nɛ́
within the same NP, which proves that it behaves like a P$_{unf}$
rather than a P$_{n}$.

In final clauses, pɔ̀ʔ sometimes shows up as an emphatic ele-
ment connected to the declarative P$_{uf}$ yɔ̀ [below 4.721]. Despite
the fact that pɔ̀ʔ appears both in final and non-final phrases,
however, it is so restricted in use and so marginal to Black Lahu
that there is no question of considering it to belong to the
class of P$_{univ}$'s.

(g) The conjunctive-suspensive P$_{unf}$ lɛ in NP$_{nf}$'s.[166] The P$_{unf}$
lɛ is used after a nominal nucleus, ν_1, to associate it with a
following nucleus, ν_2, in a coordinate conjunctive relationship:
ν_1 + lɛ + ν_2 'ν_1 and ν_2'. Thus, qhâʔ-šɛ lɛ qhâʔ-yâ tê phā | qay
tù ve yɔ̀ 'The headman and all the villagers will go'; Sá-to-dù lɛ
Hwè-tàʔ chi nî qhâʔ qhɔ ɔ̄ 'in these two villages, Shatodu and
Huey-tad'. Though 'and' is almost always the best translation
for inter-nominal lɛ, occasionally a disjunctive rather than con-
junctive interpretation is appropriate: šu | te cɨ gâ qo || nî
ni lɛ šêʔ ni ɔ̀-qhɔ lo | te phὲʔ ve 'If they want to let me do it,
I can do it in two or three days'.[167]

3.92e-g

The question arises whether ν's connected by 1ɛ are to be regarded as belonging to the same NP, or whether NP boundary intervenes after the 1ɛ. We faced the same problem above [3.74] in connection with genitive constructions, and decided that the single-NP analysis fit the facts: the constituent nuclei in genitive constructions are more closely related to each other than to anything else in the sentence, so that the semantic domain of a following particle is the whole construction, not just the ν_h. A similar analysis holds for nuclei conjoined by 1ɛ. A particle following the last ν in the series is in constituency with the conjoined structure as a whole. Thus, in á-thɔ 1ɛ cí-qôʔ thàʔ | yù qay ɔ̀ 'They've taken away the knives and the hoes', the domain of the accusative P_n thàʔ is not limited to the immediately preceding cí-qôʔ 'hoes', as it would be if the latter belonged to a separate NP from á-thɔ 'knives'.[168] As with genitives, there is no upper limit on the number of nuclei that may be conjoined by 1ɛ (ν_1 + 1ɛ + ν_2 + 1ɛ ... ν_n). The analogy between genitives and 1ɛ-conjunctions breaks down, however, at one crucial point: genitival linkage is a subordinating relationship, while 1ɛ-conjunction is a coordinating one. When the nuclei in a genitive construction are permuted, drastic changes in meaning result: ŋà ve ɔ̀-mî=ma ve ɔ̀-chɔ̂ 'my wife's friend' vs. ŋà ve ɔ̀-chɔ̂ ve ɔ̀-mî=ma 'my friend's wife'. With 1ɛ-conjunctions, permutation of the constituent nuclei does not alter the meaning (beyond a certain predictable change in emphasis): Thây-chɔ 1ɛ Kâlâ-phu 1ɛ Lâhū-yâ 'Thais and Europeans and Lahus' = Lâhū-yâ 1ɛ Thây-chɔ 1ɛ Kâlâ-phu 'Lahus and Thais and Europeans'.

1ɛ and ve, then, differ from all other particles in their power to weld separate ν's into single NP's.

Post-verbal 'suspensive' 1ɛ. 1ɛ is much used in the VP_{nf}'s of compound sentences to indicate that the action or state described by the preceding verb is not the last in a series of actions or states that are to be considered in the sentence.[169] It is a

signal that more is to come: á-qhɔ | qòʔ e lɛ || ɔ̄ | a-cí câ s̆ē
lɛ || ɔ-chɔ̆ gɛ ¦ ha-lɛ̀-ha-qa ¦ nàʔ-ú | te dàʔ lɛ || a-yɛ́-yɛ́ yɨ̀ʔ
gâ la ò 'He returned home, had something to eat, chatted happily
with his friends, and gradually got sleepy'. Now occasionally
N + lɛ is used in such a way that the translation 'from N' is
appropriate. In these cases, what seems to be going on is that
an underlying verb has been deleted before the lɛ, such that the
meaning 'V$_x$ is not the last action in the series' develops natu-
rally into 'from [having V$_x$'ed] N, it now goes on to do something
else'. Thus, in qhɔ ɔ̆=qɔ̆-ji lɛ | mâ hɔ̆ʔ s̆ē thâ 'while he had not
yet wound his way down from the middle of the mountain', the verb
te 'do' is insertible before the lɛ with no change of meaning
("having done the middle of the mountain..."). We have seen
[above 3.89] that N + te + lɛ 'having done N' is a normal way of
expressing motion from a place. Similarly, in [ŋà-hɨ ¦ hɛ | tā
te ve] tê ni lɛ ¦ {cà | ğɔ̀ʔ} thâ qha-gà 'from the day we begin to
work the field until the time we harvest the paddy' (ŋà-hɨ 'we',
hɛ 'field', tā 'to begin', te 'do/cultivate', ni 'day', cà 'pad-
dy', ğɔ̀ʔ 'to harvest'), either a dummy te or the verb tā 'begin'
may be inserted without meaning-change before the lɛ ("beginning
from the day we begin to work the field"). The speaker's deci-
sion not to use a tā or a te before the lɛ was probably motivated
by the fact that both of these verbs had already appeared in the
relative clause modifying tê ni.

3.93 Sequences of P$_{unf}$'s in NP$_{nf}$'s. The permissible sequences
of non-final unrestricted particles in NP's are indicated in
Figure 10.

FIGURE 10.   P$_{unf}$'s in NP$_{nf}$'s

	lɛ̀	
	ɔ̄	
qo	kàʔ	thɔ̆
	thɔ̆	kàʔ
	nɛ́	
ɔ̄-qhe		lɛ

The virtually synonymous sequences of topic P_{unf}'s, qo lɛ̀ and qo
ɔ̄, are frequently encountered, especially in narrative or discur-
sive style. The preceding noun is set off in somewhat higher re-
lief than it would be by either particle alone: ɔ̄-lɔ qo lɛ̀ ...
'the matter is as follows...'; Kâlâ-phu qo ɔ̄ | câ mâ phɛ̀ʔ hɛ́ 'If
he's a white man now, he probably can't eat it'. The 'also/even'
P_{unf}'s thɔ̂ and kàʔ may occur in sequence in either order, as may
the combination nɛ́ + kàʔ (in that order). The meaning conveyed
by such sequences is more insistent than that of any single par-
ticle of the three: yâ-ɛ́ thɔ̂ kàʔ ¦ šu khɔ̂ | ǧa na cɔ̂ ve qôʔ-ma
'Even if he *is* a child, he's got to listen to people's advice!'.
Any of these three concessive P_{unf}'s may be preceded by qo (i.e.,
that which is conceded may be topicalized at the same time):
yâ-cù-ši qo kàʔ thɔ̂ | ɨ̄-la-mu-la phɛ̀ʔ ve 'Even if he *is* an orphan,
he can come up in the world' ("Even as for [his being an] or-
phan..."). Finally, the sequence of topic P_{unf} ɔ̄-qhe plus con-
junctive lɛ is much used in story-telling and other extended nar-
rative to give the speaker time to think: mɛ̂-chɔ̂=ma chi ɔ̄-qhe
lɛ ¦ ni-ma | dàʔ jâ cɛ̂ 'And as for this widow now -- she had a
very good heart, they say'. (Note that the simplex ɔ̄ may not
combine with lɛ at all.)

3.94   Sequences of P_{univ} + P_{unf} in NP_{nf}'s. Universal unrestricted

particles and non-final unrestricted particles may combine with
each other in NP's as indicated in Figure 11. The P_{univ}'s thâ,
cɛ, and tí may be followed by any P_{unf} or permissible sequence
thereof. As always, however, the length of a string of particles
is inversely proportional to its frequency of occurrence, and
sequences of more than three P_u's within a single NP are rare.
The P_{univ}'s tɛ̀ and (causal) lɛ may be followed only by one or more
of the topic P_{unf}'s qo, lɛ̀, ɔ̄.
    Some typical examples follow: (tí + qo + lɛ̀)[170] ŋà tí qo
lɛ̀ ¦ phu | mâ hə̂ʔ qo || kán | mâ te 'As for me, if I don't get
money, I don't work'; (cɛ + tí + kàʔ) tɛ̂ lɨ̂ʔ cɛ tí kàʔ | qhâʔ jâ

FIGURE 11.   Unrestricted particles in NP_{nf}'s

thâ	cɛ	tí	tɛ̀ lɛ	qo	kàʔ · thɔ́ / thɔ́ · kàʔ / nɛ́	1ɛ̀ ɔ̄
					ɔ̄-qhe	1ɛ
P_{univ}				P_{unf}		

qôʔ-ma 'Even only as much as one liter is too expensive!'; (cɛ + tí + tɛ̀ + qo + ɔ̄) Kɔ́lɔ́ cɛ tí tɛ̀ qo ɔ̄ | te mâ pə̀ tù hɛ́ 'If it's really only the Thai [who are doing it], they'll probably never get it finished'; (1ɛ + qo + ɔ̄) šu yâ 1ɛ qo ɔ̄ ¦ { {šu | cɨ lâ ve} qhe | te ve } 1ɛ qo ɔ̄... 'Since we're their people (i.e., their dependents), since we [must] act the way they tell us to...';[171] (thâ + thɔ́) yâ-ɛ́ thâ thɔ́ ¦ {kán | mâ ğa te ve} | mâ hêʔ 'Even when I was a child I had to work' ("...it is not the case that I didn't have to work").

3.95 Sequences of $P_n + P_u$ in NP_{nf}'s. There remains one further question to dispose of: what are the possible sequences of noun-particle plus unrestricted particle in non-final NP's? The major P_n's discussed above [3.8] occur before all permissible sequences of unrestricted particles, with the following exceptions and qualifications: (a) If any P_n is selected, neither of the P_{univ}'s thâ 'temporal' nor 1ɛ 'causal' may follow. The conjunctive P_{unf} 1ɛ is possible here, but is quite infelicitous. Better than, e.g., nô kàʔ 1ɛ mô kàʔ 'up there and down there' is nô kàʔ mô kàʔ, where the conjoining is accomplished by simple juxtaposition. (One could even call this an elaborate expression [above 3.39].) (b) If the P_n ɛ̀ʔ 'only' is selected, no P_u may follow

in the same NP. (c) The causal P_n pa-tɔ may be followed only by
ɔ̄-qhe and/or conjunctive lɛ. (d) It is rare to have the P_{univ}
cɛ follow a P_n unless the P_{univ} tɪ́ follows the cɛ. Thus, ô kàʔ
cɛ tɪ́ 'only over there' is more common than ô kàʔ cɛ. (e) Simi-
larly, it is very rare to have the topic P_{unf} ɔ̄ follow a P_n, un-
less the P_{unf} qo precedes the ɔ̄. Thus, yɔ̂ thàʔ qo ɔ̄ | tâ dɔ̂ʔ pɪ̂
'If it's him (acc.), don't hit him', is vastly more common than
*yɔ̂ thàʔ ɔ̄. Note that there is no comparable limitation on the
topic P_{unf} lɛ̀: yɔ̂ thàʔ lɛ̀ is just as good as yɔ̂ thàʔ qo lɛ̀.
(f) For euphonic reasons, the locative P_n ɔ̄ never precedes the
topic P_{unf} ɔ̄ without an intervening qo. Thus, nô ɔ̄ qo ɔ̄ 'as for
up there' is acceptable, but *nô ɔ̄ ɔ̄ is impossible. On the other
hand, though it is not terribly good style, it is still possible
to have the locative P_n kàʔ directly precede the P_{unf} kàʔ 'also/
even': cô kàʔ kàʔ 'even over there; over there too'. More com-
monly cô kàʔ thɔ̂ would be used to convey this meaning. (g) Even
in those (relatively rare) cases where a sequence of two P_n's is
selected (gɛ kàʔ, kàʔ lo, etc.), a P_u may occasionally follow in
the same NP: yɔ̂ gɛ lo thɔ̂ | qay phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'You may even go right up
to him'.

    Some typical examples of permissible P_n + P_u sequences fol-
low: (thàʔ + kàʔ) vàʔ=g̈ù-têʔ thàʔ kàʔ | cá câ qo || dàʔ ve yɔ̀
'It's fine if you boil the pig's intestines to eat too'; (gɛ +
thɔ̂) ɔ̄-mɪ̂=ma gɛ thɔ̂ ¦ chi qhe | mâ te cɔ̂ 'You shouldn't do that
even with your wife'; (thàʔ + pa-tɔ + causal lɛ) chi thàʔ pa-tɔ
lɛ ¦ ŋà-hɨ ɔ̄-po ¦ cɨ́-kɨ | cɔ̂ jâ 'Because of this reason it's very
important for us'; (pa-tɔ + ɔ̄-qhe + conjunctive lɛ) chi pa-tɔ
ɔ̄-qhe lɛ | šu̅-šàʔ jâ qô?-ma 'And so-o-o, because of that we're in
big trouble'; (gɛ + cɛ + tɪ́ + tɛ̀ + qo + lɛ̀) ɔ̄-mɪ̂=ma gɛ cɛ tɪ́ tɛ̀
qo lɛ̀ | dàʔ ve yɔ̀ 'If it's really only with your wife, it's all
right'.

3.96 Aberrant and hyper-colloquial particle occurrences. Ver-
batim transcription of the actual give and take of rapid Lahu

conversation occasionally turns up particle sequences which vio-
late the constraints outlined above. The only surprising thing
about these 'performance quirks' is that they occur so seldom.
One sentence, e.g., begins as follows: âa, ŋà lè tí qo... 'Well,
as far as I'm concerned....' Yet the normal order of these three
particles, documented hundreds of times in the data, is tí + qo +
lè [see note 170, above]. The speaker has obviously had a slip
of the tongue, and conflated two different permissible NP's, ŋà
lè and ŋà tí qo.

More frequent than the misordering of the standard particles
is the substitution of hyper-colloquial, less differentiated par-
ticles for the more precise standard ones. In the village of
Shatodu, for example, a particle è ∿ e is used commonly after
both nouns and verbs as a sort of 'pro-particle', indiscriminately   *
filling the semantic functions of such disparate P_u's as thâ, kàʔ,
and lè. This is possible because the context provides sufficient
redundancy so that communication is not impaired by the loss of
precision.[172]

3.97 The spatio-temporal nouns ɔ=ğû-šɨ and ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ and the
P_u's thâ and qo. There are few things more curious in Lahu gram-
mar than the semantic behavior of the spatio-temporal M_{pfx}'s
ɔ=ğû-šɨ 'in front of; before' and ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'behind; after'.
There is no doubt that the basic meaning of ɔ=ğû-šɨ is 'front'
(mêʔ=ğû-šɨ 'before one's eyes', yè≡ɔ=ğû-šɨ 'in front of the house',
etc.), while that of ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ is 'back' (qhɔʔ-nɔ 'the back [of
one's body]', qhɔʔ-nɔ=qhwèʔ 'the spine', yè≡ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'behind the
house', etc.). By a type of meaning-extension which is familiar
from Indo-European languages, these words have acquired temporal
meanings as well. When used temporally, ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ always has
reference to later time, to the future: chi qhɔʔ-nɔ 'after this;
henceforth', ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ qo 'id.', ô ve ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'after that'
(i.e., future with respect to a point in the past), màʔ bɔʔ dàʔ
pɔ̀ ve ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ 'after the war is over' (i.e., future with respect

to the present), etc. The idea seems to be that future time is
like the back of an object: it is the part of life that is hid-
den from view, the part that we have not yet seen.

If that is the case, it would be natural to expect that
ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ when used temporally would come to have reference to
prior time, to the past. The past has already eventuated; we have
seen its face already. And in fact ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ does sometimes refer
to the past: <u>chi</u> ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ ¦ <u>ŋà-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>ti-mi</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>ǧa</u> <u>te</u> <u>câ</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>še</u> 'We
have never yet cultivated wet-rice fields before this'; <u>ô</u> <u>ve</u>
ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ ¦ <u>yɔ-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-chɔ</u> | <u>te</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u> 'They used to be friends
before that'. The trouble is that ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ may just as easily
refer to the <u>future</u>: <u>yàʔ-ni</u> | <u>tā</u> <u>lɛ</u> || ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ | <u>qay</u> <u>qo</u> 'starting
from today and going on into the future'. Indeed, ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ may
be substituted for ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ in this last example, with no change
in meaning. Similarly, the two M$_{pfx}$'s are interchangeable in
future-oriented sentences like <u>chi</u> ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌/ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ | <u>là</u> <u>tù</u> <u>hɛ́</u>
'He'll probably come after this'.

The Lahu conception of time embodied in the word ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ is
reminiscent of the two-headed Roman god Janus, who could simulta-
neously look backwards into the past and forwards into the future.
The correct interpretation of this word in any given instance
depends on other clues in the sentence or elsewhere in the dis-
course. Thus, it is clear that <u>chi</u> ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ | <u>là</u> <u>tù</u> <u>hɛ́</u> refers to
the future because of the P$_v$ <u>tù</u>, which always indicates unrealized
or future action. Conversely, <u>chi</u> ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ | <u>qay</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'I have
gone before this' must refer to the past, because of the P$_v$ <u>jɔ</u>
which indicates past experience. An especially neat way of dis-
ambiguating ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ by morphemes within the NP is via the P$_u$'s
<u>thâ</u> and <u>qo</u>: ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌ + <u>thâ</u> always means 'in the past' and ɔ=ǧû-šɨ̌
+ <u>qo</u> always means 'in the future'. This fact sheds light on the
meanings of these particles themselves. The temporal P$_{univ}$ <u>thâ</u>
is basically oriented toward the past (or toward a timeless habit-
ual present). It is not natural to use <u>thâ</u> after such future-

3.10.1

directed nouns as šɔ́-pɔ̄ 'tomorrow', nɛ́-qhɔ̀ʔ 'next year', or
ɔ=qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́ 'afterwards'.[173] The P_{unf} q̲o̲, on the other hand, is
directed toward the future. Although in its post-nominal function
it usually behaves simply as a topicalizer [above 3.92a], it may
also be used after nouns of future reference (šɔ́-pɔ̄ q̲o̲, nɛ́-qhɔ̀ʔ
q̲o̲, ɔ=qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́ q̲o̲, etc.), where its meaning shades into 'when (in
the future)': 'as for tomorrow' = 'when tomorrow comes'. Post-
verbally there is no doubt that q̲o̲ always signals a hypothetical,
conditional, or future action [below 5.41].

English shows similar vacillation of viewpoint with respect
to the flow of time. When we speak of someone 'following' us in
the spatial sense, the follower is b̲e̲h̲i̲n̲d̲ us, and we are in front
of him. Yet when we extend the word 'follow' to the temporal
realm, the orientation is reversed: things which 'follow in time'
are conceived of as being i̲n̲ f̲r̲o̲n̲t̲ o̲f̲ the point in time where one
is at the moment. It is rather like looking at a two-dimensional
drawing of a cube, where first one, then another of the surfaces
appears to be closer to the viewer.

3̲.̲1̲0̲.̲0̲ ̲ ̲S̲e̲q̲u̲e̲n̲c̲e̲s̲ ̲o̲f̲ ̲N̲P̲'̲s̲ ̲w̲i̲t̲h̲i̲n̲ ̲t̲h̲e̲ ̲n̲o̲m̲i̲n̲a̲l̲ ̲h̲e̲m̲i̲s̲t̲i̲c̲h̲. Lahu
clauses may contain any number of NP's one after the other [above
2.1]. The following typical simple sentence, for example, has
four NP's in its nominal hemistich:[174] y̲à̲ʔ̲-̲n̲i̲ ¦ ŋ̲à̲-̲h̲ɨ̲ ̲t̲ê̲ ̲q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲ ̲ɔ̄ ¦
š̲ā̲ ¦ q̲h̲ɔ̲̀-̲q̲h̲e̲=̲p̲h̲ɔ̂ | g̲̈à̲ʔ̲ ̲c̲â̲ ̲e̲ ̲t̲ù̲ ̲l̲e̲ 'Where shall our village go
hunting today?'. Two of these four NP's are of the minimal type,
consisting of single non-particled nouns (y̲à̲ʔ̲-̲n̲i̲ 'today' and š̲ā̲
'(game) animals'); one NP is quantified, with a N_{qh} consisting of
a pronoun plus the pluralizer -h̲ɨ̲, and with the ν as a whole fol-
lowed by the topic P_{unf} ɔ̄ (ŋ̲à̲-̲h̲ɨ̲ ̲t̲ê̲ ̲q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲ ̲ɔ̄ 'as for our village');
and the fourth NP is composed of an interrogative noun plus the
M_{pfx} p̲h̲ɔ̂ (ɔ̲-̲p̲h̲ɔ̂ 'direction'; q̲h̲ɔ̲̀-̲q̲h̲e̲=̲p̲h̲ɔ̂ 'in what direction?').

Given the fact that NP's occur seriatim in this way, two
questions arise: (1) How do we know where one NP ends and the
next one begins? and (2) What determines the relative order of
successive NP's within the hemistich?

<u>3.10.1</u> <u>Demarcation of NP's</u>. Except in those cases where a sentence is truly ambiguous with respect to a NP-boundary [below 3.10.2], it is always possible uniquely to segment a nominal hemistich into its component NP's in a purely syntactic sense. This does not deny the fact that pairs of adjacent nominal structures vary along a continuum as far as the closeness of the <u>semantic</u> bond between them is concerned.[175]

(<u>a</u>) At one end of the spectrum are sequences of morphemes so closely bound to each other that there is no doubt they belong to the same NP, both in the syntactic and the semantic sense. These structures include ordinary noun-compounds and elaborate expressions [3.3], as well as the various types of complex nominal nuclei we have discussed: in determined nuclei [3.5] the <u>chi</u> belongs to the same NP as the head-noun; in quantified nuclei [3.4], the Q belongs to the same NP as the preceding quantified head;[176] in extentive nuclei [3.6] the N_{ext} belongs to the same NP as the N_h. These structures may co-occur in various combinations, still constituting single semantic conglomerates revolving around a head-noun, and still forming single NP's.[177] Similarly, it goes without saying that P_n's and P_u's belong to the same NP as a preceding ν [3.8, 3.9].

(<u>b</u>) Next higher on the autonomy scale are nuclei participating in genitive constructions [3.7], or connected to each other by the conjunctive P_{unf} <u>lɛ</u> [3.92g]. Here the constituent ν's are considered to belong to the same NP because they are more closely related semantically to each other than to anything else in the sentence, and because following particles modify them as units. Nonetheless each nucleus in these constructions has its own independent structure, and each may be syntactically complex in the sense of the preceding paragraph. Genitives and <u>lɛ</u>-conjoined ν's are thus straining at the bonds of the individual NP.[178]

(<u>c</u>) Just across the frontier of separate NP-hood are nouns which clearly belong to different NP's in the syntactic sense (e.g., a

particle may intervene between them), but which are mutually dependent in that one implies the other: neither may occur without the other if a particular meaning is to be conveyed. We may label such NP's <u>correlative</u>.[179] In the most interesting of these constructions, an interrogative noun in one NP is followed in the next NP by a noun which answers its question, the whole sequence then bearing an indefinite (rather than interrogative) meaning: <u>qhɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> cɛ qo ¦ <u>chò</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>qha-dὲʔ</u> <u>te</u> <u>mē</u> 'Wherever you are you should do it well' ("As for to the extent of where [you are], here [i.e., there] do it well"; <u>qhɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> 'where?', <u>chò</u> <u>kàʔ</u> 'here' -- "if [any]where, [then] here"). Note the use of the N_{sd} <u>chò</u> 'here' in the second NP, rather than, e.g., <u>ô</u> 'there', which would be more natural from the English point of view.[180]

Another type of correlative NP-sequence consists of two Q's that are mutually interdependent: <u>tê</u> <u>ni</u> ¦ <u>nî</u> <u>ğâ</u> | <u>là</u> <u>ve</u> 'Two people come each day' ("Two people per day come"). The bond between such NP's may be strengthened by inserting <u>ve</u> between them. [See above, 'Correlative quantification', 3.48.]

(<u>d</u>) Similar to correlatives are <u>appositional</u> sequences of NP's, where the first identifies an entity in general terms and the second makes the reference more specific. The most common type has a N_{sd} in the first NP, with a common noun of locative reference in the second: <u>ô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>lɔ̂-qá=qhô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> 'over there, above the river'; <u>ô</u> ¦ <u>pē-pâ</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>nâ</u> <u>šē</u> 'It's still perching over there, near the bird-trap'. The locative P_n <u>ɔ̄</u> typically occurs in both NP's, demonstrating that the sequence is not a unitary compound.

(<u>e</u>) At the extreme plus-end of the autonomy scale are successive NP's which bear no direct relationship to each other at all, but rather stand independently in a 'case-relationship' to the VP of the clause. Thus, <u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>thàʔ</u> ¦ <u>lìʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>bùʔ</u> <u>jɔ</u> 'I've never written a letter to him', where <u>ŋà</u> 'I' is the 'subject', <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>thàʔ</u> 'to him' is the 'indirect object', and <u>lìʔ</u> 'letter' is the direct object'.[181] This is an idealized case, however. In most sen-

tences it would be hard to deny that the individual NP's interact
semantically with each other as well as with the verb. Semantic
theory has not been developed to the point where it would be
profitable to try making this statement more precise.

3.10.2 Ambiguities at NP-boundary. Sometimes the nominal hemi-
stich of a clause is ambiguous, at least on paper. This situation
may arise when successive nouns have meanings which make sense
both independently (separate NP's) and as a unit (the same NP).
The ambiguity may always be resolved by inserting the appropriate
particle in a strategic place.[182] Usually, though, the ambiguity
is more theoretical than real. In actual speech, pause and into-
nation generally leave no doubt as to where the NP-boundary is.[183]
Some typical examples follow.

1. When a pronoun is followed by a noun, the sequence may be
interpreted either as separate NP's or as a covert genitive [see
above 3.75(1)]: nɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̂-mî=ma │ tho pî ò lâ 'Have you told [your]
wife yet?' vs. nɔ̂ ɔ̂-mî=ma │ tho pî ò lâ 'Has your wife told [it]
yet?'; yɔ̂ ¦ í-mû │ ce pâ-nê yò 'He almost fell from [his] horse' vs.
yɔ̂ í-mû │ ce pâ-nê yò 'His horse almost fell'. Insertion of a
topic particle (lɛ̀, ɔ̄, tí qo, etc.) after the pronoun disambiguates
the sequence in favor of the separate-NP interpretation; insertion
of ve after the pronoun gives an unambiguous genitive.

2. A noun followed by a Q is almost always interpreted as a sin-
gle, quantified nucleus. Occasionally, however, the Q may func-
tion as a separate NP with a covert quantified head that is dif-
ferent from the preceding noun: ŋà-hɨ šê̠ʔ ǧâ thàʔ │ mâ qay cɨ tù
hɛ́ '[They] probably won't let the three of us go' vs. ŋà-hɨ ¦ šê̠ʔ
ǧâ thàʔ │ mâ qay cɨ tù hɛ́ 'We probably won't let three people go'
(< e.g., ŋà-hɨ ¦ chɔ šê̠ʔ ǧâ thàʔ...).

3. A noun followed by chi is usually meant as a single deter-
mined nucleus, though once in a while it makes sense to interpret
the chi as constituting an independent ν by itself: Kâlâ-phu chi
thàʔ │ mâ qôʔ cɔ̂ '[You] shouldn't say it to this European' vs.

3.10.2

Kâlâ-phu ¦ chi thà? | mâ qô? câ 'A European shouldn't say this'.

<u>4</u>. A sequence of two common nouns may be construed either as
independent entities or as an attributive compound with the sec-
ond noun as the head: ɔ-g̈â ¦ nâ?-chɨ yò 'Strength is a medicine'
vs. ɔ-g̈â=nâ?-chɨ yò 'It's a stimulant' ("It's a strength-medi-
cine").

<u>5</u>. The N$_{ext}$ qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ 'all' sometimes joins with a preceding nu-
cleus to form a semantic unity, and sometimes stands alone in its
own NP [see above 3.645]: chɔ chi láy g̈â qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ | kù tù ve lâ
'Will they invite all these several people?' vs. chɔ chi láy g̈â ¦
qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ | kù tù ve lâ 'Will they invite these several people,
all of them?'. The difference here is one of emphasis, according
to whether the 'allness' is treated as an integral characteristic
of the group being summoned or as an afterthought. The P$_n$ thà?
may be inserted either after the qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ (...qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ thà? | kù
tù ve lâ) or after the preceding nucleus (chɔ chi láy g̈â thà? ¦
qha=pɔ-ɛ̀...), depending on the particular shade of meaning.

<u>3.10.3 Relative order of the NP's in a nominal hemistich</u>. A
noun-phrase is the minimum freely permutable element in a nominal
hemistich. Certain syntacto-semantic types of NP-sequences are
undeniably more favored than others, and these may be catalogued
and classified to some extent, but the fact remains that the Lahu
NP retains considerable freedom of order with respect to its
hemistichial partners. As always in situations like this, the
most-favored sequence-types are stylistically most neutral. The
more unusual the ordering, the more jarring or piquant or awkward
or emphatic is the sentence: it is 'weighted' stylistically. At
the least-favored extreme, certain sequences are all but incom-
prehensible; but even here a linguistic or extra-linguistic con-
text of sufficient specificity might make the sequence under-
standable, or indeed so appropriate that the hearer would notice
nothing unusual.

We cannot go into these questions fully here, but will sim-

3.10.3

ply list some of the more important (and less exception-ridden)
types of favored sequences:

(a) NP's referring to time or place tend to come first in their
hemistich: yà?-ni ¦ ŋà-hɨ tê qhâ? ɔ̄ ¦ šā ¦ qhɔ̀-qhe=phɔ̂ | g̈à? câ
e tù le 'Where shall our village go hunting today?' (yà?-ni 'to-
day'); mô ɔ̄ ¦ phɨ | gɔ̀ ὲ qha-pâ? và 'The dogs down there are
quiet all of a sudden' (mô ɔ̄ 'down there').

(b) A 'topic' NP precedes a 'subject' NP (general precedes
specific). Perhaps the clearest and most overt example of a
topic/subject situation in a well-known language is the Japanese
N_1 + wa + N_2 + ga construction. A Japanese noun followed by the
particle wa is the general topic or domain of interest of the
sentence; a following noun-plus-ga represents a particular aspect
of the topic (the 'subject') which is to be commented on in the
VP. In Lahu the topic NP may (but need not) end in a topic par-
ticle, while the subject NP usually has no particle at all: hɔ
ɔ̄ ¦ nā-qhɔ̂ | yɨ ve yɔ̀ 'Elephants have long noses' ("As for ele-
phants, the noses are long"; cf. Japanese zō wa ¦ hana ga | na-
gai); chi ve ta-qō ¦ šú | mâ cɔ̀ ɔ̀ 'There's no more tobacco in
this box' ("As for this box, tobacco is no more"; cf. Japanese
kono hako wa ¦ tabako ga | nakunatta); ŋà-hɨ Lâhū-yâ lὲ ¦ [hέ-g̈â?
| tɛ ve] tê cɔ̀ | hə̂n jâ ve yɔ̀ 'We Lahu really enjoy trapping
jungle-fowl' ("As for us Lahu, the jungle-fowl-trapping-thing is
really fun"). In this last example, the subject N_h, tê cɔ̀ 'a
kind of thing', is modified by a relative clause.

A special case of topic/subject NP's are sequences consisting
of a N_{sd} plus a more specific common noun of locative reference
[3.10.1d, above].

(c) A topic NP precedes a NP descriptive of the topic: yâ-cɔ̀-ši
tê g̈â ¦ šu cὲ | te ve cê 'A certain orphan was said to be their
servant'. Here šu cὲ 'their servant' is a NP descriptive of the
sentence's topic yâ-cɔ̀-ši tê g̈â 'a certain orphan'. Descriptive
NP's ordinarily get translated by English 'predicate nominatives'.

3.10.3a-c

(d) 'Topics' and 'subjects' usually precede 'objects': yɔ̂ ¦
ɔ̂-mî=ma thàʔ | nî-pɛ̄ tù cê 'He says he will strangle his wife';
ŋà-hɨ ¦ qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̂ thàʔ | dɔ̂ ni šē mɛ̄ 'Let us carefully think every-
thing over first'. If the object precedes the topic it acquires
greater emphasis: ɔ̂-mî=ma thàʔ ¦ yɔ̂ | nî-pɛ̄ tù cê 'It's his wife
that he says he'll strangle!';

[pò la ve] ɔ̂-cɔ̀ tê phā thàʔ ¦ qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̂ thàʔ ¦ ŋà-hɨ | dɔ̂ ni šē mɛ̄

         Object₁   Object₂   Subject

'Let us carefully think over the things which have happened, all
of them!'.

(e) An 'indirect object' usually precedes a 'direct object':
ŋà thàʔ ¦ lìʔ chi | pî a 'Please give me this book'. If the di-
rect object precedes, it acquires a slight additional emphasis:
lìʔ chi ¦ ŋà thàʔ | pî a 'Please give me <u>this</u> book (not that one)'.

(f) Interrogative nouns tend to occur last in their hemistich:
{BREAD | qôʔ ve} lɛ̂ ¦ Lâhū-khɔ̂ ¦ qhà-qhe | qôʔ ve le 'How do you
say "bread" in Lahu?' ("As for what is called 'bread', in Lahu
how do you say it?"); yàʔ-ni ¦ ŋà-hɨ tê qhâʔ ɔ̄ ¦ šā ¦ qhɔ̂-qhe=
phɔ̂ | ğàʔ câ e tù le 'Where shall our village go to hunt today?'.

(g) In long hemistichs of complex structure, a NP may be followed
by a co-referential, resumptive pronoun. Thus, šā-bɔ̂ʔ=pā tê chi
ğâ ve ɔ̂-qhɔ lo ¦ yâ-cò-šī=fɨ-kôʔ-ni tê ğâ ¦ yɔ̂ ¦ šu cè | te qhe
ve cê 'Among the ten hunters, a certain orphan with both parents
dead ("he") was said to be their servant' (yâ-cò-šī 'orphan bereft
of one parent'; fɨ-kôʔ-ni 'orphan with no parents'; yɔ̂ 'he').
This usage is not considered very good style, though it is fre-
quent in narratives.

3.10.3d-g

Chapter IV

THE VERB-PHRASE

Lahu sentences are either simple or compound. Simple sentences contain a single VP, which is naturally a 'final verb-phrase' (VP_f): $S_{simple} \rightarrow (NP^n) + VP_f$, where $n \geq 1$. Compound sentences contain one or more 'non-final verb-phrases' (VP_{nf}), thus: $S_{compound} \rightarrow [(NP^n) + VP_{nf}]^n + [(NP^n) + VP_f]$, where $n \geq 1$. In this chapter we are concerned only with simple sentences, and therefore only with final verb-phrases.

VP_f's have the following general structure: $VP_f \rightarrow (AE) + \beta + (P_v) + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf})$.[1] That is, final verb-phrases consist of an optional adverbial expression (AE), followed by the obligatory verbal nucleus (β), which is in turn optionally followed by verb-particles (P_v) and/or universal unrestricted particles (P_{univ}) and/or final unrestricted particles (P_{uf}).[2]

Lahu verbal nuclei are of two types: β_{simple} and $\beta_{concatenated}$.[3] A simple nucleus consists of a single verb, which is ipso facto the main verb or verb-head (V_h). A concatenated nucleus contains one or more versatile verbs juxtaposed before and/or after the V_h. Verb concatenation will be discussed in detail, below 4.3.

Verb-heads are of five morphological types: monomorphemic, compounded, intensified, reduplicated, elaborated. Intensified, reduplicated, and elaborated V_h's most often function as adverbial expressions, and are discussed primarily in 4.42. Verb-compounds

[192]

are dealt with in 4.2.

4.1 Criteria for verbhood and subtypes of verbs. All (and only) the words which may directly follow the negative adverb mâ 'not' belong to the class of Lahu verbs. (Similar criteria work for all other Tibeto-Burman languages so far studied, for all the Chinese dialects, and for such non-Sino-Tibetan languages in Southeast Asia as Thai and Cambodian.) Less specifically we might say that verbs are those words which may be preceded by adverbial expressions and/or followed by verb-particles.

It is sometimes useful to distinguish between action verbs (V_{act}) and adjectival verbs or 'adjectives' (V_{adj}). This distinction is largely a semantic one; there are only relatively minor syntactic differences to keep the two classes apart. Semantic though the distinction be, however, the term 'action verb' is to be taken in a somewhat technical sense. Thus the verb chê 'be in a place'[4] is a V_{act} by virtue of its distributional properties, even though it refers to nothing that could properly be called an action.[5] V_{act}'s constitute the larger and more typical class of Lahu verbs. Their syntactic behavior furnishes the standard from which the adjectives deviate in more or less minor respects. V_{adj}'s are generally translatable by English adjectives or past participles, since they have meanings referring to states or qualities, rather than actions: dàʔ 'good; pretty', mɔ 'long (of time)', i 'little', chu 'fat', lɛ 'late', qhâ 'bitter', lù 'ruined; wretched', kɨ 'rotten', bɛ̀ 'infected; purulent', etc.

The chief syntactic characteristics that distinguish V_{act}'s from V_{adj}'s are the following:

(a) Behavior with verb-particles. V_{act}'s occur freely with all P_v's. V_{adj}'s do not occur before tā, the P_v indicating 'permanent state' or 'prior action';[6] nor do they combine with the P_v's dàʔ 'mutuality' or lâ 'benefaction'; nor with the directional P_v's və 'transportatory motion' or la 'cisative motion';[7] nor with 'imperative' P_v's like lò, vɨ, šā, etc. [See below, 'Verb particles', 4.6.]

4.1; 4.1a

(b) <u>Behavior under relativization</u>. When a relative clause con-
sists solely of an unparticled verb, this verb is most likely to
be a V_{adj} (dàʔ ve ŋâʔ 'pretty birds', qhâ ve nâʔ-chɨ 'bitter
medicine'), though it is also possible to have a V_{act} in this
environment (pɔ̀ ve ŋâʔ 'flying birds', cɔ́ câ ve ŋâʔ 'birds one
boils to eat'). However, if the verb in such a relative clause
<u>is</u> a V_{adj}, the clause may be shifted to the right of the head-
noun by the 'Right-relative transformation' [below 6.49]: ŋâʔ dàʔ
ve 'pretty birds', nâʔ-chɨ qhâ ve 'bitter medicine'.[8] This trans-
formation is blocked if the verb is a V_{act}, unless the P_v tā fol-
lows (i.e., unless the V_{act} becomes more like a V_{adj}). Thus, ŋâʔ
pɔ̀ ve cannot be interpreted as a right-relative clause meaning
'flying birds', but only as the predication ŋâʔ | pɔ̀ ve 'Birds
fly', while ŋâʔ pɔ̀ tā ve may mean either 'the birds which have
flown' (relative clause) or 'The birds have flown' (predication).

(c) <u>Behavior in concatenated nuclei</u>. In general, V_{adj}'s occur
in juxtaposition with many fewer members of the class of versatile
verbs than do V_{act}'s. An interesting, though relatively minor
point is that V_{adj}'s have contrasting meanings before the maxi-
mizing versatile verbs jâ and mâ: chu jâ 'very fat' (intensified
quality) vs. chu mâ 'many are fat' (maximized subject). V_{act}'s
may be followed by either of these verbs with no difference in
meaning: qay jâ 'many go' (maximized subject), qay mâ 'id.'.

(d) <u>Behavior under reduplication and intensification</u>. Both
V_{act}'s and V_{adj}'s are reduplicable, but the syntactic and semantic
properties of the reduplicates are quite different. V_{act}'s under-
go reduplication rather rarely, either in insistent imperatives
(qay qay qay-ʔ 'Go, go, go!'), or in non-final clauses of compound
sentences, with the meaning 'protracted action' (tê-ni-tâ-vâ
yɨʔ-yɨʔ lɛ 'sleeping and sleeping the whole day long'). On the
other hand, on the frequent occasions when V_{adj}'s are reduplicated,
they usually have an intensified meaning. Syntactically they be-
have like adverbial expressions, either subordinate to a verb

4.1b-d

(dà?-dà? te ve 'do it very well') or attributive to a noun, in a
relative clause (chu-chu ve tâ-kà=pā 'a very fat merchant').[9]
Only V$_{adj}$'s may be reduplicated after the determiner chi [see
above 3.616, 'V$_{adj}$'s after chi and qhà vs. E$_{ma}$'s']. Furthermore,
only V$_{adj}$'s form adverbials by the addition of an 'intensifier'
[below 4.424].

The fact that Lahu adjectives are simply a subclass of the
verbs is a point that Lahu shares with her Sino-Tibetan sisters,
as well as with Thai, Cambodian, Japanese, and many other geneti-
cally unrelated languages. From a general typological viewpoint,
Indo-European seems to be idiosyncratic in having separate adjec-
tive-classes that show, if anything, greater affinity for the
nouns than for the verbs.

4.11 Voice and transitivity of action verbs. Such distinctions
as transitive/intransitive and active/passive are basically alien
to Lahu grammar. It is certainly true that the meanings of some
V$_{act}$'s are such (activities or mental states impinging on extrin-
sic things) that they are likely to be preceded by a noun refer-
ring to the thing impinged upon (dɔ̂? 'beat', tâ? 'climb', jû?
'pierce', bà 'throw', chî 'lift up', kɔ̂? 'fear', mə̂? 'be hungry
for', etc.). This preceding noun may, but need not, be followed
by the accusative P$_n$ thà? ~ à?. With all the reservations indi-
cated above [3.83] in our discussion of this P$_n$, we may informally
assign the label 'transitive' to those verbs which typically occur
after NP's with thà?, or after NP's into which thà? may be in-
serted 'naturally' and with no discernible difference in meaning.[10]
All other V$_{act}$'s are 'intransitive', with various further rough
semantic subdivisions possible: e.g., verbs expressing modes of
being or inward-looking actions or mental states (chɛ̂ 'be in a
place; dwell', phɛ̀? 'be; become; be able', pɨ 'be skilful at; be
able', há 'spend the night', hɔ̀ 'weep', bû? 'be satiated; do to
satiety', etc.); verbs of motion not affecting objects (qay 'go',
pɔ̀ 'fly', g̈ɨ 'run', etc.); resultative complements, which express

4.11

the successful or non-successful completion of the action of a
preceding main verb   (tò? 'catch fire', dɔ 'fit into', kɨ 'melt',
etc.) [below 4.314].

Yet to insist on a sweeping dichotomy of Lahu V$_{act}$'s into
'transitive' and 'intransitive' is to exaggerate the appropriate-
ness of the distinction in the context of the language as a whole.
There are almost no repercussions of this classification elsewhere
in the grammar, no other important phenomena which the distinction
helps us to explain.[11] The class of verbs which qualify as 'tran-
sitive' according to our definition differ widely among themselves
in the ease and naturalness with which thà? may be inserted after
a preceding noun. Most significantly, any transitive verb may be
'used intransitively' in sentences whose topic-focus is on the
thing affected rather than on the initiator of the action. The
English translations of such sentences will have passive verbs,
yet the impersonal or intransitive nature of the Lahu sentence is
signalled by nothing in the verbal nucleus itself, but is inferred
from the sentence as a whole. Thus the transitive verb kə 'put
into; insert' is translated differently in the following two sen-
tences: (A) lì? chi ¦ mí-chɔ qhɔ │ hâ? kə mē 'Hurry and put
these books into the shoulder-bag'. (B) lì? chi ¦ mí-chɔ qhɔ │
kə tā ve yò 'The books have already been put into the shoulder-
bag'. Sentence A is imperative, containing the hortatory P$_{uf}$ mē,
as well as the adverb hâ? 'quickly', which typically occurs in
commands. Since lì? chi 'these books' is inanimate, it cannot be
interpreted as the executor, but rather as the goal of the com-
manded action, and kə is naturally translated by an active verb.
The VP of Sentence B contains the P$_v$ tā, indicating previously
completed action. The act of insertion is thus regarded as al-
ready accomplished, and the lì? chi is taken as the topic, not the
object, so that the English translation appropriately has a pas-
sive verb.

Lahu does have ways of converting inherently intransitive verbs into transitive or causative ones by adding morphemes to the verbal nucleus itself. This additional material consists of versatile verbs modifying the V_h, so that the transitivization or causativization must be viewed against the wider background of verb concatenation in general. [See below 4.35, 'Causativization, transitivization, and verb concatenation'.]

<u>4.2 Verb compounds</u>. Lahu verbs, whether V_{act}'s or V_{adj}'s, may participate in compounds by simple juxtaposition. The syntactic behavior of these compounds is in all essentials identical to that of monomorphemic V_h's. Verb-verb compounds[12] may be divided into four categories, according to the freedom or boundedness of their constituents.

(a) $[V_{free} + V_{free}]_V$. Compounds of this type consist of two verbs, either of which may occur as a V_h all by itself: <u>nù</u> 'stink' + <u>qhâ</u> 'be bitter' (both V_{adj}'s) → <u>nù-qhâ</u> 'have a bitter stink, be acrid'; <u>phɛ</u> 'restrain' + <u>chɨʔ</u> 'bind' (both V_{act}'s) → <u>phɛ-chɨʔ</u> 'tie up'; <u>chî</u> 'lift up' (V_{act}) + <u>mu</u> 'be high' (V_{adj}) → <u>chî-mu</u> 'to praise'.

(b) $[V_{free} + B_v]_V$. Occasionally we find a verb compound where the first element is free but the second is bound. (The symbol 'B_v' stands for 'bound verbal morpheme'.) Thus, <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> 'cut' + <u>-nê̂ʔ</u> 'small, fine, thin' → <u>tɔ̂ʔ-nê̂ʔ</u> 'cut up fine'; <u>dɔ̂ʔ</u> 'beat' + <u>-pɛ̄</u> 'to death' → <u>dɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄</u> 'beat to death' (similarly, <u>nî-pɛ̄</u> 'squeeze to death, strangle', <u>bɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄</u> 'shoot dead', etc.). These compounds resemble intensified adjectives that function as stative adverbials, but are distinguished from the latter in that they do not occur with the particle <u>ɛ̀</u>.[13]

(c) $[B_v + B_v]_V$. In compounds of this type both elements are bound; neither may be the sole element in a verbal nucleus. As a unit, however, $[B_v + B_v]$ compounds behave exactly like other verbs: <u>ha-lɛ̀</u> (V_{adj}) 'be happy'. The first syllable recurs in

4.2; 4.2a-c

the bound couplet-partner =ha-qa, in the elaborate expression
ha-lɛ̂=ha-qa 'happily; in joy and gladness'.

This kind of compound doubtless represents the fusion of two
originally free elements. Similar examples may be found through-
out the history of the Sino-Tibetan family, and we may see the
same compounding process continuing in present-day Lahu. The verb
qa 'sing' has not yet died as a free verb, but is already poetical,
much rarer than the synonymous compound qa-mɨ (-mɨ [B_v] 'pass air
noisily in or out of the mouth'). In the future, qa will live on
only in fossilized form, as part of a larger, only partially
analyzable entity.

(d) Intrusively negatable verb-compounds with bound first ele-
ments. Particularly interesting are compounds where the first
element is tightly bound to the second (which may itself be free
or bound), even though the negative adverbs mâ and tâ may inter-
vene between them. Thus, háthi (onomatopoetic B_v) + mɨ 'pass air
noisily' (B_v) → háthi-mɨ 'sneeze'; há- (onomat. B_v) + mɨ → há-mɨ
'yawn'; tí-šĭʔ (B_v) + mɨ → tí-šĭʔ=mɨ 'whistle'; nàʔ-ú 'conversa-
tion' (B_n or B_v) + te 'do; make' (V_{free}) → nàʔ-ú te 'converse,
chat'; tàʔ-í (B_n or B_v) + chê 'be in a place; continue to be' →
tàʔ-í chê 'be silent; keep quiet'.

Although these expressions are negativized by an intercalated
adverb (nàʔ-ú mâ te 'does not converse', tàʔ-í tâ chê 'don't be
silent!', tí-šĭʔ mâ mɨ 'does not whistle', etc.), other adverbial
expressions precede the bound first element, while some may either
precede the first element or follow it: ha-lɛ̂-ha-qa nàʔ-ú te ve
'converse happily'; a-cí nàʔ-ú te ve ∿ nàʔ-ú a-cí te ve 'chat a
little'. The bound first elements of these compounds never occur
with any other verbs. They themselves behave partly like verbs
(in that some adverbs may precede), and partly like adverbs or
noun objects of the following verb. Historically it is to be sus-
pected that some of them were once nouns. These have now lost
most of their nominal identity and are on the verge of being

4.2d

sucked into the verbal hemistich altogether. We return to these
constructions in a more general context below, 'Transhemistichial
relations', 4.5.

4.3 Verb concatenation.[14] We proceed to a consideration of ver-
bal nuclei containing more than a single verb. The Tibeto-Burman
languages in general, and Lahu in particular, are remarkable for
the apparent ease with which two or more verbs may be strung to-
gether or concatenated by simple juxtaposition to form complex
verbal nuclei. Lahu verb concatenation is of considerable inter-
est for its own sake; but this phenomenon also raises some very
general questions concerning the interrelationship of semantics
and syntax. Specifically, there is a well-defined class of cases
where the evidence indicates that it is the inherent semantic
features of individual verbs which actually determine the struc-
tural descriptions of concatenations.

One of the verbs in each concatenation is the V_h. The others
stand in some sort of subordinate relationship to the head, occur-
ring either all to the head's left, or all to its right, or,
often, flanking the head on both sides. Sometimes these concate-
nations reach quite impressive lengths, as in the examples of
Figure 12. In Sentence A, the main verb chî 'lift' is preceded
by two verbs, ğa 'be obliged' and qɔʔ 'repeat; do again', and fol-
lowed by two other verbs, tɔʔ 'come out; emerge' and pî 'give',
yielding a β meaning roughly 'had to lift it out again for some-
one's benefit'.[15] In Sentence B, the main verb yù 'take' is pre-
ceded by the verb tā 'begin' and followed by three other verbs,
qay 'go (away)', cɨ 'send; causative', and cɔ 'be fitting; proper;
right', yielding a β meaning 'ought to cause to begin to take
away'. In Sentence C, the V_h te 'do' is preceded by the verbs ğa
'have to' and tā 'begin', and followed by qay 'go; go on' and ni
'look at; have a try'.[16] The non-head elements in these strings
are all true verbs, and can each occur alone as the only verb in
a VP, though with a rather different meaning in many cases.[17]

4.3

FIGURE 12.   Some multiversatile concatenations

A. $\underline{\text{ŋà-hɨ}}$ | $\underline{\text{ğa}}$ $\underline{\text{qɔ̀ʔ}}$ $\underline{\text{chî}}$ $\underline{\text{tɔ̀ʔ}}$ $\underline{\text{pî}}$ $\underline{\text{ve}}$
    1   2   3   4   5   6   7

          $_v\text{V}$ $_v\text{V}$ V_h V_v V_v

    'We had to lift (it) out again for (them).'
     1   2   4   5   3   6

B. $\underline{\text{ŋà-hɨ}}$ | $\underline{\text{tà}}$ $\underline{\text{yù}}$ $\underline{\text{qay}}$ $\underline{\text{cɨ}}$ $\underline{\text{cɔ́}}$ $\underline{\text{ve}}$ $\underline{\text{lâ}}$
    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

          $_v\text{V}$ V_h V_v V_v V_v

    'Should we make (them) begin to take (it) away?'
       6   1   5   2   3   4 8

C. $\underline{\text{ŋà}}$ | $\underline{\text{ğa}}$ $\underline{\text{tà}}$ $\underline{\text{te}}$ $\underline{\text{qay}}$ $\underline{\text{a-ni}}$ $\underline{\text{ve}}$ $\underline{\text{yò}}$
    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

          $_v\text{V}$ $_v\text{V}$ V_h V_v V_v

    'I (will) have to begin trying to continue doing (it).'
     1   2   3   6   5   4

They are members of a sizable class of verbs that are distin-
guished by what might be termed their 'juxtapository productivity',
and which we call <u>versatile verbs</u>.[18] Those versatile verbs which
occur before their verb-head (V_h) are called <u>pre-head versatiles</u>
($_v\text{V}$); those which occur after their V_h are the <u>post-head versa-</u>
* <u>tiles</u> (V_v). With a couple of exceptions,[19] the class of $_v\text{V}$'s and
the class of V_v's are disjoint: a given versatile verb occurs
either always before or always after its verb-head.

Lahu versatile verbs serve to provide in a uniform surface
way the sort of information that in the surface grammar of lan-
guages like English is handled by a formally disparate array of
subordinating devices: complementary infinitives, -ing comple-
ments, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, prepositional phrases, even
whole subordinate clauses (see Figure 13). The 'simplicity' of
Lahu in this regard is highly deceptive, however. These verbal

FIGURE 13. The gamut of English subordinating devices vs. Lahu juxtaposition

Complementary
Infinitives:

qɔ̂ šā   'easy to hoe'
dɔ̂ʔ šā   'easy to hit'
tâ qɔ̂   'begin to hoe'
tâ dɔ̂ʔ   'begin to hit'

-ing Complements:

qɔ̂ kî   'busy hoeing'
dɔ̂ʔ kî   'busy hitting'
qɔ̂ bɔ̂   'bored hoeing'
dɔ̂ʔ bɔ̂   'bored hitting'

Modal Auxiliaries:

qɔ̂ cɔ̂   'should hoe'
dɔ̂ʔ cɔ̂   'should hit'
qɔ̂ phɛ̂ʔ 'may hoe'
dɔ̂ʔ phɛ̂ʔ 'may hit'

Prepositional Phrases:

qɔ̂ pî   'hoe for someone'
dɔ̂ʔ pî   'hit for someone'
qɔ̂ yàʔ   'hoe in error'
dɔ̂ʔ yàʔ 'hit in error'

Subordinate Clauses:

qɔ̂ nî   'hoe and see'
dɔ̂ʔ nî   'hit and see'
qɔ̂ te   'do so it's hoed'
dɔ̂ʔ te   'do so it's hit'

Adverbs:

qɔ̂ʔ qɔ̂   'hoe again'
qɔ̂ʔ dɔ̂ʔ 'hit again'
qɔ̂ bà   'hoe away'
dɔ̂ʔ bà   'hit away'

nuclei are not thrown together in a way which is 'supra grammati-
cam'.[20] On the contrary, there is an exceedingly complicated
though elusive grammar to be characterized here: several inter-
locking systems of semantic and syntactic constraints which to-
gether determine the order, the membership, the constituent struc-
ture, the meaning, and the length of actual and possible concate-
nations.

As a foretaste of things to come, consider the by no means
rare type of ambiguous concatenation represented by the examples
in Figure 14:

FIGURE 14.   Ambiguous Concatenations

là chê	1.	'beg to be there'	tà ša	1.	'begin to be easy'
	2.	'is begging'		2.	'easy to begin'
ǧa kì	1.	'have to be busy'	ga cɨ	1.	'help to send'
	2.	'be busy getting'		2.	'cause to help'
ca ni	1.	'go and look'	ǧa mɔ̀	1.	'get to see sthg; find sthg'
	2.	'try and search for'		2.	'see (someone) get sthg'

Strings like these are ambiguous in two different though inextric-
ably connected ways: the verbs involved may be said to have two
'meanings' each, but these meaning differences can be shown to be
a function of a difference in underlying syntactic structure.[21]

4.31 Non-versatile types of multiverbal constructions. Not every
sequence of verbs in Lahu (still less every sequence of morphemes
each of which translates as an English verb) constitutes a true
versatile concatenation. There are a variety of other multiverbal
constructions in the surface grammar. These are all easily dis-
tinguishable from versatile concatenations in principle, though
there are certain types of borderline cases which are problemati-
cal. Before developing the structure of versatile concatenations,
therefore, it would be well to give a rather extended account of
the other multiverbal constructions, along with the syntactic and

4.31

semantic criteria which serve to differentiate them.

4.311 V + P_v sequences. Verb-particles (P_v's) are bound mor-
phemes which occur in post-verbal position and serve to orient the
verbal idea on one or another of several semantic dimensions,
temporal, modal, aspectual, etc. Some of the P_v's cover a seman-
tic territory which is quite comparable to that of the more ab-
stract sort of post-head versatile verb. Of especial importance
are the desiderative P_v gâ [below 4.63(2)] and the experiential
P_v jɔ [below 4.63(3)]: qay gâ 'want to go', câ gâ 'want to eat';
qay jɔ 'has ever gone', câ jɔ 'has ever eaten'. However, the P_v's
fail the requirements for verbhood: they may not constitute VP's
by themselves, and they may not be preceded by the negative adverb
mâ. V + P_v sequences are therefore not 'multiverbal' at all.

4.312 Fortuitous concatenations and lɛ-deletion. Lahu verbs are
said to be in 'fortuitous concatenation' when they appear in jux-
taposition even though they belong to separate underlying VP's.
In most cases the verbs represent a series of temporally consecu-
tive actions. Consider the following examples: (1) dôʔ 'pack
up' and pû 'carry on the back': ɔ-e ¦ cà-qha │ dôʔ ‖ pû və lɛ...
'Mother, having packed up the rice and carried it out....'
(2) tâʔ 'carry on the shoulder' and kə 'put in': qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ ¦ cà │
tâʔ ‖ kə lòʔ mɛ̄ 'Please carry all the paddy (home) and put it in
(the storeroom)'. (3) tú 'kindle' and qòʔ 'go home': a-kɨ │
tú ‖ qòʔ e ve tí yò ɛ̀ʔ 'We'll just light pine-torches and go
home'. (4) lɛ̀ 'warm oneself' and yɨʔ 'sleep': mû-cha lɛ̀ ‖ yɨʔ
lɛ... 'warming (themselves) in the sun and sleeping....' (5) ğɔ
'read' and qāw mā 'explain': a-cí ğɔ ‖ qāw mā a šă nɛ̄ 'I'll just
read it and explain it to you'. (6) qay 'go' and qɔ̀ʔ 'return':
qhɔ̀ │ ca qaỷ ‖ qɔ̀ʔ la ve le 'Where are you coming back from?'
("You are coming back [after] having gone where?").[22] (7) kə
'put in' and khû 'break, shatter': hɔ khɨ-šɛ̆ │ yù kə ‖ khû lɛ...
'Taking the elephant's foot, he put it in (the tub), and it [i.e.,
the tub] broke....' (8) ğàʔ 'chase, hunt' and dɔ̀ʔ 'beat, strike

4.311; 4.312

dead': šɔ̌-pɔ̄ qo | ğa ga ğà? || dɔ̌? pî ve 'Tomorrow we'll have to help him hunt (it) down and kill (it)'. (9) gâ? 'scratch' and hɔ̀ 'weep': jɨ̀? jâ lɛ || yɔ̌ | qɔ̌? gâ? || hɔ̀ ve 'He was very itchy, so again he scratched himself and cried'. (10) dù bà 'dig away' and tâ? 'climb up': šu ve mɨ̀-gɨ̀ | dù bà || tâ? la ve 'They work their way upward, digging away other people's land'. (11) pɔ̌? 'jump' and chè? 'bite' and câ 'eat': lâ | pɔ̌? || chè? || câ pɔ̀ sě̄ ve cê 'The tiger jumped (on them), bit into (them), and ate (them) all up'. (12) bɔ̌? 'shoot' and hə̌? 'hit (the target)' and šɨ̌ 'die': tê pɔ̌? tí ¦ nâ? || bɔ̌? || hə̌? || šɨ̌ e ve yɔ̀ 'All of a sudden he shot the rifle, hit (the animal), and (it) died'. (13) ní 'press' and cɔ-hɔ̌? 'wind around': ğû-tu=šī̌≡câ? ¦ yâ-ɛ́ phɔ̌ ¦ tê kà tí | ní || cɔ-hɔ̌? lɛ || phɛ sě̄ lɛ || pɔ̀ ve yɔ̀ 'You squeeze the umbilical cord in one place near the child, and wind it around and tie it, and it's finished'.[23]

Quite a plausible underlying structure may be posited for fortuitous concatenations of this type. It is always grammatical, and it does not significantly change the meaning, to insert the suspensive P_{unf} lɛ between each pair of verb-heads in the series: (11a) lâ | pɔ̌? lɛ || chè? lɛ || câ pɔ̀ sě̄ ve cê. It will be re-membered that lɛ serves to indicate that the preceding clause is not the last in a series of clauses [above 3.92g, below 5.42]. In the usual case, clauses connected by lɛ refer to actions that succeed one another in time; sometimes, however, the actions are to be understood as simultaneous, and are merely considered or listed one after the other ('to Clause$_2$ while Clause$_1$'ing'). Thus, though warming oneself in the sun and sleeping are carried on at the same time in Sentence 4 above, lɛ is still readily in-sertible after the first verb: mû-cha | lɨ̀ lɛ || yɨ̀? lɛ.... The above examples are all underlyingly compound sentences, from some or all of whose non-final clauses the particle lɛ has been deleted.

In sharp contrast, if we were to introduce lɛ into a true versatile concatenation, it would either render the construction

unintelligible or else completely change the meaning by making
two VP's out of the previous single one.[24] Thus, qay (V_h) 'go' +
b$\backepsilon$ (V_v) 'be lazy; be tired of V_h 'ing' → qay b$\backepsilon$ 'be tired of going;
be too lazy to go'; but qay lɛ b$\backepsilon$ means, if anything, 'having
gone, became lazy; went and (after he got there) was lazy'.

It would be misleading to imply that the successive verbal
actions of fortuitously concatenated VP's are totally unrelated
to each other semantically, or even that there is the same degree
of semantic intimacy between any pair of V_h's in such a series.
Some pairs, even though each individual verb belongs to a separate
clause, form natural units, while others do not. In Example 11,
chè? 'bite' and câ 'eat' are much more closely related than p$\backepsilon$?
'jump' and chè? 'bite'; chè? câ is, in fact, almost a unitary
verb-compound. Similarly, in Example 12, b$\backepsilon$? 'shoot' and hə?
'hit' form much more of a semantic unity[25] than either does with
the following s̆ɨ 'die' (which even has a different underlying
subject). Roughly speaking, the closer the semantic association
between two fortuitously concatenated verbs, the less natural it
is to 'insist upon' the fact of their belonging to separate
clauses by inserting lɛ between them.

It would not be useful to try to formulate precisely the
conditions under which our underlying lɛ may be deleted.[26] Suf-
fice it to say that only a relatively small proportion of con-
ceivable Clause$_n$ + lɛ + Clause$_{n+1}$ sequences may be so reduced:
in particular, those where Clause$_{n+1}$ contains nothing before
the VP (that is, no associated NP's), and nothing in its VP before
the V_h (that is, no adverbs, not even the negative mâ, and no pre-
head versatiles). Further conditions are that the underlying sub-
ject of each of the clauses must usually be the same (but see Exs.
7 and 12, above), and that none of the verbs in the concatenation
may be a V_{adj}. Finally, the absence of lɛ is particularly favored
if one of the verbs in the series is a verb of motion.

4.313 <u>Fortuitous concatenations arising from structures of other</u>
<u>types</u>. Sometimes verbs come to stand in surface juxtaposition as
the result of a long and tortuous history. Consider the follow-
ing example: <u>šú-qhu</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhu</u> | <u>kə</u> <u>lɔʔ</u> || <u>chɨʔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'He rolls enough
(tobacco) to put into two pipes'. The clause <u>šú-qhu</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhu</u> <u>kə</u>
<u>lɔʔ</u> 'enough to put into two pipes' consists of the V_h <u>kə</u> 'put
into' followed by the post-head versatile verb <u>lɔʔ</u> 'enough', and
preceded by the associated NP <u>šú-qhu</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhu</u> 'two pipes'. This
whole clause derives from an object NP associated with the main
verb <u>chɨʔ</u> 'roll up; crumple up'. This object NP may be conceived
of as an underlying relative clause modifying the noun 'tobacco'
('tobacco that is sufficient to put into two pipes'), thus:
[<u>šú-qhu</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhu</u> | <u>kə</u> <u>lɔʔ</u> <u>tù</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>šú</u> | <u>chɨʔ</u> <u>ve</u>. The P_{univ} <u>ve</u> here
functions as the marker connecting the relative clause to its
head-noun, <u>šú</u> 'tobacco'. The aspectual P_v <u>tù</u> indicates that the
action of a preceding β is hypothetical, purposive, future, or
otherwise non-actual. The operation of several interrelated de-
letion transformations[27] has the ultimate effect of erasing the
morphemes <u>tù</u> + <u>ve</u> + <u>šú</u> from the string, thus accidentally bring-
ing the verbs of the relative clause into juxtaposition with the
verb of the main clause. That this is not a case of simple <u>lɛ</u>-
deletion is obvious from the fact that the action of putting in
the tobacco is temporally subsequent to the action of rolling it
into a ball.

　　In another well-defined class of cases, the verb of an em-
bedded nominalized clause serving as the subject of a matrix sen-
tence may come to stand right before the main verb of the latter
[below 6.117]. Thus, in {<u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> | <u>te</u> <u>ve</u>} | <u>dàʔ</u> <u>à</u> <u>mɛ̄</u> 'The way
the headman does it is fine', the <u>ve</u> of the embedded clause
(<u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> | <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'The headman does it') may be omitted, so that
<u>te</u> 'do' stands next to <u>dàʔ</u> 'be good, fine': {<u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> | <u>te</u>} | <u>dàʔ</u>
<u>à</u> <u>mɛ̄</u>. Similarly, the sentence <u>ê</u> ! {<u>a-pi</u> ¦ <u>qhê</u> | <u>tɛ̀ʔ</u>} | <u>nù</u> <u>à</u>
'Whew! Grandma let a smelly fart!', has the verb <u>tɛ̀ʔ</u> 'break wind'

4.313

right next to the verb nù 'stink'. Clearly the underlying struc-
ture is {a-pi ┆ qhê | tè? ve} | nù à 'Grandma's having broken
wind is odoriferous'. As a final example, in the sentence yâ-mî ┆
yâ | hu tà thâ || ɔ̄ | ga̋ câ mâ 'When a woman is beginning to
carry a child, she has to eat a lot', it looks superficially as
if the first clause contains a concatenation, hu tà 'begins to
carry', consisting of the verbs hu 'carry in the womb' and tà
'begin'. But as we shall see [4.32], tà is a pre-head versatile
verb, and can never follow its presumed V_h. The correct analysis
of the sentence is {yâ-mî ┆ yâ | hu (ve)} | tà thâ... 'When a-
woman's-bearing-a-child begins...', where tà is the verb of the
matrix clause.

4.314 Resultative complements (C_r's). An important type of *
binomial verbal construction consists of a main verb followed by
a secondary verb of resultative meaning which serves to indicate
the successful or non-successful completion of the action of the
former.[28] Sometimes the resultative verb has a meaning which is
quite general, enabling it to occur after relatively large num-
bers of main verbs. Resultatives of this sort are nothing more
than a subtype of the post-head versatile verbs [below 4.331A;
4.331B(3)]. The V_v cɨ́ 'V_h so it sticks; V_h firmly' is typical:
jû? cɨ́ 'stab home (so that the knife remains in the wound)'; bô?
cɨ́ 'shoot home (as of an arrow made to stick in the target)';
thô? cɨ́ 'hook fast onto; hold fast to with a curved object'. In
other cases, however, the resultative verb may occur after only
one or two particular V_h's. Thus tò? 'catch fire' appears after
no other verb than tú 'kindle';[29] dɔ 'fit inside' occurs only
after kə 'put into' and dô? 'pack into'; mi 'catch' occurs only
after ga̋? 'chase'; kɨ̀ 'be melted' appears only after lɔ̄ 'cause to
melt'. These resultatives are anything but 'juxtapositorily pro-
ductive', and may be excluded summarily from the class of versa-
tile verbs. They are best characterized as 'resultative comple-
ments' (C_r's).

4.314

Given that the C_r's are closely wedded to particular V_h's, it might seem attractive to consider $V_h + C_r$ sequences as a type of lexical compound. However, this is impossible because of the different behavior of the two constructions under negation.[30] The negative adverb mâ may never intervene between the elements of a compound,[31] but must always precede the first element. In resultative constructions, on the other hand, mâ may always be introduced directly before the C_r (and in fact usually is, though it may also precede the V_h with virtually no meaning difference; see below 4.411). Thus, tú mâ tò? 'does not catch fire'; kə mâ dɔ 'does not fit into'; g̈à? mâ mi 'does not catch'; bɔ̂? mâ hə? 'does not hit (with a shot)'; lɔ̄ mâ kɨ 'does not melt'. Some members of the class of C_r's, in fact, never occur after a main verb without an intervening mâ (see Figure 15).

FIGURE 15.   Obligatorily Negated C_r's

C_{r-neg}	Meaning as main verb	$V_h + mâ + C_{r-neg}$	
là	'come'	te mâ là	'cannot do; does not get to do' [32]
g̈â	'win; overcome'	yù tɔ̂? mâ g̈â	'cannot take out'
pò	'escape; reach safety'	phɔ mâ pò	'flees unsuccessfully; gets caught trying to escape'
š̌ī	'know; under- stand'	mā mâ š̌ī	'cannot learn; has a thick skull'
câ	'eat'	cā mâ câ	'is unable to eat'

[te 'do'; phɔ 'flee'; mā 'teach'; cā 'feed']

Occasionally a negative resultative construction is split up into two separate VP's by the insertion of a particle: either the suspensive P_{unf} lɛ 'and'[33] or the concessive P_{unf} kà? 'even'. Thus, tú lɛ mâ tò? '(someone) lit it, and (it) didn't catch fire';

tú kà? mâ tò? 'even though (someone) lit it, (it) didn't catch
fire'; bɔ̂? lɛ mâ hɜ̂? 'shot and didn't hit it'; mā̄ lɛ mâ ši̎
'(someone) taught but (the tutee) didn't understand'. As the
translations show, the intervention of a particle usually causes
the two verbs in the construction to be interpreted as having
different underlying subjects. Interestingly enough, truly ver-
satile verbs of resultative meaning [below 4.331A, B] may also,
when negated, be split off from their V_h by a particle: jû? lɛ
mâ cɨ̂ '(someone) stabbed (it), but (the knife) did not stick (in
it)'. This is no longer a versatile concatenation, however, but
simply a construction where a versatile verb functions as a re-
sultative complement.

4.315 <u>Lexical compounds</u>. We have seen [4.2] that there exist
lexical compounds whose elements are both free verbs: nù 'stink'
+ qhâ 'be bitter' → nù-qhâ 'have a bitter stink, be acrid'. It
is usually quite easy to distinguish such compounds from versa-
tile concatenations. Neither of the elements in a true compound
is juxta-productive; each occurs in at most a few compound-combi-
nations with verbs of compatible semantic nature. Compounds once
established acquire the status of unitary lexical items. It is
as difficult to invent a comprehensible and acceptable Lahu com-
pound as it is to create any neologism. Binary versatile concat-
enations, on the other hand, are freely 'inventable'. Novel com-
binations of particular V_h's with particular versatile verbs are
generally not even recognized to be such, so readily interpretable
are they.

Furthermore, verb compounds are exclusively binomial, and
the order of the elements may never be reversed. Yet versatile
concatenations often contain two or more versatile verbs in addi-
tion to the V_h, and in certain of these cases two of the versa-
tiles may be permuted with corresponding change of meaning, as we
shall see [4.331D]. Finally, neither the negative mâ nor verb-
particles may ever intervene between the elements of a compound;[31]

4.315

both may occur within post-head concatenations under certain
conditions.[34]

Occasionally, however, we find a pair of verbs which seems
to be a borderline case, having properties characteristic of both
compounds and versatile concatenations:

(a) 'Idiomatic' concatenations. In this situation one verb of
the pair is indisputably versatile, but the meaning of the pair
is not deducible from those of the 'V_h' and the 'versatile' verb.
Thus pɔ 'be born' joins with the V_v ša 'be easy; easy to V_h;
pleasant to V_h' to form the verb pɔ-ša 'rich, well-off, prosper-
ous'. Similarly, na 'listen' + ni 'look at; V_h and see; try
V_h 'ing' → na-ni 'ask a question';[35] chî 'lift' + bà 'throw; V_h
away; V_h off' → chî-bà 'discard, abandon, reject'; thè? 'tell
fortunes' + ni 'look at' → thè?-ni 'tell fortunes'. Verb se-
quences of this type are to be regarded as ordinary compounds,
with whose syntactic behavior they entirely agree.

(b) Productive compound-formations. Harder to evaluate is the
case of the verb câ 'eat'. câ is sometimes an undoubted post-
head versatile, with the abstracter meaning 'to V_h for a living;
to earn one's bread by V_h 'ing', as in mɨ câ 'earn one's living
farming', hɔ câ 'sell for a living', etc. However, to a certain
number of verbs relating to the preparation of food, or to the
killing of an edible animal, câ may be directly juxtaposed with
its concrete meaning 'to eat'. Thus, cá-câ 'boil and eat, boil
for eating'; pɨ-câ 'roast and eat, roast for eating'; bɔ?-câ
'shoot and eat, shoot for eating'; te-câ 'cook' ("do and eat; do
for eating"). These sequences are like fortuitous concatenations
in that the two verbs represent temporally successive actions
(though it is not natural to insert lɛ between the elements);
they are like versatile concatenations in that the verbs which
may precede câ in this construction are actually considerable in
number (Lahu happens to abound in verbs relating to the prepara-
tion of food); but they are most like lexical compounds, in that

4. 315a-b

the possible partners of cầ are restricted to a narrow semantic range.[36]

Let us proceed to examine the inner workings of the three general types of genuine versatile concatenations: pre-head ($_vC$), post-head (C_v), and 'fore-and-aft' ($_vC_v$).

4.32 Pre-head concatenations ($_vC$'s).

A concatenation containing nothing but pre-head versatile verbs ($_vV$'s) we call a 'pre-head concatenation' or '$_vC$'. The simplest $_vC$'s are binary, with a single $_vV$ preceding the V_h. We have been using 'β' to symbolize the verbal nucleus of a VP; that is, the obligatory V_h plus any versatiles that may optionally be juxtaposed to the head. We may then generate binary $_vC$'s by some such rule as the following: β → ($_vV$) + V_h. Consider the examples in Figure 16:

FIGURE 16. Binary Pre-head Concatenations

qɔʔ ni 'look at again'   qɔʔ yù 'take again'   qɔʔ hɔ 'cry again'

g̈ɔ ni 'clap eyes on'   g̈ɔ yù 'grab'   g̈ɔ hɔ 'sob'

tà ni 'begin to look'   tà yù 'begin to   tà hɔ 'begin to
                                 take'   cry'

qhɔ ni 'sneak a look'   qhɔ yù 'take surrep-   qhɔ hɔ 'cry in
                                 tiously'   secret'

The versatile verb is in a subordinate, modifying relationship to the head on the right. This 'right-headedness' of $_vC$'s becomes very obvious if we consider permutations of binary concatenations consisting of two verbs which both belong to the class of $_vV$'s, as in the examples of Figure 17:

FIGURE 17. Permutations of Two Pre-head Versatiles

qhɔ phôʔ 'assemble secretly'   lɔ tà 'ask to begin'
$_vV$ V_h $_vV$ V_h

phôʔ qhɔ 'steal in a group'   tà lɔ 'begin to ask'
$_vV$ V_h $_vV$ V_h

4.32

In such cases, each verb of the pair is the head of the construction when it appears second, but is the $_vV$ when it appears first. Thus, as main verbs, qhͻ̂ means 'steal' and phô? means 'assemble; pile up', but as $_vV$'s they mean 'V_h stealthily' and 'V_h in a group', respectively.

As an anchor for further discussion, we now list the thirteen most important pre-head versatiles and their meanings. Of especial interest in the relationship between the head-meaning and the versatile-meaning of each member of the class:[37]

VERB	MEANING AS A V_h	MEANING AS A $_vV$	EXAMPLES	
a. ğ̌ͻ̂	'pull; drag; yank'	(used simply to enliven the V_h)	ğ̌ͻ̂ tú	'set something the hell on fire'
			ğ̌ͻ̂ ğ̌à?-yù	'chase vigorously'
			ğ̌ͻ̂ bͻ̂?	'shoot with élan'
b. ğa[38]	'get; obtain, catch'	1. 'have the chance to V_h; get to V_h'	ğa mͻ̂	'get to see; meet; find'
			ğa pî	'must give'
		2. 'must V_h'	ğa ğ̌ͻ	'must read; get the chance to read'
c. qͻ̂?[39]	'go back; return'	'V_h again; V_h also'	qͻ̂? ğ̌ͻ	'read again'
			qͻ̂? qay	'go again'
			qͻ̂? cͻ̂	'have also; have as well'
d. tà	'begin'	'begin to V_h'	tà ğ̌ͻ	'begin to read'
			tà hͻ̂	'begin to cry'
			tà yͻ	'begin to speak'
e. ca	'look for; go and seek'	'go and V_h'	ca ğ̌î	'go and visit'
			ca hͻ̂	'go and sell'
			ca bͻ̂?	'go and shoot'
f. ga	'help'	'help to V_h'	ga chî	'help to lift'
			ga ğ̌ͻ	'help to read'
			ga thu	'help to chop down'

VERB	MEANING AS A V_h	MEANING AS A $_vV$	EXAMPLES
g. phôʔ	'assemble; gather together; pile up'	'V_h in a group; V_h together'	phôʔ yɨʔ 'sleep together' phôʔ ca 'look for together' phôʔ ğɔ 'read together'
h. qhɔ̂	'steal; rob'	'V_h sneakily or secretly'	qhɔ̂ na 'listen on the sly; eavesdrop' qhɔ̂ ğɔ 'read in secret' qhɔ̂ lòʔ 'enter stealthily'
i. cɨ[40]	'stick to; adhere'	'V_h incessantly'	cɨ câ 'eat incessantly' cɨ mā 'teach all the time' * cɨ lɔ 'beg incessantly'
j. lɔ	'ask for'	'ask to V_h; beg to V_h'	lɔ câ 'ask (for something) to eat' lɔ ğɔ 'ask to read' lɔ phɛ̂ 'beg to be set free'
k. yù[41]	'take'	'take and V_h; pick up something and V_h it'	yù bà 'take and throw away' yù ğɔ 'take up and read' yù hɨ̂ʔ 'take and shake'
l. te[41]	'do; make'	'make something and V_h with it'	te tɛ 'make and set down' te phôʔ 'make and pile up' te pû 'make and carry'
m. gu	'fix; repair; revise; prepare'	're-V_h better than before; V_h over again'	gu bùʔ 'write better than before; rewrite' gu chɨʔ 'retie' gu ha 'winnow better than before'

4.321 <u>Multiversatile pre-head concatenations</u>. The most inter-
esting $_vC$'s are those which are 'multiversatile': i.e., those
which contain more than one $_vV$. These are generable, in a crude
and schematic way,[42] by adding the following rule-options to the
grammar:

$$\beta \xrightarrow[\text{opt}]{} {_vV} + \beta \; ;$$

$$\beta \xrightarrow[\text{opt}]{} V_h \qquad .$$

Consider the example of Figure 18, containing not less than four
pre-head versatiles:

FIGURE 18.   A Multiversatile $_vC$

$_v\overset{\text{ğa}}{V}$	$_v\overset{\text{qɔʔ}}{V}$	$_v\overset{\text{phôʔ}}{V}$	$_v\overset{\text{lɔ}}{V}$	$\overset{\text{câ}}{V_h}$
must	again	together	beg to	eat

```
                    β
                  /
              V  /   β
            v |    /    \
              ğa  V     β
                v |   /   \
                  qɔʔ V    β
                    v |  /   \
                      phôʔ V   β
                         v |  /  \
                           lɔ   β
                                |
                                V
                                 h
                                |
                                câ
```
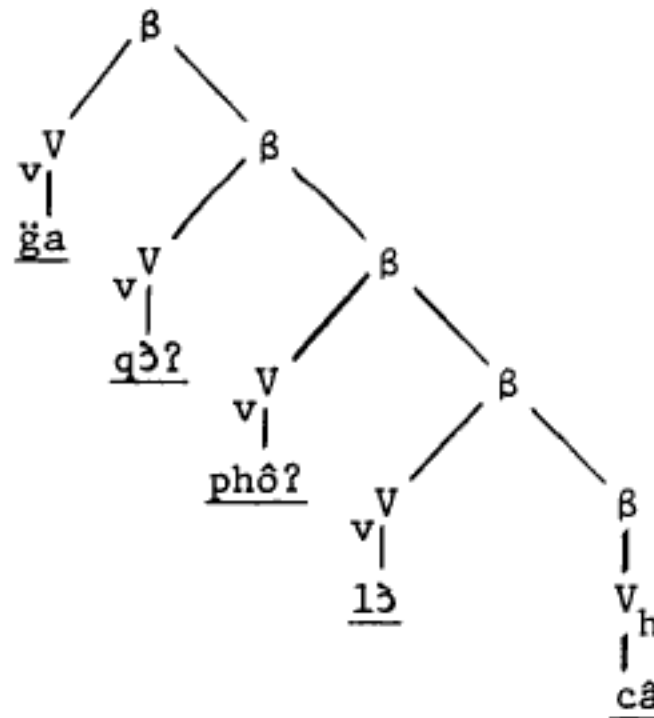
Each verb or verb-sequence to the right of a given verb functions
as the latter's head. The most deeply embedded of the $_vV$'s, <u>lɔ</u>,
is subordinate to its head <u>câ</u> (the act of begging is secondary to
its envisaged goal, eating): 'beg to eat'. <u>lɔ câ</u> as a whole is
the head of <u>phôʔ</u>: the 'begging to eat' is performed 'together'.
<u>phôʔ lɔ câ</u> as a whole is the head of <u>qɔʔ</u>: the action of 'togeth-
er begging to eat' is performed 'again'. Finally, the string

4.321

qɔʔ phôʔ lɔ câ as a whole is the head of ğa: it is the 'repeti-
tion of the communal act of supplication to relieve hunger' which
is deemed to be 'necessary'.

Exhaustive elicitation has shown that this analysis, so far
as it goes, truly reflects the way in which the Lahu understand
pre-head concatenations.

It might well be objected at this point that what is actually
involved is a nesting of embedded <u>sentences</u>, with each verb in the
concatenation deriving ultimately from a separate underlying sen-
tence. For a variety of reasons I find that approach cumbersome
for the present purpose.[43] Yet note that it does not really
affect the substance of the argument at all whether one operates
with embedded sentences or simply embedded verb-strings. In
either case we are still faced with the problem of stating the
complex restrictions on the concatenative process, the nature of
the hierarchical relationship among the concatenated entities, etc.

4.322 Syntactic-semantic constraints on multiversatile $_v$C's.

When more than one $_v$V occurs in the same concatenation, they must
be ordered in conformity with a rule which may be graphically
summarized as in Figure 19:

FIGURE 19.   Pre-head Order Rule

gɔ	ğa^{44}	qɔʔ^{44}	tà	ca	ga	phôʔ	qhɔ	lɔ / yù	gu	te	V$_h$

*

Thus, for example, <u>phôʔ</u> must precede <u>lɔ</u>, but must follow <u>ğa</u> or
<u>qɔʔ</u>.

This ordering is anything but arbitrary from the semantic
point of view. Although semantic theory has not developed to the
point where a rigorous characterization of the notion of 'ab-
stractness' is possible, it should be intuitively obvious from a
perusal of the concatenation-glosses listed above [4.32] that all
of the $_v$V's are not on a par in this regard: a few have meanings

which are much more general or abstract than the others. Even an
a priori subclassification of the $_v$V's according to the English
gloss would yield a scheme not far different from the following:

  A. Enlivener: ĝɔ̂.

  B. Modal/Aspectual: ĝa 'must' (obligative); qɔ̂ʔ 'again' (iter-
                      ative); tà 'begin' (inceptive).

  C. Specifics: ca 'go and'; ga 'help to'; phôʔ 'assemble in
             order to'; qhɔ̂ 'stealthily'; cɨ̂ 'incessantly';
             lɔ̂ 'ask to'; yù 'take and'; gu 'fix and'; te
             'make and'.

The correlation between the syntactic and semantic properties of
these verbs is striking: the more abstract, general, or 'modal/
aspectual' $_v$V's occur to the left of those which have a more con-
crete, specific, or 'marked' meaning. That is, the more abstract
the $_v$V, the less intimate its connection with the V_h. The more
concrete $_v$V's are attracted centripetally to the head, forming
compound heads to which abstracter versatiles may stand in a sub-
ordinate, modifying relationship. The abstract modifies, the
concrete is modified (below). The verb ĝɔ̂ is the extreme case.
As a main verb it means 'pull' or 'drag', but as a $_v$V it func-
tions merely to make more vivid the force of the VP. It is the
loosest and semantically most empty $_v$V of them all, and thus
always occurs first in any concatenation in which it appears.

It might here be objected that we have stacked the semantic
deck a little in our subclassification above, simply to bring the
semantic subtypes in line with the distributional data. Why
could one not, for example, give phôʔ 'do together' a fancy as-
pectual name, say, 'comitative', and include it among the Aspec-
tuals? But the English glosses are, of course, beside the point,
since they are at best only crude approximations to the Lahu mean-
ings. To set up semantic subclasses on such a basis would be
worse than useless in elucidating the way in which the Lahu actu-
ally understand concatenations. It is not that our semantic

classification has been artificially 'influenced' by the order-properties of the $_v$V's. We are claiming rather that these order-properties -- which are irreducible facts of Lahu grammar -- cannot be divorced from certain inherent semantic features of the individual verbs, and are in fact merely the manifestation of those features.[45]

We view the $_v$V's, then, as being situated along a continuum of abstractness from left (abstracter) to right (concreter). At one point along this continuum there is further syntactic evidence for demarcating the Enlivener and the Modal/Aspectuals on the one hand from the Specifics on the other: the four verbs of the former two classes (g̈ɔ̂, g̈a, qɔ̂ʔ, tà) are the only $_v$V's that may occur in $_v$C's whose V$_h$ is an adjective.[46] Thus, g̈ɔ̂ chu 'be mighty fat'; g̈a chu 'must be fat'; qɔ̂ʔ chu 'be fat again'; tà chu 'begin to be fat', but not, e.g., *phôʔ chu 'be fat together'. This behavior is also, it seems to me, to be explained in terms of the abstract/concrete parameter. V$_{adj}$'s refer to qualities or states, and V$_{act}$'s refer (by and large) to actions. Only the abstractest versatiles have a semantic range general enough to be compatible with both modes of verbality. Thus, both states and actions can have a <u>beginning</u>: one can begin to vomit or begin to be sad. Yet the idea of <u>helping</u> is limited to actions rather than states: one can help someone to plow, but one does not help people to be fat.[47] Beginnings are abstracter than helpings.

We have already observed [note 44] that the modal/aspectual $_v$V's g̈a 'must' and qɔ̂ʔ 'again' may occur in either order relative to each other (unless a third $_v$V follows in the same $_v$C). The Lahu do not feel there is any discernible meaning difference between, say, qɔ̂ʔ g̈a câ and g̈a qɔ̂ʔ câ: They are both translatable
$$\underset{_v}{V} \; \underset{_v}{V} \; V_h \qquad \underset{_v}{V} \; \underset{_v}{V} \; V_h$$
as 'must eat again'. Notice that simply according to the principle of rightward-headedness there is a theoretical difference in meaning between these two concatenations. Thus, qɔ̂ʔ -- g̈a câ

would mean 'again -- must eat': i.e., there are at least two
separate instances of obligation involved. ğa -- qɔ̀ʔ câ, on the
other hand, would mean 'must -- eat again': that is, having eat-
en before, of one's own free will perhaps, one is now for the
first time actually <u>obliged</u> to repeat the action. Be that as it
may, the distinction is far-fetched from the Lahu point of view.
We would say that, for the Lahu, ğa and qɔ̀ʔ have, in this environ-
ment, abstraction-values which are identical for all practical
purposes. They are therefore not hierarchically ordered, but
rather coordinate in their subordination to the V_h.[48]

4.323 Recasting $_vC$'s to achieve alternative hierarchical struc-
tures. Suppose a Lahu desires to produce a multiversatile utter-
ance containing the semantic components of several $_v\!V$'s, but in
which these components stand in a hierarchical relationship to
each other that is different from that prescribed by the order
rule. Thus, to return to the example of Figure 18, there is no
difficulty in producing via simple concatenation a sentence mean-
ing 'We again ask together to eat it'. But how would one say,
for instance, 'We ask to eat it together again' -- that is, where
it is the eating that is performed together rather than the ask-
ing? The answer, as indicated in Figure 20, is that in such
cases the sentence must be partially recast, typically by break-
ing up the concatenation into two pieces, nominalizing one of the
pieces, and embedding it as the object of the other piece:

FIGURE 20. Recasting of $_vC$'s

A. ŋà-hɨ | qɔ̀ʔ phôʔ lɔ câ ve   'We again ask together to eat
           $_v^V$ $_v^V$ $_v^V$ V_h it.'

B. ŋà-hɨ ¦ {qɔ̀ʔ phôʔ câ ve} thàʔ | lɔ ve   'We ask to eat it
           $_v^V$ $_v^V$ V_h P_n V_h together again.'

C. ŋà-hɨ ¦ {phôʔ câ ve} thàʔ | qɔ̀ʔ lɔ ve   'We again ask to eat
           $_v^V$ V_h P_n $_v^V$ V_h it together.'

D. ŋà-hɨ ¦ {qɔ̀ʔ câ ve} thàʔ | phôʔ lɔ ve   'We ask together to
           $_v^V$ V_h P_n $_v^V$ V_h eat it again.'

4.323

Thus only Sentence A is directly generable as a single concate-
nated VP, containing the three $_vV$'s qɔ̂ʔ 'again', phôʔ 'together',
and lɔ̂ 'ask to', in that order. In Sentence B, lɔ̂ is not part of
the concatenation, but is the V_h of the matrix sentence. Only
the $_vV$'s qɔ̂ʔ and phôʔ remain before their V_h câ 'eat', and this
smaller concatenation as a whole is nominalized by the P_{univ} ve
and followed by the accusative P_n thàʔ so that it functions as
the object of lɔ̂. What do we ask (for)? 'We ask -- to eat it
together again.' In Sentences C and D, only one $_vV$ remains before
câ in the embedded sentence, while the other appears as a $_vV$ sub-
ordinate to lɔ̂, forming another $_vC$ in the matrix sentence. Thus
Sentence C answers the question 'What do we ask (for) again?',
while D answers the question 'What do we ask (for) together?'.

Only Sentence A reflects the unmarked hierarchical order of
the concepts embodied in its verbs.

4.324 Selectional restrictions on multiversatile $_vC$'s. There is
so far nothing stopping us from generating monstrous $_vC$'s con-
taining up to thirteen verbs. Yet no Lahu in my hearing (or I
suspect in anybody else's either) has ever spontaneously produced
a $_vC$ with more than four $_vV$'s.[49] To attempt to account for this
in terms of a competence vs. performance dichotomy would be to
seriously miss the point, however. Selectional affinities and
exclusions are nothing more than compatibility-relationships
among semantic features. If it is, as we claim, precisely the
inherent semantic features of individual verbs which determine
the syntactic properties of concatenations,[50] it follows that a
system of categorical selectional constraints must be built into
the competence model itself in order to preclude the generation
of unacceptable concatenations: those of uninterpretable or over-
complex structure.

Relatively few pairs of $_vV$'s are mutually exclusive even in
the absence of a third $_vV$. Only ğɔ̂ and tà, ga and cɛ́, and yù and
lɔ̂ may not co-occur before a V_h under any circumstances.[51] When

a third $_vV$ is to be added, the restrictions become more severe;
e.g., if both tà and ca, or both g̈ɔ and ca are chosen, no third
$_vV$ may occur. The options are still more restricted when it is a
question of adding a fourth $_vV$: e.g., after many sequences like
g̈a tà qhɔ, qɔʔ ca ga, tà phôʔ cɛ, etc., no fourth $_vV$ may ensue.
Further cramping one's concatenative style are selectional con-
straints deriving from the semantic features of the particular
verb-head and/or from any post-head versatiles that the concate-
nation may include.

It would not be profitable to attempt to spell out all these
restrictions in anything like an exhaustive manner, particularly
since many of them are properly characterized in terms of 'asymp-
totically decreasing probabilities' rather than absolute exclu-
sions. For the moment we simply observe that the more concrete,
specific, or marked the semantic content of a versatile verb is,
the less readily it participates in lengthy concatenations. In
the context of pre-head concatenations, this means that it is
quite common to find more than one Modal/Aspectual $_vV$ in a given
concatenation, but relatively much rarer to find more than one
Specific $_vV$.

4.325 Negation of $_vC$'s. In general nothing may intervene be-
tween a $_vV$ and its V_h, or between one $_vV$ and another.[52] In par-
ticular, the negative adverb mâ must always be introduced before
the first $_vV$ in a $_vC$, thus: mâ g̈a gu bùʔ 'does not have to re-
                                   Adv $_vV$ $_vV$ V_h
write'. It is interesting to note that concatenations containing
the Enlivener g̈ɔ may not be negated. This suggests that the
'enlivening' feature contributed by g̈ɔ is something like [+posi-
tive action].

4.33 Post-head concatenations (C_v's). The post-head versatiles
(V_v's) are a much more numerous class than the $_vV$'s -- there are
several dozen of them in common use -- but they divide themselves
fairly neatly on the basis of distributional and semantic criteria

4.325; 4.33

into four great subclasses: <u>juxtacapitals</u>, <u>medials</u>, <u>caudals</u>, and <u>variables</u>. Members of these classes co-occur in multiversatile C_v's in the order indicated in Figure 21:

FIGURE 21. Order of Subtypes of Post-head Versatiles

V_h	Juxtacapitals	Medials	Caudals
		V a r i a b l e s	
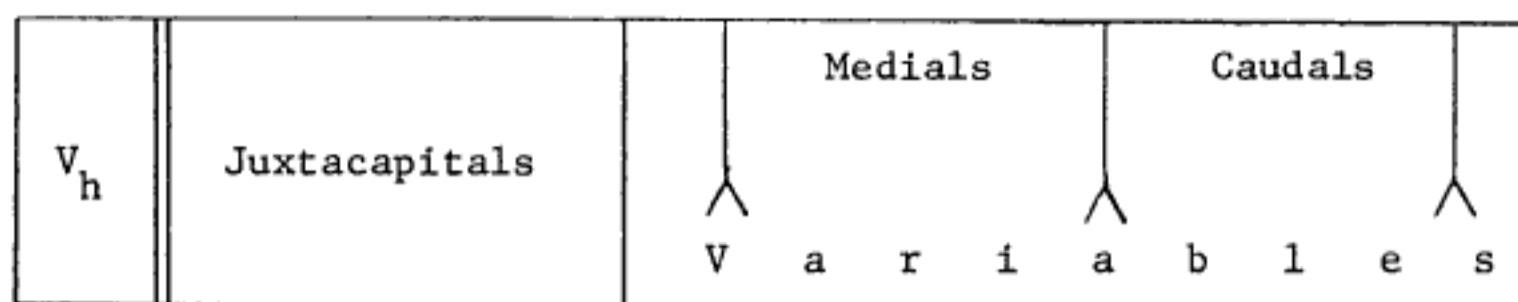
As with the pre-head versatiles, there is a strong correlation between the semantic features characteristic of each subclass of V_v's and the relative position of that class in multiversatile concatenations:

(a) The <u>juxtacapitals</u>, as the name implies, always occur direct-ly after the head. They number about twelve, and all have highly concrete meanings related to modes of motion or directionality. As might be expected, the juxtacapitals are all mutually exclusive with one another. They are as closely welded to the V_h as are such English 'particles' as 'out' or 'away'.

(b) The <u>medials</u> are the most numerous and semantically hetero-geneous of the subclasses. They have highly specific meanings, like 'late', 'dare', 'busy', 'easy', etc., and, like the juxta-capitals, are mutually exclusive (with a few trivial and far-fetched exceptions). The class is open, and includes several Shan loanwords.

(c) The <u>caudals</u> are a small but important class of versatiles of very abstract meaning that occur at the tail-end of C_v's. More than one caudal may appear in a given concatenation, though this is rare. The meanings of four members of the class relate to modes of ability or potentiality.

(d) The <u>variable</u> subclass of V_v's is in many ways the most in-teresting. Their meanings are so abstract that they resemble as-pectual particles. They enjoy the greatest concatenative freedom

of any versatile verbs, and may occur either before or after me-
dials or caudals, as well as either before or after other vari-
ables. However, each of the alternative orderings determines a
different hierarchical arrangement of the semantic components of
the concatenated verbs.[53]

One indication of the greater abstractness of the caudals
and versatiles, as opposed to the juxtacapitals and medials, is
that many members of the former two classes may occur in concate-
nations whose V_h is a V_{adj}, though no juxtacapital or medial may.

We proceed to a more detailed discussion of each of the four
subtypes of V_v's, at first confining ourselves primarily to con-
catenations containing only a single post-head versatile.

4.331 Binary post-head concatenations. Concatenations compris-
ing a single V_v are generable by some such rule as the following:
$\beta \rightarrow V_h + (V_v)$, where the V_v is unspecified as to subclass.

*   A. Binary C_v's with juxtacapitals.

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
a. kə	'put into, in-sert; be in-side'	'V_h into'	jû? kə 'impale' ("stab into") mə̂? kə 'blow into' cà? kə 'push into' thê? kə 'kick into'
b. lɔ̀?	'enter'	'move into in the manner of the V_h'	g̈‡ lɔ̀? 'run into' pā̄y lɔ̀? 'fall over into' ce lɔ̀? 'fall down into' š̌ɛ lɔ̀? 'lead into'

lɔ̀? differs slightly from kə in that it only occurs
after V_h's which are themselves verbs of motion.

c. tɔ̂?	'come out; appear'	'V_h out; V_h so something comes out'	g̈ɔ̀ tɔ̂? 'pull out; pull apart' nĭ tɔ̂? 'squeeze out' chî tɔ̂? 'lift out from' š̌‡ tɔ̂? 'twist out'

This verb sometimes has a resul-
tative meaning. See below, 'Negation', 4.411.

4.331; 4.331A

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
d. là	'come'	'come in order to V_h'	qa-m‡ là 'come to sing' nàʔ-ú te là 'come to chat' ca g‡ là 'come to visit'

Versatile là is to be distinguished both from the potential resultative complement là [above 4.314] and from the morphophonemically related cisative P_v la meaning 'V in this direction; V hither' [below $4.61^v(4)$].

e. qay	'go'	'go and V_h; V_h away from the center of interest'	lē-g‡ qay 'go and play' yù qay 'take away' mɛ́ qay 'vanish away; disappear' jû qay 'go walking; walk away'

qay is also a member of the variable subclass, where it has the much abstracter continuative or inchoative meaning 'go on V_h'ing; start to V_h'. See below 4.331D.

All of the juxtacapitals, but especially qay and là, have a particular affinity for the $_vV$ of purposive motion, ca. That is, fore-and-aft concatenations of the form ca + V_h + V_{juxt} are very frequent. This sort of fact is of great interest in the context of the problem of assigning constituent structure to fore-and-aft concatenations. See below 4.36.

f. yàʔ	'go down; descend'	'V_h down(ward)'	pû yàʔ 'carry down (on the back)' lwɛ̂ yàʔ 'swim down (stream)' pu yàʔ 'roll down' pɔ́ʔ yàʔ 'jump down'

This verb should be distinguished from the unrelated but homophonous medial V_v, yàʔ 'V_h by mistake' [below 4.331B].

g. tâʔ	'go up; climb'	'V_h up(ward)'	phɔ tâʔ 'flee upward' dû tâʔ 'dig upward' cɔ tâʔ 'circle upward; spiral upward' jâʔ tâʔ 'sneak upward'

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
h. qɔ̀	'send back'	'V_h something back (from a distance)'	yù qɔ̀ 'bring back' chî qɔ̀ 'carry back (in one's hand)' šī qɔ̀ 'lead back' tâʔ qɔ̀ 'carry back (on the shoulders)'

*   qɔ̀ is quite rare as a main verb, occurring chiefly in the expression qhê qɔ̀ 'defecate' ("send back excrement"). It clearly belongs to the same word-family as the verb qɔ̀ʔ 'return home', as well as the $_v$V qɔ̀ʔ 'V_h again' and the V_v qhɔ̀ʔ (see next verb on this list).

i. qhɔ̀ʔ	'bring back; take back'	'V_h back'	hə̂ʔ qhɔ̀ʔ 'get something back' bù̂ʔ qhɔ̀ʔ 'write back' bà qhɔ̀ʔ 'throw back'[54] te qhɔ̀ʔ 'do in return; do in reprisal'

    qhɔ̀ʔ means 'back' in the sense of 're-establishing a status quo' or 'reciprocating the action' of the V_h, not 'back' in the spatial sense of qɔ̀.

j. bà	'throw; discard'	'V_h away; V_h so it falls over or is otherwise displaced; V_h in an irrevocable manner'	tú bà 'burn away; burn up to get rid of' thê̂ʔ bà 'kick over' thu bà 'chop down; chop away' chè̂ʔ bà 'bite away' qhè̂ʔ bà 'chip away'
k. ce	'fall (from a height)'	'V_h downward; V_h so it falls from a height'	šī ce 'lead downward' bɔ̂ʔ ce 'shoot down' ğàʔ ce 'drive downward' bà ce 'throw down'

    ce implies more force or violence in the downward motion than does yàʔ [f. above]. ce sometimes has a resultative meaning [see below 4.411, 'Negation'].

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
1. pə	'send'	'send (some- one) to V_h'	hɔ̂ pə 'send to sell' yù pə 'send to get' thɛ pə 'send to break' qɔ̀ʔ e pə 'send (to go) home'

The meaning of pə is quite different from that of the
causative variable V_v cɨ, which also means 'send' as
a main verb. While the latter is one of the ab-
stractest of all versatile verbs, pə retains as a ver-
satile the concrete notion of 'verbal or physical
inducement to purposive motion'.

B. Binary C_v's with medials. The medial V_v's, as indicated

above, are a numerous, open, semantically specific and hetero-

geneous class of verbs, only one member of which may occur in a

given concatenation.[55] The semantic concreteness of the class is

pointed up by the fact that at least half the members are V_{adj}'s,

whereas no other class of versatile verbs comprises any adjectives

at all.[56] It is convenient to further subdivide the medials into

four categories: adjectival, active (=non-adjectival), resulta-

tive, and enlivening.

(1) Adjectival medials. Since V_{adj}'s, whether functioning as

V_h's or versatile verbs, have much less concatenational freedom

than other verbs, it is to be expected that the adjectival me-

dials would concatenate exclusively with non-adjectival V_h's,

and such is indeed the case.[57]

In the following lists, loans from Shan are marked with an

asterisk.

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
a. lɛ	'be late'	'V_h (too) late'	là lɛ 'come late' bùʔ lɛ 'write too late'

The medials are particularly susceptible to selectional
interference from the V_h. Thus, while là lɛ 'come late'   *
is commonly used, the analogous concatenation *là šɔ́
'come early' is rejected by informants.

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
b. <u>š́ɔ</u>	'be early'	'V_h (too) early'	<u>nɔ</u> <u>š́ɔ</u> 'wake up early' <u>thu</u> <u>š́ɔ</u> 'chop down too early'
c. <u>ša</u>	'be easy'	'easy to V_h; pleasant to V_h; interesting to V_h'	<u>ni</u> <u>ša</u> 'good-looking; nice to look at' <u>na</u> <u>ša</u> 'interesting to listen to' <u>te</u> <u>ša</u> 'easy to do; pleasant to do'
d. <u>hā</u>	'be difficult; poor; wretched'	'difficult to V_h; unpleasant to V_h'	<u>š́ɨ</u> <u>hā</u> 'hard to twist' <u>na-ni</u> <u>hā</u> 'unpleasant to ask'
e. <u>ɨ̄</u>	'be big'	'V_h a lot'	<u>lɔ</u> <u>ɨ̄</u> 'beg for a lot'[58] <u>yù</u> <u>ɨ̄</u> 'take a lot'

The medial <u>mâ</u> and the caudal <u>jâ</u> are much more common than <u>ɨ̄</u> as versatiles, and have similar meanings. See below.

f. <u>i</u>	'be little'	'V_h a little bit'	<u>kə</u> <u>i</u> 'put in a little' <u>šá</u> <u>i</u> 'pluck a little'

The adverb <u>a-cí</u> [below 4.412(3)] is much more frequently used to convey this meaning.

g. *<u>kì</u>	'be busy'	'be busy V_h'ing'	<u>qɔ</u> <u>kì</u> 'be busy hoeing' <u>jɔʔ</u> <u>kì</u> 'be busy threshing'
h. *<u>khəʔ</u>	'be wearisome'	'V_h with difficulty; V_h through suffering; be tiresome to V_h'	<u>hu</u> <u>khəʔ</u> 'be difficult to raise (of children)' <u>jû</u> <u>khəʔ</u> 'walk with difficulty'
i. *<u>kə̄(n)</u>	'be worthy'	'be worthy of V_h'ing; be worthy of being V_h'ed'	<u>yō</u> <u>kə̄</u> 'be trustworthy' <u>tho</u> <u>kə̄</u> 'worthy of being told' <u>chî-mu</u> <u>kə̄</u> 'be praiseworthy'
j. <u>bɔ</u>	'be lazy; boring; depressing'	'be tired of V_h'ing; be too lazy to V_h'	<u>ğɨ</u> <u>bɔ</u> 'tired of running' <u>chɛ</u> <u>bɔ</u> 'tired of living'

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
k. bûʔ	'be immoderate; excessive; harsh; over-strong'	'V_h to satiety; V_h one's fill'	yɨʔ bûʔ 'sleep one's fill' ğɔ bûʔ 'read enough to be satisfied' hêʔ bûʔ 'swallow one's fill'
l. mâ	'be numerous'	1. 'V_h a lot' [2. 'many (people) V_h']	sɨ̌ mâ 'know a lot' cɔ̌ mâ 'have a lot' [là mâ 'many come'] [chu mâ 'many are fat']

This verb is of considerable interest:

1. The meaning of versatile mâ depends on the class of verb-head it is joined to. After transitive action verbs, mâ maximizes the object of the action. After intransitive action verbs or V_{adj}'s, mâ indicates a multitudinous subject.

2. The last remark seems to contradict our statement above that the medials concatenate only with non-adjectival V_h's. But in fact strings of intransitive V_{act} + mâ and V_{adj} + mâ are concatenations only on the surface. In the underlying structure the 'V_h' is actually the verb of a nominalized clause which functions as a whole as the subject of the main verb mâ. Thus chu mâ 'many are fat' is derived from an underlying string like {chu ve} | mâ / V 'the fat ones are many' [below 6.11], which is grammatical as it stands. (It is never grammatical to insert ve between the V_h and a V_v in a true C_v.) The ve is then optionally deleted [below 6.117].

3. The variable V_v jâ, as we shall see [4.331C(3)], is often roughly synonymous with mâ, but the two verbs have contrasting meanings in one environment.

4. The fact that mâ is homonymous with the negative adverb mâ 'not', which is diametrically opposed to it in meaning (and which may intervene before certain V_v's within a C_v [below 4.411]), makes all concatenations of V_h + mâ + V_{caudal} or V_h + mâ + $V_{variable}$ ambiguous.
Such concatenations are therefore avoided in practice, but are theoretically possible if the context is clear enough:
(a) sɨ̌ mâ pɛ́ 'is able to know a lot' vs. sɨ̌ mâ pɛ́
   V_h V_v V_v V_h Adv V_v
'is unable to know'.

(2) Non-adjectival medials.

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
m. yàʔ	'commit an of-fense; be at fault'	'V_h by mistake; offend by V_h'ing'	qôʔ yàʔ 'say the wrong thing'
n. *phîʔ			dô yàʔ 'misunderstand'
			šɛ yàʔ 'lead astray'
			te phîʔ 'do by mistake; offend by one's deeds'

The medial yàʔ is unrelated to the homophonous juxta-
capital meaning 'descend'. phîʔ is a Shan borrowing
of identical meaning.

o. gɛ̂	'visit; play'	'V_h for plea-sure; V_h for the fun of it'	pàʔ gɛ̂ 'copulate for fun'
			tô gɛ̂ 'walk around for pleasure'
			mɨ gɛ̂ 'sit around sociably'
p. tô	'walk; roam around'	1. 'go around V_h'ing'	hɔ̂ tô 'go around cry-ing'
		2. 'V_h aimless-ly'	phûʔ tô 'go looking around for'
		3. 'V_h for fun'	gɛ̂ tô 'go visiting around'

tô is often very similar in meaning to gɛ̂, but conveys
more of a nuance of motion than the latter. It is not
surprising that tô shows a special affinity for the
$_v V$ ca.

q. *hâʔ	'dare'	'dare to V_h'	jîʔ hâʔ 'dare to move'
			ğɨ hâʔ 'dare to laugh'
			pɔ̂ʔ hâʔ 'dare to jump'
r. *tâ(n)	'be free; be at leisure'	'have time to V_h; be ready to V_h'	câ tân 'have time to eat'
			chɨ tâ 'have time to wash'
s. mā	'teach'	'show how to V_h; V_h for someone's edification'	tháy mā 'show how to plow'

4.331B(2)

g̈ɔ mā 'teach how to read'

qāw mā 'narrate for someone's benefit'

mā has a much less general meaning as a V_v than the benefactive variable V_v pí [below 4.331D]. pí merely indicates that the V_h's action impinges in some way on a third person (favorably or not); mā specifies that actual instruction is involved.[59]

(3) Resultative medials. Three of the medials have meanings which are resultative in force: that is, they specify the consequence of the action of the V_h. These medials may all occur after great numbers of V_h's, which leads us to distinguish them from the non-versatile resultative complements [above 4.314]:[60]

VERB	MEANING AS A V_h	MEANING AS A V_v	EXAMPLES
t. tɛ	'put; place'	'V_h so it stays put; V_h something and leave it'	te tɛ 'set up permanently' bà tɛ 'throw away for good' thu tɛ 'chop down and leave (where it fell)'

Sequences of V_h + tɛ are very reminiscent of the Japanese -TE OKU construction (e.g., simete oku 'close so it stays closed').

| u. chê? | 'break in two; snap in two' | 'V_h utterly; V_h to a definite conclusion' | câ chê? 'eat all up'
hɔ́ chê? 'sell out; sell completely'
yɔ chê? 'say everything there is to be said'
vɨ chê? 1. 'buy outright' (free and clear)
2. 'buy out' (so nothing remains to sell) |

4.331B(3)

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
v. c$\pm$	'stick to; be fastened to; pin-point; fix upon'	1. 'V_h so it becomes fixed' 2. 'persist in V_h 'ing'	thɔʔ c$\pm$ 'hook fast onto' bɔʔ c$\pm$ 'shoot home' cô-câ c$\pm$ 'keep on try-ing' vəʔ c$\pm$ 'persist in wearing'

In its second, non-resultative sense, c$\pm$ is to be identified with the pre-head versatile c$\pm$ [above 4.321]. This is one of the very few cases of the same verb functioning as both a $_vV$ and a V_v with approximately the same meaning. [See the caudal ğa, below 4.331C(1).]

(4) Enlivening medials. There are two medials which serve merely to enliven the action of their VP, much like the $_vV$ ğɔ. However, while ğɔ was the abstractest of the $_vV$'s, and therefore always occurred first in any multiversatile $_vC$ in which it appeared, neither of these post-head enliveners (see their glosses, below) is as abstract as the members of the caudal or variable classes of V_v's. They therefore precede the latter in multiversatile con-catenations. This is good evidence for the fact that very few pre-head versatiles are as abstract as the caudal and variable V_v's. This point is of importance when we consider fore-and-aft concatenations [below 4.36].

VERB	MEANING AS V_h	MEANING AS V_v	EXAMPLES
w. gὲ	'be fast; quick'	ENLIVENER (implies a sud-denness or abruptness of action)	š$\pm$ gὲ 'drop dead' pɔʔ gὲ 'jump suddenly' pāy gὲ 'fall over with a crash'
x. phê	'set free; launch; issue forth'	ENLIVENER (imparts a driv-ing, outward-thrusting vio-lence to the action)	tú phê 'set on fire' thêʔ phê 'kick out at' dɔʔ phê 'strike out at' qhὲʔ phê 'chip off with force'

4.331B(4)

(5) <u>Apparent sequences of adjectival head + medial</u>. We have
already explained why sequences of V_{adj} + <u>mâ</u> 'many' are not true
concatenations in the underlying structure [above 4.331B(1)].
Exhaustive elicitation has unearthed only three other examples of
verb sequences which at first glance appear to be instances of
V_{adj} + medial V_v. These all involve the V_h <u>chu</u> 'fat': <u>chu</u> <u>lɛ</u>
'slow to get fat' (as of a scrawny pig); <u>chu</u> <u>sɔ̌</u> 'be an early fat-   *
tener' (as of a precocious pig); <u>chu</u> <u>tân</u> 'get fat in time' (as of
a pig who is ready for slaughter by a certain date). However, in
all these cases <u>chu</u> is not functioning as a true adjective 'be
fat', but is rather an intransitive verb of becoming: 'get fat;
fatten up'.

(6) <u>Apparent sequences of two medials</u>. With extreme rarity an
apparent sequence of two medial V_v's is encountered. In these
cases the first of the medials is tightly bound to the V_h, form-
ing what is really a lexical compound to which the second medial
stands in a versatile relationship. Thus, <u>chê</u> 'be, dwell' + <u>ša</u>
'pleasant to V_h', easy to V_h' → <u>chê-ša</u> 'be well, happy, prosper-
ous': <u>chê-ša</u> <u>hā</u> 'be difficult to be happy'; <u>chê</u> + <u>hā</u> 'hard to
V_h' → <u>chê-hā</u> 'be wretched': <u>chê-hā</u> <u>ša</u> 'be easy to be wretched';
<u>qô?</u> 'say' + <u>gɨ</u> 'V_h for fun' → <u>qô?-gɨ</u> 'joke, tease': <u>qô?-gɨ</u> <u>hâ?</u>
'dare to joke'. [See above 'Idiomatic concatenations', 4.315a.]
C.   <u>Binary C_v's with caudals</u>. The caudals comprise the smallest
but one of the most important subclasses of V_v's. They are high-
ly abstract in meaning, and occur as late as possible in multi-
versatile C_v's. (Only variable V_v's may ever follow a caudal
within the same C_v.) It is worth discussing each of the eight
members of the class in some detail.

(1) <u>The potential caudals</u>. Four of the caudals have meanings
involving modes of ability or potentiality:
a.   <u>phɛ̀?</u>. As a V_h, <u>phɛ̀?</u> is used in identity statements with the
meaning 'be' (as in <u>yô</u> ¦ <u>qhâ?-šɛ</u> ¦ <u>phɛ̀?</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'He is the headman');
or in general statements relating to a prevailing state of

<div align="right">*4.331B(5-6); 4.331C; 4.331C(1)*</div>

affairs, i.e., 'be the case' (as in <u>chi</u> <u>qhe</u> | <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'That's
the way things are'); or in statements of eventuation, happening,
coming into being (as in <u>sǎ-bɔ́ʔ=pā̄≡ló</u> | <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>la</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'He's turn-
ing into a great hunter').[61] As a V_v, <u>phὲʔ</u> is translatable
variously as 'able to V_h; can V_h; may V_h; is allowed to V_h'.[62]
The potentiality expressed by versatile <u>phὲʔ</u> seems usually to
have reference to factors which are beyond one's control: ob-
jective, independent, extrinsic circumstances, the permission of
others, etc. Thus, <u>ti</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> 'able to plant' would occur in con-
texts like 'enough rain to be able to plant the paddy'. <u>qay</u> <u>phὲʔ</u>
'able to go' would fit such contexts as 'His father said he could
go'. <u>chê</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> 'able to stay' would be suitable in a context like
'I can't stay because my husband is waiting for me'.[63]

* b. <u>pɛ́</u>. In its relatively rare occurrences as a V_h, <u>pɛ́</u> means 'be
clever at; skillful at; good at (something)'. As a V_v, it means
'have the ability to V_h; be able to V_h well; be good at V_h'ing'.[64]
Thus <u>ğɔ</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'able to read' is appropriate in 'Can you read, little
boy?', while <u>ğɔ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> is required for 'Can you read it in this
light?'. Similarly, <u>bɔ́ʔ</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'able to shoot' in 'The Lahu can
shoot well' vs. <u>bɔ́ʔ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> in 'This gun is so dirty I can't shoot
with it'.[65]

With V_h's (either V_{act} or V_{adj}) relating to human emotions
or mental activities, <u>pɛ́</u> forms concatenations that refer to innate
qualities of character or personality: <u>khwɛ́</u> 'jealous', <u>khwɛ́</u> <u>pɛ́</u>
'be a jealous sort'; <u>hē</u> 'tell a lie', <u>hē</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be deceitful, be a
liar'; <u>yàʔ-tɔ</u> 'be ashamed', <u>yàʔ-tɔ</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'know the proprieties, know
what is shameful', <u>mâ</u> <u>yàʔ-tɔ</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be brazen, shameless'; <u>hàʔ-qá</u>
'take pity on', <u>hàʔ-qá</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be kind-hearted, compassionate'; <u>ha-lὲ</u>
'happy', <u>ha-lὲ</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be a cheerful person'; <u>yən-khān</u> 'be patient',
<u>yən-khān</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be inured to suffering, know how to be patient'; <u>na</u>
'listen', <u>na</u> <u>pɛ́</u> 'be obedient'.

When followed by the P_v <u>à</u> [below 4.63(4)], <u>pɛ́</u> appears in
warnings -- predictions or assertions of the likelihood of un-

pleasant eventualities: n̄ɔ phɨ ¦ s̆ā | câ pɨ à 'That dog of yours is going to eat the meat!'; à-mù <<te mâ phɛ̀ʔ>> qôʔ pɨ à mɛ̄ 'Otherwise they might say you can't do it!'.[66]

Sometimes pɨ is used for additional emphasis after a negated resultative complement [above 4.314]: tú mâ tòʔ pɨ 'simply won't catch fire'.

c. g̈a. As a V$_h$, g̈a means 'get; obtain'. We have seen [see note 38, above] that as one of the abstractest $_v$V's it means variously 'get to V$_h$; have managed to V$_h$' or 'must V$_h$'. As a caudal V$_v$, g̈a means 'able to V$_h$' in the sense of 'having by dint of the expenditure of effort surmounted the difficulties which had hindered the attainment of a state of ability'. 'Managed to V$_h$' is the closest translation in most cases. Thus, tâʔ g̈a 'manage to carry', as in 'With just two people you won't be able to carry it back'; na g̈a (1) 'manage to understand', as in 'I can only understand a little of the Red Lahu dialect'; (2) 'manage to hear', as in 'Can you hear with all that noise?'. The fact that g̈a may be either a $_v$V or a V$_v$, as well as a V$_h$, makes for severe ambiguities whenever it is followed by another verb that can be used versatilely. If, e.g., g̈a precedes mɔ̄ (which means 'see' as a V$_h$ and 'to have ever V$_h$'ed' as a non-potential caudal V$_v$), there are three possible interpretations of the sequence:

(1) g̈a mɔ̄ 'get to see; manage to see; must see; to find';
$_v$V V$_h$

(2) g̈a mɔ̄ 'to have ever gotten/obtained'; to have seen (someone)
V$_h$ V$_v$

get something'; (3) yù g̈a mɔ̄ 'to have ever been able to take; to
V$_h$ V$_v$ V$_v$

have ever managed to take'. In (3), both g̈a and mɔ̄ are caudals following the V$_h$ yù 'take'.

d. gà. As a V$_h$ gà means 'reach; arrive at'. As a V$_v$, its meaning seems to be almost identical to that of g̈a.[67] There is the implication that difficulties had to be overcome before the state

of ability was reached: mâ mɔ-mɔ qo || há-qō ɔ̄ | tɔ́ʔ gà cê 'Be-
fore long he was able to get out of the cave'; tu gà la thâ qo ||
mâ mɔ̀ ò 'By the time we were able to get up, we couldn't see it
anymore'. More often than not, gà appears negated: qay mâ gà
'I can't go' (i.e., if I were to try going, I would not reach my
goal).[68]

(2) Mutual exclusiveness of the potential caudals. For all
practical purposes, the four potential caudals are mutually ex-
clusive,[69] though any of them may occur before the non-potential
caudals. 'Mutual exclusiveness' is an important notion which, it
seems to me, it is incumbent on a semantic theory to refine.
Without being able to develop this here in a serious way, it ap-
pears that mutual exclusiveness is of two basic types: to put it
baldly, things exclude each other either because they are too
similar, or because they are too disparate.[70] The exclusive re-
lationship obtaining among the potential caudals, like that
among, say, the English modal auxiliaries, is of the former type.
The potential caudals form a kind of system or paradigm, each
member of which has many semantic features in common with every
other member, but which differ from one another in a structured
way. The whole point of the language's maintaining several such
similar entities is to impose an all-or-nothing choice on the
speaker in any given situation.[71] On the other hand, the mutual
exclusion that prevails among the medials is largely due to the
utter disparateness of their meanings. The meanings of, e.g., mā
'show how to V_h', tân 'have time to V_h', gɛ̄ 'V_h for pleasure', kə̄
'worthy of V_h'ing', etc., do not differ from each other in a pre-
cise way. They are incommensurable. Some of the medials, how-
ever, do form antonymous pairs (ša 'easy, hā 'hard'; lɛ 'late',
* šɔ́ 'early', etc.), and are mutually exclusive on 'similarity'
grounds.

(3) The non-potential caudals.

e. cɔ̂. As a V_h cɔ̂ usually means 'be correct; fitting; right;

4.331C(2-3)

harmonious; friendly; well-suited'. Occasionally it means 'occur by chance; happen to be the case'.[72] As a caudal V_v, c$\acute{\mathfrak{d}}$ means, according to context, either 'ought to V_h; should V_h' or else 'V_h by chance; happen to V_h': th$\acute{\mathfrak{d}}$ c$\acute{\mathfrak{d}}$ 'ought to touch'/'happen to touch'; yù c$\acute{\mathfrak{d}}$ 'should take'/'chance to take'.

f. m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$. As a V_h m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ means 'see'. As a caudal V_v it has a much abstracter meaning: 'to witness the action or state referred to by the V_h; to have ever seen or heard of (someone else's) V_h'ing'. Note that in its versatile function, the range of m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ is not limited to visual perception: kâ m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ 'have ever heard'; yù m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ 'have ever taken, know (someone) to have taken'; mâ q$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$? la m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ lɛ-lâ 'Haven't you seen him come back?'; y$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ tí qo ¦ Kô-thê? | mâ qay m$\grave{\mathfrak{d}}$ s̆e̅ 'I've never known him to go to Bangkok'.

The P_v j$\mathfrak{o}$ [below 4.63(3)] has a quite distinct 'experiential' meaning, referring to the subject's personal experience of the action of the V_h: Kô-thê? | mâ qay j$\mathfrak{o}$ s̆e̅ 'He's never gone to Bangkok'.

g. tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$. As a V_h tà means 'be enough'. It is very often followed by the P_v $\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ which indicates a change of state. (The very concept of being enough implies to the Lahu that a former lack has been filled: a state of not-having has been changed to a state of having.) As a caudal V_v, tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ means 'it is now time to V_h; given the present circumstances, one had better V_h': d$\acute{\mathfrak{d}}$-phû? tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ 'it's now time to repent'; qay tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ 'it's time to go now'; v$\dot{\textbf{i}}$ tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ 'now's the time we should buy it'. The sense is rather different when negative mâ intervenes between the V_h and tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$. It then means 'be sick and tired of V_h'ing':[73] qay mâ tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ 'be very averse to going'; na mâ tà-$\grave{\mathfrak{o}}$ 'be sick and tired of listening'.

h. jâ. As a V_h jâ means 'exceed; surpass; be exaggerated'. Much more frequently it serves as a caudal V_v with one or another of several related 'maximizing' meanings: (1) After transitive action verbs, jâ maximizes either the object of the action or the

action itself: bɔ̂ʔ jâ 'shoot many'; sĭ̄ jâ 'know very much'; bɔ̂ʔ
jâ 'be very angry at'. (2) After intransitive V$_{act}$'s jâ indicates
a multitudinous subject: qay jâ 'many go, lots of people go'; pɔ
jâ 'many are born'. So far the use of jâ exactly parallels that
of the medial mâ [above 4.331B]. However: (3) jâ contrasts with
mâ after V$_{adj}$'s. In this environment jâ means 'very V$_h$' or 'too
V$_h$', but mâ indicates a multitudinous subject: dàʔ jâ 'very
good'[74] (vs. dàʔ mâ 'many are good'); chu jâ 'very fat, too fat'
(vs. chu mâ 'many are fat'). The deep status of V$_{adj}$ + jâ is
different from that of V$_{adj}$ + mâ, however. Whereas the latter is
derived from V$_{adj}$ + ve + N$_{rh}$ + mâ, the former is a true versatile
concatenation. It is ungrammatical to insert ve between a V$_h$ and
jâ.

(4) Sequences of caudals. The potential caudals precede the non-
potential ones in multiversatile concatenations, roughly as in
Figure 22:

FIGURE 22.   Sequences of Two Caudals

phὲʔ	cɔ̂
pɨ́	mɔ̂
g̈a	tà-ò
gà	jâ

Sequences of more than one caudal are quite rare in practice,
however, except for the extremely common sequence pɨ́ + jâ: yɔ̂ ¦
á-thâ|mə̂ʔ pɨ́ jâ 'He's very good at playing the jewsharp'.

(5) Caudals after adjectival V$_h$'s. It will be remembered that
none of the juxtacapitals or medials may follow adjectival V$_h$'s.
Five of the eight caudals, on the other hand, may so occur: a
tribute to their far greater abstractness. Thus, chu phὲʔ 'may
(is allowed to) be fat'; dàʔ pɨ́ 'can (has the ability to) be
good'; ha-lὲ pɨ́ 'is happy by nature'; kâʔ cɔ̂ 'ought to be cold' /
'happens to be cold'; hɔ mɔ̂ 'have ever been hot' / 'have known it
to be hot'; nû jâ 'very soft'.

4.331C(4-5)

D. Binary C_v's with variable versatiles. The variable V_v's are perhaps the most important of all the post-head versatiles. Their meanings are extremely abstract, conveying the sort of information which in other languages might be furnished by aspectual affixes. In Figure 23, the versatile meanings of these verbs are given to the right of the slash, while their meanings as V_h's appear to the left:

FIGURE 23.   The Aspectual Nature of the Variable V_v's

chê	dwell/'continuative'	ni	look at/'tentative'
cɨ	send/'causative'	pə̀	finish/'completive'; 'exhaustive'
qay	go/'continuative'; 'inchoative'	pî	give/'benefactive'; 'permisso-causative'
mɔ	be a long time/'durative'	lə̀ʔ	enough/'sufficitive'

Taking, for example, the V_h və̀ʔ 'put on (clothing); wear', we may run down the list as follows: və̀ʔ chê 'is wearing'; və̀ʔ cɨ 'make someone wear, let someone wear'; və̀ʔ qay 'goes on wearing'; və̀ʔ mɔ 'has worn for a long time'; və̀ʔ ni 'wear and see, try on'; və̀ʔ pə̀ 1. 'has already put on' 2. 'everybody wears'; və̀ʔ pî 'dress someone, let someone wear'; və̀ʔ lə̀ʔ 'enough to wear, wear enough'.

   It is an indication of the high degree of abstractness of the variable class that six of the eight members occur regularly after adjectival V_h's: chu chê 'is still fat'; chu cɨ 'cause to be fat, fatten'; chu qay 'become fat, get to be fat, get fatter and fatter'; chu pə̀ 'are all fat'; chu pî 'make fat for (someone)'; chu lə̀ʔ 'fat enough'.

   The chief interest of the variables lies, however, in the fact that they are permutable with other V_v's in multiversatile C_v's, with concomitant changes of meaning. This behavior will be discussed in detail in 4.341. For now we simply observe that the variables are not mutually exclusive with each other (unlike the juxtacapitals, medials, or potential caudals). A given multi-

4.331D

versatile C_v may be simultaneously marked for several of the 'aspectual' categories, thus:

$\underset{V_h}{\text{šíʔ}}$	$\underset{V_{juxt}}{\text{bà}}$	$\underset{V_{var}}{\text{cɨ}}$	$\underset{V_{var}}{\text{pî}}$	$\underset{V_{var}}{\text{chê}}$	'is making (them) wipe
wipe	away	caus.	benef.	contin.	(it) away for (him)'.

E. <u>Ambiguous concatenations revisited</u>. We are now in a position to account in a general way for the type of ambiguous binary concatenation presented in Figure 14, above.[75] In all such cases, the first of the two verbs is a $_vV$, while the second is a V_v. Two interpretations are thus always possible in principle: either the first verb is the V_h and the second is a V_v, or the first is a $_vV$ and the second is the V_h. We return to some of our original examples in Figure 24:

FIGURE 24.   Ambiguous $_vV$-V_v Concatenations

$\underset{_vV}{\text{lɔ̀}}$ $\underset{V_h}{\text{chê}}$	'beg to be there'	:	$\underset{V_h}{\text{lɔ̀}}$ $\underset{V_v}{\text{chê}}$	'is begging'
$\underset{_vV}{\text{ğa}}$ $\underset{V_h}{\text{kɨ̀}}$	'must be busy'	:	$\underset{V_h}{\text{ğa}}$ $\underset{V_v}{\text{kɨ̀}}$	'is busy getting'
$\underset{_vV}{\text{tā}}$ $\underset{V_h}{\text{ša}}$	'begin to be easy'	:	$\underset{V_h}{\text{tà}}$ $\underset{V_v}{\text{ša}}$	'easy to begin'
$\underset{_vV}{\text{ga}}$ $\underset{V_h}{\text{cɨ}}$	'help to send'	:	$\underset{V_h}{\text{ga}}$ $\underset{V_v}{\text{cɨ}}$	'cause to help'

<u>4.34 Multiversatile post-head concatenations</u>. The most jejune sort of rule one could write to generate multiversatile C_v's would look something like this:

$$\beta \rightarrow V_h + Juxt_o^1 + Var_o + Med_o^1 + Var_o + Caud_o^2 + Var_o.$$

That is, the verbal nucleus, beta, may be expanded to include, besides the verb-head, up to one juxtacapital, up to one medial, and up to two caudals, in that order, as well as zero or more variables at any post-juxtacapital point in the concatenation.

However, even if a simple rewrite rule of this type could be refined to specify the complex selectional restrictions obtaining

4.331E; 4.34

among the individual members of the concatenated classes, it would
still be totally inadequate to characterize the way in which
multiversatile C_v's are understood: for it fails to assign the
sort of leftward-embedded structure which is involved. There is
in fact abundant evidence that the structure of C_v's is the
mirror-image of that of $_vC$'s. That is, in a post-head concatena-
tion all the verbs to the left of a given verb serve as the
latter's V_h.

Consider the following concatenation, which might be used to
describe the obligations of a school of dentistry toward its
students:

$\underline{cì}$	$\underline{g̈ɔ̀}$	$\underline{tɔ̂ʔ}$	$\underline{m\bar{a}}$	$\underline{pî}$	$\underline{cɔ́}$
NP	V_h	$V_{\text{v-juxt}}$	$V_{\text{v-med}}$	$V_{\text{v-var}}$	$V_{\text{v-caud}}$
teeth	pull	out	show how	benefactive	ought

'(They) ought to show them how to pull out teeth.' The head of
$\underline{cɔ́}$ 'ought' is the whole string $\underline{g̈ɔ̀}$ $\underline{tɔ̂ʔ}$ $\underline{m\bar{a}}$ $\underline{pî}$: 'ought to -- show
for-their-benefit how to pull (them) out'. The head of $\underline{pî}$ 'bene-
factive' is $\underline{g̈ɔ̀}$ $\underline{tɔ̂ʔ}$ $\underline{m\bar{a}}$: the whole act of 'showing how to pull
out' is performed 'for someone's benefit'. The head of $\underline{m\bar{a}}$ 'teach
how' is $\underline{g̈ɔ̀}$ $\underline{tɔ̂ʔ}$ 'pull out'. The head of $\underline{tɔ̂ʔ}$ 'out' is $\underline{g̈ɔ̀}$ 'pull'.

The following rule is still crude -- it does not, for exam-
ple, specify the subcategorizational or selectional restrictions
on the recursive embedding in C_v's -- but it does at least convey
the hierarchy of head-modifier relationships correctly:

$\beta \underset{\text{opt}}{\rightarrow} \beta + V_v$. See Figure 25.

FIGURE 25.   A Multiversatile C_v
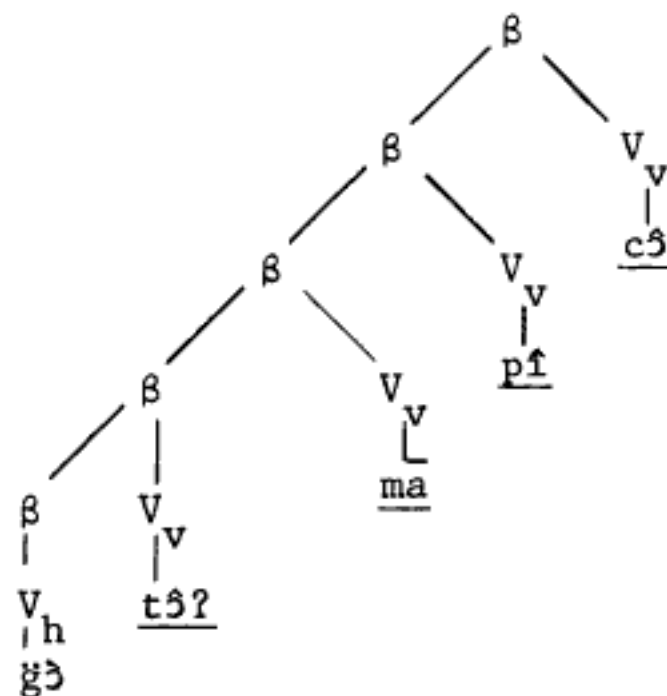
<u>4.341   Demonstration of leftward-headedness: permutations of variable versatiles in multiversatile C_v's.</u>   The nature of the hierarchical structure of multiversatile C_v's is thrown into sharp relief by the behavior of the variable V_v's. Permuting a variable with a neighboring V_v automatically imposes a different logic of relative headedness on a C_v; that is, it entails a new semantic interpretation that then differs in a predictable way from the former one.

