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LINGUISTIC AND MEMORY STRUCTURES  
IN TAI-LUE ORAL NARRATIVES

by

John F. Hartmann



Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
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The Australian National University  
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IN MEMORY OF  
VILAWAN HARTMANN  
1944-1978



## PREFACE

When, in 1972, I found my way up to Mae Sai at the northernmost tip of Thailand in search of Lue speakers and singers originally from the Sipsongpanna region of Yunnan, I carried with me a certain amount of theoretical baggage, some of which I soon had to discard. Foremost was the notion that the oral tradition of the Tai-Lue should somehow be like the formulaic type described with such eloquence and romance by A.B. Lord and his mentor Milman Parry. Once returned to the University of Michigan to write up and defend my research, I found it difficult as a doctoral candidate to be in the position to arguing against the two established giants in the field of oral cultures when I wrote (Hartmann 1976b:374):

The findings fail to confirm the Parry-Lord thesis... which insists on the spontaneous creativity of an unlettered (i.e. "uncontaminated by written tradition") sheep-herding singer of tales.

Then I went on, as I do here, to show that A.B. Lord had missed the very important dimension of *memory* because he had chosen not to measure it in consecutive recordings as I had. He was, after all, primarily interested in showing the creative capacity of the rustic South Slavic bards, and the suggestion that memory might play as large a part in such language performance, as it indeed does, would stand at odds with this chief aim of his.

Shortly after the conclusion of my Tai-Lue fieldwork in Thailand, the works of two students of different oral traditions appeared: Sweeny (1974) and Finnegan (1970, 1974, 1976). Since I deal later with the Malay oral tradition detailed by Sweeny, I shall refer here in passing to the work of Ruth Finnegan only. The following quote from her 1976 essay summarises much of my own thinking and conclusions on the importance of memory — as I relate it to language structures — in the Tai-Lue oral genre known as *khap<sup>1</sup> lɨ̄<sup>6</sup> to sing in the Lue manner*:

there is no one simple category called "oral literature"... but only a complex and relative series of possibilities... Contrary to the impression of The Singer of Tales and elsewhere that oral poetry is always composed in-performance, this is just not true empirically. There are a number of known cases where the emphasis is on composition before performance, and instances where, contrary to all the expectations so many of us had built up from our reading of Parry and Lord etc., memorization rather than improvisation is in fact involved.

In Asia, oral learning by rote memorisation has long been a tradition. In Tibet, for example, young monks were chosen as early as the age of six to become doctors of traditional medicine on the basis of their ability to memorise (Avendon 1981). The four texts, the *Medical Tantras*, considered to be the 'word of Buddha' numbered a total of 1,140 pages and took two full years to memorise. To pass the medical exam meant, in part, to be able to recite the texts from memory. But it was all a part of the Tibetan oral tradition, just as it is the Lue tradition to encourage young people to preserve the knowledge and the magical power of the sung Jatakas through an apprenticeship of imitation and replication of what the individual could remember of what he had heard, read, or what had been read to him by a literate person.

It is probably a western bias that compels us to look for creativity and to deny memory in the oral arts. At the same time, it is also a hallmark and an indictment of our own age that we have become a visually oriented society, with an over-reliance on the props that an abundance of paper (books) and plastic (films and tapes) provide, all to the detriment of the development of the human capacity to remember long tracts of language in organised, i.e. structured, form.

What Sweeney, Finnegan and myself and others of like mind have to say about how an oral tradition works is derived from the very difficult and most uncomfortable task – especially in the tropics – of going out and doing field-work. In my case, I fell into it as the natural result of having been taught by two great proponents and practitioners of solid gathering of new data in the field.

My strongest encouragement and closest example came from William J. Gedney, professor in charge of my Tai studies at the University of Michigan. It was he who introduced our comparative Tai class to the Tai-Lue dialect through his fieldnotes and data and to the genre of *khap*<sup>1</sup> *lii*<sup>6</sup> recorded by him on tape. My second most important mentor and model was Kenneth L. Pike, whose tagmemic theory has provided me and countless other field linguists a way of giving our data shape and sense. With its strong emphasis on hierarchical structures, Pike's point of view also provides a bridge to the psychology of memory. The 'macro-structure' of narrative memory found in the research writings of Kintsch, for one, is a good illustration of the mirroring of linguistic and psychological frameworks. A third source of inspiration and help in critical moments came to me from Alton Becker, one of my professors at Michigan, who was also a former student of Kenneth Pike. Becker has since gone beyond his tagmemic beginnings to develop a theory of text analysis of his own – *The New Philology* – which has attracted attention (Geertz 1980) and a number of followers (Schafer 1978, Zurbuchen 1979).

In preparing the manuscript of this book for publication I have had the help and encouragement of many people. Most helpful in the revision stage was without doubt the critical reading given by David Bradley. Anthony Diller and David Strecker supplied me with important information and references on things current in Tai linguistics. It was Ladd Thomas and Donn Hart who brought me to the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Northern Illinois University to teach and do research and who have been a source of constant support.