    We proceed to offer examples of this phenomenon in connection with each of the eight variables in turn:

a.   <u>chê</u>: [as V_h] 'be in a place, live, dwell'; [as V_{var}] 'be in the act or state of V_h'ing, be still V_h'ing' (CONTINUATIVE);

$$\underset{V_h}{\underline{c\hat{a}}} \quad \underset{V_{caud}}{\underline{ph\grave{e}?}} \quad \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{ch\hat{e}}} \quad \text{'is still able to eat' (i.e., his ability-to-eat is}$$

ongoing) vs. $\underset{V_h}{\underline{c\hat{a}}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{ch\hat{e}}} \; \underset{V_{caud}}{\underline{ph\grave{e}?}}$ 'is able to eat still' (i.e., he is

able to continue eating).[76]

b.   <u>cɨ</u>: [as V_h] 'send (as on an errand)'; [as V_{var}] 'make someone V_h, let someone V_h' (COERCIVE- OR PERMISSIVE-CAUSATIVE);

$\underset{V_h}{\underline{c\hat{a}}} \; \underset{V_{caud}}{\underline{ph\grave{e}?}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{c\ɨ}}$ 'make (someone) able to eat' vs. $\underset{V_h}{\underline{c\hat{a}}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{c\ɨ}} \; \underset{V_{caud}}{\underline{ph\grave{e}?}}$

'able to make (someone) eat'.

c.   <u>qay</u>: [as V_h] 'go'; [as V_{var}] (1) after V_{act}: 'go on V_h'ing' (CONTINUATIVE); (2) after V_{adj}: 'become V_h' (INCHOATIVE);

$\underset{V_h}{\underline{\ddot{g}ɔ}} \; \underset{V_{med}}{\underline{\check{s}a}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{qay}}$ 'become easy to read' (<u>qay</u> follows the V_{adj} <u>ša</u>

'easy') vs. $\underset{V_h}{\underline{\ddot{g}ɔ}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{qay}} \; \underset{V_{med}}{\underline{\check{s}a}}$ 'easy to continue reading' (<u>qay</u> follows

the V_{act} <u>ǧɔ</u>).

d.   <u>mɔ</u>: [as V_h] 'be a long time, last a long time'; [as V_{var}] 'V_h for a long time' (DURATIVE); $\underset{V_h}{\underline{qa\text{-}mɨ}} \; \underset{V_{caud}}{\underline{pɨ}} \; \underset{V_{var}}{\underline{mɔ}}$ 'have been able

4.341; 4.341a-d

to sing for a long time' (i.e., this ability was acquired long

ago) vs. $\underline{\text{qa-mɨ}}$ mɔ $\underline{\text{pɨ}}$ 'can sing for a long time' (i.e., have
     V_h V_{var} V_{caud}

a high cantatory endurance).

e. $\underline{\text{ni}}$: [as V_h] 'look at'; [as V_{var}] 'V_h and see, try V_h'ing, V_h
up the flagpole and see who salutes' (TENTATIVE): $\underline{\text{là}}$ $\underline{\text{lɛ}}$ $\underline{\text{ni}}$
                                          V_h V_{med} V_{var}

'try coming late, come late and see what happens' vs.

$\underline{\text{là}}$ $\underline{\text{ni}}$ $\underline{\text{lɛ}}$ 'be late in trying to come'.
V_h V_{var} V_{med}

f. $\underline{\text{pə}}$: [as V_h] 'finish, be complete'; [as V_{var}]: When it oc-
curs early in a multiversatile C_v, $\underline{\text{pə}}$ usually means 'V_h complete-
ly, finish V_h'ing, V_h irrevocably', or simply indicates that the
action of the V_h took place at a definite time in the past and is
now completed[77] (COMPLETIVE). When it occurs after other V_v's,
$\underline{\text{pə}}$ may alternatively be interpreted as indicating completeness on
the $\underline{\text{subject's}}$ part, not the predicate's: 'everyone V_h's, the
performers of V_h constitute a complete group, the entities that
are in the state of V_h form a complete group' (EXHAUSTIVE);

$\underline{\text{câ}}$ $\underline{\text{cɔ̂}}$ $\underline{\text{pə}}$ 'everyone ought to eat' ($\underline{\text{pə}}$ comes late in the C_v)
V_h V_{caud} V_{var}

vs. $\underline{\text{câ}}$ $\underline{\text{pə}}$ $\underline{\text{cɔ̂}}$ 'ought to finish eating' ($\underline{\text{pə}}$ comes early in the
    V_h V_{var} V_{caud}

C_v); $\underline{\text{câ}}$ $\underline{\text{pə}}$ $\underline{\text{cɨ}}$ 'let/make him finish eating' ($\underline{\text{pə}}$ comes early)
      V_h V_{var} V_{var}

vs. $\underline{\text{câ}}$ $\underline{\text{cɨ}}$ $\underline{\text{pə}}$ (1) 'everyone let/made him eat' (2) 'finished
    V_h V_{var} V_{var}

letting/making him eat' ($\underline{\text{pə}}$ comes late).

g. $\underline{\text{pɨ}}$: [as V_h] 'give'; [as V_{var}] (1) 'V_h for (someone), affect
someone by the action of V_h' (BENEFACTIVE)[78]; (2) 'let (a 3rd.
person) V_h, cause (a 3rd. person) to V_h' (CAUSATIVE); $\underline{\text{kə}}$ $\underline{\text{mā}}$ $\underline{\text{pɨ}}$
                                              V_h V_{med} V_{var}

'show someone how to put (it) in' vs. $\underline{\text{kə}}$ $\underline{\text{pɨ}}$ $\underline{\text{mā}}$ 'show how one
                                      V_h V_{var} V_{med}

                                                     4.341e-g

goes about putting (it) in for someone's benefit'; c̄a pî lɔʔ
V_h V_{var} V_{var}

'enough to feed (them)' vs. c̄a lɔʔ pî 'feed (them) enough';
V_h V_{var} V_{var}

kə pî pɛ́ 'able to put (it) in (for someone)' vs.
V_h V_{var} V_{caud}

kə pɛ́ pî 'make someone be able to put it in'.
V_h V_{caud} V_{var}

h. lɔʔ: [as V_h] 'be enough'; [as V_{var}] (1) 'enough to V_h, V_h enough' (SUFFICITIVE); (2) 'worthy of V_h'ing'; câ g̈a lɔʔ
V_h V_{caud} V_{var}

'enough to be able to eat' vs. câ lɔʔ g̈a 'manage to eat
V_h V_{var} V_{caud}

enough'. This verb often occurs reduplicated after its V_h, sometimes with the expected meaning of 'enough' (câ lɔʔ-lɔʔ 'enough to eat'), but often with the rather different sense of 'nearly V_h, almost V_h': á-qhɔ ɔ̄|g̈à lɔʔ-lɔʔ ve yɔ̀ 'He has nearly reached home'.

4.342 Alternative sequence-orders involving non-variable V_v's.

Very occasionally it makes some sort of sense to reverse the order of two V_v's neither of which is intrinsically variable; i.e., neither of which lends itself regularly to variant-order sequences with non-variable V_v's. Thus, lɛ 'late' (medial) and hâʔ 'dare' (medial): là lɛ hâʔ 'dare to come late' vs. là hâʔ lɛ 'be late in daring to come'. In cases like this, however, one of the orders is vastly more common (and makes much better sense) than the other.

4.343 Alternative sequence-orders involving particles. We shall see in our discussion of P_v's and P_u's [below 4.63(5,6); 4.725] that certain sequences of the form $V + P_1 + P_2$ (where P_1 and P_2 are either both verb-particles or both unrestricted particles) may be permuted to $V + P_2 + P_1$, with the same sort of predictable meaning-change that we find when variable versatiles are permuted.

4.341h; 4.342; 4.343

That is, everything to the left of a given particle is modified
by it; everything to the right of that particle is modifying it.
Thus, in a VP like ğâ gâ jɔ 'have ever wanted to win', the ex-
V_h P_v P_v

periential P_v jɔ is modifying ğâ gâ 'wants to win' as a whole,
while in the VP ğâ jɔ gâ 'wants to have had the experience of
V_h P_v P_v

winning', it is the desiderative P_v gâ which is modifying ğâ jɔ
'has ever won'.

Now it is often possible to introduce a P_v within a verb-
concatenation [below 4.69]. This means that there are also cases
where it makes sense to permute a sequence of the form V_h + V_v +
P_v to V_h + P_v + V_v, even though the V_v might not happen to belong
to the variable subclass. Thus, a VP like tɔ̂ʔ phὲʔ la means
V_h V_{caud} P_v

'is becoming possible to emerge', with the P_v la 'becoming, lit-
eral or figurative motion toward the center of interest' modify-
ing tɔ̂ʔ phὲʔ 'possible to emerge'; whereas tɔ̂ʔ la phὲʔ means 'is
V_h P_v V_{caud}

possible to emerge toward the center of interest, can come out
this way'.

4.35. <u>Causativization, transitivization, and verb-concatenation.</u>[79] *
There is much evidence that the Tibeto-Burman languages once had
a highly-developed morphological process of forming causatives
from simplex verbs by the addition of a prefix *<u>s</u>-. We have seen
[above 1.643] that Lahu preserves fossilized remnants of these
old causatives. The sibilant prefix has disappeared long since,
leaving its trace only in the devoicing of the syllable-initial
consonant and in perturbations of the tone, so that a dozen or so
verb-pairs remain to tell the tale: câ 'eat' / cā 'feed'; dɔ̂
'drink' / tɔ 'give to drink'; vàʔ 'hide oneself' / fá 'hide some-
thing', etc.

4.35

With the demise of the old causative prefix, an 'analytic'
way of signalling causation had to be found. A number of verbs
seem to have vied with one another through the history of Lahu
for the honor of taking up the causative slack. The undisputed
winner was the verb cɨ, which originally meant 'send on an er-
rand'.[80] cɨ may now be used after any verb (V_{act} or V_{adj}) to ex-
press either the coercive or the permissive causative, according
to context: qay cɨ 'make/let someone go'. Note, however, that

* cɨ is only usable if the causee is human (or at any rate animate).
To convey ideas like 'He made the crossbow break' one may either
use an embedded purpose-clause ("He did in such a way that the
crossbow broke" [below 6.2]), or else a concatenation involving
one of several other verbs available for causativizing or transi-
tivizing duty, such as te 'do, make', yù 'take', pî 'give'
[4.351-4.353 below].

4.351 te 'do; make'. (a) We have seen above [4.32, esp. note
41] that te may occur before an unlimited number of action-verbs,
with the meaning 'make (something) and V_{act} with it'. These con-
structions are much like fortuitous concatenations (since the
making of the object is temporally prior to doing anything with
it), but they are so freely generable that we chose to consider
te a $_v$V in this environment. Thus, cà-qàʔ | te phôʔ ve 'make
paddy-sheaves and pile them up'; ɔ̄-chî | te tɛ ve 'make curry and
set it down'; qhá-jù-lu tê mà | te tâʔ lɛ || í-kâʔ | ca qho e ve
'He made a basket, and carrying it on his shoulders, went to
fetch water'. This use of te has nothing to do with causation.
(b) Before intransitive verbs of stative meaning te may function
as a transitivizer; that is, it may render such verbs capable of
being preceded by a NP containing the P_n thàʔ. Thus, nà 'be sore,
ache, hurt' > te nà 'to hurt someone' (nɔ̀ ɔ̄=ni-pā thàʔ | tâ te nà
'Don't hurt your little brother!'); šêʔ 'be spilled' > te šêʔ
'spill something'; tɔ̄ 'be opposite, face one another' > te tɔ̄
cause to be opposite, put into opposition'; pɔ̄ 'be perforated,

4.351

have a hole' > te pɔ̄ 'to pierce something through'. Note that
the meaning here is not causative in the sense of 'making or let-
ting someone else perform the action of the main verb'. For this,
cɨ must be used: yɔ̂ ¦ ŋà thà? ¦ na̅-mâ │ šê? cɨ lâ ve 'He made me
spill the oil'. (Sequences of te + intransitive-stative verbs
are translatable rather by English passive or impersonal causa-
tives: 'cause to be hurt', 'cause to be spilled', 'cause to be
pierced', etc.) Note further that intransitive verbs referring
to real actions or changes of state (g̈ɨ 'run', g̈ɨ 'laugh', šɨ̌
'die', pɔ 'be born', etc.), are not transitivizable by te.[81]
(c) Before adjectives te may be used with unlimited productivity
as a true causativizer ('make/let a person or object enter the
state described by the V_{adj}'). In this environment te and cɨ may
be used interchangeably, and in fact te seems the more frequently
used of the two. Thus, chu 'fat' > te chu 'fatten, make fat'
(=chu cɨ); mɛ 'ripe, cooked' > te mɛ 'cook until done, cause to
ripen' (=mɛ cɨ); te dà? 'make good'; te qɛ̀ 'make wide'; te cɔ́
'make thin', etc. Once a V_{adj} has been causativized by te, it
may be used in either a transitive or intransitive way: ɔ̄-chî
chi thà? │ a-cɨ́ te mɛ mɛ̄ 'Please cook this curry until it's done'
(transitive) vs. ɔ̄-chî chi │ mâ te mɛ šě 'This curry isn't done
yet' ("has not been made done yet": intransitive). For the use
of te after stative adverbials, see below 4.422.
(d) Before verbs which are already transitive, te may be used
(like cɨ) in order to specify that someone is being caused to
perform the transitive action in question. The 'causee' is usu-
ally marked by the accusative P_n thà?. Thus, in yɔ̂ thà? │ te̅ chê
ve '(Someone) is crushing him', yɔ̂ thà? 'him' is the object of
the transitive verb te̅ 'crush'; while in yɔ̂ thà? │ te te̅ chê ve
'(Someone) is making him crush (it)' (= yɔ̂ thà? │ te cɨ chê ve),
yɔ̂ thà? is the underlying subject of 'crush'. If the object of
the transitive verb is overtly expressed, it will not be followed
by any particle: chɔ chi ¦ hɔ thà? ¦ vɨ │ te te̅ ve 'This man

made the elephant (hɔ thàʔ: causee) crush a snake (vɨ: object)'.

Sometimes, however, te is preposed before a transitive verb simply to add phonological bulk, so that it makes no real contribution to the meaning. Thus the verb dê 'scold; abuse verbally' is already transitive (yɔ thàʔ|dê chê ve 'They're scolding him'), but the addition of te has no noticeable semantic effect: yɔ thàʔ | te dê chê ve does not mean 'They're making him scold someone' (i.e., it is not equivalent to yɔ thàʔ | dê cɨ chê ve), but only 'They're scolding him'. This pleonastic use of te is a subtle matter which requires further investigation.[82]

In the expression te câ 'cook' (< câ 'eat'), a specialization of meaning has occurred. It does not mean 'cause to eat' (i.e., câ cɨ) or 'feed' (i.e., cā). Rather it seems to be a covert purpose-construction, roughly equivalent to câ phèʔ tù te ve 'do so that (people) may eat' (see next paragraph).

(e) te also participates in more complex causative constructions of the form V_1 + (tù) + te, where tù is the P_v indicating as-yet-unrealized action: šɨ tù te ve 'cause (someone) to die' ("do in such a way that [someone] dies"). These expressions are more properly discussed in the context of embedded sentences in general [below, 'Purpose clauses' 6.22].[83]

4.352 yù 'take'. We have already included yù in our list of pre-head versatiles [above 4.32, esp. note 41], with the meaning 'take and V_h'. Before verbs indicating actual manipulations of objects, yù has this concrete sense. It may occur before verbs which are already transitive (or which may be interpreted either transitively or intransitively), simply to add bulk or emphasize that a manipulation is involved: chɨ 'lift sthg up; raise something'; yù chɨ 'id.'; thòʔ | (yù) chɨ tā ve '(They) have raised the flag' / 'The flag has been raised'. However, the use of yù has been extended to situations where the manipulation is merely figurative, or at any rate only the automatic prerequisite to the really significant action of the main verb, which may in fact be truly in-

4.352

transitive. Thus, yù šɨ 'kill someone' ("take-die"); yù ce
'cause someone to fall from a position of power, impeach some-
one's authority' ("take-fall");[84] yù bà 'reject, discard, throw
away' ("take-throw"; this expression may be used to refer to such
figurative throwing-away as divorcing one's wife). In these
cases, yù shows signs of developing into a causativizer.

<u>4.353 pî 'give'</u>. This verb, as we have seen [4.331D], is sys-
tematically used to indicate that the action of a (transitive) V_h
impinges upon or affects a 3rd. person [see also below 4.611-
4.614]. Thus, tē pî 'crush him', qôʔ pî 'tell him', dɔ́ʔ pî 'hit
him', mā pî 'teach him', yù tɔ́ʔ pî 'take out for him', etc.[85]
                              V_h V_v V_v

When the V_h is intransitive, pî has the effect of causativizing
it. The causee may either be 3rd. person animate (nà 'be sore' >
nà pî 'hurt him'; šɨ 'die' > šɨ pî 'make him die'; chê 'be in a
place' > chê pî 'make him stay', etc.), or an inanimate object or
situation (pə̀ 'be finished' > pə̀ pî 'bring sthg. to an end'; ce
'fall from a height' > ce pî 'drop sthg'; pɔ̄ 'be perforated' >
pɔ̄ pî 'pierce sthg', etc.). Similarly with adjectives: chu pî
'make him fat'; qè pî 'make it wide', etc.

The causation here is of a more indirect sort than that con-
veyed by cɨ. Thus šɨ cɨ 'make someone die' implies that the
death was a direct consequence of a purposeful action, whereas šɨ
pî (like šɨ tù te, above 4.351e) may indicate merely that a chain
of events had been set in motion which eventuated in the death.

In any case, the notions of benefaction and transitivization/
causativization are more closely related than is generally real-
ized: they all share the feature of <u>directionality</u>, a channeling
of the verbal event into a particular path, onto a particular
object.

A verb which has been causativized by pî may itself be em-
bedded in a purpose clause governed by te: →ɔ̀-ha ¦ ô kàʔ | mà
chê pî← te ve yò 'We cause the soul not to stay there' ("We do in

4.353

such a way that the soul is made not to stay there").[86]

Finally, p$\hat{\text{i}}$ combines with the verb l$\hat{\text{ɔ}}$ 'beg' to form a compound, p$\hat{\text{i}}$-l$\hat{\text{ɔ}}$, that has emphatic causative force: ɔ-ha=phu ¦ nɔ ve ni-ma qhɔ │ chê la p$\hat{\text{i}}$-lɔ gâ lâ. chê p$\hat{\text{i}}$-lɔ gâ qo ‖ →g̈ì-ša ¦ yɔ thà? │ pə lâ tù↞ g̈ì-ša thà? │ lɔ še 'Do you want to make the Holy Spirit come to dwell in your heart? If you do want to make him dwell (there), first pray to God that He send him to you'.

4.36 Fore-and-aft concatenations (${}_v C_v$'s): determining their

hierarchical structure. The most complex and interesting of all concatenations are those of the 'fore-and-aft' variety, where versatile verbs appear on both sides of the V_h. These ${}_v C_v$'s are already generable by our schematic rules formulated above [4.321, 4.34]:

$$\beta \;\rightarrow\; {}_v V \;+\; \beta$$

$$\beta \;\rightarrow\; \beta \;+\; V_v$$

$$\beta \;\rightarrow\; V_h \;.$$

However, we are here faced with a problem of interpretation that had not arisen until now. In the case of a pure ${}_v C$ or a pure C_v, there is never any doubt about the hierarchy of head-modifier relationships: the head of a given verb in the string is the V_h plus any (possibly zero) verbs intervening between itself and the V_h. In a fore-and-aft concatenation, on the other hand, we shall show that there is no automatic, syntactic algorithm for determining the head- or modifier-status of the pre-head and post-head versatiles relative to each other: or, as we may say for short, for determining the 'transcapital relationships' of ${}_v C_v$'s.

For a start, consider the two ${}_v C_v$'s of Figure 26, on whose semantic interpretation every Lahu would agree. In ga yù tɔ? 'help to take out', the 'help' is clearly the modifier, and 'take out' is the head. The alternative interpretation (that 'out' modifies 'help to take' as a unit) is absurd. The sort of transcapital relationship typified by Ex. A, where it is a ${}_v V$ which is

4.36

FIGURE 26. Contrasting Transcapital Relationships

A.

$$\frac{ga}{V_v} \quad \frac{y\grave{u}}{V_h} \quad \frac{t\acute{o}\acute{o}}{V_v}$$

help   take   out

'help to take
out'

B.

$$\frac{ga}{V_v} \quad \frac{y\grave{u}}{V_h} \quad \frac{b\acute{o}}{V_v}$$

help   take   tired
of

'is tired of
helping to take'
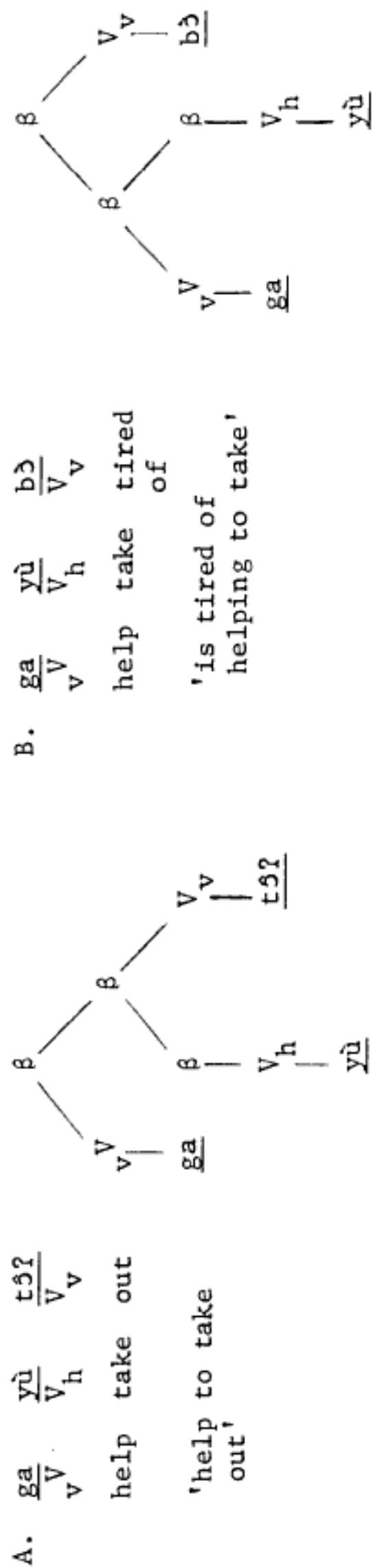
set off against all the rest of the concatenation, we term <u>pre-primacy</u>. In <u>ga</u> <u>yù</u> <u>bɔ̀</u> 'is tired of helping to take', the converse transcapital relationship of <u>post-primacy</u> obtains: that is, it is a V_v, <u>bɔ̀</u> 'tired of', which is set off against the rest of the concatenation as a whole. It is the helping-to-take that one is tired of; it is not a case of helping to be-tired-of-taking.

A first hypothesis to explain what is going on here would invoke the difference in the subclasses to which the V_v's in the two examples belong. Thus <u>tɔ̀ʔ</u> 'out' is a member of the highly concrete juxtacapital class, bound closely to the V_h, while <u>bɔ̀</u> 'tired of' is a medial. Medials always occur farther away from the V_h than the juxtacapitals, and so behave as if they were abstracter than the latter. Applying our principle that 'the abstract modifies, the concrete is modified', one might try to define an invariant procedure for assigning structural descriptions to $_vC_v$'s: a) Compare the subclasses to which the $_vV$ and the V_v belong;[87] b) assign 'primacy' to (i.e., make the first cut next to) the versatile verb which belongs to the abstracter subclass. This is still very crude, but a similar approach does assign correct structure to many $_vC_v$'s of even greater complexity. Consider the example of Figure 27. In this concatenation there is more than one versatile verb on one side of the head. But we know that it is the outermost verb on a particular side of the V_h that has primacy over all more inner verbs on the same side. We therefore amend our above hierarchy-determining procedure as follows: (i) Compare the subclasses to which the <u>outermost</u> $_vV$ and the <u>outermost</u> V_v belong; (ii) assign primacy to the versatile verb that belongs to the abstracter subclass; (iii) if, after this first cut, the remainder of the string should still be a $_vC_v$, proceed to compare <u>its</u> outermost $_vV$ with its outermost V_v, and assign primacy to the one which belongs to the abstracter subclass; (iv) repeat until all the versatile verbs are on one side of the V_h.

FIGURE 27. Assigning Structure to More Complex C_v's

C. $\dfrac{ga}{V_v}$ $\dfrac{yù}{V_h}$ $\dfrac{qay}{V_v}$ $\dfrac{c±}{V_v}$ $\dfrac{c5}{V_v}$ ve $\underline{1à}$

ga 'help'; $\underline{qay}$ 'away'; $\underline{c±}$
'causative'; $\underline{c5}$ 'should'

'Should (we) make (them)
help to take (it) away?'

1. $\underline{c5}$ outranks $\underline{ga}$

2. $\underline{c±}$ outranks $\underline{ga}$

3. $\underline{ga}$ outranks $\underline{qay}$
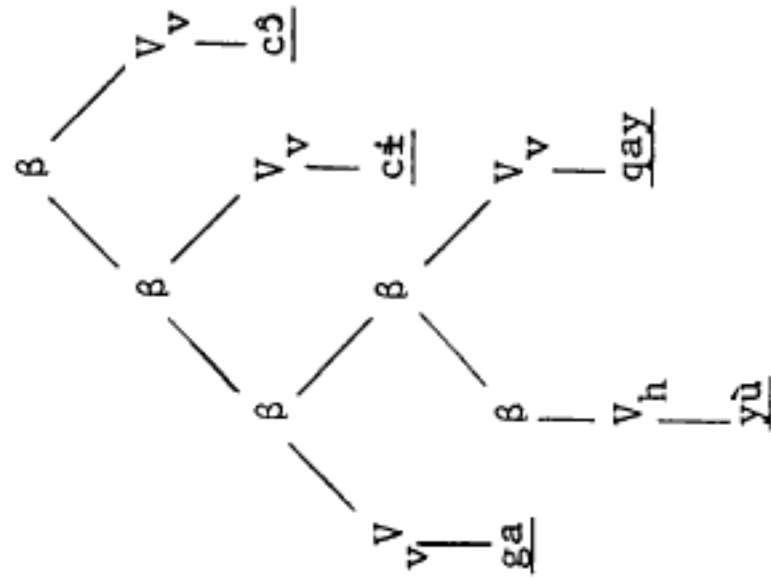
The concatenation in Example C is understood as meaning 'Should (we) -- make (them) help to take (it) away?', not *'Do (we) help to -- make (them) ought to take (it) away'.[88] That is, if we are to capture the way the Lahu understand this sentence, we must make the first cut before c$\acute{\text{o}}$ 'should', not after ga 'help'. It would seem that the caudal V_v's, to which subclass c$\acute{\text{o}}$ belongs, are abstracter as a class than the Specific $_vV$'s, of which ga is a member. We proceed to examine the remainder of the concatenation: ga yù qay c$\pm$ is understood as meaning 'make (them) -- help to take (it) away', not *'help to -- make (them) take (it) away'.[88] Thus the variable V_v c$\pm$ also outranks the specific $_vV$ ga. But once c$\acute{\text{o}}$ and c$\pm$ have been segmented off, ga comes into its own: ga yù qay 'help to take away', is certainly to be analyzed as 'help to -- take away', not *'help to take -- away'. The specific $_vV$'s (like ga) clearly outrank juxtacapital V_v's (like qay) in abstractness.

If this were all there was to it, there would be no problem in assigning structural descriptions to $_vC_v$'s, and there would really be no need to operate with notions like relative abstractness at all. The whole question could be resolved on the basis of the syntactic categorization of the versatile verbs. Each subclass would be ranked on a 'primacy scale', perhaps something like this:

Caudals and Variables	(V_v)	+5
Modal/Aspectuals	$(_vV)$	+4
Medials	(V_v)	+3
Specifics	$(_vV)$	+2
Juxtacapitals	(V_v)	+1

These rankings would be arrived at empirically through a study of how $_vC_v$'s are actually understood. They would have merely a syntactic significance, though of course it would be possible to rationalize the rankings by invoking some sort of correlation

between the rank of a subclass and certain features of the seman-
tic interpretations of its members.

Attractive as it might seem, however, this 'monolithic sub-
class' approach cannot begin to do justice to the enormous com-
plexity of the transcapital relationships in $_vC_v$'s.

4.361 <u>Types of transcapital relationships.</u>[89] Transcapital pairs
(i.e., pairs of verbs one of which is a $_vV$ and the other a V_v)
may stand in any one of five relationships to each other: pre-
primacy, post-primacy, coordination, ambi-primacy, and mutual ex-
clusion.[90] The approach of the previous section is adequate to
deal with only a subset of the pairs of the first two types.

(1) <u>Pre-primacy.</u> The pre-primacy relationship is typified by
Example A above, <u>ga</u> <u>yù</u> <u>tɔ̀ʔ</u> 'help to take out'. A $_vC_v$ where this
relationship obtains has the structure:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\diagup\quad\diagdown \\
_vV \qquad \beta \\
\diagup\quad\diagdown \\
\beta \qquad V_v \\
| \\
V_h
\end{array}
$$
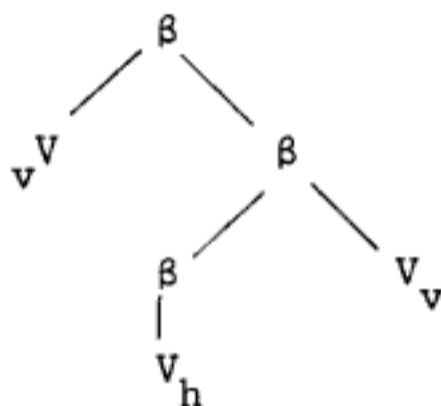
We may symbolize pre-primacy by a decrescendo sign with the $_vV$ on
the left, thus: $_vV > V_v$, or in particular, e.g., <u>ga</u> > <u>tɔ̀ʔ</u>.

In a certain number of the most straightforward and clearcut
cases, it is almost possible to assign pre-primacy simply on the
basis of the subclasses to which the versatile verbs belong, as
suggested above. Thus, <u>any</u> modal/aspectual $_vV$ is likely to out-
rank <u>any</u> medial or (<u>a fortiori</u>) any juxtacapital. Yet even here
there are many instances where the converse is true, or at least
where the transcapital relationship is one of ambi-primacy. Thus
we would expect the aspectual $_vV$ <u>tà</u> 'begin' to outrank the medial
V_v <u>šǎ</u> 'easy'. Yet the $_vC_v$ <u>tà</u> <u>te</u> <u>šǎ</u>, where the V_h is <u>te</u> 'do', is
ambiguously interpretable either as 'begin to -- be easy to do'

<div align="right">*4.361; 4.361(1)*</div>

(pre-primacy) or 'easy to -- begin to do' (post-primacy).

(2) Post-primacy. Post-primacy, typified by Example B above,
ga yù bɔ̀ 'tired of helping to take', is associated with the fol-
lowing structure:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\beta \qquad\qquad V_v \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
{}_vV \qquad \beta \\
\mid \\
V_h
\end{array}
$$
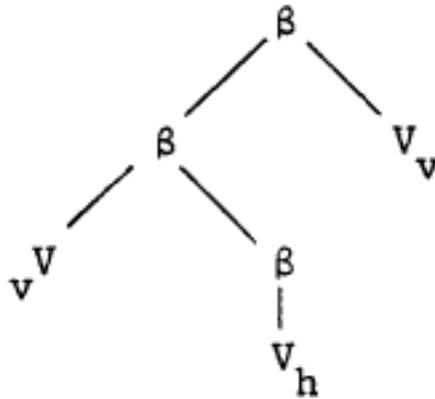
This relationship may be symbolized by a crescendo sign with the
${}_vV$ on the left, thus: ${}_vV < V_v$, or in particular, e.g., ga < bɔ̀.

In some cases it is almost always possible to assign post-
primacy according to the monolithic subclass approach: any
caudal or variable V_v is virtually certain to outrank any ${}_vV$ of
the specific class. However, a host of complications arise, as
we shall see, when it is a modal/aspectual ${}_vV$ (g̈a, qɔ̀ʔ, tà) that
confronts a caudal or variable V_v across the same V_h.

(3) Co-ordinateness. Our rules of 4.36 do not provide for the
possibility of a transcapital pair of verbs being co-ordinate
with each other (while still of course being both subordinate to
the V_h). Yet concatenations having such a structure do indeed
occur, and this fact alone renders the previous approach, whereby
each syntactic subclass of versatile verb is assigned a different
rank en bloc, inadequate in principle.

A transcapital pair is judged to be coordinate in a given
concatenation when (1) there is no perceptible difference in the
meaning (as determined by a consensus of native speakers -- but
see below, 3b), regardless of which of the versatile verbs is
deemed to modify the other two verbs in the string, or (2) when
it does not even make sense to pose this question, since the pair
as a whole functions as a single verb. Concatenations of this
type may be generated by rules like the following:

4.361(2-3)

$\beta \rightarrow \beta + {}_v\overset{\frown}{V\ V}{}_v$; $\beta \rightarrow V_h$, where the ligatures enclosing the symbol ${}_v\overset{\frown}{V\ V}{}_v$ symbolize the coordinateness of the transcapital pair. Structures generated by this rule are then converted to fore-and-aft concatenations by a transformation, thus:

$V_h + {}_v\overset{\frown}{V\ V}{}_v \rightarrow \overset{\frown}{{}_vV} + V_h + \underset{v}{\smile}$. The equivalent representation by means of tree-diagrams would be as follows:
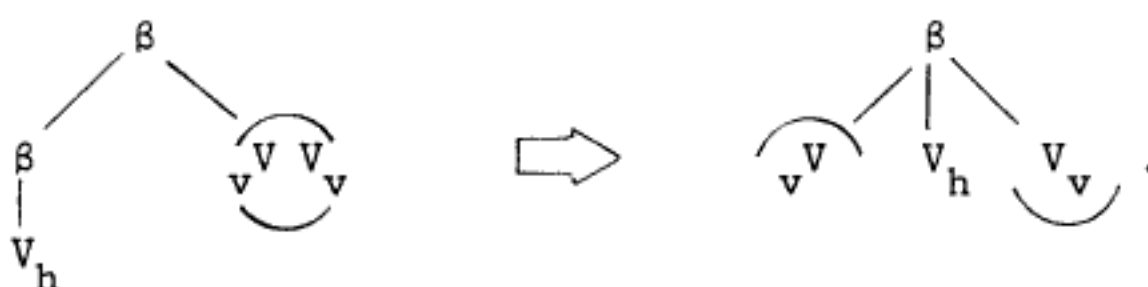
When discussing particular coordinate pairs, we may symbolize the relationship by a double-headed arrow, thus: ${}_vV \leftrightarrow V_v$, or in particular, e.g., <u>ca</u> $\leftrightarrow$ <u>qay</u>. Let us consider the two types of transcapital coordination in turn:

(3a) <u>Coordination I: transcapital 'long components'</u>. We have already observed in passing [4.331.A.e] that certain ${}_vV$'s have selectional affinities for certain V_v's. These affinities are the consequence of a large number of shared semantic features. For example:

a) The specific ${}_vV$ of motion, <u>ca</u> 'go and V_h' is found very often as the transcapital partner of juxtacapital V_v's of motion like <u>qay</u> 'go' and <u>là</u> 'come', or of a few medial V_v's that refer to motion or the results of motion, like <u>tô</u> 'go around for pleasure' and <u>gĭ</u> 'quasi idem': <u>ca hɔ qay</u> 'go (off) and sell'; <u>ca câ tô</u> 'go around munching'.

b) The specific ${}_vV$ <u>cĭ</u> 'V_h incessantly' is a frequent partner of   *
the variable V_v <u>chê</u> 'continuative': <u>cĭ hɔ chê</u> 'is keeping on crying'.

c) The modal ${}_vV$ <u>ğa</u> 'must' frequently occurs in the same concatenation with the caudal V_v <u>cɔ</u> 'ought, should': <u>ğa vĭ cɔ</u> 'ought to buy'.

4.361(3a)

In cases like these there is really no question of relative ranking, since one might well maintain that there is only a single underlying versatile verb anyway:

```
                    β
                  /   \
                 /     \
               β        OBLIGATIVE
                          AUX
                         /   \
                       ga ... cɔ
```
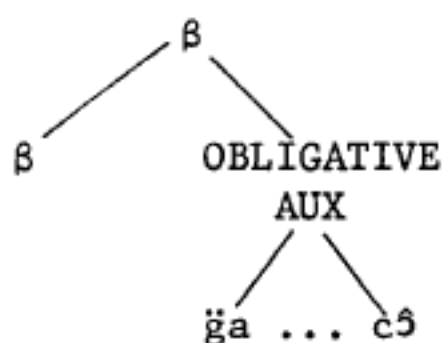
(3b) . Coordination II: equivalent interpretations of ${}_vC_v$'s. The more interesting and crucial type of coordination involves trans-capital pairs that do not necessarily share any semantic features in common, but whose meanings are such that no matter which hierarchical structure is assigned to their ${}_vC_v$, there is no appreciable difference as far as the native Lahu speaker is concerned.

This sort of relationship obtains with particular frequency between modal/aspectual ${}_vV$'s and caudal or variable V_v's. As a classic example we may take the concatenation qɔʔ te cɨ 'make (someone) do (it) again', containing the ${}_vV$ qɔʔ 'V_h again', the V_h te 'do', and the causative V_v cɨ. From the English point of view it makes a difference whether one says 'make him -- do it again' as opposed to 'again -- make him do it'. In the first case only a single act of coercion is involved: on the previous occasions he may have done it of his own free will. In the second case, the act of coercion is repeated.[91] A Lahu, however, finds such a distinction quite far-fetched. He uses the same transcapital pair qɔʔ ... cɨ whether he is speaking of (a) a boy repeatedly hitting a buffalo with a stick to make him pull a plow, or of (b) a boy administering a single stroke of the stick in order to make the buffalo pull the same plow he has already pulled before. This is not to say that qɔʔ ... cɨ concatenations are 'ambiguous' to the Lahu (in the sense of the next section). Rather they are indeterminate or unspecified with respect to any

4.361(3b)

hierarchical ordering of the components 'repetition' and 'causa-
tion'. Needless to say, if it is absolutely desired to convey
such an ordering of these concepts, this may be achieved by re-
casting the sentence so that the concepts are no longer embodied
in a single verb-concatenation.

Other indeterminate pairs of modal/aspectual $_vV$'s and caudal
or variable V_v's include: qɔ̂ʔ↔ni; qɔ̂ʔ↔chê; qɔ̂ʔ↔mɔ; qɔ̂ʔ↔cɔ̂;
qɔ̂ʔ↔phὲʔ; qɔ̂ʔ↔pɨ; qɔ̂ʔ↔ğa; ğa↔jâ; ğa↔phὲʔ; ğa↔pɨ; ğa↔chê,
etc. As a final example, consider the pair qɔ̂ʔ 'again'... ni
'tentative, V_h and see, try V_h'ing'. A concatenation like qɔ̂ʔ hɔ̂
ni translates both the English 'again -- try selling' (where the
seller may never yet have succeeded in selling anything), or 'try
selling -- again' (where perhaps the seller, flushed by his for-
mer success, is about to have another try at it).

(4) Ambi-primacy: alternative interpretations of $_vC_v$'s. So far
we have mostly been discussing $_vC_v$'s with but a single structural
description -- and these are in the vast majority. Occasionally,
however, a Lahu will admit that one and the same $_vC_v$ is suscep-
tible of two different meaningful interpretations. A transcapi-
tal pair of verbs that give rise to a situation of this kind are
said to stand in a relationship of 'ambi-primacy' to each other.
When two verbs stand in ambi-primacy, it makes sense to set either
one of them off against the rest of the concatenation as modifier
to head, and (crucially) each of the alternative structures is
associated with a distinct and unforced semantic interpretation.

Ambi-prime pairs determine either of the structures dia-
grammed in sections (1) and (2) above, and may be symbolized by a
double two-headed arrow between the elements, thus: $_vV \Longleftrightarrow V_v$.
As a typical $_vV \Longleftrightarrow V_v$ pair we may take the aspectual $_vV$ tà
'begin' and the variable V_v cɨ 'causative'. The concatenation tà
yɔ cɨ may mean, according to context, either 'begin to -- make
(him) talk' or 'make (him) begin to talk'. When confronted with

4.361(4)

the fact of this ambiguity, a Lahu will be surprised at first, but will soon agree 'it means sometimes this, and sometimes that'.

Ambi-primacy is perhaps the rarest type of transcapital relationship, and there are many cases where the dividing line between ambi-primacy and indeterminacy (i.e., coordination in the sense of (3b)) is very hard to draw.

(5) Compounding of ambiguity due to polysemy of one member of a transcapital pair. Transcapital relationships are sensitive to the particular shade of meaning of polysemous versatiles. For example, the modal $_vV$ ğa means either 'must V_h' or 'get to V_h; manage to V_h'. When the transcapital partner of ğa is, e.g., the causative V_v c$\pm$, the structure of the $_vC_v$ is a function of the particular meaning of ğa in a given instance. Thus (a) when ğa means 'must V_h', ğa $\Longleftrightarrow$ c$\pm$: ğa pû c$\pm$ may mean either 'must -- make (him) carry' (pre-primacy), or 'make (him) -- have to carry' (post-primacy). The transcapital relationship is one of ambi-primacy. (b) If, on the other hand, ğa means 'manage to V_h', then ğa > c$\pm$: the concatenation can only mean 'manage to -- make (him) carry', not *'make (him) -- manage to carry'. The transcapital relationship is one of simple pre-primacy.

(6) Mutual exclusion. An extreme sort of transcapital relationship is mutual exclusion, symbolized by a thrice-crossed line: $_vV$ —/// V_v. This phenomenon is more appropriately discussed in connection with the whole network of selectional constraints on concatenations. For now we simply remark that categorical exclusions between particular $_vV$'s and V_v's are relatively rare when there is only one versatile verb on each side of the V_h. Yet such constraints do exist: $_vV$ ğa 'get to V_h' —/// V_v ğa 'able to V_h'; $_vV$ c$\pm$ 'V_h incessantly' —/// V_v tân 'have time to V_h', etc.

4.362 Recapitulation: syntactic subclass and transcapital behavior. We have seen that there is no simple correlation between a verb's membership in a given syntactic subclass of versatiles

*

4.361(5-6); 4.362

and the relationship it has with a particular transcapital verb.
Especially in the case of $_vC_v$'s with both modal/aspectual $_vV$'s
and caudal or variable V_v's, a given member of a syntactic sub-
class may turn out to stand in any of five relationships with one
or another of the various members of a particular transcapital
subclass.

Members of the less abstract subclasses (the specific $_vV$'s
and the juxtacapital and medial V_v's) have more predictable
transcapital relationships. Yet even here it is sometimes not
possible to assign hierarchical structure in a way that is not
sensitive to the semantic features of individual versatile verbs.
The following is a striking example. In general, the medial V_v's
outrank (have primacy over) the specific $_vV$'s. This is the case
with the medial V_v khə? 'be wearisome to V_h' and the $_vV$ lɔ 'ask
to V_h'. Thus, lɔ câ khə? means 'be wearisome -- to ask to eat'.
In this concatenation lɔ < khə? in accordance with this general
tendency to post-primacy. On the other hand, when one selects
another medial V_v, bû? 'V_h to satiety', as the transcapital part-
ner of lɔ, the relationship is completely opposite. lɔ câ bû?
can only mean 'ask to -- get enough to eat', not *'be satiated
with -- asking to eat'. Thus, lɔ > bû? in this instance, and the
relationship is one of pre-primacy. It is hard to see how this
can be explained without recognizing that it is the relationships
among the semantic features of individual transcapital pairs
which actually determine the syntactic properties of $_vC_v$'s.

4.37 <u>Selectional constraints and overall concatenation-length</u>.
Semantics rears its head even before the generative semantic com-
ponent is called upon to assign hierarchical structure to concat-
enations. An elaborate system of selectional constraints would
have to be build into the grammar in order to avoid the genera-
tion of concatenations that are uninterpretable. These selec-
tional rules may be conceived of as operating both within the in-
ventory of versatile verbs and, perhaps more importantly, between

4.37

particular V_h's and particular versatiles or combinations there-
of. It turns out empirically that the only concatenations to
survive the filtering or winnowing effect of these rules are
those within a certain quite narrow length range. The maximum
number of versatile verbs in a given concatenation is about four:
either four $_vV$'s, or four V_v's, or two of each, or one of one
type and three of the other. With more than this number, the
piling-up of semantic marks is so overwhelming that there are no
V_h's whose own semantic features are compatible with the aggre-
gate.

The output of selectionally permissible concatenations is
then consigned to the appropriate syntactic and semantic compo-
nents for their linear ordering and the assignment of their hier-
archical structure. The crudity and vagueness of the present
conception of the interrelationship among the selectional, gener-
ative semantic, and syntactic components needs no emphasis, and
perhaps no apology either, considering the enormous difficulty of
the question. See the charts in the next section.

4.38 Conclusion: the syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxta-
position. The interpretations of concatenations, and especially
$_vC_v$'s, is a subtle matter, at which the non-native speaker finds
himself at a distinct disadvantage, to say the least. The Lahu
are not yet used to metalinguistic discussion, and the elucida-
tion of marginal, aberrant, or ambiguous concatenations is a slow
and painful process. Nevertheless, whatever room there may be
for disagreement in the interpretation of particular strings
(e.g., 'is such-and-such a $_vC_v$ indeterminate or truly ambiguous?'),
our main point still stands: it is the ensemble of the inherent
semantic features of individual versatile verbs and V_h's that
ultimately determines the structural descriptions of concatena-
tions.

The notion of relative abstractness is useful and important
to our argument, but it alone is insufficient to account for all

4.38

the facts in anything but a rough, suggestive way. In the absence of a language-independent abstractness metric, and in view of the fact that versatile verbs of (as far as we can see) equal degrees of abstractness may differ in their concatenative properties, we must take refuge in the more inclusive notion of 'the ensemble of inherent semantic features'.

The point of view adopted here requires a reinterpretation of the P-markers used to symbolize the structure of concatenations. Our versatile verbs are not some sort of secondary appendages that are merely plugged into appropriate slots in ready-made deep syntactic P-markers. Rather, it is the (selectionally permissible) combination of verbs which the speaker chooses from the lexicon in a given instance which actually generates the appropriate P-marker for the concatenation.

We conclude this discussion with two examples of a new type of structural diagram that better reflects the relationship between the semantics and the syntax of Lahu verb concatenations. In Figure 28, the following concatenation is analyzed:

g̈a	qɔ̂ʔ	chî	tɔ̂ʔ	pî	'must lift it out again for
$_v V$	$_v V$	V_h	V_v	V_v	(someone)'.
must	again	lift	out	benef.	

For the verbal nucleus, the speaker chooses in this instance a V_h <u>chî</u> 'lift', plus an unordered set of versatile verbs whose semantic features are such that they are congruent both with each other and, individually and collectively, with the verb-head (I). This set of verbs then passes through the component that assigns linear order to verb-strings (II). This order-assignment is also in part a function of the inherent semantic features of the individual verbs (roughly, the more abstract the versatile verb, the further away from the V_h it occurs), but also involves constraints which are brute syntactic givens of the language. For example, some of the abstractest versatiles occur before the

FIGURE 28.   Analysis of g̈a qɔ̀ʔ chî tɔ̂ʔ pî

β

↓

I.   selectional
              rules

↓

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{chî}} \; ; \; \text{g̈a, tɔ̂ʔ, qɔ̀ʔ, pî} \\[2pt] \overline{V_h} \end{array} \right\}$$

↓

II.   concatenative order
              rules

↓

(g̈a) + qɔ̀ʔ + chî + tɔ̂ʔ + (pî)

↓

III.   structure assignment
              rules

↓

a.   g̈a > pî

                g̈a   (qɔ̀ʔ) chî tɔ̂ʔ (pî)

              $_v V$ V_h

b.   qɔ̀ʔ > pî

                qɔ̀ʔ   chî (tɔ̂ʔ) (pî)

              $_v V$ V_h

c.   tɔ̂ʔ < pî

                  chî tɔ̂ʔ   pî

                V_h V_v

            chî   tɔ̂ʔ

        V_h V_v
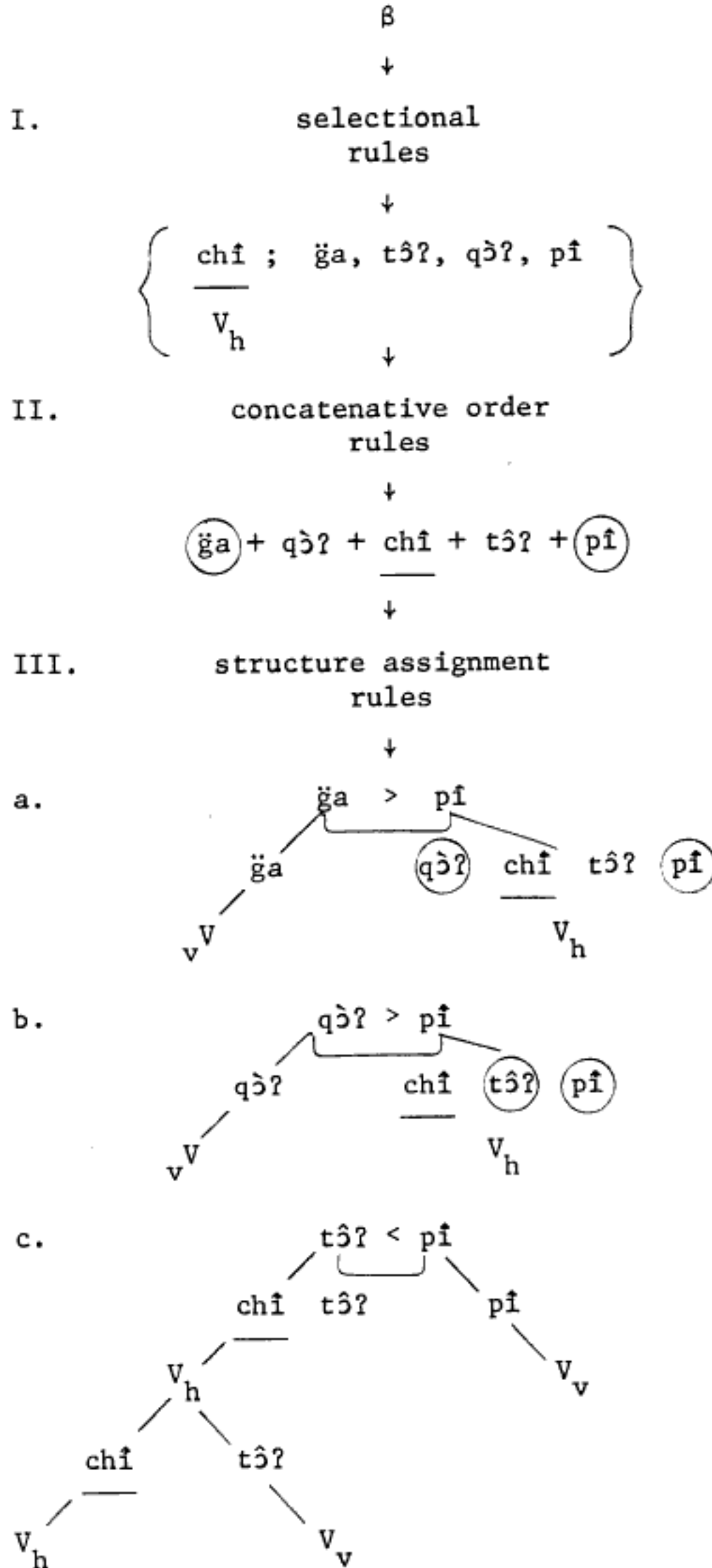
head, others, equally abstract, occur after the head.[92] At this
point it is time to assign hierarchical structure to the linear
string (III). In the case of pure ${}_vC$'s or pure C_v's, this struc-
ture is an automatic consequence of the linear ordering. But in
the case of ${}_vC_v$'s, as in this example, the grammar must proceed
to compare the outermost ${}_vV$ with the outermost V_v in 'rank'
(these are circled in the diagram), assigning structure on the
basis of the particular transcapital relationship which obtains
between them. In this case, the ${}_vV$ ğa is found to outrank the V_v
pî (IIIa); ğa is therefore set off against the rest of the con-
catenation as a whole. This remainder is then examined for rela-
tive rank (IIIb), and the ${}_vV$ qɔ̂ʔ is also found to outrank the V_v
pî; qɔ̂ʔ is then set off against chî tɔ̂ʔ pî as a whole. But this
remainder is now a simple post-head concatenation: all the ver-
satiles are to the right of the head. The outermost V_v pî is
therefore automatically set off against chî tɔ̂ʔ (IIIc). This
residue consists simply of the V_h and a single versatile verb,
and the latter is assigned modifier status by definition.

Finally, consider the following concatenation, diagrammed in
Figure 29: qɔ̂ʔ   ca   hɔ̂   qay   cɨ   'make (him) go
        ${}_vV$ ${}_vV$ V_h V_v V_v
        again   go and   sell   go and   causat.
and sell again'.

Once the verbs are assigned a linear order (II), qɔ̂ʔ and cɨ
are compared in rank, and found to be coordinate. They are thus
simultaneously set off from the residue, ca hɔ̂ qay, which is
their head (IIIa). At this point, ca and qay are also found to
be coordinate, and are set off simultaneously from the now-naked
V_h hɔ̂.

* * *

Lahu verb concatenation, in which morphology plays no part
and where the surface syntax is of the simplest, constitutes an
ideal terrain for the investigation of the generative role of raw

FIGURE 29.   Analysis of q$\mathfrak{I}$? ca h$\mathfrak{I}$ qay c$\pm$

$$\beta$$

$$\downarrow$$

I.   Selection

$$\downarrow$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dfrac{h\mathfrak{I}}{V_h} \;\; ; \;\; q\mathfrak{I}?, \; qay, \; c\pm, \; ca \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\downarrow$$

II.   Order

$$\downarrow$$

$$\boxed{q\mathfrak{I}?} + ca + \underline{h\mathfrak{I}} + qay + \boxed{c\pm}$$

$$\downarrow$$

III.   Structure
assignment

$$\downarrow$$

a.

b.
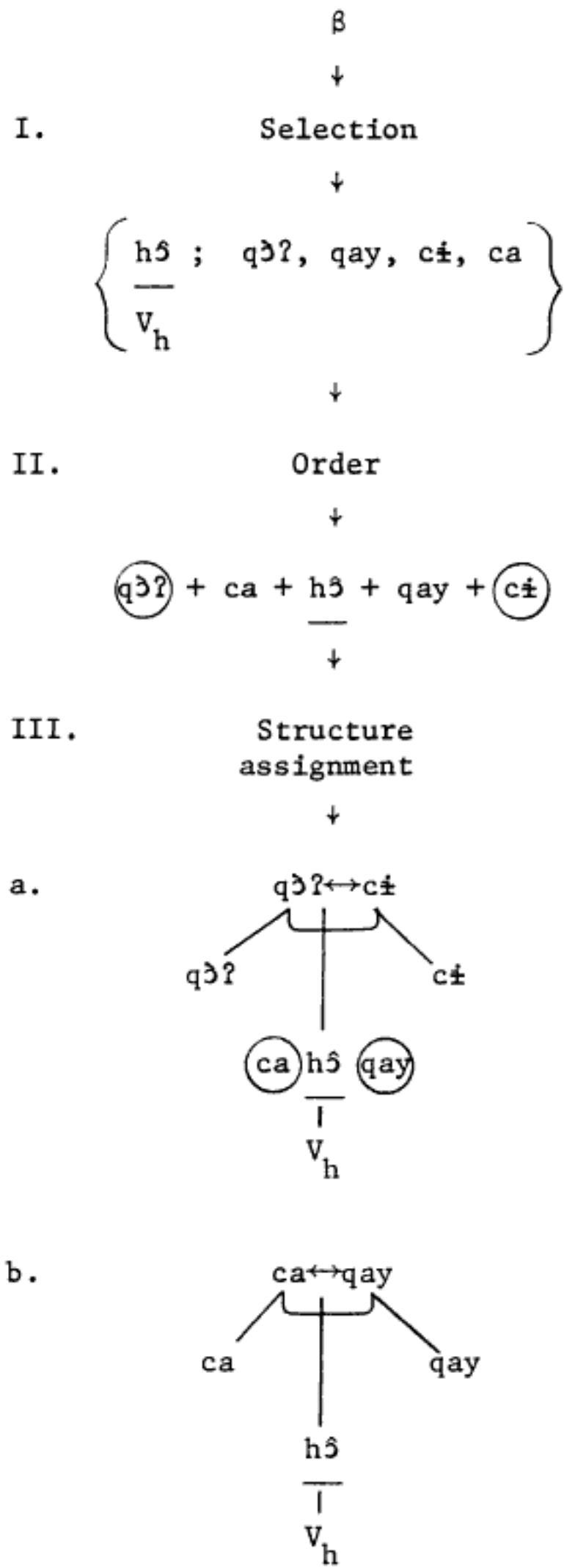
semantics. Our analysis has no doubt raised as many questions as it has answered,[93] but perhaps it has demonstrated that this role is indeed a crucial one.

4.4 <u>Adverbial expressions</u>. An adverbial expression (AE) is a morpheme or morpheme-sequence which occurs directly before[94] a verbal nucleus and in subordinate constituency with it. Adverbial expressions (or 'adverbials' for short) vary in complexity from single morphemes to whole clauses. They may include as their final element one of a number of unrestricted particles,[95] notably the subordinator ɛ̀. Adverbials have certain semantic and syntactic properties in common with noun-phrases. Since the most important part of the Lahu sentence is the verb-phrase,[96] the NP's associated with a VP are also 'subordinate' to it in a real sense. Adverbials and NP's differ widely, to be sure, in the degree to which they are bound semantically to the VP: NP's are more independent, AE's less so.[97] Yet there are whole classes of intermediate 'nadverbial' cases where it is difficult to decide whether a given structure belongs to the left (NP) or right (AE) of the hemistich-line.[98] Furthermore, sometimes even words which are clearly intrinsic nouns are 'used adverbially'; conversely, even some 'true adverbs' may occasionally be used as nouns (e.g., may appear quantified or followed by a P_n).[99]

4.41 <u>True adverbs</u>. Lahu has only about a dozen 'true adverbs': i.e., <u>single words</u> which typically occur before and in close subordination to a verbal nucleus. Among these, however, are some of the most important words in the language, including all the morphemes available to express negation.

4.411 <u>Negation in Lahu</u>. (1) mâ 'not'. The most important adverb of them all is <u>mâ</u> 'not' (often reduced to <u>â</u> in colloquial speech). Precedability by <u>mâ</u> is our defining criterion for verbhood itself [above 2.2; 4.1]: <u>mâ qay</u> 'not go', <u>mâ thê ʔ</u> 'not kick', <u>mâ qa-mɨ</u> 'not sing', <u>mâ dàʔ</u> 'not good', <u>mâ ná</u> 'not deep', <u>mâ ha-lɛ̀</u> 'not happy', etc. No P_u and no other adverb may inter-

4.4; 4.41; 4.411; 4.411(1)

vene between m̱â and a following verb.

The nominalizing P_{univ} v̱e, which occurs so readily after non-negated verbs,[100] is almost always absent when m̱â precedes. The addition of v̱e after a negated verb confers a special emphasis to the negation: ŋ̱à gɛ ¦ s̆ā | m̱â g̈à? la lâ ve 'They didn't
$$\text{V} \quad \text{P}_\text{v} \quad \text{P}_\text{v}$$

even drive the animals over to me!!'. A more matter-of-fact, less marked way of negating a v̱e-nominalized clause is to postpose the expression m̱â hê? 'is not the case' [below, section (2)]: · {ŋ̱à g̱ɛ ¦ s̆ā | g̈à? la lâ ve} | m̱â hê? 'They didn't drive the animals over to me'.[101]

When the verbal nucleus is a pre-head concatenation, m̱â must precede the first verb in the series: m̱â q̱ɔ? ga gu bù? 'does not
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \text{v}^\text{V} \quad \text{v}^\text{V} \quad \text{v}^\text{V} \quad \text{V}_\text{h}$$

help rewrite it again'. When the nucleus contains a post-head versatile verb, the position of m̱â depends both on the particular verbs involved and on the precise shade of meaning to be conveyed. The distributional subclass to which the V_v belongs (juxtacapital, caudal, etc.) has less relevance in determining the position of m̱â than does the semantic nature of the V_v. When the V_v may be taken in a <u>resultative</u> sense, some informants claim that there is a perceptible meaning difference according to whether m̱â precedes the V_h or the V_v. Thus: c̱e (V_{juxt}) 'V_h down, V_h so it falls', m̱â ḇɔ? c̱e 'does not shoot down (at all)' / 'does not even try to shoot down' vs. ḇɔ? m̱â c̱e 'the action of shooting is performed, but the thing shot at does not fall' / 'shoots at but does not fell'; ṯɔ? (V_{juxt}) 'V_h out, V_h so it comes out', m̱â g̈ɔ ṯɔ? 'does not (even try) to pull out' vs. g̈ɔ m̱â ṯɔ? 'pulls but doesn't succeed in making it come out'; c̱ɨ (V_{med}) 'V_h so it sticks', m̱â j̱û? c̱ɨ 'does not (even try to) impale' vs. j̱û? m̱â c̱ɨ 'stabs but doesn't succeed in keeping the knife firmly in the target'; c̱hê? (V_{med}) 'V_h so it breaks', m̱â ṯɔ? c̱hê? 'does not cut with a view to breaking something' vs. ṯɔ? m̱â c̱hê? 'cuts but doesn't succeed

in breaking it'.[102] Similarly: m̀ɔ (V$_{caud}$) 'to see V$_h$, to have
ever witnessed V$_h$', mâ ni m̀ɔ 'does not look at to see' / 'has
never been known to look at' vs. ni mâ m̀ɔ 'looks but cannot see';
lɔ̀ʔ (V$_{var}$) 'V$_h$ enough, enough to V$_h$', mâ câ lɔ̀ʔ 'is not enough to
eat' vs. câ mâ lɔ̀ʔ 'does not eat enough' / 'eats, but not suffi-
ciently';[103] phɛ̀ʔ (V$_{caud}$) 'able to V$_h$', mâ qay phɛ̀ʔ 'cannot go
(at all)' / 'the circumstances are such that there was never a
question of one's going' vs. qay mâ phɛ̀ʔ 1. 'tried to go but
failed' / 'although the effort was made, it turned out that it
could not be done' 2. 'may not go (because permission was not
granted)'. The semantic difference implied by the alternative
positions of mâ with respect to phɛ̀ʔ is clearly brought out by
the following pair of examples: [mê̂ʔ | cú ve] chɔ | mâ m̀ɔ phɛ̀ʔ
'Blind men cannot see' (i.e., there is no question of their see-
ing at all) vs. [mê̂ʔ | cú ve] chɔ (thàʔ) | m̀ɔ mâ phɛ̀ʔ '(We) can't
see the blind men' (i.e., maybe someone is blocking our view of
them) or 'It's not allowed to see the blind men'.

In all these cases any difference in meaning results from
the changing domain of negation of the mâ. When mâ precedes the
V$_h$, the entire verbal event is negated; when it merely precedes
the V$_v$, only the portion of the event represented by the V$_v$ is
negated. This, at any rate, is the theory. In point of fact,
many informants stoutly deny that there is any meaning difference
at all.[104] For many V$_v$'s, indeed, no informant can bring himself
to admit any difference. This group of V$_v$'s includes the caudals
pɨ, tà-ò, and ğa; all the medials except gɨ, tô, yàʔ/phîʔ, phê,
and the resultatives tɛ, cɨ, and chê̂ʔ; and the variables b̀ɔ and
p̀ɔ.[105] Thus, mâ ğɔ pɨ and ğɔ mâ pɨ both mean 'unable to read
(i.e., unable due to an intrinsic rather than extrinsic reason)';
mâ bùʔ hā and bùʔ mâ hā both mean 'not hard to write'; mâ qay b̀ɔ
and qay mâ b̀ɔ both mean 'not tired of going', etc. (This is not
to say that one order may not be much more common than the other.
Thus, mâ + V$_h$ + pɨ 'unable to V$_h$' and V$_h$ + mâ + hâʔ 'not dare to

V_h' are preferred, though V_h + mâ + pɨ and mâ + V_h + hâʔ also occur with the same meanings.)

For another large group of V_v's, mâ must precede the V_h, never the versatile verb. These V_v's include all the juxtacapitals (except the resultatives ce and tɔ̂ʔ); the medials gɨ, tô, yàʔ/phîʔ, and phê; the caudal cɔ̂; and the variables cɨ, chê, ni, and pî. Thus, mâ ğɨ cɨ 'does not make someone laugh' is the only possible order; *ğɨ mâ cɨ is incomprehensible.

In multiversatile C_v's, the possible positions of mâ are deducible from the properties of the individual V_v's as outlined above. A few random examples: (a) In a C_v containing the V_v's gɨ 'V_h for fun' and cɔ̂ 'ought to V_h', neither one of which is precedable as a versatile verb by mâ, the negative adverb can only precede the V_h: mâ dɔ̂ʔ gɨ cɔ̂ 'should not hit for fun'. (b) If a C_v contains cɔ̂ plus a verb like bɔ̂ 'tired of V_h'ing', which may or may not be preceded by mâ, there are two possibilities: mâ qɔ̂ bɔ̂ cɔ̂ or qɔ̂ mâ bɔ̂ cɔ̂ 'should not be tired of hoeing'. (c) If a C_v contains a juxtacapital like tâʔ 'V_h upward', which cannot be preceded by mâ, plus a verb like phèʔ 'able to V_h', which may or may not be, there are again two possibilities: mâ pû tâʔ phèʔ or pû tâʔ mâ phèʔ 'cannot carry up'.

The idiosyncratic behavior of Lahu verb concatenations under negation provides yet another example of the futility of trying to set up ironclad, hard-and-fast syntactic rules for every detail of a grammar. It should be noted that the possibility of mâ's intervention within a verbal nucleus requires a slight refinement of our original schema for the structure of the VP [above 4.0], where it is implied that all adverbial expressions must precede the _first_ verb of the nucleus: VP → (AE) + β + (P_v) + (P_u). It is hardly worth tinkering with the schema to reflect this fact, however.[106]

(2) mâ hêʔ: _Periphrastic negation and the negation of nouns_. Lahu nouns are negated by the expression Lon mâ hêʔ, literally 'is not

4.411(2)

the case':[107] Lâhū̄-yâ | mâ hê? '(He's) not a Lahu'; yɔ̂ ¦ qhâ?-š̌ɛ
| mâ hê? 'He's not the headman'; ŋà ve á-thɔ | mâ hê? 'It's not
my knife'. In order to give a negative response to a question
about the identity of a noun, mâ hê? may be used as a complete
utterance all by itself: nɔ̂ ¦ chɔ-há=pā̄ š̄ɔ lâ. mâ hê?. 'Are
you still a bachelor?' 'No.' [mâ hê? is thus the negative homo-
logue of the affirmative P$_{uf}$ yò, which is used both in positive
identity statements (yɔ̂ ¦ ŋà ɔ-má=pā̄ yò 'He's my son-in-law') and
interjectively all by itself as a positive answer to a question
(nɔ̂ ɔ-má=pā̄ lâ. yò. 'Is (he) your son-in-law?' 'Yes.' See
below 4a.2.]

     Clauses are also negatable by means of mâ hê?, provided they
are first nominalized, usually via the particle ve.[108] Thus, in-
stead of mâ̂ yù 'doesn't take', one may say {yù ve} | mâ hê?
(literally, "it is not that one takes; it is not a taking").[109]
These 'periphrastic negatives' are more emphatic and contrastive
than the simple negatives where mâ precedes the verb. The peri-
phrastic construction implies that possible alternatives have
been proposed which one is specifically rejecting: {š̌ɔ́-pɔ̄ | qay
ve} | mâ hê?. {phà?-ni | qay ve} yò 'It's not that I'm going to-
morrow -- I'm going the day after tomorrow' (vs. the simple š̌ɔ́-pɔ̄
| mâ qay 'I'm not going tomorrow'). When responding negatively
to a question (e.g., nɔ̂ kà? | qay lâ 'Are you going too?'), the
speaker may choose either to repeat the verb of the question pre-
ceded by mâ (mâ qay 'No, I'm not'), or to answer with mâ hê?
without repeating the verb. The implication of the latter choice
is that something further remains to be said. Often the speaker
will go on to explain his negative answer, or tell what he will
do instead of the alternative proposed by the question. A simi-
lar implication underlies the common proverbial expression:
{ó-qō̄ ¦ há-pɨ | kə ā̄ ve} | mâ hê? 'It's not as if you had rocks
stuffed in your head' (i.e., "you're not made of iron, so you'd
better be careful about annoying me, etc."). The metaphor about

the rocks is often a prelude to a more detailed comment by the speaker, where he goes on to explain the true nature of things.

In rather literary Lahu, a nominalized clause that is already negative by virtue of pre-verbal mâ [see note 101] may be re-negated by a following mâ hê?. This double negative is 'litotic'; that is, it is a roundabout way of expressing a positive idea.[110] Thus, {yɔ̂ kà? | mâ šɨ̌ ve} | mâ hê? 'He also knew it full well' ("It was not the case that he also didn't know it"). A similar litotes is a-cí-cí mâ hê? 'a great deal' ("not a tiny bit"), used to maximize a preceding clause: {yɔ̂ ¦ phu | ǧa kə ve} | a-cí-cí mâ hê? 'He had to contribute a great deal of money' ("His having to put in money was not a tiny bit").[111]

The meaning of hê? ranges from a neutral 'be the case; be so' to a more positive notion of fitness or rightness: 'be true; be the way it should be'. Sometimes, therefore, a string V + ve + mâ hê? might be interpreted not simply as 'not the case that V', but rather as 'one should not V; it is not proper that V': {šu mɔ̂ | yù qhɔ̂ ve} | mâ hê? 'You shouldn't steal the property of others'. In these cases the construction is not a simple paraphrase of the corresponding sentence with pre-verbal mâ (šu mɔ̂ | mâ yù qhɔ̂ 'He doesn't steal the property of others').

mâ hê? has a special affinity for the interjectory P_{uf} o [below 4.729], which serves to make the negation more emphatic: {chi qhe | te ve} | mâ hê? o 'That's not the way to do it!'.

When mâ hê? is followed by the interrogative P_{uf} lâ, it forms a negative question out of the preceding noun or nominalized clause: yɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū-yâ | mâ hê? lâ 'Isn't he a Lahu?'; {šɔ̌-pɔ̄ ¦ qā | qhê? ve} | mâ hê? lâ 'Won't there be dancing tomorrow?'. When comma-pause comes before the mâ hê? lâ, the latter functions like a question-tag in loose constituency with the preceding, non-interrogative string: yɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū-yâ -- mâ hê? lâ 'He's a Lahu -- isn't he?'; {šɔ̌-pɔ̄ ¦ qā | qhê? ve} -- mâ hê? lâ 'There's dancing tomorrow -- isn't there?'.

For the common expression tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ, see below 4.411(4).

(3) tâ 'negative imperative'. The adverb tâ is used to form negative imperatives: tâ g̈ɨ 'don't laugh!'; tâ qay 'don't go!'; tâ qɔ̂ʔ la-ʔ 'don't come back!'. Frequently the P$_{uf}$ mɛ̄ is used after the verb, with the effect of simultaneously softening the prohibition and making it more urgent or pleading: tâ s̆ɨ mɛ̄ 'Please don't die!'; tâ bɔ̂ʔ mɛ̄ 'Don't be angry, please!'. tâ, like the imperative P$_v$'s [below 4.65], almost never occurs with adjectives. If one wishes to express an injunction like 'Don't be fat!', one would not say *tâ chu. Rather the adjectival idea would be converted into some kind of adverbial expression, which could then be subordinated to a dummy verb like te 'do'. Thus, chú ɛ̀ tâ te 'Don't be fat' ("Don't do fatly"; the AE is a stative adverbial, below 4.422). Exceptions are cases where the adjective is closely bound to a preceding noun, as in ni-ma | hā 'be heavy-hearted' ("heart is wretched") or khɔ̂ | mâ 'be garrulous' ("words are many"). Here it is quite possible to insert tâ: ni-ma | tâ hā 'Don't be sad!'; khɔ̂ | tâ mâ 'Don't talk so much!'.[112]

Occasionally a longer form, tâ-lɛ, is used, with the nuance of prohibiting the motion that is a prerequisite to the action in question. English 'don't go (and) V!' is the best translation: tâ-lɛ lɛ́ 'Don't go feeding them!'; tâ-lɛ g̈ɔ̂ dàʔ 'Don't go pulling them in opposite directions!'; yâ-mî kàʔ | cɨ-cɨ tâ-lɛ mâʔ 'Don't go courting the girls too much either!'.

Once in a great while, a negative imperative is expressed by the P$_v$ mâ-yo, rather than by tâ: câ mâ-yo 'Don't eat'. See below 4.68.

(4) tèʔ-chí '(nothing) at all; utterly (not)'. The word tèʔ-chí occurs only before a negated verb, and serves to maximize the negation to the superlative degree. The most natural translation is often 'nothing', but tèʔ-chí is an adverb, not a noun:[113] tèʔ-chí mâ cɔ̂ 'There's nothing at all'; tèʔ-chí mâ qôʔ lâ 'He didn't tell us anything'. The expression tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ, literal-

ly 'It is not at all the case', is of wide occurrence with the meaning 'It doesn't matter' / 'Don't bother' / 'It's of no importance'. Among the Christian Lahu, who are in the habit of saying 'Thank you' (ɔ̂-bo | ɨ̄ jâ 'The favor is very great'),[114] tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'has become the conventional response 'You're welcome'.[115]

tèʔ-chí may be followed by the P_{unf}'s kàʔ and thɔ̂ 'even', which reinforce the indefinite meaning 'anything at all': nê chi | tèʔ-chí thɔ̂ mâ ca qɔ̂ʔ phèʔ pɨ ve yò 'These demons cannot then turn into anything else at all'.

The etymology of tèʔ-chí remains obscure, but the fact that the second syllable has an aspirated initial but is under the high-rising tone might indicate that the word is of foreign origin [above 1.62].

(5) cɨ̂-cɨ '(not) very much'. This adverb is almost always used before a negative adverb, mâ or tâ, with a combined meaning of 'not very V; not V very much; hardly V', or 'don't V too much!; don't V very much!', respectively: cɨ̂-cɨ mâ vɨ 'It's not very far'; ŋà ve thɔ̂ | cɨ̂-cɨ mâ tòʔ 'Mine hardly burned either'; cɨ̂-cɨ tâ ğɨ 'Don't laugh too much!'. (The extentive expression qhà=ma-ma is also used before mâ with a similar meaning: qhà=ma-ma mâ dàʔ 'not so good'. See above 3.614-3.615.)

cɨ̂-cɨ may be followed by topicalizing P_u's like tí qo: cɨ̂-cɨ tí qo|mâ yê 'We don't use them very much at all' ("As for very much, we don't use [them]").

4.412 Non-negative true adverbs. (1) ğâ-thèʔ 'with all one's might'. This adverb (derived from the noun ğâ 'strength'), has the meaning 'diligently; assiduously; with all one's might:[116] ğâ-thèʔ qa-mɨ 'sing lustily'; ğâ-thèʔ hɔ̂ 'cry as if one's heart would break'; ğâ-thèʔ chɔ̂ʔ 'suck with all one's might'. Very occasionally, ğâ-thèʔ may occur with no following verb, as if it were itself a V_h. In response to the exhortation ğâ-thèʔ te mē 'Give it all you've got!', a Lahu might be heard to say ğâ-thèʔ ve yò 'I'm doing my best!'.[117]

4.411(5); 4.412

(2) hâʔ 'quickly; fast; on the double; soon'. This common adverb
often occurs reduplicated: hâʔ qay-ʔ 'Hurry up and go!'; hâʔ-hâʔ
qay qo ‖ hâʔ-hâʔ gà ve yò 'If we go fast, we'll get there soon';
hâʔ-hâʔ là tù hɛ́ 'He'll probably come before you know it'.
(3) a-cí 'a little'. The basic meaning of this important adverb
is 'a little; a bit; somewhat': a-cí kə 'put in a little bit';
a-cí yàʔ-tɔ 'be slightly embarrassed'; a-cí hu 'fry a little'.
For emphasis, a-cí is often reduplicated A-BB: a-cí-cí 'a very
little; a tiny bit'. When reduplicated AB-AB (a-cí a-cí) it means
'little by little; gradually': a-cí a-cí mɛ́ qay ò 'It disappeared
little by little'.

More abstractly, a-cí may serve simply to soften a request or
command, or to make a statement politely diffident:[118] nɔ̀ khê-tà
| a-cí ŋā a 'Please lend me your pencil, won't you?'; ɔ̀-ha | a-cí
thɔ̄ gâ ve lê 'I'd like to take your picture, if I might'; qa-mɨ=
khɔ̀ɛ̄ tê mà | a-cí qaw mā là šǎ 'I'll sing you a little song now,
if you don't mind'.

Before V_{adj}'s, a-cí is used to mark what might be called the
comparative degree ('[somewhat] more V_{adj}; V_{adj}'er'): a-cí dàʔ
'better'; a-cí qhâ 'more bitter'; a-cí qɛ̀ 'wider'; a-cí na šǎ
'more interesting to listen to'. A higher degree of comparison
is expressible by adding the V_v jâ 'very' after the adjective:
a-cí qhâʔ jâ 'much more expensive; a great deal more expensive'.
The noun which is the basis for comparison is followed by the
N_{ext} a-kɛ́ 'than':[119] vàʔ-šǎ lɛ̀ ¦ ǧâʔ-šǎ a-kɛ́ | a-cí qhâʔ jâ ve
yò 'Pork is a great deal more expensive than chicken'; yɔ̂ ¦ ŋà
a-kɛ́ | a-cí chu ve yò 'He's (a little) fatter than me'.

a-cí may be followed by certain unrestricted particles: a-cí
(cɛ) tí 'only a little bit, only a few' (a-cí tí kə mɛ̄ 'Only put
in a little bit!'; a-cí cɛ tí là ve-ɔ̀ 'Only a few came'); a-cí
kàʔ/thɔ̂ 'even a little' (a-cí kàʔ kə qo ‖ mɛ̀ jâ 'It tastes fine
if you put in even a little').

4.412(2-3)

a-cí may occur together with other adverbs in the same VP,
and in fact seems always to come first in such multi-adverb
strings. Semantically a-cí serves to diminish the force of the
following adverb. Thus with qha 'all':[120] qha dàʔ ve chɔ 'all
good people' → a-cí qha dàʔ ve chɔ 'all rather good people'. With
negative mâ: mâ lɛ̂ 'not warm' → a-cí mâ lɛ̂ 'not very warm'.
[a-cí + mâ + V is thus very similar in meaning to cɨ-cɨ + mâ + V,
above 4.411(5).] The frequent combination a-cí + kàʔ + mâ + V
translates as 'not V at all; not V even a little': ɔ̄ | a-cí kàʔ
mâ lɔ́ 'There's not the least bit of rice left' ("Rice does not
remain even a little"); yɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū-khɔ̂ | a-cí kàʔ mâ šɨ̌ 'He doesn't
know Lahu at all'.

    We have mentioned [above 4.411(2)] the litotic intensifier
a-cí-cí mâ hêʔ 'a great deal' ("it is not a tiny bit"): {chɔ | là
ve} | a-cí-cí mâ hêʔ 'Millions of people came' ("People coming
was not a tiny bit"). A similar expression, a-cí mâ hêʔ qo 'if
it were not (that way by) a tiny bit; if things had been a little
different', is used in compound sentences to indicate that the
action of the next clause was almost, though not quite, realized.
The verb of the latter clause is usually followed by the change-
of-state P_v, ò: a-cí mâ hêʔ qo || šɨ̌ e ò 'He came within an ace
of dying' ("But for a little bit, he would have died").[121] Final-
ly, one other construction in this semantic area involves a
negated nominalized clause functioning as the subject of the
phrase a-cí tí yò ("it is only a little bit"): {šɨ̌ʔ-cɛ̀ thàʔ | mâ
pɔ̂ʔ ce ve} | a-cí tí yò 'I came within an ace of jumping down
from the tree' ("Not jumping down from the tree [was] only a
little bit").[122] Here a-cí is standing alone as the only non-
particle in a phrase, as if it were a noun.

    For the correlative use of a-cí + qɔ̂ʔ + V_h in successive
clauses of compound sentences, see below 5.411.
(4) a-yɛ́ 'slowly; gradually; carefully; softly'. This adverb
has a variety of related meanings, all having to do with restraint

4.412(4)

or gentleness. It usually occurs reduplicated, either as a-yɛ́-yɛ́
or as a-yɛ́ a-yɛ́: a-yɛ́-yɛ́ qa-mɨ̀ vɨ̀ 'Let's sing softly'; a-yɛ́ a-yɛ́
tâʔ e qo 'if we climb up slowly/gradually'; a-yɛ́-yɛ́ qay-ʔ 'Go
carefully!' / 'Take it easy!' / 'Be careful, now!';[123] a-yɛ́-yɛ́
qay qo ‖ šɛ̂ʔ nā̄lī̄ | ǧa qay tù hɛ́ 'If you go slowly, it'll proba-
bly take you three hours'.

   a-yɛ́ may occur before the P~unf~'s lɛ (a-yɛ́-yɛ́ lɛ 'little by
little') and qo (ɔ̄): a-yɛ́-yɛ́ qo (ɔ̄) 'in the future; gradually;
sooner or later'; à-mù <<a-yɛ́-yɛ́ qo ɔ̄ te-câ cɔ̂ la nā̄>> mâ šǐ̄ ɔ̀ ɛ̀ʔ
'Otherwise who knows what we might come to have to live on in the
future!'.

(5) a-1ɔ́ 'first' and ɔ́-šɨ̆́ 'newly; recently; next'. These words
function both as adverbs and as autonomous nouns. Used adverbial-
ly, they appear in expressions like a-1ɔ́ te 'do (it) first'; a-1ɔ́
yù tɔ̂ʔ 'take out first'; a-1ɔ́ qa-mɨ̀ 'sing first';[124] ɔ́-šɨ̆́ te 'to
have recently done, to have just started doing, be new at doing';
ŋà | ɔ́-šɨ̆́ là thâ ‖ tɛ̀ʔ-chí mâ šǐ šĕ 'I didn't know anything when
I first came'.

   As nouns, a-1ɔ́ and ɔ́-šɨ̆́ may be quantified: a-1ɔ́ tê ni 'the
first day'; a-1ɔ́ tê ǧâ 'the first person'; ɔ́-šɨ̆́ tê yɛ̀ 'the next
house, another house, a new house'. These v~q~'s are of the geni-
tival sort, since ve is insertible with no change in meaning:
a-1ɔ́ ve tê ǧâ 'the first person'; ɔ́-šɨ̆́ ve tê yɛ̀ 'another house'.
[See above, 'Quantified nuclei' 3.44d; 3.45.]

   The basic meaning of ɔ́-šɨ̆́ is 'something new' (cf. Burmese
sac), and ɔ́-šɨ̆́ freely occurs after head-nouns with that sense:
yɛ̀=ɔ́-šɨ̆́ 'a new house'. a-1ɔ́, on the other hand, never occurs in
constituency with a preceding noun. Neither of these words is a
'full-fledged' noun, since they may not be followed by noun-
particles.

(6) qhe 'thus; like this' and qhe-1ê 'as it is; such that the
status quo is maintained'. These important words, which function
either as adverbs or as N~ext~'s, have already been discussed in

detail in the chapter on 'Extentive nuclei', above 3.641-3.642.]

(7) a=qhe-lê 'for free' and tû 'gratuitously'. The word a=qhe-lê is derived from the adverb qhe-lê 'as it is'. It is used with the meaning 'gratis, free, for nothing', usually in the sense of 'without having to pay money': a=qhe-lê pî 'give for nothing'; a=qhe-lê vɨ 'buy for free', etc. The adverb tû, on the other hand, has a somewhat more abstract meaning: 'gratuitously; without having been motivated'. Thus, ŋà tí qo ¦ {šālā | phὲʔ ve} lɛ ¦ nɔ̀-hɨ àʔ | tû mā lâ a 'Well, since I'm the teacher, I'll give you all some free advice' ("...I'll teach you all without your having asked me to").

(8) à-là=qhe 'almost; nearly'. We have seen ['Quantified nuclei', 3.43f above] how this word is used in v_q's to express numerical approximation. It may also be used as a true adverb with the meaning 'almost; approximately': yɔ́ thàʔ | à-là=qhe tî-pɛ̄ ò 'They've practically killed him'; {šā | bɔʔ ve} | à-là=qhe ǧa ve 'They almost caught something in the hunt'. The combination à-là=qhe + V_{adj} translates as 'about as V_{adj}; V_{adj} to approximately the same degree': à-là=qhe ɨ 'about as big, about the same size'; má-mo=šī à-là=qhe | chɔ 'about as sweet as a mango'.

A short form, à-là, occurs together with one verb, šū 'be the same': à-là=šū 'about the same'. Before other verbs the longer form must be used.

(9) qhà-qhe 'how?'. The interrogative adverb qhà-qhe 'how?' requires the substance-question P_{uf} le at the end of its clause: qhà-qhe te tù ve le 'How will you do it?'; {<<Bread>> qôʔ ve} ¦ Lâhū-khɔ̂ | qhà-qhe qôʔ ve le 'How do you say "bread" in Lahu?'; yâ-ɛ́ chi | qhà-qhe mɛ ve le 'What's this child's name?' ("How is this child named?"). When one wishes to question the manner in which a particular action is performed, the VP qhà-qhe te lɛ, literally 'having done how?', may be used: chɔ-qhɔ̂ | qhà-qhe te lɛ || á-qhɔ | ǧa lòʔ e ve le 'How did the thief get into the house?'. This same expression is sometimes understood to mean

4.412(7-9)

'why?' rather than 'how?': y̆ɔ̀ | qhà-qhe te lɛ || chi qhe | qô?
tā ve le 'Why did he talk to us like that?'. (In this latter
sense, qhà-qhe te lɛ is synonymous with à-thò?-ma te lɛ, literally
'having done what?'. See above 3.23.)

Adverbial qhà-qhe is reduplicable, either for emphasis
(qhà-qhe qhà-qhe te tù le 'How on earth will we do it?!'), or
else to indicate that the verbal action involves several component
subparts: <<ɔ̀-khɔ̀ chi | qhà-qhe qhà-qhe pɔ̀ ve nā>> â šǐ šē 'I
don't understand how these words are joined together yet' ("...
how-how they're joined..."); nâ?=ɔ̀-cɔ̀ | qhà-qhe qhà-qhe qô? phɛ̀?
le 'How do you call the various parts of a rifle?' ("Rifle-things
how-how may you call them?").

qhà-qhe also functions like a noun, in which capacity it
always appears as the possessor nucleus of a genitive construction,
with the meaning 'what kind of?':[125] qhà-qhe ve í-šǐ le 'What
kind of fruit is it?'; qhà-qhe ve kán | ğa te tù ve le 'What kind
of work will you have to do?'.[126] Occasionally genitive ve is
ellipsed (qhà-qhe kán 'what kind of work?'). If the underlying
possessed head happened to be a [Num + Clf], the deletion of ve
makes it look as if the qhà-qhe is a quantified head: qhà-qhe tê
cɔ̀ | na gâ ve le 'What kind of thing do you want to hear?'.[127]
(10) qha 'V completely' / 'all that V's; everything that V's'.
One of the most interesting and important of the true adverbs is
qha, which not only occurs alone before the V_h, but also combines
with a large number of verbs to make complex adverbial expressions
of the form qha + V (+ ɛ̀). These AE's are of the type we call
'subordinate expressions', which are attributable both to nouns
and to verbs [below 4.421].

qha alone is of relatively rare occurrence in simple sen-
tences: šu ¦ yɛ̀-dɔ̀ nɛ́ kà? | qha pɔ̀ ò 'The others have even com-
pletely finished with the house-posts by now'. However, qha alone
does appear frequently before the verbs of relative clauses,
[qha + V... + ve] + N_{rh}, with the meaning 'all the N_{rh}'s that

V':[128] qha ší gâ ve ɔ̄-lɔ 'all the things (he) wants to know'; qha dàʔ-dàʔ ve chɔ 'all very good people'; qha qay phὲʔ ve yâ-mî 'all the girls who can go'; qha mɔ̂ dàʔ ve ɔ̄-chɔ̂ 'all the friends (he) meets'.

qha may also be found in embedded nominalized clauses: hɔ̂-yὲ {qha mâ dàʔ kɨ} | qɔ̂ʔ gu ve yὸ 'We repaired all the places that were no good in the temple'.[129] Here the clause qha mâ dàʔ 'all (that are) not good' is nominalized by the locative particle kɨ [below 6.14]; it then stands in a covert genitival construction with hɔ̂-yὲ ('the temple's all-not-good-places').

4.42 Subordinate expressions: adverbials that are also ve-subordinable to nouns. Many of the most important types of Lahu adverbial expressions have the property of also occurring attributive to nouns ('adnominally') via the subordinating particle ve.[130] We refer to these types of AE's collectively by the term 'subordinate expressions' (SE's).

It is characteristic of SE's to include the adverbializing particle ὲ. In their adverbial function, it is also typical for SE's to bear the chief semantic burden of their VP's: the following verb is often merely a dummy (te 'do', qay 'go', phὲʔ 'be', or là 'come'). Indeed, the SE's are so concrete and definite in content that most types of them (all except reduplicated verbs) are capable of occurring independently, with no following verb at all. In their adnominal function, SE's typically have the power of occurring either to the left or the right of the N_h, with no significant difference in meaning.

4.421 qha-adverbials: qha + V (+ ὲ). The adverb qha 'all' combines freely with verbs to form complex adverbial expressions ('AE_{qha}'s') which stand as a whole in subordination to the following V_h. A verb which is a constituent of a AE_{qha} we call a 'V_{qha}'. The class-meaning of expressions of this type is either '(to V_h) in a manner which is thoroughly V_{qha}; (to V_h) quite V_{qha}'ly', or '(to V_h) equally V_{qha}'ly; (to V_h) just as V_{qha} as'.

The V$_{qha}$ (or, more accurately, the β$_{qha}$) may consist of a single simplex verb; it may itself be a concatenation consisting of a V$_h$ plus versatile verb; or it may be reduplicated in a number of ways. The AE$_{qha}$ may consist merely of qha + V$_{qha}$, or it may also end with the subordinating particle ὲ. Verbs which occur in adverbial expressions with qha constitute an open class.[131] Semantically they are either verbs which have a strongly positive or superlative meaning (in which case the 'quite/thoroughly/completely' interpretation is imposed), or else V$_{adj}$'s expressing quantifiable qualities (when the 'equally/to the same extent' interpretion is favored).

Some AE$_{qha}$'s are relatively rarely encountered, and give the impression of being on-the-spot coinages rather than set expressions: (a) with the V$_{qha}$ nê̠ʔ 'wet': và̠ʔ-šā=chu ⋮ pâ-c̵=mu | qha-nê̠ʔ vâ c̵ tù yò̠ mḗ 'We'll make you eat pork-fat until your beard is all wet!'.[132] (b) with the V$_{qha}$ hŝ 'be heavy': cà-šī thà̠ʔ ⋮ ta-q̄o chi nî mà | qha-hwê kə mḗ 'Put the same weight of paddy into [each of] these two boxes'. (Note the fusion of the back vowel with the ὲ [above 1.44].) (c) with the V$_{qha}$ na ša 'pleasant sounding', consisting of the V$_h$ na 'hear' plus the V$_v$ ša 'pleasant to V$_h$': qha=na-ša qa-m̵ ὲʔ nḗ 'Sing it so it sounds really good!'.

The following AE$_{qha}$'s, containing V$_{qha}$'s of superlative meaning, are of especially frequent occurrence. So far we confine ourselves to examples where they fill an adverbial (rather than a noun-attributive) function:

(1) qha-bûʔ (< bûʔ 'be satiated'): 'V$_h$ to satiety'. qha-bûʔ câ mḗ 'Please eat your fill!' (This is the standard formula used when offering a guest food.)

(2) qha-bî (< bî 'be full'): 'V$_h$ copiously, abundantly, to overflowing'. ɔ̄ | qha-bî ŋə̀ kə chê ve 'He's pouring the rice in liberally'. The elaborate expression qha-bî-qha-šê̠ʔ consists of two synonymous AE$_{qha}$'s, and is more emphatic than the simplex qha-bî.

(3) qha-cɔ̂ (< cɔ̂ 'be correct; fitting'): 'V$_h$ skillfully, accu-
rately'. Lâhū-khɔ̂ | qha-cɔ̂ yɔ pɨ ò 'He speaks Lahu beautifully
now'.

(4) qha-lɛ (< lɛ 'come to an end; be the last'): 'V$_h$ to the very
end'. nɔ̂ ¦ šî-g̈wê | qha-lɛ chê tù lâ 'Will you stay right to the
end of the meeting?'. The elaborate expression qha-lɔ̀-qha-lɛ is
a more literary and emphatic version of this AE$_{qha}$: 'V$_h$ to the
bitter end'.

(5) qha-lɔ̂ʔ (< lɔ̂ʔ 'be enough'): 'V$_h$ sufficiently'. tê ni
ɔ̂-qhɔ lo | qha-lɔ̂ʔ hə̂ʔ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you get enough in one day?'.

(6) qha-šɨ (< šɨ 'die'/'be fixed; settled'): 'V$_h$ until a stable
situation is reached'. ni-qhâ | qha-šɨ te ò lâ 'Have you made up
your mind yet?' ("Have you made your heart-path stable yet?").

(7) qha-dɛ̀ʔ (< *dɛ̀ʔ 'be as it should (?)'): 'V$_h$ well, properly,
nicely, as one should'. qha-dɛ̀ʔ na tā mɛ̄ 'Listen well!' / 'Listen
carefully'; qha-dɛ̀ʔ mâ lòʔ cɨ qo ‖ te lù pɨ à 'If you don't make
it go in right, you'll ruin it!'. qha-dɛ̀ʔ is the most frequently
occurrent of all the AE$_{qha}$'s, though *dɛ̀ʔ does not occur as a free
verb in present-day Lahu.[133]

(8) qha-g̈a (< g̈a 'obtain; reach'): 'V$_h$ until it gets there; V$_h$
till one gets it'. ô ɔ̄ | qha-g̈a tâ bà 'Don't throw it so it lands
way over there'. This expression is quite similar in meaning to
qha-gà [(11), below].

The next three AE$_{qha}$'s (qha-pɔ̀, qha-šū, qha-gà) are not only
subordinate expressions, but are also extentive nouns as well.
They have already been treated in detail above ('Extentive nu-
clei', 3.643-3.645):

(9) qha-pɔ̀ (< pɔ̀ 'come to an end; be finished'): 'V$_h$ completely;
V$_h$ everything'. qha-pɔ̀ g̈a šī ò lâ 'Has he managed to understand
it completely yet?'.

(10) qha-šū (< šū 'be the same'): 'V$_h$ in the same way'. qha-šū
qɔ̂ʔ qa-mɨ pɨ ve lâ 'Can you sing it the same way again?'.[134]

(11) qha-gà (< gà 'reach'): 'V$_h$ all the way'. qha-gà mâ lòʔ

ph<u>ὲ</u>ʔ ɔ <u>lâ</u> 'Can't you go in all the way?'.

The expression <u>qha-yɨ</u> 'fully as long as' (from the verb <u>yɨ</u> 'be long'; note the tone-change) does not function as an AE_{qha}, but rather as a coda in quantified nominal nuclei. See above 3.43g(4).

The above V_{qha}'s may all be followed by the subordinating particle which we write abstractly as /ὲ/. The phonetic realization of this morpheme depends upon the vowel of the V_{qha}, as described above in the Phonology, 1.42d and 1.44b. The presence or absence of /ὲ/ makes no difference to the meaning of an AE_{qha}. The particle is optional when these expressions are used adverbially, but is obligatory when they are used to modify nouns, as we shall see.

A. <u>Reduplication of superlative V_{qha}'s.</u> All these V_{qha}'s are reduplicable, and several may be reduplicated in more than one way. The commonest type is A-BB. In most instances A-BB reduplication is intensive in effect: <u>qha=sŭ̄-sŭ̄</u> 'just the same'; <u>qha= dὲʔ-dὲʔ</u> 'very well indeed'; <u>qha=bûʔ-bûʔ</u> 'to utter satiety'; <u>qha= lɛ-lɛ</u> 'to the very end', etc. Sometimes, however, the reduplication may have the opposite, weakening or indefinitizing effect. Thus, <u>qha-cɔ̂</u> means 'skillfully', but <u>qha=cɔ̂-cɔ̂</u> means either 'very skillfully; perfectly' or a weaker 'rather well; almost well enough; middlingly'. <u>qha-lɔ̂ʔ</u> means 'sufficiently', but <u>qha=lɔ̂ʔ- lɔ̂ʔ</u> may mean 'about enough; approximately enough'.

AB-AB reduplication is somewhat less frequent, though it is the preferred mode of reduplication for <u>qha-ğa</u> and <u>qha-gà</u>: <u>qha-gà qha-gà qay-ʔ</u> 'Go until you really get there!'; <u>qha-ğa qha-ğa kə tā ɔ̀</u> 'It's now stuck in as far as it can go'; <u>qha-lɛ qha-lɛ mâ ğɔ ni qo</u> || <<<u>qhà-ma</u> | <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>nā</u>>> mâ <u>šī</u> <u>pɨ</u> 'Unless we try counting them to the very end, we'll never know how many there are'. Several AE_{qha}'s are reduplicable both A-BB and AB-AB: <u>qha=bî-bî/qha bî qha bî ŋɔ̀ kə ɔ̀</u> 'They've poured it in up to the brim/to overflowing/ with a liberal hand'. AB-AB reduplication of AE_{qha}'s is always augmentative.

4.421A

The particle /ɛ̀/ may also participate in the reduplication.
A-BB-ɛ̀, A≡B-ɛ̀=B-ɛ̀, and AB-ɛ̀ AB-ɛ̀ reduplication all occur: qha=pə̀-pə̀≡ɛ̀ ∿ qha≡pə̀-ɛ̀=pə̀-ɛ̀ 'exhaustively, most completely'; qha-ğa=ɛ̀ qha-ğa=ɛ̀ 'to the very limit, right up until'.

Morphologically complex AE_{qha}'s like qha=na-ša 'in a manner pleasant to hear' are reduplicated A-B-CC: qha≡na=ša-ša te ɛ̀ʔ nē 'Make it sound really terrific now!'.

B.   qha + V_{adj} (+ V_{adj})   '(to V_h) equally V_{adj}'.   When the V_{qha} is an adjective whose meaning is not intrinsically superlative, but rather a quality which can be partaken of to either a greater or lesser extent, the AE_{qha} is interpreted in the 'same/equally' sense.   The most important member of this class is qha-mâ (< mâ 'be numerous'): šɨʔ-thɛ chi láy cə̀ | qha=mâ-ɛ̀ yê phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'You may use these several kinds of logs in equal amounts'.   Similarly, from the V_{adj} mu 'high': yɔ́=hɨ́-mà | qha=mu-mu tâʔ e ð 'The two of them have climbed up equally high'.   From vɨ́ 'far': qha=vɨ́-vɨ́ ‖‖ í-kâʔ | lwê pɨ́ ve lâ 'Can he swim just as far too?'.[135]   From nɛ̀ 'low': qha=nɛ̀-nɛ̀ ve šɨʔ-cɛ̀ 'a tree just as low'.[136] AE_{qha}'s of this type may also be reduplicated either A-BB or AB-AB, and freely take the particle ɛ̀.   In fact it is much more common to have reduplication and/or ɛ̀ than to have the naked qha + V_{adj} alone.

This construction clearly is closely related to the semantically identical expressions of the form qha + E_{ma} + ɛ̀, mentioned above under 'Extentive nuclei' [3.618].   Indeed, the E_{ma}'s and the V_{adj}'s they are morphophonemically related to may substitute freely for each other after qha: qha-ɨ̄=ɛ̀ tɔ́ʔ mɛ̄ (V_{adj} ɨ̄ 'big') ∿ qha-hɨ̄=ɛ tɔ́ʔ mɛ̄ (E_{ma} hɨ̄ 'size') 'Please cut them the same size'; qha-vɨ́ mâ ğa qay (V_{adj} vɨ́ 'far') ∿ qha-fɨ́=ɛ̀ mâ ğa qay (E_{ma} fɨ́ 'distance') 'He couldn't go the same distance'.[137]

C. AE_{qha}'s in adnominal position.   The AE_{qha}'s occur rather less frequently in pre-nominal position than do the other types of subordinate expressions, but the construction certainly exists.   In

4.421B-C

this environment the particle /ɛ̀/ is obligatory: qha-nê̱ʔ ɛ̀ ve
á-pɔ̀ʔ 'a thoroughly wet shirt'; qha-bî̱ ɛ̀ ve í-kâʔ 'a superabun-
dance of water'; qha-bû̱ʔ ɛ̀ ve jɨ̀ 'a satiety of liquor, all the
liquor one can drink'; qha-šɨ̌ ɛ̀ ve yà̱ʔ-qɔ 'a route that has been
decided on'; qha-pə̂ ɛ̀ ve cà-šī̌ 'all of the paddy'; qha-gà ɛ̀ ve
yà̱ʔ-qɔ 'a road which goes the whole way'; qha-ğa ɛ̀ ve hɛ-và̱ʔ 'all
the wild boars one gets'; qha-cɔ̂ ɛ̀ ve tɔ̂-khɔ̂ 'perfectly fitting
words'; qha-lɛ ɛ̀ ve qa-mɨ̱=khɔ̂ 'a song (sung) to the very end';
qha-lɔ̂ʔ ɛ̀ ve pê̱-šī̌ 'a sufficiency of taro'; qha-dè̱ʔ ɛ̀ ve á-po-qo
'a properly-made field-hut'; qha-šū̌ ɛ̀ ve á-chè̱ʔ 'an identical
goat'.[138]

One might argue that these constructions are true relative
clauses, where the V_{qha} retains full verbal force and the qha is
a simple adverb. However, the fact that ɛ̀ is here obligatory
shows that the analogy with relative clauses does not hold.

D. **Manner vs. result.** The AE_{qha}'s are basically manner adver-
bials. When the following V_h is te 'do', however, the AE_{qha} is
sometimes to be interpreted in a resultative sense.[139] Thus,
qha-šū̌ ɛ̀ te, besides meaning 'do it the same way' (MANNER), can
also mean 'make it the same; cause it to be the same' (RESULT).
The common expression ni-qhâ | qha-šɨ̌ te ve 'satisfy someone;
placate someone' ("do so his heart-path is settled") can only
have a resultative interpretation.

E. AE_{qha}'s **in series.** It is possible to have two consecutive
AE_{qha}'s, with the first modifying the second:[140] qha=cɔ̂-cɔ̂ 'al-
most'[141] + qha-šū̌ 'the same': qha=cɔ̂-cɔ̂ qha-šū̌ ɛ̀ mu ve 'almost
equally tall'. Alternatively, qha=cɔ̂-cɔ̂ could here be taken in
its intensive sense, so that the whole expression would mean
'exactly as tall as; tall to an extent which is perfectly the
same'.

F. **Unrestricted particles after AE_{qha}'s.** P_u's (other than ɛ̀)
may occur after AE_{qha}'s, as after adverbials of other types.

4.421D-F

Thus, with <u>kàʔ</u> (P_{unf}) 'even': <u>qha-šū́ kàʔ mâ te</u> '(They're) not
even doing it the same way'; <u>qha-dèʔ kàʔ â ğa yɔ dàʔ šē nē</u> 'We
haven't even managed to talk with each other properly yet'. With
<u>tí</u> (P_{univ}) 'just; only': <u>qha=ŋay-ŋay tí thòʔ-pî-ğa-pî mē̄</u> 'Just
let them meet and get (what they need) easily'. With <u>lè</u> (P_{unf})
'topicalizer': <u>qha=dèʔ-dèʔ lè mâ dàʔ šē</u> 'It's not as good as it
should be yet' ("As for properly, it's not good yet").

G.   'Associated NP's' of AE_{qha}'s.   A <u>qha</u>-adverbial is sometimes
even more closely connected semantically with the preceding NP
than with the following V_h. Consider the following examples:
<u>nɔ̀ ¦ ší-ğwé | qha-lɛ chê tù lâ</u> 'Will you stay right to the end of
the meeting?'; <u>pâ-cɨ=mu | qha-nêʔ câ tù yò</u> 'He'll eat until his
beard is all wet'; <u>ô ɔ̄ | qha-ğa tâ bà</u> 'Don't throw it all the way
over there'. Phrases like <u>ší-ğwé qha-lɛ</u> 'until the end of the
meeting' and <u>pâ-cɨ=mu qha-nêʔ</u> 'until the beard gets wet' are
really unitary adverbial clauses. In these cases, the NP's are
in fact the underlying subjects of the V_{qha}'s (it is the meeting
which ends; it is the beard which gets wet). In <u>ô ɔ̄ qha-ğa</u> 'all
the way over there', the NP <u>ô ɔ̄</u> 'over there' is a locative ex-
pression associated with the V_{qha} <u>ğa</u> 'reach'. It would be arti-
ficial to insist on the hemistich boundary between the NP and the
AE_{qha}, implying that no particular relationship existed between
them. Rather we must recognize that some Lahu adverbials are
complete clauses: <u>nɔ̀ ¦ (ší-ğwé | qha-lɛ)</u>_{AE} <u>chê tù lâ</u>.[142]
H.   Displacement of a AE_{qha} from pre-verbal position. Lahu ad-
verbials occasionally get shifted away from their pre-verbal home,
usually to the very beginning or the very end of the sentence
[see below 4.46]. <u>qha</u>-adverbials may also suffer this treatment:
<u>nî cɔ̀ | yê phèʔ ve ⌐ qha-mâ è</u> 'You can use both kinds -- equally
well / in equal amounts'. Here the <u>qha-mâ è</u> is tacked onto the
end of the sentence as an afterthought, instead of appearing be-
fore the V_h <u>yê</u> 'use'.

4.421G-H

I. Independent use of AE_{qha}'s. Sometimes qha + V occurs alone in its clause, with no further verb. We have interpreted this above[143] as meaning that the verb following qha may sometimes be the V_h of the whole clause, with qha playing the role of a separate, true adverb: ša-ma | qha pɔ̀ ɔ̀ 'The corn is all finished';
                          Adv V_h

Lìšɔ̀-khɔ̀ kà? | qha šū yò 'The Lisu language is the same too'.
              Adv V_h

   Several considerations, however, lead us to believe that this treatment will not work in all cases, and that we are here faced with a more general phenomenon which we may call 'adverb independence', whereby when the context is so clear that any verb would be redundant, no verb is used, and an adverb takes over the verbal function. In the first place, qha + dè? may occur with no verb in a VP, though we have seen that *dè? does not exist as a free form in Lahu: ŋà=hɨ-mà tí ɔ̄ | qha-dè? ve yò nè-ɔ̄ 'The two of us will probably be all right'. It would be quixotic to call dè? the V_h of this sentence. Furthermore, the particle è may follow a qha + V, even though no main verb follows: qha-cɔ̀ è [qha cwê] ve yò 'That's perfect!'; qha=cɔ̀-cɔ̀ è ve è? nē 'That's just terrific!'. If cɔ̀ were the V_h in these sentences there would be no need to have the adverbializing particle è following. Finally, adverbials of other types also occasionally appear with no following verb. Thus the true adverb g̈â-thè? 'with all one's might': g̈â-thè? ve yò '(I'm doing it) with all my might'. Here there is no overt morpheme at all that could be called the V_h. We find the same thing happening with the 'stative adverbials' occurring independently before unrestricted particles with no neighboring verb [below 4.422(3)].

4.422 Stative adverbials (AE_{stat}'s). Subordinate expressions of this type have meanings which refer to more or less permanent states. In their adverbial function they usually bear the chief

semantic burden of their VP's. The following V_h is almost always
one of a small set of highly abstract verbs which, though gram-
matically the head of the construction, serve merely to modify
the concrete semantic substance of the adverbial. In their noun-
attributive function, the AE_{stat}'s ascribe some quality to their
noun-heads, in the manner of adjectives. Whether serving as ad-
verbials or as noun-modifiers, AE_{stat}'s have the peculiarity that
they <u>must</u> include the subordinating particle /ɛ̀/.[144] There are
dozens of AE_{stat}'s in common use.

    Some morphemes that combine with <u>ɛ̀</u> to form AE_{stat}'s are
basically verbs. Thus, <u>qɔ̂ʔ</u> is a V_{act} meaning 'return; go back',
while the derived AE_{stat} <u>qɔ̂ʔ ɛ̀</u> has the stative meaning 'crooked'
("bent back on itself"). A number of adjectives (which are of
course already stative by nature) have synonymous adverbial alter-
nants with <u>ɛ̀</u>. Thus, <u>ba</u> 'shine; be bright' → <u>ba ɛ̀</u> 'clearly;
brightly'; <u>chu</u> 'fat' → <u>chú ɛ̀</u> 'fat(ly)'.[145] Often, however, the
stative morpheme seems more nounlike than verblike, though this
is hard to prove if it never occurs other than with the following
<u>ɛ̀</u> (which is generally the case). There are four particularly
interesting AE_{stat}'s where there is persuasive evidence on both
sides of the question. These are the color-statives, <u>phú ɛ̀</u>
'white', <u>ší ɛ̀</u> 'yellow; gold; orange; brown', <u>nɔ́ ɛ̀</u> 'blue; green',
and <u>ní ɛ̀</u> 'red; purple'. Supporting the noun-origin view, the
words for 'white' and 'yellow' seem clearly to derive from the
nouns <u>phu</u> 'silver; money' and <u>ši</u> 'gold', respectively.[146] 'Blue/
green' is similarly related to a morpheme, -nɔ, occurring in such
compounds as <u>vɨ-nɔ</u> 'green viper' and <u>mû-nɔ=ma</u> 'heaven' ("blue
sky"). The AE_{stat} for 'red' contains the same morpheme (<u>ni</u> ~ <u>ní</u>)
that recurs in numerous noun-compounds: <u>ɔ-ni</u> 'dysentery' (from
the color of the stools); <u>ğâʔ-qú=ni</u> 'red mangy chicken'; <u>Lâhū-ní</u>
'Red Lahu', etc. However, confusing the picture is the fact that
the mid-toned variants may all be used as verbs in present-day
Lahu with the inchoative meanings 'become white, red, etc.'. As

such they may be negated and followed by verb-particles:

{á-pɔ̀ʔ chi | hɔ ve} | qha-dɛ̀ʔ mâ ni šē 'This shirt hasn't been
                         AE   AE V Pᵥ

dyed red properly yet' ("As for dyeing this shirt, it's not prop-
erly red yet").

(1) AE$_{stat}$'s in adverbial position. The AE$_{stat}$'s may occur theo-
retically before any verb: à-mī=jɨʔ | ní ɛ̀ tɔ̀ʔ ve 'The sparks
burned red(ly)'; yɔ́ ve ú-khɛ=mu | ší ɛ̀ cɔ́ ve yɔ̀ 'He had blond
hair' ("His hair was there yellowly"), etc. In point of fact,
however, the AE$_{stat}$'s are commonly found only before four verbs,
which happen to be among the most important in the language:
phɛ̀ʔ 'be/become', qay 'go/continue', là 'come', and te 'do'.
(a) AE$_{stat}$ + phɛ̀ʔ: 'be AE$_{stat}$/become AE$_{stat}$'. ní ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve 'be
red'/'get red, redden'; cú ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve 'be/get puckered up'; tɔ́ ɛ̀
phɛ̀ʔ ve 'be/become full (of the moon)'; ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve 'be/get
sticky'. The context determines whether the stative interpreta-
tion 'be' or the inchoative 'become' is preferred. The addition
of the Pᵥ la after phɛ̀ʔ disambiguates the construction in favor
of the inchoative interpretation [see below 4.61(4)]. (b) AE$_{stat}$
+ qay: 'become AE$_{stat}$/get more and more AE$_{stat}$'. bɨ ɛ̀ qay ve
'get matted/bushy (as of long hair)'; thê ɛ̀ qay ve 'straighten
out'/'get straighter'; nû ɛ̀ qay ve 'get softer'; nê ɛ̀ qay ve 'get
nearer'. The qay always confers an inchoative meaning on an
AE$_{stat}$. qay and phɛ̀ʔ are thus roughly synonymous in this usage,
though qay implies more strongly that the state expressed by the
AE$_{stat}$ is being realized to a greater and greater extent.
(c) AE$_{stat}$ + là: 'become AE$_{stat}$'. chɔ́ ɛ̀ là ve 'get sweet';
ğɔ́ ɛ̀ là ve 'become spherical'; gɔ́ ɛ̀ là ve 'get cold'. là always
gives an inchoative meaning to the AE$_{stat}$.[147] (d) AE$_{stat}$ + te:
'be AE$_{stat}$'/'cause to be AE$_{stat}$'. The verb te often has a causa-
tivizing function after an AE$_{stat}$: qā ɛ̀ 'pricked up (as of ears)'
→ qā ɛ̀ te ve 'prick up (one's ears, etc)'; qɔ̀ʔ ɛ̀ 'crooked' → qɔ̀ʔ

4.422(1)

ḛ̀ te ve 'bend sthg, make sthg crooked'; phú ḛ̀ 'white' → phú ḛ̀ te ve 'whiten, make white'; thê ḛ̀ 'upright' → thê ḛ̀ te ve 'set upright, make erect'. Sometimes, however, this same construction may be taken in a simple stative sense: 'be pricked up', 'be crooked', 'be white', etc.[148]

There is thus considerable overlap in the meanings of these four verbs after AE$_{stat}$'s: phḛ̀ʔ and te may both be stative; qay, là, and phḛ̀ʔ may all be inchoative; but only te may be causative.

AE$_{stat}$'s are not directly negatable by a preceding mâ, since they are not verbs.[149] Rather, the negative morpheme must precede the following verb: chɔ́ ḛ̀ mâ phḛ̀ʔ 'It's not sweet'/'It's not getting sweet'; chɔ́ ḛ̀ mâ qay 'It's not getting sweeter'; chɔ́ ḛ̀ mâ te 'It's not sweet'/'(Someone) isn't sweetening it'. The usual periphrastic negative with mâ hḛ̂ʔ is also possible: {chɔ́ ḛ̀ ve} | mâ hḛ̂ʔ 'It's not (the case that it's) sweet'.[150] The negative imperative adverb tâ must also precede the following verb: ŋɔ́ ḛ̀ tâ te 'Don't make it sticky!'. Similarly, any verb-particles in the VP must follow the verb, not the AE$_{stat}$: nû ḛ̀ phḛ̀ʔ ò 'It's gotten soft already'; nû ḛ̀ qay tù 'It will get soft'; nû ḛ̀ mâ phḛ̀ʔ šē 'It hasn't gotten soft yet'.

(2) AE$_{stat}$'s in noun-attributive position. Being a type of SE, the AE$_{stat}$'s are subordinable to a noun-head via the particle ve: ší ḛ̀ ve á-pòʔ=lḛ̀ 'a yellow sweater'; ŋɔ́ ḛ̀ ve ɔ̀-ǧɨ̀ 'a sticky liquid'; thê ḛ̀ ve á-tà 'a straight stick'; chɔ́ ḛ̀ ve má-mo=ší 'a sweet mango'; qɔ̀ʔ ḛ̀ ve šo 'a crooked piece of iron'.

The question then arises whether this construction is to be considered a relative clause or a genitive. Since the AE$_{stat}$'s are themselves neither nouns (N + ve + N$_h$ = genitive) nor verbs (V + ve + N$_h$ = relative clause), it might seem over-hasty to identify this construction with either. Yet a very attractive proposal is to assume an underlying verb in every AE$_{stat}$ + ve + N$_h$ sequence, so that a string like ŋɔ́ ḛ̀ ve pê-ǧɨ̀ 'sticky honey' would derive from, say, ŋɔ́ ḛ̀ phḛ̀ʔ ve pê-ǧɨ̀ 'honey which is sticky',

4.422(2)

a true relative clause. One could in fact maintain that <u>all</u> ad-
nominal occurrences of subordinate expressions, of whatever type,
are covert relative clauses with deleted verbs.[151]

AE_{stat} + <u>ve</u> + N_h sequences (like other adnominal SE construc-
tions) further resemble overt relative clauses in that the AE_{stat}
+ <u>ve</u> is shiftable to the right of the N_h with no perceptible
change of meaning [below 6.493; see also Note 138, above.]. Thus,
ní ɛ̀ ve á-pòʔ → á-pòʔ ní ɛ̀ ve 'a red shirt'; ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve pê-g̈ɨ̀ → pê-g̈ɨ̀
ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve 'sticky honey', etc. Yet this in itself does not con-
tribute to the relative clause vs. genitive issue, since certain
genitival modifiers are also displaceable to the right of their
N_h's [above 3.77].

(3) AE_{stat}'s occurring independently. Frequently we find an
AE_{stat} followed directly by <u>ve</u>, with no noun or verb coming after,
and in fact with nothing further in the phrase except perhaps an
additional unrestricted particle: <u>á-pòʔ</u> <u>chi</u> | ní ɛ̀ ve (yò) 'This
shirt is red'; {nàʔ-wɛ̄=š̌ī <u>chi</u> tê cð̀ | chɔ́ ɛ̀ ve} | mâ hêʔ 'This
kind of candy isn't sweet'; ɔ̀-g̈ɨ̀ <u>chi</u> | ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve lâ 'Is this liquid
sticky?'; <u>á-tà</u> <u>chi</u> | thê ɛ̀ ve qo || dàʔ à 'If this stick is
straight, it'll be fine'. A first hypothesis to account for this
construction might be to assume that there is an underlying noun
after the AE_{stat} + <u>ve</u>, identical to a noun appearing earlier in
the sentence or the discourse. Thus, <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> <u>chi</u> | ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve lâ 'Is
this honey sticky?' would derive from <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> <u>chi</u> | ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> lâ
'Is this honey sticky honey?'. Yet little is gained by assuming
an underlying adnominal construction of this type, since we have
seen that these adnominals are themselves best derivable from
relative clauses whose verbs have been deleted. We might then
propose two covert constituents: both an underlying noun-head
following the <u>ve</u>, and an underlying verb following the AE_{stat} but
preceding the <u>ve</u>. Thus, <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> <u>chi</u> ¦ [ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve] <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> lâ 'Is
this honey honey which is sticky?'. But now we have gone too far.
All we need posit is the verb: <u>pê-g̈ɨ̀</u> <u>chi</u> | ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve lâ ("As

4.422(3)

for this honey, does it be stickily?"). This analysis is far preferable, since sometimes an AE$_{stat}$ occurs independently <u>with no following ve</u>, so that the relative clause interpretation is excluded: <u>mô ɔ̄ ¦ phɨ̂ | gɔ̀ ɛ̀ qha-pâʔ và</u> 'The dogs have fallen si-
                                    AE   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

lent down there!'. Here the AE$_{stat}$ <u>gɔ̀ ɛ̀</u> 'silently' is followed only by two emphatic P$_{uf}$'s, and the only plausible underlying constituent is some dummy verb after the AE: <u>mô ɔ̄ ¦ phɨ̂ | gɔ̀ ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ qha-pâʔ và</u>. Furthermore, when AE$_{stat}$'s are cited in isolation, one always includes a following <u>ve</u>, as if the AE$_{stat}$ were a true verb:[152] <u>thê ɛ̀ ve</u> 'be straight', <u>ší ɛ̀ ve</u> 'be yellow', etc. Here again it makes no sense to assume that the speaker has in mind some covert relative clause like [<u>ší ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve</u>] <u>ša-ma</u> 'maize which is yellow', but only at most something like <u>ší ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve</u> "being yellowly".

     At any rate, the 'independent' use of AE$_{stat}$'s must be viewed against the larger context of adverb-independence in general: the phenomenon whereby adverbs, which are highly concrete and specific in meaning, tend to crowd out their semantically paler verb-heads from their own clauses. Exactly how we characterize this in terms of underlying entities is less important than an understanding of the general process.

(4) Reduplication of AE$_{stat}$'s. AE$_{stat}$'s are reduplicable for emphasis, both adverbially and adnominally. The manner of reduplication is slightly different in each case. In adverbial position, the particle /ɛ̀/ is either used after both repetitions (<u>ní ɛ̀ ní ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve</u> 'become all red'), or it is not used at all (<u>ní-ní phɛ̀ʔ ve</u> 'id.'). It is ungrammatical to have a single <u>ɛ̀</u> directly before the verb (*<u>ní-ní ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve</u>). In adnominal position (i.e., in relative clauses with deleted verb), however, either no <u>ɛ̀</u> is used at all (<u>ní-ní ve á-pɔ̀ʔ</u> 'a bright red shirt'), or else a single <u>ɛ̀</u> comes before the <u>ve</u> (<u>ní-ní ɛ̀ ve á-pɔ̀ʔ ~ á-pɔ̀ʔ ní-ní ɛ̀ ve</u> 'id.'). The adverb <u>qha</u> 'all' may precede the redupli-

4.422(4)

cate: qha chɔ-chɔ ve câ-tù 'all sweet foods'; qha ní-ní ve á-pòʔ 'all bright red shirts'.

(5) AE_{stat}'s in series. It is not uncommon to find a sequence of two AE_{stat}'s before the same verb. In some cases the four syllables constitute a single meaningful unit, and are nothing more than a subtype of elaborate expression [below 4.425]: thê-è-cɔ̂-è 'uprightly and properly, with integrity and probity'; šá-è-dɨ̂-è 'indistinctly and noisily, with a buzz, with a murmur'; ŋɔ̂ʔ-è-thê-è 'upright and erect' (yɔ̂ ¦ nɨ̄ | ŋɔ̂ʔ-è-thê-è te ā pî ve cê 'He made his penis stand up stiff'). In other cases, the AE_{stat}'s are unrelated to each other, and are coordinate in their subordination to the V_h. Thus, thê è 'straight' and ba è 'shiny' are separate AE's in the sentence nɔ̂ ¦ šú-qhu thàʔ | thê è ba è te mɛ̄

| | $\underset{AE_1}{\text{thê è}}$ | $\underset{AE_2}{\text{ba è}}$ | |

'Please make the pipe straight and shiny'.

An AE_{stat} may combine with an adverbial of another type to form a compound AE. The expression qha-bî cú è 'full to the brim; bursting the bounds of its container' consists of the AE_{qha}, qha-bî 'all full', plus the AE_{stat} cú è 'puckered; bulging'. Similarly, qha-šū 'the same' + tɔ̄ è 'flat' → qha-šū tɔ̄ è 'equally flat'.

(6) AE_{stat} + lε. Occasionally a morpheme that looks like the suspensive P_{unf} lε intervenes between an AE_{stat} and the V_h: thê è lε qay-ʔ 'Go straight!'; qɔ̂ʔ è lε te mɛ̄ 'Please make it crooked'; nɔ́ è lε kè ve yò 'It's bright green' ("It is greenly pure"). One way to make sense of this construction is to assume that a verb, possibly te 'do', has been deleted before the lε: thê è te lε || qay-ʔ 'Go straight!' ("Doing straightly, go!"). A better way out would be to consider è-lε to be a unitary, compound particle (just as we treat tâ-lε [above 4.411(3)] as nothing more than a fuller variant of the negative imperative adverb tâ).[153] Actually, there are grounds for regarding this lε as an allomorph of the adverbializing particle /è/ itself, along with [lè] and [ε]

4.422(5-6)

(see note 144, above), since such expressions as n̄ɔ́ lɛ kɛ̀ ve
'bright green' appear in free variation with the more common n̄ɔ́ ɛ̀
kɛ̀ ve 'id.'.[154]

(7) chi + AE_{stat}. The determiner chi may freely combine with
AE_{stat}'s to form extentive adverbial expressions with meanings
like 'AE_{stat} to this extent; so AE_{stat}; as AE_{stat} as this'. These
structures may be used either adverbially (chi ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ qay ve 'become
so sticky') or adnominally (chi nɪ́ ɛ̀ ve á-pɔ̀ʔ ∾ á-pɔ̀ʔ chi nɪ́ ɛ̀ ve
'such a red shirt, a shirt as red as this'; khɨ-šɛ chi qó ɛ̀ ve ¦
ŋà | mâ mɔ̀ jɔ 'I've never seen such a scarred foot'). As one
might expect, the chi may be followed by a N_{ext} of the ma- or qhe-
class: chi qhe qó ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve 'get scarred up like this'; chi hɨ
bú ɛ̀ qay ve 'get swollen to this size'. When used adnominally,
these structures may of course be shifted to the right of the N_h,
since this shiftability is a property both of chi-type modi-
fiers[155] and of AE_{stat}'s in general. Thus, chi hɨ bú ɛ̀ ve khɨ-šɛ
→ khɨ-šɛ chi hɨ bú ɛ̀ ve 'a foot swollen to this size'; chi qhe ŋɔ́
ɛ̀ ve ɔ-ğɨ → ɔ-ğɨ chi qhe ŋɔ́ ɛ̀ ve 'a liquid as sticky as this'.[156]

4.423 Reduplicated verbs as subordinate expressions. Lahu verbs
are freely reduplicable. In the case of V_{act}'s, the reduplication
usually indicates repeated, protracted, or continued action.
V_{adj}'s are generally reduplicated for emphasis or intensification,
but sometimes the opposite (indefinite, approximative) effect is
produced. By undergoing reduplication, a verb loses some of the
privileges of verbhood. Though they are still negatable, they
may not occur as the main verb in final clauses, nor may they
there be followed by ve or by verb-particles. Reduplicated verbs
are not 'finite' or independent. Rather they are usually a kind
of subordinate expression, either adverbial or adnominal.

In adverbial position. Like the AE_{stat}'s, adverbially used re-
duplicated verbs tend to bear the main semantic burden of their
VP, with the following V_h being te 'do', qay 'go', or phɛ̀ʔ 'be,
become'. The particle ɛ̀ may, but need not, intervene before the

4.422(7); 4.423

verb. The meaning of te is never causative in this usage. Either it means literally 'do' (dàʔ-dàʔ [ὲ] te ve 'do very well', < dàʔ (V_{adj}) 'good'), or else it is a dummy devoid of meaning altogether (yàʔ-qɔ chi | tâʔ-tâʔ yàʔ-yàʔ te ve tí yò 'This road just keeps going up and down' ["This road just does go-uppingly and go-downingly"], < tâʔ (V_{act}) 'climb', yàʔ (V_{act}) 'descend'). qay may either be taken in its literal sense of 'go' (cɔ-cɔ qay ve 'go around in circles', < cɔ (V_{act}) 'go around'), or in the more abstract inchoative sense of 'become' (qὲ-qὲ qay ve 'become wide; get wider', < qὲ (V_{adj}) 'wide'). phὲʔ here means either 'be' or 'become' (chu-chu phὲʔ ve 'be/become quite fat').

A few reduplicated verbs of particularly abstract meaning behave as if they were true adverbs, and occur freely before large numbers of verbs: mâ-mâ 'very much' (< mâ 'be numerous') → mâ-mâ dàʔ jâ 'very good indeed'; mâ-mâ cɔ̀ tù yò 'There'll be lots and lots'; mâ-mâ šī ve hὲ 'He probably knows a great deal'. lɔ̀ʔ-lɔ̀ʔ (a) 'plenty' (emphatic) (b) 'just about enough' (approximative) (< lɔ̀ʔ 'be enough') → mì-gɨ | lɔ̀ʔ-lɔ̀ʔ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ 'There's still plenty of land left'; ša-ma | lɔ̀ʔ-lɔ̀ʔ câ pɔ̀ ɔ̀ 'He's already eaten about enough corn'.[157]

Dissyllabic verb-compounds are freely reduplicable in adverbial position, either AA-BB, AB-AB and/or A-BB. Thus: chàʔ-chîʔ 'dirty' → chàʔ-chàʔ=chîʔ-chîʔ phὲʔ ve ~ chàʔ-chîʔ=chàʔ-chîʔ phὲʔ ve 'get filthy'; lù-šêʔ 'be destroyed' → lù-lù=šêʔ-šêʔ qay ve 'come to be destroyed'; nù-qhâ 'be acrid, stink bitterly' → nù-nù= qhâ-qhâ te ve 'stink to high heaven'; hā-g̈ɔ̂ 'be miserable' → hā-hā=g̈ɔ̂-g̈ɔ̂ phὲʔ ve ~ hā=g̈ɔ̂-g̈ɔ̂ phὲʔ ve 'sink into misery'; phɛ-chɨʔ 'tie up' → yɔ̂-hɨ thàʔ | phɛ-phɛ=chɨʔ-chɨʔ te pɔ̀ ɔ̀ lâ 'Have you finished tying them all up yet?'; chî-bà 'abandon' → Lâhū ve ɔ̂-mɛ | chî=chî=bà-bà tâ te 'Do not abandon (your) Lahu names!'.

Two-syllable verb concatenations may also be reduplicated adverbially: tɔ̂ʔ chêʔ 'cut so it breaks' → tɔ̂ʔ-tɔ̂ʔ=chêʔ-chêʔ te ve
V_h V_v

'keep cutting through things'; $\underset{V_h}{\underline{l\grave{o}?}}$ $\underset{V_v}{\underline{c\acute{\dag}}}$ 'let someone enter'

<u>lò?-c‡=lò?-c‡</u> <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'keep letting people in'.

Monosyllabic reduplicates of V_{adj}'s may be negated, with several shades of meaning: 'not V_h in the manner of the reduplicate at all'; 'not V_h very V_{redup}'ly'; 'keep on V_h'ing not V_{redup}'ly'. Thus, <u>mâ</u> <u>dà?-dà?</u> <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'not do very well; not do well at all; keep doing badly'. When the reduplicated verb is a V_{act}, the negative <u>mâ</u> must precede the V_h: <u>cɔ-cɔ</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>qay</u> 'does not keep going around' (not *<u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ-cɔ</u> qay).

<u>In adnominal position</u>. Occasionally one finds a reduplicated V_{act} in adnominal position: <u>ha</u> <u>khu-khu</u> <u>ɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>g̈â?</u> 'the chicken used to entice back a wandering soul' ("the soul-call-call chicken"). However, most reduplicated verbs in this construction are adjectives. Since reduplicated verbs are still verbs, we need have no qualms about considering these reduplicated adnominals to be a subtype of relative clause:[158] <u>dà?-dà?</u> <u>ve</u> <u>vên</u> 'a beautiful city'; <u>qɛ̀-qɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yà?-qɔ</u> 'a very wide road'; <u>mu-mu</u> <u>ve</u> <u>g̈ò?-pa</u> 'a very high wall'; <u>lɛ̀-lɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>á-pò?</u> 'a very warm shirt'. As with other types of SE's, the modifier may be shifted to the right of the N_h with no change in meaning: <u>câ-tù</u> <u>mɛ̀-mɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> 'delicious food'; <u>g̈ò?-pa</u> <u>mu-mu</u> <u>ve</u> 'a very high wall'.

The negative adverb <u>mâ</u> may precede the reduplicate (<u>mâ</u> <u>chu-chu</u> <u>ve</u> <u>chɔ</u> 'not a very fat person') as may the adverb <u>qha</u> 'all': <u>qha</u> <u>dà?-dà?</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yâ-mî</u> ∿ <u>yâ-mî</u> <u>qha</u> <u>dà?-dà?</u> <u>ve</u> 'all very pretty girls'.

Dissyllabic adjective-compounds are reduplicable all three ways in adnominal position: <u>nù-qhâ=nù-qhâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>qhê</u> (AB-AB) ∿ <u>nù-nù=qhâ-qhâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>qhê</u> (AA-BB) ∿ <u>nù=qhâ-qhâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>qhê</u> (A-BB) 'bitterly stinking excrement'.

<u>chi + reduplicated adjective</u>. The determiner <u>chi</u> may precede a reduplicated V_{adj} either in adverbial or adnominal position, yielding extentive SE's of the type <u>chi</u> <u>nɛ̀-nɛ̀</u> 'so (very) low; low

to this extent'. These have been fully discussed above, 'Exten-
tive nuclei' 3.616.

<u>Paired reduplicates of opposite meaning</u>. It is characteristic of
Lahu to join two reduplicated verbs of opposite meaning (V_1-V_1=
V_2-V_2) to express the idea of 'repeated variation between two
extremes' or 'comparison of several entities with respect to vari-
ation along a continuum'. Thus, <u>yà?-qɔ</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>tâ?-tâ?=yà?-yà?</u> <u>te</u>
<u>ve</u> <u>tí</u> <u>yò</u> 'This road just keeps going up and down'; <u>nê</u> <u>chi</u> ¦ <u>là?-</u>
<u>nɔ</u> | <u>yɨ-yɨ=ŋɛ-ŋɛ</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ</u>. <u>qha-šū</u> <u>tō</u> <u>lɛ</u> <u>cɔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'This spirit
doesn't have fingers that are longer and shorter [than one anoth-
er]. He has them all the same length ("equally level")'.[159]

4.424 <u>Intensified adjectives</u>. A certain number of Lahu V_{adj}'s
may occur with a bound suffixed element whose sole function is to
intensify (or in the case of -<u>chwɛ</u>, to attenuate) the force of the
adjective's meaning. Thus, <u>nâ?</u> 'black' and <u>qhâ</u> 'bitter' may take
the suffix -<u>tɔ́</u>: <u>nâ?-tɔ́</u> 'jet-black, pitch-black, black as coal,
etc.';[160] <u>qhâ-tɔ́</u> 'bitter as gall, bitter as the devil, etc.' The
V_{adj} <u>hɛ</u> 'hard' may be intensified in several different ways:
<u>hɛ-kû</u> 'really hard, hard as a rock'; <u>hɛ-tâw?</u> (or <u>hɛ=tâ-ô?</u>[161])
'hard and chewy (like sugar-cane)'; <u>hɛ-tɔ́?</u> 'rather hard (like a
pig's breastbone)'.[162] The V_{adj} <u>cɔ́</u> 'thin (of people)' often
appears as <u>cɔ́-nê?</u> 'thin as a rail'.[163] Several adjectives may be
followed by the morpheme -<u>chwɛ</u> 'rather': <u>mâ</u> 'numerous' / <u>mâ-chwɛ</u>
'rather many, quite a few, a fair amount'; <u>mɔ</u> 'be long (of time)'
/ <u>mɔ-chwɛ</u> 'a rather long time';[164] <u>yɨ</u> 'long' / <u>yɨ-chwɛ</u> 'rather
long (of objects)'; 'a rather long time'.   *

Several caveats are in order here. The intensifier is often
hitched onto the adjective more for phonological bulk (to round
off a phrase nicely), or to insure against ambiguity (as between,
e.g., <u>nâ?</u> 'black' and <u>nâ?</u> 'step on'), than for the sake of any
special emphasis on the adjectival quality itself. Only a rela-
tive handful of Lahu V_{adj}'s occur with intensifiers. While it is
possible that these represent the remnants of a more pervasive

4.424

process in older stages of the language (such as one finds in modern Thai), their importance in the present picture should not be exaggerated.

Intensified adjectives behave in all essentials like the other types of subordinate expressions. They occur either in adverbial or adnominal position, but when followed by ve may be used 'independently'. In any syntactic role they may (but need not) be followed by the subordinating particle /è/. Intensified adjectives are not finite verbs. They cannot be followed by P_v's, and they are not negatable. (It is not surprising that negativity and intensification should be mutually antagonistic notions.)

In adverbial position. The verb following an intensified adjective is usually te, phὲʔ, or qay: nâʔ-tɔ́ ὲ mâ phὲʔ ɔ̀ 'It's not black any more'; ɔ̄ chi má-ὲ | câ qo || cɔ́-nêʔ ὲ qay tù hέ 'If you eat so little rice, you're liable to get as thin as a rail'. Sometimes, however, especially when the intensifier is -chwɛ, the following verb may be anything else: nâʔ-tɔ́ ὲ ba ve 'shine blackly'; mɔ-chwɛ lɔ ve 'wait a rather long time'; [yϑn-khān pɪ́ ve] ɔ̀-qhɔ lo | yɪ̄-chwɛ ğa chê tā ve yɔ̀ 'We've had to remain patient for quite a long time' ("We've had to stay in the midst of being patient..."). Intensified V_{adj}'s are reduplicable adverbially for emphasis: nâʔ-nâʔ=tɔ́-tɔ́ phὲʔ tù yɔ̀ 'It'll get as black as coal'; cɔ́-nêʔ=cɔ́-nêʔ qay chê ve 'She's getting thin as a rail'.

In adnominal position. The particle ὲ is optional after adnominal intensified adjectives, whether the V_{adj} comes to the left or the right of the N_h: nâʔ-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve á-nâʔ=qā ∿ á-nâʔ=qā nâʔ-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve 'a jet-black crow'; cɔ́-nêʔ (ὲ) ve yâ-mî=há chi ∿ yâ-mî=há chi cɔ́-nêʔ (ὲ) ve 'this skinny girl'. In adnominal position, whether to the left or right of the N_h, intensified V_{adj}'s are reduplicable in all three ways: nâʔ-tɔ́=nâʔ-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve á-nâʔ=qā ∿ á-nâʔ=qā nâʔ-tɔ́=nâʔ-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve (AB-AB); nâʔ=tɔ́-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve á-nâʔ=qā ∿ á-nâʔ=qā nâʔ=tɔ́-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve (A-BB); nâʔ-nâʔ=tɔ́-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve á-nâʔ=qā ∿ á-nâʔ=qā nâʔ-nâʔ=tɔ́-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve (AA-BB) 'a crow as black as black can be'.

Independent use of intensified V_{adj}'s. Like the AE_{stat}'s, inten-
sified adjectives achieve a sort of independence when followed by
<u>ve</u>, and may occur in final phrases with no following finite verb:
<u>nâʔ-tɔ́</u> (ɛ̀) <u>ve yò</u> 'It's black as coal'; <u>nâʔ-tɔ́</u> (ɛ̀) <u>ve lâ</u> 'Is it
real black?'. It is even possible to have the independent inten-
sified V_{adj} reduplicated: <u>nâʔ-tɔ́=nâʔ-tɔ́</u> (ɛ̀) <u>ve yò</u> 'It's black as
hell'.

<u>4.425 Verbal elaborate expressions</u>. A verbal elaborate expres-
sion, or 'Elab$_v$', is a construction consisting of four elements,
at least two of which are verbs, such that the first and third, or
the second and fourth elements are identical.[165] A liberal use of
Elab's, both nominal and verbal, is a characteristic of formal or
archaic speech. However, many of these expressions have passed
into everyday language, and an occasional Elab will crop up in the
speech of almost everybody.

Elab$_v$'s usually function as adverbials. There is a strong
tendency for them to retain the finiteness of their constituent
verbs, however, and adnominal Elab$_v$'s are therefore very like or-
dinary relative clauses. Yet Elab$_v$'s are not just adverbials
which can also be used as verbs. They are true subordinate ex-
pressions, capable intrinsically of modifying nouns as well as
verbs: for there are some Elab$_v$'s which appear adnominally even
though they are definitely not free verbs, so the relative-clause
interpretation is excluded.[166]

<u>(1) Internal structure of Elab$_v$'s</u>. All four elements of a Elab$_v$
may be verbs. In this case two of the four may be versatile.
All four verbs may be free, or all four may be bound verbal mor-
phemes (B_v's). Sometimes the Elab$_v$ contains only one or two B_v's.
Two of the four elements may be non-verbs: adverbs, verb-parti-
cles, unrestricted particles, or nouns (either the subjects or the
objects of the two verbal constituents, or else the determiner
<u>chi</u>). In this 'mixed' type of Elab$_v$, all four elements are free.

4.425; 4.425(1)

Thus, in ni-ma=ɨ̄≡ni-ma=mu 'have a proud and haughty heart', ni-ma 'heart' is the subject of the verbs ɨ̄ 'big' and mu 'high'. (Note that we consider this expression to be a true Elab$_v$, even though there are more than four syllables.) In và?-hu=g̈â?-hu 'raise pigs and chickens', và? 'pigs' and g̈â? 'chickens' are the objects of hu 'raise'. In chi-mu-chi-ná 'so high and so deep', the determiner is extentifying two adjectives [above 3.616].

Of particular interest are constituents in Elab$_v$'s which are bound to a particular preceding element. These bound morphemes, which one might call 'bound couplet-partners', may be subdivided into two classes: (a) <u>Monosyllables bound to a preceding one-syllable constituent</u>. Typical is the B$_v$ -gâ-, which only occurs as the third element of Elab$_v$'s in which dɔ̂ 'think' is the first element: dɔ̂-ša=gâ-ša 'pleasant to contemplate, serene, peaceful' (< ša 'be pleasant'); dɔ̂-yè=gâ-yè 'imperturbable, indifferent to misfortune' (< yè 'be steadfast'); dɔ̂-khí=gâ-hā (quasi-Elab$_v$) 'be worried and troubled' (< khí 'worry', hā 'be distressed'). Similarly, the B$_v$ -na- occurs only as third or fourth element in Elab$_v$'s of which dà? 'good' is the first or second element: mâ-dà?-mâ-na 'evil and wicked' ("not good not virtuous"); dà?-la-na-la 'ameliorate, become good and virtuous' (< la 'P$_v$ of becoming'). (b) <u>Dissyllables bound to a preceding or following two-syllable constituent</u>. The B$_v$ =ha-qa occurs only as the couplet-partner of the verb ha-lɛ̀ 'happy': ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa 'cheerfully; gladly'. The syllables =nâ?-khɔ̀? occur only after the intensified adjective nâ?-tɔ́: nâ?-tɔ́=nâ?-khɔ̀? 'as black as sin'. =nâ?-khɔ̀? as a whole is bound, although the verb nâ? 'black' is free. The expression qha-lo= occurs only with a following qha-lɛ in the Elab$_v$ qha-lo=qha-lɛ 'to the very end'.

The bound syllable -mû- appears only in Elab$_v$'s that refer to violent or lively action. It indicates that there is so much going on at once that one cannot precisely differentiate the individual actions. This is clearly the same morpheme as the pejora-

tive -mû- that figures in nominal Elab's [above 3.39]. Thus, ğàʔ-mû-ğàʔ-bɔ̂ʔ 'chase around shooting and things' (< ğàʔ 'chase', bɔ̂ʔ 'shoot'); ğâʔ-mû-ğâʔ-bɔ̂ʔ 'go around shooting chickens' (< ğâʔ 'chicken'); yù-mû-yù-thêʔ 'grabbing and kicking and so forth' (< yù 'take', thêʔ 'kick'). The form of these Elab$_v$'s is always V_1 + mû + V_1 + V_2, so that -mû- is coupled with the non-repeated verb.

Under normal circumstances no morpheme may intervene between the elements of a lexical compound. An exception is the situation in Elab$_v$'s. Many verb-compounds (both of whose constituents are free) may be 'ionized' or split up by the double insertion of an identical element belonging to another form-class, thus becoming four-syllable Elab's. Extraneous morphemes insertible <u>before</u> each compound element include adverbs, $_v$V's, and nouns; morphemes that may intervene <u>after</u> each compound element include P$_v$'s, P$_u$'s, and V$_v$'s. As an example we may take <u>thê-cɔ̂</u> 'be upright; righteous', a compound consisting of two free verbs meaning 'straight' and 'fitting; harmonious', respectively: <u>mâ-thê-mâ-cɔ̂</u> 'crooked, un-just' [adverb precedes];[167] <u>ğa-thê-ğa-cɔ̂</u> 'must be righteous' [$_v$V precedes]; <u>thê-tā-cɔ̂-tā</u> 'had been righteous' [P$_v$ follows]; <u>thê-ɛ̀-cɔ̂-ɛ̀</u> 'righteously' [subordinating P$_u$ follows]; <u>thê-ve-cɔ̂-ve</u> 'being righteous, to be righteous' [nominalizing P$_u$ follows]; <u>thê-chê-cɔ̂-chê</u> 'remaining righteous' [V$_v$ follows].

The formation of Elab's is a living process in Lahu. Fre-quently they are created by pairing a native morpheme with a synonymous borrowing from Shan, Burmese, or Thai. Thus, <u>lɔ̂-ve-khɔ̂-ve</u> 'beg and beseech' is composed of the native Lahu <u>lɔ̂</u> 'beg' and the synonymous Shan equivalent (cf. Thai <u>khɔ̌ɔ</u> 'beg'). Even subordinate expressions of other types may be welded together in pairs to form Elab$_v$'s. Thus we find elaborated AE$_{qha}$'s (<u>qha-bî=qha-šêʔ</u> 'full to overflowing', <u>qha-lo=qha-lɛ</u> 'to the very end'; elaborated AE$_{stat}$'s (<u>thê-ɛ̀-cɔ̂-ɛ̀</u> 'straightforwardly and properly', <u>šá-ɛ̀-dɨ-ɛ̀</u> 'with an indistinct sound'); and elaborated intensified adjectives (<u>nâʔ-tɔ́=nâʔ-khɔ̂ʔ</u> 'black as the devil').

(2) Syntactic behavior of Elab$_v$'s. The particle /ὲ/ is never
used with Elab$_v$'s, either adverbially or adnominally. Elab$_v$'s
occur most frequently in adverbial position, usually before the
dummy verb <u>te</u>, but also before an unlimited number of other verbs:
<u>ha-lὲ=ha-qa</u> <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'be happy and cheerful, relax and take it easy';
<u>mê?-ni=mê?-qa</u> <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'have red and smarting eyes'; <u>mâ-thê=mâ-cɔ̂</u> <u>yɔ</u>
<u>ve</u> 'speak dishonestly'; <u>dɔ̂-yὲ=gâ-yὲ</u> <u>jû</u> <u>ve</u> 'walk steadfastly and
courageously'.

Telford[168] records an expression <u>ca-bə-ca-lὲ?</u> <u>tô</u> <u>ve</u> 'to go
around gossiping/slandering people', which presents an interesting
problem of analysis. If <u>tô</u> 'go around' is interpreted as the head
of the construction, <u>ca-bə-ca-lὲ?</u> is functioning as an adverbial.
But is it the 'going around' which is done 'gossipingly'? Elici-
tation has revealed that the more plausible interpretation has
<u>ca-bə-ca-lὲ?</u> functioning as the V_h, with <u>tô</u> being a V_v: the
gossiping is done while going around. This is an example of a
morphological Elab$_v$ retaining its full verbal force.

Adnominally used Elab$_v$'s are almost always adjectival: <u>mâ-</u>
<u>thê=mâ-cɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tɔ̂-khɔ̂</u> 'dishonest words'; <u>ha-lὲ=ha-qa</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ší-ğwé</u> 'a
cheerful meeting'. Alone among the various types of subordinate
expressions, adnominal Elab$_v$'s are not often shifted to the right
of the N_h, probably because they are too long.[169] When the second
and fourth elements of an adnominal Elab$_v$ are <u>ve</u>, the fourth ele-
ment fuses haplologically with the subordinator <u>ve</u>. Thus, when
<u>hā-ve=ğɔ̂-ve</u> 'poor and miserable' is attributed to a noun, the
result is not, e.g., *<u>hā-ve=ğɔ̂-ve</u> <u>ve</u> <u>mê-chɔ̂=ma</u>, but rather <u>hā-ve=</u>
<u>ğɔ̂-ve</u> <u>mê-chɔ̂=ma</u> 'a poor and miserable widow'. For a similar
phenomenon see below 6.496.

These Elab$_v$'s of the form V_1 + <u>ve</u> + V_2 + <u>ve</u> are really
nominalizations, but for our present purposes may be termed 'abso-
lute elaborate expressions'. They may not occur in adverbial po-
sition: strings like *<u>lɔ̂-ve=khɔ̂-ve</u> <u>te</u> <u>ve</u> 'beg and beseech' would
be ungrammatical. Rather, they appear independently in their VP,

4.425(2)

like finite verbs: ŋà-hɨ ¦ yɔ́ àʔ │ lɔ́-ve=khɔ́-ve yɔ̀ 'We are beg-
ging and beseeching him'. However, in order for an Elab_v to be
used independently, it is not necessary that <u>ve</u> actually be part
of the four-syllable expression. It is sufficient that <u>ve</u> <u>follow</u>
the four syllables. Thus, ŋà-hɨ │ lɔ́-câ=khɔ́-câ <u>ve</u> yɔ̀ 'We are
begging and beseeching (for food) to eat'; yɔ́-hɨ │ ğa-phâʔ=ğa-gɨ
<u>ve</u> hɛ́ 'They've probably had to separate and be parted'; ŋà-hɨ │
mâ-mâ=mâ-ğɨ ve-ɔ̄ 'We are not numerous and few in number'. In a
sentence like <u>mâ-thê=mâ-cɔ́ ve</u> ¦ ŋà-hɨ ɔ́-qhɔ │ qha-bî cɔ́ ve yɔ̀
'Dishonest ones/dishonesty we have among us in plenty', we may
either assume that there has been a N_{rh} deleted from an expression
like [mâ-thê=mâ-cɔ́ <u>ve</u>] <u>chɔ</u> 'dishonest people' (i.e., we interpret
the <u>ve</u> as 'relative <u>ve</u>'), or preferably, we may regard mâ-thê=
mâ-cɔ́ ve as an embedded clause functioning as the topic of the
whole sentence (i.e., we interpret the <u>ve</u> as 'nominalizing <u>ve</u>').
See below 6.47.

(3) Elab_v's in Lahu religious poetry. The poetic language of
Lahu animistic prayers is replete with Elab's, some of which are
of more complex structure than any to be found in the ordinary
spoken language. Consider the following verse: yàʔ-ni ¦ yɔ́ │
yɨ̀ʔ-mâ-mɨ-mâ-ša ve, câ-mâ-dɔ́-mâ-mɛ̀ ve, chê-mâ-cɔ́-mâ-ša ve...
'Today his sleeping and sitting are not easy, his eating and
drinking are not tasty, his life and his existence are not easy...'
The three five-syllable expressions here are extended Elab_v's of
a peculiar sort. They are underlain by normal four-syllable
Elab_v's: yɨ̀ʔ-ša=mɨ-ša 'pleasant to sleep and to sit'; câ-mɛ̀=dɔ́-
mɛ̀ 'tasty to eat and to drink'; chê-ša=cɔ́-ša 'pleasant to live
and exist'. If these were negated in the usual way, with <u>mâ</u>
intervening between each pair of verbs (i.e., at every point
where there is a single hyphen), we would get: yɨ̀ʔ-mâ-ša=mɨ-mâ-ša,
câ-mâ-mɛ̀=dɔ́-mâ-mɛ̀, chê-mâ-ša=cɔ́-mâ-ša. Instead, the first occur-
rence of each repeated verb is deleted for poetic effect.

4.425(3)

4.43 The inter-verbal adverb ŋɔ-ŋɔ. ŋɔ-ŋɔ is a true adverb, not
a reduplicated verb. (There is no free verb *ŋɔ.) It exhibits
a syntactic behavior unique among Lahu adverbs, in that it always
occurs between two verbs. It is the preceding verb that carries
the principal meaning of the VP. The following verb is simply a
dummy, providing, as it were, a verbal cushion for the adverbial-
ity of ŋɔ-ŋɔ to rest upon. This second verb is always te, qay,
phɛ̂ʔ, or là, all meaning something like 'happen/come to pass',
but usually better left untranslated. The meaning of a V_1 +
ŋɔ-ŋɔ + V_2 construction is 'be on the verge of V_1'ing; be at the
point of V_1'ing; be nearly V_1'ing'. There is usually a nuance of
surprise that the verbal event has almost come to pass: lɔ̄lī nî
mà | gû̱ʔ dàʔ ŋɔ-ŋɔ qay ve 'The two cars practically collided
  V_1 P_v Adv V_2

with each other'; yɔ̂ ¦ lǐʔ | g̈ɔ phɛ̂ʔ ŋɔ-ŋɔ là ve yâ 'Why, he can
      V_1 V_v Adv V_2

almost read now!'; yɔ̂-hɨ | yàʔ dàʔ ŋɔ-ŋɔ te ve 'They're on the
      V_1 P_v Adv V_2

verge of quarrelling with one another'. As the examples show,
the first verb may be followed by a P_v or a V_v before the ŋɔ-ŋɔ.[170]

4.44 Interjectory or onomatopoetic AE's. (1) With the P_{unf} kàʔ.

An interesting type of adverbial expression is of the form X +
kàʔ, where X is either an unanalyzable onomatopoetic or interjec-
tory word, or else a verb that has undergone phonological modifi-
cation to acquire vivid force. The V_h following an AE of this
type is always qay 'go'.[171] (a) With true interjections: chwē
kàʔ 'splash!' → há-pɨ=s̆ī | chwē kàʔ qay ò 'The stone went
splash!'; chɘn kàʔ 'head over heels' → yɔ̂ ¦ s̆ê-s̆ī qhɔ | nâʔ-gɨ
lɛ || chɘn kàʔ qay s̆e ve 'He lost his footing in the sand and
went falling head over heels'; nê̱ʔ kàʔ 'kaputt!' → yɔ̂ | nê̱ʔ kàʔ
qay ò 'He has dropped dead'. (b) With modified verbs: A few
verbs are usable in this construction if they take an -n suffix

4.43; 4.44; 4.44(1)

(realized as vowel nasalization).[172] Thus, ŋá (V) 'spread open'
→ ŋán kàʔ (AE) 'wide open': mêʔ-š̌ɨ̄ | ŋán kàʔ qay ò 'His eyes
suddenly flew open!'; thê (V) 'be straight' → thên kàʔ (AE)
'straight as a die': š̌ɨ̀ʔ-cὲ | thên kàʔ qɔ̀ʔ qay ò 'The trees
snapped back straight as arrows!'. AE's of this sort are found
in narrative texts as well as in colloquial speech.

(2) Without kàʔ. Some adverbs of this same general semantic
type occur directly before their V_h (usually te 'do' or qay 'go'),
with no intervening kàʔ. They are freely reduplicable. Thus:
pò-pò 'bang!' → {yɔ̂ ve nâʔ | bɔ̂ʔ lâ ve} | pò-pò te qha-lâ lɛ ||
chɨ-pí=qwὲʔ tê khɛ | bɔ̂ʔ ce ve yò 'His gun went off -- bang! --
and he shot down a barking-deer'; cɔ́-cí 'tickle, tingle, prickle'
→ {yɔ̂ ve khɨ-š̌ɛ thàʔ ¦ pɨ́ | chὲʔ lâ ve} | cɔ́-cí=cɔ́-cí te lɛ ||
yɔ̂ | bὲʔ jâ ve cê 'The mosquitoes bit him on the leg, stinging
him so much that he got very angry'; pὲ-š̌ɨ 'zig-zag' → á-cὲ-gu |
pὲ-š̌ɨ=pὲ-š̌ɨ qay ve yò 'Crabs go zig-zag'; qhê-qhɔ=cwê ∿ qhê-qhɔ=
cɔ̂-ὲ 'with one's rear-end in the air, arse over tea-kettle' (<
qhê-qhɔ 'buttocks; anus', cɔ̂ ὲ (AE_{stat}) 'sticking up') → lɔ̂-qá=
qō | qhê-qhɔ=cwê dôʔ ā lɔ 'He got stuck in the riverbed with his
rear-end aloft!' (< dôʔ 'pack into; get wedged into').

4.45 Adverbial clauses. We have seen [4.421G] how a qha-adver-
bial may be more closely related semantically to a preceding NP
than to the following VP, so that the [NP + AE_{qha}] as a whole is
really a unitary adverbial clause: (š̌í-g̈wé | qha-lɛ)_{AE} chê tù lâ
'Will you stay until the meeting ends?'. In like fashion, the
morpheme sequence qhe + cɛ 'to the extent that'[173] may serve to
subordinate an entire preceding clause (NP's and VP alike) to the
following verb. Thus, in the sentence (chɔ nî g̈â | yɨ̀ʔ lɔ̂ʔ qhe-
cɛ) ɨ̄ ve hɛ́ 'It's probably big enough for two people to sleep
in', the V_h ɨ̄ 'big' is modified by the whole clause 'enough for
two people to sleep in'.[174] In the sentence (Lâhū-yâ | chê jɔ
qhe-cɛ) chê a qo ɔ̄ || pɛ ò ὲʔ 'If we just celebrate as much as
the Lahu used to, it'll be plenty!', the whole clause 'as much as
the Lahu used to' is modifying the V_h chê 'celebrate'.[175]

4.44(2); 4.45

Very similar in their adverbializing effect are the expres-
sions qhe=ma-ma, qhe=cɔ-cɔ, and qhe=cà-cà, all meaning 'to the
extent that' or 'about the same extent that'. Sometimes they
function as adverbs all by themselves, modifying the following V_h
directly: {yɔ̂=hɨ-mà | mâʔ dàʔ ve} | qhe=cà-cà mɔ jâ lɛ || ŋà-hɨ
| lɔ bɔ̂ jâ 'The two of them have been courting so long that we're
sick of waiting (for them to stop)' ("As for their courting, it
is long [mɔ (V_h)] to such an extent [qhe=cà-cà]"). In other sen-
tences, they behave like extentive nouns, being in closer con-
stituency with a preceding N_h than with the following verb:
šɨʔ-cɛ̀ chi tê cɔ̌ ve a-šàʔ tí qo ¦ chɔ tê ğâ ve a-šàʔ qhe=cɔ-cɔ |
mɔ ve yò 'The life of this kind of tree is about as long as the
life of a person'. Here qhe=cɔ-cɔ is in immediate constituency
with the preceding nominal expression chɔ tê ğâ ve a-šàʔ 'the life
of a person'. This whole NP then stands in an adverbial relation-
ship to the following verb mɔ 'be a long time'.[176] Finally (and
that is the point at issue here) they sometimes serve to adver-
bialize a whole preceding clause (a VP plus any preceding asso-
ciated NP's it might have): {bo | ğa lɔ ve} | {qa-mɨ=khɔ̂ ô tê mà
thàʔ | qa-mɨ qhe=ma-ma} mɔ ve yò 'We managed to pray for as long
as it took to sing that song' ("Our praying was long to the ex-
tent of singing that song").

In still another type of complex adverbial, a spatial M_{pfx}
like ɔ̂-qhô 'over; above' may serve as the head of a relative
clause or a genitive construction that adverbially modifies a
following adjective: {[yɔ̂ | qôʔ ve] ɔ̂-qhô} ɨ̄ jâ ve yò 'It's much
bigger than he said' ("It is very big to the extent of being above
what he said"); {ô ma ve ɔ̂-qhô} ɨ̄ jâ 'It's much bigger than that'
("It's very big to the extent of more than that-much").

4.46 Displacement of adverbials from pre-verbal position. Ad-
verbial expressions occasionally get shifted away from their
proper pre-verbal home to a position either very early or very
late in the sentence. In its displaced position, the AE acquires

4.46

additional emphasis, and becomes a sort of sentence-modifier or sentence-adverb:

<u>a</u>) mâ-mâ (reduplication of the V_{adj} mâ 'be much') 'extremely': Normal order → <u>ni-ma</u> | <u>mâ-mâ</u> <u>lù</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'My heart is awfully sad'. Displaced order → <u>mâ-mâ</u> ||| <u>ni-ma</u> | <u>lù</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'Ah, my heart is sad indeed!';[177] <u>mâ-mâ</u> ||| <u>ɔ-bo</u> | <u>ɨ̄</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'Thank you, oh, so very much!'. This last example is a set phrase, possibly influenced by the position of the cognate word <u>myâ-myâ</u> in a similar Burmese construction.

<u>b</u>) qha=mâ-ɛ̀ (AE_{qha}) 'equally':[178] Normal order → <u>nî</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> | <u>qha=mâ-ɛ̀</u> <u>yɛ̂</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'You can equally well use both kinds'. Displaced order → <u>nî</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> | <u>yɛ̂</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>ve</u> ||| <u>qha=mâ-ɛ̀</u> 'You can use both kinds -- equally well'.

<u>c</u>) tὲʔ-chí (true adverb) '(not) anything': Normal order → <u>cɨ́-kɨ̀</u> | <u>tὲʔ-chí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> 'There is no point to it at all'. Displaced order → <u>tὲʔ-chí</u> ||| <u>cɨ́-kɨ̀</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> 'There's no point to it <u>whatsoever</u>'.

<u>d</u>) qhà-qhe (true adverb) 'how?': Normal order → <u>ôo</u>, {<u>ğa</u> <u>câ</u> <u>kɨ̀</u>} | <u>qhà-qhe</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>tù</u> 'Oh, how will we find a livelihood!'. Displaced order → <u>ôo</u>, <u>qhà-qhe</u> ||| {<u>ğa</u> <u>câ</u> <u>kɨ̀</u>} | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>tù</u> 'Oh, how in the world will we ever find a livelihood!'.

<u>e</u>) ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa ($Elab_V$) 'in joy and gladness': Normal order → <u>ğɨ̀-šǎ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tɔ̂-khɔ̂</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa</u> <u>ğa</u> <u>na</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'We must listen to the words of God with happy hearts'. Displaced order → <u>ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa</u> ||| <u>ğɨ̀-šǎ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tɔ̂-khɔ̂</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>ğa</u> <u>na</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'In joy and gladness we must listen to the words of God'.

<u>f</u>) šá-ɛ̀=dɨ̀-ɛ̀ (elaborated AE_{stat}'s) 'with a loud but indistinct noise': Normal order → <u>pa-tây</u> | <u>šá-ɛ̀=dɨ̀-ɛ̀</u> <u>ğàʔ</u> <u>chɛ̂</u> <u>ve</u> 'They're chasing rabbits with a great racket'. Displaced order → <u>šá-ɛ̀=dɨ̀-ɛ̀</u> ||| <u>pa-tây</u> | <u>ğàʔ</u> <u>chɛ̂</u> <u>ve</u> 'With a great racket they're chasing rabbits'.

In a given sentence, it is sometimes much more natural to have the adverb sentence-initial than in pre-verbal position:

4.46a-f

qhe-lê ||| y̌ɔ̌ thà? ¦ qhâ?-šɛ | phɛ̀? cɨ ve 'They made him headman
on the spot'. The adverb qhe-lê 'on the spot; without further
ado' is not likely to be shifted 'back' to pre-verbal position,
because there it could be interpreted as the N$_{ext}$ meaning 'like'
[above 3.642], modifying qhâ?-šɛ 'headman': y̌ɔ̌ thà? ¦ qhâ?-šɛ
qhe-lê | phɛ̀? cɨ ve 'They made him be like the headman'.

Distinct from the phenomenon of adverb-displacement from pre-
verbal position is the fact that adverbs sometimes occur before a
verb which is not the first one in the VP. We have discussed the
intervention of negative mâ within versatile concatenations
[above 4.411], and the interverbal adverb ŋɔ-ŋɔ [4.43]. One fur-
ther instance is the occasional splitting-up of a tightly-knit
verbal compound by the insertion of an adverb other than mâ. The
intent is jocular, and the result is sometimes very amusing. The
compound qa-mɨ 'sing', for example, may be 'ionized' by the ad-
verb a-cí 'a little bit; just': qa a-cí mɨ a ni šā 'I'll just
                                 V Adv V
have a go at singing now'. (The standard order is, of course,
a-cí qa-mɨ a ni šā.) Something of the same effect is conveyed by
an English attempt at humor like 'I shall try both to under and
to stand what you're saying'.

4.5 Transhemistichial relations: the adverbiality of the
'oblique cases'. When a NP meets a verb at hemistich boundary,
with (as is often the case) no P$_n$ or P$_u$ to spell out the precise
nature of the semantic relationship binding the noun to the verb,
this must be deduced from the inherent semantic features of the
N and V themselves. Even for a particular noun-verb pair, the
transhemistichial relationship is not necessarily the same in
different sentences.

Sometimes the deduction is easy to make. Thus, most se-
quences of inanimate nouns plus transitive verb are clearly ob-
ject-verb constructions (OV's): jɨ | dɔ̀ 'drink liquor', jɨ | pí
'pass urine', mɛ̂?-phû | chɨ 'wash one's face', í-mû | cî 'ride a

4.5

horse', á-thâ | mə̂ʔ 'blow the jewsharp', šɨ̌ʔ-cὲ | thu 'chop a
tree', nâʔ | tâʔ 'carry a gun', etc. In such cases, it makes
sense to insert the accusative Pₙ thàʔ after the noun, though it
is often unnatural and unidiomatic to do so, and it may change
the meaning [above 3.83]. Thus jɨ̀ | dɔ̀ means simply 'drink li-
quor' in general; jɨ̀ thàʔ | dɔ̀ implies something like 'drink the
liquor in question; drink some particular liquor; drink liquor as
opposed to something else'.

When a noun is animate it may be interpreted as the indirect
object of an appropriate verb: pɔ-khû | tân 'make an offering to
the priest', pɔ-khû ¦ phu | tân 'offer money to the priest'.
When both a direct and an indirect object are present, thàʔ is
often used after the latter: pɔ-khû thàʔ ¦ phu | tân. There is
a good reason why it is not the direct object that gets the par-
ticle. A string like pɔ-khû ¦ phu thàʔ | tân is still in prin-
ciple ambiguous: pɔ-khû, like any animate noun, can be taken
either as the indirect object or as the subject ('the priest
offers money'). Inanimate nouns are not usually the initiators
of the action, so no disambiguating purpose is served by post-
posing thàʔ to the direct object.

In combinations like í-kâʔ | gɔ̀ 'the water is cold', yɔ̂ | šɨ̄
à 'he knows (it)', ɔ̄ | pɔ̀ 'the rice is finished', khɔ̂ | mâ 'talks
too much' ("words are many"), ni-ma | hā 'one's heart is sad',
mû-qhɔ̂ | tɔ̂ʔ 'smoke comes out', mû-yὲ | là 'it's raining' ("rain
comes"), ɔ̀-vêʔ | hwē 'flowers wither', where the verb is either
intransitive or 'pseudo-transitive',[179] the noun is obviously the
subject of the verb. Insertible between noun and verb are a
variety of topic particles (ɔ̄, lὲ, tí qo), which, although they
change the meaning somewhat and are apt to convey an unnatural
impression in certain sentences, at least do not falsify the
basic predicative relationship: yɔ̂ tí qo | šɨ̄ à 'As for him, he
knows (it)'.

Once we leave the relatively safe ground of subjects and ob-
jects, however, the utility of the particle-insertion test drops
off sharply. There simply are not enough particles to go around
to signal all the 'oblique' case-relationships that may hold be-
tween Lahu nouns and verbs. We might not wish to claim that
these are all reducible to one or another of Fillmore's universal
deep case-categories,[180] yet it would be equally unrevealing to
claim that nouns and verbs may relate to each other in an infi-
nite number of ways. The best we can do is attempt a rough seman-
tic categorization of the covert transhemistichial relationships
in strictly Lahu terms. These categories are certainly not to be
considered as airtight compartments into which each noun-verb
pair must unambiguously and mechanically be insertible.

4.51 Oblique NP's and 'specifying nouns'. (1) Instrumentals.
Consider the following N + V sequences: í-kâʔ | chɨ 'wash with
water', tha-tu | dɔ̂ʔ 'hit with a hammer / to hammer', khê | câ
'eat out of a dish', á-thɔ | šɔ̂ʔ 'cut off with a knife', šɨʔ | ko
'fence with wood', hāw | jûʔ-pɛ̄ 'pierce to death with a spear-
gun', šɛ́-qō | ca thɔ 'catch with a basket-trap', yɨ | bɛ 'thatch
with grass', cá-bêʔ | ɡɔ̂ʔ 'row with oars', chɛ-kə | tē 'crush
with a pounder', à-mī | chîʔ 'singe in the fire', í-kâʔ | cá
'boil in water',[181] etc. In all these cases the verb is transi-
tive, but the noun is the instrument, not the object of the ac-
tion. It is not the water which is washed, or the hammer which
is beaten, or the dish which is eaten.[182] If there is also an
object to be expressed, it must come before the instrument:
vàʔ=ɡ̈ù-têʔ ¦ í-kâʔ | chɨ ve 'wash the pig-intestines with water',
làʔ-nɔ ¦ á-thɔ | šɔ̂ʔ ve 'cut off a finger with a knife', ɡ̈âʔ-gɨ ¦
à-mī | chîʔ ve 'singe the chicken-skin in the fire', í-mû=khɔ̂ʔ ¦
šɨʔ-thɛ | ko ve 'fence the corral with logs'. These constructions
are perfectly clear to the Lahu as they stand. For special em-
phasis, or when the sentence is particularly long and complicated,
thàʔ may be inserted after the object, and/or the words yù lɛ

4.51; 4.51(1)

'having taken' may appear after the instrument:[183] là?-nɔ thà? ¦
á-thɔ │ yù lɛ ‖ šɔ̌? ve 'cut off a finger with a knife' ("having
taken a knife, cut off a finger").

The instrumental nouns in these expressions are a fairly
well-defined subtype of what we may call <u>specifying</u> <u>nouns</u> (N_{spec}).
N_{spec}'s are neither subjects nor objects, but simply limiters of
the unspecified generality of the naked verb.

Note that not all N_{spec}'s that get translated by English
prepositional phrases with 'with' are true instrumentals. The
sequence g̈ò?-pa │ ko ve 'to fence with a wall' looks superficially
like šɨ̌?-thɛ │ ko ve 'to fence with logs'. Yet g̈ò?-pa 'wall' is
viewed not as the instrument by means of which the fencing is
done, but rather as the end result of the act of fencing. While
it is grammatical to say šɨ̌?-thɛ │ yù lɛ ‖ ko ve 'having taken
logs, fence', it is impossible to say *g̈ò?-pa │ yù lɛ ‖ ko 'hav-
ing taken a wall, fence'. The sequence g̈ò?-pa │ ko is, in fact,
a <u>transhemistichial</u> <u>compound</u>, 'to wall-enclose' [see below].

<u>(2) Locatives</u>. Another type of N_{spec} that is relatively easy to
isolate comprises nouns which specify the location or direction
of the verbal event: á-qhɔ │ chê 'stay at home', há-qō │ tɔ́? la
'emerge from a cave', í-mû │ ce 'fall from a horse', cɨ-qhɔ │ qay
'go to market', í-kâ? │ pā-tî? 'sink into the water', yà?-qɔ │ jû
'walk along a road', á-po-qo │ yɨ̀? 'sleep in a field-hut', ɔ-cɔ │
te phû? 'spin in a circle', mɛ̀?-g̈ù │ khá 'get stuck in a swamp'.
Whether the N_{spec} is taken as inessive (place where), adessive
(place to which), or abessive (place from where) depends entirely
on the inherent semantic features of the verb. There are no
locative particles available for insertion after the N_{spec} in most
cases. The P_n's kà? and ɔ̄ are too restricted in use for that
[above 3.86]. If more locative precision is desired, the spatial
M_{pfx}'s [above 3.32; 3.341e] are available for duty: á-po-qo qhɔ
'inside the field-hut', á-po-qo ɔ=pâ-nê 'near the field-hut', etc.

4.51(2)

* (3) <u>Pure specifiers and transhemistichial compounds</u>. Most
interesting are certain N$_{spec}$'s that do not correspond to any of
the standard Western case-notions, and that we may call 'pure
specifiers'. These N$_{spec}$'s are so closely allied with the follow-
ing verb that the [N$_{spec}$ + V] combination may appropriately be
called a 'transhemistichial compound'. In most cases, the verb
is a V$_{adj}$: <u>í-kâ</u>ʔ | <u>nê</u>ʔ <u>ve</u> 'be wet with water' ("water-wet"),
<u>ɔ-šɨ</u> | <u>nê</u>ʔ <u>ve</u> 'be wet with blood', <u>á-lɛ</u>ʔ | <u>qhâ ve</u> 'be too salty'
("salt-bitter"), <u>g̈â</u> | <u>ɨ</u> 'be strong' ("strength-big"), <u>g̈â</u> | <u>i</u> 'be
weak' ("strength-small"), <u>ɔ-g̈â</u> | <u>nû</u> 'be weak / feel faint'
("strength-soft"), <u>g̈â</u> | <u>hɔ̀</u> 'be tired' ("strength-tired"), <u>ɔ-mê</u> |
<u>nù</u> 'smell of filth' ("filth-stink"), <u>hâ</u> | <u>nù</u> 'stink like a goat',
<u>ni-ma</u> | <u>mâ</u> 'be fickle' ("heart-numerous"), <u>qhê-qhɔ</u> | <u>hɔ̀</u> 'be slug-
gish/lead-assed' ("rump-heavy"). These constructions are closely
analogous to English N-V adjectival compounds like 'sky-blue',
'snow-white','sky-high','waist-high','stone-deaf','tone-deaf',
etc. In Lahu they do not function as simple predications. A
sentence like <u>ɔ-šɨ</u> | <u>nê</u>ʔ <u>ve</u> is never interpreted in ordinary dis-
course as 'Blood is wet', but rather as '(Something) is bloody'/
'(Something) is blood-wet'. The underlying topic of such sen-
tences is often overtly expressed: <u>á-pòʔ chi</u> ¦ <u>í-kâ</u>ʔ | <u>nê</u>ʔ <u>ve</u>
'This shirt is wet' ("As for this shirt, it is water-wet"); <u>ɔ-chɨ</u>
<u>chi</u> ¦ <u>á-lɛ</u>ʔ | <u>qhâ jâ</u> 'This curry is awfully salty'. It is true
that goats stink, but we are concerned with something else that
stinks in a manner reminiscent of goats: <u>Lǐšɔ̂-pā chi</u> ¦ <u>hâ</u> | <u>nù jâ</u>
'That Lisu smells pretty bad'.

Sequences of NP$_{topic}$ + N$_{spec}$ + V$_{adj}$ are clearly related to
'topic-subject' constructions of the form NP$_{topic}$ + N$_{subject}$ +
V.[184] Thus, <u>hɔ</u> ¦ <u>nā-qhɔ̂</u> | <u>yɨ ve yɔ̀</u> 'Elephants have long noses'
("As for elephants, the noses are long") is analogous to <u>mê-chɔ̂=ma</u>
<u>chi</u> ¦ <u>g̈â</u> | <u>nû jâ</u> 'This widow is very weak' ("As for this widow,
the strength is weak").

4.51(3)

When the verb following the N_{spec} is not a V_{adj}, the close-
ness of the bond between noun and verb is even more marked, some-
times to the point where the verb never occurs unless it is pre-
ceded by the particular N_{spec} in question. Thus: (a) the verb
t̀ὲʔ 'break wind' occurs nowhere else than in the transhemistichial
compound qhê tὲʔ 'to fart' (where the N_{spec} qhê means 'excre-
ment'). (b) The verb qhêʔ (qhəʔ in Red Lahu) occurs only after
the noun qā, with the combination qā qhêʔ meaning 'to dance (in a
circle)'. qā may be related to an autonomous noun meaning 'clari-
net-like wind instrument', but in this combination it seems to
refer to the dance itself, since it may be separated from its
transhemistichial partner by Q's referring to phases of the dance:

qā tê cɔ qɔ̀ʔ qhêʔ a šā   'Let's dance another round' (cɔ 'Clf for
N   Q ᵥV Vₕ

circumambulations'); qā tê khɨ qhêʔ pɔ̀ ɔ̀ 'They've danced one
time already' (khɨ 'Clf for occasions'). (c) The expression
í-kâʔ │ hέ 'bathe / take a bath' ("water-bathe") seems at first
glance to be identical in structure to the instrumental í-kâʔ │
chɨ 'wash (sthg) in water' [above (1)]. Yet chɨ 'wash' appears
in combination with an indefinite number of preceding nouns in OV
and subject-verb constructions, and has no special relationship
with í-kâʔ, while hέ is locked in an indissoluble transhemi-
stichial bond with the latter.[185] (d) Exactly similar is the
expression í-kâʔ │ ší 'be thirsty' ("water-thirst"). The verb ší
occurs with no other preceding noun than í-kâʔ. If one thirsts
for another liquid, the words dɔ̀ gâ 'want to drink' must be used
instead: ŋà ¦ jɨ │ dɔ̀ gâ jâ 'I need a shot of liquor bad'.
(e) Still another watery transhemistichial compound is í-kâʔ │
lwê ∿ í-kâʔ │ lɔ́ 'swim' ("water-swim"). The verb lwê ∿ lɔ́, a
loan from Shan, occurs nowhere but in this combination.[186]

In the above cases the [N_{spec} + V] sequence as a whole is
intransitive. An example of a transitive transhemistichial com-
pound is g̈ɔ̀ʔ-pa │ ko 'fence with a wall / wall in (something)'.

An object-NP may precede the N_{spec}: h5̄-yɛ̀ ¦ g̈ɔʔ-pa | ko c5̄ ve
'We ought to fence in the temple'.

Sometimes it is hard to decide whether a noun is functioning
like a N_{spec} or whether it is the subject of the following verb.
Thus, in the sentence yâ-ɛ́ ¦ g̈ɨ̆ | šĪ və ve 'The child was carried
off by the current', yâ-ɛ́ 'child' may be taken as the object
(yâ-ɛ́ thàʔ ¦ ...), in which case g̈ɨ̆ 'current' is the subject:
'The current carried off the child'. Alternatively, yâ-ɛ́ may be
taken as the topic, so that g̈ɨ̆ is interpretable as the N_{spec} of a
transhemistichial compound: 'As for the child, he was current-
carried off'.

The tightness of the semantic bond between a N_{spec} and its
verb is demonstrated by the strong tendency of children to treat
the whole of such expressions as unitary verbs. Thus the author
recently [April 1970] overheard a ten-year old say mâ ni-ma hā
'I'm not sad', instead of the standard ni-ma mâ hā. The noun
ni-ma 'heart' has here been fused with the V_{adj} hā 'wretched' to
form a single verb 'heart-wretched' (i.e., 'sad') which is then
negatable by preposing mâ to the whole thing.

It is interesting to note that English seems to be making
increasing use of a type of [N + V]_V compound where the noun be-
haves semantically very much like a Lahu N_{spec}: 'sand-blast',
'water-ski', 'skin-dive', 'land-grab', 'pole-vault', 'day-dream',
'baby-sit', 'finger-paint', 'thumb-wrestle', 'toe-dance', etc.
In some (but not all) of these the noun is really the instrument
by which the verb's action is performed: again like Lahu.
(4) N_{spec} + te. Nouns occurring before the verb te 'do/make'
may stand in a variety of relations to it. Most commonly the
noun is a direct object: yɛ̀ | te ve 'build a house', ɔ̄-fa-la |
te ve 'make a frame', ú-gɛ̂ | te ve 'make a pillow', ɔ̄-ta=ɔ̄-ta≡
lwê̄ʔ | te ve 'make checkers'. In these cases the preceding noun
refers to something which has been made from scratch. We may call
the noun preceding te a *factitive object*. But consider the fol-

4.51(4)

lowing sentences: y̌ɔ ¦ há-q̄ō chí ¦ yɛ̀ | te ve 'He's using this
cave as a house'; ɔ-g̈ɨ chí ¦ nâʔ-chɨ | mâ te phɛ̀ʔ 'One can't use
this liquid as a medicine'; thú-pɨ chí ¦ ú-gɛ̂ | te phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ
'Can (I) use this sack for a pillow?'. Here the noun preceding
te is not a thing made from scratch, but rather something which
already exists for which a new use is found or contemplated. The
noun is yet another type of N_{spec}, to which we may give the label
exploitative. (We are exploiting the sack's shape, solidity, etc.
by using it as a pillow, even though that was not the purpose for
which it was made.)

   Another variety of N_{spec} + te construction is exemplified by
the sentence: vɨ chí tê cɔ̂ ¦ ɔ-ta=ló | te ve lâ 'Does this kind
of snake have stripes?'. Here the noun preceding te is neither a
factitive nor an exploitative, but refers instead to an inherent
characteristic or appurtenance (stripes) of the subject (snake).
The transhemistichial expression ɔ-ta=ló | te behaves like a uni-
tary verb 'be striped / have stripes'. Similarly, ɔ-qhɛ̀ʔ | te ve
'be ridged/corrugated', ɔ-qhɔ | te ve 'have holes', ɔ-dɨ | te ve
'be lumpy', ɔ-qɔ̂ʔ | te ve 'be crooked', etc. Semantically, the
te here is synonymous with the verb cɔ̂ 'have', which readily sub-
stitutes for it: ɔ-qhɛ̀ʔ | cɔ̂ ve 'have ridges', etc. We may
label these N_{spec}'s appurtenatives.

   Finally, a notable type of N_{spec} + te sequence contains a
noun referring to a mode of locomotion: khɨ=cu-ni | te ve 'walk
on tiptoes', gá-go-lo | te/qay ve 'crawl', khɨ-nê? | te ve 'limp'.
The N_{spec}'s here are not objects; the P_n thàʔ is not insertible
after them. If anything, they most resemble the interjectory or
onomatopoetic adverbs discussed above 4.44.

4.52 Adverbially oblique NP's. In the chapter 'Extentive nuclei'
[3.611] we discussed at length a variety of nominal structures
which partake partly of the nature of autonomous nouns and partly
of the nature of adverbials (specifically, adverbials of the
'subordinate expression' type [4.42]), and which have meanings

4.52

relating to degree, manner, or extent. These 'extentive NP's' include such constructions as chi + E$_{ma}$ (chi-f± | lɔ̂ʔ e ve 'go in this far'); qhà + E$_{ma}$ (qhà-ma | ± ve le 'How big is it?'); chi + E$_{má-ɛ̀}$ (chi má-ɛ̀ | yê ve 'use only this much'); qha + E$_{ma}$ + ɛ̀ (qha h± ɛ | tɔ̂ʔ ve 'cut up equally / cut to the same size'); N + a-kɛ́ (hɔ a-kɛ́ | chu ve 'fatter than an elephant'); N + qhe (ğâʔ=phu-qā qhe | bù ve 'crow like a cock'); N + qha-gà (yàʔ-qɔ qha-gà | jû ve 'walk as far as the road'); N + qha=šū-šu (Kâlà-phu qha=šū-šu | yɔ ve 'speak the same as a white man'). In all these constructions, the meaning of the NP is oriented toward the elucidation of the verb. The NP may properly be said to modify the VP rather than stand in any typically nominal relationship to it.

The morphological device of reduplication often signals that a NP is semantically oriented toward the VP. Again several semantic subtypes may be distinguished, notably locomotives and appurtenatives. A few miscellaneous examples: ɔ̂-cɔ ɔ̂-cɔ | qay ve 'go round and round' ("circle-circle go"); ɔ̂-tɔ ɔ̂-tɔ | k± qay ve 'rot away by degrees / rot piece by piece'; ɔ̂-qhɛ̀ʔ ɔ̂-qhɛ̀ʔ | qay ve 'become ridged/notched/corrugated' ("chip-chip go"); ɔ̂=tɔ-tɔ | gàʔ ve 'be striped at intervals'; tɔ̂-tɔ̂=nɔ̂ʔ | qay ve 'go up in steps / be graduated like steps'; ɔ̂=tɛ̀-tɛ̀ | šī ve 'know truly' ("truth-truth know"); ɔ̂=tɛ̀ʔ-tɛ̀ʔ | chê 'stay alive' ("alive-alive be"). As with all adverbially used reduplicates, the most common following verbs are te, qay, chê, phɛ̀ʔ.[187]

We have by no means exhausted the types of Lahu NP's that one could point to as being 'adverbially oriented'. As a final example we might mention time-expressions like šɛ̂ʔ qhɔ̂ʔ phâʔ 'more than three years', qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ 'always', yàʔ-šɛ=thâ 'just a moment ago', etc., as in the following sentences: yɔ̂ ¦ yā-f± tâ-kà ¦ šɛ̂ʔ qhɔ̂ʔ phâʔ | te chê ve yò 'He has been dealing in opium for more than three years'; yɔ̂ ¦ šu thàʔ ¦ qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ | dê p±

chê ve cê 'They say he's always scolding others'; {nɔ̀ ¦ yàʔ-šɛ=
thâ | qôʔ tā̄ ve} ¦ ŋà | mâ yō̄ pɛ́ 'I can't believe what you said
just now'.

There is in fact a problem of knowing when to call a halt in
one's search for 'adverbial' NP's. This is no particular cause
for worry, since it merely points up the important fact that in
Lahu the verb is king: the most important constituent in the
sentence. Nouns are always susceptible of being sucked into the
verbal orbit.

4.6 Verb particles (P_v's). We proceed to amplify the third ele-
ment in our schema for the Lahu verb-phrase: VP → (AE) + β +
(P_v) + (P_u); P_v → :

A verb-particle (P_v) is a word which cannot constitute an
utterance by itself and which occurs always and only after mem-
bers of the class of verbs (or after other verb-particles).[188]
Semantically, they serve to elucidate the meaning of the verb in
a variety of ways, conveying notions of aspect, directionality,
subjective attitudes toward the verbal event, etc. Conspicuously
absent are any P_v's referring to tense. Tense-concepts are for-
eign to the Lahu verb, as they are for the Sino-Tibetan languages
in general.

There are over twenty important P_v's. These may be divided
into four subclasses on the basis of their semantic and syntactic
properties, especially their privileges of co-occurrence with
other P_v's within a single VP. See Figure 30.

FIGURE 30. Subclasses of P_v's

	II	III
I	IV	
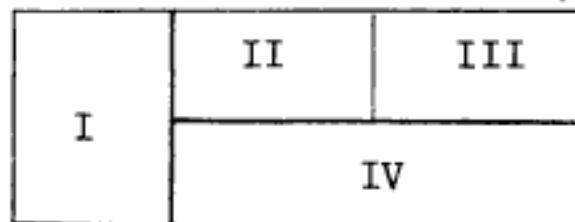
P_v's of Group I may be followed within the same VP by P_v's be-
longing to each of the other three groups; P_v's of Group III may

also be preceded by members of Group II; but P_v's belonging to
Group IV are mutually exclusive with those of Groups II and III.
Within each individual group there are also co-occurrence and
order restrictions. Some members of each group are mutually ex-
clusive, and those that may co-occur in a single VP usually do so
in a fixed relative order.[189] Some VP's contain no P_v's at all;
many others have only one or two (either both from the same group
or not); sequences of three P_v's are not uncommon; strings of
four or more are excessively rare, though theoretically possible.
Adjectives may take many fewer members of the P_v class than
V_{act}'s can. This was one of the main reasons for recognizing a
subclass of V_{adj}'s in the first place [4.1].

There is a strong semantic unity among the P_v's of a partic-
ular group. Group I P_v's have meanings relating to directional-
ity, either in the concrete sense of direction of motion, or the
more abstract sense of the dynamics of the verbal action (who is
affecting whom). One P_v of this group, tā, indicates the <u>absence</u>
of directionality: permanence or durativity.[190] Group II P_v's
express subjective attitudes or refer to the nature of one's own
experience. Group III P_v's are aspectual, specifying such notions
as the completion or realization of the action of the verb.
Group IV P_v's are imperative or interjectory in force.

4.61 P_v's of Group I: directionality. Verb-particles of this
group may be followed by members of II, or III, or IV, or of II +
III. The P_v's within Group I may co-occur as indicated in
Figure 31.

(1) dà? 'mutuality; reciprocity; joint participation'. The P_v
<u>dà?</u> (not to be confused with the homophonous V_{adj} 'good') always
occurs directly after a verb. If there are several P_v's in se-
quence, <u>dà?</u> comes first. Its meaning is clear-cut: more than
one individual are involved in the action of the verb, and these
individuals are impinging on each other.[191] If the verb is tran-

4.61; 4.61(1)

FIGURE 31.   Group I P$_v$'s

dà?	tā		
	e	la	lâ
və	e la		

sitive, V + dà? is usually to be taken in the sense that the par-
ties to the action are doing it to each other, mutually, recipro-
cally: dɔ́? dà? 'strike one another', mɔ̀ dà? 'see/meet each
other', pà? dà? 'copulate', qô? dà? (a) 'speak to each other'
(b) 'quarrel' (cf. English 'have words with each other'), ɔ-chɔ |
te dà? 'make friends with each other', hə̄? dà? 'get married'
("take each other"), bà dà? 'get divorced' ("throw each other
away"). Even if the sentence is cast in such a way that one par-
ty is explicitly the actor while the other is explicitly acted
upon, as long as the action is in fact such that both parties are
equally affected, dà? may sometimes be used: ŋà ¦ yà?-qɔ=qá ¦ yɔ́
thà? | mɔ̀ dà? ve yò 'We met each other on the road' ("I recipro-
cally-saw him on the road"). Sometimes the parties are equally
affected by the action of some outside agency: á-lè? lɛ á-phè? |
qha-dè? khɔ̀? dà? ve yò 'The salt and chillies are properly mixed
together'.

When the verb is intransitive, it may be followed by dà?
only if its meaning intrinsically involves more than a single
entity: šū dà? 'be the same', pɔ̄(n) dà? 'be different', cá dà?
'be connected/related', hɔ̄ dà? 'be cooperative/united', cɔ̂ dà?
'be harmonious/fit well with each other', etc. Verbs like these
occur with the dà? more often than not.

After a V$_{adj}$, dà? may never be used.[192]

(2) və 'transportatory motion'. və is the only other verb-par-
ticle which may never be preceded by another P$_v$. It indicates

4.61(2)

motion to or from something or someone, and is used in cases
where the motion is literal and physical, not figurative. Furthermore, v<u>ə</u> implies that an object is being transported from one
place to another by the verbal event.[193] It is therefore used
only with transitive verbs: yù v<u>ə</u> 'move sthg, take sthg away,
bring sthg to'; ši v<u>ə</u> 'lead someone away from, lead someone to';
fá v<u>ə</u> 'hide sthg away, take sthg away and hide it'; ğa v<u>ə</u> 'get
away with sthg, get sthg and go away with it, get sthg and bring
it back'. Note that v<u>ə</u> is neutral with respect to the direction
of the motion. To indicate a specific direction (either toward
or away from the center of interest) v<u>ə</u> may be followed by <u>e</u> or
<u>la</u> (qq.v.), the two unidirectional motion P_v's of this group.
Needless to say, v<u>ə</u>, like <u>dàʔ</u>, may not follow V_{adj}'s.

(3) <u>e</u> '<u>transitivity; continued becoming</u>'. The basic meaning of
<u>e</u> is transitive motion, motion away from the center of interest.
This transitivity need not (but may) imply that an object is being transported: q<u>ɔ̀ʔ e</u> 'go back / return to', <u>lòʔ e</u> 'enter / go
and enter', <u>tɔ̂ʔ e</u> 'go out from', yù <u>tɔ̂ʔ e</u> 'take out from', p<u>ə e</u>
'send away / send off to', há <u>e</u> 'go spend the night', ph<u>ɔ e</u>
'flee / run away'. <u>e</u> is also much used in imperative expressions
of the type translatable as 'go and V_h!'. The V_h may be reinforced by the $_vV$ <u>ca</u> 'go and V_h' [above 4.321]: kh<u>ɔ̀ʔ qay e</u> 'Let's
go!', <u>ɔ̄</u> | c<u>â e</u> 'Go and eat!', <u>nâʔ</u> | ga š<u>i e</u> 'Go help (him) carry
the gun!', <u>phu àʔ</u> | h<u>âʔ ca ğɔ̂ʔ e</u> 'Hurry and go pick up the
money!'. In this construction two separate actions are involved:
the going, signalled by <u>e</u>, is the prerequisite for carrying out
the subsequent action referred to by the verb.

We sometimes find <u>e</u> ending statements of intent by the first
person to perform a motive action: ŋà ¦ mô h<u>ɔ́</u> | l<u>ɔ e</u> 'I'll go
wait down there'. Typically the Group IV P_v of intent, š<u>ā</u>, is
added: ŋà ¦ mô h<u>ɔ́</u> | l<u>ɔ e šā</u> [below 4.65].

Occasionally the idea of motion is entirely figurative: š<u>ɨ</u>
<u>e</u> 'die / drop dead' (cf. Thai <u>taaj paj</u> 'die' ["die go"] and Eng.

4.61(3)

'pass away'), <u>kâ</u> <u>e</u> 'overhear/catch the sound of' ("hear away /
hear on the run"), <u>pə̀</u> <u>e</u> 'be finished, all used up' (cf. Eng. 'all
gone'). After V_{adj}'s, or action verbs referring to processes, <u>e</u>
may convey a movement that is figurative in a temporal sense,
indicating a continuous becoming through time (usually from the
present to the future), or the progressively greater realization
of a state: <u>chu</u> <u>e</u> 'get fat / continue to get fat / go on getting
fat / get fat from now on', <u>kɨ̂</u> <u>e</u> 'get rotten / go bad / get more
and more decayed'.[194]

Both in its 'literal' and 'figurative' guises, the meaning
of <u>e</u> is practically identical to that of the V_v <u>qay</u>:[195] <u>yù</u> <u>e</u>
$(V + P_v)$/<u>yù</u> <u>qay</u> $(V + V_v)$ 'take away', <u>kɨ̂</u> <u>e</u>/<u>kɨ̂</u> <u>qay</u> 'get more and
more rotten'.

(4) <u>la</u> 'cisativity; past-to-present becoming'. In its more
concrete sense, <u>la</u> functions as a motion P_v opposite in meaning
to <u>e</u>, indicating cisative motion, motion toward the center of
interest: <u>qə̀ʔ</u> <u>la</u> 'come back to', <u>pə</u> <u>la</u> 'send sthg hither', <u>gà</u> <u>la</u>
'arrive at/come to one's destination', <u>yù</u> <u>la</u> 'bring to', <u>pò</u> <u>la</u>
'come flying', <u>phɔ</u> <u>la</u> 'come fleeing'. <u>la</u> is also used in impera-
tive expressions translatable as 'come and V_h!'. The V_h is often
preceded by the $_vV$ <u>ca</u> 'go and V_h':[196] <u>yù</u> <u>la-ʔ</u> 'Come and take
it!', <u>ɔ̄</u> | <u>câ</u> <u>la</u> 'Come and eat!', <u>nâʔ</u> | <u>ga</u> <u>ši</u> <u>la</u> 'Come help (me)
carry the gun!', <u>vàʔ</u> | <u>hâʔ</u> <u>ca</u> <u>dɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>la-ʔ</u> 'Hurry, come kill the
pig!'.

Notice the ambiguity of the combination <u>yù</u> 'take' + <u>la</u>.
When uttered without an imperative intonation, the meaning is
'take cisatively', i.e., 'bring' (cf. Japanese <u>motte</u> <u>kuru</u>): only
a single action is involved. With abrupt imperative intonation,
however (symbolized conventionally by -<u>ʔ</u>, below 4.65), two actions
are involved: the coming is separate from and prior to the
taking.

The P_v <u>la</u> is obviously related to the verb <u>là</u> 'come', but it
is important to distinguish how the two are used after verbs.

4.61(4)

The P_v la is used to indicate cisative motion after verbs which
themselves have a motion-meaning, like ğɨ 'run', gà 'reach', phɔ
'flee', etc. A non-motion verb may not be followed by la in its
concrete motive sense, except in imperatives (above). The verb
là, on the other hand, is sometimes used as a juxtacapital V_v
[4.331A] after non-motion verbs to convey the cisative motion-
notion: ŋâ | tɔ̄-câ là ve yò '(We) came damming (streams to get)
fish to eat' ("fish dam-eat came"), ŋà-hɨ | ca gɨ là ve yò 'We've
come to visit'.[197] Note the difference in meaning between la and
là after the verb qɔ̀ʔ. In the expression qɔ̀ʔ la, qɔ̀ʔ is the V_h
meaning 'return', and the P_v la makes it cisative: 'come back
(in this direction)'. In the combination qɔ̀ʔ là, however, the V_h
is là 'come', and qɔ̀ʔ is a $_vV$ meaning 'V_h again' [above 4.321],
so that the meaning is 'come again / come once more'.

     In its more figurative usage, la indicates becoming, immi-
nence, a gradual approach to a present or future state of affairs.
This is similar to the figurative use of e, except that the latter
implies a greater continuity and a longer duration of action, and
is more future-directed than la: e 'continuously greater realiza-
tion of an already existent state of affairs' vs. la 'gradual
approach to a state of affairs'. Thus, šɨ la 'be moribund / about
to die / near death', pɔ̀ la 'be almost finished', bûʔ la 'be
nearly satiated / getting to be full', šī la 'come to know / get
to understand better', dàʔ la 'get better / improve', chu la 'be
nearly fat / be on the verge of overweight' (vs. chu e 'continue
to put on weight / get fatter and fatter'). As the last two exam-
ples show, figurative la (like figurative e) frequently occurs
after V_{adj}'s.

(5) The compound P_v la=pâ-nê. The spatial M_{pfx} pâ-nê (ɔ=pâ-nê
'vicinity / nearby place', cf. nê V_{adj} 'be near') often occurs in
conjunction with la to form a word which functions as a unitary
Group I P_v, la=pâ-nê. The presence of =pâ-nê serves to strengthen

4.61(5)

the idea of imminence conveyed by <u>la</u>: pə̀ <u>la=pâ-nê</u> yò̱ 'It's practically finished', <u>s̆ɨ</u> <u>la=pâ-nê</u> yò̱ 'He's got one foot in the grave'. In compound sentences, <u>la=pâ-nê</u> is often followed by the temporal P_{univ} <u>thâ</u> (q.v.): V + <u>la=pâ-nê</u> + <u>thâ</u> 'when on the point of V'ing'. Thus, <u>chɔ-mɔ̂ chi</u> | <u>yɨ̱ʔ-tu la=pâ-nê thâ</u> || <u>chɔ-qhɔ̂</u> | <u>phɔ e s̆e̱ ve yò̱</u> 'Just as the old man was about to wake up, the thief ran away'. Interestingly enough, <u>pâ-nê</u> is now acquiring the status of a P_v all by itself, and can occur directly after verbs (something which an ordinary M_{pfx} can never do): <u>yâ-mɨ̱ chi</u> ¦ <u>yâ</u> | <u>pɔ pâ-nê yò̱</u> 'This girl is about to give birth to her child'. Here we see before our very eyes the process by which root-morphemes become 'grammaticalized' into abstract particles.

(6) P_v-sequences with <u>dàʔ</u>, <u>və</u>, <u>e</u>, and <u>la</u>. Reciprocal <u>dàʔ</u> is mutually exclusive with transportatory <u>və</u>, but there is nothing to stop it from occurring before <u>e</u> and <u>la</u> in the same VP: <u>bɔ̂ʔ dàʔ e</u> 'go off shooting at each other', <u>dê dàʔ e</u> 'go off quarrelling with each other', <u>làʔ-s̆ɛ</u> | <u>cá dàʔ la</u> 'come holding each other's hands' [motive <u>la</u>], <u>s̆ɨ̄ dàʔ la</u> 'come to understand each other' [non-motive <u>la</u>].

We have seen that <u>və</u> cannot specify the direction of motion by itself, and must be followed by <u>e</u> or <u>la</u> if such specification is required: <u>yù və e</u> 'carry away', <u>s̆ɨ̄ və e</u> 'lead away', <u>yù və la</u> 'carry hither', <u>s̆ɨ̄ və la</u> 'lead here'. It is unnecessary to add <u>e</u> or <u>la</u> if the direction of motion is clear from something else in the sentence. Thus, <u>yɔ̂ àʔ</u> | <u>yù və-ʔ</u> would normally be interpreted transitively as 'Take it to him', since a third person object, <u>yɔ̂ àʔ</u> '(to) him' is included; conversely, <u>ŋà àʔ</u> | <u>yù və-ʔ</u> can only mean 'Bring it to me', since a first person object is overtly expressed.

The meanings of <u>e</u> and <u>la</u> are diametrically opposed, yet both may co-occur in the same VP [provided <u>və</u> does not precede] with either of two meanings: (a) When <u>e</u> and <u>la</u> both have their literal motive meanings, the sequence <u>e</u> + <u>la</u> indicates an action in-

volving first a going then a coming: [mô ┆ lɔ̄-qá qhô ɔ̄ | chɔ tā̄

ve] šɨ̆ʔ-cɛ̀ | ca tâʔ e la-ʔ 'Go and carry back ("come back carry-

ing") the trees we chopped down there near the river!'.   (b)   When

e is used to show figurative away-ness and la to show imminence,

the sequence e + la means 'imminent transitivity': yɔ̂ | šɨ̆ e la

yò 'He has almost passed away / He's about to die'.[198]   The ex-

pression šɨ̆-e-la-yò has been lexicalized in colloquial Lahu into

a locution much like English 'dreadfully', 'frightfully', 'to

death', etc., or like the Thai càʔ taaj [cətaaj] 'to death', as a

rather breathless emphatic tag after verbs: ŋà ┆ ɔ̄ | mɔ̀ʔ šɨ̆-e-la-

yò 'I'm so hungry I could die'.

The three-particle sequence dàʔ + e + la is also possible,

though of course it is quite rare: ca ga dàʔ e la-ʔ 'Go help each

other and come back!'.

* (7) tā̄ ∿ ā̄; tá ∿ á; tàʔ ∿ àʔ 'perfective permanence'. This im-

portant P_v, which we always cite in the basic form /tā̄/ for con-

venience, has a number of phonetic variants according to the speed

of utterance, the degree of colloquiality of the speech-situation,

and the tone of the preceding and following syllables. It is not

possible to formulate any ironclad environmental conditioning

rules, since the various allomorphs are largely in free variation.

In general, however, the following tendencies may be noted: (a)

[tā̄] occurs in the slowest, most careful speech. At a slightly

faster tempo [tàʔ] may appear.[199]   (b) The variant [tá] tends to

occur before syllables in the low tones, /`/ and /¯/, no doubt for

the sake of contrast or emphasis, since the [tā̄]-form would be apt

to conglomerate with a following low-toned syllable. [tá] is thus

the most common variant to appear before the important low-toned

P_v ò̠ 'change of state' [4.64(5)]. [tá] is also found sometimes

before words in the mid- or high-falling /^/ tones, especially the

benefactive P_v lâ [4.61(8)] and the P_{univ} ve. (c) The corre-

sponding variants without initial t- ([ā̄], [àʔ], and [á]) are more

colloquial, but otherwise behave like their phonologically fuller

counterparts.[200]

4.61(7)

t̄a is used to indicate that the action of the preceding verb
is performed in a lasting or permanent manner, such that the
effects of that action are still visible or significant in the
present or future, or at a later time in the past. The emphasis
is often on the verbal event's 'experiential significance', as
providing a precedent, cause, or justification in previous exper-
ience for a later eventuality. It should be borne in mind that
t̄a, like the aspectual P_v's of Group III, is in itself neutral
with respect to tense. Some typical examples: š̆ɨ ā ve yò 'It's
dead' [and it will stay dead]; hɛ qhɔ | ğa jɔʔ kə t̄a ve yò 'We
have to thresh it and leave it in the fields';[201] ŋà ¦ dâʔ-mɨ́=š̆ī |
vɨ t̄a ve yò 'I have bought the batteries' [and I still have them,
so I can use them]; ô ve yâ-mî ¦ ŋà | a-lɔ́ gɨ á ò ve-ɔ̄ 'I'm the
one who visited that girl first' [so I still have first crack at
her]; qhɔ́-lɔ́ ô-ve ¦ yɔ́ | te ā ve yò 'He's the one who made that
basket' [which we still use and enjoy]; chɔ-mɔ́ chi ¦ tê ni le-le ¦
yɛ̀ qhɔ ɔ̄ | tèʔ-chí mâ te-te lɛ || chɛ̂ ā ve 'That old man had
stayed in his house every day doing nothing'. Often t̄a appears
in imperative sentences, where one is commanding that an action
be performed so that its results will be long-lasting: yɛ̀-mí |
hô? t̄a š̆ē 'First of all shut the door' [so it stays shut]; .
vîʔthayûʔ | phɔ t̄a mɛ̄ 'Turn on the radio, please' [and leave it
on]; ŋà ¦ khɨ=pɛ̀-kwi | ğa š̆ɨ phɛ̂ ā lâ qo || nɔ̀ | ni t̄a 'Take a
good look at how I wrenched the calf of my leg!'.[202]

　　t̄a is of frequent occurrence in the non-final clauses of com-
pound sentences: ɔ̄ | câ pɔ̀ á lɛ || yâ-mî=há | ca mâʔ qay gâ lâ
'After we finish eating, do you want to go court the girls?';
pha lɛ tí-qhâʔ=š̆ī | vɨ á lâ qo || á-pòʔ=yɨ-ma | te lâ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ
'If I buy you the cloth and the buttons, can you make me a tunic?'.
The presence of t̄a indicates that the action of the Cl_{nf} is a
prerequisite for the performance of the action of the Cl_f: only
because of the continuing efficacy of the prior action can the
subsequent action be carried out.

Another stronghold of t̄a is in relative clauses: V + t̄a +
ve + N₍ᵣₕ₎   'the N₍ᵣₕ₎ which has V'ed / the N₍ᵣₕ₎ which has been V'ed'.
Thus, [jè?=mù?-qu qhɔ | khá t̄a ve] là?=chɨ̂?-pɨ 'the fist that had
got stuck in the earthen pot'; [cɔ̀ t̄a ve] ɔ̀=g̈û-s̆ɨ 'the future
which has been foreordained'; [qhɔ qhô | chɛ̂ ā ve] chɔ 'the people
who have stayed up on the mountain'; [cɔ̂ ā ve] và?=ó-qō 'a pig's
head that has been boiled'. Again the idea conveyed by t̄a is that
the action of the relative clause has not lost its efficacy, and
is still essential for the characterization of the head-noun.

Significantly, t̄a never occurs after V_{adj}'s. Adjectives al-
ready refer to more or less permanent states, and the addition of
t̄a would be otiose. There are, in fact, powerful grounds for
maintaining that the job of t̄a in relative clauses is precisely
to convert V_{act}'s into quasi-adjectival stative verbs.[203]

Within a single VP, t̄a may follow reciprocal dà? or trans-
portatory və: [vɛ dà? t̄a ve] mɨ̀-gɨ 'the land which they had laid
rival claims to'; [yù və t̄a ve] s̆ɨ̆? 'the wood that has been
brought/taken'. However, t̄a is mutually exclusive with both e and
la. This is not surprising, since e and la indicate motion, be-
coming, or development, whereas t̄a is used to show the opposite:
permanence, stability, continuing efficacy.

Semantically, t̄a shows the greatest affinity for the aspec-
tual P_v's of Group III. However, in multi-particle strings t̄a
precedes the benefactive Group I P_v lâ (next section) and the P_v's
of Group II, while the genuine Group III P_v's follow these. With-
in the framework of the whole Lahu verb-particle system, there-
fore, t̄a seems to be set in paradigmatic opposition to the direc-
tional Group I particles, rather than patterning with the aspec-
tual ones.

(8) lâ 'benefactive: action impinging on a non-third person'.
Lahu shows a strong tendency to omit NP's which explicitly refer
to the subject and/or object of the sentence, when these are clear
from the general context. Thus, instead of saying yɔ̂ ¦ nɔ̀ thà? |

4.61(8)

tho <u>lâ</u> ɔ̀ <u>lâ</u> 'Has he told you already?', a Lahu would usually sim-
ply say <u>tho</u> <u>lâ</u> ɔ̀ <u>lâ</u>. Given this elliptical propensity, the lan-
guage must resort to other means in order to make it clear who is
affecting whom by the action of the verb. This is systematically
accomplished by the use of two words, the V$_v$ <u>pî</u> [above 4.331D]
and the P$_v$ <u>lâ</u>. <u>pî</u> is used to indicate that the verbal action
affects or impinges upon a 3rd person ('I/you/he hit[s] him');[204]
<u>lâ</u> shows that the action affects a non-3rd person ('I love you /
you love me / he loves me / he loves you').[205] Thus <u>pî</u> and <u>lâ</u>,
though they belong to different form-classes, pattern symmetri-
cally and complementarily from a semantic point of view, as shown
in Figure 32:

FIGURE 32.   Directions of Benefaction[206]
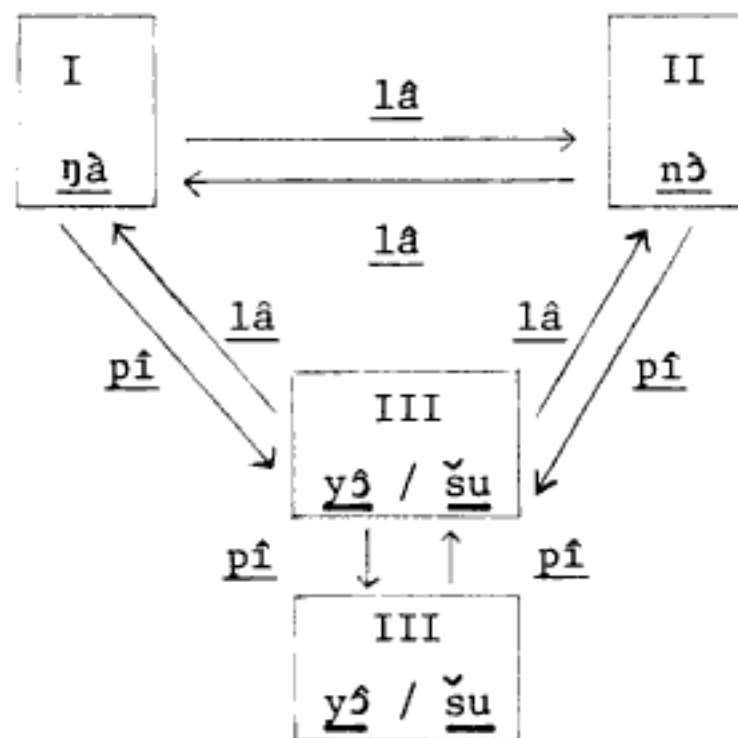
Examples. [a] 1 → 2 (<u>lâ</u>) : <u>qa-mɨ=khɔ̂ chi</u> | <u>mā lâ tù yò</u> 'I'll
teach you this song';[207] <u>qhâʔ-qhɔ ɔ̄</u> | <u>šī mā lâ a</u> 'Let me show you
around the village'; <u>ô̱ ve ɔ̀-lɔ</u> ¦ <u>ɔ̀-tɛ̀=ɔ̀-na</u> | <u>tho lâ qo</u> || <u>ân tù</u>
<u>yò</u> 'If I tell you the real truth about the matter, you'll be sur-
prised'. [b] 2 → 1 (<u>lâ</u>) : <u>ŋà àʔ</u> | <u>tâ kɔ̂ʔ lâ-ʔ</u> 'Don't frighten
me!'; <u>yù̱ lâ-ʔ</u> 'Bring it to me! / Take it from me!'; <u>Lâhū-khɔ̂</u> |
<u>a-cɪ́ mā lâ mɛ̄</u> 'Please teach me a little Lahu'. [c] 1 → 2 and
2 → 1 : <u>pha le tɪ́-qhâʔ=šī</u> | <u>vɨ á lâ qo</u> || <u>á-pòʔ=yɨ-ma</u> | <u>te lâ</u>

phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ 'If I buy you the cloth and the buttons, can you make me a tunic?'. [d] 3 → 1 (lâ) : nɔ̂ e chi | chɛ̂ a lâ qo || dàʔ ɔ̀ qôʔ-ma 'If that mother of yours were only here [for my benefit], it would be fine';[208] qhâʔ-šɛ ¦ ŋà àʔ ¦ Lâhū-lìʔ | mā lâ tù cê 'The headman says he'll teach me Lahu writing'. [e] 3 → 2 (lâ) : {šu | hàʔ-šá lâ ve} | dàʔ ve yɔ̀ 'If the others take care of you, it's all right'; Kɔ́lɔ́ chi ¦ nɔ̂ hɛ àʔ | qɔ̂ʔ tú phɛ̂ lâ ɔ̀ lâ 'Have those Thais burned your fields up again on you?'. `[f] 1 → 3 (pî) : yɔ̂ àʔ | mâ tho pî gâ 'I don't want to tell him'; chɔ-hē= pā lɔ́ chi ¦ ŋà | qha-dɛ̀ʔ dɛ̂ pî a šā 'I'll bawl that big liar out good and proper!'. [g] 2 → 3 (pî) : yù pî-ʔ 'Take it to him!'; yâ-mî=ɛ́ chi | tâ kɔ̂ʔ pî-ʔ 'Don't scare the little girl!'; ɔ́-qō | mâ dàʔ qo || qhà-qhe mā pî tù ve le 'How will you teach him if he has no brains ["if his head is no good"]?'; šu àʔ | tâ qôʔ pî-ʔ 'Don't tell it to anybody else!'. [h] 2 → 3 and 3 → 2 : yɔ̂-hɨ àʔ | ga pî thɔ̂ || nɔ̂ àʔ | mâ qɔ̂ʔ ga lâ 'Even if you help them, they won't help you back'. [i] 3 → 3 (pî) : šu thàʔ ¦ qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ | dɛ̂ pî chɛ̂ ve 'He's always scolding people'; cân-pā ve vên-bá | phɛ̂ pî ɔ̀ cê 'They say he has forgiven the sins of his enemies'.

As benefaction-markers, lâ and pî are naturally mutually exclusive (unless three different parties to the action are involved; see below). Yet there is nothing to stop lâ from occurring after pî when the latter is the main verb meaning 'give': nɔ̂ àʔ | mâ qɔ̂ʔ pî lâ hɛ̂ 'They probably won't give it back to you' (3 → 2); chi àʔ ¦ →bɔ̂ʔ tù↞ pî lâ ve 'They've given it to us to blast with' (3 → 1).[209] There does seem to be something confusing about a pî + lâ sequence, however, and this is sometimes avoided by using the rather literary verb pɛ̀ʔ 'bestow/give' instead of pî: ŋà àʔ | pɛ̀ʔ lâ a ~ ŋà àʔ | pî lâ a 'Please give it to me' (2 → 1). In any event, the usual way of saying 'Give X to me' is via a different construction altogether: the verbs yù 'take' or hɔ̂ʔ 'get', plus the mild imperative P_v a [below 4.65]:

ŋà ¦ tê mà | hə̀ʔ a 'Give me one / I'll take one'; vâ-ne chi | yù a-ʔ 'Give me that bamboo strip'.

4.611 <u>Multiple or embedded benefaction: when there are three parties to the action</u>. An action may simultaneously involve more than two people; specifically, an action performed by A may benefactively affect both B and C. Thus a hired assassin (A) may boast to his boss (B) that he has killed a cop (C): 'I killed him for you'. We might diagram the benefactive semantics of such a sentence as (1 → 3)→ 2; i.e., the 1 → 3 action as a whole is benefactively directed to the 2nd person. The 2nd person is the 'higher beneficiary'; the 3rd person is the 'lower' or 'embedded beneficiary'. In Lahu, the essential information to convey is whether or not a beneficiary is a 3rd person, i.e., whether it is appropriate to use <u>lâ</u> or <u>pî</u>. When both the higher and the lower beneficiary are 3rd persons, or when both are non-3rd persons, the language resorts to haplology. Instead of the theoretical sequences <u>pî</u> + <u>pî</u>, or <u>lâ</u> + <u>lâ</u>, we find simply <u>pî</u> and <u>lâ</u>, respectively. Consider the sentence <u>šɔ́-pɔ̄ qo</u> | <u>ğa ga ğàʔ dɔ̂ʔ pî ve</u> 'Tomorrow [we'll] have to help them hunt it down and kill it'.[210] The benefactive structure here is (1 → 3) → 3; both beneficiaries (the hunters and the animal) are 3rd persons, and a single <u>pî</u> is all that is needed. The direction of benefaction is so clear that neither beneficiary has to be overtly referred to in the nominal hemistich.

There remain six benefactive situations where the higher and lower beneficiaries do not agree with respect to the feature [± third person] : (1 → 2) → 3; (1 → 3) → 2; (2 → 1) → 3; (2 → 3) → 1; (3 → 3) → 1; (3 → 3) → 2. In these cases we are straining the Lahu benefactive apparatus to its limits. For clarity's sake, either or both of the beneficiaries usually is overtly expressed as a separate NP. As for <u>lâ</u> and <u>pî</u>, either of two courses may be adopted: (a) Both of these morphemes may appear in the VP, in the invariant order <u>lâ</u> + <u>pî</u>, <u>regardless of</u>

which <u>refers</u> <u>to</u> <u>the</u> <u>higher</u> <u>beneficiary</u>.[211] Thus: <u>yɔ̂ ɔ=ğû-s̆ɨ̄</u> ¦
<u>ŋà ve vê-bá thàʔ</u> | <u>phɔ̂ʔ mā lâ pî mɛ̄</u> 'Please confess my sins to
him for me' [(2 → 3) → 1]; <u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̂ ɔ-po</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂ ve vàʔ</u> | <u>dɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄ lâ</u>
<u>pî tù yò</u> 'I'll kill his pig for you' [(1 → 3) → 2]; <u>ŋà thàʔ</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂</u>
<u>ɔ-po</u> | <u>tâ qɔ̂ʔ qay cɨ lâ pî mɛ̄</u> 'Don't make me go again for him!'
[(2 → 1) → 3].   (b)   Alternatively, if the overall meaning of the
sentence is sufficiently clear, the speaker may choose to suppress
whichever of the two benefactive morphemes is less important for
the message he wishes to convey. Again, it is immaterial whether
the remaining <u>pî</u> or <u>lâ</u> refers to the higher or the lower benefi-
ciary.   Thus, a sentence meaning 'Have you given him the present
for me?' [(2 → 3) → 1] may be expressed either as <u>nɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>ŋà ɔ-po</u> ¦
<u>yɔ̂ thàʔ</u> ¦ <u>làʔ-s̆ɔ̄ ô-ve</u> | <u>te pî ò lâ</u> or as <u>nɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>ŋà ɔ-po</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂ thàʔ</u> ¦
<u>làʔ-s̆ɔ̄ ô-ve</u> | <u>te lâ ò lâ</u>.   In the first case, it is the lower
beneficiary which is highlighted; in the second case, the higher
beneficiary receives the emphasis.

A special case of the suppression of an unnecessary bene-
factive morpheme is provided by the high-frequency sentence <u>yù la</u>
<u>pî-ʔ</u> 'Bring it to me!' [(2 → 3) → 1].   Here the presence of the
cisative P_v <u>la</u> already makes it amply clear that one of the par-
ties to the action is a non-3rd person, so <u>lâ</u> would be otiose.[212]
4.612   <u>Shift of benefactive viewpoint</u>. Many native speakers of
English (the author included) often use the words 'bring' and
'take' in a seemingly paradoxical way, uttering sentences like
'Bring this to your mother!' or (stepping inside the front door
of one's home) 'Bill took me home from the office'.   Such sen-
tences reflect a shift of benefactive viewpoint in the speaker's
mind: he is putting himself in the position of a different party
to the action. (From the mother's viewpoint, the object is in-
deed brought to her; from Bill's point of view, driving the
speaker home was a taking, not a bringing.)   Similarly, it is a
common narrative device in European languages to shift the dis-
course from the first to the 2nd person for greater vividness:

4.612

'We inched our way to the top on our bellies -- once we got up
there, you see this fantastic view....'[213]

    In much the same way, Lahu speakers occasionally use lâ when
the benefactive structure of the sentence calls for pî instead.
The effect is to give the action greater immediacy: the first
and second persons are 'closer to home' than the 3rd person.
Thus, {yɔ̂ ve khɨ-šɛ thà? ¦ pɨ | chè? lâ ve} ¦ yɔ̂ | bɔ̀? jâ ve cê
'The mosquitoes stung him on the legs, and he was furious' (3 →
3); chi thà? pa-tɔ ¦ chi bɔ̀? ¦ chɔ | nà qo || Na-ší thà? | khɔ́-tân
pî lɛ || tho lâ cɨ ve yò 'As a result, when someone is sick now,
he makes an offering to Nashi and has her tell him [what to do]'
(3 → 3).

<u>4.613 Differences between lâ and pî</u>. Although lâ and pî are in
systematic opposition to each other, the fact that they belong to
different form-classes means that their behavior is not parallel
in all respects. (a) pî, being a verb, almost always precedes
all the P_v's in a VP.[214] There are some P_v's, however, which lâ
must follow, namely all the other P_v's of Group I. Thus VP's
containing, e.g., the P_v t̄a plus a benefactive morpheme have dif-
ferent orders of constituents, depending on whether lâ or pî is
required: ŋà à? | qô? t̄a lâ ve 'He has spoken to me' vs. yɔ̂ à? |
qô? pî t̄a ve 'He has spoken to him'. (b) In general, pî has a
much wider range of uses than lâ. We have seen [4.353] how pî
has developed into a causativizer when the causee is a 3rd person
or an inanimate object. A sentence like chi | pɔ̀ pî še may be
interpreted as causative ('Finish this first!'/'Make this be fin-
ished first!') as well as benefactive ('Finish this for him
first!').[215] (c) As markers of benefaction, lâ and pî may never
follow a V_{adj}, though pî may in its causative sense (qὲ pî 'make
it wide'). The whole question of the relationship between the
concepts of benefaction and causation is an interesting one, and
deserves investigation in the context of linguistic theory in
general. (d) Occasionally pî is to be taken in an <u>optative</u>

sense: 'may it come to pass that V! / may it be granted that V!'.
In the sentence ŋà àʔ | pò pî a 'May it spare me!', the action
affects the first person, but pî is used instead of lâ. This is
because the sentence expresses a wish, something that lâ is power-
less to indicate. pî is the essential constituent in the com-
pound pî-ôʔ, which is to be considered a separate optative P_v
(Group IV) in its own right [below 4.65(6)].

4.614   Group I P_v-sequences with lâ. lâ occurs freely after all
the verb-particles in Group I, and after all permissible sequences
of such P_v's as outlined above. dàʔ + lâ: bɔ́ʔ dàʔ lâ 'shoot each
other for our/your benefit'; və + lâ: yù və lâ 'transport it for
my/your benefit'; e + lâ: qòʔ e lâ 'return for my/your benefit';
la + lâ: g̈àʔ la lâ (directional la) 'drive hither for me/you',
hàʔ la lâ (imminent la) 'come to love me/you'; tā + lâ: [tɛ tā
lâ ve] ɔ́-cə̀ 'a thing which has been set up for us/you'; dàʔ + la
+ lâ: ŋà-hɨ | hàʔ dàʔ la lâ tù yò 'We'll get to love each other',
etc.

4.62   šē_r 'attitude of regret at an unpleasant event'. The fre-
quently occurring P_v šē_r is used to indicate that the speaker
regards the verbal event as a cause for regret. This particle is
homophonous with the inchoative Group III P_v šē, a completely
different morpheme. Hence the r-subscript when the 'šē of regret'
is meant.

It seems certain that šē_r is a loanword from Shan.[216] It is
somewhat marginal to the main system of Lahu P_v's, not because it
occurs infrequently, but because it appears in sequences with
other P_v's in no fixed order. It may either precede or follow
the Group I P_v's la, e, tā, and lâ with no discernible difference
in meaning. It seldom occurs after P_v's of other groups, however,
and in fact tends to appear as close to its verb as possible.
This leads us to treat it as a Group I P_v, though semantically it
shows more affinity for the Group II P_v's [4.63]: chu šē e lɛ ～

4.614; 4.62

chu e šē lɛ 'continuing, alas, to get fat'; qhὲʔ šē la tù ve yɔ̀
'It's about to chip off [which is regrettable]'; yàʔ-šɛ thâ ¦ nɔ̀ ¦
<<lὲʔ>> qôʔ lɛ || lὲʔ šē á ɔ̀ qɔ̀ʔ 'You told me to eat just now, so
I did [but I'm sorry if I've offended you]'; ɔ̀-g̈â | nû jâ šē lɛ ||
|| nâʔ-chɨ ¦ qhà-ma | tɔ thɔ̂ || šɨ e šē ve yɔ̀ 'Since she was [re-
grettably] very weak, no matter how much medicine they gave her
to drink she [unfortunately] died'; ɔ̀-yân | lɛ šē ve pa-tɔ ||
tὲʔ-chí te mâ phὲʔ ɔ̀ 'Since it was [regrettably] too late, there
was nothing they could do'; tê to ve jὲʔ-nêʔ tí | phὲʔ šē ɔ̀ 'Her
whole body got covered with mud [and isn't that too bad]'.[217]

As some of the above examples show, šē~ occurs freely after
V_{adj}'s as well as after action-verbs.

4.63 P_v's of Group II: subjective attitudes; nature of one's

experience. The four P_v's of this group pattern as indicated in
Figure 33:

FIGURE 33.   The Group II P_v's

qhɛ	
gâ	jɔ
jɔ	gâ

à

(1) qhɛ 'iterative excess'. qhɛ is used to indicate that the
preceding verb's action is performed constantly, repeatedly, or
to excess: yɨʔ qhɛ 'sleep all the time / be a slugabed', nàʔ-ú |
te qhɛ 'talk too much', câ qhɛ 'overeat/eat constantly', akhwàn |
lɔ̂ qhɛ ve 'keep begging for permission', jɨ | dɔ̂ qhɛ ve 'drink
liquor to excess'. In meaning, qhɛ is rather similar to the ver-
satile verbs chê and cɨ (qq.v.), though with the latter the nu-
ance of excess is not present. The P_v qhɛ is probably related to
the Clf qhɛ 'classifier for instances of time; a stroke/a time/un
coup' (cf. tê qhɛ tí 'all of a sudden / all at once').

qhɛ never occurs after V_{adj}'s. To express an excess of an

4.63; 4.63(1)

adjectival quality, the V$_v$ jâ (q.v.) is used: ɨ̄ jâ 'very big;
too big'.

<u>(2) gâ 'desiderative'</u>. This P$_v$, one of the most important of
them all, is the only way of expressing volition or desire in
Lahu.[218] V$_h$ + <u>gâ</u> is almost always best translated as 'want to
V$_h$ / would like to V$_h$': <u>šī̄</u> gâ 'want to know'; ŋà̱ | mâ tɔ́ʔ e gâ
'I don't want to go out'; <u>šɨʔ-cɛ̀</u> | mâ <u>thu</u> bà <u>cɨ</u> gâ <u>cê</u> 'They say
they don't want to let us cut down any trees';[219] mâ <u>ca</u> <u>ni</u> gâ <u>lâ</u>
'Don't you want to go and look?'. Occasionally V$_h$ + <u>gâ</u> is better
translated 'it looks like it will V$_h$': <u>mû-yɛ̀</u> | <u>là</u> gâ <u>ve</u> 'It
looks like rain will come / It looks as if it'll rain'. (Cf. the
rather rustic American colloquial 'Looks like it wants to rain,
doesn't it?'.)

In keeping with its high degree of semantic abstractness, <u>gâ</u>
may also occur after adjectives: <u>dàʔ</u> gâ <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'I want to be
good'; <u>cɔ́</u> <u>la</u> gâ <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'I want to get thinner'.

<u>(3) jɔ 'experiential'</u>. <u>jɔ</u> indicates that the speaker has at
some time experienced the verbal event referred to in its clause.
V$_h$ + <u>jɔ</u> is the ordinary way of expressing the idea 'have ever
V$_h$'ed':[220] nɔ̀ ¦ Lâhū ɔ̄-chî | câ jɔ ɔ̀ lâ 'Have you ever eaten a
Lahu curry?'; <u>mâ</u> <u>ğa</u> <u>câ</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>šē</u> 'I've never had the chance to eat
(one) yet';[221] <u>šu</u> <u>mɨ-gɨ̀</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>qay</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>šu</u> <u>khɔ̂</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> <u>pɛ</u> <u>šē</u> hɛ́
'Since he's never gone to their country, he probably can't know
their language yet'; <u>chi</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>te</u> <u>jɔ</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>mɔ̀</u> <u>jɔ</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>kâ</u>
<u>jɔ</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> 'As for that, I've never done it, never seen it,
never heard of it, so I don't know'.[222]

Occasionally <u>jɔ</u> is better translated as 'be used to V'ing /
accustomed to V'ing': {<u>chi</u> <u>qhe</u> <u>ve</u> ɔ̄-cɔ̀ | mɔ̀ jɔ ve} | mɔ jâ ɔ̀
'We've been used to seeing this sort of thing for a long time
now' ("Our being used to seeing this...is a long time now").

Like <u>gâ</u>, <u>jɔ</u> may occur after adjectives: <u>ha-lɛ̀</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> 'I
have been happy (in my time)'.

<u>(4) à 'asseverative'</u>.[223] This P$_v$ vigorously asserts the truth,

4.63(2-4)

reality, or vividness of the preceding verbal event: s̆ī̆ à̱ 'I
know it!'; chî̱ à̱ 'That burns! / I've burned myself!'; ŋà̱ ¦ lâ |
kɔ̂ʔ à̱ 'I'm afraid of tigers!'.

More than the other P_v's of this group, à̱ occurs regularly
and characteristically after adjectives: dàʔ à̱ 'Good!/Fine!/
O.K.'; ŋà̱ khɨ-s̆ɛ | gɔ̱ à̱ 'My feet are cold!'; vɨ̱ à̱ yâ-o nē 'It's
awfully damn far!'; hɛ-pɨ̱=qhɔ ɔ̄ ¦ lâ | cɔ̱ mâ à̱ 'There are lots of
tigers in the jungle!'; ɔ-bo | ɨ̱ à̱ mɛ̄ 'That's really very kind of
you!' ("The boon is very great!").

à̱ occurs with especial frequency after the common and impor-
tant verbs pɨ̱ 'be able', chê 'be in a place', s̆ī̆ 'know/under-
stand', and cɔ̱ 'have/there is/there are', particularly when sen-
tences containing these verbs end in the yes-or-no question P_{uf}
lâ:[224] lî̱ʔ | ğɔ pɨ̱ à̱ lâ 'Do you know how to read?'; chɔ̱ kàʔ ¦
vɨ̱ | cɔ̱ à̱ lâ 'Are there any snakes around here?'; {ŋà̱ | qô̱ʔ ve} ¦
nɔ̱ | s̆ī̆ à̱ lâ 'Do you understand what I'm saying?'; chê-s̆a chê à̱ *
lâ 'How are you?'/'Are you well?'.[225]

Sentences beginning with the conjunction à̱-mù 'otherwise/or
else/lest' [below 4a.1], and ending in pɨ̱ 'be able' + à̱, are
warnings of the 'if you (don't) V_1, then V_2 is likely to happen'
type: chi̱ qhe | tâ câ qhɛ. à̱-mù ||| ğô-pè | nà̱ la pɨ̱ à̱ 'Don't
overeat like that! You might get a stomach-ache!'
(5) Sequences of Group II P_v's. gâ and jɔ may occur in sequence
with each other in either order, depending on the meaning: qay
gâ jɔ ve yɔ̀ 'I have wanted to go' (i.e., "I have had the exper-
ience of wanting to go") vs. qay jɔ gâ ve yɔ̀ 'I want to have the
experience of going'. These alternative meanings reflect the
same modificatory principles that we have seen operating in the
case of verb concatenations [4.343]. The P_v that appears further
away from the V_h modifies everything to its left.

qhɛ rarely appears in sequence with gâ or jɔ, but contexts
may be found where it makes sense to have qhɛ occurring after the
former or before the latter: qay gâ qhɛ ve yɔ̀ 'He constantly

wants to go / He keeps wanting to go'; qay qhɛ jɔ ve yò 'I have
gone a great deal in my time / I have had the experience of going
often'.

qhɛ, gâ, and jɔ all frequently occur before à: hɔ | câ qhɛ
à 'The elephants eat it up all the time!'; qay jɔ à 'Of course
I've gone' ("Of course I've had the experience of going!"); ŋà ¦
ɔ-mî=ma | hə̂ʔ gâ à 'I want to get married!'.

(6)   Sequences with P_v's of Group I. P_v's of Group II occur
freely after Group I P_v's, except that if tā is selected from
Group I, jɔ, qhɛ, or à may not follow in the same VP. In other
words, tā + gâ is the only possible tā + P_{v-II} sequence: chê tā
gâ ve yò 'He wants to stay'. Now tā, like jɔ, may refer to past
experience (especially as it bears on a later time): [qay tā ve]
chɔ 'a person who has (already) gone'; [qay jɔ ve] chɔ 'a person
who has (ever) gone'. qhɛ, which implies habituality, is incom-
patible with tā, which signals perfectivity, over-and-done-with-
ness. Similarly, the note of excitement or exclamation conveyed
by à seems to clash with the quiet stability of tā. In sum, tā +
jɔ is excluded on 'similarity grounds', while tā + qhɛ and tā + à
are excluded on the grounds of 'disparateness'.[226]

Like gâ and jɔ, gâ and the Group I P_v la may occur in either
order relative to each other, depending on the meaning: šī la gâ
ve yò 'I want to get to understand it' vs. šī gâ la ve yò 'I've
gotten to want to understand it' (in both these sentences la is
interpreted in its non-motive sense); mɔ̂ dàʔ la gâ ve yò 'They
want to come meet us' ("They want to come see mutually": motive
la) vs. mɔ̂ dàʔ gâ la ve yò 'They've gotten so they want to meet
us' (non-motive la).

4.64 P_v's of Group III: the aspectuals. The five verb-particles
of this group are conveniently divided into two subgroups, pat-
terning as in Figure 34. The Group III particles are all among
the most important in the language.

4.63(6); 4.64

FIGURE 34.   The Group III P$_v$'s

IIIa.		IIIb.	
	s̆ɔ̄		s̆ē
tù		tà	
	ò		
s̆ē		ò	

(1) tù 'non-realized action; futurity; purpose; purposive nominalizer'. The P$_v$ tù has several interrelated but distinguish- able functions.   In general, tù indicates that the verbal event has not been realized or carried through to its conclusion, but rather remains to be eventuated in the future. Often it is specifically the goal of one's purpose or intent for the future. Besides its occurrences in simple sentences, tù participates in a number of complex constructions that are dealt with in their prop- er place below.[227]

In many cases tù simply indicates that the preceding verbal event has not yet occurred, but will come to pass in the future. This is usually the way tù is to be interpreted in final clauses: nɔ̀ kà? | qay tù lâ 'Will you go too?'; nɔ̀ ¦ cɨ-qhɔ ɔ̄ ¦ à-thò?-ma | vɨ tù le 'What will you buy in the market?'; nɔ̀ ¦ ô-ve | câ qo || nà tù yò 'If you eat that, you'll get sick'; yɔ̂ ¦ s̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ ¦ ni- ma | s̆ɨ tù hɛ́ 'He'll probably make up his mind tomorrow'; chi kà? | câ tù yò 'This will be eaten too'.[228] However, tù by no means occurs automatically in all VP's referring to future time. Often the futurity is merely implied by the general context, or by the presence of such temporal expressions as s̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ 'tomorrow', nɛ́-qhɔ̀? 'next year', mâ mɔ-mɔ qo 'soon', etc. [In this respect Lahu is, of course, like English: 'We leave tomorrow'; 'If she stays I go', etc.]

When a non-future context demands such an interpretation, especially when the non-final clause of a compound sentence ends

4.64(1)

in the conditional P$_{unf}$ qo̱[229] and contains an expression referring
to past time, a tù̱ in the final clause indicates non-realized ac-
tion in the past, i.e., an action that is 'contrary-to-fact':
á-ni̱ thâ ¦ mû-yè | mâ là̱ qo̱ ‖ ŋà-h⊦ ¦ bɔ́-š⊦̄ | vâ tù̱ ve 'If it
hadn't rained yesterday we would have played ball'. Without the
NP á-ni̱ thâ 'yesterday', tù̱ would be interpreted as conveying a
simple future meaning: mû-yè | mâ là̱ qo̱ ‖ ŋà-h⊦ ¦ bɔ́-š⊦̄ | vâ tù̱
ve 'If it doesn't rain, we'll play ball'. Similarly, ŋà̱ ¦ ô tê
pɔ́ʔ ¦ phu | a-cí̱ cɔ̀ qo̱ ‖ ɔ́-qā̱ ô tê khɛ | v⊦ tù̱ ve yò 'If I had
had a little more money that time, I would have bought that buf-
falo'. Without the phrase ô tê pɔ́ʔ 'that time', the sentence
would mean 'When I have a little more money, I'll buy that buf-
falo'. Occasionally tù̱ is used in a contrary-to-fact sense in
simple sentences as well: nɔ̀ ¦ ŋà-h⊦ thàʔ ¦ á-š⊦̃ʔ=thâ tê pɔ́ʔ ɔ̄ |
tho lâ cɔ̀ tù̱ ve 'You should have told us that before'. Without
á-š⊦̃ʔ=thâ tê pɔ́ʔ ɔ̄ 'before', the sentence means 'You will have to
tell us that'.

(2) šē̆ 'anticipatory inchoative'.[230] The particle šē̆ has a
meaning subtly different from that of tù̱. Whereas tù̱ merely
places the verbal event in the realm of the future or hypothetical,
and leaves it at that, šē̆ admits that the event has not yet come
to pass, but breathlessly anticipates that it will do so before
long. The implication may be that the event is only the first in
a projected or contemplated series of actions; i.e., that there
is a whole train of events which is about to unfold.

    After a non-negated verb, šē̆ is sometimes best translated as
'still', with the implication that the end of the present state
is near: {ŋâʔ chi | pò ve} ¦ ô pɛ̄-pâ š⊦ kàʔ | nâ šē̆ 'That bird
is still perching over there right near the net-trap' [but any
minute now he's going to get careless and fly right into the
trap]. Alternatively, 'first' may be the English word that best
fits the sense, especially when the V + šē̆ is in a non-final
clause followed by the suspensive P$_{unf}$ lɛ: chɔ-nà thàʔ | m⊦ c⊦

4.64(2)

šē lɛ ‖ ɔ̄ | g̈a cā pí ve yò 'First you make the sick man sit down, and then you have to feed him'; g̈û-tu=šī≡câʔ ⫶ yâ-ɛ́ phɔ̂ ⫶ tê kà tí | ní ‖ cɔ-hɔ̂ʔ lɛ ‖ phɛ šē lɛ ‖ pɔ̀ ve yò 'First you squeeze the umbilical cord in one place near the child's body, and wind it around and tie it, and it's all finished'.

With this same shade of meaning, šē frequently occurs in imperative sentences where it is suggested or commanded that an action be performed as a prerequisite to some further event: í-kâʔ | hɛ́ sē 'Take a bath first' [and then we'll eat]; ɔ̄-khɛ̂ | chⱡ šē 'Wash the rice-bowls first' [and then you may go out to play]; yɛ̀-mí | hôʔ tā šē 'Shut the door tight first' [and then we can talk frankly]; qɔ̀ʔ vâ gâ kàʔ ‖ vâ šē 'If you want to play some more, go ahead and play' [before we get down to business]; nɔ̀-hⱡ ⫶ ɔ̄-ha=phu ⫶ ni-ma=qhɔ | chê pí-lɔ̀ gâ ve qo ‖ →g̈ⱡ-ša ⫶ yɔ̂ thàʔ | pə lâ← tù ⫶ g̈ⱡ-ša thàʔ | lɔ̀ šē[231] 'If you really want to make the Holy Spirit dwell in your hearts, first pray to God that He should send Him to you'.

In its imperative function, šē may occur after the Group IV P$_v$ a [below 4.65]. šē must therefore be considered a Group IV P$_v$ as well as a Group III one. When a precedes šē, the imperative is often interpreted as the hortatory, 1st-person plural type: bo | lɔ̀ a šē 'Let us pray!' [before we eat]; í-kâʔ | ca hɛ́ a šē 'Let's go take a bath first'.

Perhaps the commonest use of šē is after verbs that have been negated by the adverbs mâ 'not' or tâ 'negative imperative'. A sequence of mâ + V + šē is usually correctly translatable as 'not V yet'; tâ + V + šē means 'do not V yet!'. Again, the implication is that the verbal event is liable to occur at any time, even though it hasn't happened yet; i.e., it is still the case that not-V at time t_i, but who knows what will be the case at time t_j? Thus: yɔ̂ | mâ qay šē 'He's not going yet';[232] yɔ̂ ⫶ yâ-mí gɛ | mâ g̈a yⱡʔ jɔ šē 'He has never slept with a woman yet'; ɔ̄ | mâ pɔ̀ šē 'The rice isn't used up yet'; ŋà | câ mâ bûʔ šē 'I haven't had

enough to eat yet'; <u>tâ qò</u>ʔ <u>e</u> <u>sĕ̄</u> 'Don't go home yet!'; <u>ni-ma</u> | <u>tâ</u>
<u>lù</u> <u>sĕ̄</u> 'Don't be discouraged yet!'.

   <u>mâ</u> + V + <u>sĕ̄</u>, followed by the temporal P_{univ} <u>thâ</u> 'when', is
the usual way of expressing the idea 'before V'ing / before one
had V'ed' (literally "when not yet V"): <u>ŋà yâ-mî</u> | <u>mâ pɔ sĕ̄ thâ</u>
|| <u>ŋà</u> ¦ <u>phu</u> | <u>a-cí cɔ̀ mâ tā ve yò</u> 'Before my daughter was born I
had a lot more money'; <u>mâ ca ni sĕ̄ thâ</u> || <<<u>qhà-qhe</u> lɛ-nā>> <u>mâ šĭ̄</u>
<u>phɛ̀</u>ʔ 'We can't know how things are until/before we go and look'.

   Occasionally a <u>mâ</u> + V + <u>sĕ̄</u> sequence is to be interpreted in
a non-temporal sense: i.e., it is not that we are anticipating
the future realization of a presently uneventuated state of
affairs, but rather that <u>despite</u> the fact of V, something else is
still not the case. In these contexts, <u>sĕ̄</u> may be translated by
'still' in the sense of 'anyhow, nevertheless, still in all':
<u>chɔ-qā</u> | <u>mâ hêʔ sĕ̄</u>. [<u>hàʔ-qá pɨ́ ve</u>] <u>chɔ lɛ yò ɛ̀</u>ʔ 'Still, it's not
that you're a fool. It's just that you're kind-hearted!';[233]
<u>nɔ̀ hɛ lɛ̀</u> ¦ <u>tê pù ve tê chi pîʔ</u> | <u>ğa qo</u> || <u>mâ hày sĕ̄</u> 'If you do get
ten basketsful out of each paddy-mound from your field, that's
still not bad'.

(3) <u>šɔ̆̄</u>: 'durative'. This P_V is also usually translatable by
'still', though its meaning is quite distinct from that of <u>sĕ̄</u>.
While <u>sĕ̄</u> is directed toward future developments, <u>šɔ̆̄</u> is used to
indicate that the state or action expressed by the preceding verb
is still going on. <u>šɔ̆̄</u> insists on this continuity, rather than
anticipating any future change in the state of affairs: <u>mû-yè</u> |
<u>là šɔ̆̄</u> 'It's still raining'; <u>ɔ̀-yâ</u> | <u>cɔ̀ šɔ̆̄</u> 'There's still time';
<u>tê mà</u> | <u>qòʔ cɔ̀ šɔ̆̄</u> 'I still have another one left'; <u>yɔ̂-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>bɔ́-šĭ̄</u> |
<u>vâ dàʔ chê šɔ̆̄</u> 'They're still playing ball';[234] <u>ɔ̀-pa=ɔ̀-e kàʔ</u> | <u>ğa</u>
<u>qòʔ ga te lâ šɔ̆̄</u> 'The parents still have to help us do it again
too'; <u>êe, khɨ=pɛ̄-qwi</u> ¦ <u>ɔ̀=ğû-šĭ̄ phɔ̀ ɔ̄</u> | <u>phûʔ e šɔ̆̄</u> 'Yeah, my calves
are still twisted around to the front!'.[235]

   In most sentences where <u>šɔ̆̄</u> follows a non-negated verb, it
does not make sense to substitute <u>sĕ̄</u> unless some further context

4.64(3)

is provided. Thus, mû-yè | là šɔ̌ 'It's still raining' ("The rain still comes") is quite grammatical, though *mû-yè | là šě does not make sense as it stands. One has to search further to find a suitable context: ŋà-hɨ ⁝ šă-ma | mâ ğa tɨ šě. mû-yè | ğa là šě 'We can't plant the maize yet. It has to rain first.' The addition of the ᵥV ğa 'has to' places the event of the rain's falling into the future, and gives us an acceptable reading with šě: the rain's falling is the prerequisite for the as yet unrealized action of planting the corn.

After a negated verb, šě and šɔ̌ are usually mutually sub- *
stitutable, though with a subtle difference in meaning. While mâ + V + šě means 'not V yet', mâ + V + šɔ̌ means 'still not V'. Thus, [chɨ̂ tā ve] phu ⁝ yɔ̂ | mâ ğa qhɔ̀ʔ lâ šɔ̌ 'He still hasn't given me back the money he borrowed' [and this persistent delin-quency shows no signs of changing] vs. [chɨ̂ tā ve] phu ⁝ yɔ̂ | mâ ğa qhɔ̀ʔ lâ šě 'He hasn't given me back the money he borrowed yet' [but he might do so at any time]. Similarly, mû-yè | mâ là šɔ̌ 'It's still not raining' [we have a drought on our hands] vs. mû-yè | mâ là šě 'It's not raining yet' [but look at those clouds]; ɔ̀-yâ | mâ cɔ̀ šɔ̌ 'There's still no time' [I doubt that there ever will be] vs. ɔ̀-yâ | mâ cɔ̀ šě 'There's no time yet' [maybe later there will be], etc.

(4) Post-nominal use of šě and šɔ̌. šě and šɔ̌ are unique among the morphemes we consider to be verb-particles in that they may occasionally follow nominal expressions rather than verbs. In these cases we might wish to invoke underlying verbs preceding the particles, but the moment we do that we leave ourselves open to a serious criticism. The whole distinction we have maintained between P_v's and unrestricted particles is based on the fact that in the surface grammar P_u's occur after both nouns and verbs, but P_v's appear only after verbs. Once we admit underlying verbs be-fore šě and šɔ̌, why not invoke covert verbs in all cases where P_u's follow nouns, so that the distinction between P_v's and P_u's vanishes entirely?

4.64(4)

Before resolving this question, let us examine the post-
nominal occurrences of these particles. The only common expres-
sion where šē appears after a noun is tê khɨ šē 'Just a moment!'/
'Wait a second!'/'Hold on a minute!' (literally 'one moment
first'). We might treat this as an asyntactic idiom resulting
from the deletion of an underlying verb like lɔ 'wait' or chê
'stay'. Similarly, in the minor sentence ô pá ¦ tê qhɔ bà šē ɔ
'(It's) still over that way, behind another range of hills', we
could claim that the verb cɔ̀ 'be there' has been deleted before
the šē.

    šē and šɔ contrast in sentences like yɔ̂ ¦ yâ-nɛ̀ šɔ 'He's
still a young man' [and will continue to be one for some time] vs.
yɔ̂ ¦ yâ-nɛ̀ šē 'Now he's a young man' [but soon he'll be old
enough to get married]. In these cases we could claim the dele-
tion of the copula phɛ̀ʔ.

    šɔ occurs post-nominally with somewhat more freedom than šē.
Usually the best candidate for an underlying verb is cɔ̀ 'be
there / have': mû-hɔ cɛ tí šɔ 'There's still only wind' [no rain
in sight]; qhâʔ-šɛ cɛ tí šɔ 'There's still only the headman' [the
others haven't arrived yet]; ŋà gɛ ¦ tê chi ŋâ mà šɔ 'My side
("those with me") still has fifteen [points]'. The most convinc-
ing case can be made for a deletion when the verb in question
appears in the immediate context: nɛ́-qhɔ̂ʔ ¦ nɔ̂ ¦ qhà-ma | tɔ̂ʔ tù
le. tê ha ŋâ chi šɔ 'How much will you contribute (tɔ̂ʔ) next
year?' 'Still 150.'

    There is thus no doubt that šē and šɔ, especially the latter,
are moving in the direction of the final unrestricted particles,
and may well become fully integrated into the system of P_{uf}'s at
some future stage of the language. Synchronically, however,
there are powerful reasons for continuing to regard them as as-
pectual P_v's of Group III. First of all, they pattern semantical-
ly with tù and ò as characterizers of the internal characteristics
of the verbal action of their clause, unlike the P_{uf}'s which ex-

press 'propositional attitudes' and are in semantic constituency with their sentences as a whole [below 4.72]. Secondly, they do not occur anywhere near as productively after nouns as do the true P_{uf}'s, and are sensitive in idiosyncratic ways to the meaning of the particular preceding noun. Thus, ŷɔ � yâ-nɛ̂ š̄ɔ 'He's still a young man' is grammatical, but *ŷɔ ⫽ qhâʔ-šɛ š̄ɔ 'He's still the headman' is unacceptable.[236] Most importantly, se̅ and s̄ɔ always precede any true P_u (whether P_{univ}, P_{unf}, or P_{uf}) in any clause where they co-occur, and are thus demonstrably more closely tied to the verb than any unrestricted particle:

mâ s̄ǐ se̅ thâ yò 'It was before I knew it' ("It is a fact that
V P_v P_{univ} P_{uf}

[yò] it was when [thâ] I had not yet [se̅] known [s̄ǐ] it").

(5) ò 'completed action; change of state'. The P_v ò is used to indicate that the verbal event has already taken place; or that the fact of its having eventuated marks a change from the previous state of affairs. In a sense it is artificial to distinguish these two meanings: the very fact of an action's having already eventuated implies that there has been a change from a prior state of not-yet-eventuatedness.[237]

Some typical sentences where the 'completed action' interpretation is called for: ɔ̄ ⫽ câ ò lâ 'Have you eaten?'/'Hi!';[238] câ ò 'Yes, I have eaten'; s̄ǐ ò, s̄ǐ ò 'I know it, I know it!' [you didn't have to tell me, I knew it already]; ŷɔ ⫽ á-qhɔ ⫽ qɔ̂ʔ gà-ò hɛ́ 'He's probably reached home by now'; qha=pɔ̀-ɛ̀ tòʔ e se̅ ò 'It's completely burned up already'.[239] Some verbs have meanings which intrinsically contain the notion of action carried through to its conclusion. These verbs have a special affinity for ò: gà 'reach/arrive at' (gà-ò 'We've arrived'[240]), pɔ̀ 'be finished' (pɔ̀-ò 'It's all done'[240]); bî 'be full' (bî ò 'It's all full'); pɛ 'be enough'[241] (pɛ ò 'That's plenty'), etc.

We have remarked above [4.341] that the V_v pɔ̀ 'be finished' is sometimes used quite abstractly, like a particle showing com-

pleted action: y̰ɔ̂=hɨ́-mà | mâʔ dàʔ tā̰ pɔ̀ 'The two of them have
courted already' [their courtship is over and their marriage is
now a certainty]; ô tê ni ¦ Yēšûʔ | pɔ tā̰ pɔ̀ 'On that day, Jesus
was born'. As these examples show, the Group I P_v tā̰ 'permanence'
characteristically precedes pɔ̀ in this usage. This is perhaps
the key to the meaning difference between pɔ̀ and ɔ̀. pɔ̀ emphasizes
the completion of the action itself, its permanent over-and-done-
withness; ɔ̀ carries the nuance of 'later relevance': the comple-
tion of the action has led to a new state of affairs.

   Some sentences illustrating the 'change of state' interpre-
tation: ŋà ¦ ɔ̂-chɔ̂ | mâ cɔ̀ mâ ɔ̀ 'I don't have many friends any
more'; chi-bɔ̀ʔ ¦ [chɛ̂-ša tù ve] mû-mɪ̀ | mâ hêʔ ɔ̀ 'It's no longer
a country where one can live comfortably'; y̰ɔ̂ ¦ lɪ̀ʔ | a-cɪ́ hê pɔ̀
á qo || a-cɪ́ pɔ-ša la ɔ̀ cê 'Now that he has a little education,
they say he's gotten more prosperous'; chɔ-mɔ̂ lɛ ¦ chi qhe ve
kán | mâ qɔ̀ʔ te pɨ ɔ̀ 'He's an old man, and can't do that kind of
work anymore'; mû | phɔ̀ʔ ɔ̀ 'It has gotten dark'. As some of these
examples show, mâ + V + ɔ̀ translates as 'not V anymore / no longer
V', signalling a change of state from positive to negative.

   It must be emphasized that 'completed action' and 'change of
state' are purely aspectual notions, and have nothing to do
directly with tense. Although sentences with ɔ̀ usually get trans-
lated with English present-perfect or present-tense verbs, it is
not hard to find examples where the reference is distinctly to
future time: (Lâhū-yâ | chê jɔ mɪ̀ qhe-cɛ) chê a qo ɔ̄ || pɛ ɔ̀ ɛ̀ʔ
'If we just celebrate [it] the way the Lahu used to, it will be
enough!'.

   When ɔ̀ appears in the final clause of a compound sentence
whose Cl_{nf} ends in the P_{unf} qo 'if', it is to be interpreted in a
contrary-to-fact sense:[242] nɔ̀ e chi | chê a lâ qo || dàʔ ɔ̀ qôʔ-ma
'If that mother of yours were only here, it would be fine'. Often
the non-final clause is the set expression a-cɪ́ mâ hêʔ qo [above
4.412(3)] 'if things had been a little different' ("if it were

not [that way by] a little bit"): <u>a-cí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>qay</u> <u>ò</u> 'He very nearly went'; <u>a-cí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>ší</u> <u>e</u> <u>ò</u> 'He came within an ace of dying'.

<u>4.641 Diagrammatic illustration of the interrelationship among</u> <u>šē</u>, <u>šɔ̆</u>, <u>ð</u>. Suppose we were walking along a road toward a distant destination, X. At the starting point, A, we are far (<u>ví</u>) from our goal. After going a short way, up to point B, we are 'still far' from X (<u>ví</u> <u>šɔ̆</u>). Somewhere past the halfway point, at C, we are still relatively far away, though this farness is about to change to relative nearness: we are still far, but already look-ing forward to the time and place when we will be quite near (<u>ví</u> <u>šē</u>). As X is closely approached, at point D, we might say 'It's not far anymore' (<u>mâ</u> <u>ví</u> <u>ð</u>). Leaving X for home, before having walked much of the way back (point E), we could say <u>mâ</u> <u>ví</u> <u>šɔ̆</u> * 'We're still not far (from X)'. Somewhat less than halfway back, at point F, anticipating the time and place when X will again be far behind us, we would say <u>mâ</u> <u>ví</u> <u>šē</u> 'It's not far <u>yet</u> (but soon it will be)'. Finally,at G, as we approach our starting point A, we may say, thinking back on X, <u>ví</u> <u>ð</u> 'It's far (from X) now'. See Figure 35.

FIGURE 35.   The Aspectual P$_v$'s in Action
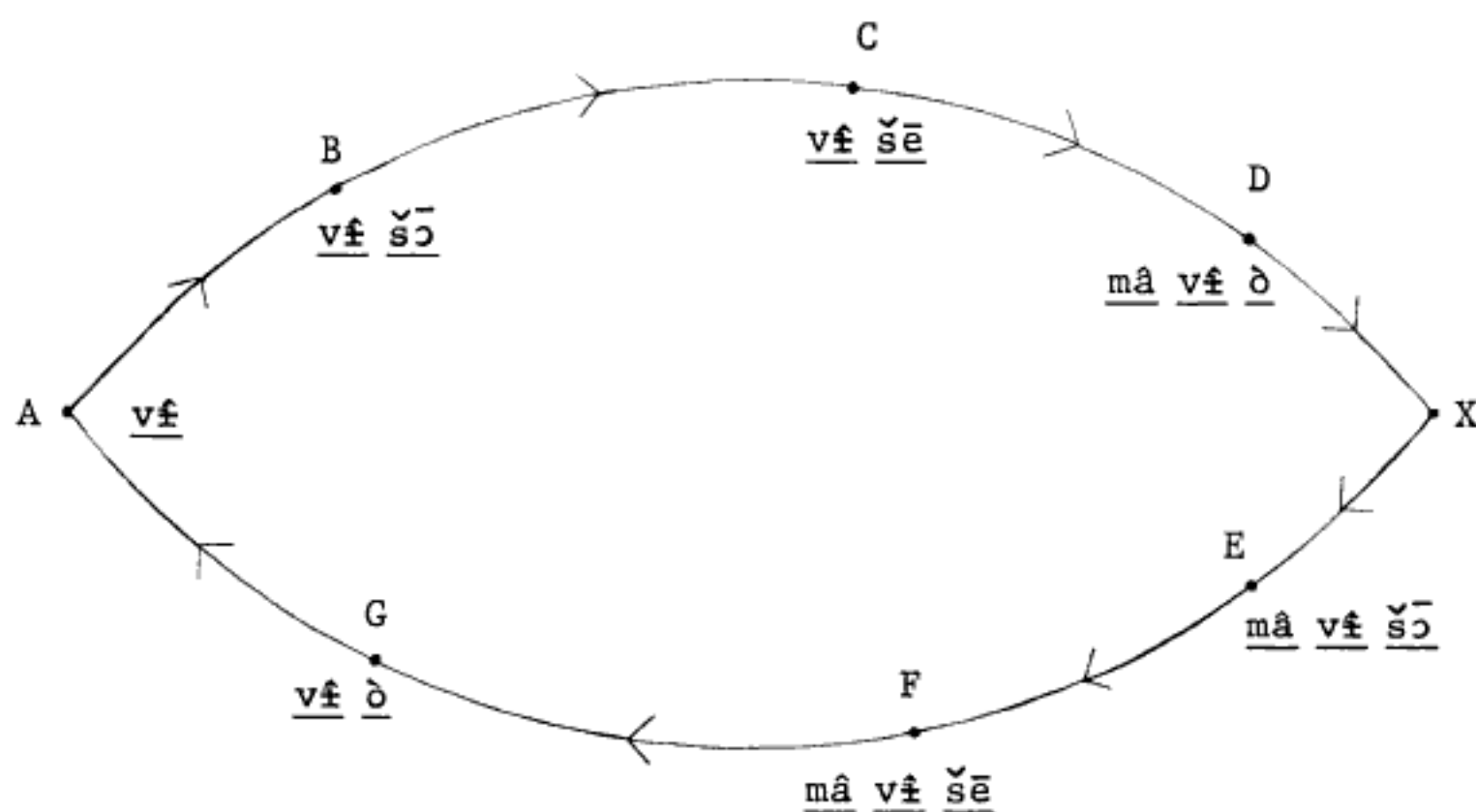
4.641

We may further clarify the relationship among these P_v's as they interact with mâ by using the rough-and-ready semantic features [± change], [± negative result], and [± persistence]. As a model sentence we take yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | ǧa chɛ̂ ... 'He has to stay in the fields':

1. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | ǧa chɛ̂ s̆ɔ̄   'He still has to stay in the fields.'
   [-change, -neg. res., +persist.]

2. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | ǧa chɛ̂ s̆ē   'He has to stay in the fields first (before he can go on to do something else).'
   [-change, -neg. res., -persist.]

3. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | mâ ǧa chɛ̂ ò̠   'He doesn't have to stay in the fields anymore.'
   [+change, +neg. res.]

* 4. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | mâ ǧa chɛ̂ s̆ɔ̄   'He still doesn't have to stay in the fields.'
   [-change, +neg. res., +persist.]

5. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | mâ ǧa chɛ̂ s̆ē   'He doesn't have to stay in the fields yet.'
   [-change, +neg. res., -persist.]

6. yɔ̂ ⫶ hɛ qhɔ | ǧa chɛ̂ ò̠   'Now he has to stay in the fields.'
   [+change, -neg. res.]

Putting the matter another way, if we symbolize 'having to be in the fields' by YES, 'not having to be in the fields' by NO, 'non-persistence' or the 'imminence of change' by BUT, and the passage of time by an arrow, the aspectual dynamics of these six sentences are as follows: 1. YES → YES ; 2. YES → YES-BUT ; 3. YES → NO ; 4. NO → NO ; 5. NO → NO-BUT ; 6. NO → YES.

4.642 Group IIIa P_v's after adjectives. All P_v's of Group IIIa occur as freely after adjectival V_h's as they do after V_{act}'s. (a) V_{adj} + tù: dà? tù ve yò 'It will be good'; dà? la tù ve yò 'It will get better'. (b) V_{adj} + s̆ē: nɔ̀ | mâ ɨ̄ s̆ē 'You're not big (=grown-up) yet'; và? chi | a-cɪ́ ǧa chu la s̆ē 'This pig has to get fatter first' [before we sell him]. (c) V_{adj} + s̆ɔ̄: mâ

4.642

jâ š̌ɔ̄ 'There are still very many'; i jâ š̌ɔ̄ 'It's still quite small'; nɔ̀ ¦ a-š̌àʔ | i jâ š̌ɔ̄ lɛ̄ || mâ bɔ̂ʔ pɨ́ š̌ē 'You're still very little, so you can't shoot yet' ("as for you, your age is very little..."). (d) V_{adj} + ɔ̀: mâ dàʔ ɔ̀ 'It's not good anymore'; a-cí ɨ̄ ɔ̀ hɛ́ 'It's probably bigger now'; nɔ̀ ¦ a-š̌àʔ | a-cí ɨ̄ la ɔ̀ lɛ̄ || bɔ̂ʔ pɨ́ ɔ̀ 'You're a little bigger now, so you can shoot already'.

4.643 Sequences of Group IIIa P_v's. The four P_v's of this group *
may co-occur within the same VP, subject to the restrictions in-
dicated in Figure 36:

FIGURE 36.   Sequences of Group IIIa P_v's

tù and š̌ē are mutually exclusive on 'similarity grounds'.
A priori one might think that the sequence *mâ + V + tù + š̌ē
would make sense, meaning 'will not V yet'. In point of fact,
however, the language considers tù to be quite redundant in this
context. mâ + V + š̌ē already refers to the realm of the uneven-
tuated or hypothetical.

š̌ɔ̄, ɔ̀, and š̌ē all exclude each other on the grounds of 'dis-
parateness', standing as they do in a sort of three-way paradig-
matic opposition. š̌ɔ̄ insists on the continuation or durativity
of the verbal event, but both ɔ̀ and š̌ē signal that the event is
viewed as unfolding from one state to another, though in opposite
directions. With ɔ̀ the event is running its course or completing
itself, while in the case of š̌ē the event is just beginning to
develop into something with ramifications for the future. With ɔ̀
we have already entered a new state; with š̌ē we are anticipating

4.643

doing so; with šɔ̌ we are staying put where we are.

That leaves the two permissible sequences tù + šɔ̌ and tù + ò:
(1) tù + šɔ̌. This combination of P_v's indicates that a verbal
event will still (šɔ̌) be the case in the future (tù): ŋà ¦ nɛ́-
qhɔ̀ʔ kàʔ ¦ chò kàʔ | chɛ̂ tù šɔ̌ 'I'll still be living here next
year'; í-kâʔ | nɛ̂ʔ la kàʔ || dàʔ tù šɔ̌ 'Even if it gets wet it
will still be good'. (2) tù + ò. This sequence sometimes im-
plies that a verbal event will in the future (tù) already have
been realized (ò) by a certain time. Often the English future
perfect provides a good translation: Thây=mû-mî ɔ̄ ¦ chi mɔ-mɔ |
chɛ̂ qo || Thây-khɔ̂ | šī tù ò hɛ̂ 'If you stay in Thailand such a
long time you probably will have learned Thai'. Sometimes this
P_v-sequence means that the verbal event may reasonably be expected
(tù) to have occurred already (ò), or even 'ought to have occurred
already': á-qhɔ ɔ̄ | tɛ tā tù ò 'It ought to be put away in the
house already'/'It should really have been put away in the house
by now'.

4.644 Group IIIa P_v's in sequences with P_v's of other groups.
_____

(1) Group II + Group III. P_v's of Group II occur freely before
those of Group III. As an illustration we may take qhɛ 'V to
excess': câ qhɛ tù hɛ̂ 'He'll probably keep eating to excess';
yɔ̂ | yɨ̀ʔ qhɛ šɔ̌ 'He still sleeps too much'; ŋà ¦ jɨ̀ | mâ dɔ̀ qhɛ
šē 'I haven't (ever) drunk too much yet'; ɔ̀-má chi ¦ lɨ̀ʔ | bùʔ
qhɛ ò 'This son-in-law (of mine) is writing things all the time
now'. Particularly natural is the sequence of experiential jɔ
plus ò: 'to have already had the experience of V'ing'. Thus,
nɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū=ɔ-chî | ǧa câ jɔ ò lâ 'Have you ever eaten a Lahu
curry?'.

If asseverative à is selected from Group II, however, the
only Group III P_v that may follow in the same VP is šɔ̌: dàʔ à šɔ̌
'It's still quite good'; yɔ̂ ¦ jɨ̀ | dɔ̀ qhɛ à šɔ̌ 'He's still drink-
ing too much liquor'. The unchangingness conveyed by šɔ̌ is the
only Group III aspectual concept that is compatible with the

flatly emphatic notion conveyed by à.

(2) Group I + Group III. All the P$_v$'s of Group III occur freely
after all the Group I P$_v$'s within a single VP. Of particular
interest are sequences involving tā 'perfective permanence':

a. tā + tù. The meaning here is that an action in the future
(tù) can only be performed after another, prerequisite action has
been accomplished (tā). Compare the relative clauses in the fol-
lowing two sentences: [hɛ | thu tù ve] ɔ-ti lo ; šá-lâ | ti tù
yò 'We'll plant cotton in the place where we'll clear a field'
[but maybe we won't get around to clearing the field until after
the cotton is planted] vs. [hɛ | thu tā tù ve] ɔ-ti lo ; šá-lâ |
ti tù yò 'After clearing a field we'll plant cotton in it'/'We'll
plant cotton in the place where we will have cleared a field'
[unless the field is cleared we can't do any planting in it].

b. tā + šē. After a non-negated verb, this sequence occurs in
commands that something be done that has a lasting effect (tā),
before a further anticipated action (šē) can be performed:
yè-mí | phɔ tā šē 'Open the door first' [and leave it open so
that, e.g., we may leave at any time]. After a negated verb, the
sequence means that a permanent state (tā) has not yet (mâ...šē)
set in: mû | mâ phɔʔ tā šē 'It's not dark yet'/'Night hasn't
fallen yet'; cà-sī | câ mâ pɔ̀ tā šē 'We haven't finished eating
the paddy yet'.

c. tā + šɔ. These P$_v$'s in combination mean that a permanent
state (tā) is still (šɔ) in force: ɔ-šɨ̌ tê mà | qɔ̀ʔ cɔ̀ tā šɔ
'There's still another one left'; ɔ-yâ | cɔ̀ tā šɔ 'There's still
time left'; [ô thâ | ti tā ve] yè=khɨ-dɔ | tu tā šɔ lâ 'Are the
house-posts we drove in that time still standing?'

d. tā + ò. This sequence indicates the completion (ò) of an
action whose effects are lasting or bear upon a later time (tā).
/tā/ usually appears as [tá] or [á] in this environment: hɛ |
thu pɔ̀ á ò qo || à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma | qɔ̀ʔ te tù le 'Once you have finished
clearing the fields, what will you do?'; ô ve yâ-mí ; ŋà | a-lɔ̌

4.644(2)

gɨ́ á ò̤ ve-ɔ̄ 'I'm the one who paid court to that girl first' [and I still have priority].