As is usually the case, it is one's family who shares most in the sacrifice – and success – that research and writing entail. My two young children, Wanda and Billy, suffered neglect at times. Yet they shared in the knowledge and experience of making a contribution, however small, to the world of learning. I knew that I had finally succeeded in impressing my six-year-old son of the

importance of what I was doing, even though deep down he wanted me out playing ball with him, when, after one of my more productive days, I came downstairs wrung out from revising to see a carefully hand-lettered sign he had put up at the bottom of the stairs: "Do not go up thair. John Hartmann is working!"

A final note of thanks is due to the support received through a Fulbright-Hays grant for conducting the original fieldwork in Thailand. The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University provided funds for the reproduction of maps, charts and art work. The Center secretary, Dawn Fliss, cheerfully typed and xeroxed much of the final copy. Last, but not least, is the gratitude I owe my good colleagues and close friends for professional advice and encouragement: Patricia Henry, Jack Weiner and Ester Mocega-Gonzales.

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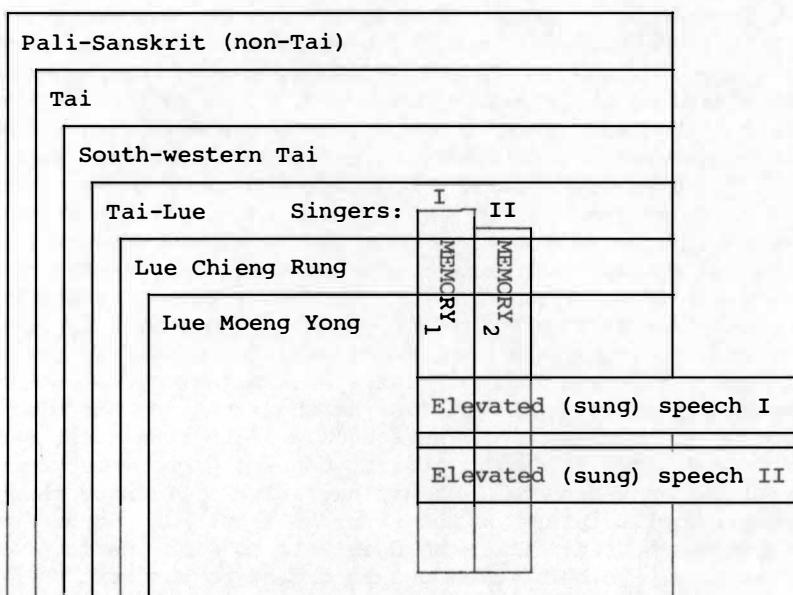


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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

This book is an introduction to some of the ways in which language and memory intersect in the living performance of two Lue singers of Hindu-Buddhist inspired tales of the creation of the universe. It is a study of the psycholinguistic behaviour of two individuals set in a social, geographical and cultural environment: the use of memory and creativity in chanting a narrative at a Lue village ceremony in Greater South-east Asia. Schematically, we can view the overall plan in the following diagram.



Part I, Lue and South-western Tai, deals almost exclusively with Tai-Lue and neighbouring dialects. Because Lue is a little studied Tai dialect of a minority people in southern China, and because Lue chant (khap<sup>1</sup> lɨ̃<sup>6</sup>) appears to be a form of verbal behaviour especially popular among the Lue, it seemed necessary to begin by putting the object of analysis in as complete a socio-linguistic and geographical context as possible. The result is that the singular

achievement of Part I is a new alignment of South-western Tai (cf. Hartmann 1980). Also the dialect groupings of Part I provide a useful framework for setting up a dialectology of discourse types in Part II.

Part II has the general goal of providing a record of Tai-Lue chanted narrative as it relates to questions of linguistic organisation, memory and creativity. Two oral texts are used in a comparative study of remembering. The study is first and foremost empirical in that it sets out to discover and to measure to what extent the Lue narrators memorise and create an extended verbal message. Our study of memory in an oral tradition marks a departure from previous works (e.g. A.B. Lord) where the use of memory and the influence of a written tradition were denied.

In order to demonstrate whether or not memory is utilised in performing a Lue chanted narrative, a comparative approach was used. To this end, consecutive recordings were made of a particular segment of a longer narrative sung by a particular singer. There were seven singers in all. The data were then narrowed down to the repeated performances of two male singers for reasons which became obvious after recording, transcription and analysis. The two men tell contiguous chapters of a longer Lue creation myth.

The results show excellent memory (85% replication of text in repeated performances) for the older singer of Oral Text I (cf. Chapter IX), but poor remembering (45% for the younger singer of Oral Text II). On the basis of this statistic alone, one can conclude that memory in the Lue oral tradition is a matter of degree and individual differences. When we look at the linguistic organisation of the two texts, other explanations arise. The text of the older singer (I) is a model of organisation, efficiency of verbal resources and stability. The syntactic-semantic boundaries between units conceived of as an ascending hierarchy are clearly marked. One event follows another in strict spatio-temporal logic. On the symbolic level, major concepts appear to be neatly balanced against each other. The text of the younger singer, by contrast, while it manages to maintain order at the higher level, breaks down in the lower branch for a number of reasons. The younger singer (II) is less able to 'chunk' or combine smaller units into larger ones easily. Evidence for this is seen in his overuse of border and filler phrases as hesitation phenomena. His memory span is extremely short. At one point he shows that he has difficulty even with three units in encoding names. The language of the text also shows that he is unable to make a clear or direct logical connection between some of the events and concepts in the second half of his narrative. It is as though he has worked out all of the implicatures for the first half but ran out of intellectual resources for the second. Where he does well is with poetic overtures. They are repeated nearly verbatim from one recording to the next. The main part of the text, however, is in the case of both singers rendered in prose, which is less highly structured from the standpoint of phonological organisation. The general conclusion that can be drawn from an analysis of both texts is that memory depends on meaning and the organisation of meaning in a text.

In addition to providing an analysis of the texts in Part II, many pages are devoted to a discussion of theory. In the process of transcribing, translating and explaining the texts, it became obvious that both singers were doing things with language besides delivering information about the creation of the universe. They were addressing their co-singer (implicitly at times), their audience, and their text as well. At stake in the analysis was the understanding of much more than the propositional or conventional meaning — the 'facts' of an explicit text (cotext). There was also the conversational meaning of the 'other' or missing text (context). As Labov has pointed out, in discourse

analysis, there is the need to distinguish between what is said and what is done, or between the propositional and relational meaning. There was, in the case of the Lue narratives, the need to analyse the pragmatics of each text.

This first set of concerns is discussed in Chapter VI as the relationship between form, function and meaning.

Questions of *form* are handled in a tagmemics-inspired model. At the base, the structure of discourse must be considered dialogic and situated in space and time. A hierarchical arrangement of interrelated phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic units is seen from the texts proper and from evidence from psychological experiments discussed in Chapter X.

Questions of *function* are analysed as a pragmatics of discourse following the model of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) for the language behaviour of the English classroom. In the Lue texts a general two-and-two pragmatics structure is seen: speaker and hearer in one set of two participants, and narrative and procedural acts as another set of two functions.

From a psychological standpoint, the alternating pattern of narrative with procedural acts diagrammed in the opening pages of Chapter VIII provides a spacing technique, which experiment shows as enhancing memory (cf. Chapter X). As a sociological function, procedural statements used at spaced intervals serve to attract and reattract the attention of the audience.

Questions of *meaning* are discussed also in Chapter VI in terms of Grice's theory of conversational implicatures for the most part. In brief, discourse analysis must include 1. speaker's (intended) meanings, 2. hearer's (understood) meanings and 3. their shared world of knowledge.

An alternative theory of meaning and discourse analysis found in the recent work of Meyer (1975) and based on case grammar and a system of rhetorical relationships in a semantic tree following Grimes (1972) was considered to be too narrow for our translation and explication needs. In Meyer's analysis, meaning is limited to the propositional content (role and rhetorical relationships), the explicit meaning found in an expository prose passage used in testing free recall of discourse.

In Chapter IX, the Lue chant is examined once more in terms of Catford's varieties of language. The forms are classified in terms of substance, function and social situation using terminology taken from the theories of Redfield and Eliade. The Lue chant is categorised as a variety of Lue language that is rendered in the spoken medium but with many of the formal features of the formal written mode or style. Influences from the 'great' written traditions of India can be seen along with a quasi-sacred function.

Chapter X attempts to deal with the relationship between linguistic organisation, memory and creativity. An alternative to Chomsky's notions discussed in Chapter X is to consider creativity as *change* which can be observed over time and recorded and analysed in the form of texts. Memory, then, is the opposite side of the coin of change. Memory is preservation through organisation. We have measured memory in the performance of the two Lue singers and have provided an explanation in terms of organisation, linguistic and psychological. The major psycholinguistic strategy used is, following the work of Bartlett and Piaget, a *schema* or gestalt of the narrative which is then *reconstructed* from memory using selectional and organisational rules operating over a base of an environment that includes the structure of society and the structure of traditional human knowledge. The mind (learning and memory strategies) is seen as actively intervening between the environment and language as form in the process of reconstructing a text.

The Parry-Lord thesis that originally inspired this study is finally found inadequate as an analytical method and an explanation of the oral tradition. The oral traditions of the Pacific area, India and South-east Asia are discussed for the greater light they shed on the Lue oral tradition. Particular attention is paid to the work of Sweeny (1974) on the Malay oral narrators. Chapter X concludes with some collocations from consecutive recordings of the Lue narrators showing preservation and change.

Chapter XI discusses some remaining problems and suggests some directions that future research might take. One suggestion would be to undertake a computer programmed textual analysis of the Lue oral texts. Collocations from successive recordings would show in finer detail and with greater statistical reliability the structural preservation and change, memory and creativity, in one variant of the oral tradition. Finally, the study has confirmed the claim that memory is a function of organisation.

PART I  
LUE AND SOUTH-WESTERN TAI

...in language there are  
only differences.