(3) s̆ē_r + Group III P_v's. The particle of regret, s̆ē_r, occurs regularly before three of the four P_v's of Group IIIa: tṳ̀, ò̤, and s̆ɔ̄. (a) s̆ē_r + tṳ̀. A regrettable (s̆ē_r) event will come to pass in the future (tṳ̀): s̆atì? | mâ pî qo || í-mû | ce s̆ē tṳ̀ yò̤ 'If you don't watch out, you'll fall off the horse'. (b) s̆ē_r + ò̤. A regrettable verbal event has already (ò̤) come to pass: ŋà í-mû | s̆ɨ s̆ē ò̤ 'My horse has died already'; yɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̂-mî=ma gɛ | bà dà? s̆ē ò̤ 'He and his wife have already been divorced'. (c) s̆ē_r + s̆ɔ̄. The verbal event is still (s̆ɔ̄) regrettably the case: {gà mâ phè? kɨ} ɔ̄ | tɛ tā s̆ē s̆ɔ̄ 'It's still unfortunately in a place where we can't reach it'; chɔ-ğû | phè? s̆ē s̆ɔ̄ 'He's still a madman, unfortunately'. (d) The s̆ē of regret never occurs in the same VP as the homophonous Group III inchoative particle. If there were any point in doing so, one might claim that in a mâ + V + s̆ē sequence referring to a regrettable event that has not yet occurred, the s̆ē represents a haplological fusion of the two homophonous P_v's: phu | mâ cɔ̂ s̆ē < *phu | mâ cɔ̂ s̆ē_r s̆ē 'I don't have any money yet [unfortunately]'.

4.645 P_v's of Group IIIb. Group IIIb consists simply of the P_v tà 'negative probability', which may optionally be followed by either of two of the IIIa P_v's, s̆ē or ò̤.[243] tà is never used unless the preceding verb has been negated. See Figure 37:

FIGURE 37. P_v's of Group IIIb

| (mâ + V +)   tà | s̆ē |
| | ò̤ |

tà indicates that the preceding verbal event 'probably will not happen', or 'probably is not the case'. In view of the fact that the verb preceding tà must already be negated, it is a moot point

4.644(3); 4.645

whether the feature 'negativity' inheres in the P_v itself. Exs: ŋà ve | mâ hê? tà 'It's probably not mine'; yɔ ¦ šɔ́-pɔ̄ | mâ gà la tà 'He probably won't get here by tomorrow'; tà?-nò? tê phā ¦ yɔ thà? | ĝà? mâ mi tà 'I doubt whether the police can catch him'. There is nothing stopping tà from appearing after a negated V_{adj}: mâ qὲ tà 'I doubt that it's very wide'.

Lahu has another particle available to express probability, the P_{uf} hɛ́ [below 4.722]. Unlike tà, hɛ́ may be used after any verb, negated or not. mâ + V + hɛ́ has almost exactly the same meaning as mâ + V + tà, except perhaps that the tà-sequence is slightly more emphatic. In order to accentuate the remoteness of the possibility of the verbal event's coming to pass, both tà and hɛ́ may be used in one clause, in that order [4.72.11]: mâ + V + tà + hɛ́ 'is extremely unlikely to V'.

For some speakers /tà/ occasionally appears under the high-rising tone, [tá].[244] Thus, tê kîlô tê chi bà? | â hê? qo ‖ â hɔ̂ tá o 'I probably won't sell it unless I get twelve baht a kilo'.

The sequence mâ + V + tà + šē indicates that V will probably not (tà) come to pass yet (šē): yɔ̂ ¦ ɔ-mî=ma | mâ qɔ̀? hɔ̂? tà šē 'He probably won't get married again yet'. When appropriate, as in this example, the šē may alternatively be interpreted as šē$_r$: 'He probably won't get married again, unfortunately'.

The sequence mâ + V + tà + ò means that V probably will not occur (tà) now that the situation has changed (ò): yɔ̂ | là mâ phὲ? tà ò 'He probably won't be able to come now' [e.g., since he has broken his leg]; và? tê khɛ tí | cɔ̀ ò lɛ ‖ ô-thâ qhe-lê ¦ šá-ɨ̄=pā | mâ qɔ̀? phὲ? tà ò 'Now that he has only one pig left, I daresay he won't be such a blowhard as before'.[245] Occasionally tà and ò occur together in the same VP in the reverse order, ò + tà: ɨ-la-mu-la mâ phὲ? ò tà hɛ́ 'I doubt whether we'll be able to come up in the world now' [that this has happened]. There seems to be no difference in meaning one way or the other, though informants maintain that tà + ò is by far the preferable order.

4.646   Composite sequence-diagram of the Group III P_v's. Disregarding the questionable sequence ɔ̀ + tà, we may combine our diagrams of the IIIa and IIIb P_v's as in Figure 38:

FIGURE 38.   The Group III P_v's

tù	šɔ̄
	ɔ̀
tà	šē

4.65 P_v's of Group IVa: imperatives. The P_v's of this group pattern as in Figure 39:

FIGURE 39.   The Group IVa P_v's

a ∿ ha		šē	
--------	--	šā ∿ ā	
	yà		-ʔ
	vɨ ∿ vɔ̀		
	lɔ̀ ∿ ɔ̀		
pî-ôʔ			

These P_v's all have an imperative or hortatory meaning. They are mutually exclusive with those of Groups II and III,[246] though they freely follow P_v's of Group I. These imperative particles always occur in final clauses, or in final clauses embedded in complex sentences. None of them ever occur after V_{adj}'s.
(1) a ∿ ha   'mild suggestion; announcement of intent'. The P_v a is used to make the preceding verb a rather gentle imperative or a suggestion: ô šɨ̌ | ca ni a 'Go look around there, why don't you'; lîʔ chi ⫶ ŋà thàʔ | pî a 'Give me that book, please'; nɔ̀

4.646; 4.65; 4.65(1)

nâʔ-ló ô-ve | a-cí ŋā̀ lâ a 'Please lend me that big gun of yours';
vâ chi ¦ šɛ̂ʔ khô-bá | tɔ̂ʔ ha[247] 'Why don't you cut this bamboo
into three pieces'; šɔ́-pɔ̄ ¦ ŋâ-ni qo ¦ mɔ̂ʔ | ca bɔ̂ʔ || há e a lê
'Tomorrow's Friday, so let's go monkey-hunting and spend the night
out, okay?'. Often a serves to announce an intended action of the
speaker -- an imperative, as it were, from first person to first
person: ŋà ¦ tê ğâ tí | te a 'I'll do it myself';[248] nɔ̀ thàʔ |
a-cí mā̀ lâ a 'I'll just teach you how'; mâ vɨ lɛ || nɔ̀ tê gɛ |
qay a 'It's not far, so I'll go with you'; ŋà kàʔ ¦ ɔ-šɨ̌ tê mà |
hɔ̂ʔ a 'I'll have another one too, please'. As noted above in the
discussion of benefaction [4.611-4.614], N + hɔ̂ʔ a 'I'll get an
N' and N + yù̀ a 'I'll take an N' are two of the commonest ways of
saying 'Give me N!'.

It is important to distinguish this Group IVa P$_v$ a (~ ha),
which occurs only after verbs in final clauses, from the allo-
morph [a] of the interjectory P$_v$ /qha/ of Group IVb, which occurs
both in Cl$_f$'s and Cl$_{nf}$'s [below 4.66]. Other particles pronounced
[a] lurk around the language to confuse the unwary, including the
asseverative P$_v$ of Group II, à̱, the variant [ā] of the Group I
perfective P$_v$ /tā/, and the last elements in the compound Group
IVb P$_v$ qha-pâʔ=a [4.66] and the P$_{uf}$ yɔ̀-a [4.721].

(2) Imperative šē and the sequence a + šē. In its guise as an
imperative particle, šē signals a command that an action be per-
formed as a prerequisite to some further activity. In order to
show the semantic connection between imperative šē and the in-
choative aspectual P$_v$ šē, we discussed them together under Group
III P$_v$'s [4.64(2)]. Syntactically, however, these are really two
separate entities, as demonstrated by the fact that imperative šē
may occur after the Group IVa P$_v$ a (while aspectual šē may not).
We therefore must assign aspectual šē to Group III and imperative
šē to Group IV.[249]

The sequence a + šē may have practically the same meaning as
that of imperative šē alone -- a suggestion to do something first,

before performing other actions in a contemplated series: ɔ̄ | câ
a šē 'Why don't you eat first' [before, e.g., leaving for home].
In other contexts, its meaning is the same as a + šā [next sec-
tion].

(3) šā and the sequence a + šā: intended action of the first
person. šā is a true Group IV P$_v$. It is used to announce an in-
tended action of the first person. The sequence a + šā has exact-
ly the same meaning, and is in fact more frequently encountered
than šā alone. (The P$_v$ a by itself may also be used for this pur-
pose [4.65(1)], but is somewhat less decisive in tone than either
šā or a + šā.) Thus, qay (a) šā 'I'll be going'/'Good-by';[250]
qɔ̀ʔ e šā 'I'm going home now'; jɨ | pí a šā 'I'm going to take a
piss'; ŋà ¦ ɔ=mɛ̀ʔ-mi | tɔ̄ a šā 'I'll go dam it downstream';
í-kâʔ | ca hɛ́ a šā 'I'm going to take a bath now'. (Contrast,
e.g., í-kâʔ | ca hɛ́ a šē 'I'm going to take a bath first'/'Why
don't you take a bath first?'. The sequence a + šē is interpre-
table either as a suggestion to someone else to do something first,
or as announcement of one's own intent to do something first; a +
šā has only this latter meaning.)

    Sometimes the sequence a + šā is realized as á + šā, with
the first particle under the high-rising tone: pî-chɔ́ chi | a-cí
dê lò̀ʔ á šā 'I'm just going to curse out this Shan a little bit!'.
This variant is perhaps to be explained in terms of glottal dis-
similation.[251]

(4) yà, vɨ, and lò. These three particles, either alone or with
a preceding a, are all used in imperative expressions:
a. yà and a + yà. This is a brusque imperative, used in impa-
tience, anger, etc.: chɔ | mā qo || chɔ khɔ̂ | na yà 'When some-
body gives you advice, listen to it!'. yà is usually followed by
the P$_v$ -ʔ [below (5)]. It is to be distinguished from the ex-
clamatory P$_{uf}$ yâ [below 4.726].
b. vɨ and a + vɨ. This P$_v$ is used in first person plural horta-
tory expressions of the 'let's V!' variety: hɔ̂ʔ || vâ a vɨ ɛ̀ʔ

4.65(3-4)

'Let's mix it all together and eat it!'; yâ tê g̈ɨ ò , šā̆ | ca g̈à?
câ a vò $\int$ ŋà-hɨ̄[252] 'Come on, boys, let's go hunting!'. Many
speakers pronounce this P$_v$ [vò], with shwa instead of barred-i.[253]

c. lò and a + lò. This is a rather gentle imperative particle,
and is found in formal as well as colloquial discourse. Although
it is not brusque, it conveys an insistent urging: ca yɨ̄? lò 'Go
to sleep now, come on!'; hâ? khò? lò 'Do me a favor and get out
of here, will you!'. This P$_v$ is often drawled in a special coax-
ing intonation, [looo $\diagdown$]. It sometimes occurs without the ini-
tial consonant, [ò].

(5) Imperative glottal stop /-?/. Any Lahu V$_{act}$ that is under
an unchecked tone may be imperativized by adding glottal stop.
The onset of the glottal stop comes after the completion of most
of the verb's tonal contour, so that there is no question of con-
fusing imperative open-syllabled verbs with other verbs having
intrinsic checked tones. Exs: mɨ 'sit' > á-qhɔ | mɨ-? 'Sit in
the house' [no homophony problem with either mò? 'blow' or mò?
'be hungry']; dò 'drink' > là-g̈ɨ | dò-? 'Drink some tea!'; chê
'stay' > tà?-í | chê-? 'Keep quiet!'; pî 'give' > hâ? pî-? mē̄
'Hurry up and hand it over!'; qay 'go' > qay qay qay-? 'Go, go,
go!'. Verbs already ending in a checked tone may be used impera-
tively with no further particle. If it gives us pleasure, we may
interpret this as an underlying geminate /?-?/ being realized as
phonetic [?]: bô? 'shoot' > /hâ? bô?-?/ 'Hurry up and shoot!'.

Obviously 'imperative glottal stop' is an intonation rather
than a true P$_v$. However, it works neatly to consider -? to be a
Group IVa P$_v$ like all the others. As a concession to its non-
canonical phonological shape, we usually connect it to the pre-
ceding verb or P$_v$ by a hyphen.

The P$_v$'s a, yà, and vɨ are frequently followed by -?. In
the case of yà, it is so followed more often than not: yù a-?
'Give it to me!'; chi qhe | tâ te yà-? 'Don't do that!'; qay a
vɨ-? 'Let's go!'.

4.65(5)

When lɔ̀ is followed by -ʔ, it is almost always in the shape of the allomorph [ɔ̀] (see above). The tone of the single phonetic syllable constituted by this underlying /lɔ̀ + ʔ/ is determined by the tone of the preceding verb, as follows: (a) after verbs in the mid, high-rising, or high-falling tones, /lɔ̀ + ʔ/ > [ôʔ], as in ca ôʔ /ca lɔ̀-ʔ/ 'Look for it!', s̆ɨ ôʔ 'Twist it!', câ ôʔ 'Eat it!'; (b) after verbs in the low-falling tone, the sequence is realized as [ɔ̀ʔ], as in là ɔ̀ʔ /là lɔ̀-ʔ/ 'Come!'; (c) after verbs in the very-low tone, the tone of the fused particle-sequence is mid, as in tē o-ʔ 'Crush it!'.

(6) Urging or optative pî-ôʔ. The P$_v$-sequence [ôʔ ∿ ɔ̀ʔ] frequently occurs after the benefactive V$_v$ pî, to form what is conveniently regarded as a unitary P$_v$, pî-ôʔ, with strongly exhortatory or optative meaning: chi qhe | tâ te pî-ôʔ 'Please don't act this way!'. pî-ôʔ has been co-opted in the Lahu translations of the Bible to convey benedictions of the 'may you V!' type, but also appears in the more flowery styles of ordinary discourse of both the Christian and the animist Lahu: g̈ɨ-s̆a ɔ-bo ¦ nɔ-hɨ tê qhâʔ ɔ-qhô | cɔ pî-ôʔ 'May the blessings of God be upon your village!'; yὲ-yâ-qa-yâ tê phā ¦ {gɔ-lɛ̀ʔ ve} ¦ nɔ-hɨ ɔ-qhô | cɔ pî-ôʔ mɛ̄ 'Peace be unto you, the younger generation!'. As the last example shows, the persuasive P$_{uf}$ mɛ̄ [4.724] often reinforces the meaning of pî-ôʔ.

4.66 P$_v$'s of Group IVb: interjectory qha and pâʔ, and their

compounds and variants. Group IVb consists essentially of two interjectory items, qha ∿ ha ∿ a and pâʔ ∿ pá. These occur singly, in combinations with one another, or (in the case of qha) with the benefactive morphemes pî and lâ, to form emotive or affective P$_v$'s which function similarly to the interjectory unrestricted particles [below 4.726-4.727]. See Figure 40.

(1) qha ∿ a ∿ ha. qha serves to emphasize, enliven, dramatize the effect of the preceding verb.[254] It is much used in lively narrations -- some speakers throw it into practically every

3.65(6); 4.65(6); 4.66; 4.66(1)

FIGURE 40. P_v's of Group IVb

qha	pâʔ
qha a ha } -	lâ
qha-pî	

clause. Needless to say, the dramatic effect of qha is inversely
proportionate to the frequency with which it is used in a given
discourse: tê pɔ̂ʔ tí ¦ chi | phɔ̀ʔ phê pî qha 'All of a sudden he
opened it and let them out!'; <<yɛ̀-dɔ | yù>> qôʔ qha 'I told you
to take the house-posts!'. Sometimes the variant a is used in-
stead of qha:[255] hɛ-vàʔ | tɔ̄ a 'We've flushed a boar!'.
(2) pâʔ ~ pá.[256] The syllable pâʔ or pá is used in a similar
way. It seems likely that there is some connection between this
P_v and the vivid action-verb pâʔ 'crack, collapse': bo-lo=qō
kàʔ | â dɔ̂ʔ pá 'They're not even beating the gong!'; yàʔ-pɫ ¦ nô
ɔ̄ ¦ chɔ | kù pâʔ || à-thɔ̂ʔ-ma | te lɛ nā 'I wonder why they're
making such a racket up there tonight!'.
(3) qha-pâʔ. The sequence qha-pâʔ is perhaps more frequent than
either of its components alone. qha-pâʔ is often followed by one
of the interjectory P_{uf}'s like và or yâ [below 4.726]; sometimes
it is joined to the bound interjectory P_{uf} of limited use, /-a/   *
[below 4.729]: nâʔ | chɫʔ qha-pâʔ=a 'The gun jammed, damn it!';
phɫ | gɔ̀-ɛ̀ qha-pâʔ và 'The dogs have shut up all of a sudden!';
âa ||| chɔ-há=pā | là qha-pâʔ 'Ah, here come the boys!'; pù-cɔ̂ tê
qhô kàʔ | â là qha-pâʔ šē và 'The deacon's part of the village
hasn't come yet either!'.

   The imperative P_v's of Group IVa never occur in sequence
with any other P_v's than those of Group I. qha and qha-pâʔ, on
the other hand, being more like loosely integrated interjections

4.66(2-3)

than the usual P_v's, may occasionally be inserted into sentences
between the verb and a following P_v of any group whatsoever (like
sĕ̄ in the last example above).

(4) qha(-lâ) in non-final clauses. In non-final clauses, qha
(or its variants ha and a), may be used before ve or such P_{unf}'s
as lɛ or qo, with or without the syllable lâ intervening. See
Figure 41.

FIGURE 41.   qha-lâ

qha ∿		lɛ
ha ∿ (lâ)		qo
a		ve

This lâ is thrown in merely for emphasis, though it is certainly
to be identified with the Group I benefactive P_v.[257] Exs:
ɔ-khɔ̂ | ǧa kâ thâ || phɛ̂ qha lɛ || [lâ ve] tê yân thâ ¦ {tàn dà?
qha-lâ ve} thà? | qha-dɛ̀? ǧa mɔ̂ lɛ || nâ? | qha-dɛ̀? thɔ lɛ || phɛ̂
pî ha lɛ || {šɨ e ve} thà? | ǧa mɔ̂ qo || ha-lɛ̀ jâ tɛ̂ yɔ̀ 'When we
hear their noise, we set [the decoy-bird] free, and when [the
other birds] come and we see them fighting with each other, we
aim our guns carefully and fire -- and if we see them die we
really feel great!'; à-mī | qɔ̂? tɔ̀? qha-lâ lɛ... 'The fire broke
out again, and...'; {yɔ̂ ve | bɔ̂? lâ ve} | pɔ̀-pɔ̀ te qha-lâ lɛ...
'His (gun) fired at me going bang, bang! -- and...'; câ ha qo |
šɨ e tù yɔ̀ mɛ̄ 'If you eat (the damn thing) you'll die!'; nô ¦
há-phɔ̂ | kɔ a-lâ qo ɔ̄ || ŋà lɛ̀ | nɛ̂? kà? qay yɔ̀ 'If I should fall
on the rocky side I'd die in an instant!'; ɔ-thà?=phɔ̂ ¦ yâ-mî=ma
| dɔ̂? a qo ɔ̄... 'When the women beat on the outside of it...';
hɔ̀ a tá lɛ || qɔ̂? e ve yɔ̀ 'Crying bitterly they went home';[258]
⟨{lâ | phə̂? ve} ¦ chi qhe | te ve⟩lɛ̀ ¦ →ǧa câ lɛ || šu lɔ | šū

4.66(4)

la tù⁺ te a-lâ qo lὲ ‖ â mɔ̀ ɔ̀ và 'Picking tea this way (i.e., so sloppily), I don't see how you could ever earn a living and become the equal of other people!'.[259]

(5) The vivid pro-verb qha-pî. Interjectory qha followed by the benefactive V_v pî forms a unitary verbal entity that is neither a true verb (it is not negatable by mâ) nor a true P_v (it may stand first in the final clause[260]). It is tempting to consider this expression as being composed of the adverb qha (q.v.) plus pî as main verb, but it is the feeling of native speakers that the qha is carrying the verbal idea, not the pî.

qha-pî is used in the final clauses of compound sentences whose non-final clauses have set the stage for some kind of violent action. qha-pî here serves as a kind of interjectory pro-verb indicating that the anticipated violence has occurred, but not specifying exactly what form it took: ŋà ; nâʔ | yù lɛ ‖ qha-pî ve 'I picked up the gun and -- bang!'/'I picked up the gun and -- let him have it!'/'I picked up the gun and -- gave it to him!'.

4.67 Graphic summary of Group IV P_v's. The verb-particles of Group IV pattern, we have seen, as indicated in Figure 42.

FIGURE 42.   The Group IV P_v's

a ∿ ha	š̄a ∿ ā		
	s̄̆e		
	yà		
	vɨ ∿ vɔ	-ʔ	
	lɔ˙ ∿ ɔ		
pî-ôʔ			
qha	pâʔ (-a)		
	∿ pá		
qha a ha	—	lâ	
qha-pî			

* **4.68 The rare negative imperative mâ-yo.** Incomparably the most
frequent way of expressing a negative imperative is by means of
the adverb tâ [4.411(3)]. Once in a great while the expression
mâ-yo is used after the verb for this purpose: câ mâ-yo 'Don't
eat!' (=tâ câ). In modern Lahu mâ-yo behaves more like a P_v than
anything else, though perhaps it is to be derived historically
from the V_v mâ 'much' plus the assertive P_{uf} yò: *câ mâ yò 'You're
eating a great deal', i.e., 'Don't eat (so much)!'.

4.69 Intervention of P_v's in versatile concatenations. It is not
unusual for a P_v to intervene at some point in a post-head versa-
tile concatenation,[261] usually directly after the V_h. In these
cases, a verb-plus-particle combination is being treated as a
tight semantic unit, which then interacts as a whole with another
verb in the concatenation. P_v's of three of our four groups may
participate in such constructions. As some of the following exam-
ples show, it is even possible to have two consecutive P_v's inter-
vening within a single concatenation.

(a) When the P_v is of Group I: $\underset{V_h}{\text{lòʔ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{e}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{cɨ}} \ \text{ve}$ 'let someone go in';

$\underset{V_h}{\text{yù}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{və}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{chê}} \ \text{ve}$ 'are taking away'; $\underset{V_h}{\text{qôʔ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{dàʔ}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{gɨ}} \ \text{ve}$ 'quarrel with each
other for fun / pretend to quarrel';[262] $\underset{V_h}{\text{mɔ̀}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{dàʔ}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{cɨ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{gâ}}$ 'wants to let
them see each other'; yɔ̂ | $\underset{v}{\text{a-cí}} \ \underset{v}{\text{ǧa}} \ \underset{V_h}{\text{ga}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{yù}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{və}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{lâ}} \ \text{cɔ̂ ve yò}$ 'He ought
to manage to help transport it to us'; $\underset{AE}{\text{thê ɛ̀}} \ \underset{V_h}{\text{te}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{ā}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{pí}} \ \text{ve}$ 'He has
already straightened it for him'; yɔ̂=hɨ-mà | $\underset{V_h}{\text{mâʔ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{dàʔ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{tā}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{pɔ̀}}$ 'The
two of them have already courted each other'.

(b) When the P_v is of Group II: $\underset{V_h}{\text{qay}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{gâ}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{chê}} \ \text{ve}$ 'continually want
to go'; $\underset{V_h}{\text{qɔ̀ʔ}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{e}} \ \underset{P_v}{\text{gâ}} \ \underset{V_v}{\text{cɨ}} \ \text{ve}$ 'make him want to go home';[263] mí-chɔ

4.68; 4.69

chí ¦ ŋà │ hə̀ʔ gâ jâ 'I want to get that shoulder-bag very much';
V_h P_v V_v

nɔ̀ │ šī jɔ cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀ 'You ought to have known that already' ("You
V_h P_v V_v

ought to have had the experience of understanding it"); [nɔ̀ │ mâ

mɔ̀ jɔ ve] ɔ̀-cə̀ ¦ ŋà ¦ nɔ̀ thàʔ │ mɔ̀ jɔ cɨ gâ ve yɔ̀ 'I want to make
V_h P_v V_v P_v

you have the experience of seeing things you haven't seen yet'.

(c) P_v's of Group III do not seem ever to intervene in true con-
catenations. tù frequently appears flanked by verbs, but in these
cases the preceding verb is in an embedded clause, either a pur-
pose-clause (→nà tù← te ve 'hurt someone' ["do so someone is
V_h P_v V_h

hurt"]; →nà tù← pî ve 'id.') or a nominalized clause ({kán │ te
V_h P_v V_v V_h

tù} │ cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀ 'There is work to be done'). See below, 6.2 and
P_v V_h

6.15, and above, 'Verb concatenation' 4.35.

(d) When the P_v is of Group IV: The only Group IV P_v that may
intervene in a concatenation is a. The intentional meaning of a
gives it a special affinity for the V_v ni 'to V_h and see' [above
4.341]. The sequence V_h + a + ni is in fact more frequent than
V_h + ni alone, and is identical in meaning with the latter: câ ni
or câ a ni 'try eating, have a taste'. However, when a intervenes,
no further verb may follow in the concatenation: câ ni cɨ ve
V_h V_v V_v

[264]
'make someone try eating', but not *câ a ni cɨ ve.
V_h P_v V_v V_v

The P_v a appears in embedded purpose clauses before the verb
te 'do', or before the particle tɛ̀ with or without a following te:
V + a + te; V + a + tɛ̀ (+ te). These purposive constructions will
be discussed below in their proper place [6.22].

4.7 Unrestricted particles after final phrases.

4.71 Universal unrestricted particles (P_{univ}'s). We now arrive

at the next-to-last term in our schema for the simple sentence:

$$S_{simple} \rightarrow NP^n + [(AE) + \beta + (P_v)]_{VP_f} + \underline{(P_{univ})} + (P_{uf}).$$

It will be remembered that P_{univ}'s are not restricted either to
final or non-final phrases, but may occur equally well after both
final and non-final NP's and VP's.[265] In this section we are only
interested in their occurrences in <u>final</u> phrases -- primarily
VP_f's, but also the NP_f's of minor sentences.

4.711 The P_{univ} ve. This particle is really in a class by it-

self, and must be considered quite apart from the other P_{univ}'s.
<u>ve</u> plays several unique and vital roles in Lahu grammar, and it
is all but impossible to characterize its 'overall meaning' in
anything but the most abstract terms. Leaving aside for the mo-
ment its occurrences in VP_f's, <u>ve</u> clearly functions elsewhere as
either a <u>subordinator</u> or a <u>nominalizer</u>. In its guise as a sub-
ordinator, it serves both to (a) connect a possessor nucleus to a
possessed head in genitive constructions [3.7] (g̈â?=phu-qā̄ ve ɔ-mu
'the cock's feathers') and to (b) connect relative clauses to
their head nouns [6.4] ([c̱ɨ? tā̄ ve] ɔ-mu 'the plucked feathers /
the feathers which have been plucked'). In one non-problematic
construction, <u>ve</u> functions unmistakably as a nominalizer: a
clause ending in <u>ve</u> may be embedded as the object of a higher sen-
tence by means of the accusative P_n thà? [6.115]. Thus, {qhâ?-šɛ
ve yâ-mî=ɛ́ | šɨ e ve} thà? ! nɔ | mâ šǐ lâ 'Don't you know [the
fact] that the headman's little girl has died?'. Here the noun-
particle makes it clear that the whole clause qhâ?-šɛ ve yâ-mî=ɛ́ |
šɨ e ve 'The headman's little girl died' is functioning like a
unitary noun.

There remain two other uses of <u>ve</u> which are more difficult to
interpret. (a) <u>ve</u> may end the non-final clause of a sentence,
with no following particle at all [6.11]:

4.7; 4.71; 4.711

1. q̲h̲â̲ʔ̲-š̲ɛ̲ v̲e̲ y̲â̲-m̲î̲=̲ɛ̲́ | š̲ɨ̲ e̲ v̲e̲ || n̲ɔ̲́ | š̲ī̲ à̲ l̲â̲ 'Don't you know
that the headman's little girl has died?' 2. n̲ɔ̲́ k̲à̲ʔ̲ | l̲à̲ v̲e̲ ||
ŋ̲à̲ | h̲a̲-l̲ɛ̲̀ j̲â̲ 'I'm very happy that you've come too' ("As for your
coming too, I'm very happy"). In some cases the ve-clause is the
logical object of the verb in the Cl_f, and the P_n t̲h̲à̲ʔ̲ is insert-
ible with no change of meaning (Ex.1). In many other cases, the
ve-clause is the topic or subject of the sentence as a whole (Ex.
2). In any event, one could still claim that ve is acting as a
nominalizer here.[266]

(b) Finally, after VP_f's v̲e̲ occurs with enormous frequency,
conveying no meaning other than a certain neutral affirmation of
the preceding verbal event [6.118]. v̲e̲ has as elusive and ab-
stract a meaning in this usage as does the word 'to' in the in-
finitive citation form of English verbs.[267] Indeed, whenever a
Lahu cites a verb in isolation (as in translating from another
language, or in paraphrasing) he automatically appends ve to it:
q̲a̲y̲ v̲e̲ 'to go'; d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲ 'to be good'; <<q̲ô̲ʔ̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲>> q̲ô̲ʔ̲ q̲o̲ ||
<<d̲ê̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲>> q̲ô̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲ '"q̲ô̲ʔ̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ v̲e̲" means "to quarrel with each
other"'.[268]

For lack of a better term, we may call this v̲e̲-in-VP_f's
'indicative ve'. It has nothing whatever to do with tense. One
and the same sentence ending in ve may be interpreted as past,
present, or future, depending on the context: y̲ɔ̲́ ¦ v̲ê̲n̲ q̲h̲ɔ̲ ¦ m̲ɔ̲́ |
c̲a̲ h̲ɔ̲́ q̲a̲y̲ v̲e̲ 'He goes/went/will go to town to sell some things'.[269]
The meaning of 'indicative v̲e̲', as the name is intended to show,
is more modal or aspectual than temporal. v̲e̲ is thus mutually
exclusive with the imperative P_v's of Group IV ('imperative mood'
vs. 'indicative mood'), as well as with the asseverative Group II
P_v à̲,[270] and does not typically co-occur with most of the aspec-
tual P_v's of Group III.[271]

Yet we are still missing the point. We should not give up
the attempt to relate 'indicative v̲e̲' to the other functions of
the particle in Lahu grammar. In fact there is excellent compara-

tive evidence to show that even 'indicative ve' is really a clause-nominalizer.[272] From this point of view, every verb occurring in the environment _____ + ve + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{'} \\ \text{\#} \\ P_u \end{matrix} \right\}$ would be considered 'objectified' or 'reified'.[273] Its verbality is set up as a neutral fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects. Thus a sentence like yɔ́ | hɘ ve yɔ̀ 'He is/was/will be tired', could be conceived of as having the structure {yɔ́ | hɘ ve} yɔ̀ 'It is/was/will be a case of his-being-tired' or 'I affirm that he-is/was/will be-tired'.[274] Carried to its logical extreme, this would force us to treat every Lahu sentence whose final clause contains 'indicative ve' as a derived minor sentence.

Lending support to this view of ve as a reifier of the preceding verb is the relationship between ve and negation. When a verb is negated simply by the adverb mâ (non-periphrastic negation), it is much more usual (i.e., stylistically neutral or unmarked) not to have ve follow. In the unmarked case, the verbal event is not denied and reified at the same time. The neutral negative answer to the question nɔ̀ kà? | qay ve lâ 'Are you going too?' is mâ qay 'No, I'm not (going)'. To reply mâ qay ve or, more usually, mâ qay ve yɔ̀, would be to underline the negation quite strongly: 'I'm certainly not going'. Similarly, in the following sentence the presence of ve after the negated verb conveys a fairly strong indignation: ŋà gɛ ¡ šā | mâ gà? la lâ ve 'They didn't (even) drive the game towards me!'.[275]

After a non-negated verb the situation is reversed; ve is often more conspicuous by its absence than by its presence. The sentence ŋà kà? | qay ve yɔ̀ 'I'm going too'/'I'll go too' is neutral and matter-of-fact. By omitting the ve, the sentence becomes stylistically weighted. The assertive force of the following P_{uf} yɔ̀ is somewhat intensified: ŋà kà? | qay yɔ̀ 'I'm going too!'. Strongest of all is the use of the naked verb alone: ŋà

kàʔ | qay 'I'm going too, by God!'. Here the verbal energy of qay
is untrammeled by any hint of objectification. The sentence is
almost an imperative to oneself, and in fact the imperative in-
tonation or P_v -ʔ is likely to be present: ŋà kàʔ | qay-ʔ.

Granting then that 'indicative ve' is simply a special case of
nominalizing ve, one problem still remains. How are we to relate
the nominalizing power of ve to its subordinating function? To a
question of this profundity it would be rash to venture a quick
answer, but it would again be giving up too soon to say that there
is no relationship at all. The same dual nominalizing/subordinat-
ing role is shared by the Japanese particle no (niwatori no hane
'the chicken's feathers' [genitive]; {niwatori wo | taberu no} wa |
tanosii 'It's fun to eat chicken' ("As for the eating of chicken,
it's fun") [nominalizing]). The Thai particle thîi is both a loca-
tive nominalizer (nâŋ 'sit', thîi-nâŋ 'a seat'; khìa burìi 'flick
a cigarette', thîi-khìa-burìi 'ashtray') and a relativizer (khon
[thîi capaj dûaj] 'the person who will go too'). The Mandarin par-
ticle .de 的 , besides subordinating nouns to nouns (woo .de
kuay.tz 'my chopsticks') and relative clauses to their heads (may
shu .de ren 'the person who sells books'), also appears in sen-
tences like ta sh leang dean jong daw .de 'He arrived at two
o'clock'/'He's the one who arrived at 2:00', where the .de-clause
behaves like a predicate nominative NP after the copula sh, analo-
gously to natural nouns: ta sh Jonggworen 'He is a Chinese'.
Finally, the English word that is also both a nominalizer ({that
this is true} | is obvious) and a relativizer (the woman [that I
love]). Clearly there is a deep connection between nominalization
and subordination that transcends genetic boundaries.[276]

For a more systematic discussion of ve in the context of Lahu
nominalizations in general, see below 6.11.

4.712 Other P_{univ}'s after final phrases. The other P_{univ}'s dif-
fer from ve in that, while they may appear after final phrases,
they rarely if ever are the last morpheme of a sentence: a P_{uf}

4.712

almost always follows. (<u>ve</u>, as we have seen, occurs freely in
absolutely final position.) These P_{univ}'s have already been dis-
cussed in some detail [3.91], so we need only give some additional
examples in this section.

(1) Extentive <u>cɛ</u> and <u>minimizing</u> <u>tí</u>. The P_{univ}'s <u>cɛ</u> 'just; to the
extent that' and <u>tí</u> 'only' occur frequently after final phrases.
(a) After verbs: $\underset{V}{q\grave{o}\textrm{ʔ}}$ $\underset{P_v}{e}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{t\acute{i}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{y\grave{o}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{l\hat{e}}$ 'Let's just go home,

okay?'; $\underset{V}{q\grave{o}\textrm{ʔ}}$ $\underset{P_v}{e}$ $\underset{V_v}{ni}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{c\varepsilon}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{y\grave{o}}$ 'Let's just head back and see what

happens'. (b) After natural nouns: $\underset{N}{n\grave{\jmath}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{t\acute{i}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{y\grave{o}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{l\hat{a}}$ 'Are you

the only one?'; {ğa pî ve} $\underset{Q}{\bar{\textrm{ɔ}}}$ ¦ tê chi bàʔ $\underset{P_{univ}}{c\varepsilon}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{t\acute{i}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{h\hat{\varepsilon}}$ 'What

we'll have to pay is probably only ten baht'; {ŋà-hɨ thàʔ | ga lâ
phɛ̀ʔ ve} lɛ̀ ¦ $\underset{N}{n\grave{\jmath}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{t\acute{i}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{m\bar{e}}$ 'You're the only one who can help us'

("As for being able to help us, it's only you"). (c) After
nominalized <u>ve</u>-clauses: {kán láy-cɔ̀ | bî chê ve} tí mē 'I'm just
swamped with all kinds of work!'; {ɔ̀-ğâ | qɔ̀ʔ pî ni kàʔ || tê-khɨ-
tê-yân | ğa chê á ve} cɛ yò cê 'They say that even if they try to
restore his strength, he'll only manage to survive for a short
time'.

(2) Causal <u>lɛ</u>. The P_{univ} <u>lɛ</u> 'because' is usually to be found
with non-final phrases, though it does occur often enough after
final ones.[277] (a) In VP_f's: {qay mâ phɛ̀ʔ ve} $\bar{\textrm{ɔ}}$ ¦ phu | mâ
$\underset{V}{c\grave{\jmath}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{l\varepsilon}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{y\grave{o}}$ 'The reason we can't go is because we have no money'.

(b) In NP_f's: {chi qhe | te hâʔ ve} tí qo lɛ̀ ¦ $\underset{N}{qh\hat{a}\textrm{ʔ-šɛ}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{l\varepsilon}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{h\hat{\varepsilon}}$

'He dares to act that way just because he's the headman, I guess'.
(3) Temporal <u>thâ</u>. The P_{univ} <u>thâ</u> 'when' occasionally occurs after
final phrases, always before a P_{uf}. (a) In VP_f's: $\underset{V}{n\grave{\jmath}}$ | $\underset{P_{univ}}{\check{s}\bar{\imath}\ th\hat{a}}$

y$\grave{\text{o}}$ 'It's time for you to know it'. $\underline{\text{thâ}}$ is really functioning as
P_{uf}

a temporal nominalizer in this construction, as we shall see
[6.12]. (b) In NP_f's: {$\underline{\text{y}\acute{\text{o}}}$ ¦ $\underline{\text{chi qhe}}$ | $\underline{\text{te phè?}}$ $\underline{\text{ve}}$} $\underline{\text{lè}}$ ¦ $\underline{\text{yâ-nè}}$
                                                                                    N

$\underline{\text{thâ}}$ $\underline{\text{tí}}$ $\underline{\text{hέ}}$ 'I imagine he could only do that when he was a
P_{univ} P_{univ} P_{uf}

young man'.

(4) Emphatic tὲ. The P_{univ} $\underline{\text{tὲ}}$ 'really' appears quite often after
final phrases, always with a following P_{uf}. (a) In VP_f's:

$\underline{\text{qay}}$ $\underline{\text{tὲ}}$ $\underline{\text{ma}}$ 'I'm really going!'; $\underline{\text{má}}$ | $\underline{\text{cà}}$ $\underline{\text{jâ}}$ $\underline{\text{tὲ}}$ $\underline{\text{yò}}$ $\underline{\text{lɔ}}$
V P_{univ} P_{uf} V   V$_v$ P_{univ} P_{uf} P_{uf}

'You're really clever, son-in-law!'. Frequently the tὲ is re-
duplicated: {$\underline{\text{chi}}$ | $\underline{\text{dà?}}$ $\underline{\text{tὲ-tὲ}}$} $\underline{\text{ve}}$ $\underline{\text{yò}}$ 'This is really great!'.
              V P_{univ}

(b) In NP_f's: $\underline{\text{šá-$\bar{\text{ɨ}}$=pā}}$ $\underline{\text{tὲ}}$ $\underline{\text{yò}}$ $\underline{\text{ma}}$ 'He's really a clown!';   *
              N P_{univ} P_{uf} P_{uf}

$\underline{\text{ɔ-chɔ}}$ $\underline{\text{tὲ-tὲ}}$ $\underline{\text{yò}}$ 'He's a real friend!'.[278]
N P_{univ} P_{uf}

4.72 Final unrestricted particles (P_{uf}'s). It remains to expand
the last term in our formulae for the simple sentence:

$$S_{simple \atop major} \rightarrow (NP^n) + [(AE) + \beta + (P_v)]_{VP_f} + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf});$$

$$S_{simple \atop minor} \rightarrow [\nu + (P_n)]^n + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf}).$$

P_{uf}'s come last in their sentences. Their semantic domain is the
sentence as a whole, not just the VP.[279] In a sense, they are
like punctuation marks. This is not to say they are afterthoughts
of secondary importance. On the contrary, some of the most im-
portant information in the Lahu sentence is withheld till the
last.[280] It is common for a sentence to contain two, three, or
even four P_{uf}'s. These occur in a more or less fixed order rela-

4.712(4); 4.72

tive to each other, though there are cases when alternative order-
ings are possible (either with or without a concomitant change of
meaning). There are definite mutual exclusions among the P_{uf}'s.
Some of these (e.g., the exclusion between the interrogatives lâ
'yes-or-no question' and le 'substance question') are absolute,
and obviously built into the grammar. Many others (e.g., exclu-
sions among various interjectory P_{uf}'s) may only be fortuitous;
i.e., a situation where a given sequence of P_{uf}'s would be appro-
priate has never happened to arise in a text or conversation that
the author has examined.[281] Further complicating the picture is
the fact that patterns of order and co-occurrence vary among
Black Lahu of different villages, and among individual Lahu within
a given village.[282]

With all this in mind, we may still conveniently subdivide
the P_{uf}'s into six distributional-semantic classes, as shown in
Figure 43. As a rough indication of the semantic domain of each
class, we include in parentheses the English punctuation mark that
most closely corresponds in meaning:[283]

FIGURE 43.   Subclasses of P_{uf}'s

(1) <u>Declarative</u> (full stop)   S.

(2) <u>Dubitative</u>   (suspension   S...
                          points)

(3) <u>Interrogative</u> (question   S?
                            mark)

(4) <u>Persuasive</u> (exclamation point   S!?
                         plus question mark)

(5) <u>Quotative</u> (quotation marks)   "S"

(6) <u>Interjectory</u> (exclamation point) S!

4.721 The declarative P_{uf}'s: yɔ̀, ɔ, and lɔ. These three P_{uf}'s

pattern as in Figure 44:

4.721

FIGURE 44.   The Declarative P_{uf}'s

yɔ̀	
	lɔ
ɔ	

(1) yɔ̀. yɔ̀ is perhaps the most frequently encountered P_{uf} of them all. It is used after VP_f's to affirm that the verbal event is a matter of fact, is indeed the case, is so. The most neutral or stylistically colorless type of declarative sentence in Lahu ends in the particle sequence ve + yɔ̀. (As mentioned above, 4.711, the yɔ̀ tends to acquire a more emphatic force if 'indicative ve' is omitted.) Exs: qha šū yɔ̀ 'It's just the same'; dà? ve yɔ̀ 'It's good'/'It's all right';[284] ɔ̀-sɨ̌ | cɔ qay ve yɔ̀ 'The blood circulates'; šɔ́-pɔ̄ ¦ ŋà ¦ mə̀ qhɔ | qay ve yɔ̀ 'I'm going to town tomorrow'; yɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̀-yâ ɔ̀ ğâ | cɔ̀ ve yɔ̀ 'He has four children'. In itself, yɔ̀ makes no claim about the tense of the preceding VP. These are interpreted as past, present, or future from clues elsewhere in the sentence or discourse, and from the extralinguistic context.

After the NP_f's of natural minor sentences, yɔ̀ is used in identity statements of the sort 'N_1 is an N_2' or '(It's) an N_2': yɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū-yâ yɔ̀ 'He is a Lahu'; šú-qhu chi ¦ ŋà ve yɔ̀ 'This pipe is mine'; lâ yɔ̀ 'It's a tiger'; ɔ̀-tɛ̀ yɔ̀ 'It's the truth'; {ŋà-hɨ thà? | ga lâ phɛ̀? ve} lɛ̀ ¦ nɔ̀ tí yɔ̀ 'The only one who can help us is you'.

yɔ̀ also occurs as an interjection all by itself, meaning 'yes; that's right; quite so': --šɔ́-pɔ̄ kà? | qay ve lâ. --yɔ̀. 'Are you going tomorrow too?' 'Yes.' In its interjectory usage yɔ̀ may be followed by other P_{uf}'s: yɔ̀ hɛ́ 'That's probably right'; yɔ̀ lâ 'Is that so?', etc.[285]

yɔ̀ is sometimes pronounced yà-ò by speakers under Yellow Lahu influence, especially when the word is functioning as in interjection.

4.721(1)

The compound P_uf's yò-a and yò-pɔ̄. yò is sometimes followed by
emphatic elements which are not full-fledged P_uf's in their own
right (since they rarely occur <u>unless</u> yò precedes). It seems
best to regard these as compound unitary P_uf's: (a) yò-a.[286]
qay ve yò-a 'I'm certainly going!'; dàʔ ve yò-a 'That's really
great!'; {yɔ̂ ⋮ hâ | bɔ̂ʔ kɨ} ɔ̄ | g̈àʔ ce ve yò-a 'I'll drive them
down to the place where he shot the mountain-goat!'. (b) yò-pɔ̄
~ yò-pɔ̀ʔ ~ yà-ò=pɔ̀ʔ. mâ š̌ī dàʔ ve yò-pɔ̀ʔ 'We don't even know
each other!'; yɔ̂ ⋮ qhâʔ-š̌ɛ yò-pɔ̀ʔ 'He's the headman, of course!'.
The pronunciation yà-ò=pɔ̀ʔ is pure Yellow Lahu. Our Black Lahu
recognize that -pɔ̄ ~ -pɔ̀ʔ is a dialect borrowing. Some character-
ize it as a word from Lâhū mɔ́-nɔ́ or 'North-country Lahu' (< Thai
myaŋ nɣ̌a). See below 4.729. For the strange compound P_unf yò-qo,
see below 5.71.

(2) ɔ. ɔ is similar in meaning to yò, and mutually exclusive
with it, but rather more restricted in use than the latter. It
occurs with particular frequency after three verbs of durative
⁎   meaning, chê 'be in a place', cɔ̀ 'have/be there', and phɛ̀ʔ 'be
able':[287] chi-bɔ̀ʔ | te-câ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'You may cook now'; chò-phɔ́ ⋮
lâ | cɔ̀ ɔ lâ 'Are there any tigers in these parts?'; cɔ̀ ɔ 'There
are'; ŋâ ⋮ ô-pá | chê ɔ 'The fish are over there'.

The sequence ve + ɔ[288] is rather uncommon, but does occur:
--qay phɛ̀ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you go?' --qay phɛ̀ʔ ve ɔ '(Yes,) I can go'.
More typically, ɔ alone serves as a slightly more emphatic alter-
native to the sequence ve + yò: qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ | qôʔ dàʔ ve yò
'They're always quarrelling' vs. qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ | qôʔ dàʔ ɔ 'All
the time they're quarrelling!'.

After NP_f's, ɔ functions as a slightly emphatic identity-
marker: --ô ve ⋮ à-thòʔ-ma le. --vàʔ ɔ. 'What's that?' 'It's
a pig!' [can't you tell, you fool?]; š̌u ve | mâ hê̠ʔ. ŋà ve ɔ.
'It's nobody else's. It's mine!'; --a-š̌u le. --ŋà ɔ. 'Who is
it?' 'It's me!'.

4.721(2)

(3) lɔ. lɔ conveys greater emotion (often <u>surprise</u>) than either
yɔ̀ or ɔ. It is not to be included in the subclass of interjectory
P_{uf}'s, however, both because lɔ occurs earlier in multi-P_{uf}
strings than any of the interjectories do, and because lɔ freely
occurs directly after P_v's whereas the interjectories require an
intervening <u>ve</u> [below 4.72.11]. Furthermore, lɔ is much less
colloquial than the true interjectories, and is usable even in
the most formal style.[289] After VP_f's: {<u>nɔ̀ ve nâʔ</u> | <u>šàʔ</u>} | <u>â ɨ̄</u>
<u>lɔ</u> 'Your rifle-setting wasn't big (enough)!'; <u>tɔ̂ʔ ɔ̀ lɔ</u> 'It has
already come out!'. After NP_f's: <u>chɨ=pí-qwὲʔ</u> <u>lɔ</u> 'Why, it's a
barking-deer!'; <u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>lɔ</u> 'Fancy that, he's a Lahu!'.

lɔ may occur after either yɔ̀ or ɔ, adding considerable empha-
sis to the sentence: <u>bɔ̂ʔ dàʔ ve yɔ̀ lɔ</u> 'They're shooting at each
other!'; <u>Lâhū-khɔ̂</u> | <u>yɔ phὲʔ ɔ lɔ</u> 'He can actually speak Lahu!';
<u>yàʔ-ni qo</u> ¦ <u>hɔ kàʔ</u> | <u>qɔ̀ʔ ɔ́ bà šē ɔ lɔ yâ</u> 'Besides that, the ele-
phants trampled it down again today, damn it!'.

<u>lɔ in non-final clauses</u>. There is no alternative to considering
<u>lɔ</u> a P_{uf}, since it may occur <u>after</u> the P_{uf}'s yɔ̀ and ɔ.[290] Never-
theless, <u>lɔ</u> does appear in Cl_{nf}'s, almost always before the P_{unf}
<u>qo</u> 'if'. A conditional clause ending in <u>lɔ</u> + <u>qo</u> is more emphatic
than one with <u>qo</u> alone, and is well translated by 'if...really':
<u>šú-qhu chi</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̀ ve lɔ qo ɔ̄</u> 'if this pipe is really yours'. Rather
than treating <u>lɔ</u> as a universal unrestricted particle (which can
occur equally well in Cl_{nf}'s as in Cl_f's), it seems preferable to
regard <u>lɔ-qo</u> as a compound unitary P_{unf} [see below 5.413].

4.722 The dubitative P_{uf}'s: hɛ́ and nὲ-ɔ̄. See Figure 45:

FIGURE 45. The Dubitative P_{uf}'s

hɛ́	nὲ-ɔ̄

(1) hɛ́ [lɛ-hɛ́]. This important P_{uf} is used after VP_f's to indi-
cate that the verbal event is uncertain or dubious, merely possi-

ble or probable: yɔ̂ tí qo | phɛ̂ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ hɛ́ 'He'll probably be
able to untie it'/'Maybe he'll be able to untie it'; yɔ̂ | mɔ̂ jâ
lɛ || šɨ̌ e ò hɛ́ 'He's so old that he might be dead by now'; ɔ̂ ni
ŋâ ni | qɔ̂ʔ chɛ̂ tù ve hɛ́ 'I might stay four or five more days'.
After NP$_f$'s, hɛ́ is used to make probabilistic or diffident iden-
tity-statements, approximations, and the like: Lâhū-yâ hɛ́ 'He
might be a Lahu'; qhà-nɨ ǧâ | qay tù le. nɨ ǧâ šêʔ ǧâ hɛ́ lâ 'How
many people will go? Maybe two or three?'; chɔ-ǧû=pā yò hɛ́ 'I
bet he's a madman'.

As the above examples show, hɛ́ occurs freely after the
declarative P$_{uf}$'s yò and ɔ. The combination yò + hɛ́ implies a
higher degree of probability than does hɛ́ alone (last example
above). However, hɛ́ is mutually exclusive with the P$_{uf}$ lɔ. The
dubitative meaning of the former is incompatible with the emphatic
surprise conveyed by the latter. hɛ́ may be used after negated
verbs as well as positive ones (yàʔ-ni ¦ ɔ̂-u | mâ u hɛ́ 'I doubt
if she'll lay an egg today'). It will be remembered that the
dubitative Group IIIb P$_v$ tà only occurs after negated verbs
[above 4.645].

The variant lɛ-hɛ́. This fuller form of the particle occurs
occasionally after final phrases (yɔ̂ | mâ tho-pɔ̄ tù lɛ-hɛ́ 'He
probably won't admit it'), but much more frequently in non-final
position (lɛ itself is a suspensive P$_{unf}$). Yet in these cases
too we continue to regard lɛ-hɛ́ as a P$_{uf}$, and explain its non-
final occurrence as a 'quotative embedding' [below 6.3]: <<yɔ̂
kàʔ | tho-pɔ̄ tù lɛ-hɛ́>> ŋà | dɔ̂ ve yò 'I think he'll probably
confess too'. No non-complex sentence (i.e., no ordinary com-
pound sentence) contains lɛ-hɛ́ in non-final position.

The unitary P$_{uf}$ lɛ-hɛ́ is not to be confused with a sequence
consisting of the causal P$_{univ}$ lɛ + hɛ́, which means 'probably (hɛ́)
because (lɛ)': phu | mâ cɔ̂ lɛ hɛ́ 'It's probably because he has
no money'.

(2) nɛ̂-ɔ̄ [nɛ̂]. The P_{uf} nɛ̂-ɔ̄ also indicates uncertainty, but of a rather different sort from hɛ́. Whereas hɛ́ generally shows a neutral attitude of non-certitude ('maybe yes, maybe no'), nɛ̂-ɔ̄ usually implies that the speaker has formed a definite opinion or theory which he believes to be correct, although of course he is not sure. The simplest English translation is usually 'probably'. Other possibilities include 'I daresay...', 'I guess...', !I imagine...', 'I wouldn't be surprised if...', etc. After VP_f's: yɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̄ | câ ɔ̀ nɛ̂-ɔ̄ 'He's probably eaten by now'; yɔ̂-hɨ tí qo ¦ nô ɔ̄ ¦ yā-phyī | ti-câ ve nɛ̂-ɔ̄ 'I wouldn't be surprised if they grew opium up there'; nɔ̀ ¦ nɔ̄ | mâ mɔ̀ʔ pɨ šĕ nɛ̂-ɔ̄ 'I bet you can't play the gourd-flute yet'. After natural NP_f's: {šu a-kɛ́ ¦ phu | cɔ̀ mâ ve} ɔ̄ | qhâʔ-šɛ nɛ̂-ɔ̄ 'The one who has the most money is probably the headman'.

nɛ̂-ɔ̄ occurs freely after the declarative P_{uf}'s yɔ̀, ɔ, and lɔ, as well as after its dubitative partner hɛ́. Occasionally the second syllable is omitted, and nɛ̂ alone serves: ɔ̄-phɔ̂ | hɔ̀ʔ â phɛ̂ʔ šē nɛ̂ nē 'I doubt if she can get married yet!'. [nɛ̂ is to be distinguished from the interjectory P_{uf} nē, which also occurs in the above example.]

A nuance of arch insinuation is conveyed by drawling nɛ̂-ɔ̄ in a slow, exaggerated intonation, [nɛ ↓ ɔɔ ⌐] or [nɛ↓ɔɔ ⌐]: yâ-mî=ma chi | qha-dɛ̂ʔ te pɨ ɔ̀ nɛ↓ɔɔ⌐ 'That woman must be pretty good at it by now, I'd say!'.

4.723 The interrogative P_{uf}'s: lâ, le, nā, lê, ɛ̂ʔ.

(1) lâ [lɛ-lâ, lɛ-ā, lâ-o]. This P_{uf} is used to mark questions that call for a yes-or-no answer: questions to which there are only two possible answers, one affirmative and one negative.[291] After VP_f's: yɔ̂ ¦ tê ğâ tí | te phɛ̂ʔ ɔ lâ 'Can he do it all by himself?' [expected answers: te phɛ̂ʔ ɔ '(Yes), he can do it' or te mâ phɛ̂ʔ '(No), he can't do it']; chê-ša chê à lâ 'Are you well?' [expected answers: chê-ša ve yɔ̀ 'I am well' or chê mâ ša

'I am not well']. After a <u>ve</u>-clause: {nɔ̀ kà? | lē-g̣ɨ gâ ve} lâ
'Do you want to play too?' [expected answers: lē-g̣ɨ gâ 'I do want
to play' or mâ lē-g̣ɨ gâ 'No, I don't want to play'].

It is relatively rare to find lâ directly after a verb; usu-
ally one or more P_v's and/or P_u's intervene. The exception to
this is in disjunctive questions [next section] where lâ charac-
teristically occurs after the naked verb: cɔ̀ lâ ‖ mâ cɔ̀ lâ 'Are
there any or aren't there?'.

lâ may freely be preceded by the P_{uf}'s yɔ̀, ɔ, lɔ, and hɛ́,
regardless of whether the latter come directly after the verb or
whether 'indicative/nominalizing <u>ve</u>' intervenes: dà? ve yɔ̀ lâ
'Is it all right?'; hɛ-và? | e lɔ lâ 'Has a wild boar come
out?!'; phɛ̀? ɔ hɛ́ lâ 'Do you think you'll be able to?' ("Will you
probably be able to?"). lâ may also follow any of the P_v's (ex-
cept those of Group IV): ɔ̄ | câ ɔ̀ lâ 'Have you eaten already?';
　　　　　　　　　　　　　V　P_v　P_{uf}

yà?-ni | qɔ̀? e tù lâ 'Will you go back today?'. We have already
　　　　　V　P_v　P_v　P_{uf}

noted [4.63(4)] that certain durative verbs like sī̆ 'know' and
chɛ̂ 'be in a place' take the P_v à by preference before lâ: nɔ̀ ¦
chi à? | sī̆ à lâ 'Did you know this?'; chɛ̂-ša chɛ̂ à lâ 'Are you
well?'.

On the other hand, lâ is mutually exclusive with the P_{uf} nɛ̀-ɔ̄,
as are its fellow interrogatives <u>le</u> and <u>nā̄</u>.[292]

After NP_f's, lâ is used to make questions of the type 'is it
(an) N (or isn't it)?': šā̄ ô-ve lɛ̀ ¦ lâ lâ 'Is that animal a
tiger?'; cí-cî chi | nɔ̀ ve lâ 'Is this pick-axe yours?'; {á-ni
thâ ¦ ŋà á-qhɔ | là ve} lɛ̀ ¦ nɔ̀ lâ 'Was the one who came to my
house yesterday you?'/'Was it you who came to my house yesterday?'.
<u>Disjunctive questions</u>. Often Lahu (like Chinese) phrases yes-or-
no questions in such a way that both of the possible answers are
already explicitly suggested in the question itself, with lâ fol-
lowing each member of the disjunction: (a) nɔ̀ | qay lâ ↔ mâ

<u>qay</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Are you going or not?' ("You go? You do not go?");
(b) <u>pha</u> <u>ô-ve</u> | <u>nê</u>ʔ <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u> ←┼┼→ <u>vi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Is that cloth wet or
dry?' ("Is that cloth wet? Is it dry?"). The verb may be the
same in each half of the disjunction, once negated and once not
(Ex. a), or there may be different verbs in each half (Ex. b).
In the latter case one or the other of the two different verbs is
expected in the answer ('It's wet' or 'It's dry'), though of
course an answer of the following sort is also possible: {<u>nê</u>ʔ
<u>ve</u>} <u>kà</u>ʔ | <u>mâ</u> <u>hê</u>ʔ. {<u>vi</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>kà</u>ʔ | <u>mâ</u> <u>hê</u>ʔ. <<<u>qhà-qhe</u> <u>na̅</u>>> <u>mâ</u> <u>ši̅</u> <u>è</u>ʔ
'It's not wet and it's not dry. I don't know how it is!'.[293]
Note that when the verb is the same in both halves of the dis-
junction, it is common to have the <u>lâ</u> appear directly after the
verb, with no intervening <u>ve</u> or P_{uf}.

  Disjunctive questions may also be nominal. That is, the
speaker may be offered a choice between two natural NP_f's: <u>chɨ=</u>
<u>pí-qwè</u>ʔ <u>chi</u> ¦ <u>ɔ-pa̅</u> <u>lâ</u> ←┼→ <u>ɔ-ma</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Is this barking-deer a male or a
female?'; <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>Kâlâ-phu</u> <u>lâ</u> ←┼→ <u>Kâlâ-nâ</u>ʔ <u>lâ</u> 'Is he a white man or
an Indian?'; <u>á-thè</u>ʔ <u>chi</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u> ←┼→ <u>ŋà</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Is this knife
yours or mine?'.

  Sentence-pause /#/ may optionally intervene between the
halves of a disjunctive question.[294] The halves are therefore to
be considered separate syntactic sentences.[295] At the same time
it would be quixotic to deny the special relationship that binds
the halves together into single semantic units. We reflect the
peculiar nature of these constructions by a special diagrammatic
convention, separating the halves by '←┼→' if they are natural
nouns, and by '←┼┼→' otherwise.

<u>Variants of lâ</u>. (a) <u>lɛ-lâ</u>. Occasionally the compound form <u>lɛ-</u>
<u>lâ</u> is encountered:[296] <u>mɔ́-nɔ́=chɔ</u> <u>lɛ-lâ</u> 'Is she a North-country
person?'. This is not to be confused with the homophonous se-
quence of the P_{univ} <u>lɛ</u> plus <u>lâ</u>, which has a causal interrogative
meaning, 'is it because...?': <u>phu</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>lɛ</u>   <u>lâ</u> 'Is it be-
                                        V P_{univ} P_{uf}

cause they have no money?'. (b) lɛ-ā. In colloquial speech the
variant lɛ-ā is frequently used: nɔ̀ kà? ¦ kán | te ve lɛ-ā 'Are
you working too?'. (c) lâ-o. Yet another common colloquial
variant has the emphatic element –o postposed: nɔ̀ lâ-o 'Is it
you?'; mɛ́ qay ɔ̀ lâ-o 'Has it disappeared?!'. No further P$_{uf}$ may
follow lâ-o.

All three of these variant forms are usable in disjunctive
questions as well: nɔ̀ qay lɛ-lâ/lɛ-ā/lâ-o || mâ qay lɛ-lâ/lɛ-ā/
lâ-o 'Are you going or not?'. Naturally the same variant must be
used in both clauses: *nɔ̀ qay lɛ-lâ ←||→ mâ qay lâ-o.

(2) le [è]. The P$_{uf}$ le is used to mark questions to which there
are an unlimited number of possible answers.[297] We may call these
requests for information 'substance questions'. They are always
introduced by an interrogative expression [above 3.23] like a-šu
'who?', qhà-nî 'how many?', qhà-thâ? 'when?', à-thò?-ma 'what?',
à-thò?-ma te lɛ 'why?', qhà-qhe 'how?', qhɔ̀ 'where?', qhà-qhe ve
N 'what kind of N?', qhɔ̀ ve N 'which N?'.

After VP$_f$'s: nɔ̀ ¦ qhɔ̀ | qay le 'Where are you going?';
qhà-qhe te tù le 'How will you do it?'. After ve-clauses:
à-thò?-ma | te chê ve le 'What are you doing?'; qhà-thâ? | qɔ̀? la
tù ve hɛ́ le 'When will he probably come back?'/'When is he likely
to come back?'. After interrogative nouns in NP$_f$'s: à-thò?-ma
le 'What is it?'; a-šu le 'Who is it?'; qhɔ̀ le 'Where is it?';
qhɔ̀ ve tê ğâ le 'Which person is it?'.

le occurs freely after naked verbs as well as after V + ve.
It also appears after the declarative P$_{uf}$'s (yò, ɔ, lɔ) and hɛ́:
a-šu tê ğâ | hɔ̀? cɔ̂ hɛ́ le 'Which person should she marry, I won-
der?'; a-šu | te phɛ̀? ɔ le 'Who can do it?'; qhà-nî ğâ | qay ve
yò le 'How many people is it that are going?'; hɛ-và? qhà-nî khɛ |
tɔ̂? e lɔ le 'How many wild boar have come out?!'. It goes without
saying that the interrogative P$_{uf}$'s lâ and le are themselves
mutually exclusive, and the combination nè-ɔ̄ + le does not occur.

4.723(2)

Occasionally <u>le</u> is omitted from a substance question for
stylistic effect. The result may be a forceful rhetorical ques-
tion: <u>ôo</u> ||| <u>qhà-qhe</u> ||| {<u>ǧa</u> <u>câ</u> <u>kɨ</u>} | <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>tù</u> 'Oh, how shall we

<div style="margin-left:6.5em">V P_v</div>

ever find a way to earn a living!'.

<u>The variant è</u>. In colloquial speech the initial-less variant
form <u>è</u> often occurs instead of <u>le</u>: <u>qhɔ̂-qhe</u> <u>tê</u> <u>qhâ</u> ¦ <u>lɔ̂-qá</u> | <u>tɔ̄</u> <u>è</u>
'At which point shall we dam the river?'; <u>a-šu</u> <u>è</u> 'Who is it?';
<u>à-thò?-ma</u> | <u>te</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>hɛ́</u> <u>è</u> 'I wonder why there isn't any'.
<u>è</u> differs from <u>le</u> in one important syntactic respect: while the
sequence <u>ve</u> + <u>le</u> is grammatical and of frequent occurrence, the
sequence *<u>ve</u> + <u>è</u> does not occur at all.

(3) <u>na̅</u> [<u>nà?</u>, <u>ná</u>, <u>lɛ-na̅</u>, <u>na̅-a</u>]. The P_{uf} <u>na̅</u> is used in questions
asked of oneself: rhetorical questions formulated not because an
informative answer is expected, but merely in order to give ex-
pression to one's inner uncertainty or feeling of curiosity. The
best English translation often involves the phrase 'I wonder...'.
After VP_f's: <u>nô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>chɔ</u> | <u>kù</u> <u>qha-pâ?</u> || <u>à-thò?-ma</u> | <u>te</u> <u>chê</u> <u>na̅</u>
'I wonder what people are shouting about up there'; <u>yɔ̂-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>qhà-</u>
<u>thâ?</u> | <u>hə?</u> <u>dà?</u> <u>tù</u> <u>na̅</u> 'I wonder when they'll get married'. After
NP_f's: <u>a-šu</u> <u>na̅</u> 'I wonder who it is'; <u>ɔ̂-tὲ</u> <u>yò</u> <u>na̅</u> 'I wonder if it's
the truth'; <u>à-thò?-ma</u> <u>na̅</u> 'I wonder what it could be'; <u>qhâ?</u> <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u>
<u>ɔ̂-qhɔ</u> <u>lo</u> ¦ <u>chɔ</u> <u>qha=pɔ̂-è</u> -- <u>qhà-ma</u> <u>ná</u> -- <u>nî</u> <u>ha</u> <u>šɨ̄</u> <u>chi</u> <u>ǧâ</u> <u>yò</u> 'In
this village there are altogether -- how many is it now? -- 270
people'.

The most important use of <u>na̅</u> is in indirect questions, where
it occurs after a non-final phrase or phrases (<<<u>ɔ̂-tὲ</u> <u>na̅</u>>> <u>ŋà</u> |
<u>mâ</u> <u>šɨ̄</u> 'I don't know whether it's true'). These constructions
clearly involve quotative embeddings, and will be dealt with in
their proper place below [6.34].

<u>Variant forms</u>. Following widespread patterns of tonal variation,
/na̅/ is often pronounced [nà?] or [ná].[298] The compound form
<u>lɛ-na̅</u>, parallelling <u>lɛ-hɛ́</u> [4.722] and <u>lɛ-lâ</u> [4.723(1)], may appear

<div style="text-align:right">*4.723(3)*</div>

in both final and non-final (indirect question) position: à-thò?-ma|te lɛ-nā 'I wonder what he's doing'; <<a-šu lɛ-nā>> ŋà | mâ šɨ̌ 'I don't know who it is'. The variant nā-a (parallelling yò-a [4.721]), also occurs: qhà-thâ? tê yâ | šɨ̌ tù nā-a 'I wonder when he'll die'.

nā may occur after yò, ɔ, and hɛ́. Like le, nā is mutually exclusive with lɔ and nɛ̀-ɔ̄. nā also excludes its fellow-interrogatives lâ, le, and lê [next section].

(4) lê. The P$_{uf}$ lê is used much like the French n'est-ce pas. It is a request for the listener's assent to what is being said, and is usually best translated by English question-tags like 'isn't it?', 'didn't he?', 'will she?', etc. After VP$_f$'s: ɔ=tɛ̀-tɛ̀ | mâ hê? lê 'It's not the truth, is it?'; ğa ò qo || yɔ-hɨ à? | mâ câ? ò lɔ lê 'If we caught anything it was no thanks to them, was it?!'. After ve-clauses: ɔ-chɔ | te dà? qo || ğa ga dà? ve lê 'When people are friends, they should help each other, shouldn't they?'. After NP$_f$'s: nɔ ve và? lê 'It's your pig, isn't it?'; chi-phâ ¦ Pîchɔ-pā lê 'This fellow is a Shan, isn't he?'; yɔ kà? ¦ {í-kâ? | lwê pɨ́ pā} lê 'He's a swimmer too, isn't he?'.

Sometimes no assenting or reassuring grunt is expected from the listener, and the lê is merely rhetorical, fulfilling a role much like the persuasive P$_{uf}$ mɛ̄ [next section], or a certain special use of 'huh?' by some American speakers: ɔ-bo | ɨ̄ jâ lê 'Thanks a lot, huh?'. In this respect lê is weaker than the question-tag mâ hê? lâ 'isn't it so?' [above 4.411(2)], which demands an answer.

lê may follow ve and/or any of the P$_{uf}$'s (except its fellow-interrogatives lâ, le, nā), including all those that remain to be discussed in the following sections. However, after certain of the interjectory P$_{uf}$'s, comma-juncture must intervene before lê [below 4.72.10]: nɔ | mâ phɛ̀? ɔ và , lê 'You can't do it!
   V   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

4.723(4)

--can you?'. No other P_{uf} may follow lê: it is always the last P_{uf} in its sentence.

(5) è?. This P_{uf} has a variety of uses apart from its interrogative ones, and is more conveniently discussed all at once in the context of the interjectory P_{uf}'s, below 4.726.

4.724 The persuasive P_{uf} mɛ̄. The P_{uf} mɛ̄ is used to convey a note of polite but firm insistence. After VP_f's: qha-bû? câ mɛ̄ 'Please eat your fill!'; ɔ-bo | ɨ à mɛ̄ 'Thank you very much!'; ŋà thà? | tâ bɔ? mɛ̄ 'Please don't be angry with me!'; [yɔ | qha šɨ̄ gâ ve] tê phā | a-cɪ́ qha-dɛ̀? ga tho pɪ̂-ô? mɛ̄ 'Please help to explain to him everything he wants to know'; yà?-pɨ ¦ ŋà-hɨ gɛ | chê mɛ̄ 'Please stay with us tonight!'.

After NP_f's: ŋà ve và? mɛ̄ 'It's my pig!' [I assure you]; {ŋà-hɨ thà? | ga lâ phɛ̀? ve} lɛ̀ ¦ nɔ tɪ́ mɛ̄ 'The only one who can help us is you!'.

mɛ̄ occurs freely after ve, as well as after yò, ɔ, hɛ́, and lɔ, but is mutually exclusive with nɛ̀-ɔ̄, lâ, le, nā, and the interjectory P_{uf}'s [below 4.726]. mɛ̄ may appear before the request-for-assent P_{uf} lê, but comma-juncture usually intervenes: nɔ kà? | qay chê tā mɛ̄ , lê 'You keep on going too, please, won't
$$V\ \ P_v\ \ P_{uf}\ \ P_{uf}$$
you?'. Finally, mɛ̄ is one of the few P_{uf}'s which may occur after the imperative P_v's of Group IVa. mɛ̄ has the effect of softening the brusqueness of these P_v's, without detracting from their urgency: qay vɨ mɛ̄ 'Let's go, please!'; chò kà? | mɨ lò mɛ̄ 'Do
$$V\ P_v\ P_{uf}V\ P_v\ P_{uf}$$
sit here!'; qay a šā mɛ̄ 'I really must be going!'; gɨ-ša ve
$$V\ P_v\ P_v\ P_{uf}$$
ɔ-bo ¦ nɔ-hɨ ve ɔ-qhô | cɔ pɪ̂-ô? mɛ̄ 'May God's blessing be upon you all!'.

4.725 The quotative P_{uf} cê. This important P_{uf} is used to indicate that the preceding material is reported at second-hand. It

is encountered especially often in stories or other extended nar-
ratives. Some story-tellers use it in almost every sentence. <u>cê</u>
is usually adequately translated by 'he said that...', 'they say
that...', 'it is said that...', etc. Sometimes phrases like 'it's
supposed to be', 'rumor has it that', 'we are told that', etc.,
fit the sense better. In connected narrative where <u>cê</u> appears
very frequently (even 'automatically'), it has low information-
value and is usually best left untranslated.

    After VP$_f$'s: <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>ɔ̄-vî=pā</u> <u>ve</u> <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>chê</u> <u>bɔ̀</u> <u>ò</u> <u>cê</u> 'He says he's
tired of living in his older brother's house'; <u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> | <u>mâ</u>

  * $\underset{V}{\underline{vɨ̀}}$ $\underset{P_v}{\underline{gâ}}$ $\underset{P_v}{\underline{tù}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{hɛ́}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{cê}}$ 'The headman says he probably won't want to buy

it'. After <u>ve</u>-clauses: <u>à-šwè=thâ</u> ⋮ <u>chɔ</u> <u>nî</u> <u>ğâ</u> | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>cê</u> 'Once
upon a time there were two men [it is said]'; <u>ɔ̀-phû</u> ⋮ <u>tê</u> <u>ni</u> <u>tê</u>
<u>chi</u> <u>bàʔ</u> | <u>pî</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yò</u> <u>cê</u> 'He said he would pay you ten baht a day'.
After NP$_f$'s: <u>ɔ́-qā</u> <u>chi</u> <u>tê</u> <u>khɛ</u> <u>cê</u> 'It's supposed to be <u>this</u> buf-
falo'; <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>á-thɔ</u> <u>cê</u> 'He says it's his knife'; <u>pɨ́=cá-qɔ̂≡càʔ-pò</u>

 <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ̀-khɔ̂</u> $\underset{P_{univ}}{\underline{cɛ}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{\underline{tî}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{cê}}$ 'He said it was only the noise of a heli-

copter'. In the following interestingly elliptical sentences, a
son is being berated for certain vices that his father has just
found out about through hearsay: $\underset{N}{\underline{Kɔ́lɔ́\text{-}ma}}$ $\underset{P_n}{\underline{è?}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{cê}}$. $\underset{N}{\underline{fâʔ\text{-}šwɛ}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{cê}}$.

$\underset{N}{\underline{fâʔ\text{-}gàʔ}}$ $\underset{P_n}{\underline{è?}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{cê}}$. {<u>chi</u> <u>qhe</u> <u>ve</u> <u>àʔ</u> <u>cɛ</u> <u>tî</u> ⋮ <u>ɔ̀-yâ</u> | <u>šô</u> <u>bà</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>ɔ̄</u> ⋮

{<u>ğa</u> <u>câ</u> <u>tù</u>} | <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>o</u> 'Nothing but Thai girls [they tell me]!
And ground-squirrels [they tell me you go around chasing]! And
striped squirrels [they tell me]! Wasting all your time on things
like that you'll never make a living!'.[299]

    <u>cê</u> may co-occur with any other P$_{uf}$ in the same clause. How-
ever, there is a subtle meaning-difference according to whether
the other P$_{uf}$'s in the sequence are or are not the direct ex-
pressions of the subjective state of mind of the parties to the

action.   In a sentence like à-šwè=thâ ¦ tâ-kà=pā̀ tê ğâ | cɔ̂ ve yò cê 'Once upon a time there was a certain merchant', the cê is merely reporting impersonally that the story-teller got this information about the merchant from someone else.   There is nothing in the preceding P_{uf} yò to force the interpretation that the sentence is a direct quotation ('He said, "Once upon a time there was a certain merchant."').[300]   On the other hand, if the clause contains a P_{uf} that expresses a subjective state of mind, like lɔ, nā̀, or the interjectories [below 4.726], the cê can only be interpreted as a direct reporting of somebody's words when he was in this subjective state, much as in English sentences like 'He said "I'll go, damn it all!"'.   Thus, in ŋà ɔ-mî=ma ¦ qhɔ̂ | qay nā̀ cê '(He) said,"I wonder where my wife has gone", one has to infer that the man actually said ŋà ɔ-mî=ma ¦ qhɔ̂ | qay nā̀.   Were we to substitute yɔ̂ 'he/his' for ŋà 'I/my' (yɔ̂ ɔ-mî=ma ¦ qhɔ̂ | qay nā̀ cê), the 'he' could only be interpreted as referring to someone else ('He said, "I wonder where his wife has gone"'), and not as being co-referential with the person doing the wondering (*'He said he wondered where his wife had gone').

Variable position of cê in multi-P_{uf} sequences.   Some P_{uf}'s co-occur with cê in a fixed order.   Thus the declarative P_{uf}'s yò, ɔ, and lɔ always precede cê, while the request-for-assent P_{uf} lê seems always to follow it (mâ hɔ̂ʔ ĝâ ve cê, lê 'He said he didn't want it, didn't he?').   However, with many other P_{uf}'s, including hɛ́, nè-ɔ̄, lâ, le, and mɛ̄, both possibilities exist, with concomitant differences in meaning.   Consider the following examples: phu ¦ qhà-ma | cɔ̂ le cê 'He said, "How much money is there?"' vs. phu ¦ qhà-ma | cɔ̂ cê le 'How much money did he say there is?'; mâ cɔ̂-câ tù hɛ́ cê 'He said he probably wouldn't boil it to eat' vs. mâ cɔ̂-câ tù cê hɛ́ 'He probably said he wouldn't boil it to eat'; nɔ̂ ve lâ cê 'He said, "Is it yours?"' vs. nɔ̂ ve cê lâ 'Did he say it was yours?'; tê pɔ̂ʔ | qɔ̂ʔ la mɛ̄ cê 'He said, "Do come again!"' vs. tê pɔ̂ʔ | qɔ̂ʔ la cê mɛ̄ 'He did say "Come again"!'.

At work here are the same modificatory principles that we have noted in post-head concatenations and in P_v-sequences [4.341; 4.63(5)]: each righter P_{uf} modifies everything to its left. Thus only material to the left of the cê is 'quoted'. A P_{uf} following cê modifies the quotative clause as a whole.

cê and qôʔ ve. Sometimes the verb qôʔ 'say' is used (together with a following ve) as a quotation-marker, with a meaning quite similar to that of cê: <<Thây-chɔ kàʔ | là tù ve>> qôʔ ve ∿ Thây-chɔ kàʔ | là tù ve cê 'They say some Thais will come too'. If it is desired to stress that one is reporting at secondhand something that has been said, a combination of both qôʔ ve and cê is appropriate: <<Thây-chɔ kàʔ | là tù ve>> qôʔ ve cê 'I hear he said that some Thais will come too'. (Contrast <<Thây-chɔ kàʔ | là tù ve cê>> qôʔ ve 'He said, "I hear some Thais will come too".'). In general, qôʔ ve indicates that the speaker's secondhand knowledge is based on some actual utterance he has heard, while cê merely signals that the speaker's knowledge was acquired by some other means than firsthand observation.

Occasionally cê is used in imperatives that one is repeating for the second time. In such cases one is citing one's own previous command at secondhand, as it were: chò | là ôʔ cê 'Come here, I said!'. qôʔ ve is also usable in such situations: <<chò | là ôʔ>> qôʔ ve 'Come here, I said!'; <<hâʔ qay-ʔ>> qôʔ ve 'Get out of here, I said!'.

For a fuller discussion of quotative constructions, see below 6.3.

4.726   The simple interjectory P_{uf}'s: èʔ, ma, và, nē, yâ, lèʔ.

Colloquial Lahu is rich in final unrestricted particles whose only function is to convey a lively, vivid, or ejaculatory flavor to the utterances in which they occur.[301]   There is much individual variation among the speakers of a given village in the way these interjectory P_{uf}'s are used, and even wider variation is noticeable from village to village. Each person, each village,

has its stock of favorites. Furthermore, there is evidence that new interjectories are coming into the language all the time.[302]

In our data, the commonly used simple interjectory P_{uf}'s pattern with each other as in Figure 46:

FIGURE 46.   The Simple Interjectory P_{uf}'s

lè?		
yâ	ma	nē
và		
ὲ?		

Notes: (a) The interjectory morpheme -o [below 4.729] often follows yâ when the preceding verb is negative: dɔ̂ â tɔ̂? ɔ̀ yâ-o 'I can't think my way out [of this dilemma]!'; <<a-šu lɛ-nā>> â ší šē yâ-o 'I don't have any idea who it is yet!'. We regard yâ-o as a unitary P_{uf}, and write it with a hyphen. (b) Any of these interjectories may follow nominalizing ve, as well as the declarative P_{uf}'s yɔ̀ and ɔ. (c) The emphatic declarative P_{uf} lɔ has a special affinity for the interjectories, and may precede any of them except ὲ?, as indicated in Figure 47:

FIGURE 47.   lɔ and the Simple Interjectories

	ὲ?		
lɔ	và		nē
	yâ	ma	
	lè?		

(d) The dubitative P_{uf}'s hέ and nὲ-ɔ̄, as well as the interrogative P_{uf}'s lâ and le, may precede only ma and/or nē, and lè?, as shown in Figure 48:

FIGURE 48. Other P$_{uf}$'s and the Simple Interjectories

hɛ́		
nɛ̀-ɔ̄	ma	nē
lâ		
le	lɛ̀ʔ	

(e) All the interjectory P$_{uf}$'s of this group may be followed by the assent-requesting P$_{uf}$ lê, but comma-juncture must intervene.

(1) The P$_{uf}$ ɛ̀ʔ. The interjectory P$_{uf}$ ɛ̀ʔ is worth a special discussion, both because it has several meanings, and because it is easily confused with other particles, especially the P$_n$ ɛ̀ʔ meaning 'only/just/even' [above 3.87], and the adverbializing particle ɛ̀ [4.42 et passim].

(a) After another P$_u$ the meaning of ɛ̀ʔ is purely interjectory: dàʔ ve yò ɛ̀ʔ 'Very good!'; {mâ te cɔ̂ ve} ɔ̄ ¦ qhâʔ-šɛ yò ɛ̀ʔ 'The one who shouldn't do it is the headman!'. (b) In immediate post-verbal position, ɛ̀ʔ may fill either of two functions: a brusque interrogative, or a rather sharp imperative. The interrogative usage is much the rarer of the two: [Interrogative] chi-qhɔ̂ʔ ¦ ŋà-hɨ tê qhâʔ ¦ hɛ | thu pɔ̀ ɛ̀ʔ 'What about our village finishing the clearing of the fields this year?'; í-mû | qā-qhêʔ ve ɛ̀ʔ 'What about the horse dancing?'. [Imperative] nɔ̀ na ɔ̄ | ni ɛ̀ʔ 'Look up there in front of you!'; kîlô àʔ | yù kə ɛ̀ʔ. thɔ ɛ̀ʔ 'Just put it on the scales! Make a hole in it!'. (c) Directly after natural nouns in final NP$_f$'s, ɛ̀ʔ always carries a lively interrogative meaning. A good translation of N + ɛ̀ʔ is often 'What about N?'/'how about N?':[303] ŋà ¦ í-mû | cî mâ phɛ̀ʔ. nɔ̀ ɛ̀ʔ 'I can't ride a horse. How about you?'. No further P$_{uf}$ may follow ɛ̀ʔ in its interrogative usage,[304] either after nouns or verbs.

As the translations of the above examples show, the questions asked by ɛ̀ʔ are not of the yes-or-no type (cf. lâ), nor are they

exactly specific requests for particular information (cf. le).
Rather they are general utterances that simply raise new topics
for discussion and vaguely express a desire to find out more about
them. Indeed, it is quite possible that 'interrogative è?' is
nothing more than a brusque variant of the topic-P_{unf} $\underline{l\grave{e}} \sim \underline{\grave{e}}$ 'as
for' [below 5.43; above 3.92b]. Thus $\underline{n\grave{o}}$ $\underline{\grave{e}?}$ 'What about you?'
would really mean, 'As for you, [what's the situation?]'.

(2) Examples of the simple interjectories in multi-particle
sequences. After VP_f's: (1) $\underline{\check{s}\hat{e}?}$ $\underline{p\bar{u}}$ $\underline{\grave{e}}$ | $\underline{\ddot{g}a}$ $\underline{l\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{l\grave{e}?}$ 'I only got
$\qquad\qquad$ V $\quad$ P_{uf} P_{uf}

three paddy-mounds!'; (2) $\underline{\hat{a}a}$ ||| $\underline{ch\grave{o}}$ | $\underline{\check{s}\grave{i}}$ $\underline{\acute{a}}$ $\underline{\grave{o}}$ $\underline{l\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{ma}$ 'Ah,
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ V $\,$ P_v P_v P_{uf} P_{uf}

here's where it dropped dead!'; (3) $\underline{\mathfrak{o}\text{-}y\hat{a}}$ | $\underline{m\hat{a}}$ $\underline{g\grave{a}}$ $\underline{\check{s}\bar{e}}$ $\underline{ma}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ V $\,$ P_v P_{uf} P_{uf}

'The time hasn't come yet!'; (4) $\underline{\eta\grave{a}}$ $\underline{k\grave{a}?}$ | $\underline{ph\grave{e}?}$ $\underline{\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{v\grave{a}}$ 'I can do
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ V $\quad$ P_{uf} P_{uf}

that too!'; (5) $\underline{\hat{o}o}$ ||| $\underline{d\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{\hat{a}}$ $\underline{t\mathfrak{o}?}$ $\underline{\grave{o}}$ $\underline{y\hat{a}}$ 'Oh, I can't think of
$\qquad\qquad\qquad$ V_h $\,$ AE V_v P_v P_{uf}

any way out now!'; (6) $\underline{chi}$ $\underline{qhe}$ | $\underline{q\hat{o}?}$ $\underline{p\hat{i}}$ $\underline{ma}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ 'That's what he
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ V $\,$ V_v P_{uf} P_{uf}

did say to her!'; (7) $\underline{\eta\grave{a}}$ $\underline{t\hat{i}}$ $\underline{qo}$ ¦ $\underline{t\hat{e}}$ $\underline{t\hat{u}}$ $\underline{n\hat{i}}$ $\underline{t\hat{u}}$ | $\underline{k\partial}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ $\underline{n\grave{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{o}}$ 'As
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ V $\,$ P_{uf} P_{uf}

for me, I guess I'll shove in a basketful or two!';[305]
(8) $\underline{y\grave{a}?\text{-}t\mathfrak{o}\text{=}ph\hat{o}}$ $\underline{k\grave{a}?}$ | $\underline{\hat{a}}$ $\underline{\check{s}\hat{i}}$ $\underline{\grave{o}}$ $\underline{y\hat{a}}$ $\underline{ma}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ 'She's absolutely
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ V $\,$ P_v P_{uf} P_{uf} P_{uf}

shameless about it now!' ("She doesn't even know the shame-side
anymore!"); (9) $\underline{\hat{a}a}$ ||| $\underline{ch\mathfrak{o}}$ | $\underline{l\grave{a}}$ $\underline{\grave{o}}$ $\underline{l\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{v\grave{a}}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ 'Aha, people are
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ V $\,$ P_v P_{uf} P_{uf} P_{uf}

coming now!'; (10) $\underline{ph\grave{e}?}$ $\underline{b\mathfrak{o}}$ $\underline{j\hat{a}}$ $\underline{y\hat{a}\text{-}o}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ $\underline{l\hat{e}}$ 'Oh, I'm so bored I
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ V_h $\,$ V_v V_v P_{uf} P_{uf} P_{uf}

could die -- you know?'; (11) $\underline{y\grave{a}?\text{-}ni}$ $\underline{\bar{o}\text{-}qhe}$ $\underline{l\varepsilon}$ ¦ $\underline{\grave{a}\text{-}th\grave{o}?\text{-}ma}$ |
$\underline{te}$ $\underline{t\grave{u}}$ $\underline{le}$ $\underline{n\bar{e}}$ ||| $\underline{c\grave{a}\text{-}\ddot{g}\hat{a}?}$ $\underline{\grave{a}}$ 'What'll we do today, Jagha?!';
V $\,$ P_v P_{uf} P_{uf}

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ *4.726(2)*

(12) v$\bar{\text{i}}$ $\grave{\text{a}}$ yâ-o n$\bar{\text{e}}$ 'It's as far as hell!'.
     V P$_v$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

   After natural NP$_f$'s and <u>ve</u>-clauses: (1) ɔ=tɛ̀-tɛ̀ yò ɛ̀ʔ
                                                      N   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

'It's the real truth!'; (2) ŋà <u>ve</u> ti-mi lɔ và 'It's <u>my</u> paddy-
                                 N$_h$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

field!'; (3) pòthôo ||| tê hí bàʔ lâ ma 'My God, one thousand
                         Q   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

baht?!'; (4) {ğa mâ ve} $\bar{\text{ɔ}}$ ¦ cà-lɔ hɛ́ lèʔ 'The one who got the

most is probably Jalaw!'; (5) {qha-dɛ̀ʔ mâ pɛ̀ lâ ve} ɛ̀ʔ 'They're
                                                          P$_{uf}$

not sharing it properly with me!'; (6) {te gâ ve} yò ɛ̀ʔ n$\bar{\text{e}}$
                                                   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

'Certainly I want to do it!'; (7) {yɔ́ kàʔ | te phɛ̀ʔ ve} ɔ và
                                                          P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

'He can certainly do it too!'.

4.727 Compound interjectory P$_{uf}$'s with qôʔ-. Besides the simple

interjectories of the previous section, there exist several com-

pound ones whose first syllable is the verb qôʔ 'say'.[306] The

subsequent syllables are either P$_u$'s in their own right, or else

interjectory P$_v$'s of Group IVb [above 4.66].

(1) qôʔ-ma. This is by far the most common interjectory P$_{uf}$,

and is in fact one of the most frequently encountered of all

Lahu P$_{uf}$'s. It behaves syntactically exactly like its simplex <u>ma</u>.

After VP$_f$'s: làʔ=chɨ̂ʔ=pɨ thàʔ | yù tɔ̂ʔ mâ ğa tá ò cê qôʔ-ma
                 V$_h$ V$_v$ V$_h$ V$_v$ AE V$_v$ P$_v$ P$_v$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

'They say he couldn't get his fist back out of it!'; ğa hə̂ʔ ò qo

$\bar{\text{ɔ}}$ || â tà ò ɛ̀ʔ qôʔ-ma 'Even if we get it now, it won't be
         AE V P$_v$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

enough anymore!'; te dàʔ ša à và qôʔ-ma 'It's fun to do it to
                    V$_h$ P$_v$ V$_v$ P$_v$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

each other!'. After NP$_f$'s and <u>ve</u>-clauses: chi qhe yò hɛ́
                                                     N   P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

qôʔ-ma nē 'That's probably just the way it is!'; {ŋà ve lè | a-cí
P_{uf} P_{uf}

dàʔ ve} qôʔ-ma 'Mine is better!'.

(2) qôʔ-lèʔ. ŋà ve lè ¦ khɔ̂ʔ pîʔ ɛ̀ʔ ¦ s̆ɨ̄ pîʔ ɛ̀ʔ kàʔ | ğa qôʔ-lèʔ
'I only got as much as six or seven basketsful from mine!'.

qôʔ-lèʔ may be preceded by the same P_{uf}'s as qôʔ-ma, but may not
be followed by nē. qôʔ-lèʔ is used in preference to the simple
form lèʔ when the sentence is short, particularly when the pre-
ceding word is a naked noun or verb: nɔ̂ qôʔ-lèʔ 'It's you!' (not
 N P_{uf}

*nɔ̂ lèʔ); dàʔ qôʔ-lèʔ 'Fine!' (not *dàʔ lèʔ).
 V P_{uf}

(3) qôʔ-nē. tâ te qôʔ-nē 'Don't do it!'. Telford records this
P_{uf},[307] though he glosses it too restrictively as indicating a
'pleading request'.

(4) qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ. This trisyllabic compound P_{uf} serves as an em-
phatic explanatory tag tacked onto the end of sentences, much like
the Mandarin jiow.sh.le or the English 'you see', 'that's why',
'that's all', etc. After VP_f's: yɔ̂ ¦ a-s̆àʔ | i jâ s̆ɔ̄ qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ
 V_h V_v P_v P_{uf}

'She's still very young, you see'. After NP_f's: ŋà ve yò
 N P_{uf}

qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ 'It's mine, that's why!'; --nɔ̂ ve ɔ̂-chɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̂=tɛ̀-tɛ̀ lâ.
P_{uf}

--ŋà ve ɔ̂-chɔ̂ ¦ ɔ̂=tɛ̀-tɛ̀ qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ 'Is he really your friend?'
 N P_{uf}

'He really is my friend, I tell you!' Note that there is no ob-
jection to the sequence yò + qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ, which proves that the
three elements of this P_{uf} are welded into a tight lexical unit.

qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ and qôʔ-lèʔ have the same distributional proper-
ties, except that qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ may occasionally precede qôʔ-ma:
chi-phâ tɛ̀ lè ¦ ŋà àʔ | s̆ùʔ-s̆àʔ lâ jâ qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ qôʔ-ma 'This guy
 V P_v V_v P_{uf} P_{uf}

is always bugging the life out of me!'.

4.727(2-4)

* (5) qôʔ-pá. The second syllable here is the interjectory Group
IVb P$_v$ discussed above [4.66]. Although qôʔ-pá does not seem to
occur after natural nouns, the fact that it appears after ve-
clauses, as well as after other P$_{uf}$'s, makes it clear that it is
itself an unrestricted particle: {chɨ=pí-qwὲʔ tê khɛ | pɔ́ʔ-phɔ
ve} qôʔ-pá và 'A barking-deer jumped out and ran away!'. qôʔ-pá
         P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

may be preceded by the same P$_{uf}$'s as its fellow qôʔ-interjectories
(except not by ὲʔ), and may in addition be followed by the simple
interjectory và.

(6) qôʔ-a. It seems plausible to identify the second element of
this P$_{uf}$ with the interjectory morpheme that occurs after yò to
form the emphatic declarative P$_{uf}$ yò-a (q.v.): eeàʔ qôʔ-a
                                              Interj P$_{uf}$

* 'Righto!'; ğàʔ lâ yò qôʔ-a 'I'll drive them down to you!'.
         V P$_v$ P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

qôʔ-a may be preceded by the same P$_{uf}$'s as qôʔ-pá.

   Care must be taken to distinguish the combination of the verb
qôʔ plus the suggestive-hortatory P$_v$ a, from the unitary P$_{uf}$
qôʔ-a: ŋà | qôʔ a 'Let me say it'/'I'll say it now' vs.
       N   V P$_v$

ŋà qôʔ-a 'It's me!'.
N P$_{uf}$

(7) qôʔ-pî. The sequence qôʔ + pî is usually to be analyzed
simply as the verb qôʔ 'say' plus the 3rd-person benefactive V$_v$
pî. This is an exceedingly common sentence-ender in narrations,
comparable to the English 'he said'. Occasionally, however,
qôʔ-pî functions as a unitary P$_{uf}$ of the interjectory type:[308]
[mâ chὲʔ pɨ ve] nê ô ve tê cɔ̀ lὲ ¦ {ŋà-hɨ | te ve cɛ tí} | cɔ̀ ve
* qôʔ-pî 'As far as the kind of spirits which cannot bite us is con-
cerned, all we have to do is pay homage to them, I tell you!'.
   The interjectory morpheme -a also may occur after qôʔ-pî:
pɔ̀ ò. pɔ̀ ò qôʔ-pî=a 'It's finished, finished, I tell you!'.
V P$_v$ V P$_v$ P$_{uf}$

4.727(5-7)

4.728   The emphatic P_{uf} ve-$\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$.   In colloquial speech it is frequent
to find sentences ending in the particle sequence <u>ve</u> + $\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$.   The
effect conveyed is one of insistent emphasis, as if the whole sen-
tence has been topicalized: 'It is indeed the case that S!'/
'As for S, it is indeed the case!'.   Although the second element,
$\underline{\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$, is certainly to be identified with the topic P_{unf} $\underline{\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ [above
3.92c; below 5.43], it is necessary to regard <u>ve-$\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$</u> in final
clauses as a single compound P_{uf}, for several reasons: (a) <u>ve-$\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$</u>
is a sentence-ender.   No other P_{uf} may follow it.[309]   Yet the
topic P_{unf} $\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ invariably occurs in <u>non-final</u> phrases when it is
used alone.   (b) <u>ve-$\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$</u> appears after nouns as well as verbs, with
the same emphatic meaning.   There is no suggestion whatever of the
genitive meaning that <u>ve</u> invariably carries when it occurs by
itself after nouns.

 The P_{uf} <u>ve-$\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$</u>, therefore, functions differently from either
of its components individually, or from their logical sum.

 After VP_f's: <u>chi-bə̀ʔ</u> ¦ ŋà-h⊥ | $\underset{\text{AE}}{\text{mâ}}$ $\underset{\text{V}}{\text{mâ}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\text{ve-}\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ 'It's just that

there aren't very many of us!'; {<u>mâ</u> <u>ve</u>} kàʔ | $\underset{\text{AE}}{\text{mâ}}$ $\underset{\text{V}}{\text{hêʔ}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\text{ve-}\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ 'There

aren't many of them either' ("As for being many also, it is cer-
tainly not the case").   After NP_f's: <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ $\underset{\text{N}}{\text{qhâʔ-šɛ}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\text{ve-}\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ 'He's the

headman, of course!'; $\underset{\text{Q}}{\underline{\text{tê}}}$ mà $\underset{P_{univ}}{\text{cɛ}}$ $\underset{P_{univ}}{\text{tí}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\text{ve-}\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ 'There's only a

single one!'.[310]

 [In non-final phrases, the sequence <u>ve</u> + $\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ has the normal,
unemphatic meaning of the individual particles.   After a verbal
nucleus, <u>ve</u> nominalizes the clause which is then topicalized by
$\underline{\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$: {<u>yɔ̂</u> | q̂ôʔ ve} $\underset{P_{unf}}{\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}}$ ¦ à-thò̀ʔ-ma <u>le</u> 'What is it that he's say-

ing?' ("As for his saying, what is it?").   After a noun in a non-
final NP, the surface configuration <u>ve</u> + $\bar{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ represents an under-

lying topicalized genitive construction from which the possessed
head has been deleted [see above 3.76]: $\nu_p + \underline{ve} + \nu_h + \bar{\underline{\mathfrak{o}}} > \nu_p +$
$\underline{ve} + \bar{\mathfrak{o}}$. Thus, ŋà ve ɔ̄ | a-cɨ́ yɨ̀ ve hɛ́ 'As for mine, it's probably
longer' < e.g., ŋà ve nɨ̄-qhɛ̀ʔ ɔ̄ | a-cɨ́ yɨ̀ ve hɛ́ 'As for my penis,
it's probably longer'.]

4.729   Some interjectory P_{uf}'s of limited use: o, a, ná, pɔ̀ʔ, etc.

In addition to the important interjectory P_{uf}'s of the preceding
sections, there are a few others whose frequency or combinatory
possibilities are more restricted.

(1) o. The interjectory P_{uf} o occurs fairly often after a verb
that has been negated by the adverb mâ. It is particularly fre-
quent in periphrastic negations after the expression mâ hêʔ 'is
not the case': {chi qhe | te ve} | mâ hêʔ o 'That's not the way
to do it!'; {ğa lὲʔ tù} | mâ hêʔ o 'We won't get a thing to eat!';
tê kîlô tê chi nî bàʔ | â hêʔ qo || â   hɔ̀   tá   o   'Unless I get
                                     AE V P_v P_{uf}

twelve baht a kilo, I probably won't sell!'.

        Frequently o follows the simple interjectory P_{uf} yâ (q.v.)
after a negated verb: ôo ||| dɔ̀   mâ   tɔ́ʔ   ò   yâ-o 'Oh, I can't
                            V_h AE V_v P_v P_{uf}
think of any way out now!';[311] <<a-šu lɛ-nā>> ŋà | â   šɨ̄   šē   yâ-o
                                                      AE   V P_v P_{uf}
'I don't know who she is yet!'. Sometimes o follows the yes-or-
no question P_{uf} lâ in colloquial speech [above 4.723(1)]: nɔ̀
kàʔ ¦ ɔ-mî=ma | hə̀ʔ ò lâ-o 'Are you married too?'.

        o does not appear after nouns, but the fact that it occurs
after P_{uf}'s makes it a P_{uf} itself.

(2) -a. This emphatic element occurs after the lively P_v qha-pâʔ
and the P_{uf}'s yɔ̀, nā, and qôʔ-pî. It is also the second element
in the P_{uf} qôʔ-a. We conventionally connect it to the preceding
morpheme by a hyphen: qha-pâʔ=a; yɔ̀-a; nā-a; qôʔ-pî=a; qôʔ-a
(qq.v.). It is possible that this morpheme is related to the P_v

4.729; 4.729(1-2)

qha ∿ a̱,[312] but it must be considered a P$_{uf}$ (though a bound one)
because of its occurrence after other P$_{uf}$'s.

(3) ná. This P$_{uf}$ is quite rare, and is clearly of foreign ori-
gin.[313] I have found only two examples, in both of which it
occurs in absolutely final position after a negated verb. It
apparently serves to persuade the listener of the truth of a nega-
tive statement: {chò | dɔ̂ || ô | dɔ̀} ¦ {chò | qôʔ || ô | qôʔ ve}
tí qo lὲ | â te ve yò ná 'We certainly don't have to do all this
P_{uf} P$_{uf}$

speculation and palavering!' ("Thinking here and thinking there,
saying this and saying that, it's just not to be done!"); Cî-mây
ɔ̄ ¦ šú=ga-lὲʔ | cɔ̀ mâ lɛ || {ŋà-hɨ gɛ ¦ qhà=ma-ma | yù qay tù} |
mâ lō o ná 'There are plenty of cigarettes in Chiengmai, so
AE V P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

there's certainly no need to take very many with us!'. As the
last example shows, o + ná is a possible sequence after a negated
verb.

(4) pɔ̂ʔ. We have seen [above 4.721] how the emphatic element
-pɔ̂ʔ has made its way into Black Lahu from other dialects, usu-
ally occurring together with yò: dàʔ kàʔ | cɔ̀ || mâ dàʔ kàʔ |
cɔ̀ ve yò-pɔ̂ʔ 'There certainly are bad ones as well as good ones!'.
P$_{uf}$

Very rarely, pɔ̂ʔ may occur as an interjectory P$_{uf}$ all by itself,
in absolutely final position after a VP$_f$: yàʔ-šɛ thâ ¦ nɔ̀ ¦
<<lὲʔ>> qôʔ lɛ || lὲʔ šē á ò pɔ̂ʔ 'A while ago you told me to
$\phantom{<<lὲʔ>> qôʔ lɛ || }$V P$_v$ P$_v$ P$_v$ P$_{uf}$
eat, so I've already gone ahead and eaten!'.[314]

(5) cɨ-à. Telford[315] mentions a morpheme cɨ-à which looks like
an interjectory P$_{uf}$: —mɔ̂ chi | nɔ̀ ve lâ. —ŋà ve cɨ-à 'Are
these things yours?' 'They sure are!' This word is not part of   *
the Black Lahu dialects of Chiengmai Province. Informants recog-
nize the acceptability of the example just given, but are unable
to provide further examples out of their heads.

4.729(3-5)

(6) <u>kwâ</u>. This morpheme is also cited by Telford [p. 45], but never turned up spontaneously in our data. One informant claimed to have heard of it,[316] and could provide additional examples, in all of which <u>kwâ</u> was followed by <u>nē</u> (q.v.): <u>ŋà kàʔ</u> | <u>qay</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yò</u> <u>kwâ</u> <u>nē</u> 'I'm certainly going too!'; {<u>qhe te lâ ve</u>} <u>lɛ̀</u> |
$\overset{\text{tù}}{P_v}$ $\overset{\text{yò}}{P_{uf}}$ $\overset{\text{kwâ}}{P_{uf}}$ $\overset{\text{nē}}{P_{uf}}$

<u>â</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>kwâ</u> <u>nē</u> 'You just can't treat me that way!'.
$\overset{\text{â}}{AE}$ $\overset{\text{phɛ̀ʔ}}{V}$ $\overset{\text{kwâ}}{P_{uf}}$ $\overset{\text{nē}}{P_{uf}}$

4.72.10 Diagrammatic summary of possible P_{uf}-sequences. The distributional facts on the co-occurrence of P_{uf}'s in multi-particle strings, presented in scattered fashion in the preceding sections, may be graphically summarized as in Figure 49:

FIGURE 49.   Sequences of P_{uf}'s

ve-ɔ̄				
yò		ɛ̀ʔ	ma / và / qôʔ-ma	nē
	hɛ́	nɛ̀-ɔ̄ / lâ / le / nā	lɛ̀ʔ / qôʔ-lɛ̀ʔ / qôʔ-a / (qôʔ-pî̂)	(,)lê
ɔ	lɔ		qôʔ=(qh)a-pâʔ | và	
			qôʔ-yò-ɛ̀ʔ | qôʔ-ma	
		mɛ̄		
		yâ | ma | nē		

Remarks on the chart:

a) Not shown are P_{uf}'s of rare occurrence (o, ná, pɔ́ʔ, -a, etc.), or variants of the standard forms of the common ones (lɛ-hɛ́, nɛ̀, yà-ɔ̀, etc.). In some cases these variants are more restricted in their co-occurrence properties than the standard forms.

b) The quotative P_{uf} cê is not included, because of its systematic order-variability [above 4.725].

c) Although the chart provides for the possibility of up to six P_{uf}'s in a row, in point of fact strings of more than three are excessively rare, particularly if a member of the qôʔ-group is selected.

d) As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, individual speakers may occasionally deviate from the order shown in the chart. Thus the sequence nē + nè-ɔ̄ has been recorded in one instance [note 305, above], though the usual order is the reverse.

e) It has been necessary to write several of the particles more than once in the chart. Even so, there are a few mutual exclusions[317] which it would not be possible to build into the chart without greatly detracting from its perspicuousness:

1. If lâ or le is selected, lê may not follow.

2. If lɔ is selected, nā may not follow.

3. If nā is selected, no simple interjectory P_{uf} may follow, unless a member of the qôʔ-group intervenes. Thus, nā + qôʔ-ma + nē is possible, though *nā + nē is not.

4.72.11 Sequences of P_v + P_{uf}. In general, verb-particles freely precede the final unrestricted particles, according to our formula: $VP_f \rightarrow (AE) + \beta + (P_v), + (P_{univ}) + (P_{uf})$. However, there are a few 'categorical' mutual exclusions between members of the two classes: certain P_v's never occur in sequences with particular P_{uf}'s, even if other particles intervene. Much more typical are what one might call 'conditional' exclusions: some P_v's are most unlikely to occur in sequence with particular P_{uf}'s unless certain

conditions obtain. Either: (a) another P_v and/or ve and/or
another P_{uf} must intervene between the P_v and the P_{uf} in question;
or (b) the verb must be negated, thereby rendering the presence
of ve unnecessary or impossible [above 4.711].

For brevity's sake, we shall henceforth refer to the material
which 'must intervene between the P_v and the P_{uf} in question' as
a filler [above 3.92c,d]. Thus we may restate condition (a)
above: 'unless a filler intervenes between the P_v and the P_{uf} in
question'. The most common filler is the P_{univ} ve itself.[318]
Other important ones are the asseverative Group II P_v à (mutually
exclusive with ve), and the declarative P_{uf} ɔ (only rarely co-
occurrent with ve). The fillers perform an important communica-
tive function. In rapid speech a combination of several P_v's and
P_{uf}'s in a row is difficult to understand, particularly in view
of the fact that many particles consist of a single vowel, while
several others are homophonous with items of root vocabulary
(nouns and verbs). The fillers increase the redundancy of the
message, and serve in some measure to set the particles which
precede and follow into higher relief.

The following co-occurrence lists cannot, in the nature of
things, pretend to absolute accuracy. It is impossible to en-
vision all possible communicative situations that might evoke
certain rare sequences of particles that have thus far failed to
swim into our ken.

(1) Group I P_v's + P_{uf}'s. The P_v's of Group I are, it will be
recalled: dàʔ 'reciprocity'; vɔ 'purposive motion'; e 'transi-
tivity'; la 'cisativity'; tā 'perfective permanence'; lâ 'non-
3rd person benefaction'. These P_v's combine freely with the P_{uf}'s,
with the following proviso: they all require a filler before the
interjectory P_{uf}'s ma, và, and yâ, unless the verb is negated.
Thus, e.g., the string *pèʔ lâ ma (pèʔ 'give', lâ 'benefactive',
ma 'interjectory') is most likely to be misinterpreted as con-
taining the homophonous interrogative P_{uf} lâ. To convey the

4.72.11(1)

intended meaning, one must say something like {pèʔ lâ ve} ma
'Sure, they'll give it to us!' or mâ pèʔ lâ ma 'They won't give
it to us!' or pèʔ lâ hɛ́ ma 'They might give it to us!', etc.

(2) Group II P_v's + P_{uf}'s. The Group II P_v's (gâ 'desiderative',
jɔ 'experiential', qhɛ 'frequentative', à 'asseverative') combine
freely with the P_{uf}'s, with the following provisos:

a. jɔ and qhɛ require fillers before yò, mɛ̄, and the interjec-
tories, unless the verb is negated. qhɛ needs a filler before
lâ, le, and cê as well. gâ needs a filler only before the inter-
jectories èʔ, ma, and và, and can occur directly before yò and mɛ̄:
câ gâ yò 'I want to eat', câ gâ mɛ̄ 'I'd really like to eat'.

b. à behaves quite differently from the other members of its
group. It may not occur after a negated verb, and is categorically
exclusive with almost all the P_{univ}'s (ve, cɛ, tí, lɛ, thâ), and
with the P_{uf}'s yò, ɔ, le, and èʔ. On the other hand, it occurs
freely before all the interjectories (except èʔ), and all the
other P_{uf}'s.

(3) Group III P_v's + P_{uf}'s. The P_v's of Group III include tù
'future, purposive'; sě̄ 'inchoative, prerequisitial action'; sɔ̌̄
'durative'; ò 'change of state, completed action'.

a. tù combines freely with all P_{uf}'s. However, a filler is re-
quired between tù and mɛ̄ or ma, unless the verb is negated. Thus,
strings like ŋà kàʔ │ qay tù ɔ   'I'll go too' or cà-qha │ mâ lɔ́ʔ
                       $\underset{P_v}{tù}\ \underset{P_{uf}}{ɔ}$

$\underset{P_v}{tù}\ \underset{P_{uf}}{èʔ}$ 'The paddy won't be enough' are fine as they stand, while

*ŋà kàʔ │ qay tù mɛ̄ 'Please, I'd like to go too' would be avoided
in favor of, e.g., {ŋà kàʔ │ qay tù ve} mɛ̄ 'id.'

b. sě̄ and sɔ̌̄ require a filler before yò, and do not occur with
ve unless another particle follows. Thus, *sě̄ yò, *sɔ̌̄ yò, *sě̄ *
ve #, *sɔ̌̄ ve # are all impossible, though sě̄ ve yò and sɔ̌̄ ve yò
occur.[319] sɔ̌̄ is categorically exclusive with ɔ, probably because

4.72.11(2-3)

s̆ɔ̄ is derived historically from s̆ē + ɔ in the first place. On the
other hand, there is nothing to prevent the modern sequence s̆ē +
ɔ from occurring: nî ni s̆ɛ̂ʔ ni | ğa ji s̆ē ɔ hɛ́ 'I guess we have
to burn [the fields] for two or three more days first'. Other-
wise both s̆ē and s̆ɔ̄ appear freely directly before all the P$_{uf}$'s.[320]

c. ò̲ is categorically exclusive with yò̲ and ɔ̲, but appears freely
before all other P$_{uf}$'s. It is quite rare before ve̲, even in
relative clauses (where perfective tā̲ is used instead). Thus
instead of *[s̆ɨ̆ ò̲ ve̲] chɔ-mɔ́ 'the old man who has already died',
one would almost always say [s̆ɨ̆ tā̲ ve̲] chɔ-mɔ́ 'id.' See below
6.41.

(4) Group IVa P$_v$'s + P$_{uf}$'s. The P$_v$'s of Group IVa include a̲
'suggestive, hortatory'; vɨ̲ and lò̲ 'imperative'; s̆ā̲ 'intended
1st.-person action'. Group IVa P$_v$'s do not form sequences with
very many of the P$_{uf}$'s, and are categorically exclusive with the
P$_{univ}$'s.

a̲. The only P$_{uf}$'s which may follow a̲ or s̆ā̲ are lā̲, nā̲, lê̲, cê̲,
mɛ̲̄, nē̲, and the qôʔ-group. All others are categorically ex-
cluded.

b̲. The only P$_{uf}$'s which may follow lò̲ are mɛ̲̄, è̲ʔ, nē̲, and the
qôʔ-group.

c̲. No P$_{uf}$ may follow the P$_v$ vɨ̲ at all.

(5) Group IVb P$_v$'s + P$_{uf}$'s. The P$_v$'s of this group include the
enliveners qha̲, pâ̲ʔ, and qha-pâ̲ʔ.

a̲. qha̲ requires a filler before yò̲. It may occur directly before
lɔ̲, lâ̲, mɛ̲̄, è̲ʔ, nē̲, and the qôʔ-group, but is categorically ex-
clusive with all other P$_{uf}$'s.

b̲. pâ̲ʔ occurs directly before the P$_{uf}$'s và̲ and the qôʔ-group,
but is categorically exclusive with all others.

c̲. qha-pâ̲ʔ occurs directly before the P$_{uf}$'s lâ̲, le̲, nā̲, lê̲, cê̲,
mɛ̲̄, and all the interjectories except è̲ʔ. It is categorically
exclusive with yò̲, ɔ̲, lɔ̲, hɛ̲́, and nè̲-ɔ̄.

4.72.11(4-5)

4.72.12   Permissible sequences of $P_{univ} + P_{uf}$.

<u>a</u>. <u>ve</u> occurs freely before all P_{uf}'s except its own compound
<u>ve-ɔ̄</u>. An important subtlety in the use of <u>ve</u> before the interrog-
ative P_{uf} <u>lâ</u> should be noted: <u>ve</u> is required before <u>lâ</u> in ques-
tions with a third person subject, expressed or implicit, but not
otherwise. Thus, either (<u>nɔ́</u>) <u>na</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>lâ</u> or (<u>nɔ́</u>) <u>na</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u> could
translate 'Do you want to hear it?', but only (<u>yɔ̂</u>) <u>na</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>lâ</u>
and not *(<u>yɔ̂</u>) <u>na</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>lâ</u> can translate 'Does he want to hear it?'.
The implications of this rather puzzling fact are worth investi-
gating further. For now we merely observe that the presence of
the <u>ve</u> seems to objectify the statement, making it more suitable
to describe an action involving a person other than the speaker
and the person spoken to.

<u>b</u>. All otherwise acceptable P_{uf} sequences may occur after <u>cɛ</u>,
<u>tí</u>, or <u>thâ</u>, except for sequences containing the substance-question
P_{uf} <u>le</u>.

<u>c</u>. The causal P_{univ} <u>lɛ</u> may occur before <u>yɔ̀</u> and <u>ɔ</u>, <u>hɛ́</u> and <u>nɛ̀-ɔ̄</u>,
<u>lâ</u> and <u>nā</u>, and the <u>qôʔ</u>-group. It may not occur before <u>le</u>, <u>lɔ</u>, <u>mɛ̄</u>,
or the simple interjectories <u>ɛ̀ʔ</u>, <u>nē</u>, <u>và</u>, <u>yâ</u>.

<u>d</u>. The P_{univ} <u>tɛ̀</u> may occur directly before <u>yɔ̀</u>, but <u>ve</u> must inter-
vene between <u>tɛ̀</u> and any other P_{uf}. However, neither *<u>tɛ̀</u> <u>le</u> nor
*<u>tɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> <u>le</u> is possible.

<div align="right">

4.72.12
</div>

Capitulum IVa

SENTENCE-INTRODUCERS BELONGING TO NO PHRASE

Lahu has two small classes of morphemes which cannot be said to belong either to NP's or to VP's. Rather, they are loosely connected to, and in constituency with, the rest of their sentences as a whole.[1] Morphemes of these classes, which we may call conjunctions and interjections, almost always occur in sentence-initial position.[2] That they are peripheral to Lahu syntax is illustrated by the fact that they are not usually displaced from their initial position even when all the other morphemes in the sentence have been reshuffled by a permutation [see below Capit. VIa]: âa ||| qhe-qo, šɔ́-pɔ̄ qo ; ɔ̄ | câ á lɛ || nɔ̀ |

Interj ⟶ Conj, NP_1, NP_2, VP_{nf}, NP_3

ca ni cɔ̂ ve yɔ̀-a 'Well, then, tomorrow after you eat you ought

VP_f

to go have a look' → âa ||| qhe-qo, nɔ̀ | ca ni cɔ̂ ve yɔ̀-a //

Interj ⟶ Conj, NP_3, VP_f

šɔ́-pɔ̄ qo ; ɔ̄ | câ á lɛ 'Well, then, you ought to go have a

NP_1, NP_2, VP_{nf}

look -- tomorrow, after you eat'.

4a.1 Conjunctions. Conjunctions serve to relate their sentences to prior sentences in the discourse. They are distinguishable from interjections in that they may not constitute utterances all

[396]

4a.1

by themselves, and may not be followed by P_{uf}'s.[3] That is, conjunctions do not occur in the environments #_____# or

#_____P_{uf}. Conjunctions are nearly always set off from the rest of their sentences by comma-pause. If /,/ happens not to be present in a given instance, it is still always insertible with no change in meaning.[4] Deletion of a conjunction from a sentence invariably yields a string which is still a complete grammatical sentence. The conjunctions may be subclassified on the basis of the particular logical relationship with other sentences that they express.

4a.11 Additive conjunctions.

(1) lɛ 'and'. This conjunction is clearly related to the suspensive P_{unf} lɛ (q.v.). lɛ is the most neutral and colorless means of conjoining sentences in a discourse: lɛ, ŋà-hɨ ɔ-mō tê
                                                    Conj

phā thɔ̂ ¦ tê g̈â le-le ¦ tê g̈â khɔ̂ ¦ tê g̈â | na lɛ || dɔ̂ ni cɔ̂ ve
yɔ̀. lɛ, ɔ-ví-ɔ-ni thà? | {qɔ̀? qô? lâ tù} thɔ̂ | cɔ̂ s̈ɔ̄ ve yɔ̀
       Conj

'And all of us, our whole group, ought to take each other's advice and think things over. And, my brethren, I still have some more things to say to you...' [from a sermon].

(2) lɛ-ɔ̄ 'furthermore'. Slightly more emphatic than the simplex lɛ is the compound conjunction lɛ-ɔ̄, whose second element is the topical P_{unf} ɔ̄ (q.v.): →te a tɛ̀← te qo || g̈a dɔ̂ ni ve yɔ̀. lɛ-ɔ̄,
                                                                              Conj

<<→yɔ a tɛ̀← te qo || g̈a dɔ̂ a ni>> qô? ve yɔ̀ 'If we would act, we must think (first). And furthermore, I tell you that if we would speak we must (also) think (first)' [from a sermon].

4a.12 The explanatory conjunction lɛ-â. lɛ-â is used to imply that its sentence is an explanation or an elucidation of what has preceded.[5] The first element is related to the causal P_{univ} lɛ 'because'. lɛ-â may be translated by some such phrase as 'because, you see...': ɔ̄ ni tê ni | mâ gà s̈e̅ thâ || yâ | mɔ̀ gâ thɔ̂ || yɔ̂ gɛ | mâ tɛ cɔ̂ s̈e̅. lɛ-â, {s̈e̅ qò? e thâ qha-gà ¦ s̈u | hà?-s̈á lâ ve}
                                                              Conj

4a.11; 4a.11(1-2); 4a.12

| dàʔ ve yò 'Up until the fourth day [after the birth] they should
not put the child near her even if she wants to see it. Because,
you see, it's better if someone else takes care of it for you
until you [the mother] are led home'.[6]

4a.13 Conjunctions of temporal succession: te-lɛ, qhe-te-lɛ,
qhe-te-lɛ=ɔ̄, qhe-te-lɛ=ɔ̄-qhe. The verb te 'do', followed by the
suspensive P_{unf} lɛ, forms a unitary conjunction (literally "having
done") which serves to indicate that the action of its sentence is
temporally subsequent to that of the preceding sentence. Expanded
variants of this conjunction frequently occur: qhe 'thus' may
precede te ("having done thus"), with or without the topic P_{unf}
ɔ̄ ∿ ɔ̄-qhe[7] following lɛ.

     All these expressions contain the verb te, and are thus VP's
in their own right. The te may in fact be followed by a P_v: qhe
te sĕ̄ lɛ ɔ̄, literally "having done thus first". Strictly speaking,
  P_v

therefore, every sentence in which they occur is 'compound'. Yet
the verbal force of the te is so slight in these constructions,
and they are so obviously set expressions, that there is no harm
in regarding them as conjunctions. They are to be translated as
'then', 'thereupon', 'whereupon', etc.: qhe-te-lɛ, yâ=cò-ši chi |
                                         Conj

tà pâʔ-hɔ̀ ve cê. te-lɛ, yɔ̂ | hɔ̀ chɛ̂ thâ || tê pɔ̂ʔ tí ¦ lâ tê
                  Conj

khɛ | g̈a mɔ̀ ve yò 'Thereupon the orphan began to cry bitterly.
Then, while he was crying, all of a sudden he saw a tiger.'

4a.14 Consequential conjunctions.

(1) qhe 'so; thus'. qhe, which usually functions as an extentive
noun [3.641] or an adverb [4.412(6)], also occurs as a conjunction.
In these cases it implies that the action of its sentence is a
result, outcome, or consequence of that which precedes it in the
discourse: qhe, šu | mâ ga lâ qo || ɔ̄ | mɔ̀ʔ tù yò 'So, if they
           Conj

don't help us we'll starve'.

4a.13; 4a.14; 4a.14(1)

(2) qhe-qo 'in that case'. A common conjunction consists of qhe plus the conditional P_{unf} qo[8] (literally, "if it is thus"). Its use is similar to that of the simplex qhe, but qhe-qo implies a stronger causal connection between the preceding material and the present sentence: --mû-yè │ là jâ qo ‖ mâ qay gâ qôʔ-ma. --qhe-qo, šu │ ğa qay tù yò hɛ́ 'If it's raining too hard, I don't
  Conj

want to go!' 'Well then, somebody else will have to go, I guess.'

(3) chi 'well...'. The determiner chi 'this' [3.5 et passim] occasionally appears as a weak conjunction. Although it implies that something earlier in the discourse has elicited the present sentence, it serves mainly to give the speaker a moment to collect his thoughts. English 'well' will do as a translation: chi, ti
                                                                      Conj

pə̀ ɔ̄=qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́ qo ‖ qhà-qhe te tù le 'Well, after we've finished the planting what'll we do next?'.

4a.15 Contrastive or concessive conjunctions.

(1) yàʔ-qhâ 'but; however'. This conjunction is somewhat formal, but of frequent use. It is obviously morphologically complex, though I have no very plausible guess as to the meanings of the constituent morphemes. Still more literary variants are qôʔ=yàʔ-qhâ and yàʔ-qhâ=thɔ̂ 'nevertheless; nonetheless'. The element qôʔ- derives from the verb 'say', and -thɔ̂ is the concessive P_{unf} 'even though' [above 3.92d; below 5.44].

(2) qhe-kàʔ 'even so; however; but'. More colloquial than yàʔ-qhâ is qhe-kàʔ, a combination of qhe 'thus' plus the concessive P_{unf} kàʔ [above 3.92d; below 5.44], literally "even (if it is) so".

(3) qhà-qhe=thɔ̂ ∽ qhà-qhe=phɛ̀ʔ≡thɔ̂ 'in any event; no matter what happens'. This conjunction consists of the adverb qhà-qhe 'how?' [4.412(9)], indefinitized by the P_{unf} thɔ̂ to mean 'in whatever manner'.[9] It is used to indicate that what has come before in the discourse, important though it is, will not influence the action of the present sentence. In the fuller, more explicit

4a.14(2-3); 4a.15; 4a.15(1-3)

version of this conjunction, the copula phὲʔ is included ("how-
ever it may be"), so that the construction is a complete non-final
clause: qhà-qhe=phὲʔ≡thɔ̂, Lâhū-ma | mâ hêʔ qo || mâ hɔ̂ʔ gâ 'No
                Conj

matter what, if she's not a Lahu girl I don't want to marry her'.
(4) pə-lε 'anyway'. This word is a Shan borrowing meaning 'even
so; anyway': pə-lε, chi ma cε tí yò 'Anyway, that's all there
              Conj

are' [so there's no use asking for more]; pə-lε, tê mà thɔ̂ | pε ò
                                           Conj

'Anyway, even one is enough'. pə-lε is of quite rare occurrence,
and its syntactic behavior is atypical of Lahu conjunctions in
that it may be preceded by a topicalized NP: nɔ̂ hε lὲ, pə-lε,
                                              NP₁   Conj

tê pù tê chi pîʔ | ğa qo || mâ hày šē 'As for your field, anyway
   NP₂   VPₙf   VPf

if you get ten basketsful out of each paddy-heap, that's still
not bad'.

<u>4a.16 à-mù 'lest': the conjunction of unpleasant hypothesis.</u>
Most interesting of all the conjunctions is à-mù.[10] It serves to
warn that the action of its sentence might come to pass (often as
a direct consequence of something alluded to earlier in the dis-
course), and implies the necessity of remedial action to avoid
that eventuality. The closest English equivalent is the archaic
'lest': à-mù, phɛ̀ ¦ šā | câ pɛ̀ à[11] 'The dogs will eat the meat
         Conj

if you don't watch out' ("[You must take care] lest the dogs eat
the meat").

     The conditional P_{unf} qo often closes a clause in a sentence
beginning with à-mù. The combined meaning of à-mù...qo is about
equivalent to 'if, God forbid...' or 'if worst comes to worst...':[12]
chi ¦ yɔ̂ àʔ | tâ ŋā. à-mù, yɔ̂ | te lù qo || mâ hêʔ o 'Don't lend
                      Conj

this to him. If he should ruin it, God forbid, it'd be just too

bad!'; à-mù, <<šɔ́-phà?=ni qo ɔ̄ | te câ cɔ́ la nā̄>> mâ šī̄ ɔ̀ ɛ̀?
'Maybe if worst comes to worst we'll have to eat that someday'.

4a.2 <u>Interjections</u>. Interjections, like conjunctions, tend to occur utterance-initially, and are only loosely connected to the rest of their sentences.[13] They differ from conjunctions in several respects however:

(<u>a</u>) Some interjections may constitute an utterance all by themselves, or in combination with a final unrestricted particle: qâ-cà? ∿ qâ=cɨ-à? 'Ouch!'; ôo 'Aha!'; yɔ̀ 'Yes!'; êe 'That's right!' /'You've got it!';[14] hây 'Huh?'/'What did you say?'; pòthôo[15] ∿ thôo 'My goodness!', etc. With P_{uf}'s: yɔ̀ hɛ́ 'I suppose so'
                                                                          Intj P_{uf}

("Probably yes"); yɔ̀ lâ 'Is that so?'; eeà? qô?-a 'Yes, I tell
                   Intj P_{uf} Intj P_{uf}

you!', etc. Such utterances, containing neither a NP nor a VP, may be termed 'autonomous fragments', to distinguish them from random fragments of sentences that have been interrupted by an external agency [below 6a.3].

(<u>b</u>) Interjections, unlike conjunctions, do not serve to relate their sentences to preceding material in the discourse. They may in fact be nothing but the audible expression of a private mental state. Some interjections (e.g., âa 'well...') are used just to give the speaker time to think. Unlike the conjunction <u>chi</u>, however [above 4a.14], âa need not imply the slightest reference to anything that has come before in the conversation: âa |||
{yà?-ni ¦ à-thò?-ma | te ve} | dà? tù nā̄ 'Well, I wonder what it would be nice to do today'.[16]

As pointed out in the Phonology [1.8], many interjections characteristically occur with special intonational features that prolong their vowels and deform their tonal contours. In some cases we conventionally write such morphemes with non-canonical double vowels.

4a. 2

COMPOUND SENTENCES

We have now completed our discussion of the Lahu <u>simple</u> sen-
tence, i.e., sentences containing a single, final VP (major
simple), or else no VP at all (minor simple). A <u>compound</u> sentence
is one that contains at least one non-final clause that is in con-
stituency with another clause such that neither is embedded in the
other. (Sentences containing an embedded clause are <u>complex</u>.[1]
Embedded clauses include <u>relative</u> <u>clauses</u>, diagrammed by square
brackets: [Cl_{rel}] ; <u>nominalized</u> <u>clauses</u>, diagrammed by curly
brackets: { Cl_{nom} } ; <u>quotative</u> <u>clauses</u>, diagrammed by French
quotation marks: << Cl_{qt} >> ; and <u>purpose</u> <u>clauses</u>, diagrammed by
inward-pointing arrows: → Cl_{purp} ← .)

Two non-embedded clauses in a compound sentence may stand in
a variety of semantic relationships to each other. These are
basically the kind of relationships signalled in languages like
English by conjunctions: simple conjoining or listing ('and',
'and then'), causality ('because'), concession ('although'), tem-
porality ('when'), conditionality ('if'), etc. In Lahu these con-
cepts are embodied in unrestricted particles (P_{univ}'s or P_{unf}'s)
attached to the end of the first of the two clauses so related.
There is no theoretical limit to the number of such non-embedded
clauses[2] in a given sentence.

There is of course nothing stopping a sentence from being
compound and complex at the same time. Any of the co-clauses may

[402]

itself have embedded in it a relative clause, nominalized clause, etc. Conversely, any embedded clause may itself contain two or more co-clauses. Examples of these various kinds of complicated sentences (which actually constitute a high proportion of the utterances in normal Lahu speech) will be found throughout this chapter and the next.

Non-final co-clauses have a structure that may be schematized as follows: $Cl_{nf} \rightarrow (NP)^n + (AE) + \beta + (P_v) + (P_{univ}) + (P_{unf})$. Every term in this formula has already been discussed somewhere in our treatment of the simple sentence. The three terms in the VP (AE $\rightarrow$; $\beta \rightarrow$; and $P_v \rightarrow$) have been dealt with in Chapter IV. P_{univ}'s have been handled both in the context of the NP [3.91] and in connection with final VP's [4.71], while P_{unf}'s have received attention insofar as they occur in NP_{nf}'s [3.92]. In the sections that follow, we shall reexamine the last three terms specifically from the standpoint of non-final co-clauses. It is convenient to make an initial subclassification of these Cl_{nf}'s on the basis of their surface structure, according to which particular types of particles are selected after the verbal nucleus.

5.1 $\underline{Cl_{nf}\text{'s containing no unrestricted particles.}}$ In this sort of Cl_{nf}, either no particle at all is selected after the verbal nucleus, so that there is a 'naked verb' at clause-boundary, or else the only post-verbal material in the clause is a verb-particle. It turns out that the only true co-clause pairs comprising this structure also have the $\underline{same}$ $\underline{verb}$ in both clauses.[3] In sentences of this kind, the speaker is usually contrasting the NP's in the successive clauses. Alternatively, if the verb in one of the clauses is negated, the contrast may be between the positive and negative values of the same verb. We diagram these 'equiverbal co-clauses' by superimposing a double-headed arrow over the double vertical line that marks co-clause boundary: $\leftrightarrow\!\parallel\!\rightarrow$.

5.1

Examples: (1) chɔ-mɔ̂ kàʔ | cɔ̂ ←╫→ yâ-nɛ̀ kàʔ | cɔ̂ 'There are
adults and there are youths'.[4] (2) {dàʔ ←╫→ mâ dàʔ thɔ̂ || hə̀ʔ
gâ ve} yò 'Whether it's good or not [good], I want to get it'.
In this sentence, the equi-verbal co-clauses are governed as a
unit by the concessive P_{unf} thɔ̂, which relates them to the fol-
lowing clause hə̀ʔ gâ. The particle ve then nominalizes this en-
tire structure, so that the sentence means literally "It is a
case of wanting to get it whether it's good or not good".
(3) {chi qhe ¦ Khɛ̀-mɛ̀wʔ àʔ | pî ←╫→ Lāhū àʔ | pî ve} lɛ̀ ¦ {yàʔ
dàʔ ve} tí yò 'This way, giving some to the Meo and some to the
Lahu, there'll just be fighting with each other'. Here the equi-
verbal co-clauses are nominalized as a unit by ve and topicalized
by the P_{unf} lɛ̀. The following clause is also nominalized by ve,
so that the whole sentence is basically of the 'N_1 is an N_2' type.
(4) {yɔ̂ ¦ mɔ̂ʔ-qɔ àʔ ¦ chò-pá | šɨ̌ ←╫→ ô-pá | šɨ̌ te-lɛ || qôʔ
ve} 'He said it twisting his mouth to this side and twisting it
to that side'. The equi-verbal co-clauses are connected to the
main clause qôʔ '(he) said (it)' via the variant te-lɛ of the
suspensive P_{unf} lɛ [below 5.423]. The whole sentence is then
nominalized by the ve at the end ("It is a case of his saying it
twisting his mouth..."). Note that the qôʔ is not dominating a
quotative clause here (*'He said that he twisted his mouth...').
The saying is merely one of the actions performed by the agent,
along with the twisting. (5) chɔ-qhɔ̂-chɔ-nâʔ tê phā | mâ qôʔ
←╫→ [te lù pɨ ve] ɔ-cɔ̂ tê phā | mâ qôʔ || nɔ̂-hɨ tê ğâ thàʔ | te
lù mâ phɛ̀ʔ 'Whether it is bandits and robbers, or whether it is
any [other] kind of destructive person, no one can harm even a
single one of you'. For a discussion of the NP_1 + mâ qôʔ + NP_2 +
mâ qôʔ construction, see below 5.44. The second of the equi-ver-
bal co-clauses here contains a relative clause modifying its
subject-NP: [te lù pɨ ve] ɔ-cɔ̂ 'a kind (of person) which can
destroy'. (6) {{dàʔ} kàʔ | cɔ̂ ←╫→ {mâ dàʔ} kàʔ | cɔ̂ ve} yò-pɔ̂ʔ
'There are good ones, and there are also bad ones!'. In this

sentence the two mini-clauses d̠à̠ʔ 'good' and m̠â d̠à̠ʔ 'not good' are
really nominalizations, though this is not signalled by any par-
ticle [see next section, 'Unmarked nominalizations']. The mean-
ing is 'ones that are good' and 'ones that are not good'. The
equi-verbal clauses are then nominalized by the v̠e at the end.
(7) {c̠h̠ò | d̠ɔ́ ↤┼┼→ ô | d̠ɔ́ || c̠h̠ò | g̠ô̠ʔ ↤┼┼→ ô | g̠ô̠ʔ v̠e} t̠í g̠o l̠è̠
| â t̠e v̠e y̠ò n̠á 'Thinking this way and thinking that way, talking
this way and talking that way -- that's not what we should do!'.
This interesting sentence contains two pairs of equi-verbal co-
clauses, one after the other. The two pairs themselves stand in
the co-clausal relationship of 'simple listing'. This whole
structure is nominalized by v̠e and topicalized by t̠í g̠o l̠è̠, so
that it functions as the topic of the final clause.

5.11 <u>Unmarked nominalizations or 'pseudo co-clauses'</u>. All other
cases where a non-final clause contains no unrestricted particle
are covert or unmarked nominalizations (cf. example 6 above).
Consider the following examples: ⟨{l̠à̠ʔ | t̠h̠a} | š̠ɨ̂ʔ ɛ̠ g̠ay v̠e ⟩
'The hand-clapping was boisterous'; {g̠h̠â̠ʔ-š̠ɛ | t̠e} | d̠à̠ʔ à m̠ē
'The way the headman does it is really fine!'; ê ‖| {a-p̠i ¦ g̠h̠ê
| t̠è̠ʔ} | n̠ù à 'Whew! Grandma's farting sure stinks!'. In sen-
tences of this type, the first clause is the topic or subject of
the final clause, so that v̠e is insertible after the naked verb
with no change of meaning: ⟨{l̠à̠ʔ | t̠h̠a v̠e} | š̠ɨ̂ʔ ɛ̠ g̠ay v̠e ⟩ '(As
for the) hand-clapping, it was boisterous'.[5]

   Sometimes the verb of the covert embedded clause is followed
by a verb-particle: ⟨{b̠o-y̠â k̠à̠ʔ | c̠a p̠h̠ê̠ʔ l̠a} | g̠ɨ š̠ɔ̄ v̠e ⟩c̠ê
                              V   V   P
                              v   v   v

'They say that her going and becoming a Christian is still quite
recent'; {p̠è̠ d̠à̠ʔ} | m̠â š̠ɨ̆ l̠ɛ y̠ò è̠ʔ 'It's because we can't agree
            V P
               v

on how to divide it up' ("It's because sharing it mutually is not
settled"); {g̠̈a l̠è̠ʔ t̠ù} | m̠â h̠ê̠ʔ o 'We won't get anything to eat!'
            V V̠ₕ P
            v   v

("Our [future] getting to eat is not the case"). See below 6.117.

5.2 Cl_{nf}'s ending in V + P_{univ}. It will be remembered that the
class of universal unrestricted particles (P_u's that may occur
after both final and non-final phrases) comprises the following
six members: (a) ve 'indicative nominalizer' (b) thâ 'temporal;
temporal nominalizer' (c) cɛ 'extentive' (d) tí 'minimizer;
only' (e) lɛ 'causal' (f) tὲ 'emphatic; really'. A Cl_{nf} ending
in a P_{univ} stands in one of a variety of syntactic-semantic
relationships to the following clause, depending on the particular
P_{univ} involved. Non-final ve-clauses are the topics or subjects
of the rest of their sentences, and behave like autonomous nominal
structures. cɛ- and lɛ-clauses are adverbial, subordinate in
meaning to the following clause. thâ-clauses occupy an inter-
mediate position: they sometimes behave as nouns and sometimes
as adverbs. tí 'only' and tὲ 'really' almost never appear in
Cl_{nf}'s without other unrestricted particles preceding or follow-
ing. It is these other P_u's which determine the relationship of
tí- and tὲ-clauses to the following material, since the semantic
effects of tí and tὲ do not really extend beyond their own
clauses.

Various mutual exclusions obtain among the P_{univ}'s. tὲ does
not occur in the same clause as cɛ or tí, and thâ and ve do not
co-occur within a clause. The possible sequences of P_{univ}'s in
a single Cl_{nf} are thus as indicated in Figure 50a:

FIGURE 50a.   Sequences of P_{univ}'s in Cl_{nf}'s

tὲ	ve		lɛ	
ve	cɛ	tí	lɛ	
thâ	tὲ		lɛ	
	cɛ	tí	lɛ	

If we exclude ve and thâ from the group on the grounds that they
are really nominalizers, the remaining P_{univ}'s pattern simply as
in Figure 50b:

5.2

FIGURE   50b

5.21   ve in Cl$_{nf}$'s: indicative nominalized clauses.   Among the
most important of all Cl$_{nf}$'s are those ending simply in the
neutral 'indicative' particle ve. ve has the power of uniting a
whole clause into a single nominal entity which can then be em-
bedded into a larger sentence: {ɔ-s̆ɨ̄ | tɔ̀ʔ la ve} thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | g̈a
mɔ̀ lâ 'Did you see the blood coming out?'; {phu | kə mâ ve} ¦
cɨ-kɨ | mâ cɔ̀ 'Putting in a lot of money is useless'. It is
clear that sentences containing a ve-clause of this type are not
'compound' in the sense that, e.g., conditional sentences con-
taining qo-clauses are [5.41]. Rather, they are complex, and will
be treated in extenso under 'Nominalized clauses' [below 6.11].

5.22   thâ in Cl$_{nf}$'s: temporally nominalized clauses. thâ is a
P$_{univ}$ meaning 'time/the time that'. Like ve, thâ has the power
to nominalize a preceding clause ('the time that Clause').[6] Some-
times a thâ-clause is clearly the subject or object of a larger
stretch of speech, such that the time when something takes place
is commented on as a primary focus of interest in the sentence:
{ɔ̄ | câ thâ} | gà qo || tê kà | mâ qay 'When the time to eat
arrives, I won't go anywhere else' ("the time to eat" is the sub-
ject of "arrives"); ⟨{s̆ɨ la=pâ-nê thâ} | là ve⟩ qo || yɔ̂ |
tho-pɔ̄ tù hɛ́ 'When the time comes that he is near death, he'll
probably confess' ("the time that he is near death" is the sub-
ject of "comes"); {yɔ̂ | phɔ e thâ} thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | dɔ̂-nɔ̂ lâ 'Do you
remember the time he ran away?' ("the time he ran away" is the
object of "remember").

More frequently perhaps, the thâ-clause modifies the follow-
ing material like an adverb: 'when Clause$_1$, [then Clause$_2$]'. In
these cases, the time is not itself the main point of interest,

but is merely mentioned as an attendant circumstance to the action
of the next clause:[7] ⟨{mû | phə̀ʔ thâ} ¦ á-qhɔ | ga̤ qòʔ e ve⟩ yò
'When it gets dark, we'll have to go home' (vs., e.g., 'The time
when it gets dark is approaching'); ⟨{Lâhū-yɛ̀ | ca ga̰ qay thâ} ¦
là-ga̤ | a-cí ga̤ dɔ̀ ve⟩ yò 'When you visit a Lahu house, you must
drink a little tea' (vs., e.g., 'The time when you visit a Lahu
house is thrilling'); {yâ-ɛ́ | mâ ḭ̄ šḛ̄ thâ} | šùʔ-šàʔ jâ qôʔ-ma
'When children are little, they're a great bother' (vs., e.g.,
'The time that children are little is the time to manipulate them
with impunity').

  As one might expect, it is not possible to draw a sharp line
between these two kinds of thâ-clauses. Some sentences may be
interpreted both ways, with a subtle though real meaning differ-
ence: nà=jê-jê lɛ ḛ̀ || {s̰̄ la=pâ-nê thâ} | là qo || cḭ-kḭ | mâ
cɔ̀ ò̰ 1. 'Having suffered and suffered, when the time that death
is near comes, there's no point [in wanting to live] anymore.'
[The thâ-clause is the subject of 'comes'.] 2. 'Having suffered
and suffered, if you come [to the hospital] when death is near,
there's no point anymore.' [The thâ-clause modifies 'comes' ad-
verbially.]

5.23 Causal lɛ in Cl_{nf}'s. The P_{univ} lɛ is often used in Cl_{nf}'s[8]
with the meaning 'because Clause'/'since Clause is the case':
yɔ̂-hḭ ¦ câ-tù | mâ cɔ̀ lɛ || mə̀ʔ-s̰̄ pə̀ ò̰ 'Since they had no food,
they starved to death'; vḭ jâ lɛ || mâ qay gâ 'I don't want to go
because it's too far'; ɔ̀-lɔ | mâ š̄ī lɛ || ni-ma | mâ s̰̄ šē̄ 'Since
we don't know the facts, we haven't made up our minds yet'.

  lɛ also occurs freely after Cl_{nf}'s that have been nominalized
by ve,[9] yielding structures which mean literally 'because of the
fact that Clause...': {câ-tù | cɔ̀ mâ ve} lɛ ¦ cḭ-qhɔ̂ʔ | mâ mə̀ʔ
'We won't go hungry this year, for we have much food' ("because
of the fact that we have much food").

  In formal style the P_n pa-tɔ 'because' may be used after a
VP in a Cl_{nf}, instead of lɛ, with the proviso that nominalizing

5.23

ve <u>must</u> precede:[10] {<u>phu</u> | mâ lɔ̂ʔ ve} <u>pa-tɔ</u> ¦ nɔ̂ gɛ | qay mâ <u>phὲʔ</u> 'Since I do not have enough money, I cannot go with you'; {<u>mâ vɨ́</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>pa-tɔ</u> ¦ lɔ̄-lɨ̄ | mâ ğa <u>cî</u> 'Since it is not very far, we needn't go by car'. Often <u>lɛ</u> follows <u>pa-tɔ</u> in this construction: ⟨{ɔ̄ | mɔ̂ʔ jâ <u>ve</u>} <u>pa-tɔ</u> <u>lɛ</u> ¦ <u>phu</u> | a-cî chî gâ ve⟩yɔ̀ 'Since we are

P P
n u

starving, I should like to borrow a little money'. This <u>lɛ</u> is undoubtedly the causal P_{univ}, rather than the suspensive P_{unf}. [We might, in fact, consider <u>pa-tɔ=lɛ</u> to be a single, compound causal P_{univ}, if it were not for the fact that it does not occur after natural nouns.]

    <u>lɛ</u> may directly follow nominalizing <u>thâ</u>, with the combined meaning of 'because it is time to Clause': {<u>chi-bɔ̂ʔ</u> ¦ ɔ̄ | <u>câ</u> <u>thâ</u>} <u>lɛ</u> ¦ tâ šùʔ-šàʔ lâ mē̄ 'Since it's time to eat now, kindly don't bother me'.

5.24 Extentive cɛ in Cl_{nf}'s.

The P_{univ} <u>cɛ</u> sometimes occurs alone at the end of a Cl_{nf}, with adverbial meanings like 'to the extent that Clause'/'so long as Clause'/'insomuch as Clause':[11] <u>qɔ̂</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>pɔ̂</u> <u>cɛ</u> || {→<u>là-mɨ̂</u> | <u>ti</u> <u>tù←</u> <u>ve</u>} | <u>mâ</u> <u>dû</u> <u>šě</u> 'As long as we haven't finished hoeing, we won't dig [holes] for planting the tea-orchard yet';[12] {<u>šɨ́ʔ-cὲ</u> | <u>pāy</u> <u>ğa</u> <u>cɛ</u> || <u>yɔ̂-hɨ́</u> | <u>thɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>chê</u> <u>ve</u>} 'They're chopping [deep] enough to get the tree to fall over' ("...to an extent to get the tree to fall over"); <u>šɨ̄</u> <u>ni</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>gà</u> <u>cɛ</u> || <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>e</u> <u>cɨ́</u> 'As long as the seven days weren't up, they didn't let him go out of the house'.

    <u>cɛ</u> may occur after nominalizing <u>ve</u> or <u>thâ</u>, and/or before causal <u>lɛ</u>: {<u>qô̂ʔ</u> <u>gɨ́</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>cɛ</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>šu</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>bɔ̂ʔ</u> 'Since he's just joking, they don't get mad' ("since it is to the extent of joking..."); {<u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>lɨ̂ʔ</u> | <u>tà</u> <u>hê</u> <u>thâ</u>} <u>cɛ</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>qha-dὲʔ</u> <u>ğɔ</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>šē̄</u> 'Since he's only just beginning his studies, he can't read very well yet' ("because it is to the extent of the time that he is beginning his studies...").

[In a way rather similar to the P_{unf}'s qo and thɔ̂/kà?,[13] cɛ
may appear correlatively in successive phrases, such that the
first contains an interrogative word and the second a word which
is a possible answer to the question. The combined meaning of
this construction is an indefinite one: a) qhà-qhe 'how?' and
chi qhe 'thus, this way' → 'however (much); no matter how (much)'.
qhà-qhe cɛ ğa || chi qhe cɛ | yê phὲ? ɔ 'However much you get,
you may use' ("How much you get, that much you may use").
b) qhɔ̂ kà? 'where?' and chò kà? 'here'[14] → 'wherever'. qhɔ̂ kà?
cɛ qo ¦ chò kà? cɛ | te yà? e ὲ? 'Lower it down to wherever [they
may be]!'.]

5.25 <u>Minimizing tí in Cl_{nf}'s</u>. The P_{univ} tí 'only' is never the
only particle in a Cl_{nf}. Very often cɛ precedes, with or without
a preceding nominalizing P_{univ}, ve or thâ. In addition, causal
lɛ and/or a P_{unf} may follow:

$$V + (P_v) + \left(\begin{matrix} ve \\ thâ \end{matrix}\right) + (cɛ) + tí + (lɛ) + (P_{unf}) \; ,$$

where at least one term in parentheses must be selected. Thus,
for example: {cɨ̄-yê̂ | nà ve} cɛ tí lɛ ¦ phà?-ni | gà qo || nay
ve hɛ̂ 'Since he only has a cold, he should be all better by the
day after tomorrow' ("because [lɛ] it is only [tí] to the extent
of [cɛ] the fact of [ve] having-a-cold").

An important special expression involving tí in Cl_{nf}'s is
the periphrastic negative {V + ve} + tí + mâ hê?, meaning 'it is
not only V'/'it is not just V, [but also something else]': {ca
ni ve} tí | mâ hê?. vɨ̀ kà? || vɨ̀ tù yò 'I'm not just looking
around -- I'll buy something too'; {ca gɨ̄ ve} tí | mâ hê?. chê
kà? || chê tù yò 'Not only will I come to visit, but I'll stay
too'.[15]

5.26 <u>The emphatic setter-off tὲ in Cl_{nf}'s</u>. Like tí, the mor-
pheme tὲ 'really' is never the only particle in a Cl_{nf}.[16] It
must be followed by another P_{univ} (ve and/or lɛ) and/or a P_{unf}.

thâ may also precede tɛ̀, provided that ve does not follow. Exs:
{Lâhū qa-mɨ̄=khɔ̂ | qha-dɛ̀ʔ qa-mɨ̄ tɛ̀ ve} | te mâ ša 'To really sing
Lahu songs well isn't easy'; mɔ̂ʔ-šǎ | mɛ̀ jâ tɛ̀ lɛ || {mɔ̂ʔ | ca
bɔ̂ʔ qay gâ ve} yɔ̀ 'Since monkey-meat is really delicious, I want
to go monkey-hunting'; {qay thâ} tɛ̀ lɛ ¦ ŋà kàʔ | qay tù yɔ̀ 'Since
it'll really be time to go, I'll go too'.

5.3 Cl_{nf}'s ending in V + P_v + P_{univ}. Most of the P_v's occur
freely before all the P_{univ}'s. A few random examples of P_v +
P_{univ} sequences in Cl_{nf}'s should suffice: a) P_v šē + P_{univ} lɛ →
ɔ-lɔ | mâ ší šē lɛ || tɛ̀ʔ-chí te mâ phɛ̀ʔ 'Since [lɛ] we don't
know the facts yet [šē], there's nothing we can do'. b) P_v šɔ̄ +
P_{univ} tɛ̀ → a-cí cɔ̀ šɔ̄ tɛ̀ qo || {ŋà thàʔ | mâ pî ve} lâ 'If [qo]
there is really [tɛ̀] a little bit still [šɔ̄] left, won't you give
it to me?'. c) P_v tù + P_{univ} cɛ + P_{univ} tí + P_{univ} lɛ → á-qhɔ |
chê tù cɛ tí lɛ || pɨ́ | mâ chɛ̀ʔ lâ tù hɛ́ 'Since [lɛ] you will [tù]
just [cɛ tí] be staying in your house, the mosquitoes probably
won't bite you'.

Of especial interest are two sequences ending in thâ:
d) P_v šē + P_{univ} thâ → {vên qhɔ | mâ gà šē thâ} ¦ ŋà thàʔ ¦ phu |
a-cí pî mɛ̄ 'Before we get to town, please give me a little money'.
mâ + V + šē + thâ, literally 'when not yet V', is the commonest
way of expressing the idea 'before V' in Lahu. e) P_v la=pâ-nê +
P_{univ} thâ → {yɔ̂ | šɨ la=pâ-nê thâ} ¦ cân-pā̄ ve vên-bá | phê pî ɔ̀
cê 'When he was about to die, they say he forgave his enemy's
sins'. V + la=pâ-nê + thâ is the commonest way of expressing the
idea '(when) almost V'/'(when) on the point of V'ing'.

5.4 Cl_{nf}'s ending in V + P_{unf}. The non-final unrestricted par-
ticles (P_{unf}'s) occur only after nouns or verbs in non-final
phrases.[17] They have already been discussed at some length under
the Noun-phrase [3.92]. In this chapter we confine ourselves to
their use after verbs in Cl_{nf}'s. There are eight principal P_{unf}'s,
which pattern post-verbally as indicated in Figure 51:[18]

FIGURE 51.   P$_{unf}$'s After Non-final VP's

		kà?
qo	thɔ́	-qɔ̀?
	nέ	ɔ̄ (-qhe)
lɛ		-qɔ̀?
		ɔ̄ (-qhe)
qo		
lɛ		lὲ ∿ ὲ

5.41   With the conditional P$_{unf}$ qo. The most important use of <u>qo</u>
is as the marker of protases (or non-final clauses) of conditional
sentences. It is usually best translated 'if': nɔ̂ ⦙ ô-ve ǀ <u>câ</u>
<u>qo</u> ‖ <u>nà</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yò</u> 'If you eat that, you'll get sick'; mê? ǀ mâ mɔ̂ <u>qo</u>
‖ <u>tɨ̄</u> ǀ <u>thὲ?</u> <u>hā</u> <u>ve-ɔ̄</u> 'If it's too dark to see, it's hard to play
the guitar'; hɛ ɔ̂-šɤ́ ǀ mâ <u>thu</u> <u>bà</u> <u>cɨ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ {ğa lὲ? tù} ǀ mâ hê? o
'If they don't let us fell new fields, we'll have nothing to eat'.

    In itself <u>qo</u> is neutral both with respect to time-reference
and to the degree of remoteness or likelihood of the condition in
question. Such nuances are indicated by temporal nouns in the
protasis and/or P$_{v}$'s or P$_{uf}$'s in the apodosis: nɔ̂ ǀ <u>dê</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖
{<u>nà</u> <u>kà?</u> ǀ <u>qɔ̂?</u> <u>dê</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yò</u> 'If you scold me, I'll scold you right
back'; šɔ́-pɔ̄ ⦙ nɔ̂ ǀ <u>qay</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>nà</u> <u>kà?</u> ǀ <u>qay</u> <u>tù</u> <u>hέ</u> 'If you go to-
morrow, I'll probably go too'; nɔ̂ <u>e</u> <u>chi</u> ǀ <u>chέ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ dà? ɔ̀ qô?-ma
                                                                        P$_{v}$

'If that mother of yours had been at home, it would have been
better'; <u>á-ni</u> <u>thâ</u> ⦙ <u>nɔ̂</u> ǀ <u>qa-mɨ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>nà</u> <u>kà?</u> ǀ <u>qa-mɨ</u> ɔ̀ hέ ∿ <u>á-ni</u>
                                                              P$_{v}$

<u>thâ</u> ⦙ <u>nɔ̂</u> ǀ <u>qa-mɨ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ {<u>nà</u> <u>kà?</u> ǀ <u>qa-mɨ</u> <u>á</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yò</u> <u>hέ</u> 'If you sang/
                                                    P$_{v}$

had sung yesterday, I would probably have sung too'; ğà?-hɔ̂ a lâ
<u>qo</u> ‖ {<u>nà</u> ǀ →<u>chɨ=pí-qwὲ?</u> ô tê khɛ ǀ <u>ğa</u> <u>tù←</u> šɔ̄ <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yâ</u> 'If you
                                                         P$_{v}$

5.41

had only driven it to me by shouting at it, I would have figured out a way to catch that barking-deer'. Note that the presence of the change-of-state P_v ò̠ or the perfective P_v tā̠ (∿ ā̠ ∿ á̠) in the apodosis indicates that the sentence is a contrary-to-fact conditional (last 3 exs.).[19] To emphasize that the action of the apodosis was <u>almost</u>, <u>but</u> <u>not</u> <u>quite</u> <u>realized</u>, the set expression <u>a-cí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> 'if it were not [that way] by a little bit'/'if things had been a little different' may be used as the protasis: <u>a-cí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>šɨ̠</u> <u>e</u> <u>ò̠</u> 'He came within an ace of dying' [above 4.412(3)].

The expression <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> 'if it is not the case that' is used after natural nouns or {Clause + <u>ve</u>} to indicate that what precedes is only one of several alternatives: 'if it is not the case that $\left\{\begin{array}{c} N \\ Cl + \underline{ve} \end{array}\right\}$, then X; either $\left\{\begin{array}{c} N \\ Cl + \underline{ve} \end{array}\right\}$ or X'. Thus, <u>šɔ̌-pɔ̄</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>phàʔ-ni</u> | <u>qay</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yò</u> 'I'll go either tomorrow or the day after'; {mɔ̂ | vɨ̠ <u>ve</u>} | <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ {mɔ̂ | hɔ̂ chê̠ <u>ve</u>} hɛ́ 'If they're not buying things, they're probably selling things'.

If the protasis is considered to refer to an unpleasant or threatening eventuality, it may be introduced by the conjunction <u>à-mù</u> [4a.16]: <u>à-mù</u>, <u>khɔ̂</u> <u>e</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>qhà-qhe</u> <u>te</u> <u>tù</u> <u>le</u> 'If it should get smashed, God forbid, what would we do?'.

The necessity or inevitability of a particular action is often expressed via a litotic conditional construction of the form <u>mâ</u> + V_1 + <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> 'if not V_1, then it is not possible': <u>yâ</u> <u>ô-ve</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>yù</u> <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>qo</u> ‖ <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> 'That child then had to be delivered by Caesarean section' ("If they did not take out that child, it was not possible").

Often the meaning of <u>qo</u> shades from the conditional to the merely unrealized. That is, the verbal event of the protasis is not regarded as problematical or already impossible, but simply as <u>not</u> <u>yet</u> having come to pass, though it <u>will</u> some time in the

future. In these cases the best translation of <u>qo</u> is usually
'when + present tense', with a future reference intended:[20] <u>ha-pa</u>
<u>chi tê ši</u> | <u>pə̀ ò qo</u> || <u>Kôthê?</u> | <u>qay gâ cê</u> 'When this month is
over, he says he wants to go to Bangkok'; <u>nɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>gà qo</u> ||
<u>ɔ̀-mî=ma thà?</u> | <u>pî phὲ? ɔ</u> 'When you reach home you may give it to
your wife'; {<u>yɔ̂ thà?</u> | <u>qɔ̂? ǧa mɔ̀ qo</u> || <u>ɔ̀-lɔ chi</u> | <u>tho lâ ve</u>} <u>yò</u>
'When I see him again, I'll tell him of this matter'.

<u>5.411 qo in correlative constructions.</u> <u>qo</u> serves to conclude the
non-final portion of a certain type of indefinite expression,
wherein the protasis is introduced by an interrogative noun, ad-
verb, or numeral and the apodosis contains a NP that is a possible
answer to the question asked by that interrogative word:[21]

(1) <u>qhɔ̂ kà?</u> 'where?' and <u>cô kà?</u> 'over there' → 'wherever': <u>qhɔ̂</u>
<u>kà?</u> | <u>qay gâ qo</u> || <u>cô kà?</u> | <u>qay-?</u> 'Go wherever you want' ("If you
want to go [any]where, go there!").

(2) <u>qhɔ̂-qhe</u> 'where?' and <u>chò</u> 'here' → 'wherever': <u>šu</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̂-qhe</u> |
<u>te qo</u> || <u>chò</u> | <u>te-?</u> 'Do it wherever the others are doing it!'.

(3) <u>qhà-qhe</u> 'how?' and <u>chi qhe</u> 'this way' → 'however; in what-
ever way': {<u>qhà-qhe jὲ dà? qo</u> || <u>chi qhe</u> | <u>te câ ve</u>} <u>yò</u> 'However
it is decided by discussion, that's the way you ought to do it'.

(4) <u>a-šu</u> 'who?' and <u>yɔ̂</u> 'he' → 'whoever': <u>a-šu</u> | <u>dû tɔ̂? gâ qo</u> ||
<u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>dû tɔ̂? phὲ? ɔ</u> 'Whoever wants to dig it up may dig it up'.

(5) <u>à-thò?-ma</u> 'what?' and <u>ô</u> 'that' → 'whatever': <u>à-thò?-ma</u> |
<u>hə̀? gâ qo</u> || <u>ô thà?</u> | <u>yù phὲ? ɔ</u> 'Whatever you want you may take'
("If you want what [anything], you may take that").

(6) <u>qhà-nî</u> 'how many?' and <u>chi ma</u> 'this many' → 'however many':
{<u>qhà-nî ǧâ</u> | <u>là qo</u> || <u>chi ma</u> | <u>ǧa cā pî ve</u>} <u>yò</u> 'However many
people come, we must feed them'.

Another sort of correlative construction in which <u>qo</u> appears
has the adverb <u>a-cî</u> 'more' and the _vV <u>qɔ̂?</u> 'V_h again' in both
clauses, with the combined meaning 'the more VP$_1$, the more VP$_2$':
{<u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>a-cî qɔ̂? câ a qo</u> || <u>a-cî qɔ̂? chu la ve</u>} 'The more he eats
the fatter he gets' ("If he again eats more, he again gets fat-

ter"); {yɔ̂ | a-cí qɔ̂ʔ chu la qo ‖ a-cí qɔ̂ʔ ha-lɛ̀ ve} yò 'The fatter he gets the happier he is'.

5.412 The compound causal P_{unf}'s te-qo and qhe-qo.

(1) te-qo 'since V'/'because V' ("if V is done"). The verb te 'do' is often amalgamated with qo to form a compound P_{unf} with a meaning different from that of the simplex qo: the causal meaning 'since; because'. The te here has an abstract, contentless verbal force.[22] Thus: yɔ̂ | bɔ̂ʔ jâ te-qo ‖ dɔ̂ mâ tɔ̂ʔ o 'Since he's so angry, I don't see what we can do'; chɔ kà? | mâ cɔ̀ te-qo ‖ ká | te kɪ̀ jâ 'Since there aren't any people [to help], I'm awfully busy'; nālī̄ | lù s̆e te-qo ‖ <<qhà-thâʔ | g̈a qay tù nā̄>> mâ s̆ī̄ 'Seeing that my watch is broken, I don't know when we're supposed to go'.

(2) qhe-qo 'since V'/'because V' ("if [it is] thus").[23] The extentive nadverb qhe 'thus, this way' also combines with qo to form a compound P_{unf} of causal meaning: {nô ¦ í-kâʔ ô-ve à? | ca s̆ɔ̄ qay g̈a qhe-qo ‖ mɪ̀-gɪ̀ [te câ lɔ̂ʔ-lɔ̂ʔ] | cɔ̀ ā ve} yâ 'Since we can go and canalize that water up there (down to our fields), there's still plenty of land for us to make a living!'.[24]

5.413 The emphatic conditional P_{unf} lɔ-qo. As mentioned above [4.721(3)], the emphatic declarative P_{uf} lɔ combines with qo to form a unitary P_{unf} that may be translated 'if indeed; if really': pɔ̀ ɔ̀ lɔ-qo ‖ a-cí mɪ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'If you've really finished, you may sit down for a while'; hɛ-g̈ɔ̂ lɛ̀ | g̈a qɔ̂ʔ g̈ɔ̂ʔ pɪ́ lɔ-qo ‖ dà? à qô?-ma 'If we really manage to recultivate an old field, it'll be great!'.[25]

Since lɔ-qo is an unrestricted particle, it may occur equally well after nouns: tê ha ŋâ chi bà? lɔ-qo 'if it's really 150 baht'; s̆ú-qhu chi ¦ nɔ̀ ve lɔ-qo ɔ̄ 'if this pipe is really yours'.

5.414 The topic-marker qô?-qo 'if we speak of V'ing; as for V'ing'. The verb qô? 'say' combines with qo to form a little VP meaning literally 'if one says', which is frequently used as a tag

to mark the preceding phrase as the topic which is to be commented
on in the following phrase. (a) After verbs: <<nɔ̀ | qay>> qô?
qo || ŋà-hɨ | qhà-qhe phὲ? tù le 'If you should go, what will be-
come of us?' ("If one says 'You're going', what will become of
us?"). (b) After natural nouns: <<qhâ?-šɛ>> qô? qo || ŋà ve
ɔ̀-chɔ̀ yò 'As for the headman, he's my friend'; <<Lâhū-šiˉkhɔ̀>>
qô? qo || ŋà-hɨ kà? | na mâ ğa 'As far as the Yellow Lahu dialect
is concerned, we can't understand it either'. (c) After ve-
clauses: <<{mɨ-câ-vâ-câ ve}>> qô? qo || chɔ̀ kà? | te hāˉ jâ qô?-ma
'When it comes to earning one's living by farming, it's awfully
hard to do here!'.

Sentences having the expression qô? qo are only a subtype of
the class of complex 'citative' sentences [below 6.3]. The fact
that we must assume embedding to account for qô? qo sentences is
demonstrated by grammatical utterances like the following:
<<{mɨ-câ-vâ-câ ve} yò>> qô? qo || chɔ̀ kà? | te hāˉ jâ qô?-ma 'As
        P_{uf}
for [a statement like] "We earn our living by farming", that's
awfully hard to do here!'. In this sentence there is a final un-
restricted particle, yò, in a non-final clause: a state of
affairs that never obtains in non-complex or non-permuted sen-
tences.

A more emphatic variant of qô? qo is formed by adding the
* bound element -qɔ̀? to the qo: qô? qo-qɔ̀?.[26] It seems likely that
this form arose more out of an esthetic taste for alliterative
euphony than for anything else. Three consecutive syllables in
q-, each under a lower tone than the preceding one, strike the
Lahu ear as lovely: <<{yâ-mîˍhá | ca mâ? ve}>> qô? qo-qɔ̀? ||
{á-thâ | mâ mə̂? ve} | mâ phὲ? 'For courting the girls, now, it
can't be done unless you blow the jewsharp'.

5.415 Sequences of qo with other P_{unf}'s. qo is often followed
by one or the other of the bulk-providing topicalizing P_{unf}'s lὲ
and ɔ̄, which serve to set the conditional clause off in slightly

5.415

higher relief: a) qo + lὲ. {nɔ̀ ¦ câ-tù [mὲ ve] | te lε || ca̅
pî a qo lὲ || nay ve} yɔ̀ 'If you prepare delicious food and try
feeding it to him, you'll be cured'. b) qo + ɔ̅. te pɨ́ tὲ   qo
    $\underset{V}{}$ $\underset{v}{V}$ $\underset{univ}{P}$

ɔ̅ || hâʔ te-ʔ 'If you really <u>can</u> do it, hurry up and do it!'.

qo may also be followed by either of the concessive P_{unf}'s
kàʔ and thɔ̂, with a combined meaning of 'even if Clause'/'even
when Clause'. These sequences are, however, rarer than one might
think, since kàʔ and thɔ̂ already contain a conditional component
as part of their own meanings:[27] c) qo + kàʔ. ŋà-hɨ | mâ te ğa
qo kàʔ || šu | ga lâ tù cê 'Even if we can't do it [ourselves],
they said they'd help us'; {càʔ-pɔ̀=kho chi ¦ ɔ̀-šɨ́ | te thâ} qo
kàʔ || šú kàʔ | ğa dɔ̀ qôʔ-ma 'Even when we were first building
this airstrip, we got tobacco to smoke besides'. d) qo + thɔ̂.
šɨ̌ʔ-thε tê pha̅ | ğa ğɔ̀ bà qo thɔ̂ || {kán | te tù} láy cɔ̀ | qɔ̀ʔ cɔ̀
šɔ̌̅ mε̅ 'Even when we've managed to haul away all the logs, there'll
still be all kinds of work left to be done!'.

5.42 Cl_{nf}'s ending in the suspensive P_{unf} lε. The P_{unf} lε is
used in Cl_{nf}'s to indicate either that the preceding verbal event
has taken place <u>before</u> the one(s) in the subsequent clause(s), or
simply that it is <u>not the last</u> in a series of events that is being
considered.[28] Various English translations are possible: 'having
Cl_{nf}'ed...'; 'while Cl_{nf}'ing...'; 'after Cl_{nf}'ing...'; 'without
Cl_{nf}'ing...' (if the verb of the lε-clause is negated); 'Cl_{nf}
and...', etc.: {á-qhɔ | qòʔ e lε || ɔ̅ | câ pɔ̀ á lε || yɨ̀ʔ e ve}
yɔ̀ '<u>After</u> returning home, he ate his meal <u>and</u> went to sleep';
{ɔ̅ kàʔ | mâ câ á lε || tê pɔ̂ʔ tí | te ğɨ-phɔ e ve} '<u>Without</u> even
finishing his meal, all at once he ran away'; {vàʔ ve ɔ̀-gɨ=qú |
qhὲʔ bà lε || ɔ̀-to | qha-dὲʔ te chɨ pî ve} yɔ̀ '<u>Having</u> stripped
off the pig's skin, they washed its body carefully for him'.

This suspensive P_{unf} must be carefully distinguished from
the homophonous causal P_{univ} lε,[29] for at least two reasons:
(a) suspensive lε never occurs in final clauses or NP's, while

causal 1ε occurs both finally and non-finally; (b) suspensive 1ε
is never preceded by nominalizing ve, while causal 1ε frequently
is. Nevertheless, in Cl$_{nf}$'s it is sometimes hard to decide
whether a word 1ε that is not preceded by ve is in fact suspen-
sive or causal. Thus the following sentence, taken out of con-
text, could have either interpretation: {ɔ̄ | câ mâ jâ 1ε ||
yɨ̀ʔ-mɨ́ | tà qa ve} yò 1. 'Having eaten a great deal, he began
to sleep soundly' [suspensive 1ε]. 2. 'Since he had eaten a
great deal, he began to sleep soundly' [causal 1ε]. The context
will usually disambiguate such sentences, but in many cases it
makes little difference to the message whether the post hoc or
propter hoc interpretation is favored.

5.421 1ε ɔ̄ and 1ε ὲ (< *1ε 1ὲ). Suspensive 1ε may be followed
by either of the topical P$_{unf}$'s ɔ̄ or 1ὲ. However, the combination
/1ε + 1ὲ/ is always realized as [1ε ὲ]; i.e., only the initial-
less allomorph of /1ὲ/[30] may occur after 1ε.

   The addition of ɔ̄ makes little difference to the meaning of
1ε, but in long narrative sentences many speakers prefer 1ε + ɔ̄
to plain 1ε, simply for its greater phonetic bulk. The additional
syllable serves to demarcate one clause from another more clearly,
as well as having the advantage of giving the narrator a bit more
time to think of what should come next:[31] qhe-te-1ε-ɔ̄, šɨ̌ʔ-tà
ô-ve šɨ̌̄ mà ¦ à-mɨ̄ àʔ | yù kə 1ε ɔ̄ || nê | tà kù qha-pâʔ=a 'There-
upon ("having done thus"), taking those seven sticks and putting
them in the fire, he began to call the spirits in a loud voice';
pû kə 1ε ɔ̄ || tê chi píʔ 1ὲ | gà ò 'What I have carried in comes
to ten basketsful already' ("As for having carried it in, ten
basketsful have been reached already").

   1ε + ὲ occurs mostly after reduplicated verbs [below 5.424].
It is usually best translated 'after V'ing for a long time'/
'having V'ed for a long time': {nà=jê-jê 1ε ὲ || {šɨ̌ la=pâ-nê
thâ} ¦ nâʔ-chɨ́=yὲ | là ve} qo || tèʔ-chí mâ phὲʔ ò 'If one comes
to the hospital [only] when one is near death after having suf-

fered for a long time, there's nothing they can do'; $\bar{\mathfrak{o}}$ | <u>câ-câ</u>

<u>lɛ</u> <u>ὲ</u> || <<{<u>g̈ô-pè</u> | <u>nà</u> <u>ve</u>}>> <u>qhe</u> <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>   'After eating and eating,

he said his stomach ached'.

<u>5.422</u> <u>lɛ</u> + -<u>qɔ̀ʔ</u>. In informal colloquial style, as well as in

sustained narrative, the sequence <u>lɛ</u> + <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> crops up in Cl_{nf}'s.

It seems certain that this is nothing more than a Lahuicization

of the Thai expression <u>lɛ́ɛw</u> <u>kɔ̂ʔ</u> 'and then': <u>š̌u</u> <u>àʔ</u> | <u>ca</u> <u>na-ni</u>

<u>lɛ-qɔ̀ʔ</u> || <u>tὲʔ-chí</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>tho</u> <u>pí</u> <u>cê</u> 'He went and asked them [about it],

but they told him nothing'; {<u>g̈ɔ̀</u> <u>tú</u> <u>kɔ</u> <u>š̌ē</u> <u>pí</u> <u>lɛ-qɔ̀ʔ</u> || <u>hâʔ</u> <u>phɔ</u> <u>e</u>

$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ V V$_h$ V P V V

$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ v $\quad$ v v v P_{unf}

<u>ve</u>} <u>cê</u> 'They set it afire and ran away fast'; <<<u>kɔ</u> <u>a</u> <u>ni</u>>> <u>qôʔ</u>

<u>lɛ</u> || <u>g̈ɔ̀</u> <u>kɔ</u> <u>a</u> <u>lɛ-qɔ̀ʔ</u> || {<u>š̌ú-dɔ̀=pā</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> <u>ɔ̄-qhe</u> <u>lɛ</u> | <u>qha-cwê</u>[32] |||

<u>š̌ú-qhu</u> <u>qhɔ</u> | <u>hɔ̄</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>cê</u> '"You try putting it [the tobacco] in!"

they said, and so when this tobacco-smoker shoved it in, it fit

the inside of the pipe perfectly'; <u>ŋà-hɨ</u> <u>qôʔ</u> ¦ [<u>š̌u-khɔ̀-š̌u-š̌á</u> | <u>š̌ī</u>

<u>lɛ-qɔ̀ʔ</u> || <u>qha=dὲʔ-dὲʔ</u>[32] ||| <u>tê</u> <u>g̈â</u> <u>le-le</u> ¦ <u>š̌u-khɔ̀-š̌u-š̌á</u> | <u>yɔ</u> <u>g̈a</u>

<u>ve</u>] <u>tê</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>lὲ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hê?</u> 'You see, we're not the kind who understand

other people's ways and customs, and who can discuss everybody

else's ways and customs properly'.[33]

<u>5.423</u> The compound P_{unf} <u>te-lɛ</u>. Suspensive or causal <u>lɛ</u> may be

amalgamated with the verb <u>te</u> 'do', to form a compound P_{unf} that

does not differ significantly in meaning from the <u>lɛ</u> alone:[34]

(1) <u>š̌u</u> | <u>g̈ɔ̀</u> <u>tú</u> <u>phê</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>te-lɛ</u> || <u>š̌ê?</u> <u>pù</u> <u>ὲ</u> | <u>g̈a</u> <u>lɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>lὲʔ</u> 'Since they

went and burned up [all my fields] on me, I'll only harvest three

basketsful!'. (2) {<u>ɔ̀-qā=qhê</u> | <u>ŋɔ́</u> <u>te-lɛ</u> || <u>qòʔ</u> <u>e</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'Smeared

with buffalo-shit, he returned home'. (3) {<u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ</u> <u>àʔ</u> ¦

<u>chɔ̀-pá</u> | <u>š̌ɨ</u> ←‖→ <u>ô-pá</u> | <u>š̌ɨ</u> <u>te-lɛ</u> || <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} 'He spoke while

twisting his mouth from side to side'.

In Ex. (1), <u>te-lɛ</u> has a causal meaning, and in Ex. (2) a

suspensive one. Ex. (3) illustrates a resumptive use of <u>te-</u>.

The verb 'do' is serving as an abstract summation of the two

parallel actions of the preceding equi-verbal clauses [see above

5.1], as if <u>chɔ̀-pá</u> <u>š̌ɨ</u> 'twist this way' and <u>ô-pá</u> <u>š̌ɨ</u> 'twist that

way' were adverbial expressions modifying it: 'do hither-
twistingly, do thither-twistingly'.[35]

<div align="center">* * *</div>

For a discussion of compound <u>final</u> unrestricted particles
containing <u>lε</u> (<u>lε-hέ</u>, <u>lε-lâ</u>, <u>lε-na̅</u>), see above 4.722(1), 4.723(1),
and 4.723(3), respectively.

5.424 Verb-reduplication in the Cl_{nf}'s of compound sentences.

The most important type of V_{act}-reduplication is that which
occurs in non-final clauses, especially before suspensive <u>lε</u>.
[For reduplicated verbs that function rather as adverbial ex-
pressions, see above 4.423.] This 'suspensive reduplication'
indicates that the action of the Cl_{nf} is continued, repeated, or
protracted in such a way that it brings about or affects the
state of affairs described in the final clause: <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>mɨ lε</u> ||
<u>tèʔ-chí</u> mâ <u>te-te</u> lε || ɔ̄ | mâ ğa câ o 'Seeing as how you sit in
the house [all the time] without doing anything, you can't make
a living' ("sitting in the house not doing-doing anything");
<u>tê</u> <u>ni</u> qha-gà | <u>qay-qay</u> lε || mû | <u>phɔ̀ʔ</u> la thâ || <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> gà-ɔ̀
'After walking the whole day, we got back home as it was getting
dark' ("having walk-walked the whole day"); { š̌ɨʔ-tà | <u>chɔ-chɔ</u> lε
|| <u>ɔ̀-pa</u> gε | <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> yù <u>qay</u> <u>ve</u>} cê 'One after the other they chopped
off sticks and brought them back to their father' ("chop-chopping
sticks").

Sometimes the particle <u>έ</u>, probably an allomorph of the ad-
verbializer <u>è</u> [above 4.42], follows the reduplicate: {yâ-έ tê
pha̅ | <u>hɔ̀-hɔ̀</u> <u>έ</u> lε || <u>á-qhɔ</u> | <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>e</u> <u>ve</u>} cê 'Then all the children,
crying and crying, went back home'.

Occasionally a different P_{unf}, such as <u>qo</u> 'if' or <u>kàʔ</u> 'even',
is used instead of <u>lε</u> to add a different shade of meaning to the
reduplicate: <u>phu</u> | mâ <u>cɔ̀-cɔ̀</u> kàʔ || <u>tèʔ-chí</u> mâ hêʔ 'Even if you
continue not to have any money, it'll be all right'; <u>tèʔ-chí</u> mâ
<u>te-te</u> qo || {ğa câ tù} | mâ hêʔ o 'If you keep on doing nothing,

5.424

you won't make a living'. Sometimes there is no particle at all
after the reduplicate, which therefore stands at the end of its
non-final clause. In these cases, 1ɛ is insertible with no
change of meaning: {í-kâʔ | â cɔ̂-cɔ̂ (1ɛ) || qhà-qhe ||| ti-mi | te
1ɛ || ğa câ tù ve} le 'If there keeps being no water, how shall
we irrigate the fields and earn our living?'.

No verb-particle ever occurs after the second occurrence of
a V_{act} unless it also occurs after the first one; i.e., a V_{act} +
P_v sequence may only be reduplicated as a unit: tê ni qha-gà ¦
yɔ̂-hɨ | qôʔ dàʔ qôʔ dàʔ 1ɛ || chi-bɔ̂ʔ ¦ ɔ̂-chɔ̂ | mâ qɔ̂ʔ`te dàʔ ò
       V_{act} P_v V_{act} P_v
'After quarrelling and quarrelling with each other all day long,
they're not friends anymore'.

When the verb is a two-syllable compound, there are three
possible manners of 'suspensive reduplication': AB-AB, AA-BB,
and A-BB. For a given compound, it is not possible to predict
automatically which manner applies. Some compounds are redupli-
cable in more than one way at the end of Cl_{nf}'s; others redupli-
cate in one way in Cl_{nf}'s and in another in adverbial position.
However, there does seem to be some correlation between manner of
reduplication and the freedom or boundedness of the compound's
constituents.

Compounds which reduplicate only AB-AB in Cl_{nf}'s are all of
the form V_{act-f} + V_{act-f}, that is, both elements are free action-
verbs: ğàʔ-yù 'chase' ("drive-take"), chɔ-qhɔ̂ àʔ | ğàʔ-yù=ğàʔ-yù
1ɛ || ... 'chasing and chasing the thief'; gɘʔ-mɔ 'grind to pow-
der' ("grind-pulverize"), há-pɨ=mɔ̄ | ca gɘʔ-mɔ=gɘʔ-mɔ 1ɛ || ...
'grinding and grinding it to powder with the grindstone'. Many
versatile concatenations (where the constituents are by defini-
tion free verbs) also reduplicate in this way: qay 'go, walk' +
cɨ 'causative V_v', tê ni qha-gà ¦ yɔ̂-hɨ thàʔ | qay cɨ qay cɨ 1ɛ
                                              V_h V_v V_h V_v
|| ... 'making them walk continuously all day long'. Similarly,

g̈ɔ tɔ̂ʔ ‖ g̈ɔ tɔ̂ʔ 'keep pulling apart' ("pull –come out"); tɔ̂ʔ
chêʔ ‖ tɔ̂ʔ chêʔ 'keep breaking by cutting' ("cut – break"); jûʔ
kə ‖ jûʔ kə 'keep impaling' ("stab – put into"); bà phê̂ ‖ bà
phê̂ 'keep flinging away' ("throw – release"), etc.

    Many $V_{act-f} + V_{act-f}$ compounds and versatile concatenations
reduplicate AB-AB at the end of Cl_{nf}'s, but AA-BB in adverbial
position. Thus, chî 'lift up' + bà 'throw away' → chî-bà 'reject,
abandon': tê mà pɔ̀ tê mà | chî-bà=chî-bà lɛ ‖ ... 'discarding
them one after the other' [$\overline{Cl_{nf}}$], but Lâhū ve ɔ̂-mɛ | chî-chî=bà-bà
tâ te 'Do not keep discarding your Lahu names' ("Do not do
discard-discardingly...") [AE]. Similarly, phɛ-chɨ̂ʔ 'tie up':
yɔ̂-hɨ thàʔ | phɛ-chɨ̂ʔ=phɛ-chɨ̂ʔ lɛ ‖ ... 'tying them up one after
the other' [Cl_{nf}], but yɔ̂-hɨ thàʔ | $\underset{V_h}{\underline{phɛ-phɛ}}$=$\underset{V_v}{\underline{chɨ̂ʔ-chɨ̂ʔ}}$ $\underset{P_{unf}}{te}$ pɔ̀ qo

‖ ... 'when you've finished tying them all up' [AE]. This class
also comprises several bisyllabic verbs of foreign origin whose
component parts have no individual meaning in Lahu: cô-câ 'try'
(< Burmese); hàʔ-šá 'take care of' (< Shan); pɔ̀-lɔ́ 'transgress,
overstep the mark' (< Shan), etc.

    Compounds which may reduplicate both AB-AB and A-BB in Cl_{nf}'s
are not very numerous, and have the characteristic that at least
one of the elements is bound and/or of obscure meaning: qā-qhêʔ
'dance' (both elements bound), tê-ni-tâ-vâ | qā-qhêʔ=qā-qhêʔ lɛ /
qā=qhêʔ-qhêʔ lɛ ... 'having danced and danced all day long';
qa-mɨ 'sing' (both elements bound, except in poetry), qa-mɨ=khɔ̂
tê mà pɔ̀ tê mà | qa-mɨ=qa-mɨ lɛ / qa=mɨ-mɨ lɛ ‖ ... 'singing one
song after the other'; nà-jê 'suffer, be in pain' (second element
bound), yɔ̂ ¦ tâ-vâ-tâ-khɨ | nà-jê=nà-jê lɛ / nà=jê-jê lɛ ‖
tê-cɔ-há | šɨ qay ɔ̀ 'After suffering all day and all night he
suddenly died'; mɔ̂ʔ-jê 'starve, suffer hunger' (second element
bound), mɔ̂ʔ-jê=mɔ̂ʔ-jê lɛ ~ mɔ̂ʔ=jê-jê lɛ 'suffering constantly from
hunger'. It is the subjective feeling of one of my chief infor-
mants that in cases of A-BB reduplication, the first element is
being treated as a sort of noun.

5.43 Cl_{nf}'s ending in the topicalizing P_{unf}'s $\bar{ɔ}$ and $l\grave{\varepsilon}$. The

P_{unf} $\underline{\bar{ɔ}}$ is used in Cl_{nf}'s to indicate either (a) that the preced-
ing verbal event as a whole is the topic which is to be commented
on later in the sentence (especially true when the preceding
material is a nominalized $\underline{ve}$-clause); or (b) at least that it is
set off more strongly than usual from the rest of the sentence
(especially the sequences $\underline{l\varepsilon}$ + $\underline{\bar{ɔ}}$ and $\underline{qo}$ + $\underline{\bar{ɔ}}$). $\bar{ɔ}$ does not occur
directly after verbs; the nominalizing P_{univ}'s $\underline{ve}$ or $\underline{th\hat{a}}$ and/or
the P_{unf}'s $\underline{qo}$ or $\underline{l\varepsilon}$ must intervene:[36] {$\underline{y\hat{ɔ}}$ | $\underline{q\hat{o}ʔ\ ve}$} $\underline{\bar{ɔ}}$ ¦ $\underline{\grave{a}-th\grave{ɔ}ʔ-}$
$\underline{ma\ le}$ 'What is it that he's saying?' ("As for his saying, what is
it?"); {$\underline{qhe\ te\ l\varepsilon\ \bar{ɔ}}$ || $\underline{y\grave{e}-m\acute{ɪ}}$ | $\underline{q\hat{ɔ}ʔ\ h\hat{o}ʔ\ c\pm\ t\bar{a}\ ve}$} $\underline{y\grave{ɔ}}$ 'Having done
this/thereupon, he had the door closed again'.

   In narrative style the extentive nadverb $\underline{qhe}$ is often added
to topicalizing $\bar{ɔ}$, with no other function than to demarcate what
precedes more sharply from what is to follow, or to give the
speaker an extra instant to think of what in fact he would like
to have follow:[37] {$\underline{qhe}$ $\underline{te}$ $\underline{l\varepsilon}$ $\underline{\bar{ɔ}-qhe}$ || $\underline{t\hat{e}}$ $\underline{p\hat{ɔ}ʔ}$ | $\underline{q\hat{ɔ}ʔ}$ $\underline{na-ni}$ $\underline{ve}$} $\underline{c\hat{e}}$
    AE$$V$$$P_{unf}$$$$P_{unf}$

'And so, thereupon he asked [the question] once more'.

   The P_{unf} $\underline{l\grave{\varepsilon}}$ is used in Cl_{nf}'s to set off the preceding
material as the topic that is to be commented on in the rest of
the sentence. $\underline{l\grave{\varepsilon}}$ has somewhat greater demarcative force than its
colleague $\bar{ɔ}$, and is used more sparingly than the latter. Unlike
$\bar{ɔ}$, $\underline{l\grave{\varepsilon}}$ does occur after naked verbs, but this usage is rare, being
confined almost exclusively to cases where the same verb is used
for emphasis in two consecutive VP's:[38] $\underline{n\hat{a}ʔ}$ $\underline{l\grave{\varepsilon}}$ || $\underline{n\hat{a}ʔ}$ $\underline{y\grave{ɔ}}$ $\underline{h\acute{\varepsilon}}$
 $V_1$$$$P_{unf}$$$$V_1$

'As far as being black is concerned, it probably $\underline{is}$ black';
{$\underline{h\partial ʔ}$ $\underline{l\grave{\varepsilon}}$ || $\underline{h\partial ʔ}$ $\underline{ve}$} $\underline{y\grave{ɔ}}$ 'If you're worried about whether or not
$\phantom{\{}$$V_1$$$$P_{unf}$$$$V_1$

we hit it, I can assure you that we did' ("As for hitting, we
hit it").

Much more commonly, nominalizing <u>ve</u> or the P_{unf} <u>qo</u> inter-
venes between the verb and <u>lè</u>: {qhâʔ qhɔ ɔ̄ ¦ šu a-kɛ́ ¦ phu | cɔ̀
mâ ve} <u>lè</u> ¦ Cà-lɔ̂ <u>yò</u> 'Jalaw is the one who has more money than
anyone else in the village' ("As for the one who has the most
money in the village, it's Jalaw"); {ŋà | dɔ̂ <u>ve</u>} <u>lè</u> | mâ qhɔ̀ʔ pî
tù hɛ́ 'What I think is, he'll probably never give it back';
lâthâbâ | mâ ga lâ qo <u>lè</u> || qhà-qhe te tù nā 'If the government
doesn't help us, I wonder what we'll do' ("As for if the govern-
ment...").

For the sequence <u>lɛ</u> + <u>è</u> (< /lɛ + lè/), after reduplicated
verbs in Cl_{nf}'s, see above 5.424.

5.44 The concessive-conjunctive P_{unf}'s thɔ̂, kàʔ, and nɛ́ in Cl_{nf}'s.

The P_{unf}'s <u>thɔ̂</u> and <u>kàʔ</u> are very similar in function. After nouns
[above 3.92d] they mean either 'also' or 'even'. In post-verbal
position in Cl_{nf}'s, <u>thɔ̂</u> is almost always translatable by 'even'
or one of its equivalents, while <u>kàʔ</u> retains both its 'also' and
'even' shades of meaning. In addition, each of these P_{unf}'s has
one or two distributional peculiarities which the other does not
share.

<u>(1) thɔ̂</u>. Alone at the end of a VP_{nf}, <u>thɔ̂</u> means 'even if; even
though; no matter if',[39] etc.: {mû-yè | là thɔ̂ || qay gâ ve} <u>yò</u>
'Even if it rains, I want to go'; yɔ̂ thàʔ ¦ šɛ̂ʔ pɔ̂ʔ ¦ nâʔ | bɔ̂ʔ
šē thɔ̂ || mâ š̱ɨ šē 'Even though they shot him three times, he
still didn't die'; {a-šàʔ | mâ ɨ̄ thɔ̂ || s̱ā-bɔ̂ʔ=pā≡ló | phè ̱ʔ ve} <u>yò</u>
'Even though he's young ("his age is not great"), he's a great
hunter'.

<u>thɔ̂</u> often appears in two successive Cl_{nf}'s, each of which
contains the same verb, which is negated in its second occur-
rence.[40] Alternatively <u>thɔ̂</u> may appear only after the second,
negated occurrence of the verb. In either case, the best trans-
lation is 'whether V or not': {dàʔ ←‖→ mâ dàʔ thɔ̂ || hɔ̂ʔ gâ ve}
<u>yò</u> 'I want to marry her, whether she's pretty or not'; yɔ̂ | š̱ɨ

thɔ̂ ←┼┼→ mâ šɨ thɔ̂ ‖ tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'I don't care whether he lives or dies' ("Even if he dies even if he doesn't die, it is nothing"). If the verbs in the successive clauses are not the same[41] they are usually contrastive in meaning, and the best translation is 'whether V$_1$ or V$_2$': yɔ̂ | chê thɔ̂ ←┼┼→ qay thɔ̂ ‖ šùʔ-šàʔ jâ 'Whether he stays or goes, he's a pain in the neck'.

The combination of an interrogative noun plus verb plus thɔ̂ is usually translatable by English indefinite expressions like 'whoever V's', 'whatever V's', 'no matter who V's', etc.: a-šu | qôʔ thɔ̂ ‖ ŋà ⫶ chi thàʔ | mâ yō pɨ 'No matter who says it, I can't believe it'; à-thòʔ-ma | te ŋā thɔ̂ ‖ qhɔ̂ʔ pí tù yò 'Whatever he borrows he'll return'; qhà-qhe phɛ̀ʔ thɔ̂ ‖ nɔ̂ thàʔ | ga lâ tù yò 'However it turns out/No matter what happens, I shall help you'; {qhà-ma | ɨ̄ ve} thɔ̂ ‖ câ phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'No matter how big it is, I can eat it'. The clause following thɔ̂ may contain a noun which answers the question of the thɔ̂-clause: {qhɔ̂ kàʔ | qay thɔ̂ ‖ ô kàʔ ⫶ Hêʔ-pā | chê ve} yò 'Wherever one goes, there are Chinese living there'.[42]

thɔ̂ + ɔ̄. The addition of the topicalizing P$_{unf}$ ɔ̄ adds a certain emphasis: --mû kàʔ | phɔ̂ʔ la=pâ-nê yò mɛ̄. --{phɔ̂ʔ e thɔ̂ ɔ̄ ‖ a-kɨ | tú ‖ qồʔ e ve} tí yò è̀ʔ 'It's almost dark now besides!' 'Even if it <u>does</u> get dark, all we have to do is light pine-torches to get home!'

thɔ̂ + kàʔ. Occasionally the P$_{unf}$ kàʔ follows its sister-concessive thɔ̂. There is little or no meaning difference between this sequence and either particle occurring alone: {mû-yè | là thɔ̂ kàʔ ‖ nê | ğa kù ve} yò 'No matter whether it rains or not, we must summon the spirits'.

thɔ̂ + -qɔ̂ʔ. The bound emphatic element -qɔ̂ʔ may be affixed to thɔ̂ in most constructions in which the latter participates: {qhà-ma | pɔ̂ ←┼┼→ qhà-qhe te thɔ̂-qɔ̂ʔ ‖ šu a-šó-yàʔ | ga lâ ve} yò 'No matter how much we spend or what we do, the government will help us'; hɛ qhɔ ⫶ ɨ́-kâʔ | yù qay thɔ̂-qɔ̂ʔ ‖ mâ lɔ̂ʔ hɛ́ 'Even

if we should take water to the fields, I doubt if it would be enough'. Again it seems certain that this use of -qɔʔ arose through the influence of the Shan or Thai conjunction kɔʔ 'then, so, thereupon' [above 5.414].

(2) kàʔ. After verbs in Cl$_{nf}$'s, the meaning of kàʔ is interpreted either as concessive ('although; even if') or conjunctive ('also'), depending on the context: mâ ğa e kàʔ ‖ mâ bɔʔ. ğa e kàʔ ‖ mâ ha-lὲ 'Even if I don't get it, I won't be angry -- (and) even if I do get it, I won't be glad'; šɨʔ-cὲ | mâ thu cɨ kàʔ ‖ tὲʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'Even if they don't let us chop down the trees, it doesn't matter'; {càʔ-pɔ̀ | yàʔ kɨ} | te kàʔ ‖ pɔ̀ ɔ̀ hέ 'They've probably finished making the airstrip too' ("Making the plane-come-down-place also is probably finished"); {dàʔ kàʔ | cɔ̀ ⟷ mâ dàʔ kàʔ | cɔ̀ ve} yɔ̀-pɔʔ 'There are both good ones and bad ones' ("Good also exist, not good also exist"); šɨʔ-cὲ | mâ thu cɨ kàʔ ‖ ŋà-hɨ ɔ-po | dɔ̂ hā jâ 'Their not letting us chop down the trees is also very distressing for us'/'Their also not letting us chop down the trees is very distressing for us'.[43] In this last example, a slightly different shade of meaning may be conveyed by using the kàʔ in the NP of its clause, rather than after the verb: {šɨʔ-cὲ kàʔ | mâ thu cɨ ve} ¦ ŋà-hɨ ɔ-po | dɔ̂ hā jâ 'Not letting us chop down even the trees/the trees either is very distressing for us'.

Often the kàʔ appears after nominalizing ve: {tê pɔʔ ¦ ɔ̄ | câ ve} kàʔ ¦ cà-qha ɔ̂ líʔ | pɔ̀ ve} qôʔ-ma 'At a single meal four liters of paddy are consumed' ("Even eating rice once, four liters of paddy are finished"); {ô-ve=phâ thàʔ ¦ ŋà ¦ tê pɔʔ kàʔ | mâ mɔ̀ jɔ ve} kàʔ ¦ {yɔ̂ àʔ | ni a qo ‖ chɔ-dàʔ qhe-lê | phὲʔ ve} yɔ̀ 'Despite the fact that I had never once seen that fellow before, when I took a look at him he seemed like a good sort'.

kàʔ may also occur in indefinite expressions of the type discussed under thɔ̂, above: qhà-qhe mā pî kàʔ ‖ yɔ̂ | mâ šī pɨ 'However you explain it to him, he can't understand'.

5.44(2)

V_1 + kàʔ || + V_1. Like the topicalizing P_{unf} lɛ̀ (but unlike thɔ̂), kàʔ may be used to set off a naked verb that is then repeated for emphasis in the next VP: g̈ɔʔ kàʔ || g̈ɔʔ mâ pɔ̀ s̆e̅ 'As for harvesting, I haven't finished it yet' ("[As for] harvesting too, harvesting isn't finished yet"); {i kàʔ || i jâ ve} yò 'Indeed it is quite little' ("As for being little, it is very little"). Exceptional occurrences of kàʔ in final noun-phrases. Occasionally kàʔ occurs in final NP's before a P_{uf}. This is certainly not enough to make us consider kàʔ to be a P_{univ} instead of a P_{unf}, however, since these sentences are plainly the result of the deletion of a final VP which the context has rendered unnecessary [see below 6a.2]:--ô ve ɔ-qhən qha=pɔ-ɛ̀ thàʔ | hâʔ qhɔʔ pî-ʔ.--chi tê mà kàʔ lâ 'Hurry up and give back all those
 ν P_{unf} P_{uf}

tools!' 'This one too?' (< e.g., {chi tê mà kàʔ | g̈a qhɔʔ pî
 P_{unf}

ve} lâ 'Do I have to give back this one too?').
 P_{uf}

(3) nɛ́. The P_{unf} nɛ́ is more colloquial than thɔ̂ or kàʔ, and its use is on the upswing among younger Black Lahu speakers. Semantically it is all but indistinguishable from the other two concessive-conjunctive particles: nɔ̀ ¦ Kôthêʔ | qay nɛ́ || ŋà tí qo | mâ qay g̈â 'Even if you do go to Bangkok, I myself don't want to go'; qhà-ma | cɔ̀ nɛ́ || yà-pî ɛ̀ʔ 'No matter how much there is, the hell with it!';[44] phu | mâ cɔ̀ nɛ́ || tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'Even if there's no money, it doesn't matter'. Often a nɛ́-clause is followed by a negated verb of ability, with the meaning 'can't even nɛ́-clause': í-mû | cî nɛ́ || mâ phὲʔ 'He can't even ride a horse'; Kɔ́lɔ́ ɔ̅-chí chi qhe ve | câ nɛ́ || mâ g̈à 'This kind of Northern Thai food we can't even eat'; mû-yè | là qo || ca khā̄n nɛ́ || mâ g̈à la s̆e̅ 'If it's raining, it won't even be possible to cross it [the river] yet'.

Post-nominal nɛ́ is also to be translated 'even': {cì nɛ́ | ší ɔ̀ ve} và 'Even my teeth have turned yellow already!'. Sometimes nɛ́ is used after a noun in the first of two contrastive sentences, to indicate that something in the second sentence compares unfavorably with the former. We might call this the 'nɛ́ of invidious comparisons': šu nɛ́ | qay pɔ̀ ɔ̀. nɔ̀ | mâ qay šē lâ 'The others have gone already. And you haven't gone yet?' ("Even the others have gone..."); šu ¦ yɛ̀-dɔ nɛ́ kà? | qha pɔ̀ ɔ̀. {nɔ̀ ve ɔ̄ ¦ chi mɔ-mɔ | te ve} ¦ chɔ | â mɔ̀ jɔ 'The others have even finished [driving in] their house-posts already. But yours -- I've never seen anyone like you, taking such a long time about it!' ("As for yours, doing it for such a long time, people have never seen"). As this last example shows, nɛ́ + kà? is a possible sequence within the same phrase.

* 5.45 **The 'lazy man's P_{unf}', è ~ e.** Some speakers in rapid collo-
quial style throw in a morpheme è ~ e in practically every non-final phrase, where it apparently may either follow or substitute for almost any other P_{unf}.[45] Often, but not always, the meaning is similar to kà?: (1) nɔ̀ hɛ è | qɔ̂ lɛ || cà?-pɔ̀=kho è | te
N P_{unf} N P_{unf}

lɛ || â hɔ̀ lɛ-lâ 'Cultivating your fields and working on the air-strip too -- aren't you tired?'. Here è = kà? 'also': "also your fields, also the airstrip". (2) {cà | ti pɔ̀ è || te lâ
$\phantom{{cà | }}$$V_h$ V_v P_{unf}

qo è || dà? jâ ve} qô?-ma lê 'If they had only done it for us
P_{unf} P_{unf}

after we had finished planting the paddy, it would've been a fine thing!'. Here the first è = temporal thâ (cà | ti pɔ̀ thâ 'when we had finished planting the paddy'), while the second è = topi-calizing ɔ̄ or lɛ̀ (serving to emphasize the conditional P_{unf} qo). (3) ca bà dà? qo è || mâ phɛ̀? 'I can't even get a divorce from
v V_h P_v

him'. Here è = kà? 'even'. (4) yɔ̂ ¦ cô ve tí | te qo e ||
V P_{unf} P_{unf}

nɛ́-qhɔ̀ʔ qo e ¦ {g̈a câ kɨ̀} | â mɔ̀ ò và 'If he really only
  N   P$_{unf}$ P$_{unf}$

plants that [field] over there, next year I don't see how he'll
have enough to eat!'. Here the e's behave like topicalizing
P$_{unf}$'s, enhancing the force of the conditional in the first
clause, and emphasizing the temporal noun nɛ́-qhɔ̀ʔ 'next year' in
the following clause.

5.5 Cl$_{nf}$'s ending in particles of more than one form-class.

5.51 V + P$_v$ + P$_{unf}$.

Frequently a non-final clause contains both
a P$_v$ and a P$_{unf}$ after the verb. There are few restrictions on
which P$_v$'s may precede qo, thɔ̂, and kàʔ; but more circumspection
is required when combining P$_v$'s with lɛ̀, ɔ̄, and lɛ̀. Possible P$_v$
+ P$_{unf}$ combinations are as follows:

Before qo. Almost all P$_v$'s may occur before qo. Thus, e.g., the
Group III change-of-state aspectual P$_v$ ò: ɔ̀ɔ ||| cɔ̂ ò qo || tâ
                                                      P$_v$ P$_{unf}$

qɔ̀ʔ ca pa mɛ̄ 'Well, if it's already correct now, don't go changing
it again!'. Not possible before qo are three imperative P$_v$'s of
Group IVa: s̆ā, vɨ̄, and lò. However, the other Group IVa particle,
intentive a, freely occurs before qo (câ a qo || nù a ni 'Smell
before you eat' ["If you intend to eat, try smelling": Proverb]),
as does the semantically similar Group IVb variant a-lâ: {ŋà |
g̈a g̈ɔ a-lâ qo || tê ni ¦ nɨ̂ qô? kàʔ | g̈a pɔ̀ ve} mɛ̄ 'If I really
get going reading, I can even finish two books a day'.

Before thɔ̂ and kàʔ. Any P$_v$ may precede the P$_{unf}$'s thɔ̂ and kàʔ,
except the Group IVa members s̆ā, vɨ̄, lò, and a. The Group IVb
P$_v$'s qha, pâ?, and qha-pâ? are among those that may precede thɔ̂
and kàʔ.

Before lɛ̀. With the suspensive P$_{unf}$ lɛ̀ the situation is more
complicated. (1) After the Group I P$_v$'s (dàʔ, və, e, la, tā,
lâ), both the causal P$_{univ}$ lɛ and the suspensive P$_{unf}$ lɛ̀ may
directly follow, so that genuine ambiguity exists: {qô? dàʔ lɛ ||
                                                     V P$_v$ P$_u$

á-qhɔ | qòʔ e ve} yò   a.   'Since they quarrelled, they returned home' [causal];   b.   'Having quarrelled, they went back home' [suspensive].   (2)   After Group II (gâ, jɔ, qhɛ, à) and Group III (tù, ò, sě, sɔ̌) P_v's, a particle pronounced /lɛ/ is bound to be interpreted as the causal P_{univ}.   The meanings of these P_v's (Group II 'subjective attitude', Group III 'aspect') seem to clash with the notion of an ordered series of events, though they are quite congruent with the idea of providing a reason or cause for an event.   (3)   Neither lɛ may occur after the Group IVa P_v's sā, vɨ, lò, though they both occur freely after a.   Causal and suspensive lɛ may both follow the Group IVb P_v's qha, a-lâ, qha-lâ: {bɔ̌ʔ dàʔ qha-lâ lɛ || yɔ̌=hɨ-mà nî ğâ | sɨ̌ sě ve} yò
　　　　　　V P_v P_v P_u

'Since they shot at each other, they both died'/'Having shot at each other, they both died'.

*Before ɔ̄ and lɛ̀. Neither of the two topicalizing P_{unf}'s, ɔ̄ and lɛ̀, occurs directly after any P_v.   Between the verb and the topicalizer other particles must intervene: either nominalizing ve or thâ, or some other P_{univ} or P_{unf} (especially qo or lɛ).   If such a 'filler' [above 4.72.11–4.72.12] does intervene, ɔ̄ and lɛ̀ may occur in series with any P_v except the Group IVa members a, sā, vɨ, lò, and the Group II asseverative P_v à.   In addition lɛ̀ (but not ɔ̄) is mutually exclusive with Group IVb qha.

5.52   V + P_{univ} + P_{unf}.
───────────────────────────

P_{univ} + qo.   Any of the P_{univ}'s (ve, thâ; cɛ, tí, tɛ̀, lɛ$_{causal}$) may directly precede qo: ô qhe | qôʔ lɛ   qo || tâ bɔ̌ʔ mɛ̄ 'If
　　　　　　　　　　　　　V P_{univ} P_{unf}

it's because he said that, please don't be angry'; {mâ là tɛ̀
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　V P_{univ}

ve} qo || à-thòʔ-ma | te tù le 'If they really don't come, what
P_u P_{unf}

will we do?'; {ô qhe | te ve} tí   qo   lɛ̀ || yàʔ-tɔ pɨ à 'If
　　　　　　　　　　　　　P_{univ} P_{unf} P_{unf}

that's just the way you do it, it's awfully embarrassing!'.

$*[\underline{P_{univ} + 1\varepsilon_{susp}}]$. No P_{univ} may occur in the same Cl_{nf} as the suspensive P_{unf} $\underline{1\varepsilon}$. In any sequence of $P_{univ} + \underline{1\varepsilon}$, the $\underline{1\varepsilon}$ can only be interpreted as the causal P_{univ}.

$\underline{P_{univ} + 1\grave{\varepsilon}/\bar{\jmath}/th\hat{\jmath}/k\grave{a}?}$. The remaining four P_{unf}'s behave identically with respect to which P_{univ}'s they may follow. They may all come directly after nominalizing <u>ve</u> and <u>thâ</u>, but none may follow causal <u>1ε</u>. After verbs in non-final clauses, they may follow <u>cε</u>, <u>tí</u>, and <u>tè</u>, but only if a <u>ve</u>-filler has nominalized the clause. After natural nouns in NP_{nf}'s, these four P_{unf}'s may follow <u>cε</u>, <u>tí</u>, and <u>tè</u> directly. See Figure 52.

FIGURE 52. $P_{univ} + 1\grave{\varepsilon}/\bar{\jmath}/th\hat{\jmath}/k\grave{a}?$

a.   <u>No</u>:

$$* V + \begin{pmatrix} c\varepsilon \\ t\acute{\imath} \\ t\grave{\varepsilon} \end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix} \underline{1\grave{\varepsilon}} \\ \bar{\jmath} \\ th\hat{\jmath} \\ k\grave{a}? \end{pmatrix}$$

$P_{univ}P_{unf}$

b.   <u>Yes</u>:

$$V + (t\grave{\varepsilon})^{46} + ve + \begin{pmatrix} c\varepsilon \\ t\acute{\imath} \end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix} \underline{1\grave{\varepsilon}} \\ \bar{\jmath} \\ th\hat{\jmath} \\ k\grave{a}? \end{pmatrix}$$

$P_{univ}P_{univ}P_{univ}P_{unf}$
nom

c.   <u>Yes</u>:

$$N + \begin{pmatrix} c\varepsilon \\ t\acute{\imath} \\ t\grave{\varepsilon} \end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix} \underline{1\grave{\varepsilon}} \\ \bar{\jmath} \\ th\hat{\jmath} \\ k\grave{a}? \end{pmatrix}$$
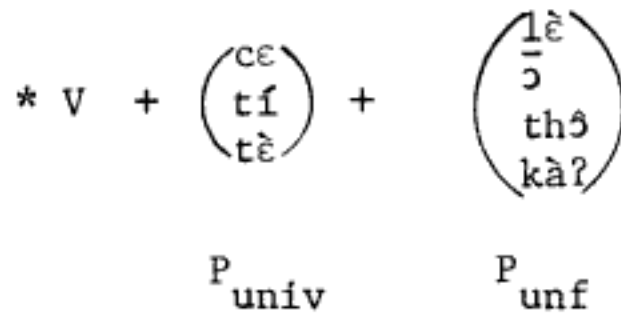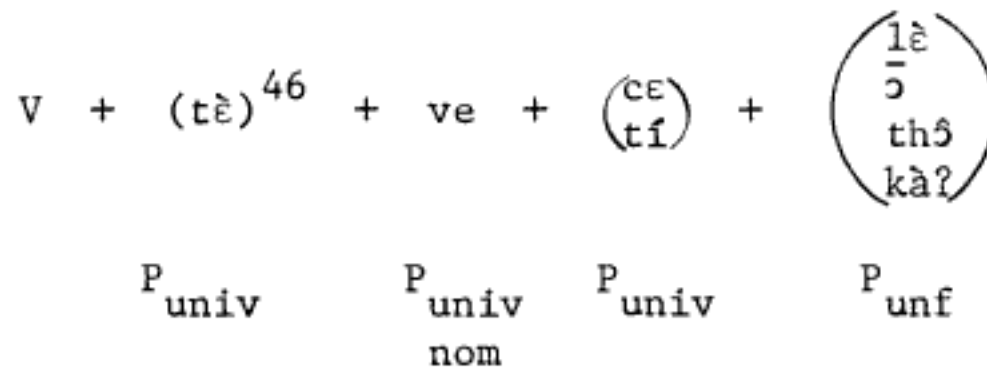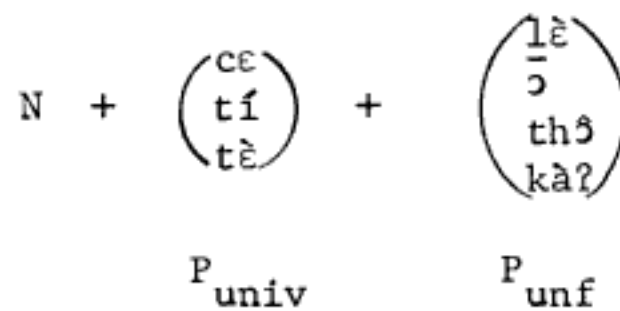
$P_{univ}P_{unf}$

As one random example: {<u>yɔ́</u> | <u>chè?-nà ve</u>} ¦ <u>qhà-qhe cε   kà?</u> ¦
$N_{intg}P_{univ}P_{unf}$

<u>yɔ́</u> | <u>yə-khān tù yɔ̀</u> 'No matter how much he itches, he'll suffer

through it' ("As for his itching, to whatever extent [it will be] he will be patient").[47]

5.53 $V + P_v + P_{univ} + P_{unf}$. The possible sequences of $P_v +$ $P_{univ} + P_{unf}$ may be deduced from the preceding sections.[48] A couple of random examples: {yŝ-hɨ | qòʔ e tù ve } thŝ || ŋà |
 V P$_v$ P$_v$ P$_{univ}$ P$_{unf}$

mâ qòʔ e s̆ē 'Even if they <u>will</u> go back, I'm not going back yet'; làʔ-s̆ɔ̄ | pèʔ lâ tɛ̀ qo lɛ̀ || nɔ | ha-lɛ̀ jâ qôʔ-ma 'If he
 V P$_v$ P$_{univ}$ P$_{unf}$ P$_{unf}$

really does give you a present, you'll be so happy!'.

5.6 <u>Compound minor sentences</u>. The final phrase of a compound sentence may be a NP instead of a VP, in which case the sentence is both compound and minor. Everything we have said about Cl_{nf}'s in compound sentences holds true for minor compound sentences as well. Exs: mâ na gâ lɛ || chɔ-qā yò 'Since he doesn't want to
 V P$_v$ P$_{univ}$ NP$_f$

listen, he's a fool'; ğa mâ tí ɔ̄ || Cà-lɔ hɛ́ lɛ̀ʔ 'Jalaw is
 V$_v$ V$_v$ P$_{univ}$ P$_{unf}$ N P$_{uf}$ P$_{uf}$

probably the only one who'll get a lot of them!' ("As for getting a lot, it's probably Jalaw!").[49]

5.7 <u>Review: the three types of unrestricted particles</u>. The three types of P_u pattern as in Figure 53a, b, c.

FIGURE 53

a. P_{univ}: occur with both VP$_{nf}$ and VP$_f$, NP$_{nf}$ and NP$_f$

ve		tɛ̀ [50]	
tɛ̀		ve	lɛ
ve	cɛ	tí	lɛ
thâ	tɛ̀		lɛ
	cɛ	tí	lɛ

5.53; 5.6; 5.7

b. P_{unf}: occur only with VP_{nf} and NP_{nf}

qo	thɔ̂ nɛ́	kà? -qɔ̀? ɔ̄ (-qhe)
lɛ		-qɔ̀? ɔ̄ (-qhe)
qo lɛ		lɛ̀ ∿ ɛ̀

c. P_{uf}: occur only with VP_f and NP_f

ve-ɔ̄					
yɔ̀ lɔ ɔ	hɛ́ lɔ	ɛ̀? nɛ̀-ɔ̄ lâ le nā̄	và ma qô?-ma lɛ̀? qô?-group[51]	nē	lê
		mɛ̄			
	yâ	ma	nē		

Sequences of a + b (P_{univ} + P_{unf}) and sequences of a + c (P_{univ} + P_{uf}) occur regularly in ordinary sentences. Sequences of b + c or c + b are found only as the end-product of one or another deletional or permutational transformation.

5.71 The paradoxical compound P$_{uf}$ yɔ̀-qo. There is one fairly

common particle sequence that seems to violate the statement made

in the last paragraph: yɔ̀ (P$_{uf}$) + qo (P$_{unf}$). The meaning of this

sequence is not at all conditional, as the presence of qo might

imply. The qo is rather functioning simply as an emphatic ele-

ment, so that there is no obstacle to considering the sequence as

just another of the several compound P$_{uf}$'s having yɔ̀ as first

constituent [see yɔ̀-a, yɔ̀-pɔ̀ʔ, above 4.721].[52] Exs: {dàʔ ve}

yɔ̀-qo 'That's just fine!'; {vàʔ-g̈âʔ | ca hu lɛ || hɔ̂ a lɛ || vɨ

lɛ̂ʔ ve} tí yɔ̀-qo 'We should just earn a living from raising pigs

and chickens, selling them and buying them!'; {á-š̆ɨ̀ʔ kàʔ ¦ nɔ̀-hɨ

àʔ | <<tê gɛ | te-ʔ || tê gɛ | te-ʔ>> qôʔ ve} ¦ chi yɔ̀-qo 'My
                                                        N

telling you all before "Do it together, do it together!" was just

for this reason!'. Typically, as in these examples, yɔ̀-qo crops

up either in 'natural' minor sentences or after clauses that have

been nominalized by ve.

5.71

Chapter VI

COMPLEX SENTENCES

6.0 Introduction: what we shall consider in this chapter. A
complex sentence is one which contains an embedded clause; that
is, a sentence which includes within itself one or more smaller
sentence-like entities. These embedded clauses are of several
types: 1) nominalized clauses, which function like unitary natu-
ral nouns in the context of the whole sentence; 2) purpose
clauses, which are subordinate to the main verb of the sentence;[1]
3) quotative clauses, which are governed by a verb of saying in
the main clause; and 4) relative clauses, which modify some noun
in the sentence.

   Two important types of sentences which we do not consider to
be complex are these: a) ordinary compound sentences, where the
Cl_{nf} does not contain either of the nominalizing P_{univ}'s ve or
thâ; and b) sentences which include ve or thâ in their final
clause. In an ordinary compound sentence, the Cl_{nf} may or may
not be semantically subordinate to the Cl_{f}, but in any event the
former is not encapsulated in the final clause, nor does it func-
tion as a unitary constituent of the latter.[2] Sentences contain-
ing ve or thâ in their final clause we do consider to be nomi-
nalized [above 5.21-5.22], but not complex, since there is no
question of this nominal structure being embedded into anything
larger than itself.[3] Rather, such utterances are nothing more
than a special type of minor sentence.[4] Nevertheless, they are

[435]

6.0

of great theoretical interest, and we shall have more to say about
them in a special section below [6.118].

* 6.01 Causative sentences revisited. There remains one truly
complex sentence-type that we have chosen to treat elsewhere:
these are causative sentences. For a variety of reasons[5] we have
already dealt with these in the context of verb-concatenations
[above 4.35] from the point of view of the surface grammar. Yet
it is easy to convert our analysis of causatives into more for-
malistic generative terms, where we can make graphically clear
such (not particularly surprising) facts as that the causee of the
main clause is the underlying agent of the embedded clause. Thus
a sentence like ɔ-pa ¦ ɔ-yâ=pā thàʔ ¦ šɨʔ-cɛ̀ | thu cɨ tù yò 'The
father will make his son chop down the tree', where ɔ-pa 'father'
is the agent governing the causative V_v cɨ, ɔ-yâ=pā 'son' is the
causee of cɨ and simultaneously the agent of thu 'chop down', and
šɨʔ-cɛ̀ 'tree' is the object of thu, may be assigned a deep struc-
ture like that of Figure 54. Note that we posit a deep ordering
where all NP's in a clause precede the clause's VP, where Aux
follows V, and where final unrestricted particles follow every-
thing else. The causative transformation will optionally attach
the accusative P_n thàʔ to the causee.

6.011 Devices available for multiple causative embeddings. If
it is desired to embed a causative sentence within a higher causa-
tive sentence (e.g., 'God made the evil spirit make the boy kick
the dog'), this cannot be done by using cɨ twice within the same
surface VP. Rather, one must embed the cɨ-clause within a higher
causative purpose-clause [below 6.21]: {gɨ-ša ¦ →nê-hāy thàʔ ¦
ɔ-yâ=pā thàʔ ¦ phɨ | thêʔ cɨ tù̵ te ve}, literally "God did (in
such a way that) the evil spirit made the boy kick the dog". See
Figure 55. However, in the event that the more deeply embedded
verb in the sentence is one which has preserved a unitary fos-
silized causative partner in modern Lahu [above 1.643], e.g., cā
'feed' (< *ʔ-dza) / câ 'eat' (< *dza), the purposive construction

6.01; 6.011

FIGURE 54.   Deep Structure of a Causative Sentence

FIGURE 54.   Deep Structure of a Causative Sentence

FIGURE 55.   A Causative Purpose-clause[6]

FIGURE 55.   A Causative Purpose-clause[6]

may be postponed for one further degree of embedding: the higher causative can be a cɨ-clause while the lower one contains the fossil. See Figure 56.

FIGURE 56. Fossilized Multiple-causation

{ɔ-e ¦ yâ-mî thà? ¦ ɔ-yâ=pā thà? ¦ ɔ̄ | cā cɨ ve}

'The mother had her daughter feed her son rice.'

$$V_{caus}\ (c\hat{a} +FOSS\ CAUS) \rightarrow c\bar{a}$$
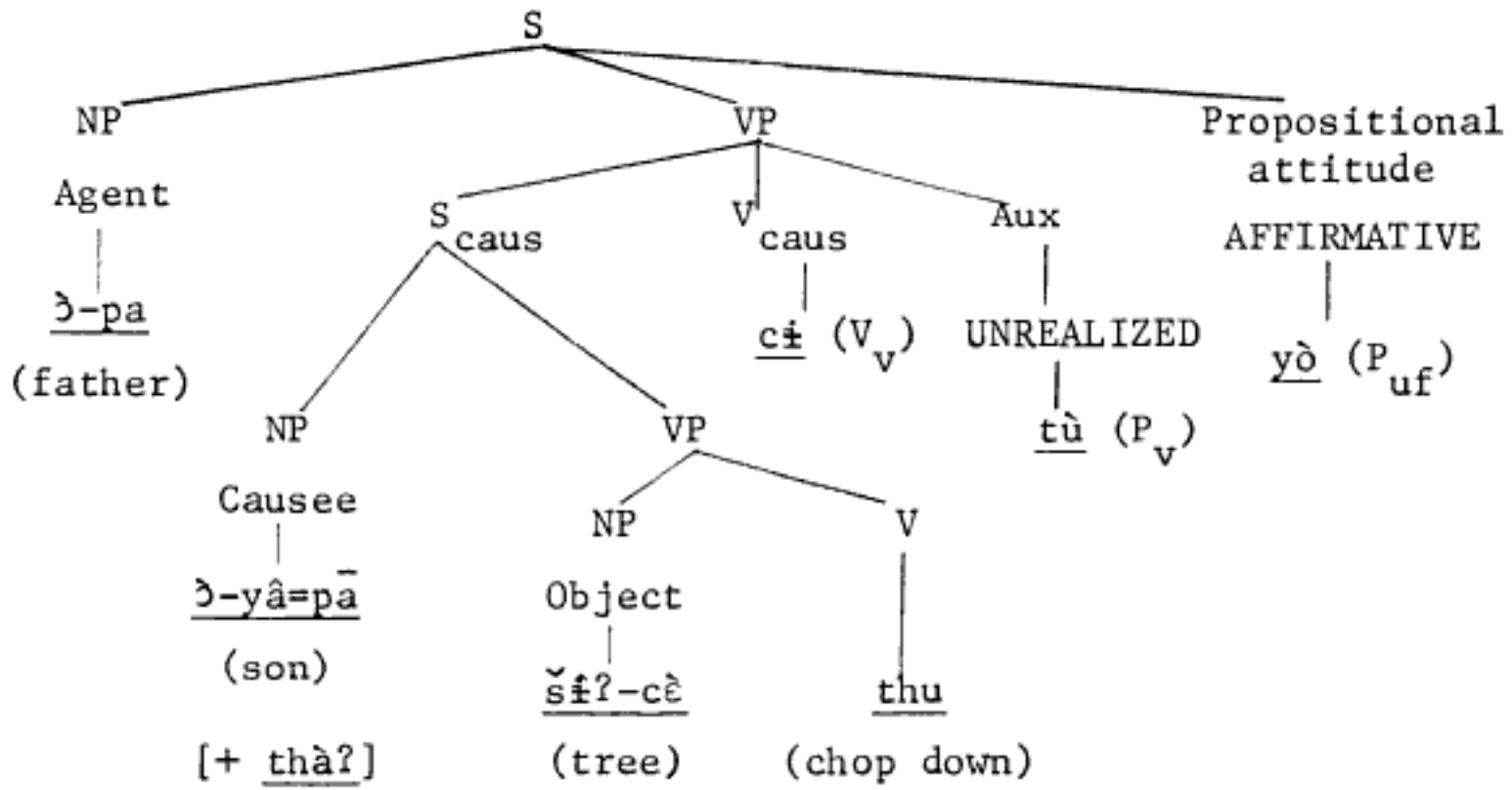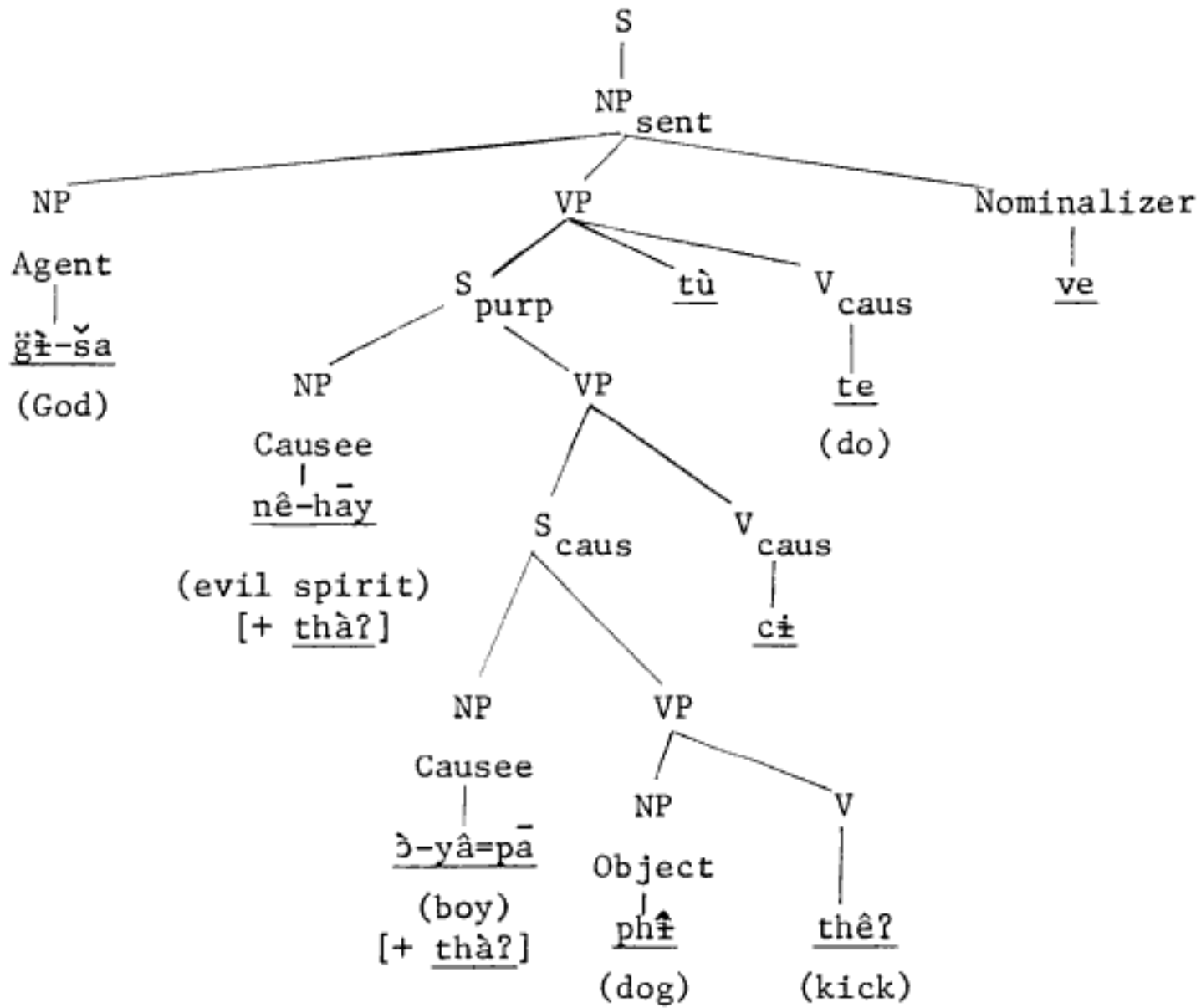
It is then possible to embed a second-degree causative sentence
like that of Figure 56 into a higher causative purpose-clause, so
that a depth of three embeddings is attained. That should be
enough for anybody. See Figure 57.

FIGURE 57.   Causative Embedding to the Third Degree

{ɔ-e ¦ →yâ-mî thà? ¦ ɔ-yâ=pā thà? ¦ mɛ́-ni (thà?) ¦ ɔ̄ | cā cɨ tù←
te ve}

'The mother had her daughter make her son feed the cat rice.'

S
|
NP sent
NP Agent — VP — Nominalizer
ɔ-e (mother)
S purp — tù — V caus
ve
V caus — te
NP Causee
yâ-mî (daughter) [+ thà?]
S caus — V caus
cɨ
NP Causee
ɔ-yâ=pā (son) [+thà?]
S caus — V caus
ø
NP Causee
mɛ́-ni (cat) [±thà?]
VP
NP Object
ɔ̄ (rice)
V
câ (eat) +FOSSIL CAUSAT
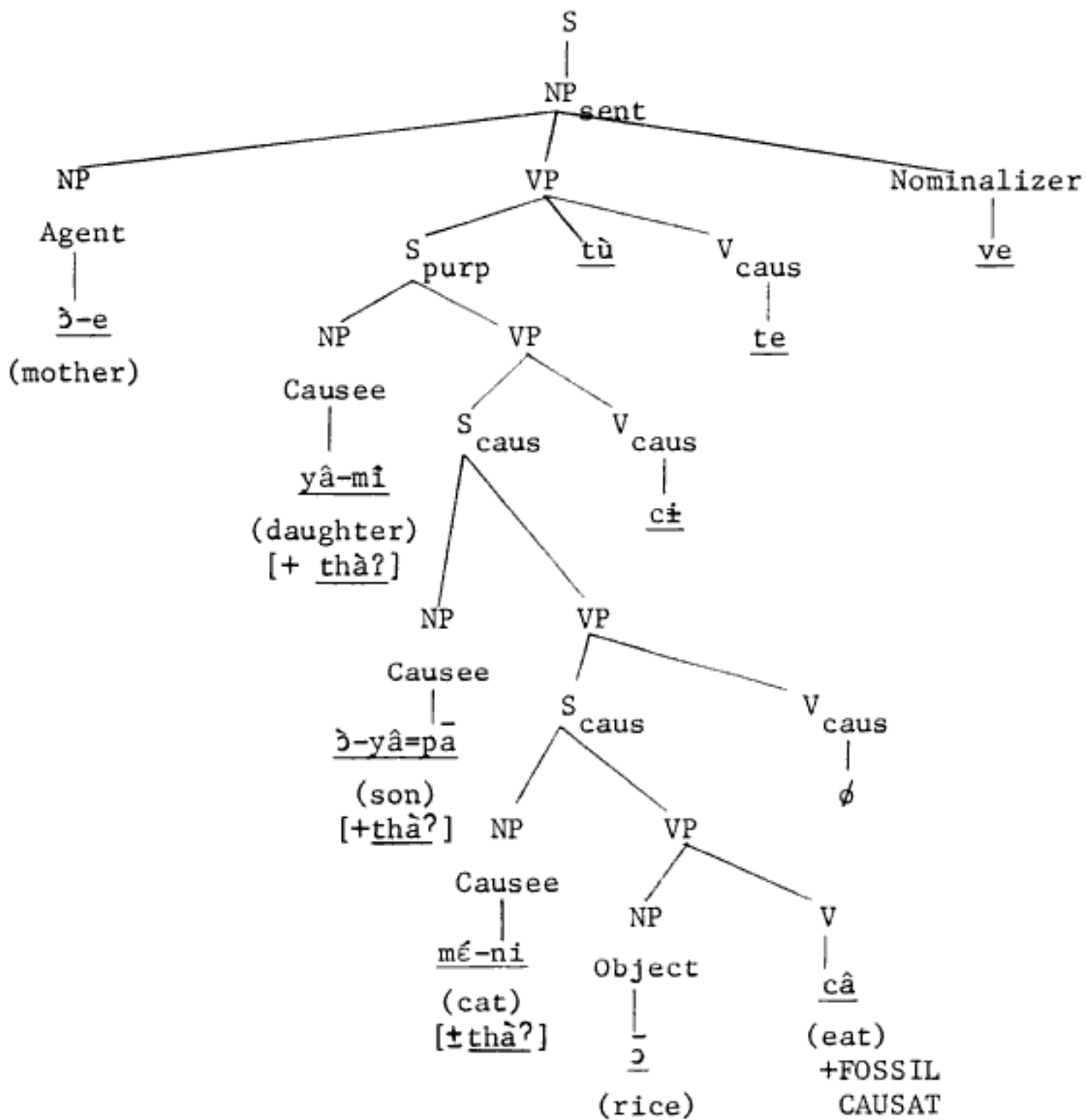
6.1 Nominalized clauses. Lahu has a rich array of devices for converting clauses into derived nouns, which can then play any nominal role in a larger sentence. The embedded nominalized clause we may refer to as the 'Cl$_{nom}$'; the larger, embedding sentence is the 'matrix sentence' (S$_{mtx}$). The nominalization itself is effected by means of one or another <u>deverbative</u> <u>particle</u> (P$_{dev}$).[7] Two of the P$_{dev}$'s are universal unrestricted particles (<u>ve</u> and <u>thâ</u>); the others (p̄a, ma, šɛ-phâ, šɛ-ma; kɨ; tù) are verb-particles.

We conventionally enclose Cl$_{nom}$'s in curly brackets.

6.11 Embedded ve-clauses: indicative nominalizations. Most important of all embedding devices is the indicative P$_{univ}$ <u>ve</u>. A non-final <u>ve</u>-clause has a generalized meaning which may be translated by such English deverbative constructions as '(the fact) that V...', '(the act of) V'ing...', 'to V...', 'to be V$_{adj}$...', etc. Sometimes a single abstract noun is the English translation of choice: {yǝn-khān pɨ ve} ¦ ŋà-hɨ ɔ-po ¦ ɔ-bo | cɔ jâ 'Patience ("being able to be patient") is a great virtue for us'.

Any sustained Lahu conversation will turn up countless examples of these Cl$_{nom}$'s ending in <u>ve</u>, serving as the topics of their S$_{mtx}$'s: (1) {nɔ | là ve} ¦ ŋà | ha-lɛ̀ jâ 'I'm very happy <u>that you came</u>' ("As for your coming, I'm very happy"). (2) mû-cha | hɔ jâ qo || {yàʔ-qɔ | jû qay ve} | hā jâ qôʔ-ma 'If the sun is too hot, <u>walking along a road</u> is very unpleasant!' (3) {nɔ-pa ve ɔ-khɔ̂ | mâ na ve} | dàʔ ve lâ[8] 'Is it good <u>not to listen to</u> <u>your father's advice</u>?' (4) {mâ-thê-mâ-cɔ̂ ve} ¦ {ni-ma=ɨ=ni-ma=mu ve} ¦ {gɨ-ša a-lō | mâ cɔ̂ ve} ¦ {mâ yǝn-khān pɨ ve} ¦ ŋà-hɨ ɔ-qhɔ | qha-bɨ cɔ ve yɔ̀ 'Being unjust and crooked, being proud and haughty, not following the will of God, being impatient — [these things] are all-too-frequent among us.'[9] (5) {ŋà-hɨ thàʔ ¦ Kâlâ-phu=khɔ̂ | mā lâ chê ve} ¦ cɨ-kɨ | cɔ jâ '<u>Your continuing</u> <u>to teach us English</u> is very important to us.' (6) {nɔ ¦ ɨ-kâʔ | lɔ̂ pɨ ve} ¦ ŋà | mâ šī 'I didn't know <u>that you could swim</u>.'

(7) {yàʔ-qɔ chi ¦ hɛ qhɔ | gà tù ve} | mâ v̀ɨ ò 'It's not far anymore to get to the fields by this road.'[10]   (8) {ŋ̂â na̅lɨ̅ | mâ gà ve} ¦ nɨ̂ chi minɨ̀ʔ | cɔ̂ s̆ɔ̅ 'It's twenty minutes to five' ("As for not reaching five o'clock, there are still twenty minutes"). (9) {chɔ | là tù ve} | a-cɨ́-cɨ́ mâ hêʔ 'Hordes of people will come' ("People's future coming is not a tiny bit").[11]   (10) {ŋà-h̀ɨ | mâ ğa mɔ̂ dàʔ ve} | mɔ jâ ò 'It's been so long since we've met' ("Our not managing to meet each other is a very long time already").   (11) {yɔ̂ ve khɨ̆-s̆ɛ thàʔ ¦ pɨ́ | chèʔ lâ ve} ¦ yɔ̂ | bɔ̀ʔ jâ ve cê 'He got very angry at the mosquitoes' biting him on the feet' ("As for the mosquitoes' biting him on the feet, he got very angry").   (12) {mâ qɔ̂ʔ te ve} ¦ tê chi qhɔ̂ʔ | gà ò 'I haven't done that for ten years now' ("My-not-doing-that-again has now reached ten years").   (13) {chò kàʔ ¦ chê a̅ ve} | qɔ̂ʔ qay ò lâ 'Has he gone back from here yet?' ("As for his having been here, has he gone back already?").   (14) {là | phɔ̂ʔ ve} ¦ {chi qhe | te ve} lɛ̀ ¦ ɔ̅ | mâ ğa câ o 'As for picking tea, by doing it this way you can't earn a living!'[12]

6.110 **Non-final ve-clauses plus P_{unf}'s.** As we have seen in Chapter V, non-final ve-clauses may freely be followed by non-final unrestricted particles. Thus, {mû-yè | là ve} qo ¦ ɨ́-mû | $$P_{unf}$$ mâ ğa cɨ̂ qay hɛ́ 'If it rains ("if it is a case of its raining") we probably won't be able to go on horseback'. Such sentences, strictly speaking, are not compound, since the ve-clause is functioning quite analogously to a natural NP. (Compare sentences like Lâhu̅-yâ qo ¦ ɨ́-mû | mâ ğa cɨ̂ qay hɛ́ 'If it's a Lahu, he
$_{N}_{P_{unf}}$
probably won't be able to go on horseback'.) Nevertheless, in order to stress the parallel semantic behavior of the P_{unf}'s both in ordinary Cl_{nf}'s and after non-final ve-clauses, we have chosen to discuss these $Cl + ve + P_{unf}$ constructions above, under 'Compound sentences', 5.4.

* * *

We turn now to certain special types of non-final <u>ve</u>-
clauses that are of particular interest:

<u>6.111 Periphrastic negatives</u>. We have seen above [4.411(2)]
that there is a more emphatic alternative to the simple negation
of verbs. Instead of merely preposing the adverb <u>mâ</u> to the verb,
the verb (along with any associated NP's it may have) may be
nominalized by <u>ve</u> and embedded as the topic of the final clause
<u>mâ hê?</u> 'is not the case': <u>šī dà?</u> 'know each other' → <u>mâ šī dà?</u>
          $\underset{V}{} \underset{P_v}{}$

'do not know each other' (simple negation) → {<u>šī dà? ve</u>} | <u>mâ hê?</u>
'id.' (periphrastic or clausal negation). Semantically this peri-
phrastic negation implies that one is correcting the erroneous
impression that the verbal event is the case ('You evidently
thought they <u>did</u> know each other, but in fact they <u>don't</u>').[13]

Any NP's associated with the verb to be negated remain in
the nominalized clause: {<u>yɔ̂ tí qo ¦ tê gɛ ¦ šā</u> | <u>ca bɔ̂? qay ve</u>} |
<u>mâ hê?</u> 'He's not going hunting with us' ("His-going-together-to-
shoot-animals is not the case"); {<u>yɔ̂ ¦ yɛ̀ ɔ-šɨ ¦ tê ĝâ tí</u> | <u>te
ve</u>} | <u>mâ hê?</u> 'He didn't build the new house all by himself'
("That-he-built-the-new-house-by-himself is not the case").

It often happens that the verb to be negated is followed by
a P_v like <u>tù:</u> <u>mâ qay tù</u> 'will not go' → {<u>qay tù ve</u>} | <u>mâ hê?</u>
'id.'. In these cases, both the P_v and the <u>ve</u> may remain in the
periphrastically negated clause, or alternatively the <u>ve</u> may be
deleted after the nominalization takes place [see below 6.117]:
{<u>qay tù</u>} | <u>mâ hê?</u> 'id.'. This <u>ve</u>-deletion is not possible unless
there is some other particle to demarcate the verb from the <u>mâ
hê?</u>. (*<u>qay mâ hê?</u> is ungrammatical.)

After a verb has been negated periphrastically, the P_{unf} <u>kà?</u>
'even' may be postposed to the <u>ve</u>-clause for even greater empha-
sis: {<u>qay ve</u>} <u>kà?</u> | <u>mâ hê?</u> '(He) didn't even go'.[14] Once <u>kà?</u>
has been inserted, we are then free to delete the <u>ve</u>: {<u>qay</u>} <u>kà?</u> |

mâ hê? 'id.'. The fact that ve-deletion is possible only if some
particle (from whatever source) remains after the verb is a good
illustration of a purely 'surface' constraint.

6.112 ve-clauses as the object of te 'do'. The verb te 'do' has
the most general meaning of all Lahu verbs, and is used in many
constructions where its presence is all but otiose from a semantic
standpoint.[15] When te appears after a non-final ve-clause, the
latter is its object.[16] The meaning is slightly more emphatic
than if the te were omitted and the ve-clause were to come last
in the sentence. {NP | V + ve} + te is to be translated (or
over-translated) by such expressions as 'what NP did was to V';
'NP did indeed V'; 'it is the case that NP V's'. Thus the sen-
tence {ɔ̄ | câ ve} lâ 'Are you eating [rice]?' may be recast as
{{ɔ̄ | câ ve} | te ve} lâ 'Is it that you're eating?' ("Are you
doing rice-eating?"). Similarly, {qhá-jù-lu chi ɔ̀-qhɔ lo ¦ yɔ̂-hɨ
| lɔ̀? ve} cê 'They went right inside the basket' may be converted
to {{qhá-jù-lu chi ɔ̀-qhɔ lo ¦ yɔ̂-hɨ | lɔ̀? ve} | te ve} cê 'What
they did was to go right inside the basket' ("They did a going-
right-inside-the-basket").

When the P_{univ} tí 'only' is introduced after a ve-clause
that is the object of te ({NP | V + ve} + tí + te), the meaning
is well translated by 'all NP does is V': {{yɔ̂-hɨ ¦ tê ni le-le |
yà? dà? ve} tí | te ve} 'All they do every day is quarrel with
each other' ("They do only an every-day-quarrelling-with-each-
other").

When the P_v tù (unrealized action) is found in a ve-clause
before te, the combined meaning is 'do in such a way that ve-
clause', or, in more idiomatic English, 'try to ve-clause':[17]
{[bɔ̂?-pɛ̄ tā ve] chɨ=pí-qwè? thà? | ca hɔ̀? tù ve} | te chê šɔ̄
'They're still trying to retrieve the barking-deer they've shot'.
If the ve is omitted from this construction, with the tù being
kept as the final morpheme of the clause governed by te, we are
left with an almost completely synonymous sentence that is now to

6.112

be analyzed as containing an embedded <u>purpose clause</u> [below 6.22]:
→[bɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄ tā ve] chɨ=pí-qwɛ̂ʔ thàʔ │ ca hɔ̂ʔ tù̆ te chê šɔ̆.

<u>6.113 ve-clauses as the subject of the stative verb cɔ̀</u>. A <u>ve</u>-
clause is frequently found embedded as the subject of the verb <u>cɔ̀</u>
'have; be there', with a meaning one could translate literally as
'there exists the fact that <u>ve</u>-clause'; 'one has for consideration
the fact that <u>ve</u>-clause'. Thus, [mâ chɛ̀ʔ pɨ́ ve] nê ô ve tê cɔ̀
lɛ̂ ¦ {ŋà-hɨ │ te ve} cɛ tí │ cɔ̀ qôʔ-ma 'As for the kind of spirits
which cannot bite us, all there is [for us to do] is to attend
them' ("only our-attending-them exists").[18]

<u>6.114 ve-clauses plus extentive nouns</u>. (a) It will be remem-
bered that N_{ext}'s of the '<u>a-kɛ́</u> class' are distinguished by the
fact that they occur not only after natural nouns, but after
nominalized <u>ve</u>-clauses as well [above 3.63]. Thus, with <u>a-kɛ́</u>
'more than': qhâʔ-šɛ a-kɛ́ ¦ yɔ́ ¦ cû-yɨ̄-mā-yɨ̄ │ cɔ̀ mâ qôʔ-ma 'He
                N_h N_{ext}
has much more education than the headman!'; {yà?-qɔ │ jû qay ve}
a-kɛ́ ¦ ɨ́-mû │ cɨ́ qay gâ 'I'd like to go on horseback rather than
N_{ext}
going on foot' ("More than going-walking-the-road I want to go
riding a horse"). Similarly with <u>dê-dê</u> 'all': hɔ̂-qhâʔ=pā dê-dê
                                                        N_h N_{ext}
yɔ̀ 'They are all men'; {và? chi tê phā │ chu ve} dê-dê yɔ̀ 'These
                                                   N_{ext}
pigs are all fat' ("These-pigs'-being-fat is an exhaustive group").

   (b) N_{ext}'s of the '<u>qhe</u> class' occur adverbially as well as
after natural nouns and nominalized <u>ve</u>-clauses [above 3.64].
Thus, <u>qhe</u> 'like; thus': {qhe ğa te ve} yɔ̀ 'It must be done this
                              Adv V V_h
                                  v
way' [adverbial]; {Kɔ́lɔ́ qhe ¦ kán │ te chê ve} 'He's working like
                    N_h N_{ext}
a Northern Thai' [after natural noun]; {{šālā-ğūn │ qô? lâ ve}
qhe │ ğa te ve} yɔ̀ 'We have to do as the doctor tells us to'
N_{ext} [after <u>ve</u>-clause].

6.113; 6.114

Similarly with <u>qhe-lê</u> 'just like; as if': ⟨ yɔ́ ¦ {ɔ̀-chɔ̂ | š̆ɨ
e ve} <u>qhe-lê</u> | hɔ̀ chê ve ⟩ yò 'He's crying as if his friend had
N_{ext}
died'.

(c) The Shan-derived noun <u>šwî?</u> 'the utmost; the best of its   *
kind'[19] is in a class by itself as far as the limitations on its
occurrence are concerned, though semantically it does least
violence to group it with the extentive nouns. <u>šwî?</u> may not
appear autonomously, alone in its nucleus: *<u>šwî?</u> <u>thà?</u> | <u>tâ yù</u>
'Don't take the best one'. Rather, it is limited to two construc-
tions, in both of which it is subordinate to another nominal in
the nucleus: <u>1. šwî? as possessor nucleus</u>. <u>šwî?</u> may appear as
the possessor nucleus of a genitive construction, where it modi-
fies the possessed head in a way similar to the English 'of the
best' in 'a wine of the best': <u>šwî? ve mí-chɔ thà?</u> | <u>tâ yù</u> 'Don't
take the best shoulder-bag'. More often than not, the possessed
head is deleted:[20] <u>šwî? ve</u> ☐ <u>thà?</u> | <u>tâ yù</u> 'Don't take the best
one'; <u>chi tí qo</u> ¦ <u>šwî? ve</u> ☐ <u>yò</u> 'As for this, it's (of) the
best'. In a way reminiscent of the stative adverbials [4.422],
<u>šwî?</u> in possessor nuclei may optionally be followed by the sub-
ordinating particle <u>è</u> (whether or not the possessed head has been
deleted): <u>šwî? è ve mí-chɔ yò</u> 'It's a topnotch shoulder-bag';
<u>chi lè</u> ¦ <u>šwî? è ve</u> ☐ <u>yò</u> 'This is really an excellent thing'.
<u>2. šwî? after adjectival ve-clauses</u>. The other syntactic role
<u>šwî?</u> may play is that of an extentive noun modifying a preceding
<u>ve</u>-clause whose verb is a V_{adj}: <u>í-š̆ī chi tê cɔ̀</u> ¦ {<u>dà? ve</u>} <u>šwî?</u>
<u>yò hɛ̂</u> 'This kind of fruit is probably the best' ("As for this kind
of fruit, it's probably a goodness-maximum"). There is nothing
stopping <u>šwî?</u> from serving simultaneously as the modifier of a
preceding <u>ve</u>-clause and the possessor of a following possessed
head (deleted or not). Thus: {<u>ɨ̄ ve</u>} <u>šwî? ve</u> (<u>mí-chɔ</u>) <u>thà?</u> | <u>tâ</u>
<u>yù</u> 'Don't take the biggest (shoulder-bag)' ("Don't take the
[shoulder-bag] of the utmost bigness"); <u>yɔ̂ mɛ̂?-phû</u> ¦ {<u>dà? ve</u>}

šwî? ɛ̀ ve ☐ yò 'Her face is the prettiest of all' ("As for her face, it's [a face] of a prettiness-maximum").

* * *

Nominalized ve-clauses plus extentive-noun constructions bear a resemblance to relative clauses, if the extentive noun is regarded as the 'relative head' (N_{rh}). See below 6.47, 'Nominalizing ve versus relative ve'.

6.115 ve-clauses followed by noun-particles. The absolute proof that ve-clauses are nominalizations is the fact that they may be followed by two members of the class of P_n's, pa-tɔ 'because of' and thà? 'accusative'.

a. {NP | V + ve} + pa-tɔ[21] 'because of the fact that NP V's': {yɔ̂ ¦ hɛ | mâ ǧa phɔ̂ pɔ̀ šē ve} pa-tɔ ¦ hɛ | tú mâ phɛ̀? šē 'Due to the fact that he still hasn't finished clearing his field, he can't fire it yet'.

b. {NP | V + ve} + thà?: When a ve-clause is the logical object of the following verb, it may optionally[22] have this relationship signalled by the P_n thà? ∿ à?. Thus: {nɔ̂ | là ve} thà? ¦ ŋà | ha-lɛ̀ jâ 'I rejoice in the fact that you have come';[23] {yɔ̂ ɔ̀-yâ= pā ¦ ɔ̀-mî=ma | bà tù ve} thà? ¦ nɔ̂ | mâ šī še lâ 'Don't you know yet that his son is going to divorce his wife?'; {nɔ̂-hɨ thà? ¦ hɛ ɔ̀-šɨ́ | thu cɨ ve} thà? ¦ ŋà | mâ yō pɨ 'I can't believe they're letting you clear new fields';⟨{yɔ̂ ¦ chɔ | dà? ve} thà? ¦ ŋà | khān ve⟩yò 'I guarantee that he's a good person'; ⟨{⟨ chɔ nî ǧâ | yɨ̀? lɔ̂? qhe-cɛ ⟩ ɨ ve} thà? | ǧa mɔ̂ ve ⟩ cê 'They found that it was big enough for two people to sleep in'.[24] These sentences bear some resemblance to quotative utterances [below 6.3], in that the main verb is often a verb of saying or cognition.

The verb in the S_{mtx} that governs a ve-clause + thà? is often te 'do' [above 6.112]: {ǧa câ mâ ve} à? | te cɔ̂ qô?-ma 'You really ought to do [in such a way] that you'll earn a good living' ("...that you'll get a lot to eat");⟨ qhɔ-qhô-lɔ̂-qhô=yâ ¦

6.115

{šu lɔ | šu̅ la tù ve} thàʔ | te chɛ̂ ve ⟩ 'The hill-tribes are
trying to become the same as other people'; ⟨ yɛ̀-mí qhɔ | šûʔ *
qo ‖ {nà-bɔ̀ | phɔ e ša ve} thàʔ | te ve ⟩ yɔ̀ 'If you perform the
fork-waving ceremony[25] in the doorway, you make it easy for the
sickness to flee'.

   We have noted that ve is usually suppressed after a negated
verb [above 4.711]. This omission is sometimes possible even if
the verb belongs to an embedded object-clause followed by thàʔ:
{nɔ̀ ¦ lìʔ | mâ g̈ɔ pɛ́} thàʔ ¦ ŋà | mâ ši̅ 'I didn't know that you
couldn't read [books]'. In generative terms, the embedding of
the ve-clause occurs 'before' the deletion of the ve.

6.116 Non-quantifiability of ve-clauses. Unlike natural nouns,
ve-clauses may not be quantified. When a Num + Clf appears after
such a clause, it is interpreted either as belonging to a separate
NP from the ve-clause, or else as the relative head of the latter,
with the ve taken as the marker of a relative rather than a nomi-
nalized clause. Thus, in the sentence {yɔ̂ | yù vɔ la ta̅ ve} šɛ̂ʔ
khɛ | cɔ̀ šɔ̅, the Q šɛ̂ʔ khɛ 'three animals' may be understood as
being (1) a different NP from the nominalized clause {yɔ̂ | yù vɔ
la ta̅ ve} 'he has brought (it)'/'that which he has brought':
{yɔ̂ | yù vɔ la ta̅ ve} ¦ šɛ̂ʔ khɛ | cɔ̀ šɔ̅ 'As for what he has
brought, three animals still remain'. (2) Alternatively, the
clause may be interpreted as a relative one, modifying šɛ̂ʔ khɛ:
[yɔ̂ | yù vɔ la ta̅ ve] šɛ̂ʔ khɛ | cɔ̀ šɔ̅ 'The three animals which he
has brought still remain'.

6.117 Deletion of ve from nominalized clauses. At several points
in our discussion we have mentioned the fact that ve is sometimes
deleted from a nominalized clause. In this section we assemble
these bits of information in one place for ease of reference,
starting from the more specialized situations where ve is deleted,
and proceeding to the more general cases.

(1) ve-deletion in the first of two equi-verbal co-clauses.[26]
When two embedded clauses of parallel or contrastive meaning are

6.116; 6.117; 6.117(1)

juxtaposed as the topic of a S$_{mtx}$, it is usual to omit the ve
from the first clause of the pair: ⟨{chò | dɔ̂ ve} ↔ {ô | dɔ̂
ve} tí qo lὲ | â te ve ⟩ yò ná → ⟨⟨{chò | dɔ̂} ↔ {ô | dɔ̂ ve} tí
qo lὲ | â te ve ⟩ yò ná 'Thinking this way and thinking that
way -- that's not how it's to be done!'. It is possible to use
two such contrastive paired clauses in a row, in which case it is
usual to delete the ve from all but the last of the four clauses:
{chò | dɔ̂} ↔ {ô | dɔ̂} ↔ {chò | qôʔ} ↔ {ô | qôʔ ve} tí qo
lὲ ... 'As for thinking this way and thinking that way, speaking
this way and speaking that way....'[27]

A more complicated example is the sentence: ⟨{dàʔ} kàʔ |
cɔ̂ ↔ {mâ dàʔ | kàʔ} | cɔ̂ ve ⟩ yò-pɔ̂ʔ 'There are good ones, and
there are also bad ones!'. Here we have two parallel clauses em-
bedded as the subjects of the stative verb cɔ̂ 'be there' [above
6.113], with the ve omitted this time from both clauses. The
sentence as a whole is nominalized by the ve after the last cɔ̂
[below 6.118], the presence of which disfavors the use of ve to
nominalize the first clause as well. Nevertheless it is still
perfectly grammatical to use four ve's in this sentence: ⟨{dàʔ
ve} kàʔ | cɔ̂ ve ⟩ ↔ ⟨{mâ dàʔ ve} kàʔ | cɔ̂ ve ⟩ yò-pɔ̂ʔ. Now,
however, there would be a strong tendency to make a long intona-
tional pause after the first cɔ̂-clause, splitting the string into
two separate sentences: 'There are good ones. There are bad
ones too.'

(2) ve-deletion after a simply negated verb. We have observed
above [4.711b] that there is a certain antipathy between mâ 'not'
in pre-verbal position and ve in post-verbal position: 'the
verbal event in the unmarked case is not usually negated and re-
ified at the same time'. This observation holds true both for
final clauses (where the ve has nominalizing force but is not em-
bedding its clause in a higher sentence -- see 6.118) and to a
lesser extent for embedded ve-clauses. a. In the case of final
clauses, the presence of ve after a negated verb conveys consider-

6.117(2)

able emphasis: m̂â šī 'He doesn't know' [neutral, colorless] vs.
{m̂â šī ve} 'He doesn't know, and that's a fact!' [emphatic]. Here
it does not make sense to speak of ve's 'deletion' from final
clauses in the presence of unemphatic negation, since the choice
of nominalizing a final clause is always an optional one in the
first place. It would be more accurate to say that one is dis-
couraged from exercising one's option to nominalize a final
clause when the verb is negated, unless one wishes to underscore
the negation itself. b. In the case of embedded clauses, the
presence of ve is more essential to indicate with clarity the
structure of the sentence, and here no extra emphasis is conveyed
by ve even if the verb is negated: {yɔ̂ | m̂â là ve} ¦ ŋà | dɔ̂ hā
jâ 'I'm very sad that he didn't come'. Yet even here there is
one situation where negation makes it possible to delete an other-
wise undeletable ve: when the clause is followed by a noun-par-
ticle, ve may be deleted only if the verb is negated.[28] Thus,
{nɔ̂ ¦ lì? | m̂â ğɔ pɛ̀} thà? ¦ ŋà | m̂â šī 'I didn't know that you
P_n
couldn't read [books]' (see above, end of 6.115), but not *{nɔ̂ ¦
lì? | ğɔ pɛ̀} thà? ¦ ŋà | m̂â šī 'I didn't know that you could
read'. It stands to reason that if the speaker is taking the
trouble to include the P_n thà? to clearly demarcate the nounhood
of the embedded clause, he will not deprive himself of the addi-
tional clarity that the retention of the ve provides: {nɔ̂ ¦ lì? |
ğɔ pɛ̀ ve} thà? ¦ ŋà | m̂â šī.

(3) ve-deletion in periphrastic negations. We have just seen
[6.111] that it is possible to omit the ve from a periphrastic
negative, provided that there is some other particle present to
set off the verb from the following m̂â hê? 'is not the case'.
Thus, {šī ve} | m̂â hê? 'He (really) doesn't know' may not be re-
duced to *{šī} | m̂â hê?, although it is perfectly grammatical to
have sentences like {šī tù} | m̂â hê? 'He (really) will not know'
P_v
or {šī kà?} | m̂â hê? 'He doesn't even know'.

6.117(3)

(4) Miscellaneous cases of ve-deletion. Most instances where ve
is deleted from an embedded clause fall into the 'miscellaneous'
category. That is, there is apparently nothing special about the
sentences in which the deletion spontaneously occurs in normal
speech.[29] (Several examples are given in 5.11 above, 'Unmarked
nominalizations or "pseudo co-clauses"'.) The ranks of the mis-
cellaneous cases may be thinned somewhat by identifying certain
sentences as 'set expressions' whose frequency of occurrence has
welded them into units: {ô-phâ | šɨ̌} | mâ dà? 'That fellow died
an evil death' (< {šɨ̌ ve} | mâ dà? "As for the dying, it was not
good"). The animist Lahu are preoccupied with the distinction
between 'good' and 'evil' deaths (the latter resulting from acci-
dents or other 'unnatural' causes, like death in childbirth).[30]
Similarly with {ǧa lὲ? tù} | mâ hê? 'You won't manage to earn a
living'. This periphrastic negative is the standard admonition
to be diligent in one's work in the fields, or else!

As was pointed out above [4.313 'Fortuitous concatenations
arising from structures of other types'], the deletion of ve from
embedded clauses is one of the chief mechanisms whereby verbs
from different clauses come to stand in accidental juxtaposition
to each other: {yâ-mî ¦ yâ | hu} | tà̱ thâ || ɔ̄ | ǧa câ mâ 'When
                              V_1 V_2

a woman's carrying a child (hu) begins (tà̱), she has to eat a
lot' (< {yâ-mî ¦ yâ | hu ve} | tà̱ thâ ...).

6.118 Non-embedded ve-clauses: ve's in final clauses that
nominalize whole sentences. It is obvious that embedded ve-
clauses are nounlike entities simply from the fact that they may
be followed by noun-particles [6.115]. What is perhaps harder for
the linguist used to Indo-European languages to accept is the fact
that sentences containing ve in their final clause are also noun-
like entities, even though they are not embedded in anything
larger than themselves, and in fact constitute complete utterances
by themselves. The only difference in meaning between pairs of

6.117(4); 6.118

sentences like ch‍ɔ-qhɔ̌ ⦙ qhâʔ-šɛ thàʔ | mɔ̀ qo ‖ phɔ e tù yɔ̀ 'If
the thief sees the headman, he'll run away' and {ch‍ɔ-qhɔ̌ ⦙ qhâʔ-šɛ
thàʔ | mɔ̀ qo ‖ phɔ e tù ve} yɔ̀ 'id.' is that in the second
version everything that comes before the affirmative P_{uf} yɔ̀ is
treated like a noun. The only way to convey this in English trans-
lation is to use such clumsy and misleading circumlocutions as 'It
is the case that if the thief sees the headman he'll run away'
or 'It is an if-the-thief-sees-the-headman-he'll-run-away thing'.
To the Lahu speaker, on the contrary, nothing could be more natu-
ral than this way of expressing himself. Treating whole sentences
as nouns is characteristic not only of Lahu, but of the Tibeto-
Burman languages in general, as well as of such unrelated lan-
guages as Japanese. (See the discussion in 4.711(b), 'The P_{univ}
ve'.)

The issue we wish to raise in this section is this: granted
that a ve appearing in a final clause nominalizes that clause,
what evidence do we have that the domain of this nominalization
extends backward to include any non-final clauses the sentence
may contain as well? In other words, does a ve appearing in the
final clause of a compound sentence nominalize the entire sentence,
or just the Cl_f alone? Consider the following compound sentence:
yɔ̂ | mâ hɔ̂ʔ gâ thɔ̂ ‖ ŋà | hɔ̂ʔ gâ ve} yɔ̀ 'Even if he doesn't want
to get it, I do want to get it'. Where are we to insert the left-
hand curly-bracket in the diagram? If we put it in before ŋà, we
are analyzing the sentence as meaning 'Even if he doesn't want to
get it, it is an I-do-want-to-get-it thing'. If, on the other
hand, we regard the nominalizing force of ve as extending back to
the beginning of the sentence, it would mean 'It is an even-if-he-
doesn't-want-to-get-it-I-do-want-to-get-it thing'. Although it
is a hard-to-prove thing, I espouse the 'wide range of nominaliza-
tion' theory, simply because there is no principled basis for
decreeing that the nominalizing power of a final ve stops at some

particular point within the sentence.[31] Similar considerations
hold true in fact for any member of the class of final unrestricted
particles. In the compound sentence nɔ̀ | qay qo || ŋà | mâ qay
qô?-mà 'If you go, I'm not going!', there is no reason to assume
P_{uf}

that the force of the interjectory P_{uf} qô?-ma extends only to the
final clause. One does not first say 'if you go', and only then
turn on the exclamatory juice, as it were. The whole sentence is
an exclamation. From the same point of view consider this ve-
sentence: {và?-ğâ? | ca hu lɛ || hɔ́ a lɛ || vɨ̀ lὲ? ve} tí yò-qo
'We just raise pigs and chickens, sell them, and buy them to earn
our living'. Here the NP và?-ğâ? 'pigs and chickens' is followed
by three VP's (ca hu 'raise', hɔ́ a 'sell', and vɨ̀ lὲ? 'buy to earn
a living'), the first two of which are followed by the suspensive
P_{unf} lɛ. It would be absurd to assume that only the last VP is
nominalized here, and not the others as well, considering that all
three have the same NP as their object.

One argument one could advance in favor of the 'narrow range'
theory might be that in the case of permuted compound sentences,
where the non-final clause is shifted to the right of the final
clause [below 6a.11], any ve in the original final clause stays
where it was and is not transported to the end of the permuted
sentence. Thus, {ŋà | hә? gâ ve} yò ∫∫ yɔ̂ | mâ hә? gâ thɔ̂ 'I do
                                P_{uf} P_{unf}
want to get it -- even if he doesn't'. But this does not prove
anything, since clause-permutation is a 'very late rule', that is
applied well after the process of nominalization has been carried
out. Although one could get a permuted sentence like ŋà | hә? gâ
yò ∫∫ {yɔ̂ | mâ hә? gâ ve} thɔ̂, the underlying string here does not
have a ve in the original final clause at all: {yɔ̂ | mâ hә? gâ
ve} thɔ̂ || ŋà | hә? gâ yò.

Supposing then that one accepts that a ve in the Cl_f nomi-
nalizes everything that comes before it in the sentence, there

will be many cases where one finds 'nested nominalizations', i.e.,
non-final clauses that are already nominalized by ve and then em-
bedded into a sentence-wide nominalization by another ve in the
Cl_f. Thus, ⟨{ni-ma | dà? ve} qo || ŋà yâ-mî | hɔ? phè? ve⟩ yò
'If his heart is good, he may marry my daughter' ("It is a thing
such that if it is a his-heart-is-good thing, he may marry my
daughter"). It is cases like these which offer difficulties for
the 'wide-range' theory, since the structure {ni-ma | dà? ve}
qo || {ŋà yâ-mî | hɔ? phè? ve} yò is certainly simpler. Even more
complex examples are not hard to find: ⟨{ô-ve=phâ thà? ¦ ŋà ¦ tê
pɔ? kà? | mâ mɔ̀ jɔ ve} kà? || yɔ̂ à? | ni a qo || chɔ-dà? qhe-lê |
phè? ve⟩ yò 'Although I had never seen that fellow even once,
when I took a look at him he seemed like a nice guy'. However,
unless one assumes that the power of the last ve goes all the way
back to the beginning of the sentence, how are we to decide wheth-
er it is confined, e.g., to the stretch chɔ-dà? qhe-lê | phè?
'seemed like a nice guy' rather than to, say, the last two clauses
(yɔ̂ à? | ni a qo || chɔ-dà? qhe-lê | phè? 'when I took a look at
him he seemed like a nice guy')?

6.12 thâ-clauses: temporal nominalizations. We have already
discussed thâ-clauses in the context of 'P_univ's in non-final
clauses' [5.22], observing that they are sometimes adverbial in
character ("when NP VP's"), but sometimes clearly function as
nominalizations ("the time that NP VP's"). Here we need only
demonstrate the nounhood of certain thâ-clauses. Thus, in sen-
tences like ⟨{yɔ̂ | šɨ e thâ} thà? ¦ ŋà ¦ qhà-thà?=kà? | lɔ̀ qay
tù ve⟩ | mâ hê? 'I shall never forget the time he died', the
thâ-clause is followed by the P_n thà?. Equally indicative of a
thâ-clause's nounhood is its appearance before the N_ext qha-gà
'until' [3.643]: {yɔ̂ | šɨ e thâ} qha-gà ¦ tê pɔ? kà? | mâ nà jɔ
cê 'They say that he was never sick once until the time he died'.

Even when the thâ-clause directly precedes the main verb of
the sentence, there are still cases where it is obviously nominal

6.12

rather than adverbial: {šɨ e thâ} | gà qo || à-thɔʔ-ma nâʔ-chɨ |
dɔ ni thɔ || ɔ-bo | mâ cɔ ò 'When the time to die arrives, what-
ever medicine you take will be no use'. If we insist on inter-
preting {šɨ e thâ} as an adverbial expression here, we get the
quite different meaning *'If it arrives when (you) die...'

<center>* * *</center>

There remain three kinds of nominalized clauses, whose be-
havior resembles those of natural nouns even more closely than
ve- or thâ-clauses. These are marked by deverbative P_v's rather
than by P_{univ}'s:

6.13 <u>Agentive nominalizations</u>: pā, ma; šɛ̄-phâ, šɛ̄-ma. The P_v
pā serves to convert the preceding clause into a noun of agent:
'a person that Clause's'/'those people who Clause'/'a Clause-er',
etc. Thus, mɛ̂ʔ | mɔ 'eyes see' → {mɛ̂ʔ | mɔ pā} 'someone who can
see; someone who is not blind'; lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ≡qhɔ | lwɛ̂ pɨ 'can swim
in the ocean' → {lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ≡qhɔ | lwɛ̂ pɨ pā} 'those who can swim
in the ocean'; ⟨{qhɔ-qhô-lɔ-qhô | mâ tâʔ e gâ pā} | qòʔ e phɛ̀ʔ
ve⟩ yò 'The people who don't want to climb up into the hills may
return home'; chi tê qhâʔ ɔ ¦ {ŋà thàʔ | ga lâ pā} tê g̈â kàʔ | mâ
cɔ 'In this village there isn't a single person to help me';
⟨ŋà ¦ {nɔ àʔ | vɨ pā} | te ve⟩ 'I'll act as if I'm your custom-
er' ("I'll do the buy-from-you-person"); nɔ-hɨ ¦ {qha hǝʔ gâ pā} |
qay-ʔ 'All those of you who want to get some, go!'.

As one might expect, since the pā is in some sense the under-
lying agent of its clause, the clause may not contain any other
NP that could be construed as the agent. Thus, in {í-šɨ̄ | šá pā}
'those who pick fruit', the agent is pā while í-šɨ̄ 'fruit' is the
object. If one wanted to say, e.g., 'the young men who pick
fruit', this cannot be done by including yâ-nɛ̀ 'young men' within
the pā-clause: *{yâ-nɛ̀ ¦ í-šɨ̄ | šá pā} . In this situation one
must use a relative clause like [í-šɨ̄ | šá ve] yâ-nɛ̀ , where yâ-nɛ̀
N_{rh}
is the relative head.