- de Saussure

## CHAPTER II

### LUE AND NEIGHBOURING DIALECTS

Lue<sup>1</sup> is one of the dialects of the Tai language family, which in its totality stretches from the island of Hainan<sup>2</sup>, through much of the north of Vietnam and areas of southern China (chiefly Kwangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan), through Laos and Thailand, across the northern reaches of Burma and finally into Assam<sup>3</sup> in India. A division of the entire family into three branches – Northern, Central and South-western – has been proposed by F.K. Li (1959) based on comparative lexicon. More recently, Gedney (1973) suggests a two-way division by combining the Central and South-western branches. The dialects of the Northern branch are found in the Kwangsi-Kweichow region. The Central branch of dialects covers the border areas between China and the more easterly portions of the north of Vietnam. The South-western branch covers the remaining area of the Tai-speaking domain, by far the largest in terms of geographic area. The latter of the three is under consideration here as it includes Lue and the related dialects of Lao, Shan, Khuen, Northern Thai, Siamese, White Tai, Black Tai, and Red Tai.

The old Lue capital of Chieng Rung, 'City of the Dawn', sits on the west bank of the Mekong River one thousand kilometres due north of Bangkok<sup>4</sup>. One of the few historical references to this city-state comes from Coedes (1968), who reports that at about the time Assam was captured by the Tais in 1229, the Tai chiefs of Chieng Rung and Ngoen Yang (the site of Chieng Saen) on the upper Mekong arranged a marriage between their children as part of forming an alliance. Phinith (1977) has published an annotated translation of a Chieng Rung Chronicle written originally in Siamese and covering the period 1836-1858.

Today, Lue settlements exist in relative close proximity in Moeng Yong, Burma; Chiengrai and Chiengmai provinces in Thailand; and in and around Muang Sing and Luang Prabang in northern Laos. In the north of Vietnam, Lue reside in the area of Binh Lue and along the border of China just west of the Black River (LeBar, *et al.* 1964). Close by, to the west and just inside the border of Vietnam is the community of Cheng Tung (not to be confused with Kengtung, Burma), the source of an article on Lue phonology published by F.K. Li (1964). The total population of the Lue in the five-nation region probably does not exceed 500,000, with the major concentration around Chieng Rung.

Detailed information on Lue speech and writing has been published in Chinese (Fu Mao-Chi, *et al.* 1956).<sup>5</sup> Entitled 'The phonemic system of Chieng Rung, Sipsongpanna in Yunnan Province', it is an extensive piece of fieldwork and analysis done by a team over a period of four years. More recently the Chinese have revised the traditional Lue script to facilitate literacy.



Data in the form of unpublished fieldnotes of Lue of Moeng Yong, Burma and Chieng Rung are available from Gedney (1968). Some notes on various aspects of Lue phonology and discourse can be found in Hartmann (1975, 1976). Weroha (1974) a native speaker of the Chiengkham variety of Lue, has compiled an extensive lexicon and written several papers on his own phonological system. Moerman (1972, 1977) has published an analysis of a segment of a conversation in Chiengkham Lue. Many older and minor works on Lue and neighbouring dialects are found in the literature. They will be listed at the conclusion of this chapter. For the moment, we shall deal with the more important, reliable publications.

Li (1964) makes note of the existence of several dialects in Lue. He concludes in his own study of the Cheng Tung variety of Lue that it is simply a "close dialect variant" of the nearby White Tai analysed by Minot (1940, 1949). The Lue of Chieng Rung recorded by Gedney (1968) displays tonal splits and other phonological similarities which link it to the Lue of Cheng Tung and White Tai just mentioned. On the other hand, the even more recent data on Lue of Moeng Yong (Gedney 1968-69) has a tonal array parallel to Khuen spoken in adjacent areas to the west of Kengtung Province in Burma as well as to Yuan (or Northern Thai) spoken directly to the south (Egerod 1959).

We can begin to see that these relationships and overlaps of varieties of Lue speech as one moves from east to west show the dynamics of a dialect pattern of "almost continuous variation" (Moerman 1965) among the Tai peoples of this northern geographic region. The unreality of absolutely discrete dialects cannot be overemphasised. Gedney (1967) describes the linguistic situation as "gradual transition throughout much of the Tai-speaking domain, except perhaps for the boundary between Northern Tai and the others".

The *Linguistic Survey of India*, which includes a sizeable portion of the Lue found in the western geographical regions - i.e. the Shan States - indicates that Lue might be closely related to Khuen, Shan, Lao and Siamese. In his introduction to the survey, Grierson (1928) states that Lue and Khuen are varieties of "Lao" which is "spoken throughout the country situated between the 19th parallel of north latitude and the northern boundary of the kingdom of Siam". We must realise that he is describing conditions as he saw them at the beginning of this century. The Siamese kingdom did not incorporate the Chiengmai region until the reign of Rama I. Historically, Chiengmai, Chiengrai and other cities of the north were Lao in the sense that they were founded by Mengrai, a Lao prince (Coedes 1968). The Thais of the Central Plains (or 'middle Menam') were known by their neighbours as Syām, i.e. Siam. Grierson's divisions appear to reflect these older historical states. To confuse the issue even more, the term Yuan is often used to refer to the language of the same area - northern Thailand. Again, Coedes tells us that the label Yuan is derived from Yonaraṭṭha or Yonakaraṭṭha, 'kingdom of the Yuan'. Chiengmai, 'the new city', founded by Mengrai in 1296, was its capital. Yuan (or Yon) has also been used by American missionaries (Dodd 1923) to refer to the alphabet used in the north, varieties of which extended beyond Chiengmai into Kengtung (Khuen) and presumably Chieng Rung (Lue). Egerod and others likewise use the term Yuan to designate the dialect of northern Thailand and its centre at Chiengmai. The Siamese (Bangkok Thais) have another ethnic term of the same shape, Yuan, referring usually to the Vietnamese or, occasionally, to the Mongol dynasty in China.

To return to Grierson's early study, he considers Lue and Khuen to be a link or transitional dialect area between what he designates as the Northern group - the extinct language Ahom, plus Khamti and Shan - on the one hand, and Siamese, Lao and 'South-eastern Shan' (Tai speech east of the Salween River) on the other. In this connection, it is interesting to note the comment made more recently by Gedney (1967):

the speech of those villages and towns in the extreme north-east of Burma where the people refer to themselves and their language as "Lue" seems to be closer linguistically to the Shan and Khuen spoken to the west and the dialects of northern Thailand to the south than it is to the dialect of the Lue capital city of Chieng Rung in Sipsongpanna.

Cushing (1881), in the preface to his Shan-English dictionary, reflects a similar viewpoint in stating that the Khun of Kengtung and the Lue of Chieng Rung are both dialects of Shan.

Still another authority on the Tai dialects of the more north-western reaches of the Tai domain is the linguist Søren Egerod, who states (1959):

Khun is a sister language of Tai Yuan spoken in the Lanna or Phayap region of Thailand (capital Chiengmai) and Tai Lu spoken in the Sipsong Panna area (capital Kenghung) of Yunnan, China. The three languages of Khun, Yuan, and Lu are closely related and use very similar systems of writing based on the Mon-Burmese tradition as far as the form of letters go, but in usage closer to Siamese than to Shan, especially as far as borrowing of vocabulary is concerned.

Lanna Thai, the alternate term used by Egerod and many others for Northern Thai, was historically used by the Siamese to refer to their northern neighbours (Coedes, *op.cit.*). Yuan, the general label preferred by Egerod, is used interchangeably with the term Lao by LeBar et al. (1964). Haas (1958) names the same dialect after the chief city in which it is spoken — the Chiengmai dialect. Still another label for the same general dialect is *Muang* (Mundhenk 1967) following the local custom of the natives calling themselves "people of the muang" (Moerman 1967). The term *muang* (or *meuang*) is often translated *town*, but in some instances it can indicate an area as large as a kingdom or nation. In the case of *Kam Muang* (language of the *meuang*), the speaker is probably identifying his speech with that of *Meuang Lanna* (see maps).<sup>6</sup>

Finally, more recent works on the language of this region use the term Northern Thai, referring to the dialects of the northern part of Thailand proper. Earlier we have seen the use of Northern Thai in speaking of the branch of the Tai language family found in Kwangsi and Kweichow, China.

Clearly, the best works on Northern Thai phonology and lexicon are the volumes by Hope and Purnell (1962) and Purnell (1963). The first work, *A Colorful Colloquial*, is subtitled, 'An introduction to the study of spoken Northern Thai...' and is based on the speech of Chiengrai province. A further note on the cover of this work states: 'Adaptation of Chiengmai dialect...', an indication that we are dealing with a mixed phenomenon. Purnell's introductory comments are a further recognition of linguistic diversity within Northern Thai itself.

The Northern Thai presented in this volume is that of Chiengrai province. There are seven provinces in northern Thailand, each with a slight though generally mutual intelligible variation of speech .... Even in Chiengrai province there are many differences between rural and urban speech, the latter being in the process of assimilation with Central Thai ...

At least one of the Tai peoples in Chiengrai province would be some of the Lue. It is estimated that 50,000 Lue live in the Chiengkham district of Chiengrai. The work of an urban Lue from Chiengkham has been cited (cf. Weroha).

Brown (1965) lists Northern Thai as one of the seven Thai dialects dealt with in his study of modern dialects used in his historical reconstruction. He claims that while there are several different dialects, the differences are "relatively minor". He then lists the five dialects of Northern Thai as: Chiengrai, Chiengmai, Phrae, Nan, Lampang. Missing from his list are Maehongson and Tak. His informants were all from the five provincial capitals (amphur mueang), and, as such, would probably show less diversity than rural speakers from the same broad region.

Two studies written in Thai are the Master's thesis on Chiengmai speech by Suntharagul (1963) and a monograph on Lanna Thai by Phayomyong (1968). The latter deals with the Yuan script. Another short work designed to teach the Northern Thai writing system is that of Davis (1970) who did his work in Nan province.