6.13

Historically there is no doubt that deverbative p̄a derives
from a morpheme meaning 'male' ("the man who V's"). As such it
stood in opposition with ma, a morpheme referring to females.
p̄a and ma retain these meanings in modern Lahu, and may take the
ɔ-prefix to form autonomous nouns: fâʔ-thɔ̂ʔ chi ¦ ɔ-p̄a lâ ↔
ɔ-ma lâ 'Is this squirrel a male or a female?'. Like its male
counterpart, ma may occasionally be used deverbatively in modern
Lahu to convert a clause into a noun of feminine agent ("the
female who V's"): yâ | hu 'carry a child' → {yâ | hu ma} 'a
pregnant woman'; n̄a-pɔ | pɔ̂ 'be deaf' ("ears are deaf") → {n̄a-pɔ |
pɔ̂ ma} 'a deaf woman'. However, ma is of quite restricted use in
this construction. Parallelling similar developments in European
languages that possess gender distinctions, the male morpheme p̄a
has been generalized to the point where it may be used when the
specification of sex is not relevant, or indeed even in contexts
where one must interpret the sex of the agent as female: {ɔ-yâ |
hu p̄a} ¦ a-šu le 'Who is the pregnant one?'; {ha-pa=ɔ-lî | cɔ̂ p̄a}
| mâ cɔ̂ lâ 'Isn't there anybody who is menstruating?'; ⟨⟨{ɔ-phɔ̂ |
š̓ɨ tā p̄a} lὲ ¦ mɛ̂-chɔ̂=ma | qô̂ʔ ve⟩ yò 'A person whose husband
has died is called a widow'. In particular, it is impossible to
use ma to nominalize a clause that is more than two or three syl-
lables long. Thus, to directly express 'a woman who can climb a
tree' via an agentive nominalization is impossible. One can only
say {š̓ɨʔ-cὲ | tâʔ e pɨ́ p̄a} , and then specify the femininity of
the agent by something else in the sentence. (Of course one al-
ways has the option of using a relative clause: [š̓ɨʔ-cὲ | tâʔ e
pɨ́ ve] yâ-mî=ma 'a woman who can climb a tree'.)

-ma is very much alive, however, as a feminine derivational
suffix opposed to the suffix -p̄a:[32] mɛ̂-chɔ̂=ma 'widow' (mɛ̂-chɔ̂=p̄a
'widower'); qhâʔ-šɛ=ma 'headman's wife' (qhâʔ-šɛ ∿ qhâʔ-šɛ=p̄a
'headman'); Lâh̄u-ma 'Lahu woman' (Lâh̄u-p̄a 'Lahu man'); chɔ-bɔ̂=ma
'lazy woman' (chɔ-bɔ̂=p̄a 'lazy man').[33]

[Distinct from the sex-specifying morphemes -$\bar{\text{pa}}$ and -ma are two other syllables, -pa (mid-tone) and -ma, which have no meaning in modern Lahu but occur as a bulk-providing element in a fairly large number of nouns [above 3.334]: ha-pa 'moon', ğɔ̀ʔ-pa 'wall', ğàʔ-ma 'driving-comb of loom', ɔ=tɔ̀ʔ-ma 'poison'. In some cases it is possible to identify the preceding syllable with an extant verb (ğàʔ 'to drive'; tɔ̀ʔ 'be unwilling to eat'), and it seems clear that -pa and -ma were once Tibeto-Burman nominalizing suffixes, which perhaps attributed gender to inanimate objects in the manner of the ancient Indo-European languages. At any rate, they have completely lost their productivity in modern Lahu, and may not be postposed to any roots other than those after which they already occur in fossilized lexical units.]

There are no restrictions on the types of clause that may be nominalized by $\bar{\text{pa}}$, except that the Cl_{nom} may not contain another noun of agent (above), and may not end in an unrestricted particle.[34] Thus, utterances like *$\underset{V}{\underline{\text{mâ}}}$ $\underset{P_{uf}}{\underline{\text{lɔ hɛ́}}}$ $\bar{\text{pa}}$ 'people who probably (hɛ́) won't wait' are impossible. On the other hand, there is nothing to stop the Cl_{nom} from ending in a P_v:[35] {há-qō | $\underset{V}{\underline{\text{lɔ̀ʔ}}}$ $\underset{P_v}{\underline{\text{e}}}$ $\bar{\text{pa}}$} 'those who enter the cave'.

Sometimes genuine ambiguity exists concerning the status of a NP which precedes a VP + $\bar{\text{pa}}$. It may make sense to interpret such a NP either as being a part of the Cl_{nom} or as belonging to the S_{mtx}. Consider the NP yɔ̂ gɛ 'with him' in the following sentence: yɔ̂ gɛ ¦ í-kâʔ | lwê phɛ̀ʔ $\bar{\text{pa}}$} | cɔ̂ ɔ lâ. If yɔ̂ gɛ is interpreted as being part of the matrix sentence, the analysis is: yɔ̂ gɛ ¦ {í-kâʔ | lwê phɛ̀ʔ $\bar{\text{pa}}$} | cɔ̂ ɔ lâ 'Does he have with him someone who can swim?'. If, on the other hand, yɔ̂ gɛ is understood as being associated with the VP of the Cl_{nom}, the proper analysis is: {yɔ̂ gɛ ¦ í-kâʔ | lwê phɛ̀ʔ $\bar{\text{pa}}$} | cɔ̂ ɔ lâ 'Does he have anyone who can swim (together) with him?'

Lahu possesses another pair of morphemes that are available for agentive nominalization duty: s̆ɛ̄-phâ and s̆ɛ̄-ma. Basically these are M_{pfx}'s that mean 'a man's body' and 'a woman's body', respectively: yↄ̂ ¦ ↄ=s̆ɛ̄-phâ | hɛ jâ 'His body is very strong'; qhâʔ-s̆ɛ=ma ¦ ↄ=s̆ɛ̄-ma | dàʔ à 'The headman's wife has a good figure'. The unprefixed forms may be used after nouns with several shades of meaning: a) 'owner; one who is in charge' → yɛ̀=s̆ɛ̄-phâ 'household head' / yɛ̀=s̆ɛ̄-ma 'lady of the house'; ↄ-qā=s̆ɛ̄-phâ 'owner of a buffalo' / ↄ-qā=s̆ɛ̄-ma 'id. (fem.)'; qhâʔ=s̆ɛ̄-phâ 'headman' / qhâʔ=s̆ɛ̄-ma 'headman's wife'.[36]   b) 'master of a trade' → nâʔ-chɨ=s̆ɛ̄-phâ 'doctor' ("medicine master") / nâʔ-chɨ=s̆ɛ̄-ma 'lady doctor'.   c) 'oneself' → yↄ̂=s̆ɛ̄-phâ 'he himself' / yↄ̂=s̆ɛ̄-ma 'she herself'.[37]

These morphemes may also be used to nominalize whole clauses, with similar meanings: 'the male/female who Clause's; the one who is in charge of Clause'ing; the one who is expert at Clause'ing', etc. Thus, {mↄ̂ | chɨ s̆ɛ̄-phâ} 'laundryman' ("things-wash-male expert"); {yâ | pↄ pɨ s̆ɛ̄-ma} 'midwife' ("child-born-benefactive-female expert"); {lɨ̀ʔ chi ve | pû s̆ɛ̄-phâ} 'the bearer of this letter' ("the male/the person in charge of carrying this letter"[38]); {s̆ɨ̄ pɨ s̆ɛ̄-phâ} 'a wise man' ("know-able to-expert").

Clauses nominalized by pā/ma and s̆ɛ̄-phâ/s̆ɛ̄-ma behave syntactically exactly like natural nouns. They are quantifiable (unlike ve-clauses, above 6.116), may be followed by all the P_n's, may participate in genitive constructions, etc.

6.14 <u>Locative nominalizations: kɨ</u>. The P_v kɨ nominalizes a preceding clause in a spatial or locative sense.[39] A kɨ-clause is usually to be translated as 'the place where Clause; a place for Clause'ing', etc. In the case of Cl_{nom}'s consisting of only one or two words, English will often have a single noun as equivalent: chê 'be in a place' → {chê kɨ} 'address/whereabouts'; te-câ 'cook' → {te-câ kɨ} 'kitchen'; yɨ̀ʔ 'sleep' → {yɨ̀ʔ kɨ} 'bed/bedding/bedroom'; mɨ 'sit' → {mɨ kɨ} 'chair/stool'; mↄ̂ | hↄ 'sell

things' → {mɔ̂ | hɔ́ kɨ̀} 'store/shop'; cà?-pò | dɛ 'a plane lands'
→ {cà?-pò | dɛ kɨ̀} 'airstrip'.

   Some more complicated examples: {ŋà-hɨ | a-cí jɛ̂ phὲ? kɨ̀}
thà? | mâ ğa mɔ̂ šē lâ 'Haven't you found a place where we can
 P
  n

rest a little yet?'; lì? thà? ¦ {yɔ̂ | yù tā kɨ̀} ɔ̄ | qɔ̂? tɛ ò 'He
                                          P
                                           n

has already put the book back where he had taken it from'; ô-pá ¦
{ŋà-hɨ ¦ í-kâ? | lwɛ̂ phὲ? kɨ̀} | cɔ̂ lâ 'Is there someplace where
we can swim over there?'.

   Sometimes the meaning of kɨ̀ is locative only in a figurative
sense, shading into that of the English 'way/manner/fashion':
Clause + kɨ̀ 'a way of Clause'ing': yɔ̂-hɨ ¦ {phu-ši | ca ğa kɨ̀}
kà? | mâ cɔ̂ 'There's no way for them to go get any money either';
P
 unf

{qô? kɨ̀} | mâ cɔ̂ 'There's nothing to be said about it' ("There's
no way to say [anything]").[40] Occasionally a kɨ̀-clause is sus-
ceptible of two interpretations, according to whether kɨ̀ is taken
in its locative or figurative sense: {ğa ni kɨ̀} | mâ cɔ̂
                                        V V
                                       v   h

a.   'There's no place we can see (it from)' [locative];
b.   'There's no way we can get to see it' [figurative].

   As was the case with pā-clauses [6.13], there is sometimes
ambiguity concerning the status of a NP, according to whether it
is interpreted as being included in the kɨ̀-clause or not. This is
true of the noun Cà-lɔ̂ 'Jalaw (man's name)' in the sentence:
Cà-lɔ̂ ¦ hâ | bɔ̂? kɨ̀} ɔ̄ | ğà? ce tù yò. If Cà-lɔ̂ is part of the
S_mtx, the analysis is: Cà-lɔ̂ ¦ {hâ | bɔ̂? kɨ̀} ɔ̄ | ğà? ce tù yò
'Jalaw will drive (them) down to the place where (we) shoot goats'
("goat-shoot-place"). If Cà-lɔ̂ is part of the Cl_nom: {Cà-lɔ̂ ¦
hâ | bɔ̂? kɨ̀} ɔ̄ | ğà? ce tù yò '(Someone) will drive (them) down to
the place where Jalaw shot the goat' ("Jalaw-goat-shoot-place").

kɪ differs from pā in that it may nominalize V_{adj}'s: {vɪ kɪ}
'a distant place'; {nê kɪ} 'a nearby place'; {nâʔ-hòʔ kɪ} 'a
pitch-black place'.[41] Like pā, kɪ may follow most members of the
class of P_v's: {bɔ́ʔ dàʔ kɪ}'a place where they're shooting at

             V   P_v

each other'; {yù la kɪ} 'the place they're bringing it to'; {phôʔ

           V P_v   V_h

tɛ tā kɪ} 'the place where they had been collected and set down';

V_v P_v

{mɔ́ʔ-s̆ā | câ jɔ kɪ} 'a place where monkey-meat has (ever) been

              V P_v

eaten'.

    pā and kɪ differ somewhat in their relationship to the Group
III P_v's (future tù, change-of-state ò, inchoatives s̆ē and s̆ɔ́).
pā never occurs after any of them: such strings as *mâ qay s̆ē pā
'those who haven't gone yet' are ungrammatical. kɪ, on the other
hand, occurs freely after s̆ē and s̆ɔ́ (and very rarely after ò).
Neither occurs after tù: {mâ thu s̆ē kɪ} 'a place which hasn't
been cleared yet'; {s̆ɪʔ-cɛ̀ | cɔ́ mâ sɔ́ kɪ} 'a place where there are
still many trees'; (*){ɔ́ | câ ò kɪ} 'the place where we've already
eaten' [rare]. Neither pā nor kɪ appears after asseverative à
(Group II) or the Group IV imperative P_v's a, s̆ā, vɪ, lò. pā
never occurs after Group IVb qha, pâʔ, or qha-pâʔ, but kɪ may fol-
low all three: {kù qha-pâʔ kɪ} 'the place where they're shouting

                  V   P_v

so loud'.

    Some gaps left by the impossible P_v + pā/kɪ sequences may be
filled by relative clauses whose heads are nouns referring to
persons (chɔ 'person', tê ğâ 'a/one person', hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā 'man',
etc.) or places (ɔ́-tí 'place', tê kà 'a/one place', etc.). Thus,
[s̆ɪ tù ve] tê ğâ 'a person who will die' (not *s̆ɪ tù pā); [tú tù

 V P_v   N_{rh}   V P_v

ve] ɔ́-tí 'a place that will be burned' (not *tú tù kɪ), etc.

N_{rh}

6.15 Purposive nominalizations: tù. Unlike pā and kɨ, which are
exclusively nominalizing in function, the particle tù has several
distinct roles to play in Lahu grammar. First it is a Group III
P$_v$ indicating futurity, purpose, or unrealized action. As such it
appears in ordinary simple sentences, like any other P$_v$. As we
shall see [6.2], tù may also serve to mark non-nominalized pur-
pose-clauses embedded in larger sentences. Finally, tù may be
used to nominalize a preceding clause in a 'purposive' sense,
yielding structures that may be translated by such expressions as
'something for Clause'ing'; 'something to Clause (with)'; 'some-
thing that is to be Clause'd (in a certain way)', etc.: ŋà-hɨ
gɛ ˇ {qhà=ma-ma │ yù qay tù} │ mâ lō o ná 'We certainly don't need
to take very many along with us!' ("We certainly don't need with
us very many that-are-for-taking-along"; "As for us, very many
that-are-for-taking-along are not necessary").

These nominalized tù-clauses are especially frequent in sen-
tences whose main verb is cɔ̀ 'be there; have': lɛ │││{ {ɔ̀-vî-ɔ̀-ni
thà? │ qɔ̀? qô? lâ tù} thɔ̂ │ cɔ̀ šɔ̄ ve } yò 'Besides, there are
still things for me to say to you, my brethren'; ŋà ˇ {kán │ te
tù} │ cɔ̀ mâ šɔ̄ 'I still have a lot of things to work on'. Before
other verbs, these tù-clauses have the flavor of ordinary noun-
compounds in English translation: {yɛ̀=g̈ò?-pa │ yè cɨ tù} thà? ˇ
P$_n$

nɔ̀ │ ti tā ò lâ 'Have you firmly implanted the house-wall supports
yet?' ("that which is for supporting the house-wall"). This com-
pound-like character is especially evident whenever the Cl$_{nom}$ con-
sists only of a few syllables: câ 'eat' → {câ tù} 'food';
dɔ̀ 'drink' → {dɔ̀ tù} 'beverage'; {câ-tù-dɔ̀-tù} (Elab$_n$) 'food and
drink'; vɔ̀? 'wear', qâ (B$_v$) 'id.' → {vɔ̀?-tù-qâ-tù} (Elab$_n$)
'clothing'; chî-mu 'to praise' → {chî-mu tù} 'something to be
praised'; ân 'be surprised/awed' → {ân tù} 'a marvel/sthg awesome';
hà?-qá 'take pity on' → {hà?-qá tù} 'misery/wretchedness'; dɔ̂ hā
'be distressed/worried' → {dɔ̂ hā tù} 'a cause for worry/sadness';

6.15

ni-ma | lù 'be depressed' → {ni-ma | lù tù} 'sthg to be depressed about'.

tù-clauses are a natural means of describing objects which are new to Lahu experience. The Lahu lack many of the amenities of what we are pleased to call civilization. When confronted with things like shovels, toothbrushes, or badminton rackets, and asked to give them Lahu names, they usually produce tù-clauses ('a thing for digging the earth'; 'a thing for wiping the teeth', etc.). Thus, {ɔ-bɔ | phɔ tù} 'can-opener'; {ğâʔ-mu | dɔʔ tù} 'badminton racket' ("thing for hitting the chicken-feathers"); {cɪ | qɛ̂ tù} 'toothpick'; {cɪ | šîʔ tù} 'toothbrush'; {í-šǐ=qú | qhɛ̀ʔ bà tù} 'fruit-peeler'; {gá-yɔ ¦ ɔ-šá | kə tù} 'tire-pump' ("thing for putting air in tires"). Often the particle ve is added after the tù ({cɪ | šîʔ tù-ve} 'toothbrush'), with no dif- ference in meaning, and no change in the noun-like status of the construction. The tù + ve is conveniently regarded as a compound, unitary nominalizing particle [below 6.47; 6.497].

P_v's do not seem ever to intervene between a verb and nomi- nalizing tù. Should one encounter a P_v before tù, therefore, it is a good indication that the latter is functioning as an ordinary Group III P_v.

6.2 Purpose clauses. Lahu has several ways of indicating that the action of a clause is performed for a particular purpose, or with a certain intent in mind. The embedded purpose clause is usually marked by the Group III P_v tù (unrealized or purposive action) or the Group IV P_v a (indicator of intent). Alternatively, or in addition, the main clause may contain the verb te 'do' (i.e., "do [so that] Cl_{purp}"), optionally preceded by the demar- cating or quotative particle tɛ̀ ∿ tɛ̀ʔ.

6.21 Purposive tù-clauses (not nominalized). We have just seen [6.15] that some non-final tù-clauses, especially those embedded in a S_{mtx} whose verb is cɔ̀ 'be there; have', behave like nouns. In many other, superficially similar cases, the verb of the tù-

6.2; 6.21

clause retains its full verbality, expressing the action or state
of affairs that is striven for as the goal of the S$_{mtx}$. Clauses
of this latter type (which we may symbolize as 'Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$'s') are em-
bedded in S$_{mtx}$'s to form complex sentences with such meanings as
'S$_{mtx}$ (in order) to Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$'; 'S$_{mtx}$ so that Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$'; 'S$_{mtx}$ for (the
sake of) Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$'ing'; 'S$_{mtx}$ intending to Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$', etc. In the follow-
ing examples, the V$_h$ of the S$_{mtx}$ is underlined, and the purpose-
clause is enclosed in centripetal arrows (both in the Lahu and in
the English gloss): {→έ | hɔ̀ ğa tù← mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ qhɔ ¦ á-phὲʔ=šɨ̆ | jûʔ
pî ve} yò '→In order to get the baby to cry←, we stick hot
peppers into its mouth'; →ğâ tù← cô-câ šē 'Make an effort →to win←
first!'; →chɔ-dàʔ | phὲʔ tù← ga lâ mē 'Please help us →to be good
men←'; {ŋà ¦ →Lâhū-khɔ̀ | ca hὲ̄ tù← là ve} yò 'I have come →in
order to study Lahu←'; {ŋà-hɨ ¦ →lɔ̀ yù tù← dɔ̀ tā ve} yò 'We have
been planning →to ask to get it←'; {→chɔ nî ğâ | yɨʔ lɔ̀ʔ tù←
qhe-cɛ ɨ̄ ve} yò 'It's big enough →for two people to sleep in←';
→šu àʔ � lù tù← tâ te 'Don't try →to make other people fail←';
{→Cà-lɔ̀ ¦ qhâʔ-šɛ | phὲʔ tù← yɔ̀-hɨ | te tù ve} 'They'll fix it
→so that Jalaw will be headman←'; {là � phɔ̀ʔ ve} ¦ {chi qhe | te
ve} lὲ ¦ →ğa câ lɛ || šu lɔ | šu la tù← te a-lâ qo lὲ || â mɔ̀ ɔ̀ và
'With (your) tea-picking the way it is, I just don't see how you
can hope →to earn a living and get to be as good as ("the same
as") other people←!'.[42]

   As the last three examples illustrate, the verb of the matrix
sentence is often te 'do [in such a way that Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$]; try to Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$'.
In many cases the meaning of a Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$ + te construction shades into
a causative ('make Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$ happen; cause Cl$_{t\grave{u}}$ to occur'): {yɔ̀ ¦
→cân-pā | šɨ tù← te gâ ve} yò 'He wants to make →his enemy die←';
→yâ-pā chi | kɔ̀ʔ tù← tâ te 'Don't make →this boy be afraid←';
→Kâlâ-phu àʔ | [Lâhū-yâ � mɨ-câ-vâ-câ ve] ɔ̀-lɔ | šī la tù← te phὲʔ
ɔ lâ 'Can you make →a white man come to understand Lahu agricul-
tural practices←?'.[43] Alternatively, the verb of the matrix sen-
tence may be pî 'give; benefactive': {→[a-šàʔ | tὲʔ chê ve]

to-nû-to-šâʔ thàʔ | nà tù← pí ve} | mâ hêʔ 'We should not cause
pain to living creatures' ("We should not give-out-an-action
→such that we hurt creatures who are living life←").[44] [We have
mentioned this construction above, as a digression in the context
of versatile concatenations (4.353), since on a superficial level
one may regard the tù as simply 'intervening' in a concatenation
consisting of a V_h plus the benefactive V_v pí.] When the benefac-
tive context demands lâ instead of pí (i.e., when there is a non-
3rd person beneficiary [4.611-4.614]), a dummy te must intervene
between the $Cl_{tù}$ and the lâ: →ŋà thàʔ | ha-lὲ tù← te lâ mὲ
'Please make →me be happy←!'. This is because lâ is a verb-
particle, not a verb in its own right like pí, so it must have
some verb to attach itself to.

As we have observed in connection with other types of em-
bedded clauses,[45] there sometimes arises ambiguity according to
whether a particular NP is interpreted as belonging to the $Cl_{tù}$
or the matrix sentence. Thus, the NP cân-pā 'enemy' belongs to
the S_{mtx} under the interpretation {cân-pā | →šɨ tù← te ve} 'The
enemy caused (somebody) →to die←', but to the $Cl_{tù}$ under the
interpretation {→cân-pā | šɨ tù← te ve} '(Somebody) caused →the
enemy to die←'. Similarly, the NP ŋà 'I' belongs to the S_{mtx} in
{ŋà | →mâ kɨ e tù← tɛ ā ve} yò 'I have put it away →so it won't
get rotten←', but to the $Cl_{tù}$ in {→ŋà | mâ kɨ e tù← tɛ ā ve} yò
'(Somebody) has put (me) away →so I won't get rotten←'.

For a discussion of tù-clauses that directly precede noun-
heads, see below ['Do we need deletion of relative ve?' 6.48].

6.22 Purpose-clauses with a and/or te. A clause embedded in a
sentence whose main verb is te 'do/make' may be purposive in mean-
ing even if tù is not present. For example, a nominalized ve-
clause (optionally followed by the accusative P_n thàʔ) is some-
times to be interpreted this way: {šu mɨ-gɨ | qòʔ qay ve} thàʔ ¦
yô | te chê šɔ 'He's still trying →to go back to a foreign
country←'. A more explicit purposive meaning is conveyed by using

the Group IV intentive P$_v$ <u>a</u> in the embedded clause: → Cl + <u>a</u> ← <u>te</u>.
Thus, {→<u>chɔ̀</u> | <u>ca g‡ a</u>← <u>te ve</u>} | <u>â hê? 1â</u> ∫ <u>nɔ</u>[46] 'Aren't you plan-
ning →to come here for $\overline{a}$ visit←?'; {<u>ὲ-qhὲ à?</u> | <u>ğà?-yù lɛ</u> ||
→<u>tî-pὲ̄ a</u>← <u>te lɛ</u> || <u>phɔ e ve</u>} <u>cê</u> 'They chased after the Swindler[47]
and tried →to kill him←, but he escaped'; <u>šu</u> ⁞ <u>tê pɔ́?</u> | <u>šǐ la lɛ</u> ||
<u>yù lɛ</u> || →<u>dɔ́?-pὲ̄ a</u>← <u>te lɛ</u> || <u>qɔ́? phɔ e</u> 'Again they found out about
it, seized him, and $\overline{\text{tried}}$ →to beat him to death←, but he escaped
again'; {[<u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>chê $\overline{a}$ ve</u>] <u>š‡?-cὲ</u> | <u>thu lɛ</u> || →<u>mô lo</u> ⁞ <u>1ɔ̂-qá qhɔ</u> |
<u>kə a</u>← <u>te qo</u> || <u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>tà hɔ̂ ve</u>} <u>cê</u> 'They chopped at the tree in
which $\overline{\text{he}}$ had been staying and tried →to make him fall down into
the river←, and he began to cry'.

Frequently the particle <u>tὲ</u> ∿ <u>tὲ?</u> is added after the <u>a</u>. This
<u>tὲ</u> is possibly to be identified with the Shan-derived emphatic
P$_{univ}$ 'really/indeed',[48] and is certainly the same morpheme as
the one often used to indicate the end of a quotative clause
[below 6.31]. Its appearance after the <u>a</u> of purpose clauses
serves simply to demarcate the latter more clearly from the rest
of the sentence: <u>âa</u> ||| {→<u>cà</u> | <u>ğɔ̂?</u> <u>a</u> <u>ni</u> <u>a</u> <u>tὲ</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'Well,
                                      V   P V
                                       h   v v
I'm planning →to try and reap my paddy (now)←';[49] →<u>câ a tὲ</u>← <u>te</u>
<u>qo</u> || <u>nù a ni.</u>[50] {→<u>te a tὲ</u>← <u>te qo</u> || <u>ğa dɔ̂ ni ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'Smell$\overline{}$
before you eat, and think $\overline{\text{before}}$ you act [Proverb] ("If you in-
tend →to eat←, try smelling; if you intend →to act←, you must try
thinking"); {<u>tɔ̄ chê lɛ</u> || →<u>ɔ̂-tɔ ɔ̂-tɔ</u> ⁞ <u>a-šu=yɔ̂</u> | <u>hə̂?-1ɔ̂?=hə̂?-1ɔ̂?</u>
<u>te a tὲ</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>qô?-ma</u> ∫ <u>ŋà ɔ̄</u> 'I'm drawing up the boundaries, and
trying →to $\overline{\text{see}}$ to it that each person gets enough of a piece←'.
In this last example, the verb of the embedded purpose clause is
also <u>te</u>, and is modified adverbially by a concatenation <u>hə̂? 1ɔ̂?</u>
'get enough' that is reduplicated with a distributive meaning:
'...trying →to do so that each person (<u>a-šu=yɔ̂</u>) gets enough←'.
The use of <u>tὲ</u> to round off the purpose clause here performs the
valuable service of preventing the two <u>te</u>'s from coming too close
together.

We may summarize the types of purpose clause that may be governed by a <u>te</u> in the S_{mtx} as follows:

$$\rightarrow \ldots V \; + \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \overline{t\grave{u}} \\[4pt] \underline{a} \; (\underline{t\grave{e}}) \end{array} \right\} \; \leftarrow \; \underline{te}\ldots$$

Thus, supposing one wanted to remove a thorn sticking in a bracket-tailed drongo's feathers. One might phrase this laudable intention in several ways:

a. {→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u>   'I'm trying to take out this thorn.'

b. ⟨ {<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ ve</u>} <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>te ve</u> ⟩ <u>yò</u>   'id.'

c. {→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ tù</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u>   'id.'

d. {→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ a</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u>   'id.'

e. {→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ a tè</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u>   'id.'

(Ungrammatical: *{→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ tè</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u> and

*{→<u>í-chû</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>yù tɔʔ tù tè</u>← <u>te ve</u>} <u>yò</u>.)

Occasionally we find a purpose clause ending in <u>a</u> or <u>a</u> + <u>tè</u> embedded in a S_{mtx} whose V_h is not <u>te</u>, but rather some other verb of intent (especially <u>dɔ</u> 'think' + <u>tā</u> 'perfective P_v': <u>dɔ tā</u> 'be planning to'): {<u>yɔ</u> ¦ →<u>nɛ́-qhɔʔ</u> <u>thâ</u> ¦ <u>yɛ̀ ɔ-šɨ</u> | <u>te a tè</u>← <u>dɔ</u> <u>tā ve</u>} 'He is planning →to build a new house next year←'. Sentences of this type are not very different from the quotative sentences to be discussed in the next section, where the V_h of the S_{mtx} is also a 'verb of saying or thinking'.

<u>6.3 Quotative clauses</u>. An important type of complex sentence consists of a S_{mtx} containing a verb of utterance (saying) or cognition (thinking), which dominates a preceding embedded clause that specifies what is talked or thought about. This latter we may call a 'quotative clause' or 'Cl_{qt}'.

The verb of the S_{mtx} is most commonly <u>qôʔ</u> 'say/speak/tell', <u>dɔ</u> 'think', or <u>šɨ</u> 'know'. Other possibilities include <u>tho</u> 'tell', <u>šɔ</u> 'consider/reckon', <u>qāw</u> 'narrate', <u>yō</u> 'believe', <u>khān</u> 'guarantee', <u>lɔ</u> 'beg/ask for', <u>tho-pɔ</u> 'admit/confess' ("tell-penetrate"),

6.3

na-ni 'ask', <u>šatì</u> <u>pî</u> 'warn' ("give warning"), <u>dɔ̂-lɔ</u> 'hope'
("think-wait"), <u>katì</u> <u>pî</u> 'promise', <u>kù</u> 'shout', <u>qôʔ</u> <u>gâ</u> 'mean'
(V + P_v: "want to say"), <u>dɔ̂</u> <u>tā</u> ~ <u>dɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> 'plan/intend' (V + P_v:
"think fixedly/permanently"), <u>bo</u> <u>lɔ̂</u> 'pray' ("beg for grace"),
etc.[51]

Frequently the Cl_{qt} ends simply in a verb, or V + P_v:
{<<<u>nɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>dàʔ</u>>> <u>šālā</u> | <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} '<<You're no good either>>,
 V
the teacher said';[52] <<<u>qhɔ̂-qhe</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>chê</u> <u>ā</u>>> <u>dɔ̂</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>g̈ɨ̆-yɔ̂</u> <u>jâ</u>
 V P_v

'When one thinks of <<where they stayed>>, it's very funny';
{<<<u>Cî-mày</u> | <u>qay</u> <u>thâ</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> | <u>ca</u> <u>vɨ</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>tù</u>>> <u>ŋà</u> | <u>dɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>}
 v V_h P_v P_v

qôʔ-ma 'I've been planning <<to buy one for you when I go to
Chiengmai>>'; {<u>chɔ-mɔ̂=cwe</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <<<u>mû-thêʔ=nê</u> <u>lɛ</u> <u>Pi-yâ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>šū</u> <u>dàʔ</u>>>
 V P_v

<u>qôʔ</u> <u>tā</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ̂</u> 'Since the days of our forefathers, they have
told us that <<the Lightning Spirit and Pi-ya are not the same>>'.

So far there is nothing in the 'surface structure' of these
sentences to prevent one from taking the position that the Cl_{qt}'s
are not embedded sentences at all, but merely Cl_{nf}'s in ordinary
compound sentences:[53] *{<u>nɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> || <u>šālā</u> | <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>}
*'You're not good either (and) the teacher said it'. All doubt
on this score vanishes, however, once we consider that final un-
restricted particles may be freely inserted at the end of a
Cl_{qt}:[54] {<<<u>nɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>hɛ́</u>>> <u>šālā</u> | <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} 'The teacher said
 P_{uf}

<<you're probably no good either>>'; {<<<u>nɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>lâ</u> >>
 P_{uf}

<u>šālā</u> | <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} '<<Aren't you any good either?>> the teacher said',
etc. Similarly, {<<<u>chi</u> <u>tê</u> <u>qhɔ̂</u> | <u>te</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ</u> >> <u>mâ</u> <u>qôʔ</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>ve</u>}
 P_{uf}

<u>lâ</u> 'Don't you mean that <<we can't do it this year?>>'; {<<<u>mû-yɛ̀</u> |

là tù hɛ́ >> ŋà | dɔ̂ ve} yò 'I think <<it will probably rain>>';
P̲uf   —

⎰ <<{yɔ̂ ¦ tê ğâ tí | te phɛ̀ʔ ve} yò >> qôʔ ve ⎱ 'He says <<he can
                                    P̲uf   —

do it by himself>>'; <<{mɨ-câ-vâ-câ ve} yò>> qôʔ qo ɔ̄ || Kâlâ-phu
qhe-lê ¦ ɔ-lɔ̂ʔ | mâ te câ pɛ́ 'When it comes to <<cultivating the
land>>, we can't make a living by making terraced fields like the
white man'.[55]   In these last two examples, the Cl_{qt} is a nominal-
ized ve-clause, a type of minor sentence.   There is also nothing
stopping a natural minor sentence from occurring as a Cl_{qt}:
⎰ <<ŋà {yɔ̂ | hɔ̂ s̆ɛ̄-phâ} ¦ ğɨ-s̆a yò>> qôʔ ve ⎱ 'He said <<the Lord
was his shepherd>>'; {qhe te s̆ɛ̄ lɛ ɔ̄ ⫠ <<ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ lɔ >> dɔ̂ lɛ ||
                                          N̲ P̲uf   —

hâʔ-hâʔ phɔ e s̆ē ve} yò 'Thereupon, thinking <<it's the Swind-
ler!>>, he ran away in a hurry'.

   [Two P_{uf}'s often have special allomorphs in Cl_{qt}'s: lɛ-hɛ́
(< hɛ́ 'possibility') and lɛ-nā (< nā 'wonderment'):[56] ⎰ <<{vên
qhɔ | a-cí qhâʔ ve} lɛ-hɛ́>> ŋà | dɔ̂ ve ⎱ yò 'I think <<they're
probably more expensive in the city>>'.]

   Equally conclusive evidence for the embedded nature of Cl_{qt}'s
is forthcoming from the Group IVa P_v's, which never occur in the
Cl_{nf}'s of ordinary compound sentences, but freely appear in Cl_{qt}'s:
<<ŋà tí | hɘʔ a   >> mâ qôʔ ɛ̀ʔ 'I'm not saying <<I'll take it
      V̲ P̲v-IVa   —

for myself>>!'; {<<ɔ-ğɘʔ | phɛ̀ʔ la lò   >> qôʔ ve} 'He said
                      V̲ P̲v P̲v-IVa   —

<<let there be light>>!'.

6.31 Explicit quotation-markers with Cl_{qt}'s. Quoted material
may be explicitly demarcated from the rest of the sentence by
postposing the morphemes qhe or tɛ̀ ∿ tɛ̀ʔ to the Cl_{qt}. qhe 'thus',
a N_{ext} and adverb with a variety of functions in Lahu grammar,[57]
is less formal or literary than tɛ̀ as a quotation-marker, and
sounds natural even after quite short Cl_{qt}'s of banal meaning:

{<<<u>te</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u>>> <u>qhe</u> <u>qôʔ</u> <u>pî</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yò</u> 'He said <<he couldn't do it>>'
("<<Cannot do it>> -- thus he said"). <u>tὲ</u> is possibly to be iden-
tified with the P_{univ} meaning 'really/indeed',[58] and has a defi-
nite literary flavor.[59] It is used only rarely after short Cl_{qt}'s.
The longer and more complicated the sentence, the more likely
<u>tὲ</u> will be used for clarity's sake: {<u>cà</u> ¦ <u>qhà-qhe</u> | <u>phὲʔ</u> <u>la</u> <u>qo</u> ||
<<[<u>cà</u> | <u>g̈ò ʔ</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ɔ-yân</u> | <u>g̈à</u> <u>la</u> <u>ò</u>>> <u>tὲ</u> <u>s̆ī</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>le</u> 'How does the paddy
have to get so that you know that <<the time for harvesting it has
arrived>>?'; {<u>chɔ</u> ¦ <u>qhà-qhe</u> | <u>te</u> <u>nà</u> <u>qo</u> || <<<u>á-và=nê</u> | <u>chὲʔ</u> <u>ve</u>>>
<u>tὲ</u> <u>s̆ī</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>le</u> 'What symptoms of sickness does a person have for you
to know that <<the A-va spirit has bitten him>>?' ("If a person
is sick in what way, do you know that...");{<<<u>g̈ɨ-s̆a</u> <u>ve</u> <u>a-lō</u> | <u>mâ</u>
<u>hɔ̄</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>lɛ</u> || [<u>mâ-thê-mâ-cɔ́</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ɔ-cɔ̀</u> | <u>te</u> <u>qay</u> <u>qo</u> <u>lὲ</u> || <u>mâ-mâ</u> |||
{<u>ni-ma</u> | <u>lù</u> <u>tù</u>} | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yò</u>>> <u>tὲʔ</u> <u>s̆atῑʔ</u> | <u>pî</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yò</u>[60] 'I have
warned you that <<if, in disharmony with the will of God, you con-
tinue to do unjustly and unrighteously, you will have great cause
for regret>>'.

     In view of the fact that <u>tὲ</u> ('really') has a more insistent
meaning than <u>qhe</u> ('thus'), one might guess that <u>qhe</u> would be used
when the Cl_{qt} does not purport to be a verbatim quotation, with
<u>tὲ</u> being reserved for this latter use. However, such is not the
case. The distinction between verbatim and non-verbatim quotation
is foreign to Lahu grammar.

     Often a Cl_{qt} will be doubly set off from the rest of the sen-
tence. Not only will it be <u>followed</u> by a verb of saying (plus
perhaps <u>qhe</u> or <u>tὲ</u>), but it will also be <u>preceded</u> by an introduc-
tory clause containing a verb of saying: {<u>yɔ́</u> | <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} ¦
{<<{<u>s̆ɔ́-pɔ̄</u> ¦ <u>mû-yè</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>là</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>vên</u> <u>qhɔ</u> | <u>qay</u> <u>ve</u>}>> <u>qhe</u> <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>}
'He said <<he would go to town if it didn't rain tomorrow>>'
("What he said was, <<if it didn't rain tomorrow he'd go to town>>
-- thus he said").[61] This amounts to saying what one is going to
say, saying it, then saying what one has said. Such double demar-
cation does not sound at all obtrusive in Lahu (no more so than

quotation marks in written English), though of course one of the
two tags is better omitted in English translation.

Although the introductory quotation-tag is often absent in
Lahu, the tag following the Cl_{qt} is not likely to be omitted even
if the introductory one is present. Sentences like {y̆ɔ̂ | qô? ve}
¦ {š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ | qay ve} 'What he said was, he'd go tomorrow' are rather
anomalous, while { <<{š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ | qay ve}>> y̆ɔ̂ | qô? ve } 'He said
he'd go tomorrow' and {y̆ɔ̂ | qô? ve} ¦ { <<{š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ | qay ve}>>
qô? ve } 'id.' are both perfectly normal.

6.32 Cl_{qt}'s vs. cê-clauses. Embedded Cl_{qt}'s governed by verbs
of saying or thinking must be distinguished from clauses contain-
ing the quotative P_{uf} cê [above 4.725]. This particle occurs
freely in the final clauses of simple sentences, like any other
P_{uf}, and has the general function of indicating that one's state-
ment is based on second-hand information rather than one's own
personal experience or direct knowledge.[62] The source of this
second-hand information is usually irrelevant and unspecified.
In particular, one need not necessarily assume that the 'subject'
of the sentence is the source of the information: y̆ɔ̂ ¦ š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ |
gà la tù cê 'They say/he says/it is said/she told me/etc. that
he'll arrive here tomorrow'.

In the case of a Cl_{qt}, the 'sayer' is often explicitly in-
dicated in an associated NP of the S_{mtx}: {<<y̆ɔ̂ ¦ š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ | gà la
tù>> š̆u | qô? ve} 'The others say <<he'll get here tomorrow>>'.
    NP

If no such NP is present, it is usually assumed that the sayer is
the same as the subject of the Cl_{qt}, whether the latter is overtly
expressed or not: {<<y̆ɔ̂ ¦ š̆ɔ́-pɔ̄ | gà la tù>> qô? ve} 'He says
<<he'll get here tomorrow>>'.

The combination qô? + ve + cê is used when reporting at
second hand (cê) what someone has said (qô?). This situation
arises with special frequency in stories containing dialogue:[63]
{qhe te lɛ || y̆ɔ̂ | bɔ̂? ĵâ lɛ || <<š̆u thà? | lù tù̆ tâ te>> qô?

ve̲} cê̲ 'Thereupon he got very angry and said <<Do not try to harm other people!>> (thus have I been told)'.

6.33 **Mini-Cl$_{qt}$'s.** A Cl$_{qt}$ may sometimes consist of a single word, since it is possible to quote anything in isolation. Consider the following ambiguous example: chi̲ n̲î̲ kh̲ɔ̂ | pɔ̂n qồʔ ve lâ. If this is taken as a simple sentence, the sequence pɔ̂n qồʔ is inter-preted as a versatile concatenation consisting of the V$_h$ qồʔ 'say' and a Burmese-derived $_v$V pɔ̂n 'mix/add':[64] {chi̲ n̲î̲ kh̲ɔ̂ | $\underset{_vV\ \ V_h}{\underline{pɔ̂n\ qồʔ}}$

ve̲} lâ 'Do you say these words together?' (i.e., 'Is this a binary compound?'). On the other hand, the word pɔ̂n may be under-stood as a mini-Cl$_{qt}$ in quotative hypostasis: {chi̲ n̲î̲ kh̲ɔ̂ | <<pɔ̂n̲>> qồʔ ve̲} lâ 'Do these two words mean <<add>>?'.[65]

Constructions consisting of a mini-Cl$_{qt}$ containing a single NP, plus the governing verb qồʔ, are often nominalized by ve̲ ({<<NP>> qồʔ ve̲}) and used to mean 'the so-called NP; that which we call <<NP>>': {<<š̲á̲-h̲ɔ̀ʔ-š̲á̲-n̲á̲>> qồʔ ve̲} ¦ chi̲-ve lɛ̀ ¦ à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma le 'What are these so-called <<idols and images>>?';[66] ⟨{<<[mɛ̂ʔ-phû | ch̲ɛ̲ p̲î̲ ve̲] phu>> qồʔ ve̲} ¦ a-šu thàʔ | ğa p̲î̲ ve̲⟩ cê̲ le 'Who are you supposed to have to pay the so-called <<face-washing money>> to?'.[67] A nominalized clause consisting of {...V + ve̲} may itself constitute a Cl$_{qt}$ governed by a following qồʔ plus nominalizing ve̲: ⟨ ⟨ <<{kh̲ɔ̄ | d̲ɔ̂ʔ ve̲}>> qồʔ ve ⟩ ¦ ɔ̂-cɛ ɔ̂-cɛ te ve ⟩ qồʔ-ma 'The so-called <<top-beating>> is done two people at a time'.

In wordy speech {qồʔ ve̲} may serve as a filler several times per sentence, after both natural nouns and ve-clauses. It is here as devoid of true quotative meaning as the British expression 'I say': ⟨ <<{qhe qay ve̲}>> qồʔ ve ⟩ ¦ {<<n̲ɔ̂-h̲ɨ̲ chɔ>> qồʔ ve̲} ¦ t̲ɔ̂ | yɔ h̲ā̲ qồʔ-ma 'Carrying on l̄ike this, I say, you blok̄es, I say, are stubborn as buggery!'.

[Note that we are extending the meaning of 'clause' somewhat when we call even quoted material that contains no verb-phrase a 'mini-Cl$_{qt}$'. A better term would perhaps be 'mini-qt'.]

6.34 Indirect questions. Indirect questions may be formed by
substituting the P_{uf} nā ~ ná ~ lɛ-nā 'wonderment/rhetorical ques-
tion/whether' [above 4.723(3)] for the interrogative P_{uf}'s lâ
('yes-or-no question') or le ('substance question') in the em-
bedded Cl_{qt}.[68] The verb of the S_{mtx} is usually šī 'know' or
na-ni 'ask'.

(a) Embedded substance-questions (le → nā): a-šu le 'Who is it?'
→ <<a-šu ná>> ŋà | qha=dɛ̀ʔ-dɛ̀ʔ â šī še yâ-o 'I really don't know
<<who it is>> yet!'; qhà-qhe phɛ̀ʔ tù le 'How will it turn out?' →
<<qhà-qhe phɛ̀ʔ tù nā>> nɔ | šī à lâ 'Do you know <<how it'll turn
out>>?'; <<chi qhe ¦ ha-pa=ɛ́ qhà-nî šī | phɛ̂ tù lɛ-nā>> mâ šī še
'It is not yet known <<how many satellites ("little moons") will
be launched like this>>'.[69]

(b) Embedded singulary yes-or-no questions (lâ → nā): {yɔ | šɨ
e ve} lâ 'Has he died?' → { <<{yɔ | šɨ e ve} nā>> a-šu | šī ve }
hɛ́ le 'Who is likely to know <<whether he has died>>?';
{mì-gɨ=jɔ-mɔ tí qo ¦ <<qhâʔ-yâ | ha-lɛ̀-ha-qa te chɛ̂ lɛ-nā>> ŋà
thà? | na-ni cɔ ve} yɔ̀ 'Those government people ought to ask me
<<whether the villagers are getting along happily>>'.

(c) Embedded disjunctive yes-or-no questions (lâ...lâ → (nā)...
nā). In indirect questions where two alternative answers are
suggested [see above 4.723(1)], either of the 'whether A or not A'
or 'whether A or B' type, the lâ in both phrases may be replaced
by nā: yɔ | chɛ̂ lâ ←‖→ mâ chɛ̂ lâ 'Is he at home or isn't he?' →
{<<yɔ | chɛ̂ nā ←‖→ mâ chɛ̂ nā>> ŋà | ğa na-ni ve} yɔ̀ 'I'll have to
ask <<whether he's at home or not>>'; <<{yɔ | yɨʔ ve} nā ←‖→
{šɨ e ve} nā>> yɔ-hɨ | mâ qô? lâ gâ 'They don't want to tell us
<<whether he's sleeping or dead>>'. Alternatively, nā may be
omitted from the first half, provided the Cl_{qt} is of the 'A or
not A' type: {<<yɔ | chɛ̂ ←‖→ mâ chɛ̂ nā>> ŋà | ğa na-ni ve} yɔ̀
'v. sup.'.[70]

When both parties to the disjunction are natural nouns, nā
must be present in both halves: <<yɔ ¦ Lâhū nā ←‖→ Á-và nā>> tê
ğâ kà? | mâ šī 'Nobody knows <<whether he's a Lahu or a Lawa>>'.

6.34; 6.34a-c

If such a question is 'A or not A', the second half will contain
m̂â hê?:[71] <<yɔ̂ ¦ Lâhū nā ←‖→ m̂â hê? nā>> nɔ̂ | šī à lâ 'Do you
know <<whether he's a Lahu or not>>?'. Finally, this is the only
construction where the defective verb hê? may occur non-negated
-- in the first half of indirect 'A or not A' questions: <<yɔ̂ ¦
Lâhū | hê? nā ←‖→ m̂â hê? nā>> m̂â tho lâ gâ 'He doesn't want to
tell us <<whether he's a Lahu or not>>'.

(d) The rhetorical question-tag m̂â šī ɔ̀. Sometimes an indirect
question is followed by a S$_{mtx}$ containing the expression m̂â šī ɔ̀
'(I) don't know anymore'. The meaning is one of emphatic rhetori-
cal wonderment: à-mù ||| <<a-yɛ́-yɛ́ qo ɔ̄ ¦ à-thɔ̀?-ma kà? | te-câ
cɔ̂ la nā>> m̂â šī ɔ̀ ὲ? 'Otherwise, who knows <<what we might come
to have to live on in the future>>!'.

When ve is used instead of nā, the embedded clause is no
longer quotative, but is rather the nominalized object of šī, and
functions as a politely indirect request for information: {nɔ̂ ¦
á-ni=qhɔ̂? thâ ¦ fī qhà-nî cwὲ | ğa ve} | m̂â šī ɔ̀ 'I wonder how
many joy[72] of opium you got last year?' ("I do not know how
many..."). It seems likely that this latter usage is a calque on
the Thai (or Shan?) Clause + mâɟ sâab construction: <<khun ¦
aɟú? ¦ thâwraɟ>> mâɟ sâab khráb 'Would you mind telling me how old
you are, sir?' ("<<You-age-how much>> I do not know").

6.4 Relative clauses. A relative clause (RC) is embedded in a
larger sentence in such a way that it modifies a particular noun
of the latter. The marker of this subordination is the P$_{univ}$ ve:[73]

(a) [yà?-qɔ | ɟû qay ve] a-pi=qu chi ¦ a-šu le 'Who is this old
                          N$_{rh}$

lady (who/that is) walking along the road?'; (b) [và? qhe | chu
ve] Pîchɔ̂-pā ô ve tê ğâ ¦ nɔ̂ ve ɔ̀-chɔ̂ lâ 'Is that Shan man over
      N$_{rh}$

there who's fat as a pig your friend?'; (c) [nɔ̂ ɔ̀-mî=ma | cɔ̂ tā
ve] và?=ó-qō | câ pɔ̀ ɔ̀ lâ 'Is the pig's head that your wife boiled
   N$_{rh}$

all eaten up?'.

6.34d; 6.4

RC's are diagrammed by enclosing them in square brackets along with their relative-ve's,[74] and labelling the noun-head of the NP in the matrix sentence that is being modified. This N_h we call the 'relative head' (N_{rh}): e.g., a-pi=qu 'old lady', Pîchɔ̄-pā 'Shan man', và?=ó-qō 'pig's head'.

The RC may optionally contain, in addition to its obligatory VP, one or more associated NP's (e.g., yà?-qɔ 'road', và? qhe 'like a pig', nɔ̀ ɔ̀-mî=ma 'your wife'). However, no RC may contain a NP that is co-referential with the N_{rh}. In the case of RC's with non-transitive verbs, this means that the RC may not contain an agent-NP. In the case of transitive verbs, the RC may not contain an agent- or object-NP that refers to the same entity as the N_{rh}.[75]

An important constraint on the internal structure of RC's is that they may not contain unrestricted particles. This is because ve must always be the first in any sequence of P_u's, whether it is serving as the relative marker, as here, or under any other circumstances.[76]

Usually the RC precedes its N_{rh}. These are called 'left relative clauses' (LRC's). However, under certain conditions [below 6.49] it is sometimes possible to transfer a RC to a position immediately following its N_{rh}, so that it becomes a 'right relative clause' (RRC).

True relative clauses include a finite verb, either a V_{act} ([bɔ́-šī̆ | thè? bà ve] tê ğâ 'the one who kicked the ball away')

$$\quad V_h \quad V_v \qquad N_{rh}$$

or a V_{adj} ([yâ-ɛ́ hɨ | ɨ̄ ve] phɨ 'a dog that is as big as a child').

$$\quad V \qquad N_{rh}$$

Such true RC's are to be distinguished from the important types of modifiers we have called subordinate expressions (SE's), which are also attributable to noun-heads via the particle ve.[77] These SE's include qha-adverbials (qha bû? ɛ̀ ve jɨ 'enough liquor to

$$\qquad\qquad N_h$$

satiate'); stative adverbials (qɔ̀? ɛ̀ ve á-thɔ 'a curved knife');

$$\qquad N_h$$

reduplicated V_{adj}'s (<u>mɛ̀-mɛ̀</u> [<u>ɛ̀</u>] <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{\underline{\bar{ɔ}\text{-chî}}}$ 'very tasty curry'); in-

tensified V_{adj}'s (<u>nâʔ-tɔ́</u> [<u>ɛ̀</u>] <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{\underline{\text{á-nâʔ=qā}}}$ 'a jet-black crow');

verbal elaborate expressions (<u>ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa</u> [<u>ɛ̀</u>] <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{\underline{\text{šî-ğwé}}}$ 'a happy

and joyous meeting'); and, from one point of view, 'nadverbial'
combinations of <u>chi</u> + extentive noun (<u>chi</u> <u>šɨ̆</u> [<u>ɛ̀</u>] <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{\underline{\text{á-pɔ̂}}}$ 'a

banana this size'; <u>chi</u> <u>má-ɛ̀</u> [<u>ɛ̀</u>] <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{\underline{\text{pɛ̂-ğɨ}}}$ 'only this much honey').

Like some true RC's, all types of SE's may be shifted to the right
of the N_h with little or no change in meaning (<u>á-thɔ</u> <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɛ̀</u> <u>ve</u> $\underset{N_h}{}$ 'a

curved knife', etc.) [Above 4.42, below 6.493]. However, the SE's
are not true RC's, not only because they contain no finite (i.e.,
non-reduplicated, non-elaborated, non-intensified) verbs, but also
because they may be attributed to V_h's in the manner of adverbial
expressions (<u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɛ̀</u> $\underset{V_h}{\underline{te}}$ <u>ve</u> 'make curved', etc.).[78]

6.41 Remarks on VP's in relative clauses. Besides the verbal
nucleus, the VP of a RC may include any adverbial expression and/
or almost any member of the class of verb-particles. One adverb,
<u>qha</u> 'all' [4.412(10)], hardly ever appears alone as an AE in main
clauses, though it freely occurs as such in RC's: [<u>qha</u> <u>qay</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>ve</u>]
                                                         AE   V P_v

$\underset{N_{rh}}{\underline{\bar{ɔ}\text{-chɔ̂}}}$ | <u>gâ</u> <u>la</u> <u>ò</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Have all our friends who want to go arrived

yet?' ("all our wanting to go friends").

    We have seen that a negated verb in main clauses is only
rarely followed by <u>ve</u>, unless special emphasis is intended [4.711];
but the negative adverb <u>mâ</u> appears freely in RC's despite the
following relative-<u>ve</u>: {[<u>ɔ̄-mî=ma</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>šē</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā</u> <u>lɛ̀</u> |
                                                   AE   V P_v

<<yâ-nὲ>> qɔ̂ʔ ve} 'A man [who has not yet taken a wife] is called a "youth"'.

The only P_v's which may not occur in relative clauses are the Group II asseverative à̲, and the imperative P_v's of Group IVa. Of quite rare occurrence in RC's is the Group III P_v ò̲ 'completed action / change of state'.[79] To express completed action in a RC one is not likely to say, e.g., *[ɔ̲̄ | câ ò̲ ve] chɔ | yɨ̀ʔ e phὲʔ ɔ 'The people [who have finished eating] may go to sleep'. Rather the Group I P_v tā̲ ∿ ā̲ ∿ á̲ 'prior action / continuously relevant action / perfective' is used instead: [ɔ̲̄ | câ tā̲ ve] chɔ̲̄ 'the
$$\underset{P_v}{} \quad \underset{N_{rh}}{}$$
people who have finished eating'. In fact tā̲ is the P_v with the most important role to play in RC's. A LRC consisting simply of [V + tā̲], with no associated NP, functions like an adjective,[80] and may be shifted to the right of the N_{rh} with little change in meaning [below 6.492].

The P_v tù̲ 'unrealized action/future/purposive' may have any of its usual shades of meaning in RC's. Sometimes it is clearly future: [mà̲ʔ-yâ | te tù̲ ve] Lâhū̲-yâ cɛ tí̲ ¦ Thây-chɔ ɔ̄=tὲ-tὲ à̲ʔ |
$$\underset{P_v}{} \quad \underset{N_{rh}}{}$$

sɔ̲̄ tù̲ yò̲ 'Only those Lahu [who will do military service] will be considered real Thais'. Sometimes a purposive translation is called for:[81] chi-bò̲ʔ ¦ [chὲ̲-s̆a tù̲ ve] mû-mɨ̲ | mâ hêʔ ò̲ 'It's now no longer a country [where one can live comfortably]' ("...a country [for living comfortably in]"). Often either interpretation is equally possible out of context: [dô̲ʔ tù̲ ve] bɔ́-s̆ī̲ 'the ball
$$\underset{N_{rh}}{}$$
that (someone) will hit' (future) / 'a ball for hitting' (purposive).

6.42 <u>Types of relative head</u>. Almost all conceivable types of autonomous nouns may be modified by a RC. (Notable exceptions are pronouns[82] [above 3.22], interrogative nouns [3.23], and spatial demonstratives [3.24].)

<div align="right">6.42</div>

(1) <u>Common</u> <u>nouns</u> serving as N_{rh}'s may be determined, quantified, and/or followed by an extentive noun: {[á-ni=qhɔʔ thâ ¦ <u>chi tê</u> <u>qhâʔ qhɔ</u> | <u>là tā ve</u>] <u>chɔ-ğû=pā</u> <u>chi</u> <u>nî</u> <u>ğâ</u> <u>qhe-lê</u> | ğa te ve} | mâ

$\underset{rh}{}$ $\underset{\text{Det}}{}$ $\underset{\text{Q}}{}$ $\underset{\text{ext}}{}$

N$_{rh}$ Det   Q   N$_{ext}$

<u>hêʔ</u> 'We shouldn't act like (N_{ext}) those (Det) two (Q) madmen (N_{rh}) [who came to this village last year]'.

(2) <u>Nominal</u> <u>elaborate</u> <u>expressions</u> behave exactly like ordinary common nouns in this respect: [Kâlâ-phu ve ɔ-lî=ɔ-qhâ | mâ ší ve] <u>qhɔ-qhô=lɔ=qhô≡yâ</u> | <u>dɔ hā jâ</u> 'The hill-folk ("people of the moun-

N$_{rh}$ (Elab$_n$)

tains and the valleys") [who don't know the white man's ways] are to be pitied'.

(3) According to one analysis, the <u>determiner</u> <u>chi</u> may be a N_{rh}, with the meaning 'this fact / this matter': [šu | →Ikɔ àʔ ¦ ğɨ-yɔ tù te ve] <u>chi</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ {yɔ-hɨ ¦ phɨ-šā | câ ve} <u>pa-tɔ yò</u>[83] 'The

N$_{rh}$ P$_n$

fact that other people make fun of the Akha is because they eat dog-meat'; [ɔ=qhâ-šɨ | ğàʔ chèʔ ve] <u>chi</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ [<<qáw-qáw>> qôʔ ve]

N$_{rh}$

<u>chi</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> ¦ chi pa-tɔ qôʔ-ma 'This is the reason for the fact that
N$_{rh}$

they chase people to bite them, (and) for the fact that they say "Bow-wow"!'.

 Alternatively, and perhaps preferably, the clause preceding the determiner may be analyzed as a nominalized <u>ve</u>-clause serving as the topic of the sentence, with the <u>chi</u> standing in apposition to it as a resumptive topic: {ɔ=qhâ-šɨ | ğàʔ chèʔ ve} ¦ chi ɔ̄ 'as for chasing people to bite them, this thing (they do)...'[84]

(4) A <u>numeral</u> <u>plus</u> <u>classifier</u> may be a N_{rh}, even with no overt preceding quantified head:[85] [šɨʔ-cè | pɛ jâ ve] tê kà lɛ ¦ šêʔ

N$_{rh}$

cè ɔ̂ cè | thu bà kàʔ || tèʔ-chí mâ hêʔ 'Since it's a place [where there are plenty of trees], even if you chop down three or four it doesn't matter'.

6.42(1-4)

One important Num + Clf, <u>tê yâ(n)</u> 'one time / a time' (often followed by the temporal P$_{univ}$ <u>thâ</u>) occurs typically as a N$_{rh}$ with the meaning 'when RC': [ɔ̄ | câ pɔ̂ ve] <u>tê yân</u> ¦ á-qhɔ | qòʔ e <u>tù</u>

$$\text{N}_{rh}$$

<u>cê</u> 'He says he'll go home when [he finishes eating]' ("at the time of his finishing eating"); ⟨ [{và? qha=pɔ̂-ε̂ thà? ¦ šu | qhɔ̂ yù tā ve} <u>thà?</u> | g̈a š̌ī ve] <u>tê yân thâ</u> ¦ yɔ̂-h<s>i</s> | bɔ̂? jâ ve ⟩ yɔ̀ 'When

P$_n$ N$_{rh}$

they found out that all the pigs had been stolen, they were very angry'.

(5) The <u>spatial-temporal</u> M$_{pfx}$'s ɔ=g̈û-š̌<s>i</s>̄ 'before' and <u>(ɔ=)qhɔ̂?-nɔ́</u> 'after' frequently occur as N$_{rh}$'s with their temporal meaning:[86]
{[<u>Thây=m<s>i</s>̀-g<s>i</s></u> | yà? la ve] ɔ=g̈û-š̌<s>i</s>̄ ¦ ŋà-h<s>i</s> Lâhū-yâ ¦ nô ɔ̄ ¦ Pîchɔ̂=

N$_{rh}$

<u>mû-m<s>i</s>̀ ɔ̄</u> | chê á ve} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'Before coming down into Thailand, we Lahu lived up there in Shan State'; [ká | te pɔ̂ á ò ve] qhɔ̂?-nɔ́ ɔ̄ |

V$_h$ V$_v$ P$_v$ P$_v$ N$_{rh}$

<u>ha-lὲ=ha-qa te phὲ? tù yɔ̀</u> 'After we've finished working we'll be able to relax'.[87]

(6) Most types of <u>nominalized clauses</u> [above 6.1] may themselves be modified by RC's: {<u>qay gâ pā</u>} 'those who want to go' →
[<u>ni-ma</u> | <s>i</s>̄ <u>ve</u>] {<u>qay gâ pā</u>} kà? | a-cí kɔ̂? à 'Even the brave ones

N$_{rh}$

who want to go are a little afraid';[88] {<u>Cà-lɔ̂</u> ¦ hâ | bɔ̂? k<s>i</s>} 'the place where Jalaw shot the mountain-goat' → [ô tê qhɔ qhô | cɔ̂ ve] {<u>Cà-lɔ̂</u> ¦ hâ | bɔ̂? k<s>i</s>} 'the place where Jalaw shot the mountain-

N$_{rh}$

goat, which is up on that mountain'; {mê̂?-phû | ch<s>i</s> tù} 'something for washing one's face' → [<u>í-kâ?</u> | nê? šɔ̂ ve] {<u>mê̂?-phû</u> | ch<s>i</s> tù}   *

N$_{rh}$

'something for washing one's face, that is still wet';[89] {<u>lē-g<s>i</s></u> thâ} 'the time that one plays' → [<u>ha-lὲ jâ ve</u>] {<u>lē-g<s>i</s> thâ</u>} 'the   *

N$_{rh}$

very happy playing-time'.

6.42(5-6)

The only nominalized structures that may not be modified by
* RC's are <u>ve</u>-clauses. If one wishes to say, e.g., 'It's raining
very much' via a <u>ve</u>-clause, one cannot say *[m$\hat{a}$ j$\hat{a}$ <u>ve</u>]
{<u>mû-yè</u> | <u>là ve</u>} y$\grave{o}$[90] "It is a rain-falling [that is very much]".
$$N_{rh}$$

One must rather invert the sentence, so that a nominalized <u>ve</u>-
clause comes first: $\left\{ \text{\{<u>mû-yè</u> | <u>là ve</u>\} | <u>mâ jâ ve</u>} \right\}$ y$\grave{o}$ "The rain-
falling is very much" ("As for the rain-falling, it is a very-
much thing"). Similarly, *[$\Im$-kh$\Im$ | <u>bù jâ ve</u>] {<u>1$\Im$ câ ve</u>} y$\grave{o}$
$$N_{rh}$$

"It's an asking-to-eat that is very loud" is impossible. Instead
one would say $\left\{ \text{\{<u>1$\Im$ câ ve</u>\} ¦ <u>$\Im$-kh$\Im$</u> | <u>bù jâ ve</u>} \right\}$ y$\grave{o}$ 'Their asking
to eat is very loud' ("As for the asking-to-eat, it's very loud").

<u>6.43 RC's and genitive constructions</u>. (1) The head of a rela-
tive clause may itself be the possessor nucleus (N_1) in a N_1 + <u>ve</u>
+ N_2 genitive construction: [<u>Man=mì-g$\ddagger$</u> | <u>chê ve</u>] <u>Lâhū-yâ ve</u>
$$N_{rh}/N_1$$

<u>qhâ?-qh$\Im$</u> $\bar{\Im}$ ¦ <u>lì?-hê=yè</u> | <u>c$\Im$ $\Im$ lâ</u> 'Are there any schools in the
$$N_2$$

villages of the Lahu [who live in Burma]?'.
(2) Alternatively, a RC may modify the <u>second</u> of the two nouns
in a genitive construction (the possessed head): <u>và? ve</u> [<u>c$\Im$ $\bar{a}$ ve</u>]
$$N_1$$

<u>ó-qō</u> | <u>mè jâ</u> 'A pig's head [that has been boiled] is very tasty';
$$N_{rh}/N_2$$

<u>chi lè</u> ¦ <u>Lâhū-yâ ve</u> [<u>lē-g$\ddagger$ tù ve</u>] <u>$\Im$-qh$\Im$</u> | <u>y$\grave{o}$ lâ</u> 'Is this something
$$N_1 \qquad\qquad N_{rh}/N_2$$

that is used in a Lahu game?' ("Is this an implement of the Lahu
[that is for playing]?").
(3) When it makes sense to do so, the N_2 of a genitive construc-
tion may be interpreted as the head of a RC even though the N_1
intervenes between the RC and the N_2: <u>chi lè</u> ¦ [<u>dà? jâ ve</u>]

Lâhū-yâ ve ɔ-lî yò 'This is a very fine custom of the Lahu
N_1 N_{rh}/N_2

people'. Of course it is always possible to interpret such sen-
tences in the manner of (1) above, with the N_1 as relative head:
chi lɛ̀ ¦ [dàʔ jâ ve] Lâhū-yâ ve ɔ-lî yò 'This is a custom of the
              N_{rh}/N_1 N_2
very fine Lahu people'.[91]

For ambiguity in the interpretation of the N_2 of a genitive
construction in sentences containing two or more nested RC's, see
below 6.44. For the haplological conflation of relative and geni-
tive ve's in right relative clauses, see below 6.496.

6.44 Nested left relative clauses. It is perfectly possible to
have a LRC that itself contains a noun modified by a LRC:
[[mû-phe | mâ mu ve] yɛ̀ | cɔ̂ ve] chɔ | a-šu le 'Who is the
                        N_{rh-2} N_{rh-1}

person (N_{rh-1}) [who has the house (N_{rh-2}) [whose roof is not
high]]?'; [[qɛ̀ jâ ve] ɔ-gàʔ ¦ ɔ=tɔ-tɔ | gàʔ ve] vɨ-nâʔ ô-ve |
                       N_{rh-2} N_{rh-1}

kɔ̂ʔ à 'I'm afraid of those black snakes (N_{rh-1}) [that are striped
at intervals with [very broad] stripes (N_{rh-2})]' ("...with
stripes that are very broad").

The grammarian may of course amuse himself by concocting sen-
tences with a degree of relative embedding higher than two. A
Lahu might accept some of these, though he would never produce
such utterances spontaneously: [[[yɨ | bɛ tā ve] mû-phe | mâ mu
                                              N_{rh-3}

ve] yɛ̀ | cɔ̂ ve] chɔ | a-šu le 'Who is the person (N_{rh-1}) [who
    N_{rh-2} N_{rh-1}

has the house (N_{rh-2}) [whose roof (N_{rh-3}) [that is thatched with
grass]] is not high]?', etc.

In a sentence with nested relative clauses there are often
several different ways of interpreting a genitive construction.
In particular, if the N_1 (possessor nucleus) comes early in the

6.44

sentence, there may be several alternative candidates for the role of N_2 (possessed head). Consider the possible partners of the N_1 ộ 'that' (ộ $\underline{ve}$ N_2 'that N_2') in the following sentence:

a. [[ộ ve mû-phe | mâ mu ve] yè | cɔ̀ ve] chɔ ¦ a-šu le
     N_1 N_2 N_{rh} N_{rh}

   'Who is the person who has the house that roof of which is
   not high?'[92]

b. [ộ ve [mû-phe | mâ mu ve]   yè | cɔ̀ ve] chɔ ¦ a-šu le
     N_1 N_{rh}/N_2 N_{rh}

   'Who is the person who has that house whose roof is not high?'

c. ộ ve [[mû-phe | mâ mu ve] yè | cɔ̀ ve]   chɔ   ¦ a-šu le
     N_1 N_{rh} N_{rh}/N_2

   'Who is that person who has the house whose roof is not high?'

6.45 Co-ordinate vs. nested RC's. When two consecutive relative clauses precede a given noun, and the second of these contains an associated NP, there is always a potential ambiguity with respect to the N_{rh} of the first RC. Either the two RC's are co-ordinate in their subordination to the following noun (i.e., their N_{rh}'s are the same), or else the first RC is subordinate to the associated NP of the second (i.e., the first RC is embedded within the second). Consider the RC's [lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ≡qhɔ | cɔ̀ ve] 'which is in the sea', and [í-kâʔ | chɔ̀ʔ pɨ ve] 'which can suck up water', in the sentence: [lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ≡qhɔ | cɔ̀ ve] [í-kâʔ | chɔ̀ʔ pɨ ve]
                          RC_1 RC_2

ɔ̀-ku tê cɔ̀ yò . If RC_1 and RC_2 are both co-ordinately modifying
N_{rh}

ɔ̀-ku 'a hard thing' (as in the above diagramming) the sentence means 'It's a kind of hard object that's in the sea, (and) that can suck up water'. However, if RC_1 is taken as modifying the NP í-kâʔ 'water' in RC_2, the meaning is 'It's a kind of hard object that can suck up the water that's in the sea': [[lâ-chɨ=g̈ɨ≡qhɔ |

6.45

cɔ̀ ve] <u>í-kâʔ</u> | <u>chɔ̀ʔ pɨ ve</u>] <u>ɔ̀-ku tê cɔ̀ yò</u>
      N_{rh}   N_{rh}

N$_{rh}$ N$_{rh}$

(RC$_1$)   (RC$_2$)

Sometimes one of the interpretations is absurd:

[<u>í-mû</u> | <u>g̈ɔ̀ ve</u>]   [<u>màʔ</u> | <u>te tù ve</u>]   <u>lɔ̀</u> <u>yò</u> can only mean 'It's a

  RC$_1$ RC$_2$ N$_{rh}$

cart pulled by horses, for making war'. If <u>màʔ</u> 'war' is taken as

the N$_{rh}$ of RC$_1$, we get the nonsensical *'It's a cart for making

the war that is pulled by horses'.

There is no theoretical limit to the number of LRC's that may

be co-ordinately conjoined. The following example has three:

[<u>Thây=mì-gɨ</u> | <u>chê ve</u>]   [<u>phu</u> | <u>mâ cɔ̀ ve</u>]   [<u>kán</u> | <u>te gâ ve</u>]

    RC$_1$ RC$_2$ RC$_3$

<u>Lâhū-yâ tê g̈â le-le</u> | <u>là phɛ̀ʔ</u> ɔ 'All Lahu who live in Thailand

  N$_{rh}$

(and) have no money (and) want to work may come'.

For similar interplay between co-ordinate and nested modi-

fiers, see the discussion under 'RC's and genitive constructions',

above 6.43.

<u>6.46 Left relative clauses which are compound sentences</u>. In the

above discussion we have confined ourselves for simplicity's sake

to RC's which do not contain a Cl$_{nf}$. But there is nothing to pre-

vent a RC from itself being a compound sentence: [<u>nâʔ-chɨ</u> | <u>kɔ</u>

<u>kàʔ</u> || <u>dɔ̀ mâ phɛ̀ʔ ve</u>] <u>í-kâʔ</u> <u>qo</u> ; <u>qhà-qhe</u> | <u>te tù le</u> 'What shall

P$_{unf}$ N$_{rh}$

we do if it's water [that you can't drink even if you put medicine

in it]?'.

<u>6.47 Nominalizing ve versus relative ve: do we need 'deletion of</u>

<u>a relative head'?</u> Since one and the same morpheme, <u>ve</u>, may be

used either to nominalize clauses or to subordinate RC's to their

N$_{rh}$'s, it is sometimes hard to say which type of <u>ve</u>-clause we have

when a NP follows it directly.[93] Consider the sentence <u>tê-qhâʔ-</u>

tê-lɔ šī ve a-pi=qu šɨ e ve yò: (a)   if the clause tê-qhâʔ-tê-lɔ
| šī ve 'the whole village knows' is taken as a nominalization,
the sentence is to be analyzed {tê-qhâʔ-tê-lɔ | šī ve} ¦ {a-pi=qu
| šɨ e ve} yò 'What the whole village knows is, the old lady has
died';[94]   (b)   if the clause is interpreted as a RC modifying
a-pi=qu 'old lady', the sentence becomes {[tê-qhâʔ-tê-lɔ | šī ve]
a-pi=qu | šɨ e ve} yò 'The old lady [whom the whole village knows]
    N
     rh
has died'.[95]   Under interpretation (a), a-pi=qu belongs to a
separate NP from the ve-clause.

An exactly analogous example is the following sentence: chi
lɛ̀ ŋà má-mo=šī câ ve a-lɔ tê pɔ̂ʔ yò.   (a)   Taking the clause ŋà ¦
má-mo=šī | câ ve 'I ate a mango', as a nominalization, the sen-
tence is to be analyzed chi lɛ̀ ¦ {ŋà ¦ má-mo=šī | câ ve} ¦ a-lɔ
tê pɔ̂ʔ yò 'This now is the first time I've ever eaten a mango'
("As for this, that is, as for my eating a mango, it's the first
time").   (b)   If the clause is interpreted as a RC modifying a-lɔ
tê pɔ̂ʔ 'the first time', the idiomatic English translation would
still be the same, although the literal meaning is different:
"As for this, it is the first time of my-mango-eating" / "As for
this, it is a my-mango-eating first time".

The same sort of ambiguity may exist even if the noun follow-
ing the ve-clause is of a sort that typically modifies a preceding
noun within the same NP (i.e., a determiner, extentive noun, etc.).
Thus, the sentence nɔ qôʔ ve chi ɔ̄ ɔ-tɛ̀ yò lâ 'Is this which you
are saying the truth?' can be taken two ways: (a)   {nɔ | qôʔ ve}
chi ɔ̄ ¦ ɔ-tɛ̀ yò lâ, where the determiner chi modifies the nomi-
Det
nalization {nɔ | qôʔ ve} 'that which you say'; or (b)   [nɔ | qôʔ
ve] chi ɔ̄ ¦ ɔ-tɛ̀ yò lâ, where [nɔ | qôʔ ve] is a RC modifying
    N
     rh
chi.[96]   The meaning is just about the same, regardless of which
interpretation is favored. Similarly, extentive nouns of the

a-kɛ́ and qhe classes appear after ve-clauses,[97] where one might argue whether they are the N_{rh}'s of RC's or merely the modifiers of preceding nominalizations: {fī̄ | dɔ̀ ve} a-kɛ́ ⁞ kacha | dɔ̀ gâ

$$N_{ext}$$

jâ or [fī̄ | dɔ̀ ve] a-kɛ́ ⁞ kacha | dɔ̀ gâ jâ 'Rather than smoking

$$N_{rh}$$

opium, I like to smoke marijuana'. All in all, the nominalization-analysis is to be preferred in these latter cases, since it better reveals the parallel behavior of natural nouns and nominalized ve-clauses.

Even in the absence of a following NP that a ve-clause may sensibly be taken to modify, we might claim the same ambiguity between nominalizing and relative ve, provided we are prepared to admit that the N_{rh} of a relative clause may be deleted if the meaning is clear. Consider the sentence dà? ve qhà-nî ğâ cɔ̀ è 'How many pretty ones are there?'. Here the clause dà? ve 'pretty' may be taken either as a nominalization ({dà? ve} ⁞ qhà-nî ğâ | cɔ̀ è "As for being pretty, how many people are there?"), or as a RC whose N_{rh} has been deleted:[98] [dà? ve] ☐ ⁞

$$N_{rh}$$

qhà-nî ğâ | cɔ̀ è. The missing N_{rh} would be supplied by the linguistic or situational context (yâ-mî=há 'girl', mí-chɔ 'shoulder-bag', etc.).

The deleted-N_{rh} theory has a certain initial persuasiveness by analogy with the deletion of a possessed head from genitive constructions [above 3.76]. From this viewpoint, the sentences yɔ̂ ve và? | qhâ? jâ lâ 'Is his pig very expensive?' (yɔ̂ ve và? "the pig of him" -- genitive), and [chu ve] và? | qhâ? jâ lâ 'Is

$$N_{rh}$$

the fat pig very expensive?', could both be truncated by an identical process, to yield: yɔ̂ ve ☐ | qhâ? jâ lâ 'Is his

$$\nu_h$$

very expensive?' and [chu ve] ☐ | qhâ? jâ lâ 'Is the fat one

$$N_{rh}$$

very expensive?'. (See the discussion of <u>chu mâ</u>, above 4.331B.)

Outweighing this consideration is the simple fact that an underlying N_{rh} is not at all necessary to explain how these sentences work. To interpret the <u>ve</u>-clauses as ordinary nominalizations does not distort the meaning, and has the crucial advantage of avoiding the multiplication of covert entities. To take a few more-complicated examples: {bùʔ phîʔ ā ve} | cɔ̀ mâ hɛ́ 'There are probably lots of them that are written wrong' ("Those that are written wrong are probably many"); { {<<BREAD>> qôʔ ve} lɛ̀ ¦ Lâhū-khɔ̂ ¦ qhà-qhe | qôʔ ve } le 'How do you say "bread" in Lahu?' ("As for that which means 'bread', how do you say it in Lahu?"); { ŋà-hɨ {Khrɪ̀ʔ-yâ | phɛ̀ʔ ve} ¦ {phâʔ-dàʔ-gɨ-dàʔ ve} | dàʔ ve } lâ 'Is it good that we who are Christians should bicker and squabble?' ("As far as we who are Christians are concerned, is bickering and squabbling a good thing?").

Even if we find a noun that it makes sense to insert as a N_{rh} after the <u>ve</u> ([bùʔ phîʔ ā ve] lɪ̀ʔ-mɛ̂ʔ 'the letters that are
$$N_{rh}$$
written wrong'; [<<BREAD>> qôʔ ve] ɔ-khɔ̂ 'the word that means
$$N_{rh}$$
"bread"'; [Khrɪ̀ʔ-yâ | phɛ̀ʔ ve] chɔ 'we people who are Christians'),
$$N_{rh}$$
this would precisely defeat the purpose of <u>ve</u>-nominalizations in general. A nominalized <u>ve</u>-construction, like an English -<u>ing</u> or <u>to</u> nominalization, is intended to reify a clause abstractly, without committing it to the modification of anything else in the sentence.[99] Once we admit deleted N_{rh}'s after some <u>ve</u>'s, consistency would demand that we stick them in after <u>every</u> post-verbal <u>ve</u>, even in the (very numerous) cases where the only semantically possible N_{rh} would be an empty one like ɔ-cɔ̀ 'thing' or ɔ-lɔ 'matter'. Thus in the last example above we would be forced to recognize no less than three underlying RC's: *ŋà-hɨ [Khrɪ̀ʔ-yâ | phɛ̀ʔ ve] chɔ ¦ [phâʔ-dàʔ-gɨ-dàʔ ve] ɔ-cɔ̀ ¦ [dàʔ ve] ɔ-cɔ̀ lâ. The
$$N_{rh} \qquad\qquad N_{rh} \qquad\qquad N_{rh}$$

upshot would be that we would have to remove <u>ve</u> from the ranks of the nominalizing particles entirely, with great complications en-suing throughout the grammar.[100]

   We therefore recognize no such entity as a 'relative clause with deleted N_{rh}'.

<u>6.48 Do we need 'deletion of relative ve' from LRC's?</u> The sub-ordinating particle <u>ve</u> may be omitted from genitive constructions, with no change in meaning, under certain conditions [3.75]: <u>ŋà ve ɔ̀-mî=ma</u> → <u>ŋà ɔ̀-mî=ma</u> 'my wife'. It is thus natural to wonder whether it is ever possible for relative <u>ve</u> to be similarly de-leted from its position between the RC and the N_{rh}. The answer is a qualified yes. There are a few special constructions where the deletion is possible [6.483], though it is certainly not a very general process in Lahu.[101] Furthermore, several construc-tions which are candidates for explanation in these terms are best accounted for otherwise [6.481-6.482].

<u>6.481 Deleted nominalizing ve masquerading as deleted relative ve.</u> <u>(1) Clause with negated verb + N.</u> Occasionally it happens that a clause whose verb is negated comes directly before a noun that it could sensibly be supposed to modify: <u>ŋà-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>šu lɔ</u> | <u>mâ šū tê cɔ̀-cɔ̀ à?</u> | <u>qha-dɛ̀? dɔ̀ ni mɛ̄</u> 'Please consider carefully all the ways we are not the same as others' (i.e., the ways we are infer-ior to others). The clause <u>ŋà-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>šu lɔ</u> | <u>mâ šu</u> 'we are not the same as others' customs' might be thought of as a RC modifying <u>tê cɔ̀-cɔ̀</u> 'all the ways', without benefit of a linking <u>ve</u>. The ab-sence of <u>ve</u> might be explained by its antipathy for negated verbs [4.711]. However, this argument will not hold up, since <u>relative ve</u> (as opposed to 'indicative' <u>ve</u>) occurs perfectly regularly after negated verbs [above 6.41]: [<u>mâ šī še ve</u>] ɔ̀-lɔ $\underset{N_{rh}}{}$ 'the things which we do not know yet'. Our clause is rather to be taken as the nominalized topic of the sentence, with <u>nominalizing ve</u> absent because of the negated verb.[102] This clause cannot be quantified

<div align="right">*6.48; 6.481; 6.481(1)*</div>

directly by the following Q, <u>tê cə̀-cə̀</u>.[103] The Q belongs rather to
a separate object-NP: "As for our not being the same as others,
let us carefully consider all the ways". The <u>ve</u> may be reinserted
in the embedded clause with no change of meaning: {ŋà-hɨ ¦ šu lɔ
| mâ šu ve} ¦ tê cə̀-cə̀ à? | qha-dɛ̀? dɔ́ ni mē.

(2) Clause + dê + yɔ̀. The bound morpheme <u>dê</u> 'something useless /
something which is in vain' occurs only after a clause and before
the affirmative P_{uf} <u>yɔ̀</u>, with the meaning 'Clause is a waste of
time'/'Clause is useless': {chi qhe | gɨ tô chɛ̂} ¦ <u>dê yɔ̀</u> 'Hanging
around like this is a waste of time'; nâ?-chɨ | pî kà? || {pî} ¦
<u>dê yɔ̀</u> 'Even if you give (him) medicine, it's useless' ("the giving
is useless"). The clauses preceding <u>dê</u> look more like nominaliza-
tions than anything else, even though nominalizing <u>ve</u> never overt-
ly appears in our data: (*){chi qhe | gɨ tô chɛ̂ ve} ¦ <u>dê yɔ̀</u> (?).
Although it would seem that <u>dê</u> is a nominal morpheme (and thus a
possible N_{rh}), the fact that it is <u>bound</u> makes the interpretation
of the preceding clause as a RC highly implausible. (The fact
that N_{ext}'s of the <u>a-kɛ́</u> and <u>qhe</u> classes are bound morphemes is an
important confirmation of the analysis of <u>ve</u>-clauses that precede
them as nominalizations rather than as RC's.[104])

6.482 Constituents of noun-compounds masquerading as N_{rh}'s.

Occasionally one encounters a sentence like the following: {yɔ̂
á-thâ=á-yê mə̂? khɔ̂ | kâ e lɛ || yɔ̂-hɨ | →há-qō qhɔ | ğâ-thè? lò?
a← tɛ̂ te ve} cê 'Hearing the sound of him blowing the jewsharp,
they tried with all their might to get inside the cave'. At first
glance it might appear that yɔ̂ ¦ á-thâ=á-yê | mə̂? 'he blows the
jewsharp' is behaving like a RC modifying khɔ̂ 'sound' with no
intervening <u>ve</u>. Actually, however, <u>mə̂?-khɔ̂</u> is nothing more than
a noun-compound ('the sound of blowing') of the $[V + N]_n$ type.[105]
The whole stretch <u>á-thâ=á-yê≡mə̂?-khɔ̂</u> 'the sound of blowing the
jewsharp' is a unitary higher-order compound, to which <u>yɔ̂</u> 'he'
stands in a genitival relationship. (It will be remembered that
one of the situations where genitive <u>ve</u> is deletable is when the
possessor nucleus is a pronoun -- above 3.75.)

6.481(2); 6.482

6.483 Genuine deletions of relative-ve. There remain a few
specific constructions where there is no denying that a relative
ve has been deleted:

(1) Before certain N_{rh}'s that are time-expressions.

a) Clause + pɔ̀ + (ɔ̀=)qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́: The noun qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ ~ ɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ 'the
time after/afterwards' occurs with great frequency as the N_{rh} of
normal relative clauses containing the V_v pɔ̀ 'finish V_h'ing', to
yield structures that translate as 'after finishing Clause'ing;
after Clause'ing': [ɔ̄ | câ pɔ̀ ve] qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ ¦ šā | ca ga̋ʔ e vɨ̀ lê
  V_h V_v N_{rh}

'After we finish eating, let's go hunting, okay?'; {[ya̱ | pɔ pɔ̀
  V_h V_v

ve] ɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ ¦ gü̈-tu=câʔ | ga tɔ̂ʔ-chêʔ ve} 'After the child is
  N_{rh}

born, one must cut the umbilical cord'. Owing undoubtedly to the
high degree of semantic congruence between pɔ̀ and qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́, rela-
tive ve may freely be deleted in this construction: {[ša-ma |
ti pɔ̀ ☐] ɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́ qo ¦ á-po-qo ɔ̀-šɛ̋ | ga te ve} 'After I
  V_h V_v N_{rh}

finish planting the maize, I'll have to make a new field-hut'. It
is as if the two words were welded into a single unit (pɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́
~ pɔ̀≡ɔ̀=qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ́), that functions as a compound versatile-verb or a
compound P_v. It seems likely that the ve-deletion here was
favored historically by an analogy with the Shan equivalent of the
Thai V_h + sèd lɛ́ɛw construction.[106]

b) When the N_{rh} contains either of the morphemes yân or khɨ. If
the relative head is the noun ɔ̀-yâ(n) 'time', or either of the Q's
tê yâ(n) 'a time / one time' or tê khɨ 'a moment / one moment',
relative ve may be omitted. What seems to be happening here is
that these time-words are moving syntactically in the direction of
the temporal P_{univ} thâ, which, being a particle, may occur direct-
ly after the verb of its clause. Thus: [mû-ni | tɔ̂ʔ-hɛ ve]
                                                     V

6.483; 6.483(1)

$\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{tê khɨ}}}$ → [mû nɨ | tɔ̂ʔ-hɛ ☐] $\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{tê khɨ}}}$ 'a time when the sun is out

strong' (cf. mû-nɨ $\underset{V}{\underline{\text{tɔ̂ʔ-hɛ}}}$ $\underset{\substack{P \\ univ}}{\underline{\text{thâ}}}$ 'id.'); [mû | $\underset{}{\underline{\text{thɨ ve}}}$] $\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{ɔ-yân}}}$ →

[mû | $\underline{\text{thɨ}}$ ☐] $\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{ɔ-yân}}}$ 'when the day is dawning'; [$\underline{\text{vàʔ}}$ | $\underline{\text{tɨ}}$ ☐]

$\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{tê yân}}}$ ¦ {ɔ-khɔ̂ | $\underline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{aw ve}}$} | $\underline{\text{cɔ̂}}$ ɔ 'When you kill a pig, there's a

prayer to say'.

    Similarly to what we have just seen in section a), when the
relative clause contains the V_v $\underline{\text{pɔ̂}}$, plus the completed-action P_v
$\underline{\text{ɔ̀}}$, relative $\underline{\text{ve}}$ is particularly likely to be deleted if the N_{rh} is
$\underline{\text{tê yân}}$: [á-po-qo ɔ-šɨ̌ | $\underset{\substack{V_h \; V_v \; P_v}}{\underline{\text{te}}\;\underline{\text{pɔ̂}}\;\underline{\text{ɔ̀}}}$ ☐] $\underset{\substack{N_{rh} \quad P_{univ}}}{\underline{\text{tê yân}}\;\underline{\text{thâ}}}$ ¦ hɛ qhɔ ¦

$\overline{\text{ɔ}}$ | $\underline{\text{te}}$ câ phɛ̀ʔ tù $\underline{\text{yɔ̀}}$ 'When we've finished making the new field-
hut, we'll be able to cook food in the fields'. Here the deletion
of $\underline{\text{ve}}$ has the additional motivation of its antipathy for the P_v
$\underline{\text{ɔ̀}}$ [see above 4.64(5); 6.41].

c) When the N_{rh} is the spatio-temporal M_{pfx} $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$. We have seen
how the word $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$ 'nearby' ($\underline{\text{yɛ̀ pâ-nê}}$ ∿ $\underline{\text{yɛ̀ ɔ=pâ-nê}}$ 'near the
house') has become fused with the P_v $\underline{\text{la}}$ to form a compound P_v
indicating imminence (a becoming-near of the eventuation of the
verbal action) [above 4.61(4)]: yɔ̂ | $\underset{V}{\underline{\text{šɨ̌}}}$ $\underset{P_v}{\underline{\text{la=pâ-nê}}}$ yɔ̀ 'He is on the

verge of dying'. However, $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$ may also appear directly after
the verb, with the same meaning: yâ-mɨ ¦ yâ | $\underset{V}{\underline{\text{pɔ}}}$ $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$ thâ 'when
a girl is about to give birth'. We can interpret this construc-
tion in two ways: either we can admit $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$ into the ranks of the
P_v's even when $\underline{\text{la}}$ does not precede; or we can invoke the deletion
of relative $\underline{\text{ve}}$ and call $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$ the N_{rh} of a RC. The latter seems
to be the better alternative, in view of the fact that $\underline{\text{ve}}$ is in-
deed insertible between the verb and $\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}$, with no change of
meaning: [yâ-mɨ ¦ yâ | $\underline{\text{pɔ}}$ $\underline{\text{ve}}$] $\underset{\substack{N \\ rh}}{\underline{\text{pâ-nê}}}$ thâ.

(2) <u>tù</u>-clauses in constituency with a directly following noun.
Relative clauses containing the purposive P_v <u>tù</u> are particularly
prone to having their <u>ve</u> deleted: [vɨ̀ <u>tù</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>phu</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̂</u> → [vɨ̀
<u>tù</u> ☐] <u>phu</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̂</u> 'There's no money to buy it with' ("There's
N_{rh}
no money which is for buying it"). Similarly, {[<u>bo</u> | <u>lɔ̂</u> <u>tù</u> ☐]
ɔ-<u>po</u> | <u>là</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'I have come in order to pray' ("[I] have come
N_{rh}
[for] a sake which is for praying"); [q̄aw <u>tù</u> ☐] ɔ-<u>khɔ̂</u> | <u>a-cɨ́</u>
N_{rh}
<u>bù-chwɛ</u> <u>te</u> <u>mɛ̄</u> 'Please tell it a little louder' ("Please make a
little louder the sounds which are for telling"); {[ɔ-<u>mō</u> <u>qha=pɔ̂-ɛ̀</u>
<u>thà?</u> | <u>kâ</u> <u>pɨ́</u> <u>tù</u> ☐] ɔ-<u>lɔn</u> | <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>qo</u> || ɔ-<u>yân</u> | <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'If
N_{rh}
there is any matter to let the whole group hear about, there's
time (for it)'.

These cases must of course be distinguished from ordinary
purpose-clauses [above 6.2] which are governed by the verb of the
matrix sentence (even if an associated NP of this main clause
comes directly after the <u>tù</u>): {→Cà-lɔ̂ ¦ qhâ?-š̌ɛ | phɛ̀? <u>tù</u>←
<u>yɔ̂-hɨ</u> | <u>te</u> <u>chê</u> <u>ve</u>} 'They're trying to make Jalaw headman'. Here
the NP <u>yɔ̂-hɨ</u> 'they' is not being modified by the <u>tù</u>-clause, and
it makes no sense to insert <u>ve</u> before it.

(3) Deletions of relative <u>ve</u> in the archaic religious language.
In the special variety of Lahu used in animist prayers, one finds
many constructions that are quite odd from the point of view of
the modern colloquial language.[107] In particular, <u>ve</u>'s are often
deleted, apparently to give a denser texture to the lines of
verse by omitting syllables whose absence does not affect the
sense. Thus, one invocation to the deity <u>Pi-yâ</u> begins: <u>áa</u> |||
<u>dà?</u> <u>ŋà</u> <u>Pi=jɔ̂-mɔ̂</u> 'Ah, good my lord <u>Pi-yâ</u>!'. Here the head-noun
<u>Pi=jɔ̂-mɔ̂</u> 'lord <u>Pi-yâ</u>' is modified both by the pronoun <u>ŋà</u> 'I' and
the V_{adj} <u>dà?</u> 'good'. In modern Lahu, genitive <u>ve</u> is regularly
deletable if the possessor nucleus is a pronoun, as here, so

6.483(2-3)

there is nothing strange about the construction ŋà Pi=jɔ̂-mɔ̂.
However, nowadays one could never delete the relative ve from
such a RC as [dà? ve] Pi=jɔ̂-mɔ̂ 'the good Lord Pi-yâ'. The best
$$N_{rh}$$
modern Lahu version of this phrase would be ŋà ve [dà? ve]
Pi=jɔ̂-mɔ̂, where the relative clause is embedded as the modifier
$$v_h/N_{rh}$$
of the possessed head of the genitive construction.[108]

(4) Deletion of relative ve from right-relative clauses is quite
a separate matter, to be discussed in 6.49.

6.49 Right relative clauses (RRC's). Certain types of relative
clauses may be shifted to the right of their N_{rh},[109] with little
or no change in meaning.[110] These shiftable clauses are all of
quite simple structure. Usually they contain no associated NP's,
and consist simply of a verb or $V + P_v$. In particular, the only
relative clauses that can make the switch are those where the VP
ascribes some more or less permanent quality to the N_{rh}: i.e.,
where the verb is either an adjective, or a transitive V_{act} fol-
lowed by tā ∿ ā ∿ tá ∿ á, the 'perfective' P_v indicating action
that is permanent or long-lasting in its effects.

In addition to the right-shiftable structures that are true
relative clauses (containing finite verbs), the class of modifiers
we have designated as subordinate expressions (SE's)[111] may also
make the switch from left to right. These include qha-adverbials,
stative adverbials, reduplicated and intensified V_{adj}'s, adjec-
tival elaborate expressions, and extentive expressions containing
the determiner chi: all structures which impute a permanent
quality to their heads.

A RRC occupies a position immediately after its N_{rh}. Any
particles (P_n and/or P_u's) which may have followed the N_{rh} in the
'original' LRC must come after the RRC in the new sentence:[112]

$$[Cl + \underline{ve}] + N_{rh} + (P_n) + (P_u) \rightarrow N_{rh} + [Cl + \underline{ve}] + (P_n) + (P_u) \ .$$
   LRC   RRC

6.483(4); 6.49

In most types of RRC's and SE's, relative ve is retained even in
the post-head position. Sometimes, however, the ve may drop, so
that the resulting N_{rh} + Cl resembles an ordinary $[N + V]_n$ com-
pound.

<u>6.491 Adjectival RRC's</u>. All LRC's consisting of a single V_{adj}
may be shifted to the right of their N_{rh}: {[dàʔ ve] mɨ-kɨ |
                                                        N_{rh}

ǧa mɨ ve} | mâ hêʔ → {mɨ-kɨ [dàʔ ve] | ǧa mɨ ve} | mâ hêʔ 'We
                       N_{rh}

didn't get to sit in good seats' ("seats which were good");[113]
[mɛ̀ ve] ɔ̄-chî | cā̄ pî qo || nay tù yò → ɔ̄-chî [mɛ̀ ve] | cā̄ pî qo
         N_{rh} N_{rh}

|| nay tù yò 'If you feed him tasty curry, he'll recover'; [ha-lɛ̀
ve] chɔ ô tê ǧâ ¦ a-šu le → chɔ [ha-lɛ̀ ve] ô tê ǧâ ¦ a-šu le 'Who
    N_{rh} N_{rh}

is that happy person?'.

LRC's consisting of a single action-verb are definitely <u>not</u>
rightward-shiftable without meaning-change. Were we to shift such
LRC's as [qay ve] chɔ 'the people who go', [šɨ̄ ve] Kâlâ-phu 'the
white man (we) know'/'the white man who knows (it)', [pò ve] ŋâʔ
'a flying bird', [cɔ̂-câ ve] ŋâʔ 'a bird (one) boils to eat', the
resultant structures could only be interpreted as predications:
chɔ | qay ve 'people go', Kâlâ-phu | šɨ̄ ve 'the white man knows
(it)'/'(someone) knows the white man', ŋâʔ | pò ve 'the bird
flies', ŋâʔ | cɔ̂-câ ve '(one) boils the bird to eat'/'the bird
boils it to eat'.[114] On the other hand, sequences of $N + V_{adj}$ +
ve are always ambiguous in principle, out of context: ŋâʔ | dàʔ
ve 'The birds are pretty' [predication] / ŋâʔ [dàʔ ve] 'pretty
                                                      N_{rh}

birds' [RRC].

After certain[115] combinations of $N_{rh} + V_{adj}$ in RRC's, it is
possible to omit the ve with no loss of clarity and no discernible
change in meaning: {chɔ [dàʔ ve] thàʔ ¦ phu | ŋā̄ phɛ̀ ve} →
                     N_{rh} P_n

{ch͟ɔ [dàʔ] th͟àʔ ⁝ ph͟u ∣ ŋ͟ā ph͟ɛ̀ʔ v͟e} 'One can lend money to good

$\underset{rh}{N}$ $\underset{n}{P}$

people'; h͟ɔ [q͟ā v͟e] t͟í q͟o ∣ š͟ùʔ-š͟àʔ j͟â → h͟ɔ [q͟ā] t͟í q͟o ∣ š͟ùʔ-š͟àʔ

j͟â 'A stupid elephant is a lot of trouble'. These N_{rh} + V_{adj}

sequences behave like unitary nouns, and may be considered 'right-

relative compounds' [above 3.36].

At this point it is appropriate to distinguish several types

of $[N-V]_n$ compounds:

a) $[N + V_{act}]_n$. These are true compounds, since they cannot be

considered to be reduced RRC's: ch͟ɔ-q͟hɔ̂ 'thief'[116] ("person-

steal"); ch͟ɔ-h͟ē 'liar'; ch͟ɔ-b͟ɔ̂ 'lazybones'; ch͟ɔ-n͟âʔ 'robber';

ch͟ɔ-j͟âʔ 'spy' ("person-skulk"); ch͟ɔ-ph͟ûʔ 'traitor, turncoat';

ch͟ɔ-g̈͟ɔ̂ʔ 'good-for-nothing' ("person-picked up [like fallen trash]"),

etc.

b) $[N + V_{adj}]_n$. Even if the verb of a [N-V] compound is a V_{adj},

we do not consider it to be a true 'right-relative compound' if

its meaning is not the same as that of the corresponding LRC and

RRC. (We might call compounds of this type 'semantically exo-

centric'.) Thus, [i͟ v͟e] ch͟ɔ means 'a (physically) small person',

but the compound ch͟ɔ-i has become specialized to mean 'an unimpor-

tant person, an average guy'; [ɨ̄͟ v͟e] ch͟ɔ 'a (physically) large

person', but ch͟ɔ-ɨ̄ 'a big-shot'; [m͟ɔ̂ v͟e] ch͟ɔ 'an aged person',

but ch͟ɔ-m͟ɔ̂ 'adult/elder/ancestor'. If v͟e is added to the compound,

it becomes a RRC with the non-specialized meaning: ch͟ɔ [i͟ v͟e]

$\underset{rh}{N}$

'a small person', etc.

c) $[N_{rh} + V_{adj}]_n$. In these true right-relative compounds, the

equivalent LRC's have the same meaning,[117] and the addition of v͟e

yields synonymous RRC's: ch͟ɔ-mu = ch͟ɔ [m͟u v͟e] = [m͟u v͟e] ch͟ɔ 'a

$\underset{rh}{N}$ $\underset{rh}{N}$

tall person'; ch͟ɔ-th͟ê = ch͟ɔ [th͟ê v͟e] = [th͟ê v͟e] ch͟ɔ 'a righteous

person'; ch͟ɔ-c͟à = ch͟ɔ [c͟à v͟e] = [c͟à v͟e] ch͟ɔ 'a diligent person',

etc.

6.491a-c

It is not possible to predict mechanically which adjectival RRC's may suffer the deletion of their <u>ve</u>. The possibility of <u>ve</u>-deletion depends on the particular V_{adj} and N_{rh} involved, and may even hinge on such accidental considerations as homophony with other morpheme-sequences. Thus, the LRC [dàʔ <u>ve</u>] <u>chɔ</u> 'a good person' is amenable to the rightward shift (<u>chɔ</u> [dàʔ <u>ve</u>]), and also to the omission of <u>ve</u> (<u>chɔ</u> [dàʔ]), while the formally iden- tical LRC [dàʔ <u>ve</u>] <u>nâʔ</u> 'a good gun' may only be shifted to <u>nâʔ</u> [dàʔ <u>ve</u>]. If <u>ve</u> is omitted, the resultant string *<u>nâʔ</u> [dàʔ] is nonsense. Some adjectives are homophonous with the unprefixed forms of M_{pfx}'s. Thus <u>chu</u> 'fat' is a homonym of <u>ɔ-chu</u> ∿ <u>chu</u> 'fat/grease/oil'. If such an adjective were transposed to the right of a N_{rh}, and the <u>ve</u> were omitted, the resulting $N_{rh} + V_{adj}$ sequence would be interpreted as the corresponding $N_h + M_{pfx}$: [<u>chu ve</u>] <u>yâ-mî</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ le</u> → <u>yâ-mî</u> [<u>chu ve</u>] ¦ <u>qhɔ le</u> 'Where's the fat girl?', but *<u>yâ-mî=chu</u> | <u>qhɔ le</u> 'Where's the girl-fat?'.[118]

The rightward shiftability of an adjectival LRC is greatly reduced or destroyed entirely if it contains material in addition to the V_{adj} itself: an associated NP, an AE, a versatile verb and/or a P_v. Furthermore, if the V_{adj} is preceded or followed by such other words, even should the clause be shiftable to the right of the N_{rh}, relative <u>ve</u> may under no circumstances be de- leted after the switch.[119] In fact, clarity will usually require a comma-pause after the <u>ve</u> as well. If a single adverb precedes the V_{adj}, the rightward shift may usually operate, provided <u>ve</u> is retained and followed by /,/: [<u>a-cí</u> <u>chu</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>yâ-mî</u> ¦ <u>a-šu le</u>
                                                                AE V_{adj} N_{rh}

'Who's the rather fat girl?' → <u>yâ-mî</u> [<u>a-cí</u> <u>chu</u> <u>ve</u>] , ¦ <u>a-šu le</u> 'id.'; [<u>mâ</u> <u>mu</u>   <u>ve</u>] <u>šɨʔ-cɛ̀</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>thu</u> <u>bà</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ</u> 'You can even cut
         AE V_{adj} N_{rh}

down the trees that aren't tall' → <u>šɨʔ-cɛ̀</u> [<u>mâ</u> <u>mu</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>kàʔ</u> , | <u>thu</u> <u>bà</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ</u> 'id.'.[120] If a V_v or P_v follows the V_{adj}, the shift may usually operate, provided <u>ve</u> is retained and followed by /,/:

[chu jâ ve] phɨ ¦ qhɔ̂ le 'Where's the very fat dog?' → phɨ [chu
   V‾adj V‾v   N‾rh

jâ ve] , ¦ qhɔ̂ le 'id.'; [mâ ɨ̄ šē ve] yâ ¦ kán | mâ ğa te 'Chil-
                       AE V P‾v   N‾rh

who aren't big yet don't have to work' → yâ [mâ ɨ̄ šē ve] , ¦ kán |
                                            N‾rh

mâ ğa te 'id.'. If an associated NP precedes the V‾adj, the shift

may not apply under any circumstances: [yàʔ-qɔ | dàʔ ve] mì-gɨ
                                         N‾P   V‾adj   N‾rh

yò 'It's a country where the roads are good', but not *mì-gɨ

[yàʔ-qɔ | dàʔ ve] yò [unintelligible].

6.492 RRC's consisting of V‾act + ta̅. We have noted above [4.1]

that one of the chief syntactic facts distinguishing adjectives

from action verbs is that V‾adj's may not be followed by the P‾v

ta̅ ~ a̅ ~ tá ~ á 'pre-existent state / perfective / action that is

permanent or long-lasting in its effects'. This fact receives a

natural explanation in the present context. Adjectives already

refer to more or less permanent states, so that the addition of ta̅

would be redundant. Conversely, we might expect that the combina-

tion of a V‾act with ta̅ would result in a verbal idea that is more

adjectival in nature. Indeed, we find that LRC's of simple struc-

ture containing a V‾act + ta̅ are shiftable to the right of their

N‾rh in exactly the same manner as LRC's whose verbs are true ad-

jectives.[121] When the V‾act is transitive, and the N‾rh is its

underlying object, the best English translation of the RRC is

often a past participle ('a boiled head', 'a cut-down log', 'a

fried egg', etc.).

    In most cases the shiftable ta̅-clauses contain nothing before

the V‾act: ŋà ¦ [cɔ̂ ā ve] ó-qō | câ gâ → ŋà ¦ ó-qō [cɔ̂ ā ve] |
                  V‾act P‾v N‾rh

câ gâ 'I want to eat a boiled head';[122] ğâʔ-u [hú ā ve] | mɛ̀ à lâ
                                                  N‾rh

'Do fried eggs taste good?'; šɨ̂ʔ-thɛ=qu [thu bà ta̅ ve] ¦ {vɨ kɨ}
                                            N‾rh

ɔ̄ | cɔ̀ š̆ɔ̄ 'The logs that were cut down are still in a far-off place'; nɔ̀-h± yâ-mî=qè? [là tā ve] | {mâ là pā} à? | tho pî-ô? mɛ̄
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

'You women who have come please tell those who haven't come'; {cà-phô? chi ¦ ph± [m± ā ve] qhe-cɛ | ± ve} yò 'This rice-stoop
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

is about as big as a sitting dog' ("a dog that has sat down").

Some simple associated NP's do not impede the rightward shift: [ô ɔ̄ ¦ ɔ̀-jâ ɔ̄ | cɔ̀ ā ve] š̆±?-cɛ̀ | g̈ɔ̀ thu ò 'We've already chopped
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

down the trees that used to be <u>over there</u>, <u>at the border</u> (of the field)' [associated locative NP's] → š̆±?-cɛ̀ [ô ɔ̄ ¦ ɔ̀-jâ ɔ̄ | cɔ̀ ā
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

ve] | g̈ɔ̀ thu ò 'id.'; [á-ni | mɔ̀ tā ve] Hê?-pā | mɛ́ qay ò 'The
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

Chinese we saw <u>yesterday</u> has disappeared' [associated temporal NP] → Hê?-pā [á-ni | mɔ̀ tā ve] | mɛ́ qay ò 'id.'. Other NP's,
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

equally simple in appearance, do block the shift: [ŋà | bɔ́? tā ve] nâ? | ch±? ò 'The gun I shot has jammed', but not *nâ? [ŋà | bɔ́? tā ve] | ch±? ò [unintelligible];[123] [yà?-qɔ | tô chê tā ve] yâ-mî thà? ¦ nɔ̀ | sī à lâ 'Do you know the girl who was walking
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$

along the road?', but not *yâ-mî [yà?-qɔ | tô chê tā ve] thà? ¦ nɔ̀ | š̆ī à lâ.[124]

It would be rash to attempt a rigorous distinction between types of associated NP's that do and do not block the rightward shift, in view of the fact that once in a while quite a compli-cated nominal hemistich does manage to make the cross-over. In the following example, no fewer than three NP's (one locative, one agentive, one objective) accompany their VP on its rightward journey: {š̆±?-cɛ̀=lón tê mà [ó-qō ¦ ŋê? ¦ ±-š̆ī | câ ve] | tâ?
$\underset{\text{rh}}{\text{N}}$ $\underset{}{\text{Q}}$ $\underset{\text{loc}}{\text{NP}}$ $\underset{\text{agt}}{\text{NP}}$ $\underset{\text{obj}}{\text{NP}}$

b̂ɔ̀ʔ chɛ̂ ve} yɔ̀ 'I had climbed up a certain big tree <u>on whose top</u>
<u>there</u> <u>were</u> <u>birds</u> <u>eating</u> <u>the</u> <u>fruits</u>, and was shooting at them'.[125]

As a rough rule of thumb, however, we may observe that the
shift is seldom possible if it would result in a N_{rh} + N sequence
such that the contiguous nouns are both common, both pronouns, or
one common and the other a pronoun.

6.493 <u>Right-shifted subordinate expressions</u>. We have already
discussed SE's in several connections [above 3.612; 3.615; 4.42
<u>passim</u>; 6.4]. They resemble RC's in that they may modify nouns
via the particle <u>ve</u>, but differ from true RC's in that they do not
overtly[126] contain a finite verb, may modify verbs in an adverbial
manner, and are characterized by the optional or obligatory inclu-
sion of the particle ɛ̀ ⌁ lɛ̀ʔ whether in noun- or verb-attributive
position. As a further point of resemblance with true RC's, and
especially with RC's of the adjectival type, SE's may also be
shifted to the right of their noun-head under favorable conditions.
However, the various types of SE differ among themselves in their
tolerance for omission of the <u>ve</u> (and/or the ɛ̀) after the switch.

(a) qha-adverbials. The subordinating particle ɛ̀ is obligatory
when a AE_{qha} is used adnominally:[127] [qha-nɛ̂ʔ ɛ̀ ve] á-pò̀ʔ 'a
N_h

thoroughly wet shirt'; [qha-bî ɛ̀ ve] í-kâʔ 'a superabundance of
N_h

water', etc. If it is desired to shift the AE_{qha} to the right of
its noun-head, and if another NP follows this N_h in the same
hemistich, neither the ɛ̀ nor the <u>ve</u> is likely to be omitted:

á-pò̀ʔ [qha-nɛ̂ʔ ɛ̀ ve] ¦ ɔ̄-bà=phɔ̂ | cɔ̀ š̄ɔ̄ 'The very wet shirts are
N_h NP

still outside'; í-kâʔ [qha-bî ɛ̀ ve] ¦ ti-mi | mâ š̄ɔ̄ kə qo ‖ mâ
N_h NP

phɛ̀ʔ 'If you don't channel plenty of water into the paddy-field,
it can't be done'.

6.493; 6.493a

If, on the other hand, the AE$_{qha}$ finds itself directly before the VP of the clause, either the <u>ve</u>, or both the <u>è</u> and the <u>ve</u>, may be omitted. Now, however, the AE$_{qha}$ is not to be considered as having originated in an adnominal position to the left of its N$_h$, but rather as having always been in adverbial position, subordinate to the V$_h$ of the clause: <u>í-kâʔ</u> | <u>qha-bî</u> (<u>è</u>) <u>šɔ̌</u> <u>kə</u> <u>qo</u> ||
                                      AE   V$_h$ V$_v$

<u>dàʔ</u> <u>à</u> 'If you channel plenty of water in, that's fine' ("if you fillingly channel water..."). Note that if the <u>ve</u> is present, the AE$_{qha}$ can only have originated adnominally.

<u>(b) Stative adverbials.</u> AE$_{stat}$'s may always be shifted to the right of their N$_h$ with little or no change in meaning: {<u>ŋà</u> <u>ve</u> [<u>ní</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>á-pòʔ</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̀</u> | <u>tɛ</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>le</u> → {<u>ŋà</u> <u>ve</u> <u>á-pòʔ</u> [<u>ní</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u>] ¦
                                        N$_h$ N$_h$

<u>qhɔ̀</u> | <u>tɛ</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>le</u> 'Where have you put my red shirt?'; <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>šo</u>
                                                                                                     N$_h$

[<u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>lèʔ</u> <u>ve</u>] | <u>yù</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>thɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>cɨ</u> <u>pɨ</u> <u>à</u> 'He might well impale you on a crooked piece of iron' ("He, taking an iron that is crooked, may well impale you"); <u>ɔ̂-qā</u> [<u>phɨ</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>kàʔ</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̀</u> <u>ve</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> 'The
            N$_h$

gray buffalo isn't yours either'. Occasionally the <u>è</u> remains but the <u>ve</u> is omitted when a AE$_{stat}$ is shifted: <u>ɔ̂-qā</u> [<u>phɨ</u> <u>è</u>] <u>kàʔ</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̀</u> <u>ve</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> 'id.'.[128] More commonly, not only the <u>ve</u> but also the <u>è</u> is dispensed with after the rightward shift, and we are left with 'stative compounds': <u>á-pòʔ=ní</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̀</u> <u>le</u> 'Where's the red shirt?'; <u>šo-qɔ̀ʔ</u> | <u>tâ</u> <u>yê-ʔ</u> 'Don't use a crooked piece of iron!'.[129]

<u>(c) Reduplicated V$_{adj}$'s</u> are not very common in pre-noun position unless the determiner <u>chi</u> precedes: [<u>chi</u> <u>qè-qè</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>šɨʔ-bá</u> 'such
                                                                              N$_h$

a wide board'; [<u>dàʔ-dàʔ</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ɔ̀-chɔ̂</u> 'a very good friend'. Much
                                  N$_h$

6.49 *3b-c*

more frequent are reduplicated V_{adj}'s to the right of a N_h:

{câ-tù [mὲ-mὲ ve] | g̈a cā ve} yò 'You must feed him very tasty
N_h

food'; š‡ʔ-bá [chi qὲ-qὲ ve] | yê phὲʔ ɔ lâ 'Can you use such a
N_h

wide board?'; {mì-g‡ [te câ lɔʔ-lɔʔ ve] | cɔ̀ ā ve} yâ 'There's
N_h

still plenty of land to make a living from!'. One may delete the
ve much more freely after a right-shifted reduplicated V_{adj} than
in a true adjectival RRC (undoubtedly due to the greater clarity
provided by the extra phonological weight of the reduplicated
syllable): á-pòʔ=hā-thɔ [dàʔ-dàʔ] | qha-dὲʔ tɔ́ pí š̆ē 'Sew him a
very fine suit of clothes ("shirt and trousers") first'.

(d) Intensified adjectives are readily shiftable from left to
right. Either the ὲ or the ve, but not both, may be deleted after
the switch: [nâʔ-tɔ́ (ὲ) ve] ph‡ kàʔ | cɔ̀ 'There are some coal-
N_h

black dogs too' → ph‡ [nâʔ-tɔ́ ὲ ve] kàʔ | cɔ̀ ~ ph‡ [nâʔ-tɔ́ ve]
N_h

kàʔ | cɔ̀ ~ ph‡ [nâʔ-tɔ́ ὲ] kàʔ | cɔ̀ 'id.'.

(e) Adjectival elaborate expressions are less likely to be
shifted to the right. When they are, the ve must remain:
[ha-lὲ=ha-qa (ὲ) ve] š̆í-g̈wé → š̆í-g̈wé [ha-lὲ=ha-qa (ὲ) ve]
N_h N_h

'a happy and joyous meeting'.

(f) Determined genitive expressions and their rightward shift-
ability have already been fully discussed [above 3.77].

6.494 RRC's modifying quantified heads. Special complexities
arise when a N_{rh} is also a N_{qh}: that is, when the head of a rela-
tive clause is also modified by a Num + Clf (or Q, for short).
In the case of LRC's, the relative clause naturally precedes the
sequence of noun-head plus quantifier: [chu jâ ve] pa-tây nî khε
                                          LRC N_{rh}/N_{qh} Q

6.493d-f; 6.494

'two very fat rabbits'; {[chê ā ve] pa-tây nî khɛ | pɔ́ʔ tɔ́ʔ gɛ̀ e
        LRC   N_rh/N_qh   Q

ve} yò 'The two rabbits that had been there jumped out in a

flash'; [mɛ̀ jâ ve] vàʔ=ó-qō tê sī 'a delicious pig's-head';
        LRC   N_rh/N_qh   Q

[cɔ̂ tā ve] vàʔ=ó-qō tê sǐ | câ gâ 'I want to eat the pig's-head
 LRC   N_rh/N_qh   Q

that has been boiled'. However, if the RC is such that it is

rightward-shiftable, two options are now open to the speaker.

Either (a) the noun-head plus Q is treated as a unit, so that the

relative clause ends up <u>after</u> the Q: pa-tây nî khɛ [chê ā ve]
                                          N_rh/N_qh   Q   RRC

'the two rabbits that had been there'; vàʔ=ó-qō tê sǐ [cɔ̂ tā ve]
                                        N_rh/N_qh   Q   RRC

'a pig's-head that has been boiled', or else (b) the Q is treated

as if it belonged to a separate NP from its noun-head, so that

the relative clause is only shifted to the right of the latter,

ending up <u>in</u> <u>between</u> the N_{qh} and the Q: pa-tây [chê ā ve]
                                                  N_rh/N_qh   RRC

nî khɛ 'id.'; vàʔ=ó-qō [cɔ̂ tā ve] tê sǐ 'id.'.[130]
 Q   N_rh/N_qh   RRC   Q

Note that we would never interpret a string of N_h + RC + Q   *

such that the relative clause were taken to be modifying the Q

rather than the N_h. That is, such strings are never to be ana-

lyzed as *N_{rh}/N_{qh} + <u>LRC + Q</u>, but rather always as N_{rh}/N_{qh} + RRC +

Q. This is because quantifiers are basically modifiers, not

heads, and we would not want to have modifiers be the heads of

relative clauses in the underlying structure.

We may note in passing that the determiner <u>chi</u> may occur as

possessor nucleus in genitive constructions whose possessed head

is a N_{rh}/N_{qh} modified by its relative clause in any of the above

three ways: chi ve [cɔ̂ tā ve] vàʔ=ó-qō tê sǐ 'this boiled pig's-
                    LRC   N_rh/N_qh   Q

head' ∿ <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>và?=ó-qō</u> <u>tê</u> <u>ší</u> [<u>cɔ̂</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>] 'id.' ∿ <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>và?=ó-qō</u>
                                N_{rh}/N_{qh} Q   RRC N_{rh}/N_{qh}

[<u>cɔ̂</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>tê</u> <u>ší</u> 'id.'. By the process we have referred to as
    RRC   Q

the 'Promotion of a quantified head', the <u>chi</u> may finally appear

directly before the Q: [<u>cɔ̂</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>và?=ó-qō</u> <u>chi</u> (<u>ve</u>) <u>tê</u> <u>ší</u> ∿
                            LRC N_{rh}/N_{qh} Q

<u>và?=ó-qō</u> [<u>cɔ̂</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>chi</u> (<u>ve</u>) <u>tê</u> <u>ší</u> 'id.'.[131]
N_{rh}/N_{qh} RRC   Q

<u>6.495 Nested RRC's</u>. It is quite rare, but possible nonetheless,
to have one right-relative clause embedded within another. The
following sentence contains two nested LRC's: [[<u>dà?</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>ve</u>]
<u>ɔ̂-gà?</u> ¦ <u>ɔ̂=tɔ-tɔ</u> | <u>gà?</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>vɨ-nâ?</u> <u>ô</u> <u>tê</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> | <u>kɔ́?</u> <u>à</u> 'I'm afraid of
N_{rh-2} N_{rh-1}

that kind of black snake striped at intervals with beautiful
stripes'. Both of these RC's are of the type that may undergo
the rightward shift. The larger clause modifying <u>vɨ-nâ?</u> 'black
snake' contains the V_{adj} <u>gà?</u> 'be striped', preceded by an asso-
ciated NP <u>ɔ̂=tɔ-tɔ</u> '(at) intervals' that is quasi-adverbial in
character. The more deeply embedded clause modifying <u>ɔ̂-gà?</u>
'stripes' contains only a V_{adj} <u>dà?</u> 'pretty' plus the V_v <u>jâ</u> 'very'.
There is therefore nothing to stop the speaker from switching both
clauses to the right of their heads, as follows: <u>vɨ-nâ?</u> [<u>ɔ̂-gà?</u>
                                                  N_{rh-1} N_{rh-2}
[<u>dà?</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>ve</u>] ¦ <u>ɔ̂=tɔ-tɔ</u> | <u>gà?</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ô</u> <u>tê</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> | <u>kɔ́?</u> <u>à</u> 'id.'.[132]

<u>6.496 RRC's whose heads are themselves genitivally subordinate</u>:
<u>conflation of relative and genitive ve</u>. As we saw above [6.43],
a LRC may readily attach itself to a N_{rh} which is itself geni-
tivally subordinate to a following N_h: [<u>ší</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ša-bɔ̀?=pā</u> <u>ve</u>
                                         LRC N_{rh}/v_p

<u>á-thɔ</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̀</u> <u>le</u> 'Where is the knife of the hunter who has died?'.
  v_h

We may furthermore switch this particular LRC to the right of its

head, since it contains the P_v tā and lacks an associated common
noun or pronoun. However, this would result in the relative ve's
being transposed to a position immediately preceding the genitive
ve: *šā-bɔʔ=pā [šɨ ā ve] ve á-thɔ qhɔ̀ le. This is intolerable
    N_{rh}/ν_p rel gen ν_h
        RRC

for the surface grammar, and one of the ve's must be deleted by a
process we might term 'syntactic haplology': šā-bɔʔ=pā [šɨ ā v]e
                        N_{rh}/ν_p RRC

á-thɔ ¦ qhɔ̀ le.[133] Similarly, {[chɛ̂ tā ve] hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā ve ɔ-mî=ma ¦
ν_h LRC N_{rh}/ν_p ν_h

qhà-qhe | mɛ ve} le 'What's the name of the wife of the man who
stayed behind?' → {hɔ́-qhâʔ=pā [chɛ̂ tā v]e ɔ-mî=ma ¦ qhà-qhe | mɛ
            N_{rh}/ν_p RRC ν_h

ve} le 'id.'. The single hard-working ve that remains after this
operation we may call 'relative-genitive ve', symbolizing its
schizophrenic character by bisecting it with the right-hand
square bracket: v]e.

If it is the second noun (the possessed head) of a genitive
construction which serves as the N_{rh} of a RRC, there is of course
no question of a conflation of the two ve's, since the genitive ve
will precede the N_{rh} while the relative ve will follow it:
vàʔ ve [cɔ̂ tā ve] ó-qō | mɛ̀ jâ 'A pig's boiled head is very
ν_p LRC N_{rh}/ν_h

tasty' → vàʔ ve ó-qō [cɔ̂ tā ve] | mɛ̀ jâ 'id.'.
        ν_p N_{rh}/ν_h RRC

<u>6.497 Nominalizing ve versus ve in RRC's</u>.[134] Ambiguities occur
when a VP followed by ve may sensibly be taken either as (a) the
predicate of the previous NP, so that the whole clause is a ve-
nominalization; or (b) a right-relative clause embedded in that
previous NP. Thus: {chɔ | dàʔ ve} thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | šɨ̄ à lâ 'Do you
know that he's a fine fellow?' [nominalization], but chɔ [dàʔ ve]
                                    N_{rh} RRC

thàʔ ¦ nɔ̀ | šɨ̄ à lâ 'Do you know the fine fellow?' [RRC];

à-mù ||| {qhâʔ-yâ | chê tā̄ ve} ¦ šu | mɔ̀ pɨ à 'Otherwise somebody
is apt to see that the villagers have stayed behind' [nominaliza-
tion] vs. à-mù ||| qhâʔ-yâ [chê tā̄ ve] ¦ šu | mɔ̀ pɨ à 'Otherwise
                           N   RRC
                            rh

somebody is apt to see the villagers who have stayed behind' [RRC];
{šɨ̌ʔ-cɛ̀ | mâ mu ve} kàʔ | thu bà phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'Even if the trees are
not high, you may chop them down' [nominalization] vs. šɨ̌ʔ-cɛ̀
                                                        N
                                                         rh

[mâ mu ve] kàʔ | thu bà phɛ̀ʔ ɔ 'You may chop down even the trees
   RRC

that are not high' [RRC]; {khú=hɔ́-khâ | šɨ tā̄ ve} thàʔ | tho pî
mâ phɛ̀ʔ 'We cannot tell (people) that the king has died' [nominal-
ization] vs. khú=hɔ́-khâ [šɨ tā̄ ve] thàʔ | tho pî mâ phɛ̀ʔ 'We
              N   RRC
               rh

cannot tell (it) to the king who has died' [RRC].

   We have observed in passing [above 6.492, note 121] that
relative clauses containing the purposive P_v tù may occasionally
be shifted to the right of the N_{rh}. Thus the expression
lìʔ-qhôʔ [bùʔ tù ve] would usually be interpreted as containing a
 N   RRC
  rh

RRC, to mean 'a book that is for writing' (i.e., a notebook). If,
however, this were taken as a purposive nominalization via the
'compound nominalizer' tù-ve [above 6.15; 6.47], it would mean
'something for writing in a book with' (i.e., a pencil, etc.):
{ lìʔ-qôʔ | bùʔ tù-ve}.

   Sometimes both the nominalization- and the RRC-interpreta-
tions make semantic sense, but the clause is of so complex a
structure that one can safely dismiss the possibility that it is
a shifted relative clause: ⎰ {a-nà ¦ chɔ-to gɛ | cɔ̀ ve} ¦
vâ-qhɔ thàʔ tɨ́ | chê šē̆ ve⎱ yò 'The sickness which had been in
the people's bodies is first transferred to the bamboo ring'.
The clause a-nà ¦ chɔ-to gɛ | cɔ̀ ve is a nominalization meaning
literally 'the sickness' having been in the people's bodies'.

a-nà 'sickness' cannot (despite the English translation) be taken
as the N_{rh} of a RRC chɔ-to gɛ │ cɔ̀ ve, because the latter's
associated NP, consisting of a common noun (chɔ-to 'people's
bodies') and a P_n (gɛ 'in, with') is too 'heavy' to have made a
rightward shift.

Capitulum VIa

COLLOQUIAL PERTURBATIONS OF NORMAL SYNTAX

Lahu, like any language, tolerates constructions in collo-
quial speech that are aberrant from the point of view of normal,
standard, or literary usage. In rapid or vivid conversation the
elements of the Lahu sentence may be juggled in various ways
which the native speaker will easily recognize to be departures
from a norm of careful usage: 'That's the way we say it when
we're just talking to our friends'. These colloquial rearrange-
ments are of three basic types: (1) permutations (reordering
without addition or subtraction of elements); (2) ellipses
(omission of elements that are understood from the context); and
(3) intercalations (insertion of extraneous material into a con-
struction). Some at least of these phenomena may be described
with a certain precision.

6a.1 Permutations. There are at least four major subtypes of
permutation possible in Lahu. They all involve the reversal of
two contiguous structures in the sentence: $A + B \to B + A$.

6a.11 Permutation of a Cl_{nf} and a Cl_{f}: $\tilde{Cl}_{nf}/Cl_{f}$.[1] This permu-
tation operates in compound sentences, reversing the order of the
clauses so that the aberrant sentence contains a Cl_{nf} in final
position, and a Cl_{f} in non-final position. In the permuted sen-
tence there is optional pause between the rearranged clauses.
Whether there is no pause, comma-pause, or semicolon pause depends

6a.1; 6a.11

roughly on the length of the elements that have been permuted. Generally speaking, the longer the original Cl_{nf}, the longer will be the pause for clarity's sake between the permuted clauses:

$$\underline{\text{yɔ̂ kà?}} \mid \underline{\text{qay qo}} \mid\mid \underline{\text{ŋà}} \mid \underline{\text{mâ qay qô?-ma}} \quad \text{'If he's going too, I}$$
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{unf} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf}$$
$$\quad\quad Cl_{nf} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_f$$

won't go!' → $\underline{\text{ŋà}} \mid \underline{\text{mâ qay qô?-ma}}$, $\int\!\!\int \underline{\text{yɔ̂ kà?}} \mid \underline{\text{qay qo}}$ 'I won't
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{unf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_f \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_{nf}$

go -- if he's going too!';[2] $\{\underline{\text{šɔ́-pɔ̄}} \underline{\text{qo ɔ̄}} \mathbin{;} \underline{\text{ɔ̄}} \mid \underline{\text{câ á lɛ}} \mid\mid$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{unf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_{nf}$

$\underline{\text{nɔ̀}} \mid \underline{\text{ca ni cɔ̂ ve}\}} \underline{\text{yɔ̀-a}}$ 'Tomorrow, after you've eaten, you really
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf}$
$\quad\quad Cl_f$

ought to go take a look at it!' → $\underline{\text{nɔ̀}} \mid \underline{\text{ca ni cɔ̂ ve}\}} \underline{\text{yɔ̀-a}}$; $\int\!\!\int$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_f$

$\{\underline{\text{šɔ́-pɔ̄}} \underline{\text{qo ɔ̄}} \mathbin{;} \underline{\text{ɔ̄}} \mid \underline{\text{câ á lɛ}}$ 'You really ought to go take a look
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{unf}$
$\quad\quad\quad Cl_{nf}$

at it -- tomorrow, after you've eaten';[3]
$\underline{\text{Mɛ-thà?-lây tê kà ɛ̂}} \mid \underline{\text{mâ hê? qo}} \underline{\text{ɔ̄}} \mid\mid$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{unf} \; P_{unf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_{nf}$

$\underline{\text{chɔ̀ šɨ̆ ɔ̄}} \mathbin{;} \{\underline{\text{ti-mi te kɨ̀}\}} \mid \underline{\text{mâ mɔ̀ lê}}$ 'Except for the single
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_f$

place (called) Methalai, we don't see anywhere to have irrigated fields in this area, right?' →
$\underline{\text{chɔ̀ šɨ̆ ɔ̄}} \mathbin{;} \{\underline{\text{ti-mi te kɨ̀}\}} \mid \underline{\text{mâ mɔ̀ lê}}$; $\int\!\!\int$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad P_{uf}$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad Cl_f$

Mɛ-thà?-lây tê kà ὲ | mâ hê? qo   ɔ̄   'We don't see anywhere
                           P   P
                            unf   unf
              Cl
                nf

to have irrigated fields in this area, right? -- except for the
single place (called) Methalai'.

A compound sentence may, of course, contain any number of
Cl$_{nf}$'s. The Cl$_{nf}$/Cl$_f$ may operate in such a way that the particu-
lar Cl$_{nf}$ which is to be permuted with the Cl$_f$ 'hops over' any
other Cl$_{nf}$'s intervening between itself and the Cl$_f$, leaving them
in their original position before the Cl$_f$:

{šu chɔ-ɨ̄ | pὲ? lâ qo || tê ğâ le-le | qha-šwí pὲ dà? lɛ ||
              P   P
               unf   unf
        Cl   Cl
          nf-1   nf-2

te ve} tí yò ὲ? 'If those big-shots give it to us, the only
        P P
         uf uf
    Cl
      f

thing to do is for everybody to divide it up equally' ("If those
big-shots give it to us (Cl$_{nf-1}$), the only thing is to do it (Cl$_f$)
having divided it up equally (Cl$_{nf-2}$)") →
tê ğâ le-le | qha-šwí pὲ dà? lɛ || te ve} tí yò ὲ? ; ⨌
        Cl   Cl
          nf-2   f

{šu chɔ-ɨ̄ | pὲ? lâ qo 'The only thing to do is for everybody to
      Cl
        nf-1

divide it up equally -- if those big-shots give it to us'.

6a.12 <u>Permutation of a VP with an associated NP: NP/VP</u>. This
exceedingly common inversion, which we may symbolize as NP/VP,
permutes a VP with one or more of its associated NP's:
ŋà | mâ qay ğâ 'I don't want to go' → mâ qay ğâ , ⌠ ŋà 'Don't
NP   NP
      VP   VP
wanna go, me';[4] nālī chi tê mà tí qo | a-cí ğa pî nā 'I wonder if
                      NP   VP
this watch costs more' → a-cí ğa pî nā , ⌠ nālī chi tê mà tí qo
                            VP   NP

6a.12

'I wonder if it costs more, this watch'; q̲h̲e̲ q̲o̲ ɔ̄ | d̲à̲ʔ̲ à̲ 'If

                                         NP   VP

that's the case, fine!' → d̲à̲ʔ̲ à̲ , ⌠ q̲h̲e̲ q̲o̲ ɔ̄ 'Fine -- if that's

                             VP   NP

the way it is'.[5]

Any other NP's occurring in the normal sentence (either
before or after the NP to be permuted) may remain unaffected by
the inversion: y̲ɔ̂ ¦ á̲-̲q̲h̲ɔ̲ | m̲â̲ c̲h̲ê̲ ò̲ h̲ɛ̲́ 'He's probably not home

                        NP$_1$ NP$_2$ VP

anymore' → á̲-̲q̲h̲ɔ̲ | m̲â̲ c̲h̲ê̲ ò̲ h̲ɛ̲́ , ⌠ y̲ɔ̂ ("Probably not home

                 NP$_2$ VP   NP$_1$

anymore, he"); š̲ɔ̲́-̲p̲ɔ̲̄ ¦ ŋ̲à̲ k̲à̲ʔ̲ | t̲e̲ a̲ n̲i̲ š̲ā̲ 'I'll have a try at it

                NP$_1$ NP$_2$ VP

tomorrow too' → š̲ɔ̲́-̲p̲ɔ̲̄ | t̲e̲ a̲ n̲i̲ š̲ā̲ , ⌠ ŋ̲à̲ k̲à̲ʔ̲ ("Tomorrow have a

               NP$_1$ VP   NP$_2$

try at it, me too").

Occasionally two NP's that are associated with the same VP
are both shifted to the right of the VP, where they maintain the
same relative order: NP$_1$ + NP$_2$ + VP → VP + NP$_1$ + NP$_2$:

q̲h̲e̲ q̲o̲ ɔ̄ ¦ n̲ô̲ ɔ̄ ¦ q̲h̲ɔ̲̂ k̲à̲ʔ̲ | h̲ə̲ʔ̲ g̲â̲ l̲e̲[5] 'In that case, where up

    NP$_1$ NP$_2$ NP$_3$ VP

there would you like to get (land)?' → q̲h̲ɔ̲̂ k̲à̲ʔ̲ | h̲ə̲ʔ̲ g̲â̲ l̲e̲ , ⌠

                                 NP$_3$ VP

q̲h̲e̲ q̲o̲ ɔ̄ ¦ n̲ô̲ ɔ̄ 'Where would you like to get (land), in that

    NP$_1$ NP$_2$

case, up there?'.

If the original sentence is compound so that one or more
VP$_{nf}$'s intervene between the NP to be permuted and the Cl$_f$,[6]
these remain unaffected by the NP̰/VP, thus:

ŋ̲à̲-̲h̲ɨ̲ L̲â̲h̲ū̲-̲y̲â̲ t̲í̲ q̲o̲ ¦ y̲à̲ʔ̲-̲n̲i̲ ¦ ɔ̲-̲c̲h̲ɔ̲́ | t̲e̲ d̲à̲ʔ̲ á̲ q̲o̲ ||

     NP$_{1-nf}$ NP$_{2-nf}$ NP$_{3-nf}$ VP$_{nf}$

šɔ̌-pɔ̄ | mâ bà qôʔ-ma   'As for us Lahu, if we make friends with you
NP$_{1-f}$ VP$_f$

today, we don't abandon you tomorrow' → yàʔ-ni ¦ ɔ-chɔ̂ |
                                         NP$_{2-nf}$ NP$_{3-nf}$

te dàʔ á qo ‖ šɔ̌-pɔ̄ | mâ bà qôʔ-ma , ⌠ ŋà-hɨ Lâhū-yâ tí qo
  VP$_{nf}$ NP$_{1-f}$ VP$_f$ NP$_{1-nf}$

'If we make friends with you today, we don't abandon you

tomorrow, we Lahu'.