Further impressions of the relationship of Lue to other dialects concern the problem of mutual intelligibility. Seidenfaden (1925) comments, "The Lu tongue is - as anyone conversant with colloquial Thai will easily detect - for all purposes a mere dialect of the latter, and is practically identical with the language spoken in Chiengmai". The Lue he refers to is most likely spoken by Lue who have resided in northern Thailand in Chiengkham and around Chiengmai province as long ago as one hundred years when they were moved as a result of skirmishes between Thailand and Burma. Moerman<sup>7</sup> (1965), an American anthropologist who lived among the Lue of Chiengkham, a district in the north-eastern part of Chiengrai province, made these remarks based on fourteen months of living there:

Although I am not a linguist, it is perhaps worth recording that my own observations, both in speaking and listening to native speakers, indicate that the Lue, Lao, Yuan and Yong are all mutually intelligible. Chiengkham (Thailand) Lue informants report that their speech was easily understood in the Burmese and Chinese Shan States during World War II. Although speakers of Northern dialect often seem to understand speakers of another dialect more easily than they can understand Siamese (Central Thai), the genetic significance of this relative intelligibility is difficult to evaluate since Northern speakers react to and discuss solely in terms of lexicon. The comparative unintelligibility of Siamese results from its Cambodian and Sanskrit borrowings rather than from differences of tonal structure which might be of greater genetic significance. Differences of tone among the Northern dialects are ignored or "automatically" compensated for by native listeners.

Of the four dialects named by Moerman, two require some explanation. By "Yong" he probably means Lue of Moeng Yong, Burma. This Burmese-based community of Lue speakers appears to be quite large and influential. There is a great deal of communication and cultural contact between Moeng Yong and the Lue communities of Northern Thailand. It is not surprising that they speak mutually intelligible dialects. As for the "Lao" that Moerman mentions, again we do not know if this label is being used in the older historical sense of referring to Northern Thai in general or if it should be reserved for the speech of nearby Lao communities just across the Mekong River at Ban Houei Sai. Without place names such as 'Lao of Luang Prabang', we do not know what the intended point of comparison is. There are also Yong speakers in and around Chiengmai (Davies 1979).

The claim made by Simmalawong (1972) is much more specific in this respect. She described the Lao and Lue spoken at Muang Sing, Laos as nearly indistinguishable. Historically, Muang Sing was once part of the Lue circle of 'twelve (sip-song) cities'.

Another point brought up by Moerman is that of tonal differences among mutually intelligible dialects. He claims that they are ignored or "automatically" adjusted to by speakers of these dialects. It will be shown later that if we examine the tonal splits, i.e. the system of distribution of contrasting tonemes, we find that for Lue of Moeng Yong and the varieties of Northern Thai mentioned, the tonal array is identical even though there may be phonetic differences in the actual shapes. Speakers from Nan, Phrae, Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Lampang or even Khuen from Kengtung all have the same underlying system of tones. We cannot say for certain what the case is for Lue speakers from Chiangkham. It appears that older, more conservative speakers, like the older Lue at Mae Sai, Thailand, have a tonal array identical to that of Chieng Rung in Sipsongpanna. Younger speakers who still identify themselves as Lue but live in Chiangkham district probably have the tonal splits of Northern Thai. Siamese (Central Thai) has a system of tonal splits that is clearly different from the general array for Northern Thai. It is this factor which impedes intelligibility between Siamese and Northern Thai on the one hand and facilitates communication between a speaker of Northern Thai and Lue of Moeng Yong on the other. The system of tonal splits for various dialects will be illustrated in the next chapter.

The coexistence of apparently disparate dialects at the same geographic point, a major city, is not uncommon. Kengtung (Chieng Tung), Burma is the capital of the Khuen, a sister dialect of Lue. At the same time, the city is considered by many to be Shan-speaking area. After all, it is in the area designated as the Shan States. As far as I could determine from interviewing a single Khuen speaker, his was the major urban dialect. As one moved out into the suburbs and nearby rural areas, the dialects were different, i.e. presumably more like Shan. Until quite recently, the Khuen community supported a powerful chief (or petty prince). For generations, they have maintained close contacts with Chiangmai, which in part explains the closeness of those two dialects. In addition, the Khuen (and Lue) alphabet is nearly identical to the older Yuan script of Chiangmai, which, in turn, is similar to Shan orthography. Of course, all of these alphabets, including Burmese, Siamese, etc., can be traced to their source of Indian script (Coedes, 1968).

From the Shan standpoint, then, Khuen and Lue are subdialects of Shan (Cushing 1881). Brown (1965) divides Shan into three subgroups which do not include Khuen and Lue, dialects which he does not mention in his work at all.

Shan is spoken in the Shan States of Burma by about two million people. There are apparently three main dialects; northern (centered at Lashio), southern (centered at Taunggyi), and eastern (centered at Chiang Tung, sometimes written Kengtung).

Cushing's great Shan-English dictionary uses the speech of Laikha and Mongnai, two cities roughly midway between Kengtung and Taunggyi.

The preceding discussion of ethnolinguistic groups suggests a picture of not only gradual transition from one geographic point to another, but also pockets of great diversity at key points like Kengtung (Khung and Shan), Muang Sing (Lue and Lao), Vientiane (Lao, Black Tai, etc.) and Bangkok (Central Thai, Lao and non-Tai languages). Within each group, subdivisions can be made along

the lines of social class differences (Beebe 1974). These are centres of economic and political power which attract linguistically diverse peoples from great distances, especially in politically unstable times. The fluidity of movement of Tai peoples is consequently greater than dialect labels now show. For example, the presence of Saek speakers near Nakorn Phanom, Thailand is one illustration of an extreme geographic movement of Tai people out of southern China into Laos and adjacent areas of Thailand (Gedney 1970a). A group called Lao Song who live outside of Bangkok at Petburi are actually Black Tai who originally come from north-eastern Laos (Gedney 1974).

Still another factor which complicates efforts to distinguish people along ethnolinguistic lines is the apparent ease with which some Tai groups (e.g. Shan) can move in and out of unrelated language communities (e.g. Kachin). Leach (1954) has shown how groups in Burma interact and coexist through shifts in language affiliation:

It can easily be established that most of these supposedly distinct 'races' and 'tribes' intermarry with one another. Moreover it is evident that substantial bodies of population have transferred themselves from one language group to another even within the last century.

Realising that languages change as a function of time, space, political and other forces, we can see that it is somewhat difficult to identify any one speaker in absolute terms either linguistically or ethnically. In other words, there is no necessary isomorphism between language, culture and race. So, to answer the question, "Who is Lue?" (cf. Moerman 1965), the answer is simply, whoever says he is. To answer the question, "What is Lue speech?" requires an examination of all of the linguistic dimensions of the several varieties of the Lue already cited. Such will be part of the task of the next chapter.

Before concluding the discussion of the place of Lue in the South-western branch of the Tai family, brief mention should be made of the Tai dialects spoken to the north and west of the Lue communities in Sipsongpanna. Gedney (1965a) suggests that there is a connection between Chinese Shan, Tai-Neua and Lue, dialects which he believes are in their present geographical location in Yunnan as a "result of northward movement rather than the reverse". That is, in arguing against the traditional homeland of Proto-Tai in Yunnan itself (cf. Brown 1965 and the opposing view of Mote 1964, Gedney 1966a and Burling 1965), the parent of the Tai family is now placed in the area along the border separating Vietnam and southern Kwangsi province in south-eastern China. Of the daughter languages that developed over time and a change of location, White Tai, Lue, Khuen, Northern Tai and possibly some varieties of Shan might be conceived of as one fairly uniform group which took part in a westward migration or what Coedes (1968) describes as a "gradual engulfing" of the region.

For the sake of balanced argument, certain geographical and political factors can also be brought into account for the surprising degree of linguistic unity suggested in the preceding paragraph. Using ethnographic information, LeBar (1964) places these dialects in a region designated as the "central Mekong area, from Luang Prabang north to Sip Song Panna, and including northern Thailand and easternmost Burma". Similarly, Simmonds (1965) comments on geographic factors promoting "remarkable homogeneity of the Yuan dialects and of the dialects of the Middle Mekong". From reading the early travel accounts of American missionaries (Dodd 1923) and the French imperialists (Mission Pavie), the impression is gained that, despite the lack of modern amenities, there are no great barriers to travel in the region. That is not to say that natural

geographic boundaries do not exist. The very fact that the Tai live at low riverine elevations has had an impact on their linguistic and cultural development. Indeed Tai peoples monopolise the middle Mekong River area today. Another geographic index is the division between the decidedly flat Central Plains of much of Thailand and the more hilly north beginning approximately at Uttaradit, a demarcation that marks a dialect boundary as well.

While nothing more than a supposition at this point, there is also the factor of political domination to be considered. It is conceivable that the exercise of power by northern kingdoms such as the ones centered at Chiangmai and Chiang Rung was great enough at one time to promote the spread of a metropolitan (muang) dialect. Certainly today we find the compelling reach of Bangkok speech into areas that until recently were more Lao-like (Khanittanan 1973). The thesis of linguistic homogeneity as a function of political control might also be used to explain the reverse situation. That is, linguistic diversity would be traced to macro-political disunity which may or may not be accompanied by geographical discontinuities.

Another indicator of the relationship of Lue to neighbouring dialects comes from comparative lexicon. In the course of translating the two texts used in this study, use was made of vocabularies and dictionaries compiled by Donaldson (1970) for White Tai, Egerod (1971) and Purnell (1963) for Northern Thai and Cushing (1881) for Shan. The younger, more creative singer used a 'literary' vocabulary that often could be traced to sources in both White Tai and Shan. Both singers had a core vocabulary that was 90% like Northern Thai and 70% (by their own estimates) like Siamese. No dictionary of Lue has been published to date. Until such time, we can do no more than make guesses about shared vocabularies. Still it is clear that Lue is, as its geographic position would indicate, a dialect that overlaps both White Tai and Shan and is close to Northern Thai.