    Similar inversions are possible in complex sentences:

<<nāli̅ chi tê mà ¦   qhà-ma | ǧa pî na̅>> mâ šɨ̌   'I don't know how
  NP$_{1-qt}$ NP$_{2-qt}$ VP$_{qt}$ VP$_{mtx}$

much this watch costs' → qhà-ma | ǧa pî na̅>> mâ šɨ̌ , ⌠
                          NP$_{2-qt}$ VP$_{qt}$ VP$_{mtx}$

<<nāli̅ chi tê mà   'I don't know how much it costs, this watch'.
  NP$_{1-qt}$

In this example a NP from the embedded quotative clause is trans-
posed to the end of the sentence, after the VP of the S$_{mtx}$.

    In passing, we may note that vocative sentences are likely
to end with a NP which comes after the VP$_f$:   qhɔ̂ | qay le ,
                                                NP   VP$_f$

ŋà yâ-pā̄ ò   'Where are you going, my son?'.   No permutation is
NP$_{voc}$

involved here, however.   A vocative tag can stand at the end of
the sentence 'by right' [above 3.81].

    Before going on to the third major type of permutation, let
us consider a more complicated example: a scrambled sentence
produced by several permutations of the sorts already discussed.
This particular sentence (transcribed from a recording of an
actual conversation) is so full of inversions that it would be
unintelligible to a native speaker without three comma-pauses:

6a. 13

Actual sentence ("Z"): ğa tí qo cɨ̀-cɨ̀ mâ ğa pɨ́ ve, nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ, là phɵ̀ʔ ve tí qo, yɔ̂ "As for getting it, not able to get very much, like us, as far as picking tea goes, he". Recasting this into its 'original' normal shape, we get:

Idealized sentence ("A"): $\Big\{$ {yɔ̂ ¦ là | phɵ̀ʔ ve} tí qo ¦ nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ | ğa tí qo || cɨ̀-cɨ̀ mâ ğa pɨ́ ve $\Big\rangle$ "As far as his picking tea goes, as for getting it like us, he's not able to get very much", or in smoother English, 'His tea-picking can't compare with ours -- he can't get anywhere near as much tea as we do when we pick'. The problem, then, is how to get from "A" to "Z".

First, numbering the clauses of "A":[7]

<div style="text-align:center">Clause I   Clause II</div>

yɔ̂ ¦ là | phɵ̀ʔ ve tí qo || nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ | ğa tí qo ||

NP_{1-I} NP_{2-I} VP_{nf-I} NP_{1-II} VP_{nf-II}

Clause III

cɨ̀-cɨ̀ mâ ğa pɨ́ ve

  VP_f

1. We proceed to permute Clause I with Clauses II + III, according to Cl_{nf}/Cl_f, yielding:

<div style="text-align:center">II   III</div>

nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ | ğa tí qo || cɨ̀-cɨ̀ mâ ğa pɨ́ ve, $\big/\big/$

 NP_{1-II} VP_{nf-II} VP_f

<div style="text-align:center">I</div>

yɔ̂ ¦ là | phɵ̀ʔ ve tí qo 'As for getting it like us, he's not

NP_{1-I} NP_{2-I} VP_{nf-I}

able to get very much, as far as his picking tea goes'.

2. Next we apply NP/VP, so that the NP of Clause II (nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ) gets shifted immediately to the right of Clause III:

<div style="text-align:center">IIb   III   IIa</div>

ğa tí qo || cɨ̀-cɨ̀ mâ ğa pɨ́ ve , $\big/$ nɛ̀-á qhe cɛ-cɛ , $\big/\big/$

 VP_{nf-II} VP_f NP_{1-II}

I

<u>yɔ̂</u>   ¦ <u>là</u> | <u>phə̂ʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u>   'As for getting it, he's not able to
NP$_{1-I}$ NP$_{2-I}$ VP$_{nf-I}$

get very much, like us, as far as his picking tea goes'.

3. Finally, we again apply NP/VP, this time to the first NP (<u>yɔ̂</u>)

of Clause I, which ends up in absolutely final position in the

sentence:

  IIb   III   IIa

<u>ǧa</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>cɨ-cɨ</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>ǧa</u> <u>pɨ</u> <u>ve</u>, ⌠ <u>nɛ̀-á</u> <u>qhe</u> <u>cɛ-cɛ</u>, ⌠⌠
   VP$_{nf-2}$ VP$_f$ NP$_{1-II}$

        Ib   Ia

<u>là</u> | <u>phə̂ʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u>, ⌠ <u>yɔ̂</u>   'As for getting it, not able to
NP$_{2-I}$ VP$_{nf-1}$ NP$_{1-I}$

get very much, like us, as far as picking tea goes, he'. This is

now the actual sentence "Z" we set out to account for.

6a.13 Permutation of a possessed head with a possessor nucleus:

ν_p/ν_h. This permutation operates on a genitive construction of

the form ν_p + <u>ve</u> + ν_h, inverting the possessor nucleus, ν_p + <u>ve</u>,

with the possessed head, ν_h, as follows: ν_p + <u>ve</u> + ν_h →

ν_h + ν_p + <u>ve</u>.

    Thus: <u>chi</u> <u>hɨ-ɛ̂</u> <u>ɛ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>càʔ-pò</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u> | <u>yê</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ</u> <u>là</u> → <u>càʔ-pò</u> ⌡
                        ν_p ν_h ν_h

<u>chi</u> <u>hɨ-ɛ̂</u> <u>ɛ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tí</u> <u>qo</u> | <u>yê</u> <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ</u> <u>là</u> 'If it's a plane of such a
        ν_p

small size can you use it?';[8]   <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> <u>ɔ-pa=ɔ-e</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>šē</u> <u>lâ</u> →
                                    ν_p ν_h

<u>ɔ-pa=ɔ-e</u> ⌡ <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>ve</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>sē</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Haven't his parents died yet?';
    ν_h ν_p

<u>à-šwè=thâ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>qa-mɨ=khɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>chi</u> <u>bɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ve</u> □ <u>a-kɛ́</u> | <u>na</u> <u>ša</u> <u>jâ</u> 'The
    ν_p ν_h ν_p

songs of long ago sound much better than the songs of nowadays'[9]

→ <u>qa-mɨ̀=khɔ́</u> ⌐ <u>à-šwè=thâ</u> <u>ve</u> ¦ <u>chi</u> <u>bɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ve</u> ☐ <u>a-kɛ́</u> | <u>na</u> <u>ša</u> <u>jâ</u>.
   ν_h ν_p ν_p

The following is an inverted sentence transcribed from actual conversation, which was produced by the application of both NP/VP and ν_p/ν_h: <u>qhà-ma</u> | <u>ǧa</u> <u>pî</u> <u>nā</u>>> <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> ⌐ <<<u>nālī</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> ⌐ <u>chi</u> <u>hɨ́-è</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u> 'I don't know how much it costs, a watch, such a little one'. As the underlying normal sentence we take: <<<u>chi</u> <u>hɨ́-è</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u> <u>nālī</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> ¦ <u>qhà-ma</u> | <u>ǧa</u> <u>pî</u> <u>nā</u>>> <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> 'I don't know how much such a little watch costs'.

1. NP/VP: <u>qhà-ma</u> | <u>ǧa</u> <u>pî</u> <u>nā</u>>> <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> ⌐ <<<u>chi</u> <u>hɨ́-è</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u> <u>nālī</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> 'I don't know how much it costs, such a little watch'.

2. ν_p/ν_h: <u>qhà-ma</u> | <u>ǧa</u> <u>pî</u> <u>nā</u>>> <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> ⌐ <<<u>nālī</u> <u>tê</u> <u>mà</u> ⌐ <u>chi</u> <u>hɨ́-è</u> <u>è</u> <u>ve</u> 'I don't know how much it costs, a watch, such a little one'. (These permutations may in fact be 'applied' in either order, with no difference in the final result.)

<u>6a.14 Permutation of a LRC with the rest of its sentence: LRC̃/X.</u>
Finally, we must mention an interesting and frequently encountered permutation, whereby a relative clause is tacked onto the end of the sentence as an afterthought, even though it modifies some noun that came earlier in the sentence:

LRC̃/X: [LRC] + <u>ve</u> + N_{rh} + X → N_{rh} + X + [LRC] + <u>ve</u> .

Thus, [<u>kán</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>te</u> <u>pɨ́</u> <u>šē</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>yâ</u> | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>mâ</u> 'He has a lot of children
                                          N_{rh}
who can't work yet' → <u>yâ</u> | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>mâ</u> ⫽ [<u>kán</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>te</u> <u>pɨ́</u> <u>šē</u> <u>ve</u>] 'He's
                    N_{rh}
got a lot of kids -- ones who can't work yet'. We may diagram the inverted sentence by enclosing the permuted RC in brackets and separating it from what precedes by ' ⫽ '.

As a corollary to this, we find that an adnominal subordinate expression may similarly be divorced from its N_h and pushed to the end of the sentence along with its <u>ve</u>:

6a.14

SE$_{adn}$/X: [SE] + <u>ve</u> + N$_h$ + X → N$_h$ + X + [SE] + <u>ve</u> .

Thus, [ní ɛ̀ ve] ɔ-ta=ɔ-ta≡lwɛ̂ʔ | te-ʔ → ɔ-ta=ɔ-ta≡lwɛ̂ʔ | te-ʔ //
            AE$_{stat}$

[ní ɛ̀ ve] 'Make (it with) checkers -- red ones!'.

6a.2 Partial ellipsis of an 'understood' final clause.

This is an unusual phenomenon whereby part of the final clause of a sentence is deleted, so that only its P$_{uf}$'s remain. These then occur in the abnormal sentence directly after a P$_{unf}$ belonging to a non-final NP or VP. This ellipsis need be invoked only to account for those rare occasions in which a sequence of P$_{unf}$ + P$_{uf}$ is encountered [above 5.7]. In all these cases the deleted material is readily deducible from the immediate context, usually the previous sentence. The deletion is in the interest of brevity -- avoiding repetition of that which is already abundantly clear:

    ----{<<<u>mâ qay qo</u> || <u>yɛ̀-mí</u> | <u>hôʔ</u>>> <u>qôʔ ve</u>} <u>lâ</u> .

    ---- <u>qay</u> <u>qo</u> <u>hɛ́</u> .
          V P$_{unf}$ P$_{uf}$

----'Did he say <<if we didn't go (we should) shut the door>>?'
----'Probably (<u>hɛ́</u>) if (<u>qo</u>) we <u>did</u> go.'

The second speaker means that what the command was, was probably that if people <u>did</u> leave they should shut the door after them, <u>not</u> that they should shut the door if they were <u>not</u> going to leave. The abnormal sequence <u>qay qo hɛ́</u> is an elliptical version of something like {<<<u>qay qo</u>>> <u>qôʔ ve</u>} <u>hɛ́</u> 'He probably said "If we <u>did</u> go"'.

    Similarly:

    ---- <u>ô tê mà kàʔ</u> | <u>yù la-ʔ</u>   --'Bring me that one too.'

    ---- <u>chi</u> <u>kàʔ</u> <u>lâ</u>   --'This one too?'
          N P$_{unf}$ P$_{uf}$

    ---- <u>ô</u> <u>kàʔ</u> <u>yò</u>   --'That one too.'
         N P$_{unf}$ P$_{uf}$

6a.2

In the last two exchanges, the P$_{unf}$ <u>kà?</u> 'too' is brought into juxtaposition with the P$_{uf}$'s <u>lâ</u> 'interrogative' and <u>yò</u> 'affirmative', through the deletions of final VP's:

{<u>chi kà?</u> | <u>yù la ve</u>} <u>lâ</u>   'Shall I bring this one too?'
   P$_{unf}$ P$_{uf}$

{<u>ô kà?</u> | <u>yù la ve</u>} <u>yò</u>   '(You should) bring that one too.'
   P$_{unf}$ P$_{uf}$

<u>6a.3 Intercalations</u>. In diffuse or rambling connected speech (sermons, for example) situations like the following often arise. The speaker begins a clause, C, with a NP or two, then gets side-tracked and inserts some extraneous material, only to come back and finish up clause C with the proper VP to dominate the NP he had uttered long before. An actual example from a sermon:

<u>ô-thâ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>ni</u> ¦ <u>ŋà-h‡</u> ||| <u>ha-lὲ=ha-qa</u> ||| <u>ğ‡-ša</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tϑ-khϑ</u> <u>thà?</u> ¦

<u>tê</u> <u>gɛ</u> | <u>hā-thϑ-ša-thϑ</u> || <u>ni-ma</u> | <u>y‡?</u> <u>thϑ</u> || <u>qhà-qhe</u> | <u>phὲ?</u> <u>thϑ</u> ||

<u>ni-ma</u> <u>tê</u> <u>š‡</u> <u>t‡</u> | <u>tā</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>na</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>yà?-ni</u> <u>qha-gà</u> | <u>phὲ?</u> <u>la</u> <u>pϑ</u> <u>ò</u>

'In those days, we happily -- obeyed -- together, through thick and thin, even if we were angry, no matter what happened, uniting our hearts -- the Word of God -- and it has been so up until today.' The clause <u>ğ‡-ša</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tϑ-khϑ</u> <u>thà?</u> | <u>na</u> <u>lɛ</u> 'obeying the Word of God' has been split up at the boundary between NP and VP, and extraneous material has been intercalated.[10]

One final example: <<<u>qhà-n‡</u> <u>ğâ</u> <u>le</u>>> <u>qô?</u> <u>ve</u>---<<<u>yâ-m‡=há</u> | <u>cϑ</u>>> <u>qô?</u> <u>ve</u> '"How many" he said --"girls are there" he said'. This is a mutilation of a hypothetical normal sentence like: <<<u>yâ-m‡=há</u> <u>qhà-n‡</u> <u>ğâ</u> | <u>cϑ</u> <u>le</u>>> '"How many girls are there?", he said'. Having inadvertently split the sentence in two, the speaker struggles for clarity by repeating the verb of saying twice.

This sort of phenomenon is not susceptible to precise description, since the resultant sentences are only marginally

grammatical. How aberrant they may be and still be acceptable
is as open a question for Lahu as for any other language.

FINIS OPERIS

July 3, 1971
4:50 P.M.
Berkeley, California

1. I have discussed aspects of Lahu phonology in several
   articles since the first version of this Grammar was written.
   See Matisoff 1968, 1969b, 1970a. For full references to
   works cited here and below, see the Bibliography.

2. See Matisoff 1971 and 1972d.

3. I am not seriously undertaking to investigate the relation-
   ship among the features [lab] = labial articulation, [labial
   involvement] = what labial stops and rounded vowels have in
   common, and [rounded] = labial offglide.

4. Actually the situation is probably simpler. ɔ-fû may well
   be a loanword from a Shan dialect (cf. Thai fɔ̌ɔŋ 'bubble;
   foam'), in which case ɨ/u, ə/o would be neutralized after
   both f and v in native words. Besides, ɔ-fû also appears as
   ɔ-phû in the speech of some persons [see next paragraph], so
   it is an unreliable morpheme to base one's analysis upon.

5. Cf. the behavior of the labials and /u/, above 1.21. The
   missionaries' romanization writes both the [ɿ] that occurs
   after palatals and the [ɯ] occurring after labials as "uh",
   since they are both vaguely similar 'obscure' vowels.
   Burling (1966, 1967) falls into the same trap, with serious
   consequences for his analysis of Lahu phonology. See
   Matisoff 1968, p. 885.

6. As described by Y. R. Chao 1957, p.22, for the very similar
   ultra-high vowel of Mandarin (occurring after s, ts, tsh)
   that is written ŭ in Wade-Giles romanization.

7. The only syllables with post-velar initials plus non-low
   front vowel that are probably not of foreign origin are qhe
   'stretch', qā-qhê? ∿ qā-qhə? 'dance', and qhe 'like; as;
   thus'. This last morpheme does happen to be of enormously
   high textual frequency, however. Lahu e derives from the

[515]

relatively rare PLB finals */-an, -wan, -at/ [see below
1.34].

8.   But note that the analogy with the behavior of /q qh/ is
imperfect, since these do occur freely before /ɛ/.

9.   Since the Lahu vowels have not staked themselves out rela-
tively equal portions of "phonological space", we can expect
perturbations in the system in the future. See, for example,
Martinet 1952.

10. The ɨ/ə contrast is, of course, easiest to hear after palatal
initials, for then /ɨ/ has the distinctive allophone [ɿ] and
the /palatal/ is [alveolar]. See above 1.23.

11. Even if the etymology is so far unknown, we can be sure that
syllables with aspirated initials under the /ˇ/ tone are not
from Common Lolo-Burmese. Such syllables should be mid-tone
in modern Lahu. See below 1.6.

12. One might call this the 'post-labial u-rictus'.

13. Even the standard orthography recognizes this distinction,
writing (a) as 'hpu' and (b) as 'hpfuh'.

14. Cf. the words cited above for 'meet' [phû] ∿ [pfhû] and
'white; silver; money' [phu] ∿ [pfhɯ].

15. My statements of relative frequencies of occurrence are not
based on actual lexical or textual counts; but the facts are
so clear that these are hardly necessary.

16. See, e.g., Jakobson and Halle 1956, Ch. IV.

17. Although we write this with a 'y', we do not consider it to
be a syllable-final consonant. The same is true of diph-
thongs we write with final -w.

18. For fusions of this morpheme with preceding back vowels, see
below, 1.44 'Fusional rising diphthongs'. Note that when
particles are not fused phonetically with the preceding vowel
we always write them as separate words.

19. For cases where the constituent verb has a back vowel, see
below, 1.44 'Fusional rising diphthongs'. Telford (1938)

writes [ə-e] as "g'e", using the symbol for the velar spirant, g' (our g̈): hk'a: pg'e̬ 'all'. The shwa has a velar quality in this environment which led him to this spelling.

20. For a discussion of the tone-change in these diminutives, see below 1.642.

21. Hence the heading 'Non-rising diphthongs' for this section, rather than 'Falling diphthongs'.

22. The raised dot indicates that we do not commit ourselves as to the tone of this underlying morpheme.

23. The missionaries' orthography spells these as u-i, o-e, aweh, and aw-a, respectively. /w/ does not occur before the vowels /u o ɨ ə/.

24. Front-back vowel alternation is an important feature of Tibeto-Burman phonology in general. For a brief discussion, see Benedict 1972, pp. 124-126. Strikingly enough, Pulley-blank (1963) interprets the u of Written Burmese as standing for an underlying /wi/.

25. For the tonal alternation in this last example, see below 1.631. The fusion-rule of Section 1.42(c) may now be gener-alized: if the vowel of the preceding syllable is high /ɨ u/, the underlying ɛ in the next syllable is realized as [i]. Notice that the front-back doublets of 1.43 also behave as if some fronting element (like 'ɛ') were addable to the base form.

26. I once witnessed a skit where a Lahu was playing the part of a missionary, poking good-humored fun at hypercorrect speech by pronouncing the word ɔ-bo 'thanks' as ɔ-bon. The -n is etymologically accurate, but as the hilarity of the audience indicated, is never retained by the normal Lahu speaker.

27. This feature is more widespread in the dialect described by Telford than in Huey Tad.

28. See Haas 1945, p. 139, and Noss 1964, p. 15.

29. Personal communication from Gordon Downer, 1967.

30. See Fraser 1922, pp. 3-4.

★ 31. For more discussion, see Matisoff 1969b and 1970a.

32. More accurately, when junctural conditions permit the pro-
longation of a syllable under $/\bar{\ }/$, the tone may acquire a
slight upward curl at the end. The Mandarin 'third tone'
exhibits very similar allotony.

33. For a satisfactory introductory account of the tonal develop-
ments in Atsi, Maru, Lahu, Lisu, and Akha, see Burling 1967,
pp. 56-58, 61-65, 69. Nishida (1964) deals mainly with the
tonal reflexes of the northern Loloish languages Ahi, Nyi,
and Hani.

34. 'Live' (as opposed to 'dead') syllables in traditional
Siamese phonological terminology.

35. *1 underlies the 'low' tone of Burmese, *2 gives Bs 'high'
tone, and *3 becomes Bs 'creaky' tone.

36. The '⌢' indicates that the tone is short and abrupt. This
convention is due to Y. R. Chao, as is the whole system of
diagramming tone-contours on a scale from 1 (lowest) to 5
(highest).

37. The only drawback is the implied relationship between $/\hat{\ }?/$
and $/\hat{\ }/$, and between $/\check{\ }?/$ and $/\grave{\ }/$. In fact these tones have
nothing to do with each other, either historically or syn-
chronically.

38. For a more detailed and accurate presentation, as well as
bibliographical references, see Matisoff 1971 and 1972d.
A similar continuum of decay is observable in syllables with
original final nasals, with vowel-nasalization occupying the
same relative position as vowel-laryngealization.

39. Nishida (1964) adopts this view. Matisoff 1971, 1972d are
detailed attempts to buttress the theory with evidence from
fifteen Loloish languages.

40. For an extended discussion, see Matisoff 1970a.

41. For much more detail, see Matisoff 1971, 1972d.

42. Modern plain stops, nasals, and /l/ in /´/-syllables are from *glottalized prototypes. Modern voiced stops under /´/ are late developments of a sort not yet fully understood.

43. Aspirate-initialled native syllables under /´/ are always secondary.

44. The s̆ɛ/s̆ɛ̄ variation implies a proto-hesitation between Tones *1 and *2. [In Telford's dialect a widespread shift from *1 > *2 in s̆-words has occurred, affecting even such basic words as s̆ɨ > s̆ɨ̄ 'die' (< PLB *siy[1]).] The variant with checked tone, s̆ɛ̂ʔ, is the one used in counting, when no classifier need follow. We may therefore explain its non-etymological -ʔ (PTB *g-sum) as due to metanalytical inter-ference from the next-higher number, ɔ̂ 'four', which begins with a vowel, since modern syllables with vocalic initial once began with *ʔ-, as demonstrated by the workings of the glottal dissimilation rule (q.v.).

45. The form for 'flint' reconstructs as *ʔmi^2-klok. Note that the k- of the second syllable was enough to trigger the glottal dissimilation rule for the *first* syllable, but since k- is not itself glottal, the second syllable did not also dissimilate to *jɔ́. qha s̆ū ɛ̀ is a back-formation which un-does the effect of the rule in order to bring the phrase into line with the other qha + Verb + ɛ̀ adverbials [1.4 above]. The particle tā originally must have become tá in the en-vironment of following particles with *glottalized initials (especially suspensive lɛ) or particles like ɔ̀ 'change of state' which once began with simple *ʔ-; but then both vari-ants were generalized into other environments, so that they are now in free variation.

46. Cf. Tibetan s-ŋo 'blue, green', and the discussion in Wolfen-den 1929, p.46.

47. The etymology of this particle is not yet clear, so it is given in its modern form in Fig. 5.

48. This initial *ʔ- derives from an older sibilant prefix (cf. Tb. s-, Kachin šə-). Burmese signals causativization by as- piration of the initial: kyîu 'be broken' / khyîu 'break sthg'. The PLB glottalized series regularly become aspirates in Bs. For more details, see Matisoff 1970a, pp. 16-20.

49. The semantic development here is a little strange. na is often followed by (even fused with, above 1.42b) the verb- particle e, indicating transitive motion, literal or figura- tive. Perhaps the causative member is to be interpreted as 'the hurt is caused to go away'.

50. We might also mention such recent loans from English as khî̀ʔ-sămâʔ 'Christmas'.

51. E.g., in some types of right-relative clauses from which the marker ve has been deleted. See below 6.49.

52. The hyphens - and = have a purely morphological significance. For a discussion of the criteria for writing successive syl- lables either (a) with a hyphen between them, or (b) with space between them, or (c) run together, see the section on compounding, below 3.31.

53. We are nonetheless certain that the aberrancy does sometimes occur. (In any event, it is not to be confused with the automatic allophonic realization of the palatals as alveolars before /ɨ/, above 1.23.) An emphatic morpheme with fused vocalism, cɨ-à [tsɨ̀à], in the low-falling tone, is admitted to by speakers, and is probably to be related with jâ ∿ dzâ 'very'.

54. In the case of this word the variant without initial l- is much more frequent even in formal speech.

1. The precise nature of these NP-VP relationships is often
    entirely covert. Some of them are optionally signalled by
    noun-particles. See 'Transhemistichial relationships',
    below 4.5.

2. The term 'hemistich' is borrowed from French versification,
    where it refers to one-half of an alexandrine line. Note
    that there is no need for the term 'verbal hemistich', since
    a clause has only a single VP in any case.

3. Clauses which have the particle ve after their final VP are
    to be regarded as nominalized [below 6.11], but we wish to
    distinguish these from the class of 'natural' minor sentences.

4. As a diagrammatic convention NP's belonging to the same hemi-
    stich are separated by vertical dotted lines. The nominal
    hemistich as a whole is set off from the VP by a solid ver-
    tical line. Unrestricted particles are sometimes separated
    from a preceding phrase by a slanted line. In this example
    we translate the quotative P_{uf} cê by 'he says'.

5. 'Minor sentence' is basically a notion of Lahu surface gram-
    mar. Little insight is gained by claiming that some sort of
    copula has been deleted here, and that there are no deep
    minor sentences. Lahu has no overt copula, and that is what
    interests us in this context. One might equally well want to
    recognize a deep, universal 'equational-sentence' type with
    no underlying copula, and say that languages like English
    insert dummy copulas 'on the surface'.

6. Conjoined clauses are set off diagrammatically by double
    vertical solid lines. Occasionally we accord the same treat-
    ment to an English gloss.

7. See below, Ch. VI. Nominalized clauses are enclosed in curly
    brackets. Relative clauses are flanked by square brackets,

[521]

sometimes even in the English gloss.

8. Sentences of this type appear only in colloquial speech. See below, Capitulum VIa.

9. For the symbols used to set off permuted constituents, see below, Capitulum VIa.

10. It was undoubtedly the study of Japanese which led Charles J. Fillmore (1968) to his bipartite division of sentences into NP-series and VP.

11. Unrestricted particles also occur after NP's, but their domain is there restricted to the particular NP in question. See below 3.9.

12. This seems actually to be the position of William Diver, as exemplified in his 'form-content analysis'. Generative grammar has de-emphasized the whole issue by claiming that 'surface' parts of speech are of little importance, and that in the deep structure such labels as 'noun' and 'verb' are merely shorthand designations for positions in certain rules. Newer versions of the theory use such features as [+noun] in the lexicon, as primes in some universal theory of grammar.

13. The brilliant Russian linguist A. Zaretski (1929, pp. 39-40) stated the problem cogently: "Fun a klasifikatsie fun verter fodert zix nor, zi zol gebn di meglexkayt ojftsubojen a sistém fun gramatik." ("All that can be demanded of a word-classification is that it provide the possibility of building up a grammatical system.")

14. Similarly in generative phonology, among all the phonotactic facts of a language, the analyst chooses to articulate in his morpheme-structure rules only those which he subjectively feels to be 'significant', in the sense of having a high insight/complexity ratio.

15. We distinguish terminologically between 'diagnostic environments' (used to establish major classes) and 'idiosyncratic' ones (used for defining minor classes). Idiosyncratic en-

vironments may be purely negative. Thus Lahu pronouns 'may not be determined' like common nouns.

16. Numerals are the handiest for the purpose. I have discovered after the fact that Søren Egerod (1956) used this same device. Actually since the number of numerals is infinite, the class is 'small' only in terms of the dozen or so individual constituent morphemes.

17. The autonomous/limited distinction belongs to the realm of Lahu surface grammar. Certain nominal structures (e.g., a Num + Clf, or the determiner <u>chi</u> plus a <u>ma</u>-class extentive [above 1.642, below 3.61]) may occur alone in a NP, though here one might want to set up an underlying head-noun as the real core of the nominal nucleus.

The ___Num + Clf environment is also essentially a surface notion. As we shall see, words like <u>chi</u> 'this' and <u>ô</u> 'that' do occur directly before Num + Clf, but these constructions are really derived from underlying genitives of the form <u>chi</u>/<u>ô</u> + <u>ve</u> + [Num + Clf].

18. This is no <u>ad hoc</u> sort of environment. A similar criterion works for all Chinese dialects, the Tibeto-Burman languages, and even for the Tai languages.

19. We may now reformulate more accurately the structure of clauses: $\text{Clause}_{nf} \rightarrow [(\text{NP})^n + \text{VP} + (\text{P}_{univ}) + (\text{P}_{unf})]$;

$$\text{Clause}_f \rightarrow [(\text{NP})^n + \text{VP} + (\text{P}_{univ}) + (\text{P}_{uf})] .$$

1. There is no 'grammatical' reason why even more P_u's might not occur in a row; but one would rarely if ever have so complex a message to convey.

2. It will be remembered that P_{univ}'s always precede any other P_u's in a sequence [above, 2.3].

3. We write 'strict compounds' with hyphens between the elements. The constituents of special nuclei are separated by spaces.

4. The diagnostic criterion for autonomous nounhood is occurrence as N_h of a ν_q [above 2.2].

5. These classes are designated by the names of prominent members: E_{ma} '<u>ma</u>-class extentives', E_{qhe} '<u>qhe</u>-class extentives', etc.

6. Ex: <u>qhâʔ-šɛ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>phɨ</u> <u>chi</u> <u>nî</u> <u>khɛ</u> <u>qhe</u>   'like these two dogs of
       ν_p N_h Det Q E_{qhe}

   the headman'.

7. The various compound pronouns (duals, plurals, and others) are discussed below 3.335.

8. <u>qhɔ-qhe</u> is sometimes taken in the sense of the simplex <u>qhɔ</u> 'where'; in other contexts it is just a variant of <u>qhà-qhe</u> 'how; what kind of'. More specific in the 'where' sense are the compounds <u>qhɔ-phɔ</u> 'where' ("which direction"), <u>qhɔ-qhe= phɔ</u> 'id.', and <u>qhɔ-pá</u> 'where' ("which side"). <u>phɔ</u> and <u>pá</u> are basically M_{pfx}'s [below 3.34] and classifiers [3.42].

9. <u>qhà-qhe</u>, like its simplex <u>qhe</u>, often functions more like an adverb than a noun. See below 4.412.

10. Alone of all the N_{intg}'s, <u>qhà</u> may not occur directly before <u>le</u>: *<u>qhà</u> <u>le</u> 'Which is it?' is ungrammatical. <u>qhà</u> does appear before Num + Clf and as the possessor nucleus of genitive constructions, like the other N_{intg}'s [below], and also forms interrogative compounds with <u>ma</u>-class extentives:

[524]

qhà-ma le 'How much is it?' [below 3.614].

11. It is even possible to have qhà genitivally subordinate to   *
another N~intg~. The result is pleonastic, though quite natu-
ral for a Lahu: qhà ve qhɔ̄-pá | phɛ-chî tā̄ ve le 'On which
side did you hang it up?' ("On which what side...").

12. However, chi does not occur after the pronouns, N~intg~'s, or
N~sd~'s.

13. See the discussion of 'genitival spatial compounds', below
3.32.

14. This is equally true of the VP. See the discussion of verb-
compounds vs. versatile concatenations, below 4.315.

15. With a few trivial exceptions, like unanalyzable loanwords
[below 3.331].

16. Clearly our notation becomes clumsy for compounds of the
fourth order and higher. This is not meant in any event to
serve as a practical orthography for the language. In fact,
whenever the precise constituent structure of compounds is
not the point at issue, we usually write certain elements of
high-order compounds as separate words.

17. Below 3.334. An extreme example is a-lâ-mì-ší-jɔ 'rainbow',
where no individual meaning may be attached with certainty
to any of the five syllables.

18. To accommodate those cases where a noun-compound contains a
unique bound morpheme, we may more cautiously phrase the
definition of noun-noun compounds as 'those where there is no
evidence that any of the constituents are intrinsically any-
thing but nominal'.

19. All the nuclei in a genitive construction are necessarily
autonomous.

20. There is no mechanical way of predicting which particular
pairs of genitivally related lexical items may also be natu-
rally and grammatically related by simple juxtaposition.

(a) Sometimes the omission of the ve results in nonsense:

ɔ-hɔ́ ve ɔ-thāy 'the drawer below' ("below's drawer"), but
*ɔ-hɔ́=ɔ-thāy is impossible. (b) Sometimes the resultant
string is interpretable by a native speaker, but judged to
be aberrant or unnatural: qhâʔ-šɛ ve mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ 'the headman's
mouth', but *qhâʔ-šɛ=mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ sounds absurd (rather like 'a
headman-mouth' sounds to us). (c) Sometimes ve is omittable,
but the resultant compound is significantly different in mean-
ing from the genitive construction: yâ-ɛ́ ve ɔ-ha 'a baby's
picture', but yâ-ɛ́=ɔ-ha 'a doll' ("child-likeness"). To
attempt to formalize these observations by subcategorizing
the individual lexical items on a semantic basis would be an
endlessly complex and wrongheaded enterprise.

21. By 'roughly the same' we mean that the full genitives each
     differ from the corresponding compounds in the same, predic-
     table way. It is furthermore usually possible to form even
     more concise compounds by omitting the ɔ- prefix from the
     spatial noun: yɛ̀-qhɔ 'in the house', cò-hɔ́ 'under the
     bridge', etc. These latter constructions we call 'specified
     prefixial compounds' [below 3.342]. However, compounds end-
     ing in a non-spatial prefixed noun are not necessarily geni-
     tival. No ve may be inserted into such compounds as nâʔ=ɔ-šɛ́
     'a new gun' ("gun's newness"), vàʔ-šā=ɔ-cɛ 'raw pork'
     ("pork's rawness"), etc. For a discussion of spatial nouns
     in determined nuclei, see below 3.55.

22. This is a deverbative compound. See below 3.36.

23. See above 1.633. Intrinsically bound morphemes may also
     vary in tone from compound to compound: khɨ-šɛ 'foot', but
     khɨ-šɛ́=qwɛ̀ʔ 'the (whole) leg'; ŋà-hɨ 'we', but ŋà=hɨ-ma 'we
     two'.

24. However, some of these polysyllabic flora and fauna names
     are transparent enough. Thus 'fox' is hɛ-phɨ=mɛ̄-bɨ "field/
     dog/tail/bushy", i.e., bushy-tailed wild dog; 'cobra' is vɨ=
     lú-qu ("ladle-snake"), because of the shape of the aroused

hood; a certain white perennial is called qhɔ́ʔ-câ=vêʔ ("year-
celebrate-flower"), because it blooms around New Year's; the
word for 'bracket-tailed drongo' is khâʔ-cè=mɛ̄≡cɨ̄=cà-kwɨ̀   *
(khâʔ-cè 'arrow', mɛ̄ 'tail', cɨ̄ 'parakeet': "arrow-tailed
parakeet", with the syllables cà-kwɨ̀ remaining obscure).
There is wide dialectal variation in plant and animal names.

25. The words for 'rainbow' are very long through most of the
    Loloish family, though it is hard to identify syllables
    across languages. Cf. Lisu a^1-mu^5-yi^3-šu^3 (Fraser), Akha
    á-dé-lé-k'a (Lewis), Lolo Nyi sem-óu-segn-ī-tā-mǎ (Vial),
    and Matisoff 1970a, pp. 30-31.

26. These are somewhat analogous to bound Latinate formatives
    like -mit in English commit, remit, transmit, submit; or
    -ceive in deceive, receive, conceive, etc. The Lahu forma-
    tives all seem to be of native origin, however.

27. These latter compounds are technically 'specified prefixial'
    since a prefixed form ɔ̀-ma 'female' also exists. See below
    3.342. Words ending in the feminine -ma suffix contrast with
    otherwise identical words with the -pā suffix indicating
    males: Lâhū=pā 'Lahu man', ɔ̀-šɛ̄=pā 'a man's body', chɔ-hē=pā
    'a lying man', etc. -pā, like ma, is both a nominalizing
    particle and a prefixable morpheme (ɔ̀-pā 'male'), and must be
    distinguished from the meaningless noun-formative under the
    mid-tone, -pa (next in the list). See below 3.334; 6.13.

28. Cf. Wolfenden 1929, p. 75, and Benedict 1972, p. 96.

29. á- and ɔ́- probably represent a proto-variation between
    stopped and nasal velar finals, deriving respectively from
    *ʔak- and *ʔaŋ-.

30. This is an abbreviatory convention for the two variants ú-nêʔ
    and ú-nɔ=nɛ̂ʔ. The 'head'-morpheme also appears in prefixial
    compounds: ɔ̀-ú 'upper part', qhâʔ-ú 'upper part of village',
    g̈ɨ-ú 'upstream', etc.

31. This paradoxical compound is a good illustration of the fact

that final syllables of Lahu compounds are less tightly
bound to the root-morpheme than the preceding syllable is.
Another similar example is Kâlâ 'Indian; non-Oriental
foreigner' → Kâlâ-phu 'white man, European' ("white Indian")
→ Kâlâ-phu=nâʔ 'Negro' ("black white-man").

32. The scope of -hɨ is very similar to that of Mandarin -mən
      們   and Japanese -tati 達   .

33. The Bisu prefixes seem to be identical to the Proto Lolo-
      Burmese forms. Lahu ɔ is the usual reflex of *aŋ. The var-
      iant with final stop, ak, points to a pre-Lahu syllable with
      a double glottal incident, *ʔaʔ, which would regularly dis-
      similate, yielding our more restricted Lahu prefix á-. See
      note 29, and 1.643, above.

34. For some discussion see Wolfenden 1929, and Benedict 1972,
      pp. 121-123.

35. -cɨ is an intrinsically prefixed M_{pfx} [above 3.341a], so
      *vàʔ-sǎ=cɨ is also impossible. If it meant anything it would
      be 'pork-juice', with the hearer interpreting the last ele-
      ment as the homophonous 'ordinary' M_{pfx} -cɨ 'juice'.

36. Similarly, the noun là means 'tea' in general. When combined
      with the M_{pfx} -g̈ɨ 'liquid' in a bound-headed compound, là-g̈ɨ,
      the meaning is 'tea-liquid, brewed tea, tea ready to be
      drunk'. The corresponding free-headed compound, là=ɔ-g̈ɨ,
      insists on the contrast between liquid tea and tea in other
      states, and would be the form of choice in sentences like:
      chi lɛ̀ là-cɛ̀ mâ hêʔ; là=ɔ-g̈ɨ yɔ̀ 'This isn't a tea-plant --
      it's tea ready to drink'.

37. A near-complete list: ɔ-qhɔ 'inside', ɔ-bà 'outside', ɔ-thàʔ
      'above and touching', ɔ-na 'in front of and above', ɔ-qhô
      'over, on top of (but not touching)', ɔ-hɔ́ 'underneath',
      ɔ=qhɔʔ-nɔ́ 'in back of, behind', ɔ=g̈û-sɨ̄ 'in front of; before',
      ɔ-pâ ~ ɔ=pâ-nê 'nearby', ɔ=qɔ́-ji 'the middle'.

38. Cf. the Burmese cognate ăphoú 'sake', Okell 1969, pp. 299-301.

39. We do not consider prefixial compounds whose M_{pfx} is a verb-root [above 3.341c] to be 'deverbative' in the sense of this section. The behavior of such compounds is entirely parallel to that of other prefixial structures. The verbal M_{pfx} is the head of the C_{pfx}, while in true deverbative noun-compounds the verb is always the modifier, never the head.

40. As in other languages, the masculine is the unmarked gender in Lahu. -pā is used if a mixed group of males and females is meant, or if the sex is indeterminate or irrelevant. -ma is used only if a female or group of females is specifically meant.

41. What we said (note 40) about the M_{pfx}'s -pā and -ma holds also for the homophonous P_v's.

42. An example where the repeated noun is the actor: yâ-qhâ-yâ | te pí ò cê 'They say the child can do it all by himself now'. Where it is the acted-upon: yâ-qhâ-yâ ¦ tê pɔ̂ʔ | hàʔ-šá ve cê 'They say they take care of the child separately at the same time'.

43. This construction is obviously modelled on the -qhâ- one in much the same way that new idioms like 'bury the tomahawk' are modelled on established ones like 'bury the hatchet'. Cf. the discussion of 'idiom variants' in U. Weinreich's article "Problems in the analysis of idioms" in Puhvel, ed. 1969, p.45.

44. For verb-reduplication, see below 4.1d, 4.423, 5.424; for adverb-reduplication, below 4.42.

45. Reduplicated nouns are hyphenated between the reduplicata.

46. The term itself is borrowed from Mary R. Haas, who uses it to characterize similar phenomena in Thai. See for example Haas 1964, pp. xvii-xviii.

47. If both the first and third and the second and fourth are identical (A-B-A-B), or if the first-and-second and third-and-fourth are identical (A-A-B-B), we have reduplication rather than elaboration.

48. Elab's are the most essential ingredient of the Lahu high
    style, and native speakers are explicitly aware of their
    effect. They are sometimes called tɔ̂-vê? 'flower-words' and
    sometimes kâ=kâ-ɛ? (prob. < kâ 'to hear'; i.e., "words which
    are pleasant to the ear").

49. These prayers are of exceptional linguistic and anthropologi-
    cal interest. For a preliminary sketch of the issues in-
    volved, see Matisoff 1970c.

50. Analogues in other languages will come readily to mind:
    English 'kith' in 'kith and kin', French 'fur' in 'au fur et
    à mesure', etc.

51. We borrow this term from Yuen-ren Chao. See Chao 1965,
    p. 573ff.

52. This construction is a severe violation of normal syntax,
    since neither qhà 'which?' nor chi 'this' is a numeral, yet
    they are both here construed with a classifier. See below
    3.48; 3.55.

53. Or which at any rate mean something more specific in isola-
    tion than what they mean in the combination.

54. šê? is the variant used in counting, though the etymologically
    regular form is šɛ̄ (< PLB *s̲um²). All three allomorphs are
    used interchangeably before classifiers, though particular
    classifiers seem to favor a given variant for certain Black
    Lahu speakers. Thus šɛ is the most frequent form before g̈â
    'Clf for people'. See 1.63, note 44.

55. Other arithmetical operations may be expressed as follows.
    Addition: addendum₁ + lɛ + addendum₂ ⁞ sum | phὲ? ve (nî lɛ
    šê? ⁞ ŋâ | phὲ? ve '2 + 3 = 5'); multiplication: multipli-
    cand ⁞ multiplier + pɔ̂? (+ qo) ⁞ product | phὲ? ve (nî ⁞ šê?
    pɔ̂? [qo] ⁞ khɔ̂? | phὲ? ve '2 x 3 = 6'); division: dividend +
    thà? ⁞ divisor + mà + tê pu | pὲ qo || quotient | phὲ? ve
    (khɔ̂? thà? ⁞ šê? mà tê pu | pὲ qo || nî | phὲ? ve '6 ÷ 3 = 2').
    [lɛ (P_univ) 'and'; pɔ̂? (Clf) 'time'; qo (P_unf) 'if, when';

thàʔ (P̲ₙ) 'accusative'; t̲ê̲ p̲u̲ (Q) 'one share, as a whole';
p̲ɛ̀ (V) 'share, divide'.] Locutions such as these are far
from having gained general acceptance among the Lahu of
Thailand. It is likely that the better-educated Lahu com-
munities of Burma and Yunnan have developed their own arith-
metical terminology.

56. The meaning 'whole' with time expressions may be explicitly
strengthened by adding the N_{ext} q̲h̲a̲-̲g̲à̲ 'until it reaches
(the end)' after the time-classifier: t̲ê̲ n̲i̲ q̲h̲a̲-̲g̲à̲ 'all the
livelong day'. See below, 3.643.

57. Similar cases are frequent in the classifier systems of other
Southeast Asian languages. Cf. Mod. Bs. ʔ̲e̲i̲n̲ t̲ə̲ ʔ̲e̲i̲n̲ 'one
house', Thai f̲ǎ̲a̲ s̲ɔ̲̌ɔ̲ŋ̲ f̲ǎ̲a̲ 'two lids', etc.

58. The compounds c̲h̲i̲-̲p̲h̲â̲ 'this fellow' and ô̲-̲p̲h̲â̲ ~ ô̲-̲v̲e̲=̲p̲h̲â̲
'that fellow' often occur after nouns referring to male per-
sons in a way reminiscent of a Num + Clf: K̲ɔ̲́l̲ɔ̲́ c̲h̲i̲-̲p̲h̲â̲ 'this
Northern Thai guy', s̲ǎ̲-̲b̲ɔ̲̂ʔ̲=̲p̲ā̲ ô̲-̲v̲e̲=̲p̲h̲â̲ 'that hunter chap'.
But p̲h̲â̲ is not a true Clf, since it cannot occur after
numerals.

59. This leads one to suspect that g̲̈â̲ might be connected etymo-
logically with the M_{pfx} g̲̈â̲ 'strength, power'. A dead man has
lost his life-force.

60. The Clf g̲ɛ̲ is homonymous with a P_n of accompaniment or in-
strument usually best translated 'with' [below 3.85]. t̲ê̲ g̲ɛ̲
may be used after another group-classifier: ɔ̲̀-̲c̲h̲ɔ̲̂ t̲ê̲ p̲h̲ā̲ t̲ê̲
g̲ɛ̲ 'together with all the friends'. See below 'QQ combina-
tions', 3.47.

61. Cf. the general Mandarin Clf 個 g̲e̲h̲, the Thai ʔ̲a̲n̲, etc.
m̲à̲ may not, however, substitute for measure-, group-, or
round-number classifiers. m̲à̲ is also a 'special Clf' in our
terminology, since it bears no morphophonemic relationship to
any particular N_{qh}.

62. There is an autonomous form ɔ̲̀-̲m̲ɔ̲̄ '10,000', but m̲ɔ̲̄ does not

occur in C_{spfx}'s after other nouns. At any rate m<u>ə̄</u> obviously
belongs in the 'round-number' class, and only trivially in
the 'prefixial' class.

63. This morpheme has nothing to do with the P_{uf} <u>le</u> that marks
     substance-questions [below 4.723]: <u>qhà-nî</u> <u>ni</u> <u>le</u> 'How many
     days is it?'.

64. This is very similar to the use of Thai <u>kwàa</u>, or English
     'odd' (as in 'twenty-odd people'). The spatial C_{pfx} <u>ɔ-qhô</u>
     'over' may also be used as a coda with this meaning: <u>hî</u> <u>kîlô</u>
     <u>ɔ-qhô</u> 'over eight kilos'.

65. The use of Thai <u>khrŷŋ</u> 'half' is analogous: <u>chûamooŋ</u> <u>khrŷŋ</u>
     'an hour and a half', but <u>khrŷŋ</u> <u>chûamooŋ</u> 'half an hour'.

66. A plural pronoun may be quantified by <u>tê</u> 'one' if the in-
     dividuals referred to are being considered one at a time:
     <u>nɔ-hɨ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>ğâ</u> <u>thà?</u> | <u>te</u> <u>lù</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>phɛ̀?</u> 'They cannot harm a single
     one of you'.

67. The only restriction is that the possessor nucleus may not
     contain the same noun as the N_{qh} (*<u>chɔ</u> <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>chɔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>ğâ</u>). A
     genitive construction whose surface head nucleus consists
     only of a Q is called a 'quantitial genitive' [below 3.72a].

68. The correctness of the above analysis is indicated by the
     quite parallel behavior of another type of modifier of quan-
     tified nuclei: relative clauses. When a relative clause is
     of simple enough structure (i.e., consisting only of a V_{adj}
     like <u>dà?</u> 'good', or an action verb plus the P_v <u>tā</u> ~ <u>ā</u>) it
     may be shifted to the right of its head-noun [below 6.49].
     The marker of relative subordination, like that of genitive
     subordination, is the particle <u>ve</u>. When the head of a right-
     shiftable relative clause is a v_q, the N_{qh} of the latter may
     be promoted to initial position in the construction. Thus,
     <u>dà?</u> <u>ve</u> <u>mì-gɨ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pê?</u> 'a good piece of land' → <u>mì-gɨ</u> <u>dà?</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tê</u>
     <u>pê?</u> 'id.'; <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u> <u>và?=ó-qō</u> <u>tê</u> <u>šī</u> 'a boiled pig's head' →
     <u>và?=ó-qō</u> <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tê</u> <u>šī</u> 'id.'. The quantified head may freely

be deleted: <u>dàʔ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pêʔ</u> 'a good piece (of land)', <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>
<u>tê</u> <u>s̆ī</u> 'a boiled one (round object)'. After promotion, if the
N_{qh} is <u>not</u> deleted, relative <u>ve</u>, like genitive <u>ve</u>, may be
omitted, yielding strings like <u>mı̀-gɨ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pêʔ</u> (cf. <u>mı̀-gɨ</u>
<u>chi</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pêʔ</u>), but not *<u>dàʔ</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pêʔ</u>. See below 6.494.

69. The Christian Lahu, who have abandoned the traditional duo-
decimal cycle of days (named for animals) and adopted the
Western week, use an analogous <u>pə̀</u>-construction for naming the
days of the week. 'Sunday' is <u>s̆í-ni</u> ("blessing-day"); 'Mon-
day' is <u>s̆í</u> <u>pə̀</u> <u>tê</u> <u>ni</u> ("blessing finished first day"); by Satur-
day we have arrived at <u>s̆í</u> <u>pə̀</u> <u>khɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ni</u> ("blessing finished
sixth day"). Alternatively, one may use the verb <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> 'come
out, emerge' instead of <u>pə̀</u>. Thus, 'Wednesday' can be expressed
as <u>s̆í</u> <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>s̆ɛ̂ʔ</u> <u>ni</u> ("blessing emerged third day"), etc.

70. Occasionally two successive Q's conjoinable by <u>lɛ</u> are not
related to each other as the terms of a disjunction ('or'),
but rather as the terms of a conjunction ('and'). Thus,
<u>ŋà-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>chi</u> <u>tê</u> <u>pɔ̂ʔ</u> ¦ <u>qhɔ̀ʔ</u> | <u>câ</u> <u>ve</u> ‖ <u>sɛ̂ʔ</u> <u>ni</u> (<u>lɛ</u>) <u>ɔ̂</u> <u>ni</u> / <u>cɛ</u> <u>lâ</u>
'Will we celebrate the New Year this time only for three days
and four days?'. Here the meaning is not approximative
('three or four days'). The traditional Lahu New Year cele-
brations are divided into the 'Male New Year' (usually five
days) preceded by the 'Female New Year' (usually six days).
The speaker is expressing surprise that these might be re-
duced to three and four days respectively. [For an exhaus-
tive ethnographic account of the Lahu New Year ceremonies,
see Walker 1970a, pp. 1-44.] In any event, Q's joined either
disjunctively or conjunctively by <u>lɛ</u> usually belong to the
same underlying NP. [For more on <u>lɛ</u>-conjoining, see 'NP
sequences', below 3.10.0.]

71. But not always: <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>nî</u> <u>ni</u> ¦ <u>tê</u> <u>pɔ̂ʔ</u> | <u>là</u> <u>jɔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'He used to
come every other day' ("two days one time").

72. The interrogative extentive <u>qhà-ma</u> 'how much?' behaves like a

Num + Clf in this construction. We might call it a 'pro-Q'
(by analogy with, e.g., 'pronoun').

73. chi-nî + Clf 'this many Clf's' is quite distinct from chi +
     nî + Clf 'these two Clf's'. I.e., the numeral nî 'two' is
     merely a fortuitous homonym of the bound morpheme -nî that
     appears in qhà-nî and chi-nî.

74. Pronouns, N_{intg}'s, and N_{sd}'s may not be determined, either by
     a following chi or by a preceding genitival chi [3.53].
     Nouns of these subclasses appear to be already 'definite' or
     'determinate' by nature.

75. Lahu common nouns constitute an open class.

76. chi here behaves very like a N_{sd}. In fact chi + M_{pfx} com-
     pounds mean the same as compounds whose first element is the
     N_{sd} chò 'here': chi-phɔ́/chò-phɔ́ 'this direction, this way';
     chi-pá/chò-pá 'this side', etc.

77. Also grammatical are sequences where the prefixed M_{pfx} comes
     first: ɔ́-hɔ́ chi 'under here', ɔ́-qhô chi 'above this', etc.
     These, however, are not lexical compounds, since they are
     just special cases of chi in post-nominal position [3.52].

78. This is undoubtedly because the Western seven-day week has
     only recently been introduced among the Christian Lahu.
     See above 3.47.

79. The morpheme mu 'high' is almost a member of this class (see
     below 3.616), and was so treated for convenience in 1.41f
     and 1.44c, above.

80. In this last example, the N_{sd} ô 'over there' and the common
     noun pē-pâ 'bird-trap', belong to separate, appositional NP's,
     as proven by the fact that noun-particles like the locatives
     ɔ̄ and kà? are insertible between them: ô ɔ̄, pē-pâ šɨ 'id.'.
     The N_{ext} šɨ is in constituency only with the common noun.

81. Such a particle does in fact exist in Lahu. See the dis-
     cussion of cɛ, below 3.91b; 4.712(1).

82. Note that it is implausible to suggest that N + E_{ma} is under-

lyingly a genitive construction ('a child's size'), for it is
never grammatical to insert ve before the E_{ma}: *yâ-ɛ́ ve hɨ.

83. For a much more extensive discussion see below, 'Transhemi-
stichial relationships', 4.5. See also 3.614 below.

84. In sentence-initial position like this, qhà-ma usually has
exclamatory force: the force of a rhetorical question. When
it occurs directly before the VP, however, it retains its
full interrogative meaning: ɔ-bo ǀ qhà-ma | cɔ ve le 'How
useful is it?'.

85. To be consistent, we should choose alternative (b) here too.
However, the fact that N_h + N_{sd} is an impossible sequence
unless ve follows, while N_h + N_{sd} + E_{ma} is acceptable with no
following ve, suggests that the two constructions are not
perfectly analogous.

86. Modifiers which have this twin property of subordinability to
both nouns and verbs we call 'subordinate expressions' [below
4.42]. These include reduplicated adjectives, stative adver-
bials, and elaborate expressions. We shall see that redupli-
cated ma-extentives show strong resemblances to reduplicated
adjectives [3.616].

87. For a discussion of the semantics of Lahu noun-reduplication
in general, see above 3.38; see also 'Reduplication of
classifiers', 3.421.

88. Just as the Mandarin word heen 很 , conventionally trans-
lated 'very', serves often merely to give bulk to an other-
wise monosyllabic adjectival predicate.

89. šɨ is here being used in its temporal, not its spatial sense.

90. These constructions are relative clauses [below 6.4], not
genitives, since the material preceding the ve contains a
verb.

91. Most of the following discussion can be deduced from 3.45
and 3.54 above.

92. Other variants of this particle include lɛ̀, lɛ, ɛ̀ʔ, and lɛ̀ʔ.

93. The adverb qha is a completely different morpheme from the
N$_{intg}$ qhà that is used to question the E$_{ma}$'s (above). Ad-
verbial expressions of the form qha + E$_{ma}$ + è are closely
related to adverbials of the qha + V + è type [below 4.421].

94. For a discussion of the peculiar fused vocalism of these
forms, and an analysis of their component morphemes, see
above 1.41f, 1.44c.

95. For a systematic discussion of nominalizing ve, see below
6.11 'Embedded ve-clauses', and 6.47 'Nominalizing vs.
relativizing ve'.

96. This does not contradict the fact that one could make a case
for saying that [N + a-kɛ́] structures as a whole stand in an
adverbial relationship to the verb, even when another NP
intervenes.

97. In diagrammed sentences we conventionally enclose nominalized
clauses in curly brackets.

98. In this last example, the N$_{desc}$ is a genitive construction
whose possessed head has been deleted. See below 3.76.

99. Lahu has two other bound morphemes that typically occur after
nominalized clauses in minor sentences: šwîʔ 'the most; the
utmost' (< Shan) and dê 'uselessness; something in vain'.
However, these never appear after natural nouns, so they are
dealt with below under ve-clauses [6.114] and [6.481(2)].

100. It is possible to say chi qha pə̀-è 'all of this', but *chi
dê-dê makes no sense. chi by itself can refer only to an
entity considered en bloc.

101. The verb phɛ̀ʔ 'be' may be supplied after nɔ̀ qhe, with no
change of meaning (nɔ̀ qhe | phɛ̀ʔ ve yò). In another type of
minor sentence where a [N + qhe] appears in the last phrase,
that which precedes is a nominalized ve-clause: {yɔ̂ ¦
Lâhū-khɔ̂ | yɔ ve} ¦ Pîchɔ̀ qhe yò 'His speaking Lahu is like
a Shan'. Such sentences may be derived from those where the
nominalized clause is the final, main clause, with the [N +

qhe˩ appearing in its nominal hemistich: yɔ̂ ¦ Pîchɔ̂ qhe ¦ Lâhū-khɔ̂ | yɔ ve yɔ̀ 'He speaks Lahu like a Shan'.

102. The noun preceding qhe, šú-lèʔ 'cigars', is modified by a relative clause.

103. In rambling speech some speakers use qhe or ɔ̄-qhe as a pause-filler in practically every sentence. (This is remarkably similar to the recent sinking of English 'like' to the status of a pause-filler: 'Like, man, it's -- like -- a common phenomenon in the languages of the world!') We must regard ɔ̄-qhe as a unitary particle, since P_u's may not occur before a noun within a NP. A similar use of qhe as a sentence-introducer in extended narration is discussed below 4a.14.

104. An interesting compound that means the same thing is chi-   * qhe=šɨ̌, where the E_ma šɨ̌ is in constituency with chi qhe as a unit.

105. The common idiom, qhe cɛ ve yɔ̀ 'That's all there is to it!', is best regarded as a genitive expression with the possessed head deleted: < *qhe cɛ ve X yɔ̀ 'It's just that much of an X'. See below 3.76.

106. See below 4a.13. Among the many other roles qhe plays in Lahu grammar, we may mention the following: a) In quotative sentences, qhe may serve as a marker after that which is quoted and before the verb of quotation: "X" qhe qôʔ ve 'He said "X"' ("'X' -- thus he said"). See below 6.31. b) Combined with the reduplicated extentive ma, qhe forms an expression which adverbializes a preceding NP or a whole clause: chɔ tê g̈â ve a-šàʔ qhe=ma-ma | mɔ ve yɔ̀ 'It lasts as long as a person's life'. See below 4.45 'Adverbial clauses'. c) qhe is the second element in such important compounds as à-là=qhe 'approximately' [above 3.43f], qhà-qhe 'how; what kind of' [above 3.23, below 4.412(9)], qhɔ̂-qhe 'where?' [above 3.23].

107. qha-gà combines with the E_ma of spatial location, šɨ̌, to form

a curious compound qha-gà=sɨ̌ meaning 'everywhere' (= tê kà le-le).

108. We shall give cross-references to these previous discussions wherever appropriate in this section.

109. See Jespersen, reprinted 1965, Chapter 12, p. 169ff.

110. It also serves to attach 'subordinate expressions' and relative clauses to their noun-heads [below 4.42; 6.4].

111. We shall see [below 3.72] that this may also be the case with a chi, an extentive, or a Q that follows the possessed head.

112. An unrestricted particle (P_u) never occurs after a possessor nucleus. A noun-particle (P_n) may just barely occur there, though this is not considered very good usage: (*)ŋà gɛ ve ɔ-chɔ 'the friend who is with me' ("the friend of with me"); (*)há-qō lo ve ɔ-cɔ 'the thing ["of"] inside the cave'. Japanese differs from Lahu on this point. Certain of the Japanese P_n's occur perfectly naturally in possessor nuclei: Tōkyō made no miti 'the road ["of"] up to Tokyo'; sensei to no hanasi 'a talk ["of"] with the teacher'.

113. We have already discussed the relationship between the chi + ve + N_h and the N_h + chi (mû-mì chi) constructions, above 3.52-3.53. See also below 3.72b and 3.76.

114. Here too Lahu differs from Japanese, where pronouns regular-ly occur as v_h's: sono koro no watakusi 'I as I was then' ("the I of that time"), syakai-zyookyuu no anata 'you who are of high social class' ("the you of the high social class").

115. Equally common would be to have the v_h consist merely of the unquantified N_h: qhà ve mà?-pāw 'which coconut?'.

116. a-kɛ́ 'more than', the other extentive we grouped with dê-dê [3.631], does not occur in possessor nuclei. A sequence of N_h + a-kɛ́ must always be subordinated to a following VP, not to another NP. Thus, in Lâhū-yâ a-kɛ́ | ɨ̄ ve chɔ-cɔ 'a race

greater than the Lahu', the N_h <u>chɔ-cɔ̂</u> 'race' is modified by
a relative clause whose verb, <u>ɨ̄</u> 'great', governs the exten-
tive NP <u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>a-kɛ́</u> 'than the Lahu'. It would not be
grammatical to have a genitive expression like *<u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>a-kɛ́</u>
<u>ve</u> <u>chɔ-cɔ̂</u> 'a race of than the Lahu'.

117. Genitive recursivity is a feature of such disparate languages
as French (la queue du chien de la femme de l'ami de mon
esclave); Russian (xvost sobaki ženy druga raba moego);
Latin (cauda canis uxōris amīcī servī meī); Hebrew (ha-zanav
šel ha-kelev šel ha-iša šel ha-xaver šel ha-eved šeli; znav
kelev eišet xaver avdi); Japanese (watakusi no dorei no
tomodati no nyōbō no inu no sippō); Mandarin (woo de nulih
de perngyeou de tay-tay de goou de woei-ba); Thai (hǎaŋ
khɔ̌ɔŋ mǎa khɔ̌ɔŋ mia khɔ̌ɔŋ phŷan khɔ̌ɔŋ thâad khɔ̌ɔŋ phǒm), etc.

118. As we shall see [3.92g], ν's connected by the P_unf <u>lɛ</u> 'and'
also belong to the same NP. However, these conjoined ν's
are coordinate, and may be permuted without real change of
meaning. In multigenitive constructions any permutation of
the elements necessarily results in a change in the hierarchy
of subordinations, and thus in the meaning.

119. See the discussion of 'genitival compounds', above 3.32 and
3.55.

120. All these [pronoun + noun] structures are readily distin-
guished from those cases where the pronoun and the noun
belong to separate NP's. Possible ambiguities are resolved
by inserting comma-pause or a particle after the pronoun:
<u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>phu</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>qhɔ̂</u> <u>yù</u> <u>gâ</u> 'He wants to steal the money' vs.
<u>yɔ̂</u> <u>phu</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>qhɔ̂</u> <u>yù</u> <u>gâ</u> '[Somebody] wants to steal his
money'; <u>nɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>phɨ-šā</u> | <u>câ</u> <u>pɨ-à</u> 'Watch out you don't eat the
dog-meat' vs. <u>nɔ̂</u> <u>phɨ</u> ¦ <u>šā</u> | <u>câ</u> <u>pɨ-à</u> 'Watch out your dog
doesn't eat the meat'; <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>tê</u> <u>g̈â</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>yù</u> <u>bɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>ve</u> 'He
shot one person to death' vs. <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>tê</u> <u>g̈â</u> <u>thàʔ</u> | <u>yù</u> <u>bɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>ve</u>
'[Somebody] shot only him to death'; <u>ŋà-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>Lâhū-khɔ̂</u> |

qhà-qhe ğa qôʔ ve le 'How must we say it in Lahu?' vs.
ŋà-hɨ Lâhū-khɔ́ | qhà-qhe ğa qôʔ ve le 'How must one say it
in our Lahu language?'.

121. See above 3.44-3.45 for a detailed discussion, including
such matters as the 'Promotion of quantified head' trans-
formation.

122. The [chi + Q] may of course be preceded by a head-noun:
šɨ̌ʔ-cè chi tê cè < šɨ̌ʔ-cè chi ve tê cè 'this tree' ("this
plantsworth of tree").

123. A similar meaning difference obtains when the second noun is
a spatial M_{pfx} [section (2) above]. Thus yὲ≡ɔ=pâ-nê 'near
the house' vs. yὲ ve ɔ=pâ-nê 'the neighborhood of the house';
ta-qō=ɔ-hɔ́ 'under the box' vs. ta-qō ve ɔ-hɔ́ 'the underside
of the box'.

124. For a discussion of the possibility of omitting ve from such
relative clauses, see below 6.483(2).

125. We indicate a deleted ν_h diagrammatically by an empty box.

126. chi-ve 'this' and ô-ve 'that' have already been mentioned,
above 3.53b.

127. Alternatively we could interpret the relative clause as
modifying the possessor nucleus tê cɔ̀ le-le, with this whole
structure then serving as the ν_p modifying ɔ-cɔ̀.

128. Certain P_n's may also occur after nominalized clauses. See
the discussion of thàʔ [3.83] and pa-tɔ [3.84].

129. The Lahu P_n's are thus closely analogous in form and function
to, e.g., the nominal postpositions of Japanese.

130. Historically the P_n's undoubtedly do descend from limited
nouns whose meanings gradually became more and more abstract.
See our speculations on the origins of thàʔ, below 3.83.

131. The diagrammatic convention in this and similar charts to
appear below is that vertical lines may be crossed from left
to right (e.g., thàʔ may occur with a following pa-tɔ), but
horizontal lines may not be crossed at all (e.g., thàʔ may
not co-occur with gɛ within a NP).

132. It is easy to see why this should be so. An animate being is the instigator of actions at least as often as he is the patient of actions, so that there will be many cases where clarity requires that the first interpretation be excluded. Inanimate objects are almost always patients rather than instigators, so that the addition of thàʔ is usually redundant.

133. In both of these examples the verb has been embedded into a nominalized clause that serves as topic of the sentence.

134. See below 6.1 for a detailed discussion of nominalized clauses.

135. Instead of thàʔ, the P_n gɛ [below 3.85] may be used after the noun indicating the seller.

136. It is true, however, that thàʔ-NP's seem never to occur before V_{adj}'s.

137. Cf. the evolution of the Mandarin passive-marker, bey 被 , from a morpheme meaning 'to cover'.

138. If the Old Testament ever gets translated into Lahu, we may confidently expect a parallel example like the following: qhe-te-lɛ g̈ɨ̵-ša ¦ Adamu ve ni-kû gɛ ¦ yâ-mî=ma tê g̈â | phān pî ve yò 'Thereupon God created a woman from Adam's rib'.

139. Thus, 'He fell off the horse' is conceptualized as 'He came falling [from] on top of the horse': í-mû qhô | ce la ve (í-mû 'horse', qhô [M_{pfx}] 'on top of', ce 'to fall', la [P_v] 'motion toward center of interest').

140. Since one etymological source for Lahu -o is PLB *-am [above 1.34], it seems likely that lo derives from the widespread TB etymon *lam 'road, path'.

141. A frequent way of making sure that the meaning 'in' is conveyed is to use a fuller construction with the spatial M_{pfx} ɔ-qhɔ 'inside of': N + ɔ-qhɔ + lo 'inside the N; within the N'. This expression, however, is unnaturally verbose when the head-noun refers to a concrete object (*qhá-jù-lu ɔ-qhɔ lo 'inside the basket'; much better is qhá-jù-lu qhɔ).

It is appropriate rather when the head-noun is abstract, particularly when it refers to time: <u>chi</u> <u>nî</u> <u>qhɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>ɔ̀-qhɔ</u> <u>lo</u> 'during these two years'.

142. See below, 'Sequences of P$_{unf}$'s' [3.93] and 'Sequences of P$_{n}$ + P$_{u}$' [3.95]. Preliminary investigation of the Yellow Lahu dialect seems to show that YL has a topicalizer, <u>ɔ</u>, phonologically distinct from but nearly homophonous with a locative particle, <u>o</u>. This is irrelevant to the present problem, however, since the area where the Lahu dialects diverge most is their particle systems.

143. A more explicit version of this last sentence is: {<u>chò</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>chê</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>} | <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>qay</u> <u>ò</u> <u>lâ</u>, literally "Having been here, has he gone back yet?". See below, '<u>ve</u>-clauses as topics', 6.11.

144. The sequence <u>ɔ̄</u> + <u>kàʔ</u> occurs only when the preceding noun refers to a place, so that the <u>ɔ̄</u> is locative rather than topical: <u>nô</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>cɔ̀</u> <u>ve</u> 'There are some even up there'.
     P$_{n}$ P$_{unf}$

* 145. This P$_{n}$ is to be carefully distinguished from several other homophonous particles: (a) the <u>sui</u> <u>generis</u> subordinating P$_{u}$ <u>ɛ̀</u> [below 4.42]; (b) the interjectory or interrogative P$_{uf}$ <u>ɛ̀ʔ</u> [below 4.726]; and (c) the colloquial allomorph of the topicalizing P$_{unf}$ <u>lɛ̀</u> ~ <u>ɛ̀</u> [below 3.92b].

146. Cf. the P$_{univ}$'s <u>cɛ</u> and <u>tí</u>, below 3.91b; 3.91c.

147. It will be remembered that this meaning may also be conveyed simply by reduplicating [<u>tê</u> + Clf], with no particle at all (<u>tê</u> <u>nì</u> <u>tê</u> <u>nì</u> 'every day'), or by appending the coda <u>le</u> ~ <u>le-le</u> to the [<u>tê</u> + Clf] (<u>tê</u> <u>nì</u> <u>le-le</u> 'id.'). See above 3.43.

148. The same may, of course, be said of Lahu verbs which 'incorporate' other English prepositions: <u>cɔ</u> 'go around', <u>lòʔ</u> 'go in', <u>yù</u> <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> 'take out of', etc.

149. Final NP's occur only in minor sentences, by definition (above 2.1).

150. P_{univ}'s will be treated again under 'Final clauses and minor sentences' [below 4.71] and in more detail under 'VP_{nf}'s in compound sentences' [5.2]. P_{unf}'s will be discussed in connection with VP's [5.4]. P_{uf}'s are presented in detail in 4.72.

151. See above [3.86] for a discussion of the locative P_n $\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$, which <u>may</u> occur before other P_n's.

152. See the formula at the beginning of this section, and <u>passim</u>.

153. The occurrent sequences V + <u>ve</u> (P_u) + <u>thà?</u>/<u>pa-tɔ</u> (P_n's) superficially seem to require us to regard <u>thà?</u> and <u>pa-tɔ</u> as P_u's by this definition. This counter-intuitive conclusion is easily avoided by considering these constructions to be the result of nominalization transformations [above 3.83–3.84; below 6.115].

154. More accurately, a post-nominal P_u is in immediate constituency with the preceding nominal nucleus, while a post-verbal P_u is in constituency with the preceding clause as a whole. See above 2.2.

155. Another morpheme deriving ultimately from the same source is the optional marker of quotations, <u>tɛ̀</u>, below 6.31. When the M_{pfx} <u>ɔ̀-tɛ̀</u> ∿ <u>ɔ̀=tɛ̀-tɛ̀</u> occurs alone in its ν, it may be translated as 'the real truth': <u>yɔ̂-hɨ</u> ¦ <u>phu</u> ¦ <u>ɔ̀=tɛ̀-tɛ̀</u> <u>lɛ̀</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>cɔ̀</u> 'The real truth is, they have no money'. Sequences of the form N + <u>(ɔ̀=)tɛ̀-tɛ̀</u> mean 'a real N': <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>tɛ̀-tɛ̀</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>hê?</u> 'He's not a real Lahu'.

156. Telford (1938) records a particle <u>lɛ́</u> that seems to correspond to both of our <u>lɛ</u>'s, as well as to the topical P_{unf} <u>lɛ̀</u>. Telford was in fact notoriously tone-deaf (personal communication by Paul Lewis, 1970), and did not include tone-marks in his translation of the New Testament.

157. Alongside <u>chi</u> <u>thà?</u> <u>pa-tɔ</u> and <u>chi</u> <u>ve</u> <u>pa-tɔ</u>. See above 3.84.

158. Telford (1938) records this particle in the high-checked tone: <u>qô?</u>. In fact it is likely that <u>qo</u> derives from the

verb <u>qôʔ</u> 'to say' ("if we talk about this N"). The more
explicit construction N | + <u>qôʔ</u> <u>qo</u> has even stronger con-
trastive force; here the P_{unf} is occurring post-verbally.
See below 'P_{unf}'s in VP_{nf}'s', 5.41.

* 159.   In colloquial speech the initial consonant often drops. The
resultant /ɛ̀/ is not to be confused with either the P_n <u>ɛ̀ʔ</u> ~
<u>ɛ̀</u> 'only' [above 3.87], or the subordinating P_u <u>ɛ̀ʔ</u> ~ <u>ɛ̀</u> ~ <u>lɛ̀ʔ</u>
[below 4.42], or the interjectory/interrogative P_{uf} <u>ɛ̀ʔ</u>
[below 4.723(5); 4.726].

160.   The P_{unf} <u>kàʔ</u> occurs post-verbally in a very similar construc-
tion. See below 5.44(1).

161.   This P_{unf} <u>kàʔ</u> is quite distinct from the homophonous loca-
tive P_n, above 3.86.

162.   The Japanese postposition <u>mo</u> has precisely the same semantic
range.

163.   Japanese <u>mo</u> and <u>de-mo</u> have parallel functions: <u>onna</u> <u>de-mo</u>
<u>kodomo</u> <u>de-mo</u> 'whether women or children'.

164.   Cf. the Japanese gerund + <u>mo</u> construction: <u>ame</u> <u>ga</u> <u>hutte</u> <u>mo</u>
'even if it rains'. <u>thɔ̂</u> also occurs after two successive
verbs with the meaning 'whether V₁ or V₂': <u>tɛ̀ʔ</u> <u>thɔ̂</u> <u>sɨ̆</u> <u>thɔ̂</u>
'whether I live or die'. Often the V₂ is just the negation
of V₁: <u>dàʔ</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>thɔ̂</u> 'whether it's good or not'.

165.   My chief informant on my second field-trip, <u>Cà-mɔ́</u>, main-
tains, however, that <u>nɛ́</u> is widely used in his speech and
that of his friends.

166.   This particle is distinct from the homophonous causal P_{univ},
above 3.91e. It may ultimately be a borrowing from Tai:
cf. Siamese <u>lɛ́ʔ</u> 'and': <u>klya</u> <u>lɛ́ʔ</u> <u>phrígthaj</u> 'salt and
pepper'. Alternatively, it may be cognate to, or influenced
by, Modern Burmese <u>lê</u> 'also' [Okell 1969, pp. 337-338].

167.   An unambiguous way of saying 'X <u>or</u> Y' is 'X <u>mâ</u> <u>hêʔ</u> <u>qo</u>, Y'
("if it is not the case that X, then Y"). See below 5.41.

168.   Similarly, a determiner following v₁ + <u>lɛ</u> + v₂ must some-

times be interpreted as modifying the conjoined structure as a whole: Šá-to-dù lɛ Hwè-tàʔ chi nî qhâʔ 'these two villages, Shatodu and Huey-tad'.

169. The Japanese -te form, the Sanskrit 'gerund' in -tvā, and the Jinghpaw particle ǹná are examples of similar devices in other languages. In VP$_{nf}$'s, but not in NP$_{nf}$'s, the topic P$_u$'s ɔ̄ and ɛ̀ (∿ lɛ̀) may follow suspensive lɛ under certain conditions. See below 5.421.

170. This particular sequence is extremely common. Here tí loses its meaning of 'only', and becomes simply an emphatic topic-marker: "as for N (and nothing else)".

171. In this example the first lɛ qo ɔ̄ is in a natural NP, while the second comes after a clause nominalized by ve.

172. English 'ain't' as a substitute for such widely different words as 'isn't', 'hasn't', doesn't', etc., is an example of a similar phenomenon. Examples of the use of ɛ̀ ∿ e will *be given below in the context of the VP, 5.45.

173. Both of the expressions chi-thâ and ô-thâ mean 'then; at *that time (in the past)', instead of 'now' and 'then' respectively, as might be expected from the meanings of chi 'this' and ô 'that'. This is further evidence for thâ's predilection for the past.

174. It will be remembered that 'nominal hemistich' refers to the ensemble of all the NP's in a given clause. Diagrammatically, we separate NP's belonging to the same hemistich by vertical dotted lines, " ¦ "; the nominal hemistich as a whole is set off from the VP by a solid vertical line, " | ". Clauses are set off from each other in compound sentences by double vertical lines, " ‖ ".

175. Similar semantic-boundary problems exist at hemistich boundary as well. We have mentioned NP's which are semantically 'adverbial' (i.e., part of the verbal hemistich) above ['Extentive nuclei', 3.611], and will return to the problem

again ['Adverbial expressions', 4.4]. In 4.5, 'Hemistich boundary and transhemistichial relationships', we deal with NP's which are so intimately bound to the VP that they are really constituents in [noun + verb]-compounds.

176. This topic is discussed in detail above 3.44; 3.48.

177. Examples of possible conglomerate-types include 'determined quantified expressions' (<u>chɔ</u> <u>chi</u> <u>láy</u> <u>ğâ</u> 'these several people'), quantified nuclei with compound heads (<u>mɔ̌ʔ-s̄a̋</u> <u>ɔ̌=tɛ̀-tɛ̀</u> <u>ŋâ</u> <u>kîlô</u> 'five kilos of real monkey-meat'), extentive nuclei modified by spatial M$_{pfx}$'s (<u>pê-tú=pā</u> <u>chi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ɔ̌=pâ-nê</u> 'in the vicinity of this many animists' ["beeswax-burners"]) -- to list but a random few.

178. Even more complicated structures may be embedded in single NP's, i.e., relative clauses. See below 6.4.

179. This sort of construction is familiar in SAE languages as well: 'not only NP$_1$...but also NP$_2$'; 'either NP$_1$...or NP$_2$'; 'on the one hand X...on the other hand Y', etc.

180. In fact <u>ô</u> may be substituted for <u>chɔ̌</u> in this sentence with no change in meaning. More will be said about these indefinite correlatives in the context of compound sentences, below 5.24; 5.411.

181. The agentive, dative, and objective cases, respectively, in the sense of Fillmore 1968.

182. The particle's absence in the ambiguous sentence may be due either to its ellipsis from a fuller construction (e.g., genitive <u>ve</u>-deletion), or simply to the exercise of the option not to select it in the first place (e.g., not bothering to put <u>thàʔ</u> after the object of the sentence).

183. See the discussion in the Phonology, above 1.7.

1. VP_{nf}'s differ only in having P_{unf} in the last position, instead of P_{uf}.

2. AE's are discussed in 4.4; P_v's in 4.6; P_{univ}'s (in VP_f's) are treated in 4.71; and P_{uf}'s in 4.72.

3. Since we use the Greek letter ν to symbolize 'nominal nucleus', it would be convenient if Greek had a letter whose value was that of the English v- in 'verbal'. We shall have to settle for β, the graph for the voiced bilabial spirant.

4. In actual conversation, the Lahu always cite verbs with the P_{univ} ve, which serves to reify or nominalize them as topics of discussion. This is very reminiscent of our English practice of preposing to in citation forms of verbs: qay ve 'to go'. See below 4.711.

5. Other 'non-active' V_{act}'s include phɛ̂ʔ 'be; become; be able' and cɔ̀ 'have; be there'. Usually, however, V_{act}'s do refer to activities or transitions, as opposed to states: câ 'eat', šîʔ 'wipe', kə 'put into', šɨ 'die', pɔ 'be born', etc.

6. This is probably because the class meaning of 'adjective' already comprises the notion of 'pre-existent state'. The P_v tā plays an essential role in distinguishing V_{act}'s from V_{adj}'s under relativization [section (b), below].

7. Adjectives do combine with the homophonous 'inchoative' P_v la: dàʔ la 'get better', chu la 'get fat', etc.

8. These transposed relative clauses are potentially ambiguous with predications: ŋâʔ | dàʔ ve 'Birds are pretty', nâʔ-chɨ | qhâ ve 'Medicine is bitter'.

9. See below, 'Subordinate expressions' 4.42. Sometimes reduplicated V_{act}'s also occur pre-verbally, but here the meaning is distributive or protracted action, not intensification. Below 4.423.

[547]

10. Usually Lahu 'transitive' verbs will have transitive English
     equivalents, though not necessarily: {tê ni ¦ nî g̈â tí | là
     ve} à? kà? | cɔ̀ 'There are also [days] when only two people
     come' ("There are also comings-of-only-two-people-in-one-
     day"). Here the V$_{act}$ cɔ̀ 'be there; have' is preceded by a
     thà?-NP whose nominal nucleus is an embedded clause.

11. However, when we enter the realm of detailed semantic inter-
     pretation of combinations of particular lexical items, it is
     occasionally useful to make statements like the following:
     'The versatile verb mâ 'many', after a transitive V$_{act}$ maxi-
     mizes either the object of the action or the action itself
     (šī mâ 'knows very much; has deep knowledge'); after an in-
     transitive V$_{act}$ it indicates a multitudinous subject (là mâ
     'many come')'. See below 4.331. But we are now engaged in
     the risky business of breaking down morphemes into their
     component semantic features.

12. All compounds where a verb is joined with a true noun are
     exocentric from the verb's point of view: they function as
     nouns, not verbs, in larger constructions. These have already
     been discussed under 'Noun compounds', above 3.36. But see
     section (d) below.

13. See below 4.424, especially the intensified adjective cɔ́-nê?
     'very thin'.

14. A somewhat less detailed presentation of the material in this
     section has appeared as a separate article, Matisoff 1969c.
     The treatment here is to be taken as superseding that
     article. Section 4.35 is altogether new.

15. The verbs in a concatenation are written as separate words,
     with no intervening hyphens.

16. The morpheme a preceding ni is a verb-particle indicating in-
     tended future action. P$_v$'s may intrude into concatenations
     under certain conditions. See below 4.69.

17. As we shall see, when verbs of this type occur alone in a VP,

their meanings tend to be 'more concrete' than when they occur
as subordinate elements in concatenations. This fact will
turn out to be of considerable significance.

18. The term 'versatile' is borrowed from Y. R. Chao, who has
used it to characterize the combinability characteristics of
a class of elements in Chinese binomial compounds. See Chao
1965, pp. 206ff; 487ff. I prefer versatile to 'auxiliary',
both because the class is open and quite large, and because
some of its members are not at all abstract in meaning.

19. Cf. the verbs g̈a and cɨ́, below. ∗

20. As the great Sinologist H. A. Giles once maintained the
Chinese language to be. "This dictionary will supply sen-
tences without number to which grammarians will have some
trouble in making their rules apply; and it is in this sense
that Chinese is essentially supra grammaticam." See Giles,
reprinted 1964, p. xiv.

21. See below 4.331E. These cases are to be distinguished from
those where we claim that it is the semantic features of the
individual verbs which determine the syntactic structure of
the concatenation. See below 4.36, 'Fore-and-aft concatena-
tions'.

22. Cf. the equivalent Thai expression, paj năj maa, literally
"Go where come?".

23. In many of these sentences, one or another of the fortuitous-
ly concatenated VP's itself consists of a head-verb plus one
or more versatile verbs. Thus, in Ex. 8, g̈a 'have to' and
ga 'help' are $_v$V's modifying the V_h g̈àʔ 'hunt'; this verbal
nucleus as a whole then stands in fortuitous concatenation
with the separate VP dɔ̂ʔ pɨ́ ve, containing the V_h dɔ̂ʔ
'strike dead' plus the V_v pɨ́ 'impingement on a 3rd person'.

24. An exception is a certain type of V_v of resultative meaning,
which when negated may sometimes be preceded by lɛ with only
a minimal change of meaning. See below 4.331B(3).

25. h̄əʔ is really the 'resultative complement' of bə́ʔ. See below
     4.314.

26. A prerequisite to the task would be a solution to the impos-
     sibly difficult problem of specifying the conditions under
     which clauses may be conjoined by lɛ̆ in the first place. For
     example, if the underlying subjects of each of the clauses
     are the same, certain selectional restrictions obtain among
     their verbs: the semantic features of each successive pair
     of verbs must be 'consecutively congruent'. Thus, 'jump-bite-
     eat' is a consecutively congruent series, while *'die-sleep-
     jump' seems a priori to be an 'incongruous' one. Yet who is
     to say what incongruities will not occur in real life?

27. Notably 'relative-ve deletion after tù', below 6.483(2).
     For the problematic 'deletion of relative head' see below
     5.24; 6.47.

28. Similar constructions are encountered throughout Sino-Tibetan,
     as well as in Tai. Cf. the Mandarin jiann 見 and the Thai
     hěn, both referring to the results of an effort of visual
     perception.

29. This is an old simplex/causative pair. See above 1.643.

30. For more details see the section on 'Negation' under 'Adver-
     bial expressions', below 4.411.

31. Except in the type of compound discussed above 4.2(d), and in
     asyntactic elaborate expressions. See below 4.425.

32. The meanings of many C_r's are similar to those of the 'poten-
     tial caudals', below 4.331C(1). Unlike these caudals, how-
     ever, là is not versatile, occurring mostly after the one V_h
     te 'do'.

33. To this extent, V_h + C_r constructions superficially resemble
     fortuitous concatenations.

34. See below 4.69. The fact that extraneous material may be
     introduced into β, the verbal nucleus, means that our general
     scheme for the VP at the beginning of Ch. IV was oversimpli-
     fied.

35. The Japanese verb <u>kiku</u> may also mean either 'listen' or 'ask',
    as my former colleague Joseph L. Malone reminds me. The
    semantic association between the notions of asking and lis-
    tening is in fact widespread in the world's languages. The
    Chinese literary verb 'listen' (written with the same charac-
    ter as Japanese <u>kiku</u>) is pronounced <u>wen</u> 〔聞〕 in Mandarin,
    and I would like to claim it is related to the word <u>wenn</u>
    〔問〕 'ask'. In a recent lecture (Berkeley 1971), M. B.
    Emeneau mentioned a Dravidian verb root <u>ven-</u> ∿ <u>vin-</u> [Dravid-
    ian Etymological Dictionary #4472] that means both 'hear' and
    'ask'. The two notions seem to share the semantic component
    of 'invitation to instruction': asking and listening are
    both ways of soliciting information.

36. Other <u>câ</u>-compounds specify the position of the eater (<u>tu-câ</u>
    'eat standing up', <u>mɨ-câ</u> 'eat sitting down', <u>yɨʔ-câ</u> 'eat
    lying down'), or characterize the thing being eaten (<u>câ-mɛ̀</u>
    'be good to eat', <u>câ-qhâ</u> 'be bitter to the taste').

37. Such meaning-shifts are inevitable when a verb takes on
    auxiliary duty. Cf. the English 'I <u>have</u> a book' (V_h) vs.
    'I <u>have</u> gone' ($_vV$).

38. There is a homophonous post-head versatile (caudal subclass)
    with the meaning 'able to V_h', which is clearly related.
    Shan influence might well be involved here. How else is one
    to explain the astonishing parallel between <u>ğa</u> and, for exam-
    ple, the Central Thai auxiliary verb <u>dâj</u>, which means 'get to   *
    V_h' when it occurs <u>before</u> the V_h; but 'able to V_h' when it
    comes <u>after</u> the V_h? And yet, colloquial American 'got' can
    also mean both 'must' and 'managed to; was able to' ('I got
    to go')!

39. Several subsenses of <u>qɔ̀ʔ</u> as a $_vV$ may be isolated: 'V_h again';
    'V_h back (direction)'; 'V_h back (in reprisal)'; 'V_h instead';
    'V_h contrary to expectations'; 'V_h after doing something
    else'; 'finally V_h', etc. See my forthcoming <u>Lahu-English</u>
    <u>Dictionary</u> for examples.

* 40. c**ɨ** also occurs as a post-head versatile meaning either 'persist in V_h 'ing' or, resultatively, 'V_h so it sticks; V_h permanently'.

41. The meanings of y**ù** and t**e** as pre-head versatiles often are more abstract, so that they become true transitivizers or causativizers. These phenomena are discussed in a special section, below 4.35. Note that these non-abstract concatenations with y**ù** and t**e** resemble fortuitous concatenations in that the act of taking or making is temporally prior to the action of the V_h. The P_{unf} l**ɛ** is in fact insertible between the verbs. Nonetheless the unlimited productivity of these constructions and the intimacy of the semantic bonds involved lead us to treat them as true versatile concatenations.

42. Constraints of order and selection have yet to be specified.

43. It would require a great clanking of generative machinery: obligatory deletions of dummy NP 'subjects', rules specifying that no adverbs or particles may occur in any of the underlying sentences but the one underlying the V_h, etc. Most crucially, how would it help us to capture the fact that the meanings of the verbs as V_h's are systematically different from their meanings as versatile verbs?

44. The behavior of ǧa and qɔʔ with respect to the order rule is of particular interest: they may occur in either order (ǧa qɔʔ ～ qɔʔ ǧa), unless a third $_vV$ follows, in which case ǧa must precede. See below.

45. I see no circularity in maintaining that although we can arrive at a conception of the underlying semantic properties only on the basis of induction from syntactic data, it is these very properties which determine the syntactic behavior in question.

46. There does exist a verb-sequence l**ɔ** **ɨ̄** 'ask for a promotion' ("ask to be big"), where the specific $_vV$ l**ɔ** indeed combines with the V_{adj} **ɨ̄** 'big'. However, **ɨ̄** is here taken in the ex-

tended or metaphorical sense of 'important', and this is to
be regarded as a lexical compound: an 'idiomatic concatena-
tion' in the sense of 4.315a, above.

47. We are talking now of ordinary language, not quasi-poetical
or jocular discourse.

48. We return to this concept of coordinate subordination in our
discussion of certain fore-and-aft concatenations, below
4.361(3). In one curious sentence, aspectual qɔʔ was found
to occur exceptionally <u>after</u> the specific $_v$V <u>ca</u> 'go and':

nê <u>chi</u> ¦ tèʔ-chɨ́ thɔ́ mâ ca qɔʔ phὲʔ pɨ ve yò 'These demons
     Adv P$_{unf}$Adv $_v$V $_v$V V$_h$ V$_v$

cannot go and (<u>ca</u>) then (<u>qɔʔ</u>) become anything else'. This
unusual ordering is perhaps motivated by the extreme ab-
stractness of the V_h itself (<u>phὲʔ</u> 'be; become').

49. Though to be sure, if he were pressed enough, or given a
far-fetched enough context, or encouraged to use pencil and
paper -- and providing the concatenation contained no post-
head versatiles to complicate the picture -- he might
squeeze out one or two more.

50. Persuasive evidence for this claim will be brought forth in
the discussion of fore-and-aft concatenations, below 4.36.

51. It was convenient to build only the <u>yù/lɔ́</u> exclusion into the
chart of Figure 19.

52. Post-head concatenations are quite different in this regard.
Both negative <u>mâ</u> and a number of verb-particles may be in-
serted at certain points within C$_v$'s. This phenomenon, which
requires a revision of our basic schema for the structure of
the Lahu VP [above 4.0], is discussed at length in the section
on 'Negation' ['Adverbial expressions', 4.411], and under
'Verb-particles' [4.69].

53. This is entirely consistent with maintaining that the very
fact of the variable versatiles' order-variability is a <u>con-
sequence</u> of the abstractness of their meanings.

54. The juxtacapitals are mutually exclusive only in their capa-
city as versatile verbs. b̠à̠ and q̠h̠ɔ̠ʔ are both juxtacapitals,
but in b̠à̠ q̠h̠ɔ̠ʔ, b̠à̠ is functioning as the V_h, with its 'origi-
nal', less abstract meaning 'throw'.

55. But see below, 'Apparent sequences of two medials', 4.331B(6).

56. With the possible exception of the variables m̠ɔ̠ 'be a long
time' and l̠ɔ̠ʔ 'enough', though a case may be made for con-
sidering the latter an 'action verb' like the English 'suf-
fice'. At any rate, 'enough' is much more abstract than an
adjective like 'early' or 'busy'.

* 57. But see item 1., below (m̠â̠), and 'Apparent sequences of
adjectival head and medial', 4.331B(5). Adjectival V_h's
concatenate regularly only with some of the caudals and
variables.

58. Here l̠ɔ̠ is the V_h. See note 46 above for a homophonous con-
catenation where l̠ɔ̠ is a $_vV$ and ɨ̠̄ is the head.

59. An interesting concatenation is j̠ɔ̠ʔ m̠ā̠ 'teach how to thresh'
("teach how to beat"). This is homophonous with a true lexi-
cal compound, j̠ɔ̠ʔ-m̠ā̠ 'to reprimand; reprove; chastise'
("beat-teach"), i.e., 'instruct in such a way that an un-
pleasant lesson is driven home'.

60. For negation of resultatives see below, 'Adverbial expres-
sions' 4.411. We have noted that a couple of the juxtacapi-
tals also may have resultative force. Thus t̠ɔ̠ʔ 'to V_h out',
as in g̠̈ɔ̠ t̠ɔ̠ʔ 'pull out', really means '(to pull) so it comes
out'. Similarly, c̠e̠ 'to V_h down', as in b̠ɔ̠ʔ c̠e̠ 'shoot down',
really means '(to shoot) so it falls down'.

61. In this last usage, p̠h̠è̠ʔ is often followed by the P_v l̠a̠
'becoming' [see below 4.61(4)].

62. It is possible to have versatile p̠h̠è̠ʔ following the main verb
p̠h̠è̠ʔ. The following sentence occurred spontaneously in a
conversation: y̠â̠-m̠î̠=q̠è̠ʔ k̠à̠ʔ ¦ q̠h̠â̠ʔ-š̠ɛ̠ | p̠h̠è̠ʔ p̠h̠è̠ʔ ɔ l̠â̠ 'Can
                                               V_h V_v

women also be village headmen?'. Note that the Thai verb <u>pen</u> also means 'be' as a main verb (<u>khãw</u> <u>pen</u> <u>khruu</u> 'He's a teacher') and 'be able' as a secondary verb (<u>khãw</u> <u>phûud</u> <u>thaj</u> <u>mâj</u> <u>pen</u> 'He can't speak Thai'). However, the kind of ability referred to is that usually expressed by Lahu <u>pɨ</u> [next section] rather than <u>phὲʔ</u>.

63. <u>phὲʔ</u> appears in compound sentences in the important litotic construction <u>mâ</u> + V$_1$ + <u>qo/ve</u> + <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u>, literally "if not V$_1$, then it cannot be"; that is, 'must V$_1$; has to V$_1$; there is no avoiding V$_1$'. Ex: <u>yâ</u> <u>ô-ve</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>yù</u> <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>phὲʔ</u> 'That child had to be delivered ("taken out") by Caesarean section'. See below, 'Compound sentences' 5.41.

64. E.g., <u>šā</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> | <u>kâ</u> <u>pɨ</u> <u>ve</u> 'Animals have sharp ears'/'Animals can hear well', where the V$_h$ is <u>kâ</u> 'hear'.

65. There are, of course, contexts where either <u>phὲʔ</u> or <u>pɨ</u> would be appropriate. Thus, in the sentence <u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>yàʔ-qɔ</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>šī</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>mâ</u> <u>qay</u> <u>phὲʔ</u>/<u>pɨ</u> <u>hɛ́</u> 'Since he doesn't know the way, he probably won't be able to go', the selection of <u>phὲʔ</u> emphasizes the unfavorable external circumstances (the unfamiliarity of the road), while <u>pɨ</u> would be chosen to highlight the inner inadequacy of the wayfarer.

66. For a discussion of the conjunction <u>à-mù</u>, see below, Capitulum IVa.

67. Cf. the similarity of the adverbial expressions <u>qha-gà</u> and <u>qha-ǧa</u>, below 4.421(8,11).

68. The verbs <u>là</u> 'come' and <u>ǧâ</u> 'win; conquer' occur after other verbs with a meaning very similar to <u>ǧa</u> and <u>gà</u>. But <u>là</u> and <u>ǧâ</u> <u>must</u> be negated in this construction (<u>te</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>là</u> 'can't manage to do it', <u>te</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>ǧâ</u> 'id.'). Furthermore the number of V$_h$'s they may follow is quite limited. We therefore regard <u>là</u> and <u>ǧâ</u> as non-versatile resultative complements [above 4.314].

69. In one particularly emphatic context a sequence of <u>gà</u> + <u>pɨ</u>

was found: <u>qay</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>gà</u> <u>pɟ</u> <u>ve</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'I just <u>can't</u> <u>go</u>!'.

70. We are not likely to say 'a good nice man', because 'good' and 'nice' are too much alike. We are not likely to say 'a busy cloudy day', because 'busy' and 'cloudy' are too dis- parate.

71. This seems to be what is going on among the juxtacapitals as well. These all have the feature 'motion' or directionality' in common, though some pairs have additional antonymous fea- tures: <u>kə</u> 'to V_h <u>into</u>', <u>tɔʔ</u> 'to V_h <u>out</u>'. Antonymy is the extreme case of 'differing from one another in a structured way'; antonyms differ from each other by precisely one fea- ture.

72. It seems this second meaning is an outgrowth of the first. Events have their 'chance to occur' when there is a 'fitting' or 'harmonious' or 'conducive' combination of circumstances to precipitate them. 'That which is, is right', as it were.

73. When it is 'not the time for V_h'ing', to insist on V_h'ing makes one 'sick and tired'. Cf. the variable V_v <u>bɔ̀</u>, below 4.331D.

74. V_{adj} + <u>jâ</u> often constitute VP's all by themselves. In these cases, <u>jâ</u> has something of the flavor of an exclamatory par- ticle. We have seen in the Phonology [1.8] that <u>jâ</u> sometimes gets pronounced [dzâ] in emphatic speech. Other colloquial variants are [dzà], under the low-falling tone, and <u>càʔ</u>, under the low-checked tone.

75. The explanation has been adumbrated in the discussion of the sequence <u>ğa</u> + <u>mɔ̀</u>, above 4.331C(1c).

76. The verb <u>yù</u> 'take' is sometimes used after a V_h to mean 'V_h lastingly; V_h to good effect; V_h such that the results of the action are permanent': <u>na-yù</u> 'listen well; heed advice' ("listen-take"); <u>hên-yù</u> 'study attentively'; <u>lɔ-yù</u> 'wait for a long time', etc. It seems clear that this use of <u>yù</u> is influenced by a phonologically similar Shan/Thai word (Thai

jùu ၁ယ္) that means 'dwell' as a main verb and 'continua-
tive' as an auxiliary. More integrated into the Lahu system
of versatile verbs is the use of yù as a $_vV$ [4.321], often
with quasi-causative force [below 4.352].

77. In this latter usage pè is reminiscent of the change-of-
state P_v ò [below 4.64(5)]. Yet the action of a verb fol-
lowed by ò is viewed as having 'present relevance': the
situation has entered a new phase. With pè the emphasis is
on the completion of the action itself rather than on the
new state of affairs that now prevails.

78. Lahu, like Japanese, compensates for the frequent omission
of subject pronouns by being careful to specify the direction
of the action of the verb by morphemes within the VP. Action
of the 1st or 2nd person affecting the 3rd person, or 3rd
person affecting another 3rd person, is specified by pî.
Otherwise the P_v lâ is used. 'Benefactive' is intended in
the quite general sense of 'affecting someone'; the action
in question may be highly unpleasant for the 'beneficiary'.
See below 4.611-4.614.

79. For a discussion from a more formalistic point of view, see
below 6.01 'Causative sentences revisited'.

80. cɨ is undoubtedly cognate to Chinese 使 (Mand. shyy),
whose original meaning was also 'send on an errand', and
which also developed into a morpheme with an abstract causa-
tive function.

81. This means that the only possible sequences of te + 'active
intransitive V_{act}'s' are concatenations where the second
verb is a V_v, so that te is the main verb: $\underset{V_h}{te}$ $\underset{V_v}{tô}$ 'do for
fun', $\underset{V_h}{te}$ $\underset{V_v}{gɨ}$ 'id.', etc.

82. A somewhat similar use of a semantically empty te appearing
resumptively after a main verb is discussed below, 'Compound
sentences' 5.423.

83. Occasionally a <u>te</u> is brought into accidental juxtaposition
    with the verb of the following clause in a truly fortuitous
    concatenation (as distinguished from the 'quasi-fortuitous'
    cases discussed in (a) above). Thus, in the sentence nɔ̀
    yâ-pā ¦ qhɔ̀-qhe | <u>te</u> ‖ <u>nà</u> <u>ve</u> <u>le</u> 'How did your son get sick?',
    the <u>te</u> is part of the set expression <u>qhɔ̀-qhe te</u> ∿ <u>qhɔ̀-qhe te</u>
    <u>lɛ</u> 'how' ("having done how?"), while the <u>nà</u> is the verb of
    the next clause. The <u>te</u> is here certainly not transitivizing
    the <u>nà</u> as in (b) above.

84. Actually <u>yù</u> <u>ce</u> is probably better analyzed as consisting of
    <u>yù</u> as the V_h plus the juxtacapital V_v <u>ce</u> 'V_h so it falls; V_h
    downward'. Similarly, the verb sequence <u>yù</u> <u>yàʔ</u> 'lower some-
    thing; bring something down' is more plausibly analyzed as
    $V_h + V_{juxt}$ than as $_vV + V_h$. See the ambiguous concatenations
    of Figure 24, above.

85. Note that it is quite possible to have <u>pî</u> follow a verb that
    has already been transitivized or causativized by a preceding
    <u>te</u> or <u>yù</u>: <u>te</u> <u>nà</u> <u>pî</u> 'hurt him'; <u>te</u> <u>chu</u> <u>pî</u> 'fatten it up';
    <u>yù</u> <u>šɨ</u> <u>pî</u> 'kill him'. In these cases it is not the <u>pî</u> which is
    doing the causativizing; all <u>pî</u> adds semantically is the
    information that the verbal action is affecting a 3rd person.

86. In diagrammed sentences, purpose-clauses are enclosed by
    arrows pointing inwards. See below 6.2.

87. We are confining ourselves for the moment to $_vC_v$'s with only
    a single $_vV$ and V_v.

88. Ideas like this are certainly expressible in Lahu, but not
    via a pure concatenation. Some sort of recasting of the
    sentence would be required. See above 4.323.

89. See note 87.

90. Rough analogues of each of these relationships are readily
    found in English constructions: (1) Pre-primacy: un/like-ly.
    (2) Post-primacy: gentle-man/ly. (3) Coordination: re/
    discover/y. (4) Ambi-primacy: Old French / teacher ∿ old /
    French teacher.

91. 'Again make him do it' has this unambiguous meaning in English. The Lahu construction is somewhat more similar to English 'make him do it again', where the 'again' may be taken, I would say, as modifying either 'make' or 'do'.

92. Prof. Lorenz Löffler of Heidelberg University informs me (personal communication, 1968) that in the Mru language of East Bengal (a divergent member of the Kukish subgroup of Tibeto-Burman), where the same sort of concatenatory phenomena obtain, the semantic equivalents (and sometimes etymological cognates) of Lahu $_v$V's usually occur <u>after</u> the V_h, while the equivalents of Lahu V_v's generally appear <u>before</u> the V_h. This seems to gibe with the suggestion of my former colleagues W. Diver and E. Garcia that perhaps there is an 'overall meaning' to pre-headedness in general as opposed to post-headedness in general. Yet it is hard for me to see just what these overall meanings might be, and it seems much less forced to operate with the notion of 'brute syntactic givens'. The extremes of 'semanticism' and 'syntacticism' are equally to be avoided in grammatical theory.

93. Foremost among these is: to what extent and in what detail does it make sense to expect the semantic systems of widely different languages to conform to a universal semantic theory?

94. This statement will have to be qualified somewhat to accommo-date AE's that have been 'displaced' from their pre-verbal position [below 4.46]. Also, a given β may be preceded by more than one AE, so that a more careful formulation would be 'directly before a verbal nucleus or another AE....' See below 4.422(5).

95. For examples of AE's including P_u's other than ὲ, see the discussions of tèʔ-chí [4.411(4)], cɨ̂-cɨ̀ [4.411(5)], a-cí [4.412(3)], AE_{qha}'s [4.421], and onomatopoetic AE's [4.44]. Occurrability after AE's is an interesting, though not a defining property of P_u's [above 2.2].

96. It will be remembered that we regard NP's as optional, but the VP as necessary in the typical Lahu clause [above 2.1].

97. Often, of course, such purely syntactic considerations as the presence of a noun-particle make it clear that a given string is a NP and not an AE.

98. See above, 'Extentive nuclei' 3.611, and below 'Transhemi-stichial relations' 4.5.

99. These considerations are not directly related to the fact that several types of AE's (statives, reduplicated verbs, intensified adjectives, verbal elaborate expressions) also occur in constructions where they are subordinate to a noun-head. See below 4.42.

100. We have seen that the Lahu automatically cite verbs in iso-lation with a following ve: qay ve 'to go' [above 4.1]. See also below 4.711.

101. When it is a question of embedding a negated clause into a larger sentence, ve may freely be attached to the negated clause with no special emphatic semantic effect: {ŋà gɛ ¦ šā | mâ g̈à? lâ la ve} | ân jâ 'I was very surprised that they didn't drive the animals over to me'. See below, 'Nominalizations' 6.11.

102. See above 'Resultative medials' 4.331B(3). As might be ex-pected, the behavior of the non-versatile resultative com-plements [above 4.314] is identical in this respect to that of truly versatile V_v's of resultative meaning: mâ tú tò? 'does not set afire' / tú mâ tò? 'tries to light it but it doesn't catch fire'; mâ dô? dɔ 'cannot pack into so it fits' / dô? mâ dɔ 'tries packing it in but it doesn't fit'; mâ g̈à? mi 'cannot catch' / g̈à? mâ mi 'chases but cannot catch it', etc. Those informants who deny meaning differences when true versatile verbs are involved will also deny them in the case of these resultative complements.

103. mâ câ lɔ? may be paraphrased by {câ lɔ? ve} | mâ hê? 'It is

not the case that he eats enough' [see section (2) below], where the entire proposition 'He eats enough' is negated.

câ mâ lɔ̂ is equivalent in meaning rather to qha lɔ̂-lɔ̂ mâ câ [see below 4.421, 'qha-adverbials'], where the negation's domain seems more restricted to the idea of 'enough', while the notion of 'eating' itself is not denied.

104. Lahu speakers, like English speakers, differ in their willingness to admit fine shades of meaning difference. One can imagine a heated debate among linguistics graduate students as to whether the sentences 'He drank two bottles of beer yesterday' and 'Yesterday he drank two bottles of beer' are 'synonymous' or not.

105. Whenever mâ occurs in a concatenation with pɔ̂, the latter must be taken in the 'completive', rather than the 'exhaustive' sense [above 4.331D]. Thus, mâ câ pɔ̂ ∿ câ mâ pɔ̂ can only mean 'not finish eating', never *'not everyone eats'. The ideas of exhaustiveness and negativity are incompatible.

106. See also 4.69, 'P$_V$'s within a verbal nucleus'.

107. hê? 'be the case; be true' is a defective verb which almost always occurs with a preceding mâ. (The Burmese verb hou?, which shows similar behavior, is undoubtedly cognate.) The only exceptions are in embedded clauses, notably in indirect questions, where hê? appears both positively and negatively to express a yes-or-no alternative: <<hê? nā mâ hê? nā>> mâ ší 'I don't know whether it's so or not'; <<hê?>> mâ ší. <<mâ hê?>> mâ ší 'id.'. See below 6.34c. Non-negated hê? also occurs in the relative clause hê? ve qhe-lê 'in accordance with the truth; as it really is', with the extentive noun qhe-lê 'likeness' as head [above 3.642]: ô ve ɔ-lɔ ⋮ [hê? ve] qhe-lê | tho lâ qo || ân tù yò 'If I tell you about it the way it really was, you'll be surprised'.

108. See below 6.111. Sometimes the nominalizing ve may be de-

leted from the embedded sentence: {g̈a lὲʔ tù (ve)} | mâ hêʔ
'We won't get anything to eat'. We have just seen (begin-
ning of 4.411(1), above) that a ve-nominalized clause may
occasionally be negated by simply preposing mâ to the verb,
as if no nominalization had been performed, and that this
construction conveys a special emphatic force to the nega-
tion.

109. The Thai expression mâj châj is similarly usable to negate
both nouns (mâj châj khwaaj 'It's not a buffalo') and verbs
which are 'treated as' nouns (mâj châj lên 'It's not play-
ing'/'It's no laughing matter'). Verbs are usually negated
simply by preposing the adverb mâj 'not' (mâj lên 'doesn't
play'). Like mâ hêʔ, mâj châj may be used alone as a nega-
tive answer to an identity question: pen khwaaj rỹ. mâj
châj. 'Is it a buffalo?' 'No, it's not.'

110. A not uncommon rhetorical device in the languages of the
world.

111. Cf. the discussion of a-cí, below 4.412(3).

112. In these cases one is not commanding a person not to have a
certain quality (which is almost as paradoxical as telling
someone to 'sleep faster!' or 'stop digesting!'). Rather, one
is commanding him not to allow something over which he has
control to be a certain way.

113. It may never be followed by a P_n.

114. The animist Lahu never give vocal expression to gratitude
for favors received.

115. The Thai expression mâj pen raj 'It is nothing' has an
exactly similar range of uses.

116. It is very similar semantically to Japanese issyookenmei.

117. See the various discussions of 'independent adverbs', below
4.421I; 4.422(3); 4.424; 6.47.

118. The Japanese tyotto 'a little bit' has a precisely similar
request-softening function: tyotto kotira e oide-nasai

'Please come here a moment'.

119. See above 3.631. One type of 'superlative degree' is expressed by using the NP šu a-kɛ́ 'than others' before a VP with a-cí: šu a-kɛ́ | a-cí cɔ́-nɛ̂? ve 'thinner than all others; the thinnest of all'.

120. See below 4.412(10). qha occurs mostly in relative clauses, as in this example.

121. For a general discussion of qo-clauses, see below 5.41. For the contrary-to-fact use of ɔ̀, see below 4.64(5).

122. The idea is that the non-action was only a little bit away from actualization as a real action.

123. This expression is the Lahu equivalent of 'good-bye', said by the person who stays to the person who goes.

124. The meaning here is always 'be the first one to V', not *'V before doing anything else'.

125. This was mentioned in passing in the discussion of qhe, above 3.641. The simplex N_{intg} qhà may also be used in this construction (above 3.23).

126. The fact that qhà-qhe is subordinable both to verbs and to nouns via ve makes it resemble the classes of modifiers we call 'subordinate expressions', below 4.42.

127. As mentioned above [3.641], qhà-qhe may be 'ionized' into the expression qhà ve qhe 'what sort of thing?', with no following noun: Amɛ̄līkā=mû-mì ɔ̄ ¦ qhà ve qhe le 'What is   * America like?'. Here both qhà and qhe look like autonomous nouns.

128. 'N_{rh}', it will be remembered, is the symbol for 'relative head'; i.e., the noun that is the head of a relative clause.

129. The word hɔ́-yɛ̀ (1st syll. < Shan 'palace') is used for a building dedicated to gɨ̀-ša, the supreme supernatural being of the animist Lahu. See Walker 1970b.

130. A rough English analogue is provided by adverbs like 'almost', 'nearly', 'scarcely', 'fully', 'barely', 'hardly', etc.,

which not only modify verbs ('He almost died'), but also nouns ('He's almost a man').

131. Sometimes the V$_{qha}$ is clearly a recent loanword: qha ŋay-ŋay 'very easily' (< Thai ŋâaj 'easy').

132. A threat actually made to the author at the New Rice Festival, October 1965.

★ 133. It is conceivable that a more thoroughgoing study of the poetic-liturgic language might turn up an example of dɛ̀ʔ used as a full-fledged verb.

134. The meaning 'same' is here an integral part of the V$_{qha}$ itself, and is not contributed by the qha. This expression is thus of the 'superlative' type, rather than of the adjectival 'same-extent' type (below).

135. In this sentence the noun í-kâʔ 'water' is so closely bound to its transhemistichial partner lwê 'swim', that the AE qha=vɨ́-vɨ́ may precede it, as if í-kâʔ=lwê were a compound verb. See below, 'Adverb displacement' 4.46, and 4.5 'Transhemistichial relationships'.

136. In this example, the AE$_{qha}$ is functioning adnominally.

137. Like the AE's containing true V$_{qha}$'s, these extentive expressions may also be used adnominally: qha fɨ̀ ɛ̀ ve yàʔ-qɔ 'a road equally far away'. For adverbial expressions where a Numeral + Classifier is followed by a E$_{ma}$ + ɛ̀, see above 'E$_{ma}$'s in quantified nuclei', 3.617.

138. Like many types of noun-modifiers, AE$_{qha}$'s may be shifted to the right of their N$_h$ with no perceptible change of meaning: á-pòʔ qha nɛ̂ʔ ɛ̀ ve; í-kâʔ qha bɨ̂ ɛ̀ ve, etc. See below 'Right relative clauses' 6.493.

139. See below, 'Stative adverbials with te' 4.422(1d).

140. Much as 'equally' modifies 'well' in the English VP 'sings equally well'.

141. The basic indefinite meaning of qha=cɔ̂-cɔ̂ 'almost the way it should be' is sometimes attenuated to 'almost a certain way'.

142. We shall examine other types of clause-adverbials below 4.45.
     In diagrammed sentences clause-adverbials may be set off by
     double, superimposed parentheses.

143. See 3.644 (q̲h̲a̲ + š̄u̲); 3.645 (q̲h̲a̲ + p̲ə̲); and more recently in
     the discussion of q̲h̲a̲ as a true adverb, 4.412(10).

144. Except when reduplicated [below (4)]. /ɛ̀/ is sometimes pro-
     nounced with glottal stop, [ɛ̀ʔ], or in the mid-tone [ɛ]. In
     formal or poetic speech the more archaic variant /lɛ̀/ may
     occur: q̲ɔ̲ʔ̲ l̲ɛ̲̀ ~ q̲ɔ̲ʔ̲ ɛ̲̀ 'crooked'. (For the dropping of ini-
     tial consonants in functors, see the Phonology, 1.8.) The
     variant /lɛ̀/ is now so rare that it is sometimes treated as
     part of the root-morpheme of the adverbial, so that another
     /ɛ̀/ may directly follow it: g̲ɔ̲ ɛ̲̀ ~ g̲ɔ̲ l̲ɛ̲̀ ~ g̲ɔ̲-l̲ɛ̲̀ ɛ̲̀ 'silent-
     ly; coolly'. For the combination ɛ̲̀ + l̲ɛ̲, see below 'AE$_{stat}$'s
     + l̲ɛ̲' (6).

145. The change to high-rising tone is exceptional. See above,
     Phonology 1.641, and the color-words immediately below.

146. For a discussion of the mid/high-rising tone alternations in
     the four color-words, see above 1.641.

147. One can thus be inchoative 'both coming and going' in Lahu.

148. We have observed a similar ambiguity of t̲e̲ after q̲h̲a̲-adverb-
     ials: q̲h̲a̲ š̄u̲ ɛ̲̀ t̲e̲ v̲e̲ (a) 'do in the same way' (b) 'make it
     the same' [above 4.421D]. For a discussion of t̲e̲ in the
     general context of causativization in Lahu, see above 'Verb
     concatenation' 4.351.

149. If the stative morpheme happens also to function as a verb,
     it is of course negatable in that capacity. Thus, m̲â̲ b̲a̲
     'does not shine', but not *m̲â̲ b̲a̲ ɛ̲̀ 'not brightly'.

150. See above 4.411(2). For the question of how to analyze a
     sequence of AE$_{stat}$ + v̲e̲, see below 'AE$_{stat}$'s occurring
     independently'.

151. Thus we could analyze adnominal AE$_{qha}$'s (q̲h̲a̲-l̲ɔ̲ʔ̲ ɛ̲̀ v̲e̲ š̲a̲-m̲a̲
     'enough maize' < e.g., q̲h̲a̲-l̲ɔ̲ʔ̲ ɛ̲̀ c̲ɔ̲ v̲e̲ š̲a̲-m̲a̲ 'maize that

there is enough of'); adnominal reduplicated adjectives
(qhâ-qhâ ɛ̀ ve nâʔ-chɨ 'very bitter medicine' < e.g., qhâ-qhâ
ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve nâʔ-chɨ 'medicine which is very bitter'); adnomi-
nal intensified adjectives (nâʔ-tɔ́ ɛ̀ ve á-nâʔ=qā 'a coal-
black crow' < e.g., nâʔ-tɔ́ ɛ̀ phɛ̀ʔ ve á-nâʔ=qā 'a crow that
is coal-black'); adnominal elaborate expressions (ha-lɛ̀-ha-
qa ve ší-g̈wé 'a happy and joyous meeting' < e.g., ha-lɛ̀-ha-
qa phɛ̀ʔ ve ší-g̈wé 'a meeting that was happy and joyous').
This analysis would still preserve the grouping of all these
constructions into a single large class: i.e., those ad-
verbials which systematically permit verb-deletion in rela-
tive clauses are 'subordinate expressions'.

152. We have seen [above 4.1] that Lahu verbs are always cited
      with nominalizing ve, much as English verbs are cited with
      nominalizing 'to'.

153. Similarly we consider lɛ-lâ and lɛ-nā to be mere variants of
      the P$_{uf}$'s lâ and nā [below 4.723].

154. In this view the sequence ɛ̀ + lɛ would be a pleonastic
      sequence of two allomorphs of the same morpheme, just like
      the sequence lɛ̀ + ɛ̀ mentioned in note 144.

155. Cf. the 'Rightward shift of demonstrative possessor', above
      3.77.

156. Analogous to chi + AE$_{stat}$ expressions are constructions of
      the form chi + E$_{ma}$ + ɛ̀, which are also SE's capable of being
      used either adverbially or adnominally (chi ma ɛ̀ kə ve 'put
      in this much'; chi ma ɛ̀ ve í-kâʔ 'this much water') [see
      above 3.612]. Notice that the addition of ɛ̀ serves in our
      view to deflect chi + E$_{ma}$ constructions from the nominal
      hemistich into the VP. For a discussion of the 'nadverbial'
      nature of extentive expressions, see above 3.611. See also
      the qha + E$_{ma}$ + ɛ̀ construction, above 3.618 and 4.421.

157. lɔ̂ʔ-lɔ̂ʔ also occurs as a post-head versatile verb [above
      4.331B, D]: á-qhɔ ɔ̄ | gà lɔ̂ʔ-lɔ̂ʔ 'He just about reached

home'; <u>te câ</u> <u>lɔʔ-lɔʔ</u> 'plenty to live on'.

158. They differ from ordinary relative clauses principally
because the particle <u>ɛ̀</u> may precede the <u>ve</u>: <u>ha khu-khu ɛ̀ ve</u>
<u>g̈âʔ</u>; <u>dàʔ-dàʔ</u> <u>ɛ̀ ve vên</u>, etc.

159. In this last example the verbs <u>yɨ̀</u> 'long' and <u>ŋɛ</u> 'short' are
adverbially modifying the V_h <u>cɔ̀</u> 'have; be there': "they
don't have fingers longly and shortly". The next sentence
contains an AE_{stat}, <u>tɔ̄</u> <u>lɛ</u> 'level' with the allomorph [lɛ] of
the particle /ɛ̀/. See above 4.422(6), 'AE_{stat} + <u>lɛ</u>'.

For reduplicated verbs in the non-final clauses of com-
pound sentences, see below 5.424.

160. An even more emphatic claim of blackness may be made by the
elaborate expression <u>nâʔ-tɔ́-nâʔ-khɔ̀ʔ</u> 'black as the very pit'.
See 4.425.

161. The unusual phonological structure of this morpheme (diph-
thongal but under a checked tone) points to a foreign origin
for it.

162. The second elements in <u>nâʔ-tɔ́</u> and <u>hɛ-tɔ̂ʔ</u> are possibly re-
lated. For alternation between /´/ and /ˆʔ/, see the
Phonology, 1.631.

163. The morpheme -<u>nê ʔ</u> recurs in the compound verb <u>tɔ̂ʔ-nê ʔ</u> 'cut
up fine'. But this latter does not function as a subordi-
nate expression, since <u>tɔ̂ʔ</u> 'cut' is a V_{act}, not a V_{adj}.

164. <u>mɔ</u> sometimes, as here, behaves like an adjective, and some-
times like a V_{act}. In the latter capacity it may take the
durative P_v <u>tā</u> ({<u>yɔ̂</u> ¦ <u>chò kàʔ</u> | <u>chê ve</u>} | <u>mɔ tā ò</u> 'He's al-
ready been here a long time'), something that ordinary
adjectives cannot do [above 4.1].

165. Cf. the discussion of nominal Elab's, above 3.39. Lahu has
other types of morphologically complex verbal expressions
that function as adverbials but which fail the criteria for
'elaborateness', either because there is no repeated element
(<u>ha-lɛ̀=dɔ̂-ša</u> 'happy and at peace'; <u>šú-dɔ̀=ɔ̄-câ</u> 'smoking to-

bacco and eating food'), or because there are more than two
constituents (ca-ve=ğàʔ-ve=ğa-ve 'look for, chase, and catch
(esp. of game)'). Such structures may be informally desig-
nated as 'quasi-elaborate expressions'.

166. Thus, ha-lɛ̀=ha-qa 'in joy and gladness' may never appear
independently as a verb, though the adnominal usage (ha-lɛ̀=
ha-qa ve nàʔ-ú 'a joyful conversation') is possible.

167. Some compounds are much more likely to be negated mâ-A-mâ-B
than mâ=A-B. Thus nù-qhâ 'stink bitterly' is only rarely
negated as mâ nù-qhâ, with the Elab$_v$ mâ-nù-mâ-qhâ being the
normal negation.

168. Telford 1938, p. 71.

169. Cf. the discussion of 'right-conducivity' of relative
clauses, below 6.49.

170. The meaning of ŋɔ-ŋɔ is similar to the approximative sense
of the reduplicated V$_v$ lɔʔ-lɔʔ [above 4.423] '(almost)
enough to V$_h$'. There seems in fact to be a compound post-
head versatile verb, lɔʔ-ŋɔ, with this meaning: câ lɔʔ-ŋɔ
mâ mɔ̂ 'I don't see how it would be enough to live on'.

171. Interestingly enough, English also tends to use the verb
'go' in onomatopoetic constructions: 'go boom', 'go crash',
'go bow-wow', etc.

172. The only other comparable phenomenon in Lahu is the impera-
tive -ʔ suffix, which we treat as a verb-particle. See
below 4.65. It is striking that Lahu uses both of its (only
two) syllable-final consonantal features, -n and -ʔ, for
morphological purposes.

173. qhe is, of course, the extentive nadverb 'like; thus' dis-
cussed above 3.641; cɛ is the extentive P$_{univ}$ [above 3.91b;
below 4.712(1); 5.24].

174. Equally grammatical is the synonymous sentence (chɔ nî ğâ |
yɨʔ lɔʔ-lɔʔ) ɨ̄ ve hɛ́, where the reduplicated V$_v$ lɔʔ-lɔʔ 'to
a sufficient extent' [above 4.423] functions as the subor-

dinator of the whole clause to the V_h.

175. The reduplicated form qhe=cɛ-cɛ may be used equally well
with no meaning difference. Note that in most occurrences
the domain of qhe-cɛ is not a whole clause, but either the
preceding NP (ŋà-hɨ qhe-cɛ | cɨ-cɨ mâ ǧa pɨ ve 'They can't
catch as many as we [can]') or the following VP (hɔ́-qhâʔ
chi | qhe=cɛ-cɛ hɛ̂ ve pa-tɔ 'since this man is so strong').

176. For the whole question of the adverbiality of extentive NP's,
see above 'Extentive nuclei' 3.611, and below 'Transhemi-
stichial relations' 4.5.

177. A displaced adverb is set off from the rest of the sentence
by a triple vertical line.

178. Displacement of AE$_{qha}$'s has already been mentioned, above
4.421H.

179. We borrow this term from Kuroda (1965), who uses it to mean
a transitive verb that does not happen to have an object
overtly expressed in a given sentence.

180. Fillmore 1968, passim.

181. Contrast í-kâʔ | cá ò 'It has been boiled in water', with
the transitive verb cá 'boil something', with í-kâʔ | bɨ ò
'The water has boiled', with the intransitive verb bɨ 'come
to a boil'.

182. Compare the above examples with (a) OV constructions using
the same nouns: í-kâʔ | dɔ́ 'drink water', tha-tu | ší?
'wipe the hammer', khɛ̂ | chɨ 'wash the dish', á-thɔ | šī
'sharpen a knife', šɨ́ʔ | khâʔ 'chop (fire-)wood', hāw | tɛ
'set a spear-gun trap', yɨ | yù tɔ̂ʔ 'pull out grass', etc.
and (b) OV constructions using the same verbs: í-mû | dɔ̂ʔ
'beat a horse', ɔ̄ | câ 'eat rice', ɔ́-gɨ=mɔ̀ | šɔ̂ʔ 'cut off
the foreskin', fâʔ-chàʔ | jûʔ-pɛ̄ 'pierce a rat to death',
etc.

183. See above 3.85, where the yù lɛ construction is contrasted
with the use of the P_n gɛ to express action performed via an

instrument which is part of the actor's body. The use of
y̱ù̱ ḻɛ̱ implies that the action was not accidental, but rather
performed deliberately.

184. See above 'Sequences of NP's' 3.10.0. The only difference
is the greater intimacy of the semantic bond between the
N_{spec} and the V_{adj}, compared to that between the NP_{subj} and
the following verb.

185. The compound í-kâʔ | hɛ̂ is furthermore restricted to human
subjects.

186. Much as English 'shrug' is used only with 'shoulder'. We
have mentioned above the converse type of unique transhemi-
stichial selection: cases where it is a noun that only
occurs with one particular verb, usually a contentless or
abstract one like te 'do' or chɛ̂ 'be/stay' (nàʔ-ú | te 'con-
verse/chat', tàʔ-í | chɛ̂ 'be silent'). See above 4.2d.

187. See the discussion above [4.423] of reduplicated verbs as
subordinate expressions.

188. We shall bend this definition somewhat in order to accommo-
date the particles s̆ē and s̆ɔ̆, below 4.64(2, 3).

189. Very occasionally two P_v's may appear in either relative
order, with a concomitant difference in meaning [e.g., below
4.63(5, 6)]. The foreign-derived P_v s̆ē, indicating regret,
is relatively unfettered by order-restrictions [below 4.62].

190. This might also be viewed a priori as an 'aspectual' notion,
but t̄a does not pattern distributionally with the Group III
aspectual P_v's [4.64].

191. This last proviso is important. dàʔ is not used simply to
show that there is a plural subject, and would be ungrammat-
ical in sentences like yɔ̂-h̵ ! chò kàʔ | m̵ chɛ̂ ve 'They're
sitting here'.

192. Semantically dàʔ closely resembles the Thai word kan, and in
fact some Lahu resident in Thailand very occasionally use
the borrowed form kâʔ in exactly the same way as the native

dà?: dɔ̂? kâ? = dɔ̂? dà? 'hit each other'. The -? in the
Lahuized form may indicate that the foreign etymon is Shan
or Thai kàb 'with', rather than kan. Then again, further
investigation may reveal that foreign syllables with nasal
finals sometimes get borrowed into a Lahu checked tone,
provided the vowel is short. See Phonology 1.5.

193. There is undoubtedly an etymological connection between və
and the verb pə ~ fə 'send (an object)'. See 'Phonology'
1.21.

194. The P_v la 'cisativity' may also be used to signal temporal
becoming, but in a rather different way (becoming from the
past to the present). See below 4.61(4).

195. See above 4.331. When qay refers literally to motion it is
a juxtacapital [4.331A]; when it refers to the unfolding of
an action or state through time it is a variable V_v [4.331D].
In fact, there are grounds to believe that qay itself may
be derived from an obsolete verb *qa plus the P_v e. For a
discussion of the tendency of e to become fused with the
vowel of the preceding syllable, see the Phonology 1.42.

196. A more accurate rendering of the meaning of ca would be
'perform motion in order to V_h'. 'Go and V_h' is to be taken
as an abbreviation for this.

197. In this last example, the V_h gɛ̂ 'pass the time sociably' is
not a motion verb, though the $_vV$ ca 'go and V_h' is.

198. In this sequence there is a tighter semantic bond between
šɨ and e than there is between šɨ and la. Indeed, in
strings of more than one P_v, each righter P_v is modifying
everything to its left as a unit, in the manner of post-head
concatenations [above 4.341]. For evidence forthcoming from
alternate particle-orderings see below 'Group II P_v's'
4.63(5, 6).

199. For a discussion of alternations between the very-low and
low-checked tones, see the Phonology 1.631.

200. Colloquial dropping of initial consonants is a widespread phenomenon in Lahu particles and the high-frequency adverb mâ 'not'. Above 1.8.

201. English 'leave' renders the Lahu kə tā 'put in (kə) so it remains (tā)'.

202. The ā in the first clause emphasizes the present relevance of the twisting (šɨ 'twist'), while the tā in the final clause invites the hearer to do his looking carefully and thoroughly (ni 'look at').

203. We shall see [6.491] that relative clauses whose verb is a V$_{adj}$ (e.g., [dàʔ ve] va-tê 'a good trap') may sometimes be shifted to the right of the head-noun with very little change of meaning (va-tê [dàʔ ve] 'id.'). This shiftability applies to relative clauses with action-verbs only in case the verb is followed by tā: [tɛ tā ve] va-tê ∿ va-tê [tɛ tā ve] 'a trap which has been set'.

204. The 3rd person may be either 'unmarked' (yɔ̂) or 'remote' (šu).

205. The sentence given above exemplifies 3 → 2 action: tho lâ ɔ̀ lâ. The first lâ (after the verb tho 'tell') is our benefactive P$_v$. The second lâ is the unrelated P$_{uf}$ indicating a yes-no question [4.723].

206. We use 'benefaction' as a technical abbreviation for 'affecting or impinging upon'. The action in question may be unpleasant or 'malefactive' from the viewpoint of the affected party: yɔ̂-hɨ | dɔ̂ʔ lâ gâ ve 'They want to beat us' (3 → 1); nɔ̀ ¦ ŋà thàʔ | hē lâ mâ phɛ̀ʔ 'You cannot deceive me' (2 → 1).

207. It is understood that the English glosses are often an arbitrary selection from one of several possibilities out of context. Thus this sentence could just as well mean 'You'll teach me this song', etc.

208. Note that the verb does not have to be transitive (here we have the intransitive verb chê 'be in a place') for the

benefactive categories to apply.

209. For the diagrammatic representation of purpose clauses, see below 6.2.

210. The verbs g̈à? 'hunt' and dɔ̂? 'beat (to death)' are in fortuitous concatenation. g̈a 'have to' and ga 'help' are $_vV$'s modifying g̈à? dɔ̂?.

211. A priori we would expect that the higher beneficiary would always come last, in keeping with the general Lahu modificatory principle that outer or 'righter' morphemes are in constituency with all lefter elements in the VP as a whole ['Verb concatenation' 4.341; 'Alternate P_v orderings', below 4.63(5)]. The reason why lâ always comes first, regardless of the semantic structure, seems to be that there would be an intolerable homonymy problem with the interrogative P_{uf} were the lâ to follow the pî. Thus, e.g., qô? pî lâ would always be interpreted 'did (you) tell them?' rather than, say, '(you) told them for my benefit'. This is a good example of the neutralization of a semantic distinction (higher vs. lower beneficiary) due to a fortuitous homophony on the surface.

212. When pressed, a Lahu will accept the string yù la lâ mɛ̄ 'Please bring it to me'. Less acceptable (but good for a laugh) is the string yù la lâ lâ 'Will you bring it for me?', containing the cisative P_v la, benefactive lâ, and interrogative lâ all at once. Incidentally, it is highly likely that benefactive lâ is related historically both to la and to the verb là 'come'. Action affecting a non-3rd person is 'coming close' to the speaker; action affecting a 3rd person is 'going away' from the speaker.

213. J. A. Matisoff, Through the Khyber Pass, unpublished MS., ca. 1945.

214. The exception is when a P_v intervenes earlier in a concatenation containing pî: qò? e pî ve 'make someone go back'.
$$\underset{V_h}{\text{qò?}} \quad \underset{P_v}{\text{e}} \quad \underset{V_v}{\text{pî}} \quad \text{ve}$$

See below, 'P$_v$'s intervening in concatenations' 4.69.

215. True benefactive constructions seem to involve human (or at any rate animate) beneficiaries. Thus the sentence ỳù la pî-ʔ 'Bring it to me!' discussed above may really be an underlying causative construction: 'Have it brought to me!'.

216. Cf. the Thai verb sĭa 'be ruined', often used as a kind of particle to express regret at the irrevocability of a past action. [Cf. Noss 1964, p. 186.] Affect-words like this are particularly prone to borrowing from one language to another, as witness, e.g., the Slavic emotive particles that have been taken into Yiddish [že 'emphatic'; nebəx 'commiserative', etc.].

217. The P$_v$ sequence /s̆e̅$_r$+ ò/ is sometimes realized as the fused monosyllable [šò].

218. Historically, gâ seems to have developed from a now-obsolete verb gâ 'think/desire (?)' that survives only as the bound couplet-partner of dɔ̂ 'think' in verbal elaborate expressions. See above 4.425.

219. V + c$_i$ + gâ is the most natural way of expressing desiderative causatives in Lahu: câ c$_i$ gâ 'wants to make smn eat / is willing to let smn eat' (cf. Japanese tabesasetai).

220. jɔ is thus exactly analogous in meaning to the Mandarin guoh 逪 , and the Japanese construction V + koto ga aru.

221. The meaning of the $_v$V g̈a 'manage to V$_h$ / get to V$_h$' is especially congruent with that of jɔ, so that the sequence g̈a + V$_h$ + jɔ 'have ever gotten to V$_h$' is very common.

222. This sentence is often recited like a litany by irritated informants who are being pressed too hard to give anthropological information.

223. It is no simple matter when a Lahu opens his mouth and says 'ah'. This asseverative à must be distinguished from variants of several other P$_v$'s that may lose their initial consonants in rapid speech: a̅ ∿ ta̅ 'perfective' [4.61(7)],

ā ∿ šā 'first person intention' [4.65(3)], a ∿ ha 'mild
suggestion' [4.65(1)], and a ∿ qha 'emphasizer/enlivener'
[4.66(1)].

224. In this respect à resembles the emphatic P_{uf} ɔ [4.721].
The fact that all these verbs are durative in meaning might
suggest that the P_v here is not asseverative à at all, but
rather the allomorph ā of the Group I P_v tā 'permanence'.
This position cannot be maintained, however, since the con-
sonant-initialled variant [tā] cannot be substituted in
these sentences, no matter how slowly and carefully they are
uttered.

225. This sentence is the common Lahu greeting when meeting some-
one again after a long lapse of time.

226. Cf. the discussion of mutual exclusion in connection with
verb concatenations, above 4.331C(2); 4.361(6).

227. See the discussions of embedded purpose-clauses [6.2]; tù-
causatives [6.21]; tù in relative clauses [6.483(2)]; and
purposive nominalizations [6.15]. The relationship between
purposive nominalizations and ordinary noun-compounds is
mentioned above 3.36.

228. If the tù in this sentence is pronounced in close juncture
with the preceding verb, the sequence will be interpreted
as the purposive nominalization câ-tù 'that which is to be
eaten, food': 'This is food too'.

229. See the discussion of conditional sentences, 'Compound sen-
tences' 5.41. Cf. also the contrary-to-fact use of ò,
below 4.64(5).

230. This P_v has nothing to do with 'šē_r', the particle indicat-
ing regret, above 4.62.

231. The verb lɔ́ 'pray' is here governing a purpose-clause marked
by tù. See below 6.21.

232. Contrast a negated verb with tù: yɔ̂ | mâ qay tù yò 'He
won't go'. This is a flat statement of fact. There is

nothing to suggest that he ever will go.

233. A sentence uttered to console the author as he was berating himself for having lent money to the village scoundrel (ca. March 1966).

234. As this last example shows, s̆ɔ̄ has a special affinity for the V$_v$ chê 'continuous or progressive action', above 4.331D.

235. Said by a man telling a tall tale about how he climbed a path so steep that the calves of his legs got twisted around his shins.

236. It is probable that the difference in acceptability resides in the fact that yâ-nề refers to an intrinsic characteristic, while qhâʔ-s̆ɛ refers to an extrinsic or alienable one.

237. That there is an organic connection between these aspectual concepts is proven by the fact that the Mandarin particle lə 了 has precisely the same two shades of meaning.

238. This is one of the commonest greetings exchanged by Lahu when meeting acquaintances on a path, welcoming visitors to their houses, etc.

239. The s̆ē in this sentence is the P$_v$ of regret, s̆ē$_r$.

240. For a discussion of the fusion of ɔ̀ with preceding verbs under the low-falling tone, see the Phonology, 1.42.

241. Curiously, the verb lɔ̀ʔ 'suffice' does not occur with ɔ̀ very often. The meanings of pɛ and lɔ̀ʔ differ subtly. While pɛ implies that a former lack has been filled, lɔ̀ʔ simply indicates that at the present moment there is a sufficiency.

242. Cf. the contrary-to-fact interpretation of tù, above 4.64(1).

243. tà is mutually exclusive with the other Group IIIa P$_v$'s, tù and s̆ɔ̄.

244. Thereby becoming homophonous with the allomorph [tá] of the Group I P$_v$ /tā/ 'permanence', above 4.61(7).

245. The combination mâ + V + tà + ɔ̀ is to be distinguished from a similar-sounding construction containing the V$_v$ tà-ɔ̀ [above 4.331C(3)]: V$_h$ + mâ + tà-ɔ̀ 'be tired of V$_h$'ing'.

Thus, y̌ɔ | mâ qa-m̄ɨ tà ɔ̀ 'She probably won't sing anymore'
vs. y̌ɔ | qa-m̄ɨ mâ tà-ɔ̀ 'She's tired of singing'.

246. They are also mutually exclusive with the P$_{univ}$ ve [below
     4.711].

247. The variant ha, while now rarer than a in Black Lahu, may be
     the older form of this P$_v$, given the Lahu propensity for
     dropping the initial consonant of functors. Alternatively,
     ha may reflect Yellow Lahu influence.

248. This is quite different from the sentence ŋà | tê g̈â tí te
     tù (ve yò). The a shows that it is the speaker's intention
     to do it himself; tù just indicates that he will do it him-
     self, willy-nilly.

249. Further complicating the picture, of course, is our old
     friend s̆e̅$_r$, the Group I P$_v$ expressing regret, above 4.62.

250. This sentence and the next are the usual Lahu formulas for
     leave-taking.

251. See above 'Phonology' 1.64, and Matisoff 1970a.

252. The NP yâ tê g̈ɨ ɔ̀ 'boys!' is a vocative expression, and the
     NP ŋà-h̄ɨ 'we' has been permuted from its normal pre-VP posi-
     tion. See below, 'Colloquial perturbations of normal syn-
     tax' 6a.12.

253. For a discussion of ɨ ~ ə, see the Phonology 1.32.

254. This P$_v$ is probably a specialization of what is now a rare
     verb qha 'strike against': pò-ná chi ┆ nā-s̆a=cɛ̀ thàʔ | qha
     ve 'The bat struck against the na-sha tree'. Completely un-
     related is the adverb qha, discussed extensively above
     4.412(10); 4.421.

255. Not to be confused with the Group IVa P$_v$ a, which always has
     a suggestive or hortatory meaning.

256. For the alternation between /´/ and /^ʔ/, see the Phonology
     1.631.

257. The emphatic use of a benefactive morpheme is familiar in
     European languages. Cf. the vivid sort of 'ethical dative'

in such utterances as English 'He ran out on me!', 'He gave
me a hard time of it', 'He ran her a merry chase', or Yid-
dish <u>gey</u> <u>ix</u> <u>mir</u> <u>a</u> <u>frejlexer</u> 'I go off ("for myself") in a
good mood', etc.

258. This sentence illustrates how <u>qha</u> ∿ <u>ha</u> ∿ <u>a</u> may occur before
P$_v$'s of other groups, in this case the variant [tá] of the
Group I P$_v$ /tā/.

259. The euphonious and poignant expression →šu lɔ | šu la tù←
<u>te</u> <u>ve</u> "do so that one becomes the same as others' matters",
i.e., 'work one's way up in the world', expresses certain
deep and ambivalent attitudes the Lahu have toward their
more materially-advanced neighbors like the Shan and the
Thai.

260. Unlike the superficially similar <u>qha-pâʔ</u> (q.v.), which must
always occur after a verb.

261. No non-verbal material may be introduced within a pre-head
concatenation. See above 4.32.

262. Versus <u>qôʔ</u> <u>gɨ</u> <u>dàʔ</u> <u>ve</u> 'tease one another / joke with each
       V$_h$ V$_v$ P$_v$

other'.

263. Versus <u>qòʔ</u> <u>e</u> <u>cɨ</u> <u>gâ</u> <u>ve</u> 'want to make him go home'. As noted
       V$_h$ P$_v$ V$_v$ P$_v$

above [4.63(5)], a P$_v$ modifies everything to its left within
its VP, following the same modificatory principles as V$_v$'s.

264. In one curious example we have found, <u>a</u> is used as a sub-
stitute for the whole sequence <u>a</u> + <u>ni</u>: <u>câ</u> <u>bûʔ</u> <u>ò</u> <u>qo</u> || <u>chò</u> |
<u>yɨʔ</u> <u>a</u> <u>tā</u> 'If you've eaten your fill, why don't you lie down
here?'. This <u>a</u> obviously cannot be an allomorph of /tā/,
since [tā] itself follows in the same VP. Yet this is not
a normal use of the Group IV P$_v$ <u>a</u>, since it is followed by
a Group I P$_v$. The VP seems rather to be an elliptical
version of <u>yɨʔ</u> <u>a</u> <u>ni</u> <u>tā</u>, where <u>a</u> + <u>ni</u> is functioning as a
unitary V$_v$.

265. The behavior of P_{univ}'s after NP_{nf}'s is discussed above 3.91;
      their occurrences after the VP_{nf}'s of compound sentences are
      treated in 5.2-5.3. For permissible sequences of P_{univ}'s
      see above 3.91.

266. As opposed to claiming, e.g., that <u>ve</u> is here behaving like
      any other P_{univ}, exercising its privilege of occurring in
      Cl_{nf}'s, but conveying no particular meaning. For discussion
      see below 6.11 <u>passim</u>.

267. Needless to say, <u>ve</u> is used under quite different syntactic
      circumstances than English 'to', though it is significant
      that 'to' also functions as a nominalizer in such sentences
      as 'To err is human'.

268. Literally, "When we say '<u>qôʔ dàʔ ve</u>', it is a case of our
      saying '<u>dê dàʔ ve</u>'".

269. If it is desired to specify the time the action takes place,
      temporal nouns or adverbs may be used: <u>qhà-thâʔ=kàʔ</u> 'al-
      ways', <u>á-ni thâ</u> 'yesterday', <u>nɛ́-qhɔ̀ʔ</u> 'next year', etc.

270. The emotion conveyed by <u>à</u> is incompatible with the bland
      neutrality of <u>ve</u>: <u>dàʔ à</u> 'Good!' vs. <u>dàʔ ve</u> (<u>yò</u>) 'It is
      good'.

271. <u>ve</u> does sometimes occur with the Group III aspectuals <u>šē</u> and
      <u>šɔ̄</u>, but such sequences are stylistically marked for strong
      emphasis, and are found only if some P_{uf} (usually <u>yò</u>) fol-
      lows: <u>cɔ̀ šɔ̄ ve yò</u> 'Indeed there are still some!' (usually
      simply <u>cɔ̀ sɔ̄</u>); <u>mâ là šē ve yò</u> 'Indeed he hasn't come yet'
      (usually simply <u>mâ là šē</u>). Even rarer is the appearance of
      <u>ve</u> after <u>ò</u> 'change of state': <u>yɔ̂ kàʔ | là ò ve</u> 'It is in-
      deed the case that he has come already'. This antipathy
      between <u>šē/šɔ̄/ò</u> and <u>ve</u> is equally true of relative clauses:
      these aspectual P_{v}'s almost never end relative clauses, for
      then they would have to precede <u>ve</u> directly in the latter's
      subordinating function. Interestingly enough, <u>tù</u> 'unreal-
      ized action', also of Group III, occurs freely with <u>ve</u>:

ŋà kàʔ | qay tù ve 'I'll go too'. Perhaps the fact that tù
may also serve as a nominalizer [6.15] has something to do
with its compatibility with ve.

 ve may occur after the Group IVb enlivening P$_v$ qha, but
is mutually exclusive with interjectory pâʔ and qha-pâʔ.

*   272. Throughout the Tibeto-Burman family we find similar 'indica-
      tive nominalizers' occurring with great frequency in sen-
      tence-final position (cf. Tibetan pa, colloquial Burmese te,
      Jinghpaw ʔai, etc.).

   273. The choices in the brackets represent (a) comma-pause, such
      as may occur after a non-final clause of a compound sentence;
      (b) full-stop pause, such as may occur sentence-final; and
      (c) the position immediately before another unrestricted
      particle, either in a Cl$_{nf}$ or a Cl$_f$.

   274. There is a striking analogy between such ve-sentences and
      Japanese clauses ending in the nominalizing particle no plus
      the copula (the so-called 'no desu construction'): {kare
      ga | tukarete iru no} da 'He is tired'/'It is the case that
      he is tired'. For further similarities between ve and no,
      see below.

   275. Another way to increase the emphatic force of a negation is
      the periphrastic construction {V + ve} + mâ hêʔ [above
      4.411(2)]. Here it is crystal-clear that the ve is nominal-
      izing the preceding verb, since natural nouns are also
      negated by mâ hêʔ. Thus, {yɔ ¦ là- g̈ɨ | tɛ tā ve} | mâ hêʔ
      'She hasn't put the tea on (to boil)' is exactly analogous
      to yɔ ¦ Lâhū-yâ | mâ hêʔ 'She is not a Lahu'. See below
      6.111.

   276. See my article "Lahu nominalization, relativization, and
      genitivization", to appear in John Kimball, ed., 1972.

   277. An interesting alternative morpheme to lɛ in this usage is
      khɔ, literally 'word/sound/noise': nàʔ-ú | qha-dɛ̀ʔ â te pî
      khɔ nē 'The reason is, that you didn't converse properly with

her!'. The Greek l_ógos shows a similar meaning shift from 'word' to 'reason why'.

278. Alternatively one may use the M_pfx ɔ-tɛ̀ after the noun: ɔ-chɔ ɔ-tɛ̀ yɔ̀.

279. The distinction between modifying the sentence as a whole and only modifying the VP is probably a Talmudic one in any case. As Chafe (1970, p. 168) points out, 'One of the manifestations of the primacy of the verb in the semantic structure of a sentence is the fact that the inflection of a verb can as well be considered the inflection of the entire sentence.... Whether a verb is 'past' or the entire sentence built around it is 'past' is fruitless to ask. The verb in a sense is the sentence; whatever affects the verb affects the sentence as a whole.'

280. This of course is true of postpositional languages in general. See Greenberg 1966.

281. As for artificial elicitation of possible particle-combinations, since there are more than twenty P_{uf}'s, informants' stamina in envisioning some 400 two-member sequences (let alone 8000 three-member ones) is not boundless.

282. This variation is partly sex- and age-determined, but also largely idiosyncratic. It is also characteristic of the P_{uf}'s that several variants of a given particle be simultaneously available for a given individual to use. Thus, e.g., the P_{uf} nā 'rhetorical question' is also realizable variously as ná, lɛ-nā, nàʔ, nā-a [below 4.723].

283. In languages without distinctive tonal contrasts, many of the functions corresponding to those of the Lahu P_{uf}'s are handled by intonation. A tone language cannot manipulate its pitches with such abandon, for fear of mutilating the tonal contours of the individual syllables.

284. For simplicity's sake we are not diagramming these ve-clauses as nominalizations in the present context, though

that is what they really are: {dà? ve} yò "It is a being-
good".

285.   See below, Capitulum IVa 4a.2. We cannot regard yò as a
       verb here, since it is not negatable by mâ.

286.   This -a is more plausibly to be identified with the morpheme
       in the sequences qha-pâ?=a [4.66] and qô?-pî=a [4.727(7)],
       than with the allomorph of the enlivening P_v qha [4.66] or
       the Group IVa P_v a signifying intention [4.65(1)].

287.   The welding of particular verbs to particular particles
       (which we may call 'particle lexicalization') is a fairly
       common phenomenon in Lahu. We have already noted the spe-
       cial affinity of the Group II asseverative P_v à for the verbs
       šī, chê, pɨ, and cɔ when the interrogative P_{uf} lâ follows
       [above 4.63(4)].

288.   Not to be confused with the unitary interjectory P_{uf} ve-ɔ̄,
       below 4.728.

289.   It frequently appears in the missionaries' translations of
       the New Testament.

290.   The only morphemes that may appear after a P_{uf} in a Lahu
       simple sentence are other P_{uf}'s. See the schema above 4.72,
       and *passim*.

291.   lâ is cognate with the Burmese yes-or-no question particle
       lâ. Cf. Lahu le and Burmese lê, below (2).

292.   It is as if nè-ɔ̄ already contains an interrogative component
       in its meaning.

293.   Or, more concisely, <<nê? nā vi nā>> mâ šī 'I don't know
       whether it's wet or dry'. See below, 'Indirect questions',
       under 'Quotative embeddings' 6.34.

294.   Here Lahu differs from Mandarin, where both halves of such
       disjunctions are uttered without intervening pause: nii |
       tzoou bu tzoou a 'Are you going or not?'.

295.   If we were to insist on calling disjunctions single sen-
       tences, we would have to postulate some kind of embedding to

account for the appearance of a P_{uf} in a non-final clause.

296. Cf. the variant lɛ-hɛ́ of hɛ́, above 4.722.

297. Just as lâ corresponds to the Burmese yes-or-no question particle lâ, so le is cognate to the Burmese substance-question particle lê.

298. See the Phonology, 1.631 and 1.64.

299. The particle ɛ̀ʔ in these sentences is the P_n meaning 'only, nothing but' [above 3.87], not the interjectory/interrogative/imperative P_{uf} treated below 4.726.

300. This is a possible reading for the sentence, but is not the one that naturally leaps to the hearer's mind.

301. Modern colloquial Japanese also abounds in final interjectory particles of this sort: sa, zo, ze, yo, wa, na, etc.

302. Needless to say, a facility in manipulating the interjectory P_{uf}'s in a natural manner is one of the last things the non-native learner of Lahu acquires.

303. Cf. the Thai particle láʔ in such expressions as khun láʔ khráb 'What about you?'.

304. As indicated in Figures 46 and 47, nē may follow interjectory   *
ɛ̀ʔ. The 'interrogative' examples given under (b) may also be interpreted in an interjectory sense, context permitting: 'Our village has finished clearing the fields for this year!'; 'The horse was dancing!'.

305. In this sentence the dubitative P_{uf} nɛ̀-ɔ̄ is exceptionally following interjectory nē, instead of vice versa.

306. One is reminded of such English exclamations as 'I say!' or 'I tell you!'. qôʔ- is also the first element in certain non-final unrestricted particles. Cf. qôʔ-qo and qôʔ-qo-qɔ̀ʔ,   *
below 5.414.

307. Telford 1938, p. 45.

308. Cf. the interjectory pro-verb qha-pî, above 4.66(5).

309. No other P_{uf} may precede it either. This seems to be a consequence of ve's inherent membership in the class of P_{univ}'s,

which never occur after P~uf~'s.

310. Simple <u>ve</u> always precedes the P~univ~'s <u>cɛ</u> and <u>tí</u> [above 3.91], yet another justification for treating <u>ve-ɔ̄</u> as quite a separate entity in the grammar.

311. We conventionally connect <u>o</u> to a preceding <u>yâ</u> or <u>lâ</u> by a hyphen. Note that <u>o</u> seems to have a special affinity for preceding words under the high-falling tone /ˆ/.

*   312. In the case of <u>qôʔ-a</u> and <u>qôʔ-pî=a</u>, it is more likely that the -<u>a</u> is an outgrowth of the Group IVa P~v~ that indicates intended first-person action ("I shall tell you...!"), though the two can no longer be identified.

313. Cf the Thai emphatic final particle <u>ná</u> as in <u>chôog dii ná</u> 'Good luck now!'. See e.g., Noss 1964, pp. 199, 211. This particle is not to be confused with the variant [ná] of the interrogative P~uf~ /nā/, above 4.723(3).

314. The <u>sē̆</u> here is the particle indicating regret [4.62].

315. Telford 1938, p. 40. This is not the same as the expression cited by Peet ('Towards a more loquacious Lahu'), <u>cɨ-â</u> [tsâ], which is just an affective variant of the maximizing V~v~ <u>jâ</u> 'very'. See the Phonology, 1.8.

*   316. The -<u>w</u>- is enough to make one suspect that this is a loan from Shan. Telford gives this word in the very-low tone, <u>kwā</u>, though our informant maintained it should be high-falling tone.

317. These exclusions are themselves to be taken with a grain of salt. See the introduction to this chapter.

318. We are thus claiming that Lahu employs the device of clause-nominalization as a way of breaking up structures that contain too many semantic marks for easy comprehension. See below.

*   319. The sequence <u>sɔ̄̆</u> <u>ve</u> is ruled out even in relative clauses, where <u>ve</u> is functioning as a subordinator. Thus one cannot say *[<u>kán</u> | <u>te</u> <u>chê</u> <u>sɔ̄̆</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>chɔ</u> 'the people who are still work-

ing' ([ká̲n̲ | t̲e̲ c̲h̲ê v̲e̲] c̲h̲ɔ already conveys this meaning).
On the other hand there is no objection to s̲ĕ̄ occurring in
this position: [m̲â̲ l̲à̲ s̲ĕ̄ v̲e̲] c̲h̲ɔ 'the people who haven't
come yet'.

320. Favoring s̲ĕ̄'s freedom of occurrence is the fact that it
chiefly occurs after negated verbs, which discourage the
filler v̲e̲.

1. Final unrestricted particles also have something of this quality [4.72], but they are much more closely integrated into the structure of the sentence, and there is no harm in regarding them to be in immediate constituency with the preceding noun or verb.

2. Unless they are preceded by another member of these classes. Conjunctions and interjections may also intervene later in a sentence, but these are distinctly felt to be interruptions of the natural flow of the sentence.

3. On the other hand, many conjunctions may include <u>non-final</u> unrestricted particles as one of their components. Cf. <u>lɛ-ɔ̄</u>, <u>qhe-qo</u>, <u>yà?-qhâ=thɔ̂</u>, etc., below.

4. In diagrammed sentences we set off conjunctions with a comma.

5. The Japanese conjunction <u>datte</u> is very close in meaning.

6. In the first sentence the speaker refers to the new mother in the third person (<u>yɔ̂ gɛ</u> 'near her'). In the second sentence he is shifting his point of view, and directly addressing the audience of women he is lecturing, as proven by the use of the non-3rd person benefactive P_v <u>lâ</u> (<u>hà?-šá lâ</u> 'take care of for you'). See above 4.612.

7. See above, 'P_{unf}'s in NP's' 3.93-3.94, and below 'P_{unf}'s in compound sentences' 5.43.

8. For a functionally different but homophonous sequence, see below 5.412 'The compound causal P_{unf}'s <u>te-qo</u> and <u>qhe-qo</u>'.

9. For the indefinitization of interrogative words by the concessive P_{unf}'s <u>thɔ̂</u> and <u>kà?</u>, see 5.44(1-3).

10. The variant <u>à-mɨ</u> occurs in the speech of some.

11. The V_v <u>pɨ́</u> 'be able' plus the asseverative P_v <u>à</u> frequently end a sentence introduced by <u>à-mù</u> [above 4.331C(1)]. The use of the verb <u>pɨ́</u> closely parallels the English 'may' in 'The dogs

[586]

may well eat the meat'.

12. Very similar in meaning is the Japanese word <u>man-iti</u> 万 一 .

13. True interjections are to be distinguished from interjectory
    or onomatopoetic adverbs, which are subordinate to a follow-
    ing verb [above 4.44].

14. <u>yò</u> is used to agree with something that has been said by
    one's interlocutor. <u>êe</u> may also be translated 'yes', but
    means rather that the speaker is confirming that his inter-
    locutor has understood what he said previously.

15. This interjection is a borrowing from Shan or Thai <u>phûthôo</u>
    พุทโธ   'By the Lord Buddha!'.

16. In diagrammed sentences we set off an interjection from what
    follows by three vertical lines: <u>thôo</u> ||| <u>te qò?</u> <u>e ni cε yò</u>
    'Ah shit, let's just go home'. This is the same symbol we
    have been using for displaced adverbs [above 4.46], though
    we are not claiming an adverbial 'origin' for the interjec-
    tions.

1. These will be treated _in_ _extenso_ in Chapter VI.

2. For brevity's sake, let us introduce the term 'co-clauses'
   to refer to 'fellow non-embedded clauses in a compound sen-
   tence'. In diagrammed sentences, the co-clauses are set off
   from each other by a double vertical line: $Cl_1 \parallel Cl_2$.

3. The converse is not the case. There are sentences where the
   verbs in successive co-clauses are the same, but where there
   is an unrestricted particle in the Cl_{nf}. Cf. such structures
   as $\underset{V_1}{\underline{h\hat{\jmath}\text{?}}}\ \underset{P_{unf}}{\underline{k\grave{a}\text{?}}} \parallel \underset{V_2}{\underline{h\hat{\jmath}\text{?}}}\ t\grave{u}\ \underline{h\acute{\varepsilon}}$ 'I think we'll hit it all right'

   ("As for hitting, I think we'll hit it"), below 5.44.

4. If the equi-verbal clauses are the only ones in the sentence,
   as here, it is common for the verb to appear naked in the
   final clause as well.

5. When the naked verb in the first clause occurs immediately
   before the V_h of the following clause (as in $\{\underset{V_h}{\underline{qh\hat{a}\text{?-}\check{s}\varepsilon}\ \underline{te}}\} \mid$

   $\underset{V_h}{\underline{d\grave{a}\text{?}}}\ \underline{\grave{a}}\ \underline{m\bar{\varepsilon}}$), the two-verb sequence is a type of fortuitous con-

   catenation. But two successive verbal actions are not in-
   volved, and the suspensive $P_{unf}\ \underline{l\varepsilon}$ is not insertible between
   the verbs. See above 4.313.

6. For a fuller discussion in the context of Lahu nominaliza-
   tions in general, see below 6.12. Note that _ve_ and _thâ_
   exclude each other: a clause may not simultaneously be
   nominalized in two different ways ('indicatively' and
   'temporally').

7. We still claim that these 'adverbial _thâ_-clauses' are really
   derived nouns. This is yet another illustration of the inter-
   relationship between nouns and adverbs in Lahu (above 'Exten-
   tive nuclei' 3.611; 'Transhemistichial relations' 4.5).

8. Unlike the homophonous suspensive P_{unf} (q.v.), causal $l\varepsilon$ may also occur after final phrases, and thus belongs to the class of universal unrestricted particles.

9. The suspensive P_{unf} $l\varepsilon$ never occurs with a preceding ve [below 5.42].

10. pa-tɔ may also occur directly after natural nouns, and is thus a noun-particle rather than an unrestricted one. After verbs, lɛ and pa-tɔ are synonymous, except for style. After nouns they contrast in meaning. See above 3.84.

11. See above, 'Adverbial clauses' 4.45.

12. This sentence contains a nominalized purpose-clause, {→là-mî | ti tù← ve} 'a thing for planting the tea-orchard'. Alternatively, we could consider this to be a relative clause whose head, e.g., ɔ-qhɔ 'holes' has been deleted. See below 6.15; 6.47.

13. See below 5.411; 5.44(1, 2).

14. The morpheme kàʔ in these words is the locative P_n [3.86], not the concessive P_{unf} that appears in post-verbal correlative constructions.

15. For a discussion of the V_1 + kàʔ || + V_1 construction, see below 5.44(2).

16. An apparent exception is the sentence $\underset{V_h}{\text{cɔ̀}}\ \underset{P_{univ}}{\text{tɛ̀}}\ ||\ \underset{V_h}{\text{mâ}}\ \text{ve yɔ̀}$ 'There are [cɔ̀] really [tɛ̀] many [mâ] of them'. But instead of regarding tɛ̀ as ending a Cl_{nf} here, it is semantically more plausible to treat it as an intervention into the versatile concatenation cɔ̀ mâ 'there are many', so that the whole sentence is a single, final clause: $\underset{V_h}{\text{cɔ̀}}\ \underset{P_{univ}}{\text{tɛ̀}}\ \underset{V_v}{\text{mâ}}\ \text{ve yɔ̀.}$

 (For the present purpose the fact that this clause is nominalized by ve may be ignored.) For intrusions of particles into concatenations, see above 4.69.

17. Unless the sentence is of the aberrant 'permuted' type, below 6a.11.

18. For their somewhat different configuration after nouns, see
    Figures 10 and 11, above 3.93-3.94.

19. The P_v of unrealized action, <u>tù</u>, may also serve this func-
    tion. See above 4.64(1).

20. A French translation would demand <u>quand</u> + future tense.

21. The P_{univ} <u>cε</u> [above 5.24] and the P_{unf}'s <u>thɔ/kàʔ</u> [below
    5.44(1, 2)] participate in similar constructions.

22. We have met this 'dummy <u>te</u>' before as a supporting verb for
    such adverbial expressions as reduplicated verbs, stative
    adverbials, intensified adjectives, elaborate expressions,
    and the interverbal adverb ŋɔ-ŋɔ [above 4.42; 4.43]. A
    parallel use of <u>te</u> in Cl_{nf}'s is in the compound particle
    <u>te-lε</u>, below 5.423.

23. This word is not to be confused with the homophonous con-
    junction <u>qhe-qo</u>, above 4a.14.

24. This sentence contains a right relative clause from which <u>ve</u>
    has been deleted (<u>te câ lɔʔ-lɔʔ</u> 'enough to earn a living').
    See below 6.491.

25. The expression <u>hε g̈ɔʔ ve</u> 'hold onto a field, recultivate an
    old field' refers to the practice of planting crops on the
    same piece of land for a second year in a row. In the ab-
    sence of fertilizer, this quickly exhausts the soil, and the
    practice is avoided as long as new land is available to
    clear. For details, see Walker 1970b.

26. This emphatic element also occurs with the P_{unf} <u>thɔ</u> [below
    5.44(1)] and with the P_{unf} <u>lε</u> [below 5.422].

27. This is probably true of concessive morphemes in general in
    all languages. The meanings of 'although' and 'even if' are
    very close.

28. Like all Lahu P_{unf}'s, <u>lε</u> is only optionally present in any
    given sentence. We have seen [above 4.312] how its absence
    sometimes results in two verbs being directly juxtaposed even
    though they belong to separate underlying clauses ('fortuitous
    concatenation').

29. See above 3.91e; 4.712(2); 5.23. The two particles are
     doubtless related historically, of course.

30. See below 5.43. The dropping of the initial seems to be an
     instance of haplology, though this is an <u>ad hoc</u> explanation
     in view of the Lahu predilection for successive syllables
     beginning with the same phoneme (cf. qô? qo-qɔ̀?, above 5.414).   *

31. 1ɛ-ɔ̄ sometimes appears sentence-initial, in which case it is
     a conjunction [above 4a.11]. Cf. also the use of the clause
     qhe te 1ɛ ɔ̄ as a conjunction [4a.13].

32. qha-cwê 'perfectly' and qha=dɛ̀?-dɛ̀? 'properly' (next example)
     are adverbial expressions displaced from the pre-verbal
     position [above 4.46].

33. The qɔ̀? after ŋà-hɨ 'we' is a partly assimilated version of
     the Thai conjunction kɔ̂?, which typically occurs as the
     second word in sentences.

34. This is the same dummy <u>te</u> that we found in the compound P_{unf}
     te-qo [above 5.412], though the latter does differ somewhat
     in meaning from qo alone.

35. There is a strikingly similar construction in Japanese. To
     express a frequent repetition of several parallel actions
     ("now he does X and now he does Y"), the affix -<u>tari</u> is added
     to the verbs of successive clauses. After the last of these
     the verb <u>suru</u> 'do' is added to weld all that precedes into a
     single, quasi-adverbial unit: <u>kutu wo</u> | <u>haitari</u> ⟵╫⟶ <u>nuidari</u>
     <u>suru</u> 'to keep putting on and taking off one's shoes'.

36. If these P_{unf}'s could <u>not</u> occur before ɔ̄, nothing would stop
     us from identifying this topicalizer with the weakly locative
     noun-particle ɔ̄, above 3.86.

37. See above, 3.641; 3.92C; 3.93-3.94; 4a.13.

38. See above 'Equi-verbal clauses' 5.1. The concessive P_{unf} kà?
     may also be used in this way [below 5.44(2)]. Other occur-
     rences of 1ɛ̀ after naked verbs are probably to be considered
     aberrant: mɔ̀?-qɔ kà? | qô? 1ɛ̀ ||{te phā 1ɛ̀ | qhe mâ hê? ve}

yò 'Though they say it with their mouths, some of them are not really that way'. Here l̀ɛ is used instead of the more appropriate concessive P_{unf}'s kà? or thɔ̀, probably through contamination with the l̀ɛ in the following NP ("as for some of them").

39. We have remarked above [5.415] on the intrinsic conditional component in the meaning of concessive morphemes.

40. thɔ̀ may similarly be used after two nouns: hɔ́-qhâ?=pā thɔ̀ ↤╫↦ yâ-mî=qɛ̀? thɔ̀ 'whether a man or a woman'. Also usable after successive nouns is the expression mâ qô?, literally 'not saying' [above 3.23; 5.1]: {Lâhū-yâ | mâ qô? ↤╫↦ Thây-chɔ | mâ qô? ↤╫↦ Kâlâ-phu | mâ qô? || {ni-ma | dà? ve} qo || ŋà yâ-mî | hɔ̀? phɛ̀? ve} yò 'Whether he's a Lahu, a Thai, or a European, if his heart is good he may marry my daughter'.

41. In this case thɔ̀ may not be omitted after the first verb.

42. See the discussion of similar constructions involving qo [above 5.411] and cɛ [above 5.24].

43. The difference between these two interpretations is probably more theoretical than real, parallelling such elusive English distinctions as 'He only bought a few things' vs. 'He bought only a few things'.

44. Note the indefinite meaning in the presence of an interrogative word in the clause (qhà-ma 'how much?'). The set expression yà-pî 'the hell with it!; never mind it!' derives from a verb yà 'to make way for smn; move over' plus the benefactive auxiliary pî: "may it be removed from our area of concern!".

45. This particle is especially widespread in the speech of men from the village of Shatodu, near the Thai-Burmese border. See the Introduction.

46. It will be remembered [above 5.2] that tɛ̀ usually precedes ve, while the other P_{univ}'s follow it.

47. It matters little whether we consider qhà-qhe here to be an

interrogative noun, or alternatively as an adverb that has
been displaced from the pre-verbal position. See above,
'The noun-adverb problem' 4.52; 'Adverb displacement' 4.46;
'Adverbs and unrestricted particles' 4.40.

48. We leave this as an exercise for the reader.

49. Minor sentences beginning with a ve-clause might only be
     complex, rather than compound: {mâ na gâ ve} ¦ n$\grave{\text{ɔ}}$ y$\grave{\text{ɔ}}$ 'The
                                             NP_f

     one who doesn't want to listen is you'.

50. This chart is more detailed than the one above 5.52. See
     note 46.

51. See the more detailed chart above 4.72.10.

52. One may speculate that the nuance of meaning conveyed by the
     -go is one of a quasi-topicalization of the whole sentence,
     which is treated as a noun for the purpose. (It will be
     remembered that go serves as a topicalizer after nouns,
     rather than as a conditional morpheme.) "As for S, it is
     indeed the case."

1. Embedded clauses which are more clearly 'adverbial' (i.e., which answer such questions as 'V to what extent?' or 'V in what manner?') have been treated above under 'Adverbial expressions' 4.45.

2. Thus in the compound sentence <u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>bə̀ʔ</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>lɛ</u> || <u>phu</u> | <u>mâ</u> <u>chî</u> <u>lâ</u> <u>hɛ́</u> 'Since he's very angry, he probably won't lend you any money', the non-final clause <u>yɔ̂</u> | <u>bɔ̀ʔ</u> <u>jâ</u> <u>lɛ</u> 'since he's very angry' ends before the Cl_f begins; the Cl_{nf} does not modify any particular constituent of the Cl_f, nor is it as a whole a constituent of the latter.

3. Sentences with <u>ve</u> or <u>thâ</u> in a <u>non</u>-final clause <u>are</u> complex [6.11-6.12].

4. E.g., {<u>yɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>šĭ</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> 'He knows it too', is analogous to <u>yɔ̂</u> <u>kàʔ</u> | <u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'He's a Lahu too'.

5. Some of them of more biographical than linguistic interest.

6. This sentence is nominalized as a whole by the final <u>ve</u> [below 6.118].

7. The P_{dev} may sometimes be deleted after the nominalization has taken place. See below 6.117.

8. In this example, and all others in this section, we are ignoring the <u>ve</u> in the final clause in order to keep the diagramming simple.

9. In this example, the four successive Cl_{nom}'s are just a special case of NP's in series.

10. The Cl_{nom} contains the P_v of unrealized action, <u>tù</u>, so that the sentence means literally 'Our-future-arriving-at-the-fields-by-this-road is no longer far'. This is not easily translatable, since the rules for English nominalization require the erasure of tense.

11. For a discussion of this litotic idiom, see above 4.412(3).

[594]

12. This sentence contains two successive topical <u>ve</u>-clauses. The first sets the general area of discourse ('as for picking tea'), while the second zeroes in on a particular aspect of tea-picking ('doing it this way'). For a more elaborate version of this sentence, see below 6a.12.

13. Note that <u>mâ hê?</u> is the usual way of negating natural nouns as well: <u>yɔ́</u> ¦ <u>Kâlâ-phu</u> | <u>mâ hê?</u> 'He is not a white man'.

14. This <u>kà?</u> cannot be considered to have belonged with the verb before the periphrastic negation, since it is a non-final P_u: in the case of simple negation (<u>mâ qay</u>) the sentence had no non-final clause for <u>kà?</u> to attach itself to.

15. See the discussions of <u>te</u> as a $_vV$ [4.321]; as a support for adverbial expressions [4.42-4.43]; as a resumptive verb after parallel clauses [5.1]; in combination with the P_{unf}'s <u>qo</u> and <u>lɛ</u> [5.412; 5.423].

16. The accusative P_n <u>thà?</u> may in fact follow the Cl_{nf}. See below 6.115.

17. One is reminded of such Japanese constructions as <u>hanasoo to suru</u> 'try to speak', where <u>suru</u> (like <u>te</u>) means 'do' and the <u>-oo</u> affix on the preceding verb corresponds to <u>tù</u>.

18. The <u>te</u> in the <u>ve</u>-clause of this sentence has nothing to do with the discussion in 6.112. Rather, it goes with <u>nê</u> 'spirit, animist deity' to form the expression <u>nê</u> | <u>te ve</u> 'to attend the spirits' (lit. "do the spirits").

19. Cf. the Thai morpheme <u>sùd</u>, as in <u>thîisùd</u> 'most', <u>dii thîisùd</u> 'the best'.

20. See above, 'Deletion of possessed head transformation' 3.76. In the following examples the position of the deleted head is indicated by a little empty box.

21. See above 5.23, 'Causal <u>lɛ</u> in non-final clauses'.

22. We have seen that even in the case of natural nouns, <u>thà?</u> is by no means obligatory after objects. See above 3.83.

23. {<u>nɔ́</u> | <u>là ve</u>} ¦ <u>ŋà</u> | <u>ha-lɛ̂ jâ</u> 'I'm glad you came' is equally

grammatical and less formal ("As for your coming, I'm very glad").

24. In this sentence the verb of the inner ṿe-clause, ɨ̄ 'big', is itself modified by a whole clause used adverbially 'enough for two people to sleep in' (enclosed in double parentheses in the diagram). See above 4.45.

* 25. šûʔ is a verb meaning 'to perform the fork-waving ceremony'.

26. See above 5.1 'Cl$_{nf}$'s containing no unrestricted particles'.

27. The productivity of the chɔ̀ + V$_1$ + ɵ̂ + V$_1$ construction (almost any action verb may fill the slot) entitles us to regard it as a type of elaborate expression. See above 4.425.

28. In this case it does make sense to talk of 'deletion', since the ṿe is 'conspicuous by its absence'.

29. This is a highly suitable topic for further investigation. What factors favor the deletion, and what factors inhibit it? No more precision should be expected in the results than we could hope for from a study of the factors relevant to the deletion of the English complementizer 'that' from sentences like 'I know (that) he can read'.

30. See Walker 1970b.

31. This point of view has been implicit in the way we have diagrammed compound ṿe-sentences throughout this Grammar.

32. In the more specific terminology we have used in our chapter on noun-morphology [3.34], -ma and -pā are simply unprefixed forms of 'M$_{pfx}$'s' (while ɔ̀-ma and ɔ̀-pā are prefixed forms of M$_{pfx}$'s).

33. In compounds like chɔ-bɔ̀=ma 'lazy woman', chɔ-hē=ma 'deceitful woman', chɔ-qhɔ̀=ma 'thieving woman', etc., the second syllables are verbs, but the -ma is not deverbative since the first two syllables already are noun-compounds of the [N-V]$_n$ type: chɔ-bɔ̀ 'a lazy person'. See above 3.36.

34. This last proviso is another example of a 'surface constraint' which follows from the fact that pā is a P$_v$. In simple sen-

tences P$_u$'s may never precede P$_v$'s [above, passim], and this constraint is carried over even to the cases where the P$_u$ is part of an embedded clause.

35. For a more precise discussion, see below 6.14.

36. These forms are distinct from the synonymous compounds qhâʔ-šɛ=pā and qhâʔ-šɛ=ma (above), where the syllable -šɛ- (mid tone) is part of the root.

37. The meaning-shift from 'body' to 'oneself' is widespread in other languages as well. Cf. Thai tua 'body', tua eeŋ 'oneself'. This Tai etymon has been borrowed into Lahu from Shan, to give the word ɔ-to, which also means both 'body' and 'oneself' (yɔ̂ ɔ-to 'he himself').

38. As with -pā and -ma, the male member of the opposition may be used whenever the specification of sex is irrelevant.

39. It is possible that this P$_v$ is related historically to the rather rare noun ɔ-kɨ 'field or bed for onion-like plants', šū-kɨ 'onion-bed'.

40. The M$_{pfx}$ phɔ̂ 'side/direction/way' also occasionally occurs after verbs with this meaning: yàʔ-tɔ phɔ̂ kàʔ | â šī ò yâ

                                       V   M$_{pfx}$

    ma nē 'She doesn't even have any shame anymore!' ("Now she doesn't even know the being-ashamed way"). This usage is sporadic, however, and there is no reason to consider these constructions as anything more than [N-V]$_n$ compounds (yàʔ-tɔ= phɔ̂).

    Another morpheme which shows signs of developing into a locative nominalizer is the M$_{pfx}$ qhâ 'way/path/track':

    ⟨ ô ! {yɔ̂ ! gɨ̄-po | lɔ̀ʔ e qhâ} ɔ̄ ! {yɔ̂ ɔ-mî=ma | lɔ̀ʔ e qhâ}

                                  V P$_v$ P$_n$ V P$_v$

    ɔ̄ | qɔ̀ʔ hɔ̀ ve ⟩ cê 'There, where she had entered the lake, at

    P$_n$

    the place where his wife had entered the lake, he wept again'.

41. As this last example shows, kɨ may even nominalize intensified adjectives. '

42. This last complicated sentence perhaps requires some comment.
    It begins with two ve-clauses, the first of which sets the
    general topic of the sentence ({là | phə̀ʔ ve} 'as for picking
    tea'), while the second narrows the topic down more specifi-
    cally ({chi qhe | te ve} '(your) doing it this way'). The
    topical P$_{unf}$ lὲ sets this topic off against what follows: a
    compound sentence whose final clause is â mɔ̀ ò và 'I just
    don't see (it)', and whose non-final clause is set off by the
    two P$_{unf}$'s qo and lὲ, marking it as a topicalized conditional
    clause. The main verb of this Cl$_{nf}$ is te, and it governs an
    embedded purpose clause which is itself compound, consisting
    of the Cl$_{nf}$ ğa câ lɛ 'earn a living and' and the Cl$_f$ šu lɔ |
    šu la 'get to be the same as other people'. Thus a more
    literal translation of the sentence would go like this: 'As
    for picking tea, as far as doing it like this is concerned,
    as for if you're trying to do in such a way that you will
    earn a living and get to be the same as other people, I just
    don't see it now!'.

43. Note that the noun indicating the causee (Kâlâ-phu 'white
    man') may be followed by the accusative P$_n$ thàʔ ∿ àʔ. The
    string Lâhū-yâ | mɨ-câ-vâ-câ ve is a relative clause modify-
    ing ɔ̀-lɔ 'matter, affair'. For a diagrammatic representation
    of causative purpose-clauses, see above 6.011.

44. In this example the Cl$_{tù}$ + pî as a whole is nominalized by
    ve, and embedded as the subject of mâ hềʔ 'it is not the case
    that' (i.e., 'one should not...'). For this use of mâ hềʔ,
    see above 4.411(2).

45. Cf. pā̄-clauses 6.13, kɨ̄-clauses 6.14.

46. In this sentence, as the diagramming shows [below 6a.12], the
    subject NP nɔ̀ 'you' has been permuted to the end of the sen-
    tence from its normal position before the purpose clause.

* 47. A fictional charlatan named ὲ-qhὲ, whose picaresque exploits
    figure in many Lahu stories.

48. Above 3.91d; 4.712(4); 5.26. Alternatively, it may be cog-
     nate to, or influenced by, the Modern Burmese quotative
     particle té � [Okell 1969, pp. 428-429].

49. In this example, the first a is intervening in the concatena-
     tion ğəʔ ni 'try reaping'. For the sequence V_h + a + ni, see
     above 4.69. The V_v ni 'try and V_h' has inherently purposive
     meaning, and thus shows special affinity for a. ni, however,
     does not itself govern embedded clauses, and is irrelevant
     to the present discussion.

50. See preceding note.

51. All of these verbs may of course occur in non-quotative con-
     structions as well, e.g., simple sentences (ŋà | mâ šī 'I
     don't know'), relative clauses ([yə̂ | šī gâ ve] ɔ-lɔ | tâ
     qôʔ pî-ʔ 'Don't tell him the things he wants to know!'), etc.

52. Cl_{qt}'s are diagrammed by enclosing them in French quotation
     marks and underlining the V_h of the S_{mtx}. The quotation
     marks also enclose the corresponding portion of the English
     gloss. They are not to be construed there as marking direct
     (as opposed to indirect) quotations. Lahu has no such dis-
     tinction in our sense. (See the discussion of qhe and tɛ̀,
     below 6.31.) We could just as well have translated this sen-
     tence as 'The teacher said <<you were no good either>>'.

53. The meaning of the sentences is another matter. As the
     glosses indicate, it is semantically absurd not to regard the
     Cl_{qt}'s as embedded.

54. In ordinary compound sentences, P_{uf}'s may only occur in final
     clauses.

55. In this example the Cl_{qt} is embedded in the Cl_{nf} of a com-
     pound sentence, with the verb of saying followed by two
     topicalizing P_{unf}'s, qo and ɔ̄. As the gloss shows, the Cl_{qt}
     is here used simply to single out part of the preceding
     discourse for further discussion, much like the English ex-
     pression 'speaking of X...'. (For more comments on the

sequence q̣ô? + q̣o, see above 5.414.)

    Sometimes, however, a Cl_{qt} followed by topic particles more literally purports to be a record of what someone has actually said: phâ?-dà?-pè-dà? lɛ || <<chí qhe | te tù lɔ >> P_{uf}

q̣ô? q̣o lɛ̀ || a-cí kà? | mâ dɔ tɔ̀? mɛ̄ 'When we separate P_{unf} P_{unf}

off and split up among ourselves, (each one) saying, <<we will do it our own way!>>, I just can't figure out what is to be done!'.

56. lɛ-nā figures prominently in indirect questions. See below 6.34.

57. See above 3.43f; 3.616; 3.64 passim; 4.412(6).

58. See above 3.91d; 4.712(4); 5.26. We have just discussed a similar use of tè in purposive sentences of the form →...V + a← tè + te... (above 6.22).

59. It is the morpheme of choice before the less common verbs of saying (šatì? pí 'warn', tho-pɔ̄ 'admit', etc.).

60. For the diagramming of the displaced adverb mâ-mâ 'greatly', see above 4.46, note 177.

61. These sentences with doubly demarcated Cl_{qt}'s provide an exception to the general principle we enunciated above [6.118], that a ve coming last in a sentence nominalizes everything clear back to the beginning of the sentence. Clearly, here the introductory ve-clause is standing in apposition to the rest of the sentence as a whole, so that the overall structure is that of two derived NP's in series, with the Cl_{qt} embedded in the second of the two.

62. cê thus corresponds to the 'evidential' or 'validational' morphemes that are so widespread in American Indian languages. It is only in this special sense that Lahu may be said to recognize 'direct' (Cl_{qt}) vs. 'indirect' (cê) quotation. But even in embedded Cl_{qt}'s, the claim is not necessarily made

that the <u>exact</u> words or thoughts of the quotation-source are
reported; and conversely, there is nothing to preclude the
interpretation of a <u>cê</u>-clause as reflecting the exact words
by which one's second-hand information was transmitted from
the source to the speaker.

63. In Lahu, stories are treated as things which have been told
to the storyteller by others, so that they are only known to
him at second hand.

64. As a $_vV$ this verb resembles the native $_vV$ <u>phôʔ</u> 'V$_h$ together;
V$_h$ all at the same time' (above 4.321). <u>pɔ̂n</u> was not men-
tioned under 'Verb concatenation' because of its rarity and
limited use in Lahu.

65. <u>qôʔ</u> is sometimes understood to mean 'mean' instead of 'say'.
More explicitly one may say <u>qôʔ</u> <u>gâ</u> 'mean' ("want to say":
cf. French <u>vouloir</u> <u>dire</u>).

66. In this example the nominalized Cl$_{qt}$ + <u>qôʔ</u> stands in apposi-
tion with the following NP <u>chi-ve</u> 'this thing' (for the geni-
tival origin of this NP, see above 'Determined nuclei' 3.53),
yielding a string meaning 'this thing, the one we call X'.
A similar example: <u>chi</u> <u>lɛ̄</u> ¦ <u>Lâhū-yâ</u> <u>ve</u> [<u>lē-gɛ̂</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ɔ-qhə</u> <u>yò</u>
<u>lâ</u> ⌠ {<<<u>khɔ̄</u>>> <u>qôʔ</u> <u>ve</u>} ¦ <u>chi</u> <u>ɔ̄</u> 'Is this something you use in
a Lahu game -- this thing you call <<a top>>?' ("Is this a
Lahu's instrument of playing...").

67. The N$_h$ of the Cl$_{qt}$ <u>phu</u> 'money' is modified by a relative
clause. Note the sequence of P$_{uf}$'s, <u>cê</u> (translated by 'are
supposed to') plus <u>le</u> 'interrogative'. 'Face-washing money'
must be paid to a person who has been unjustly accused of an
offense. Cf. Walker 1970b.

68. This shift from <u>le</u>/<u>lâ</u> to <u>nā</u> is quite similar to the change
from 'if' to 'whether' in English embedded interrogative-
conditional clauses.

69. From an article in the Lahu magazine <u>Lâhū</u> <u>lɨ̀ʔ-šatân</u>, dis-
cussing an American space-shot, c. 1966.

70. In informal Lahu the nā may be omitted from <u>both</u> halves: <<<u>yɔ</u> | <u>qay</u> ↤╫→ <u>mâ qay</u>>> <u>ŋà</u> | <u>mâ šī</u> 'I don't know if he went or not'. This is of comparable stylistic level to the use of 'if' instead of 'whether' in the corresponding English construction.

71. For noun-negation with <u>mâ hê?</u>, see above 4.411(2).

72. A <u>joy</u> or <u>viss</u> is a unit of weight equal to 1.6 kilograms. 'Joy' is an Anglicization of a Shan word ('lump'? cf. the Lahu <u>šā-cwê?</u> 'meatball'), and has nothing to do with the bliss experienced by the addict.

73. <u>ve</u>'s role as the marker of relative clauses is closely analogous to its function of linking the possessor nucleus of genitive constructions to the possessed head. See above 3.7, and below 6.43 'RC's and genitive constructions'.

74. We sometimes similarly enclose the corresponding portion of the English gloss.

75. In general, when the verb of the RC is an intransitive V_{act} or a V_{adj} (like <u>jû qay</u> 'walk' and <u>chu</u> 'fat' in Exs. <u>a</u> and <u>b</u>, above), the N_{rh} is its underlying subject. When the verb of the RC is transitive (Ex. <u>c</u>: <u>cɔ</u> 'boil something'), the N_{rh} is either its underlying subject ('the man [who kicked the ball]') or its object ('the ball [that the man kicked]'). Sometimes there is ambiguity, when it makes sense to inter- pret the N_{rh} either as the subject or as the object of the RC: [<u>šī ve</u>] <u>chɔ thà?</u> | <u>tâ qô? pî</u> (1) 'Don't tell it to the
N_{rh}
people who know (it)' [N_{rh} is subject]; (2) 'Don't tell it to the people (we) know' [N_{rh} is object].

From a conventional generative way of looking at things, we may say that the underlying subject- or object-NP in the RC that is identical to the N_{rh} is always obligatorily de- leted on the surface.

76. Except for an occasional <u>tɛ̀</u> + <u>ve</u> sequence [above 5.2]. RC's

thus resemble nominalized clauses, which also do not tolerate P_u's [above 6.13].

77. For an extended discussion of these modifiers, see above 'Adverbial expressions' 4.42 <u>passim</u>.

78. A further, less crucial reason, is that the SE's may all include the subordinating particle <u>è</u> before the <u>ve</u> (for some types of SE's this is obligatory), whereas <u>è</u> is never found in true RC's. All this does not mean, however, that we cannot regard adnominal SE's as being special types of relative clauses from which the verb has been deleted. The conditions for this deletability, however, depend on a prior distinction between SE's and 'true' RC's (from which deletion of the verb is impossible).

79. The sequence <u>ò</u> + <u>ve</u> is even less acceptable in main clauses [above 4.64(5)]. One possible situation in which <u>ò</u> might appear in a RC is before the N_{rh} <u>(ò=)qhɔʔ-nɔ</u> 'afterward' [below 6.42(5)].

80. An English past participle is usually the best translation: [<u>chɨʔ</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>šú</u> <u>chi</u> | <u>a-cí</u> <u>qhâ</u> <u>jâ</u> 'This [rolled-up] tobacco is much more bitter'.

81. This is always the case when the N_{rh} is <u>ɔ-po</u> 'sake': {[<u>bo</u> | <u>lɔ</u> <u>tù</u> <u>ve</u>] <u>ɔ-po</u> | <u>là</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>yɔ</u> 'I have come in order to pray' ("for the sake of praying").

82. This is a point where Japanese differs sharply from Lahu. One readily finds such Japanese constructions as [<u>sono</u> <u>koro</u> ⋮ <u>nanimo</u> ⋮ <u>siranakatta</u>] <u>boku</u> <u>mo</u> 'even I, who knew nothing at
N_{rh}
that time'.

83. The final <u>ve</u>-clause in this sentence is standing in apposition to what precedes, so the nominalizing power of the <u>ve</u> does not extend back to the beginning of the sentence. See 6.31, note 61.

84. See above 6.33, note 66.

85. For a discussion of problems of analysis that arise when a
     relative clause intervenes <u>between</u> a quantified head and a
     Num + Clf, see below 6.494.

86. <u>qhɔʔ-nɔ́</u> is also an autonomous noun, and may appear as a N_{rh}
     without the prefix that ɔ=g̈û-s̆ɨ̄ requires in this environment.

87. This is one case where it is natural to get the P_v ɔ̀ in a RC
     [above 6.41], though even here it is accompanied by tā̄ ∿ á.
     For the sequence V + pɔ̀ + qhɔ́ʔ-nɔ́, with no intervening <u>ve</u>,
     see below 6.48.

88. The English translation is misleading here. The nominalized
     clause {<u>qay gâ pā̄</u>} gets translated by an English relative
     clause ('those who want to go'), while the relative clause
     [<u>ni-ma</u> | ɨ̄ <u>ve</u>], literally 'those whose heart is big', gets
     translated by an English nominalization ('the brave ones')!

*   89. Note the possible ambiguity in these cases. When the nomi-
     nalized clause contains an associated NP (e.g., mê̂ʔ-phû
     'face'), this latter may be interpreted as the N_{rh} all by
     itself: {[<u>ɨ-kâʔ</u> | <u>nê̂ʔ s̆ɔ̄ ve</u>] <u>mê̂ʔ-phû</u> | <u>chɨ tù</u>} 'something
                                        N_{rh}
     for washing a face-that-is-still-wet'. In this case the
     nominalizing power of <u>tù</u> extends to the entire construction.
     Interestingly enough, the same ambiguity exists in the
     English gloss (only partially dispelled by the comma!).

90. The only sensible interpretation such an utterance could have
     is along the lines of note 89, with only the NP <u>mû-yè</u> 'rain'
     of the <u>ve</u>-clause being understood as the N_{rh} all by itself:
     {[<u>mâ jâ ve</u>] <u>mû-yè</u> | <u>là ve</u>} <u>yɔ̀</u> "It is a falling of [very much]
                      N_{rh}
     rain".

91. The ambiguity hinges, in other words, on whether the genitive
     modifier and the relative clause are taken to be <u>co-ordinate</u>
     in their modification of the N₂, or whether the RC is taken
     to be subordinate to the genitive modifier (N₁). A precisely

similar ambiguity exists when <u>two</u> relative clauses precede
the same noun [see below 6.45, 'Nested vs. co-ordinate
LRC's'].

92. This assumes that the house had more than one roof. It is
interesting that this interpretation is the least likely,
although it is the one where the N_2 comes closest to the N_1.

93. For a discussion of possible ambiguities between nominalized
<u>ve</u>-clauses and <u>right</u>-relative clauses, see below 6.497.

94. The two <u>ve</u>-clauses are here standing in apposition to each
other. See above 6.31, note 61.

95. If one wanted to embed the VP of the main clause as part of
the structure modifying <u>a-pi=qu</u> (as in 'The old lady that the
whole village knows has died was my grandmother'), it can be
done via a quotative construction: [<<{šɨ e ve}>> tè tê-
qhâʔ-tê-lɔ̀ | šī ve] a-pi=qu ; ŋà ve a-pi yɔ̀ ("The old lady
that the whole village knows <<she has died>> ...").

96. For some discussion of RC's with the determiner as head, see
above 6.42(3) and 6.33 note 66.

97. See above 3.63 and 6.114 '<u>ve</u>-clauses plus extentive nouns'.

98. The deleted N_{rh} is represented diagrammatically by an empty
box.

99. It is an accident of English grammar that the most natural
translations of Lahu <u>ve</u>-clauses often turn out to be pronouns
modified by relative clauses: bûʔ phîʔ ā ve 'that/those
which is/are written wrong'. Closer to the Lahu would be
expressions like 'the wrongly-written', as in 'The wrongly-
written are likely to be the misunderstood'.

100. To take just two examples: (1) Simple <u>tù</u>-nominalizations
like {cɨ | qɛ́ tù} 'a toothpick' may always be followed by <u>ve</u>
with no change of meaning: {cɨ | qɛ́ tù-ve} 'id.' [above
6.15]. To cease regarding <u>ve</u> as a nominalizer would require
us to treat these two very similar constructions in totally
different ways. (2) We have explained the occurrence of

stative adverbials before final $\underline{ve}$ as due to the deletion of a verb-head: $\underline{ph\acute{u}}$ $\grave{\hat{e}}$ $\underline{ve}$ $\underline{y\grave{o}}$ 'It's white' < *{$\underline{ph\acute{u}}$ $\grave{\hat{e}}$ V $\underline{ve}$} $\underline{y\grave{o}}$ 'id.' [see above 4.422(3)]. The further assumption of a deleted N_{rh} would give this simple utterance the implausibly complicated underlying structure *[$\underline{ph\acute{u}}$ $\grave{\hat{e}}$ V $\underline{ve}$] ⌐ ¬ $\underline{y\grave{o}}$.

101. As we noted above [3.75], it is likewise impossible to give a rigorous statement of the conditions under which deletion of genitive $\underline{ve}$ is possible.

102. See above 5.11 'Unmarked nominalizations'; 6.117 'Deletion of $\underline{ve}$ from nominalized clauses'.

103. Above 6.116 'Non-quantifiability of $\underline{ve}$-clauses'.

104. Above 6.114. At the beginning of 6.42 we specified that 'almost all types of $\underline{autonomous}$ $\underline{nouns}$ may be modified by a relative clause'.

105. See above 3.36. $\underline{kh\mathfrak{I}}$ combines freely with preceding verbs to form compound nouns: $\underline{g\hat{a}\text{?}\text{-}kh\mathfrak{I}}$ 'the sound of scratching', $\underline{d\hat{e}\text{-}kh\mathfrak{I}}$ 'the sound of scolding', $\underline{p\bar{u}\text{-}kh\mathfrak{I}}$ 'the sound of splashing', etc.

106. $\underline{s\grave{e}d}$ is a Thai V_v of similar meaning to Lahu $\underline{p\grave{\partial}}$, while $\underline{l\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon w}$ is a V_v meaning 'after/already': $\underset{V_h}{\underline{kin}}$ $\underset{Obj}{ah\breve{a}an}$ $\underset{V_v}{s\grave{e}d}$ $\underset{V_v}{l\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon w}$ ||

$\underline{capaj}$ $h\breve{a}a$ $m\breve{\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}}$ 'After I finish eating (food), I'll go to the doctor's'.

107. Needless to say, we cannot begin to go into this topic in this $\underline{Grammar}$. The Lahu religious language is of enormous comparative-historical interest, and merits a full-scale study for its own sake.

108. See above 6.43. By a happy accident the poetic placing of the $\underline{d\grave{a}\text{?}}$ before the $\underline{\eta\grave{a}}$ parallels the word-order in the archaic English expression 'good my lord'.

109. The pre-N_{rh} position is obviously the basic one. All RRC's may be 'reconverted' to LRC's, but the vast majority of LRC's may not be transposed to the right.

110. Informants are unable to articulate just what the meaning difference is. One might suspect that it lies in the realm of 'new vs. old information' in the sense of Chafe (1970, Ch. XV), with the preposed relative clause conveying new information and the postposed RC presenting old information as a kind of afterthought. This whole question remains open, however. The phenomenon of rightward shiftability of modifiers is widespread in Lahu grammar, involving other structures than true relative clauses. See below 6.493.

111. See above 4.42 and 6.4; below 6.493.

112. If the NP modified by the RC happens to contain a Num + Clf after the N_h, the transposed RRC may either precede or follow the quantifier. See below 6.494.

113. The N_{rh} mɨ kɨ 'seats' is really a locative nominalization ("sitting places"), though we are here treating it as an ordinary compound noun for diagrammatic simplicity. See above 6.14.

114. Needless to say the second interpretation is most unlikely outside of stories where birds are anthropomorphized. cɔ-câ is a verb which normally requires a human subject.

115. The selectional factors implied by 'certain' will be discussed in a bit more detail below.

116. It is convenient to use examples with chɔ 'person' as first element, since this morpheme combines freely with verbs to form compounds of all the types in question.

117. Except perhaps for the nuance of 'old vs. new information' mentioned above.

118. A sentence that might have been pronounced by one Inquisitor to the other after the burning of Joan of Arc.

119. There is thus no longer any question of similarity with [N + V] compounds.

120. This sentence is also susceptible of another interpretation. See 'Nominalizing ve versus relative ve in RRC's', below 6.497.

121. No other P_v has this adjectivizing property, except occasionally for purposive <u>tù</u> [see below 6.497]. Unlike adjectival RRC's, relative clauses consisting of V_{act} + <u>tā</u> may never have their <u>ve</u> deleted.

122. If <u>ŋà</u> 'I' is taken to be part of the LRC, the sentence means '(Someone) wants to eat the head I boiled', and the right-ward-shift is impossible: *<u>ɔ́-qō</u> [<u>ŋà</u> | <u>cɔ̂</u> <u>ā</u> <u>ve</u>] | <u>câ</u> <u>gâ</u> [unintelligible].

123. See note 122.

124. This sentence is grammatical if taken in a different sense, as containing a nominalized <u>ve</u>-clause: {<u>yâ-mɛ́</u> ¦ <u>yà?-qɔ</u> | <u>tô</u> <u>chɛ̂</u> <u>tā</u> <u>ve</u>} <u>thà?</u> ¦ <u>nɔ̀</u> | <u>ši̇̌</u> <u>à</u> <u>lâ</u> 'Do you know that the girl was walking along the road?'. See below, 'Nominalizing <u>ve</u> versus relative <u>ve</u> in RRC's' 6.497.

125. This sentence is in Red Lahu dialect, as indicated by the variant <u>ŋê?</u> 'bird' instead of standard Black Lahu <u>ŋâ?</u>. The verb <u>tâ?</u> 'climb' is in fortuitous concatenation with the VP <u>bɔ̀?</u> <u>chɛ̂</u> 'was shooting'.

126. By one analysis, we could regard the adnominal occurrences of SE's as covert relative clauses with deleted verbs. See above 3.612; 3.615; 4.42 <u>passim</u>; 6.4; and 6.4 note 78.

127. Above 4.421, 'AE_{qha}'s in adnominal position'. In the present context we enclose SE's in square brackets for ease of identification, as if they were true relative clauses.

128. If there is no <u>ve</u>, and if the AE_{stat} is directly followed by a verb, there is sometimes ambiguity according to whether the AE_{stat} is taken to have originated adnominally or ad-verbially: <u>ɔ́-qā</u> [<u>phɛ́</u> <u>ɛ̀</u>]$_{N_h}$ | <u>qay</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'The gray buffalo will go' [adnominal, right-shifted] vs. <u>ɔ́-qā</u> | <u>phɛ́</u> <u>ɛ̀</u>$_{AE}$ <u>qay</u> <u>tù</u> <u>yɔ̀</u> 'The buffalo will become gray' ("go grayly") [intrinsically adverbial].

129. Sometimes these compounds are 'semantically exocentric':
Lâhū-ní 'a Red Lahu', but [ní ɛ̀ ve] Lâhū 'a naked Lahu / a
crude Lahu'; khɨ-qɔ̀ʔ 1. 'the underside of the knee'
2. 'the whole leg from thigh to foot', but [qɔ̀ʔ ɛ̀ ve]
khɨ(-šɛ) 'a crooked leg'. Some AE_{stat}'s undergo tonal
changes according to whether they precede ɛ̀ or not: [ší ɛ̀
ve] phɨ, but phɨ-ší 'a yellow dog'. See above 1.641.

130. The behavior of adjectival RC's here differs somewhat from
that of clauses of the V_{act} + tā type. Adjectival RRC's
almost always choose the second alternative, so that they
end up right after the noun-head: pa-tây [chu jâ ve] nî
khɛ, but not *pa-tây nî khɛ [chu jâ ve].

131. See above 3.44 and 3.45 (esp. note 68) 'Unheaded v_q's,
covert N_{qh}'s, and headed genitival v_q's'.

132. If we substitute the reduplicated AE_{stat} [ší-ší ɛ̀ ve]
'bright yellow' for [dàʔ jâ ve] 'beautiful', we get a sen-
tence which actually occurred in conversation to describe
the deadly banded krait.

133. It would be Talmudic hair-splitting to decide which of the
two it is that gets deleted!

134. See also 6.47 above ('Nominalizing ve vs. relative ve').

1. 'X͂/Y' is a convenient abbreviation for 'X is permuted with Y'.

2. In diagrammed sentences the double-lined symbol ' ⫫ ' indicates that the clauses to the left and right have been permuted.

3. When, as in this sentence, a nominalizing ve appears in the original final clause, it still manages to nominalize the entire sentence even after the permutation [see above 6.118]. This is indicated diagrammatically by leaving the curly brackets in their original relative positions in the new sentence as well, so that the rightmost one comes first.

4. This sounds peculiar in English, but exactly analogous inversions are common in such languages as Japanese (Boku wa ikitaku nai → Ikitaku nai, boku wa) and French (Je ne veux pas y aller → Veux pas y aller, moi).

   In diagrammed sentences the single-lined symbol ' ⎰ ' stands for NP͂/VP.

5. In the present context it does no harm to treat qhe qo (ɔ̄) as a NP, though we have analyzed it above as a unitary conjunction [4a.14].

6. That is, in such a way that the NP to be permuted is associated with a VP_{nf} which in turn may be followed by one or more Cl_{nf}'s before the Cl_f.

7. For our present purpose it is convenient to disregard the facts that our 'Clause I' is really a nominalization, and that the ve in the final clause is nominalizing the entire sentence. Permutations operate blindly on the level of the surface grammar, transposing structures without regard to their underlying relationships.

8. This particular example could already be accounted for by the 'Rightward shift of determined possessor', discussed above

[610]

3.77.   The latter may be regarded as a special case of the permutation described in this section.

The symbol ' $\backslash$ ' is used in diagrammed sentences to show that a v_p has been permuted with its v_h.

9.   The possessed head of <u>chi</u> b<u>ə</u>ʔ <u>ve</u> 'of nowadays' is also <u>qa-mɫ=khɔ́</u> 'songs', though this has been 'gapped out' by the 'Deletion of possessed head' transformation, above 3.76.

10.   To make the English translation intelligible, we rendered the NP by a verb ('obeyed') and the VP by a noun ('the Word of God').

INDEX OF TOPICS

Note: The symbol 'psm' (<u>passim</u>) means that the topic is treated throughout the various subsections comprised under the section indicated. Thus 'adverbial expressions: 4.4 psm' means that information on this topic is to be found not only under 4.4, but also under 4.41, 4.42, 4.43 etc. (plus any subsections of these). Similarly, 'subordinate expressions: 4.42 psm' means there is relevant discussion under 4.421, 4.422, 4.423 etc.

A

[612]

C

D

E

extentive nuclei: 3.6 psm.

extentives, diminutive: see 'diminutive extentives'.

extentives of the ma-class: 3.43g; 3.61 psm; 4.421B; 4.422(7).

F

factitive object: 4.51(4).

falsetto: 1.8.

'filler' particles: 3.92c, d; 4.72.11; 4.72.12; 5.51.

Fillmore, Charles: 2.1; 3.10.1; 4.5.

final phrases: 2.2.

final unrestricted particles: see 'unrestricted particles, final'.

'first': 4.64(2). See also a-15 in Index Verborum.

fore-and-aft concatenation: 4.36 psm.

form-classes: 2.2.

fortuitous concatenation: 4.312–4.313; 5.11; 5.42; 6.117(4).

fossilized causatives: 1.643; 6.011.

fractions: 3.39; 3.47.

fragments: 2.1.

Fraser, J. O.: 1.5.

free action verbs, suspensive reduplication of: 5.424.

French: 3.335; 3.342; 3.39; 4.723(4); 6.33; 6a.12.

'from': 3.89.

fusion, vocalic: 1.42; 1.44.

futurity: 4.64(1).

G

H

Haas, Mary R.: 1.5; 3.39.

Hani Lolo: 1.61; 1.62.

haplology: 4.644c; 4.65(5); 5.421.

haplology with ve: 4.425(2); 6.496.

headed quantified nuclei: 3.44.

homophony: 1.6; 1.7; 6.491.

hortatory particle: 4.65(4b).

Huey Tad: Intro.; 1.5.

hyphenization: 3.31; 3.39; 3.53b; 4.65(5).

I

idiomatic concatenations: 4.315a; 4.322; 4.331B(6).

idiosyncratic environments: 2.2.

imperative glottal stop: 1.62; 1.8; 4.44; 4.61(4); 4.65(5); 4.711.

imperative, negative: 4.411(3); 4.68.

imperative of motion: 4.61(3).

imperative P_{uf} $\grave{\hat{\varepsilon}}$ʔ: 4.726.

imperative, perfective: 4.61(7).

imperative, prerequisitial: 4.64(2).

imperative, quotative: 4.725.

imperative reduplication: 4.1d.

imperative verb-particles: 4.1a; 4.65; 4.724; 5.51; 6.41.

inalienable possession: 3.7.

K

Kachin: see 'Jinghpaw'.

Khmer: 3.331; 4.1.

khɔ̂-yɨ̀/khɔ̂-ŋɛ: 3.35.

kinship vocatives: 3.335.

Korean: 2.1.

Kuroda, S-Y.: 4.5.

L

labials: 1.21.

Lâhū̄ lɨ̀ʔ-šatân (a Lahu magazine): 6.34.

Lao: 1.5.

later relevance: 4.61(7); 4.64(5).

left-relative clause: see 'relative clause'.

leftward-headedness: 4.341.

'lest': 4a.16.

Lewis, Paul: 3.331; 3.91e.

limited nouns: 2.2; 3.2; 3.8.

Lisu: 1.5; 1.61; 1.62; 1.643; 3.331.

literary style: 3.35; 3.39; 4.411(2); 4.425; 4.65(6); 4.721(3);
                6.31.

litotic negatives: 4.331C(1); 4.411(2); 4.412(3); 5.41; 6.11.

liturgic-poetic language: Intro.; 4.421(7); 4.425(3); 6.483(3).

loanwords: 1.41; 1.5; 3.31; 3.331.

N

O

object nouns: 3.83; 3.10.3d-e; 4.5. See also thà? in Index Verborum.

oblique noun-phrases: 4.51; 4.52.

'only': see ề (P$_n$) and tí (P$_{univ}$) in Index Verborum.

onomatopoetic adverbials: 4.44.

opium addiction: 6.34; 6.47.

opposite meaning, paired reduplicates of: 4.423.

optative: 4.613; 4.65(6).

order of noun-phrases (within the nominal hemistich): 3.10.3.

ordering of versatile verbs: 4.322.

orderings of P$_{uf}$'s with quotative cề, alternative: 4.725.

orderings of verb-particles, alternative: 4.63(5, 6).

orders of compounds: 3.31.

ordinal expressions: 3.39; 3.47.

ordinary nominal nuclei: 3.1.

orphan morphs: see 'morphans'.

P

palatals: 1.23; 1.8.

Pali: 1.43; 3.331.

particle lexicalization: 4.63(4); 4.721(2).

particles: see 'noun-particles'; 'verb-particles'; 'unrestricted particles'.

S

T

U

W

Walker, Anthony R.: Intro.; 3.48; 4.412(10); 5.413; 6.117(4); 6.33.

Weinreich, Uriel: 3.37.

'whether A or B': 5.1; 5.44(1). See also ...thɔ̂...thɔ̂; ...mâ qôʔ...mâ qôʔ in Index Verborum.

Wolfenden, Stuart: 1.641; 3.334; 3.34.

Woni: 1.62.

word-families: 1.63; 1.64.

Y

Yellow Lahu: 1.32; 1.631; 3.86b; 3.92f; 4.65(1); 4.721(1).

yes-no questions: 4.723(1); 6.34b.

Yiddish: 2.2; 3.39; 4.62; 4.66(4).

Young family (Gordon, Harold, Vincent): Intro.

Yunnan: 3.41.

Z

Zaretski, A.: 2.2.

zero-initial: 1.25.

This index comprises all words discussed in the text that
have particular grammatical importance (particles, versatile verbs,
extentive nouns, etc.). Each entry has an indication of its form-
class, a brief English gloss, and a list of the passages in the
text where it is discussed. For the symbols used for form-
classes, see the Index of Symbols and Abbreviations.

The entries are listed in the Lahu alphabetical order, as
used in the author's Lahu-English and English-Lahu Dictionary (to
appear):

Initials: ∅; q, qh; k, kh, g, ŋ; c, ch, j; t, th, d, n;
           p, ph, b, m; h, g̈; š, y; f, v; l.

Vowels: a, i, u, e, o, ε, ɔ, ɨ, ɔ; ay, aw.

Tones: mid (unmarked), ´, ^, `, ⁻; ^ʔ, `ʔ.

∅

a (P_v) 'intent; suggestion; mild imperative' [also ha]: 4.3;
           4.61(8); 4.64(2); 4.65(1); 4.69d; 5.51; 6.22.

a [see qha (P_v)]

a- (B_n) 'vocative kinship prefix': 3.335.

-a (P_{uf}) 'emphatic': 4.729(2).

a=qhe-lê (N_a; Adv) 'gratis; for nothing': 3.642; 4.412(7).

a-kɛ́ (N_{ext}) 'more than': 3.631; 4.412(3); 6.114; 6.47.

a-cí (Adv) 'a little; more': 3.631; 4.331B; 4.412(3); 5.41;
           5.411.

[645]

qhe-cɛ (N$_{ext}$ + P$_{univ}$; AE) 'to the extent that' [also qhe=cɛ-cɛ]:

3.641; 4.45.

qhe=cɔ-cɔ (N$_{ext}$; AE) 'to such an extent; to that degree': 4.45.

qhe-te-qo (VP; Conj) 'thereupon; after that; in that case':

3.641.

qhe-te-lɛ (VP; Conj) 'thereupon; in that case' [often qhe-te-lɛ

ɔ̄-qhe]: 3.641; 4a.13.

qhe=ma-ma (N$_{ext}$; AE) 'just as much as; just to the extent that':

3.641; 4.45.

qhe-lê (N$_{ext}$; Adv) 'like; just as one is': 3.616; 3.642;

4.412(6); 4.46; 6.114.

qhɛ (P$_v$) 'iterative excess': 4.63(1).

qhɔ́ (N$_{intg}$) 'where?': 3.23; 3.86d.

qhɔ́-qhe (N$_{intg}$) 'where?; how?': 3.23. See also qhà-qhe.

k

kà (Clf) 'for counting places': 3.42(2); 3.86d.

kàʔ (P$_n$) 'locative': 3.61; 3.86d.

kàʔ (P$_{unf}$) 'also; even though': 3.86d; 3.92d; 4.314; 4.411(4);

4.44; 4a.15(2); 5.44(2); 6.111.

kɨ̀ (P$_{v-nom}$) 'locative nominalizer': 6.14.

kwâ (P$_{uf}$) 'interjectory' [also kwā]: 4.729(6).

kh

khɛ (Clf) 'for counting animals': 3.42(2).

khɔ́ (N$_a$; M$_{pfx}$) 'sound; noise; speech; language': 6.482.

khɔ́ (N$_{lim}$) 'reason why; cause': 4.712(2).

khwɛ̂ (Clf; B$_n$) 'half': 3.43e.

g

gâ (P$_v$) 'desiderative': 4.311; 4.63(2).

-gâ- (B$_{elab}$) 'think': 4.425 (1); 4.63(2).

gà (V; V$_v$) 'arrive; succeed in doing': 4.331C(1); 4.64(5).

gɛ (P$_n$) 'accompaniment; concomitance; bodily instrumentality': 3.42(5); 3.85.

ŋ

ŋɔ-ŋɔ (Adv) 'almost; nearly': 4.43.

c

ca (V; $_v$V) 'look for; go and do': 4.321; 4.322; 4.331A; 4.61(4).

câ (V; V$_v$) 'eat; do for one's living': 4.315b.

cà- (B$_n$) 'prefix in male names': 3.335.

câʔ (M$_{pfx}$; Clf) 'long, string-like object': 3.342.

cê (P$_{uf}$) 'quotative': 2.1; 4.725; 6.32.

chò (N$_{sd}$) 'here': 3.23; 3.5.

chê (V; V$_v$) 'dwell, be in a place; continuative': 4.1; 4.331D;
4.341; 4.63(4); 4.64(3); 4.721(2).

chɔ (N) 'person': 6.491.

-chwε (B$_v$) 'rather; quite': 4.424.

j

jâ (V$_v$) 'very; too': 1.8; 4.1c; 4.331B; 4.331C(3); 4.412(3).

jɔ (P$_v$) 'experiential; have ever': 4.311; 4.63(3).

t

tá [see tā (P$_v$)]

tá [see tà (P$_v$)]

tâ (Adv) 'negative imperative': 1.7; 4.411(3).

tâ-lε (Adv) 'negative imperative': 4.411(3).

tà (P$_v$) 'negative probability' [also tá]: 4.645.

tà-ò (V$_v$ + P$_v$) 'be time to do; not be tired of doing':
4.331C(3).

tā (P$_v$) 'perfective; permanence; later relevance' [also tá; ā;
á]: 1.8; 4.1a; 4.61(7); 5.41; 6.41; 6.492.

tí (P$_{univ}$) 'only': 3.41; 3.616; 3.83; 3.87; 3.91c; 4.712(1);
5.25; 6.112.

tí qo (P$_{univ}$ + P$_{unf}$) 'topicalizer': 3.614; 3.94; 4.411(5).

tû (Adv) 'for nothing; gratis': 4.412(7).

<u>tù</u> (P$_v$) 'future; hypothetical; unrealized; purposive': 3.97;
4.313; 4.351e; 4.64(1); 4.69c; 5.41; 6.111; 6.112;
6.2 psm; 6.41; 6.483(2); 6.497.

<u>tù</u> (P$_{v-nom}$) 'purposive nominalizer': 3.75(5); 6.15.

<u>tù-ve</u> (P$_{v-nom}$) 'purposive nominalizer': 6.15; 6.47; 6.497.

<u>te</u> (V; $_v$V; V$_v$) 'do, make; causative; transitivizer; resumptive
dummy verb': 3.641; 4.32; 4.351; 4.42 psm (e.g.,
4.422(1d)); 4.43; 4.44; 4.51(4); 4.69d; 5.412;
5.423; 6.112; 6.115; 6.2 psm.

<u>te-qo</u> (P$_{unf}$) 'causal; since, because': 5.412.

<u>te</u> <u>câ</u> ($_v$V + V$_h$) 'to cook': 4.351d.

<u>te</u> <u>lε</u> (V + P$_{unf}$) 'from': 3.89; 3.92g.

<u>te-lε</u> (P$_{unf}$) 'causal; suspensive': 5.423. *

<u>te-lε</u> (Conj) 'thereupon': 4a.13. [Cf. <u>qhe-te-lε</u>]

<u>tê</u> (Num) 'one; a; any; the whole': 3.23; 3.41; 3.42(5);
3.43a, b.

<u>tê</u> <u>khɨ</u> (Q) 'a while; a moment': 6.483(1b).

<u>tê</u> <u>gε</u> (Q) 'together': 3.42(5); 3.85d.

<u>tê</u> <u>yâ(n)</u> (Q) 'a time; the time that': 6.42(4); 6.483(1b).

<u>tèʔ-chí</u> (Adv) '(not) anything; nothing': 4.411(4).

<u>tὲ</u> (P$_{univ}$) 'really; indeed': 3.91d; 4.712(4); 5.26; 6.22.

<u>tὲ</u> (P$_{quot}$) 'quotation-marker' [also <u>tὲʔ</u>]: 4.69d; 6.22; 6.31.

<u>-tɔ́</u> (B$_v$) 'intensifier': 4.424.

th

thâ (P$_{univ}$) 'temporal': [3.91a](); [3.97](); [4.61(5)](); [4.64(2)]();
[4.712(3)](); [5.3]().

thâ (P$_{univ-nom}$) 'temporal nominalizer': [5.22](); [6.12]().

thàʔ (P$_n$) 'accusative' [also àʔ; hàʔ]: [1.8](); [3.611a](); [3.641](); [3.83]();
[3.84](); [4.11](); [4.351d](); [4.5](); [6.115](); [6.117(2)](); [6.22]().

thɔ̂ (P$_{unf}$) 'also; even though': [3.77f](); [3.92d](); [4.411(4)]();
4a.[15(3)](); [5.44(1)]().   [Cf. kàʔ (P$_{unf}$)]

d

dàʔ (P$_v$) 'mutuality; reciprocity': [4.1a](); [4.61(1)]().

dê (N$_{lim}$) 'something useless; something in vain': [3.632]();
[6.481(2)]().

dê-dê (N$_{ext}$) 'all; the whole group': [3.632](); [6.114]().   [Cf.
qha=pə̀-ɛ̀ (N$_{ext}$)]

dɔ̂ (V) 'think': [6.22](); [6.3]().

n

na- (B$_n$) 'prefix in female names': [3.335]().

-na- (B$_{elab}$) 'good': [4.425(1)]().

ná (P$_{uf}$) 'emphatic persuasion': [4.729(3)]().

ná [see nā (P$_{uf}$)]

nā (P$_{uf}$) 'wonderment; rhetorical or indirect question' [also ná;
nā-a; nàʔ; lɛ-nā]: [4.723(3)](); [6.34]().

pèʔ (V) 'give; bestow': 4.61(8).

pòthôo (Intj) 'my goodness!; wow!': 4a.2.

pε (B$_n$) 'a whole one; a full one': 3.43d.

*   pɔʔ (P$_{unf}$) 'emphatic setter-off' [also pɔ]: 3.92f.

pɔʔ (P$_{uf}$) 'interjectory': 4.729(4).

*   -pɨ (B$_n$) 'noun-formative': 3.334.

pɨ (V$_v$) 'be able; be good at doing': 4.331C(1); 4.63(4); 4a.16.

*   pə-1ε (Conj) 'anyway': 4a.15(4).

pə (V; V$_v$) 'finish; completed action; exhaustive': 3.37; 3.47;

4.331D; 4.341; 4.411; 4.64(5); 6.483(1).

ph

-phâ (B$_n$) 'fellow; guy': 3.55c.

phâʔ (M$_{pfx}$) 'excess; something additional': 3.43c.

phú è (AE$_{stat}$) 'white': 1.641; 4.422.

phèʔ (V; V$_v$) 'be a certain way; be a certain thing; be able':

3.641; 4.1; 4.322; 4.331C(1); 4.42 psm; 4.43;

4.422(1a); 4.64(4); 4.721(2); 5.41.

phɔ (M$_{pfx}$) 'side; direction': 3.37; 6.14.

b

bà (M$_{pfx}$) 'the next one; the one on the other side': 3.43b.

m

חומר שיש עליו זכויות יוצרים

-h̵ɨ (B_n) 'pluralizer': 3.335.

h̵ɨ-ɛ̀ (N_ext) 'only this size; as small as this' [also h̵ɨɛ́]: 1.42f; 3.62.

=h̵ɨ-mà (B_n) 'dualizer of pronouns' [also =h̵ɨ-nɛ̀]: 3.335.

hɘʔ (V) 'get, obtain; hit the mark': 4.61(8); 4.65(1).

g̈

g̈a (_vV) 'get to do; manage to do; must do; have to do': 4.321; 4.322; 4.63(3).

g̈a (V_v) 'able to do; do successfully': 4.331C(1).

g̈â (V; C_r) 'win, overcome; succeed in doing': 4.314; 4.331C(1).

g̈â (M_pfx) 'strength': 3.42(2).

g̈â (Clf) 'for counting people': 3.42(2).

g̈â-thɛ̀ʔ (Adv) 'with all one's might': 4.412(1).

g̈ɔ (_vV) 'enlivener': 4.321; 4.322.

g̈ɨ (M_pfx) 'water; liquid': 3.342.

š

šá-ɛ̀-dɨ-ɛ̀ (Elab_adv) 'noisily; with an indistinct sound': 4.46.

sā̆ (P_v) 'first-person intended action': 4.1a; 4.65(3).

ší ɛ̀ (AE_stat) 'yellow; golden': 1.641; 4.422.

šī̆ (V) 'know; understand': 4.63(4); 6.3.

-šī̆ (M_pfx; Clf) 'round/spherical object': 3.342.

šŭ (Pron) 'remote third person; he; they; others': 3.22; 3.32; 3.335; 3.631.

f

v

[nominalizing]   3.63 psm; 3.91f; 4.1; 4.323; 4.411(1, 2); 4.711; 4.712(1); 4.723(1, 2, 4); 4.728; 4.72.12; 5.11; 5.2 psm; 5.43; 5.44(2); 6.11 psm; 6.42(5); 6.47; 6.497; 6a.11.   (Cf. 'nominalization of clauses' in Index of Topics)

[non-embedding sentence nominalizer]   6.118.

[relative]   3.45; 6.4 psm.

[with adnominal subordinate expressions]   4.42 psm (e.g., 4.422(2)).

[in sequence with other particles]   4.72 psm; 5.51.

[deletion of]   see Index of Topics.

ve-ɔ̄ (P_uf) 'emphatic':   4.728.

vɨ (P_v) 'imperative' [also və̀]:   4.1a; 4.65(4, 5).

və (P_v) 'transportatory motion':   4.1a; 4.61(2).

1

la (P_v) 'cisativity; imminence; becoming':   4.1a; 4.61(4).

la=pâ-nê (P_v) 'imminence; nearly, almost':   4.61(5); 5.3; 6.483(1c).

lâ (P_v) 'benefactive':   4.1a; 4.61(8); 4.611-4.614; 4.66.

lâ (P_uf) 'yes-no questions' [also lâ-o; lɛ-ā; lɛ-lâ]:   4.411(2); 4.611; 4.63(4); 4.723(1); 6.34.

lâ-o [see lâ (P$_{uf}$)]

là (V) 'come; be a certain way': 4.42 psm; 4.422(1c); 4.43;

4.61(4).

là (C$_r$) 'succeed in doing': 4.314; 4.331C(1).

làʔ- (B$_n$) 'hand': 3.335. *

le (P$_{uf}$) 'substance questions' [also è]: 1.8; 3.23; 3.611c;

3.615d; 3.81a; 4.723(2); 6.34.

le-le (B$_n$) 'every; each' [also le]: 3.41; 3.43; 3.87.

lê (P$_{uf}$) 'request for assent': 4.723(4).

lèʔ (P$_{uf}$) 'interjectory': 4.726.

lo (P$_n$) 'locative': 3.86a.

-ló (B$_n$) 'big; great': 3.335.

lò (P$_v$) 'imperative' [also ò]: 4.1a; 4.65(4, 5).

lɛ (P$_{univ}$) 'causal; because': 3.84; 3.91e; 4.712(2); 5.23;

5.42.

lɛ (P$_{unf}$) 'suspensive': 3.47; 3.48; 3.74; 3.85b; 3.92g; 4.312;

4.314; 4.422(6); 4.64(2); 5.42 psm.

lɛ (Conj) 'additive; and' [also lɛ-ɔ̄]: 4a.11(1).

lɛ [see ɛ̀ (Subordinator)]

lɛ-â (Conj) 'explanatory': 4a.12.

lɛ-ā [see lâ (P$_{uf}$)]

lɛ-ɔ̄ [see lɛ (Conj)]

lɛ-nā [see nā (P$_{uf}$)]

lɛ-hɛ́ [see hɛ́ (P$_{uf}$)]

lɛ-lâ [see lâ (P$_{uf}$)]

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ALH   Acta Linguistica Hafniensia (Copenhagen)

Amer. Anthr.   American Anthropologist

Art. As.   Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland)

As. Maj.   Asia Major

F. of Lg.   Foundations of Language

HRAF   Human Relations Area Files (New Haven)

IJAL   International Journal of American Linguistics

JAS   Journal of Asian Studies

JBRS   Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon)

JOAS   Journal of the American Oriental Society

JSS   Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok)

Lg.   Language

OPWSTBL   Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on
                Tibeto-Burman Linguistics (Ann Arbor, Mich.;
                Urbana, Ill.)

TAK   Tōnan Azia Kenkyū [Southeast Asian Studies]
                (Kyoto)

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

/Within an item, cross-references to other relevant addenda
or corrigenda are indicated by the symbols > AC. Thus,
"> AC 388" means "see also the relevant addendum or corrigen-
dum to p. 388." Asterisks have been added in the margins of
the original text at the points to which the AC refer. For
new abbreviations for books and journals, > 667./

PAGE [SECTION]

xxxix [Intro.] Japanese and TB. Recently a serious attempt
has been made to demonstrate a genetic connection between TB
and Japanese (Nishida 1978), though most scholars remain un-
convinced.

2   [1.2 et seq.] PLB proveniences of Lahu phonemes. The
reconstructive schema for PLB has changed considerably since
this grammar was first written. In particular, I have since
shown that the Lahu voiced stops and affricates /b d j g/ de-
scend from PLB *prenasalized initials; the Lahu voiceless un-
aspirated obstruents /p t c k q/ come from PLB *voiced or
*preglottalized initials, while the Lahu aspirates /ph th ch
kh qh/ come from a PLB *voiceless series (which undoubtedly
had redundant aspiration). For details cf. the items in the
Supplementary Bibliography; also TSR (Matisoff 1972d).

16   [1.42b] Another example of this fusion is mə ~ məy (V)
'reduce to a powder' (< mə + e), ɔ̀-məy (N) 'powdery substance'.

25   [1.62] By running spectrographic analyses of dissylla-
bic sequences I had recorded in Thailand, Jean-Marie Hombert
has determined that the high-checked tone sometimes rises and
sometimes falls, while the low-checked tone always falls
slightly. Hombert's study is still unpublished.

29   [1.632] Sporadic word-families. Except perhaps for
phô?/phò?, the pairs of forms given (more or less at random)
here are in fact etymologically unrelated (e.g. mû 'sky' <
PTB *r-muw [STC #488] / mu 'high' < PTB *mraŋ [STC p. 43];
phu 'silver; white' < PTB *plu [STC p. 89 etc.] / phû 'price'
< PTB *puw [STC #41]). For many examples of genuine word-
family alternants, see TSR [e.g. #73: Lh. cú 'milk' (< PLB
*?jup) ≳ chɔ̀? 'suck' (< PLB *ȼ-cup/k)].For an extended dis-
cussion of word-families in TB, including the concept of
'allofam' (A ≳ B means 'A is an allofam of B', i.e. 'A and B
are members of the same word-family'), see Matisoff 1978b
("VSTB").

32-33 [1.643] Simplex/causative verb pairs. Several new
pairs of this type have been discovered over the past few

years, including the following: jɔ̀ 'study, practice' / cɔ 'train smn' [see Matisoff 1975c]; vɨ̂ 'be far' / fɨ̄ 'separate, demarcate'; cɔ̂ 'be right, fitting' / cɔ̄ 'set sthg upright'; câ 'sprout sthg' / cā 'sprout, shoot' [v.i.] (note that in this pair the semantics are 'reversed'); nɔ̂ʔ 'bear (as fruit by a tree); have a characteristic appurtenance (as horns, a beard)' / nɔ́ 'shore up, support from below.'

37   [1.8]   For [dzâ], > AC 389.

49–50   [3.22]   <u>Pronominal use of kin terms</u>. It should have been mentioned that the Lahu, like virtually all peoples of East and Southeast Asia, use kin terms rather than pronouns when speaking to kinfolk. Thus, ŋ̀à má ɔ̀ ! má cà qo à-pū qhɛ̂ tɛ̂ʔ ve g̈à ʔ-yu a ni ! 'Hey, son-in-law! If <u>you</u>'re so smart try to catch <u>my</u> farts!' [lit. "Oh my son-in-law (ŋ̀à má)! If <u>son-in-law</u> (má) is so smart, try to catch <u>father-in-law</u>'s (à-pū) farts!"]   See Cooke 1968.

55   [3.31]   The word <u>pî-chɔ̂</u> 'Shan' now has a good etymology, so I have taken to spelling it with a hyphen! On the basis of Phunoi <u>bəchàm</u> 'Shan' and Akha <u>bɨ̀-cm̀</u> ~ <u>mɨ̀-cm̀</u> 'id.', the lst syll. may be reconstructed as PLB *$mbiy^2$ (⚹ PTB *r-miy 'man, person' [STC pp. 107, 119, 158]), and the 2nd syll. as PLB *$ʔtsam^2$, ult. from the same ethnonym as Siam/Shan/Assam/Ahom. [The lst syll. is prob. the same morpheme that appears in such Loloish ethnonyms as Mpi (Matisoff 1978a) and Bisu ~ Misu ~ Mbisu (Nishida 1966a,b; 1967).]   See Bradley 1979, set #180 (pp. 310–11).

62   [3.334(3)]   –pɨ is actually a M_{pfx}, since there exists a form ɔ̀-pɨ 'knot, lump.'

64   [3.335(1)]   Several of the morphemes chosen to illustrate the class of nominal bound root-morphemes (B_n's) do actually occur alone in NP's before verbs to which they are tightly bound in 'transhemistichial compounds' [see below 4.51(3)]: thus là ʔ tha ve 'clap the hands' ("to hand-clap"), mû thɛ̂ʔ ve 'thunder and lighten' ("to sky-thunder"), g̈ô phô ve 'have a bloated stomach' ("to belly-swell").

67   [3.341(a)]   <u>Intrinsically prefixed</u> M_{pfx}'s. It turns out that ɔ̀-cɨ̂ 'raw thing' also occasionally occurs in compounds without its prefix, esp. when the preceding element is dissyl-labic: và ʔ-šā=cɨ̂ ~ và ʔ-šā=ɔ̀-cɨ̂ 'raw pork.'

70   [3.341(e)]   <u>Unpossessable</u> M_{pfx}'s. I have changed my mind about the semantic structure of compounds like yɛ̂=ɔ̀-šɨ́ 'new house' and và ʔ-šā=ɔ̀-cɨ̂ 'raw pork.' Instead of insisting that the second constituent is the head ('domiciliary novel-ty', 'porcine rawness'), I now agree with Okell (<u>Review</u>, 1975) that these are head + specifier compounds. As Okell observes, yɛ̂=ɔ̀-šɨ́ is classified as a house, not as a novelty (yɛ̂=ɔ̀-šɨ́ tɛ̂ yɛ̂ 'one new house' [p. 104]).

70   [3.341(f)]   In the Lahu Dictionary I have dropped the im-precise designation 'Quasi-M_{pfx}' and now treat morphemes of this type simply as B_n's.

71 [3.342] The compounds cha-g̈ɨ 'Bartholin's fluid' and
nɪ̄-g̈ɨ 'semen', logical as they appear, are in fact not gener-
ally acceptable. (Along with nɪ̄-chu 'semen' [lit. "penis-
fat"] they seem to be euphemistic coinages of my informant
Cà-lô [1965-6]!) For 'semen' the inelegant compound nɪ̄-qĥɛ
(lit. "penis-shit") is the only one used in Hwè Tà?. For the
correlative term a verbal construction is preferred (cha dɪ̀
ve 'vagina moistens'), although cha-qĥɛ is no doubt also in use.

78 [3.36(d)] The compound yâ-pɔ=ma actually means 'woman
who has just given birth.' The real expression for 'midwife'
appears on p. 457: yâ pɔ pî šɛ̄-ma ('she who causes the child
to be born'), a declausal nominalization containing pî (V_v)
'give; causative; 3rd person beneficiary' [q.v.].

83 [3.39] The Shan-derived morpheme thɪ̄, here glossed 'al-
tar', is undoubtedly simply the Tai word for 'place, ground,
spot' represented by Siamese thîi (i.e. 'spot sacred to a lo-
cal deity').

107 [3.47(4)] Numerical approximation. It is also possible
to omit the first of the two identical classifiers in this
construction, so that the two numerals appear in direct jux-
taposition: tê nî khɛ tí tî lɛ là?-qɔ̄ tô? thɔ̂ cɔ̀ ɔ 'There
are also those who only kill one or two [pigs] when they get
married' (tê nî khɛ < tê khɛ nî khɛ [tê 'one', nî 'two', khɛ
'Clf. for animals']).

116 [3.55b] chi in time-expressions. For chi thâ, > AC 545.

118 [3.61] Instead of simply chi + E_{ma}, it is also gramma-
tical (and it does not change the meaning) to insert the mor-
pheme qhe 'thus' after chi, yielding chi qhe + E_{ma}. Thus,
chi qhe fɨ = chi fɨ 'this far.' The general grammaticality
of this construction was not determined until 1977, though
the expression chi-qhe=šɨ had already been noted (but wrongly
understood) in n. 104, p. 537. > AC 134, 537.

134 [3.641] For the construction chi qhe + E_{ma}, > AC 118.

135-6 [3.641] "qhe as possessed head." This is an error.
The anomalous expression *qhà ve qhe le is in fact ungrammat-
ical, and only qhà-qhe ve le is used. One can also say
qhà ve à? šu le, lit. "what is it the same as?" > AC 142,563.

142 [3.71] Delete *qhà ve qhe from lines 7-8 of this para-
graph. > AC 135-6, 563.

    [ibid.] Change khâ?-ce 'arrow' to khá-ce (line -7).
> AC 527.

177 [3.92(f)] The particle pɔ̀? does not necessarily convey
a 'comic' effect, though it does add a lively flavor to its
clause.

183 [3.96] The colloquial particle è ~ e. Reanalysis shows
that this particle has a narrower range than I had thought,
and really substitutes only for kà?, not indiscriminately for
several different particles. > 428-9, 545 (n. 172).

200 [4.3] Since cɨ́ is to be removed from the ranks of the

$_v$V's, the tenth line from the bottom should read: "With a sin-gle exception (g̈a)..." > AC 213.

207-9 [4.314] <u>Resultative</u> <u>complements</u>. The list of C_r's given here is certainly not exhaustive. Two other C_r's, which occur after <u>câ</u> 'eat', are <u>mɛ̀</u> 'taste good' and <u>mɛ</u> 'be well-cooked, done, ripe': <u>câ mâ mɛ̀</u> 'not taste good', <u>câ mâ mɛ</u> 'not be cooked well-done enough to eat.' We should probably also transfer <u>tâ(n)</u> 'have time to V_h' to this class. > AC 228.

213 [4.32i] <u>cɨ́</u> is <u>not</u> a $_v$V. The inclusion of <u>cɨ́</u> among the $_v$V's was an error, based largely on a misanalysis of the sentence <u>yɔ̂ á-phè꞊cɨ́ câ chɛ̂ ve yò</u> 'He's eating little chili-V_h V_v
peppers' (<u>á-phè꞊cɨ́</u> 'kind of small chili-pepper'), misinterpreted as *<u>yɔ̂ á-phè</u> <u>cɨ́ câ chɛ̂ ve yò</u> 'He's incessantly eating $_v$V V_h V_v
chili-peppers.' [On the other hand, the adverb <u>cɨ́-cɨ́</u> (p. 272) <u>may</u> be used before non-negated verbs with the meaning 'V incessantly, constantly' (> AC 272).] This leaves g̈a as the only verb in Lahu that may serve as both a $_v$V and a V_v. > AC 200, 215, 216, 230, 255, 258, 331, 549, 552.

215 [Fig. 19] <u>cɨ́</u> has been removed from the chart. > AC 213.

216 [4.322] Remove "<u>cɨ́</u> 'incessantly'" from the list of Specific $_v$V's. > AC 213.

222ff [4.331A] <u>Juxtacapital</u> V_v's. Another verb which semantically fits this class is <u>cɔ</u> 'go around; turn'. But <u>cɔ</u> functions syntactically as a <u>pre</u>-head versatile, meaning 'V$_h$ around; go around V_h'ing; V_h in a circle', as in <u>cɔ mɨ</u> 'sit in a circle', <u>cɔ pò</u> 'go flying around', <u>cɔ ší</u> 'go around rubbing against.'

224 [4.331A(h)] The verb <u>qò</u> (mistranscribed <u>qō</u> in the First Printing) is actually not so rare as a main verb, both in the sense of 'hand over to, deliver' (e.g. <u>lì꞉ qò ve</u> 'deliver mail') and 'drive back, drive away, expel' (e.g. g̈â꞉ <u>qò ve</u> 'drive away chickens'). The concatenation <u>yù qò</u> 'give back to' is perhaps better analyzed as $_v$V + V_h (rather than V_h + V_v). For the use of <u>yù</u> 'take' as a $_v$V, see 4.32, 4.352.

225 [4.331B(1a)] No wonder *<u>là šɔ́</u> is 'rejected by informants' (last two lines)! > AC 226.

226 [4.331B(1b)] <u>šɔ́</u> is <u>not</u> a V_v. The morpheme šɔ́ [TSR #125] occurs only in noun-compounds (<u>šɔ́-ɔ̄</u> ~ <u>šɔ́-pɔ̄</u> 'tomorrow', <u>šɔ́-nà꞉</u> 'tomorrow morning', <u>mû-šɔ́</u> 'morning', etc.) and as a classifier (<u>chi tê šɔ́</u> 'this morning'), and is not a verb at all, let alone a V_v. There is in fact no concise, specific way to say 'V$_h$ too early, V$_h$ too soon' in Lahu. (The clause <u>ɔ̀-yâ mâ gà še thâ</u> 'when the [proper] time had not yet arrived' may be preposed to the verb, e.g. <u>ɔ̀-yâ mâ gà še thâ nɔ̂ la ve</u> 'wake up too early.' When 'early in the morning' is meant, without a nuance of 'excessively early', the expression <u>tê nà꞉</u> (Q) is used: <u>tê nà꞉ nɔ̂ la ve</u> 'wake up early in the A.M.') > AC 225, 231, 234.

228 [4.331B(2r)] As a V_v, <u>tân</u> 'have time to' seems virtually always to be negated in natural speech (e.g. <u>câ mâ tân</u> 'not have time to eat'), and should perhaps be transferred to the class of 'obligatorily negated C_r's' (p. 208).

230 [4.331B(3v)] <u>cɨ</u> <u>as</u> <u>a</u> <u>resultative</u> <u>medial</u> V_v. The verb <u>cɨ</u> may indeed function as a <u>post</u>-head versatile^v (V_v) of this class. However, the reference to its non-existent^v <u>pre</u>-head counterpart [4.32i] should be deleted. > AC 213.

231 [4.331B(5)] <u>Apparent sequences of adjectival head and medial</u>. These anomalous-looking verb sequences are in fact ungrammatical (esp. *<u>chu</u> <u>šɔ́</u> > AC 226), which improves our generalization that adjectival V_h's do not concatenate with medial V_v's (pp. 225, 227). > AC 554.

232 [4.331C(1b)] Although the high-frequency morpheme <u>pɨ</u> is definitely a verb (because of its negatability), it is an understatement to characterize its occurrences as a V_h as 'relatively rare.' I have in fact been unable to confirm a single natural example of <u>pɨ</u> without another verb preceding. This makes <u>pɨ</u> unique among Lahu V_v's, a strange animal less verby than a verb that can constitute a verbal nucleus by itself, but more verby than a verb-particle (which cannot be negated).

234 [4.331C(2)] <u>Mutual exclusiveness of the potential caudals</u>. <u>lɛ</u> and <u>šɔ́</u> do not form an antonymous pair of medials, since only <u>lɛ</u> is a V_v (> AC 226). Instead one can adduce <u>ɨ</u> 'big' and <u>i</u> 'little'^{v} (p. 226, e/f), though these are quite rare as V_v's, used mostly in our data after <u>kə</u> 'put in.'

243 [4.35] For a more extended treatment of Lahu causative constructions, see Matisoff 1976a. > AC 436.

244 [4.35] It is not true that the causative V_v <u>cɨ</u> is only usable if the causee is animate (as illustrated by the example <u>mɛ cɨ</u> 'cause to ripen' on the very next page [line 17])! There is in fact no such neat way to demarcate the semantic/ syntactic territories of the various causative auxiliary verbs, which all overlap in idiosyncratic ways.

255 [4.361(3a)] <u>Transcapital</u> '<u>long components</u>'. Omit the next-to-last paragraph on the page, "(b)". > AC 213.

258 [4.361(6)] <u>Mutual exclusion between</u> $_v$V's <u>and</u> V_v's. Omit the transcapital pair *<u>cɨ</u>...<u>tân</u>, which 'of course' does not occur since <u>cɨ</u> is not a $_v$V. Instead we could offer any number of non-occurrent pairs like <u>ɡ̈ɔ̀</u> ($_v$V) 'enlivener' and <u>phɛ̀ʔ</u> (V_v) 'be able.' > AC 213.

272 [4.411(5)] The adverb <u>cɨ-cɨ</u> may be used perfectly well before a non-negated verb, with the meaning 'V constantly; V very much', as in <u>cɨ-cɨ câ ve</u> 'eat lots and lots', <u>cɨ-cɨ na ve</u> 'ask insistently', etc. [This semantic function was one we had attributed to the non-existent "$_v$V <u>cɨ</u>". > AC 213.]

295 [4.424] Another interesting intensifier is -<u>chôʔ</u>, which occurs with <u>pɛ̂ʔ</u> 'be flat, insipid' and <u>ɡô</u> 'dry, barren.'

307 [4.5] The example <u>yɔ̂ tí ɡo š̄ɨ à</u> was poorly chosen to indicate an unambiguous predicative relationship, since out

of context the NP may equally well be interpreted as an <u>ob</u>-<u>ject</u>: 'As for him, [I] know [him].' (In a way this proves our point about the elusive nature of the semantic relation-ship binding the noun to the verb!)

310 [4.51(3)] <u>Transhemistichial</u> <u>compounds</u>. These entities correspond closely to the Burmese constructions that Okell has called 'verbs with tied nouns' (Okell 1969, pp. 36-7).

322 [4.61(7)] There is no doubt that $t\bar{a}$ (P_v) 'perfective permanence' is the same etymon as $t\bar{a}$ (V) 'place onto, place in a stable or erect position' (< $\overline{PTB}$ *<u>s-ta</u> [STC #19]; cf. Japanese <u>oku</u>, -<u>te</u> <u>oku</u>). However, the two words have diverged so much that there is no alternative to treating them as se-parate synchronic entities. (To consider the verb-particle <u>ta</u> to be a V_v would introduce great complications.)

331 [4.63(1)] qhɛ (P_v) '<u>iterative</u> <u>excess</u>'. The etymologi-cal speculation in the text is wrong. In the first place the classifier for instances of time is not <u>qhɛ</u> but <u>qhe</u> (<u>tê qhe tí</u> 'all of a sudden'). Secondly, the plausible origin of the P_v is an obsolescent verb <u>qhɛ</u> 'be objectionable, harmful' (discovered in 1977) that now survives only in the negative construction "Clause + <u>ve</u> + (m)<u>â</u> <u>qhɛ</u> <u>o</u>" 'there's no harm in Clause'ing' (e.g. ô <u>qhe</u> <u>ve</u> khɔ̂ <u>na</u> <u>ve</u> a-kɛ́, ša-thê khɔ̂ <u>na</u> <u>ve</u> <u>â</u> <u>qhɛ</u> <u>o</u> <u>ma</u> 'Rather than listening to that kind of advice, it wouldn't hurt to listen to what the Boss says'). This form seems definitely cognate to Jinghpaw <u>khùm</u> 'to prohibit (V); negative imperative (Adv)' [Hanson 1906/1954, p. 303] < PTB *<u>kum</u> [not in STC].

333 [4.63(4)] <u>chɛ̂-ša chɛ̂</u> ɔ <u>lâ</u>. In this very common express-ion (cf. n. 225), usually spoken at high speed, it turns out that the underlying particle before <u>lâ</u> is not <u>â</u> 'asseverative' but <u>ɔ</u> (P_{uf}) 'strong declarative' [4.721(2)], which also has a special affinity for the verb <u>chɛ̂</u> (see n. 224, p. 575). > AC 368.

337 [4.64(2)] A tiny mistake in the tonal transcription of the seventh word in the 'umbilical-cord sentence' (lines 2-5) resulted in a considerable mistranslation. Instead of <u>ní</u> (V) 'to squeeze' it should have been <u>nî</u> (Num) 'two':

    <u> g̈û-tu=šī≡câ? ¦ yâ-ɛ́ phɔ̂ ¦ tê kà tī ¦ nî cɔ ‖ hɔ̂? lɛ ‖ phɛ šē</u>

      <u>lɛ ‖ pà̀ ve yò</u> 'First you wind the umbilical cord two turns in one place near the child's body, tie it, and it's all fi-nished.' (In this sentence <u>cɔ</u> 'turn, go around' is not part of a compound verb *<u>cɔ-hɔ̂?</u> 'wind around', but is rather func-tioning as a <u>classifier</u> in constituency with the numeral <u>nî</u>: <u>nî cɔ</u> 'two turns'.) However, the point at issue in this sen-tence, the function of <u>šē</u>, is unaffected by the error.

339 [4.64(3)] <u>šɔ̄</u> <u>after</u> <u>negated</u> <u>verbs</u>. The contrast between <u>mâ</u> + <u>V</u> + <u>šē</u> and <u>mâ</u> + <u>V</u> + <u>šɔ̄</u> may in fact ·be far less neat than it is presented here. The most trustworthy informant on my 1977 fieldtrip (Yâ-pā=ɛ́) maintained that he only used <u>šɔ̄</u> af-ter a negated verb in conjunction with a preceding particle <u>o</u> ~ <u>ò</u>, and that the meaning of the construction was 'not feel like V'ing anymore,' e.g. <u>mâ</u> <u>câ</u> <u>o</u> <u>šɔ̄</u> 'not want to eat any-

more.' This came as a shock, since o͟ ~ ò͟ seems certainly to
be the 'completed action, change-of-state' P$_v$ [below 4.64(5),
though the mid-tone variant had not been noted before], and I
had believed that ò͟ and š̌ɔ̄ were mutually exclusive in the same
VP! > AC 343-4, 3̄45.

When one adds to this the atypical post-nominal occurren-
ces of š̌ɔ̄ and š̌ē [4.64(4)]; the existence of a separate but
partially overlapping P$_v$, 'š̌ē of regret', which has variable
order properties with other P$_v$'s [4.62]; the fact that š̌ē al-
so functions as an imperative P$_v$ of Group IV [4.65(2)]; and
the uncertainty about the status of š̌ɔ̄ in relative clauses
[> AC 393/584 (n. 319) vs. 477/604(n̲. 89)], one has the dis-
tinct feeling that the behavior of š̌ē and š̌ɔ̄ has yet to be
gotten to the bottom of.

343-4 [4.461] <u>The</u> <u>aspectual</u> P$_v$'s <u>in</u> <u>action</u>. Since the sta-
tus of š̌ɔ̄ after negated verbs is now in doubt, point E of Fi-
gure 35 (mâ v̂ɨ̄ š̌ɔ̄) may have to be eliminated (i.e. merged
with point F), along with sentence (4) on p. 344. > AC 339.

345 [4.643] <u>Sequences</u> <u>of</u> <u>Group</u> <u>IIIa</u> P$_v$'s: ò͟ <u>and</u> š̌ɔ̄. In
view of the newly discovered construction mâ + V + ò͟ + š̌ɔ̄
(> AC 339), Figure 39 will have to be made more complicated:

		š̌ɔ̄
	tù	ò͟
	š̌ē	
NEG	ò͟ ~ o͟	š̌ɔ̄

The compatibility of the 'disparate' particles ò͟ and š̌ɔ̄ after
a negated verb presents a puzzle, though it is noteworthy
that their combined semantic effect ('not feel like V'ing any-
more') is idiomatic, not a simple sum of the meanings of the
individual particles.

349 [4.645] The form š̌á-ɨ̄=pā (line -7), lit. "one whose
breath is big", is inaccurately glossed as 'blowhard.' Actu-
ally it should appear in the elaborated form ò͟-g̈â-ò͟-š̌á=ɨ̄=pā
(lit. "one whose strength and breath are big"), and carries
the more possitive meaning of 'an aggressive and energetic
person; smn who is full of life.' [There exists a phonologi-
cally similar form š̌â?-ɨ̄=pā 'one who is adept at magic charms'
(š̌â? 'charm, dhāraṇi' < Shan). > AC 365.

355 [4.66(3)] Notes on qha-pâ?. Dr. Paul Lewis makes the
very interesting observation [pers. comm. 1977] that qha-pâ?
seems always to be used in sentences where <u>auditory</u> <u>percep-</u>
<u>tion</u> is the issue (hearing something or not). Thus, nâ? cĥɨ?
qha-pâ?=a 'The shot fizzled [so we don't hear a bang]'; pĥɨ
g̈ò͟ ɛ̂ qha-pâ? và 'The dogs have shut up all of a sudden'; âa,
cho-ĥá=pā là qha-pâ? 'Ah, here come the boys [we can hear
them]'; pù-cô tê̄ qhô kà? â là qha-pâ? š̌ē và 'The deacon's
part of the village hasn't come yet either [we don't hear them
coming yet]'.

In combination with the emphatic element -a, the glottal
stop in the 2nd syll. of qha-pâ? tends to disappear: [qha-pâ=
a].

358 [4.68] <u>Notes on the negative imperative mâ-yo</u>. This
particle may be pronounced either with -<u>o</u> or -<u>ɔ</u>, and with 'im-
perative glottal stop' [see 4.65(5)]: <u>mâ-yo-ˀ</u> ~ <u>mâ-yɔ-ˀ</u>. It
conveys a brusque flavor, often with the sarcastic nuance of
'go ahead and don't V (but you'll be sorry)', e.g. <u>câ mâ-yo-ˀ</u>
'O.K., don't eat if you don't want to [but you'll be sorry
later when you're hungry]!' (This sentence would be used ap-
propriately to a child who was toying with his food.)

365 [4.712(4b)] The sentence with <u>šá-ɨ̄=pā</u> should be glossed
'He's really a livewire!' > AC 349.

368 [4.721(2)] <u>chɛ̂ + ɔ</u>. Add the example <u>chɛ̂-ša chɛ̂ ɔ lâ</u>
'Are you well?; How are you?' > AC 333.

378 [4.725] The quotative particle <u>cê</u> is non-committal about
who is doing the reporting or quoting, or indeed if the repor-
ted material is attributed to anybody specific at all. Sen-
tences with <u>cê</u> are thus often ambiguous out of context, ac-
cording to whether a particular NP is taken as the 'ultimate
quoter' or 'part of the quoted material.' E.g., to take a
sentence singled out for comment in Okell's review, <u>qhâˀ-šɛ</u>
<u>mâ vɨ̀ gâ tù hɛ̂ cê</u> could equally well be translated as '[They
say] the headman probably won't want to buy it.'

379 [4.725] An interesting example of a sentence where <u>cê</u>
is followed by interjectory P_{uf}'s (see 4.726) occurs in a vi-
vid narrative text: "âa, ŋà-hɨ̄ kàˀ mɨ̄ gâ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ò" gô? lɛ ɔ̄,
"yù tɔ̂ˀ a" gô? pí cê ma nɛ̄. "Well, we would like to imbibe
$P_{uf} P_{uf} P_{uf}$
it also, Trickster!" they said, and he said "Let me loose
then!" Here the P_{uf}'s <u>ma</u> and <u>nɛ̄</u> express the story-teller's
emotional involvement in the story, rather than the emotion
of the characters in the narrative.

382-3 [4.726(1)] The particles <u>ɛ̀</u> ~ <u>ɛ̀ˀ</u>. There are no less
than six interrelated particles with this pronunciation, and
further analysis has somewhat changed the picture presented
here.
    Instead of a single P_{uf} with the range of functions 'in-
terjectory; interrogative; imperative', I now prefer to dis-
tinguish two homophonous particles, only one of which is unre-
stricted, the other being a <u>noun-particle</u>: (1) 'interjectory
/imperative' (P_{uf}) <u>nɔ̀ na ɔ̄ ni ɛ̀ˀ</u> 'Look up there in front of
you!'; <u>dàˀ ve yɔ̀ ɛ̀ˀ</u> 'Very good!' (2) 'contrastive interroga-
tive' (P_n) <u>ŋà ɨ̄-mû cî mâ phɛ̀ˀ. nɔ̀ ɛ̀ˀ</u>. 'I can't ride a horse.
How about you?'
    This reanalysis as a P_n is possible since our exs. of
<u>post-verbal</u> occurrences of interrogative ɛ̀ˀ have turned out to
be wrong: post-verbally this <u>ɛ̀(ˀ)</u> only occurs in <u>non-final</u>
<u>clauses</u>, usually after the verb <u>pɛ̀</u> 'finish', so it may be re-
garded as a variant of the 'suspensive' non-final unrestricted
particle <u>lɛ</u> [q.v.]. The exs. given in this paragraph under
"[Interrogative]" are really Cl_{nf}'s of longer sentences, e.g.
<u>chi-qhɔ̀ˀ</u> (better: <u>cɨ-qhɔ̀ˀ</u>) ŋà-hɨ̄ tê qhâˀ hɛ thu pɛ̀ ɛ̀ˀ bo-yɛ̀
<u>te a</u> [= <u>hɛ thu pɛ̀ lɛ bo-yɛ̀ te a</u>] 'After our village finishes
clearing the fields this year, let's build a church.' Anoth-

er ex. of this particle [è ~ lɛ (P_{unf})] appears below (p.428), where it is mistakenly interpreted as an instance of è ~ e (P_{unf}). In properly edited form that sentence should read: cà ti pè̱ ɛ̀ te lâ qo dà? jâ qô?-ma lê 'If they had only done it for us <u>after</u> we had finished planting the paddy, it would have been a fine thing!'

    [Left unchanged are our analyses of è̱ (P_n) 'only; just' (3.86 etc.); è̱ (P) 'subordinator; adverbializer'; and è̱ ~ lè̱ (P_{unf}) 'topicalizer' (5.421).]

    > AC 428, 542, 544, 583 (n. 304), 647 (Index).

386 [4.727(5)] Instead of qô?-pá, this compound interjectory P_{uf} should be qô?=qha-pâ? or qô?=a-pâ?. The ex. should read chɨ=pí-qwè? tê khɛ pɔ̂?-phɔ ve (yò) qô?=(qh)a-pâ? và. > AC (chart), 648 (Index).

386 [4.727(6)] Some informants accept qô?-ɔ as a variant of qô?-a. Cf. ɔ (P_{uf}). > AC 648 (Index).

386 [4.727(7)] It now appears doubtful that qô? pî has been lexicalized into an interjectory P_{uf}. In all our examples, the basic meaning of 'tell (a 3rd person)' is a possible interpretation: pè̱ ò, pè̱ ò qô? pî a 'Tell him it's finished, it's finished!' > AC 388, 390 (chart), 582 (n. 286), 648 (Index).

388 [4.729(2)] "qô?-pî=a" (lines -4, -2) is now reanalyzed as qô? (V) + pî (V_v) + a (P_v) 'suggestion; intention; mild imperative' [q.v.]. > AC 386, 582, 584 (n. 312).

389 [4.729(5)] cɨ-à. This morpheme (with optional final -?) does occur before negated verbs in Black Lahu as an adverb meaning '(not) very (much)' (câ cɨ-à(?) mâ mɛ 'not [cooked] very well-done to eat'), and as a M_{pfx} meaning 'real, genuine' (as in phu=cɨ-à (N) 'real silver'; also reduplicable, as in Lâhu=cɨ-cɨ-à (N) 'a real Lahu'). It derives from a verb cɨ 'be sincere, serious (esp. in one's intentions to marry)'. It also seems to be allofamically related to jâ (V_v) 'very V_h; too V_h', which has an affective variant jɨ̂-â [dzâ] (above 1.8, p. 37). There also exists a compound V_v jâ=cɨ-à? or jâ-cà? 'V_h too/very much'. Peet 1961 cites a form tcuh̆ ă̆ (in our transcription cɨ-â [tsâ]) which seems 'intermediate' between our cɨ-à and jɨ̂-â [see n. 315, p. 584].

390 [4.72.10] <u>Chart of possible P_{uf} sequences</u>. Three minor changes have been made in this chart since the First Printing: qô?-pî has been put into parentheses and *qô?-pá has been replaced by qô?=(qh)a-pâ? [both > AC 386]; and a horizontal line has been drawn to separate qô?=(qh)a-pâ? and và from qô?-yò-è? and qô?-ma.

393 [4.72.11(3b)] > AC 584 (n. 319).

401 [4a.2(a)] qâ-cà? ~ qâ-cɨ-à? does not mean 'Ouch!', but rather 'nyaah, nyaah, I told you so!' or 'serves you bloody well right!' (The last element is to be identified with the morpheme discussed in AC 389.) See sentence #47 in "Trickster and the village women" (Matisoff 1979c, p. 603).

416 [5.414] The emphatic variant of qô?-qo should be qô?-qo-pɔ̀? (not *qô?-qo-qɔ̀?), with the emphatic element -pɔ̀? (pp. 177, 368, 389). We must therefore delete the rather patronizing remark about three successive syllables in q- 'striking the Lahu ear as lovely'. > AC 583 (n. 306), 591.

428-9 [5.45] The 'lazy man's P$_{unf}$', è ~ e. It now seems clear that this colloquial particle substitutes only for kà? 'also, even'. Exs. (1) and (3) are analyzed correctly as they stand; ex. (2) in properly edited form contains $\grave{\underline{e}}$ (P$_{unf}$) rather than è (> AC 382); and ex. (4) should be retranslated as 'Even if he does plant that [field] over there, I don't see how he'll have enough to eat next year either.'

436 [6.01] For a separate study of Lahu causative constructions, see Matisoff 1976a.

445 [6.114(c)] The superlative morpheme šwî? may also be pronounced šû?, still another instance of the doublet formation process discussed above [1.43 (p. 19)]. The non-labialized variant is phonologically more similar to its Tai prototype (n. 19, p. 595).

447 [6.115(b)] The verb šû? is indeed used with the specifying noun mɛ̀-tɔ̀-lê? 'evil-spirit pitchfork' to mean 'perform the fork-waving ceremony to drive away mɛ̀ spirits', but it also occurs in other contexts, and should be glossed more generally as 'perform a protective rite'. > AC 596.

477-8 [6.42(6)] Nominalized clauses modified by RC's. The example (*)í-kâ? nɛ̂? šɔ ve mɛ̂?-phû chɨ tù was badly chosen, because of the dubious status of šɔ in relative clauses (> AC 584 [n. 319], 604 [n. 89]). A better example of a purposive nominalization serving as the head of an RC would be dà? ve cɨ šî? tù 'a good toothbrush' ("a good thing for wiping the teeth"), though even here a right-relative clause is preferable : cɨ šî? tù dà?-dà? ve.

   The example of a thâ-clause as N$_{rh}$ (*ha-lɛ̀ jâ ve lɛ̄-gɨ thâ) is even worse! (Much more natural would be ha-lɛ̀-ha-qa lɛ̄-gɨ chɛ̂ thâ 'when [smn] was playing happily', i.e. a structure where thâ is functioning more as a temporal adverbializer than a nominalizer.) thâ-clauses are in any case the least 'nouny' of Lahu nominalizations.

   We must in fact revise the first sentence on p. 478 to read, "The only nominalized structures that may not be modified by RC's are ve-clauses and thâ-clauses." This is undoubtedly connected to the fact that these are the only two nominalizers which are P$_{univ}$'s rather than P$_v$'s (p. 440 [6.1]).

499 [6.494] Another example of an RC intruding between a N$_{qh}$ and its Q is: ɔ̀-khɔ̂ [cɨ-kɨ cɔ̀ ve] tê phā 'all the words

      N$_{rh}$/N$_{qh}$ RRC   Q

that have significance'. We stand by our analysis as presented in the text, which is simpler than considering the RC [cɨ-kɨ cɔ̀ ve 'that have significance'] to be simultaneously a RRC modifying ɔ̀-khɔ̂ 'words' and an LRC modifying the 'quantitial relative head' tê phā 'all': ɔ̀-khɔ̂ [cɨ-kɨ cɔ̀ ve] tê phā. Similar analyses hold for other   N$_{rh}$ RRC / LRC   Q$_{rh}$

multiply modified noun-heads: (a) where the head and the quantifier are separated by a stative adverbial,

$$\underset{N_h}{\text{cà-cá}}\ \underset{AE_{stat}}{[\underline{\text{phú}}\ \grave{\text{ɛ}}\ \underline{\text{ve}}]}\ \underset{Q}{\text{nî mà}}\quad\text{'two white pennants'};$$

(b) where the head and the quantifier are separated by a genitival extentive phrase,

$$\underset{N_h}{\text{há-pɨ}}\ \underset{NP_{ext}}{[\underline{\text{chi}}\ \underline{\text{hɨ}}\ \underline{\text{ve}}]}\ \underset{Q}{\text{nî šī}}\quad\text{'two rocks this size'}.$$

518 [n. 31] I have since dubbed this phenomenon 'rhinoglottophilia'. See Matisoff 1975a.

525 [n. 11] This is an error. *ɣhà ve ɣhɔ̀-pá is impossible. Instead one may say ɣhà ve phɔ̂ (NP$_{gen}$), ɣhɔ̀ ve pá (NP$_{gen}$), or simply ɣhɔ̀-pá (N$_{intg}$) to mean 'on which side?'

527 [n. 24] The word for the 'lesser racket-tailed drongo' (Dicrurus remifer) should be khâʔ-pà=mɛ̄≡cɨ́-câ-kwī, with the first constituent being khâʔ-pà 'tail-feather of arrow' rather than khá-cè [not *khâʔ-cè > AC 142] 'arrow'. The last 3 sylls. mean 'drongos in general' (fam. Dicruridae) by themselves, and are pronounced either cɨ́-câ-kwɨ̄ or cɨ́-cà-kwɨ̀. There may indeed be some connection with cɨ́ 'parakeet.'

537 [n. 104] The expression chi ɣhe šɨ̌ means 'this far, this long', and is not synonymous with chi ɣhe ve ɔ̀-ti 'a place like this'. It has now been determined that ɣhe may freely be inserted between chi and extentives of the ma-class, with no change of meaning. > AC 118.

542 [n. 145] For our current reanalysis of the various particles pronounced ɛ̀(ʔ), see AC 382-3. > AC 544 .

544 [n. 159] > AC 382-3, 542.

545 [n. 172] > AC 183, 428.

545 [n. 173] Further checking revealed that *chi-thâ is not used at all in the Hwè Tàʔ dialect. Only ô-thâ means 'then, at that time', while chi-bɔ̀ʔ means 'now' (with the element -bɔ̀ʔ, which does not occur elsewhere, still of obscure origin). > AC 116.

548 [n. 10] This sentence whould be retranslated to read "It is also due to the fact that only two people came the whole day." The construction N + thàʔ/àʔ + cɔ̀ , where cɔ̀ 'have, be there' is indeed behaving like a transitive verb, is idiomatic, with the meaning 'depends on N; is due to N; is the fault/responsibility of N': nɔ̀ nâʔ chɨ̂ʔ tá ve nɔ̀ àʔ cɔ̀ ve ɣôʔ-ma 'It's your fault that your shot fizzled!'

549 [n. 19] Delete cɨ́, which is not a bona fide $_v$V. > AC 213.

551 [n. 38] The Vietnamese verb được 'get; be able to V$_h$; get to V$_h$' also exhibits remarkably similar semantic and syntactic properties to Lahu ga̱ and Thai dâj. See, e.g. Thompson 1965, pp. 344-5.

552 [n. 40] For 'also' read 'only'. This whole note is now

unnecessary. > AC 213.

554 [n. 57] Delete the reference to the now discredited section 4.331B(5). > AC 231.

563 [n. 127] This note should be deleted. > AC 135-6.

564 [n. 133] It is possible that the -dɛ̀ʔ of qha-dɛ̀ʔ is an allofam of dà̠ʔ 'be good, pretty', reflecting an earlier alternation between *N̠dak (> dà̠ʔ) and *N̠dyak (> dɛ̀ʔ). [A similar pair is Black Lahu ŋâ̠ʔ 'bird' (< *s̠-ŋak) and Red Lahu ŋɛ̂ʔ 'id.' (< *s̠-ŋyak).]

580 [n. 272] See Matisoff 1972f. Other TB cognates to Lahu ve̠, many with remarkable functional similarities, include Akha eu̠ᵛ, Lisu rgh̠₅, Jinghpaw rê̠ and râi̠ (alsongside ʔai), Gallong re̠ ~ ye̠, Newari ye̠ ~ e̠, and Sherpa wə̠y, all reflecting PTB *wa̠y ⨯ *ra̠y. See Thurgood 1981.

582 [n. 286] Since qô̠ʔ pî̠ has now been 'delexicalized', the final element in qô̠ʔ pî̠ a̠ is indeed to be interpreted as the Group IVa P$_v$ a̠ 'intention; suggestion; mild imperative.' This confirms the suggestion made in n. 312 (p. 584). > AC 386, 388.

583 [n. 304] Delete everything after the first sentence. > AC 382-3.

583 [n. 306] For *qô̠ʔ-qo-qɔ̠̀ʔ read qô̠ʔ-qo-pɔ̠̀ʔ. > AC 416,591.

584 [n. 312] > AC 582 [n. 286].

584 [n. 316] The P$_{uf}$ kwâ̠ ~ kwā̠ comes ultimately from the colloquial Burmese emotive particle kwa̠ ဢ (not discussed in Okell 1969, and not in Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary, but exemplified in Harada and Ono's Burmese-Japanese Dictionary [1979], p. 43).

584 [n. 319] šɔ̠̄ in relative clauses. The claim here that šɔ̠̄ cannot occur in RC's is contradicted by the example given on p. 477 [6.42(6)] and the footnote thereto [n. 89, p. 604]. It is possible that the presence of chɛ̠̂ (V$_v$) 'progressive, continuative' disfavors šɔ̠̄ in the same RC, as suggested here. Our most judicious pronouncement on this question is n. 271, p. 579. Unfortunately I did not specifically recheck the status of the aspectual P$_v$'s in RC's on my last fieldtrip (1977).

591 [n. 30] Since the form here should be qô̠ʔ-qo-pɔ̠̀ʔ [> AC 416], the haplology argument is somewhat strengthened.

596 [n. 25] šû̠ʔ actually has a more general meaning. > AC 447.

598 [n. 47] For a linguistic and psychological study of this fascinating character (alias 'Trickster'), see Matisoff 1979c.

602 [n. 72] It is extremely unlikely that there is any connection between cwɛ̠̀ and -cwɛ̠̂ʔ '(meat)ball', though the etymology of the latter remains obscure as of this writing.

604 [n. 89] This example is dubious, and should have been

rechecked. In any case it contradicts the claim made on p. 584 (n. 319).

Changes in the INDEX VERBORUM

646   è̠ ~ e̠ (P_{unf}) 'colloquial substitute for kà? (P_{unf})' > AC 183, 428–9, 545 (n.172).

646   At the bottom of the page add one item:

o̠ (P_v) 'variant of ò̠ (P_v) used after š̄ɔ (P_v)' > AC 339.

647   Instead of è? (P_{uf}) 'brusque interrogative, interjectory', substitute three items (> AC 382–3):

è? (P_n) 'contrastive interrogative'

è? (P_{uf}) 'interjectory; imperative'

è(?) (P_{unf}) 'suspensive' [variant of lɛ (P_{unf}) after pè̠ (V; V_v)]

648   Add to qô?-a:

qô?-a ~ qô?-ɔ (P_{uf}) > AC 386 [4.727(6)].

648   Delete qô?-pá and substitute:

qô?=a-pâ? ~ qô?=qha-pâ? (P_{uf}) > AC 386 [4.727(5)].

648   Delete qô?-pî > AC 386 [4.727(7)].

649   -qɔ̀? (P_{unf}): delete reference to 5.414. > AC 416.

650   Between qhà-qhe (phè?) thɔ̂ and qhà-nî, add:

qhà-thâ? (N_{intg}) 'when?' 3.23.

653   Delete chi-thâ̠. > AC 116, 545 (n. 173).

655   Under te-lɛ (P_{unf}), add 5.1.

658   pɔ̀? (P_{unf}): add 5.414. > AC 416.

658   -pɨ: change form-class to (M_{pfx}). > AC 62.

658   After pɨ́ (V_v), add:

pɨ́-à (V_v + P_v) 'lest; unpleasant hypothesis' 4.331C(1); 4a.16.

660   mû- (B_n): change form-class to (N; B_n). > AC 64.

660   ha: change to [see qha ~ a (P_v)]

662   šwî?: change to šwî? ~ šû?

665   là?- (B_n): change form-class to (N; B_n).

ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

⌕   is an allofam of; belongs to the same word-family as

BSLP   Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris

BSOAS   Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African
        Studies (London)

LTBA   Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area (Berkeley)

STC   Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus   [Benedict 1972]

TSR   The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited   [Matisoff 1972d]

VSTB   Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman   [Matisoff
        1978b]

ZDMG   Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell-
        schaft

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