Additional references to varieties of Lue can be found in the work of the following: Carthew (1952), Deydier (1954), Dodd (1910), Embree and Dotson (1950), Finot (1917), Grierson (1904, 1928), Henry (1903), Lefèvre-Pontalis (1892), LeMay (1925), Rispeaud (1933), Schrock (1970), Srisawat (1955), Brun (1976), Davies (1979), Gainey and Thongkum (1977), Hsieh (1978), Lafont (1962), F.K. Li (1977), Morev (1978), Phinith (1977), Pramoj (1980), Sarawit (1979), Siam Society (1966), T'ung (1958), Tao (1958), Weroha (1975), and Moerman (1977).

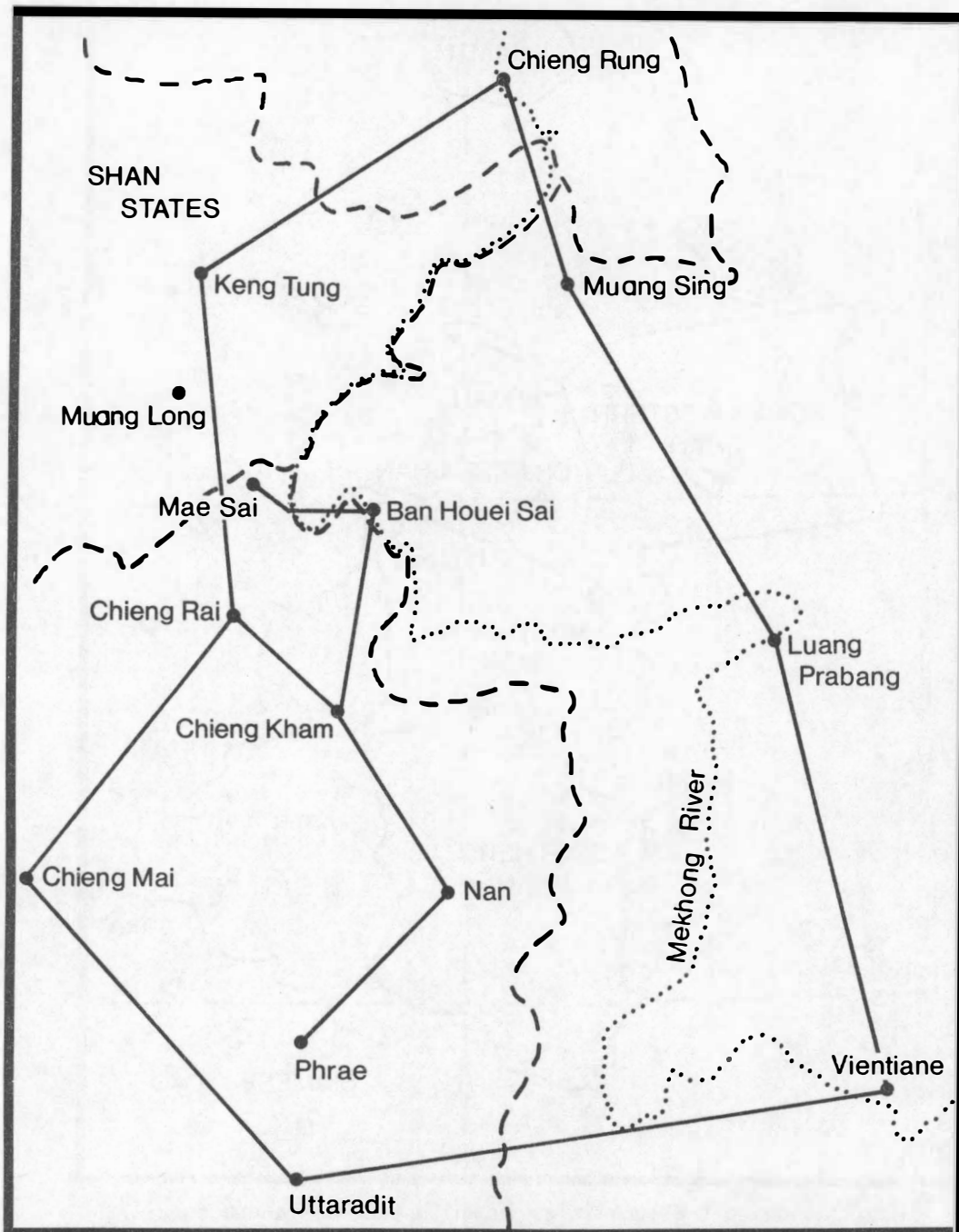
Finally, maps are shown at the end of this chapter in order to put the Lue and neighbouring dialects into clear perspective linguistically and historically.

The first map, hand-drawn, highlights the three points from which the data for the following chapters will be taken. For Lue of Cheng Tung (Sipsongpanna) we have the monograph of Li (1964); for Lue of Chiang Rung (Sipsongpanna), there is the publication of Fu Mao-Chi et al. (1956), the unpublished fieldnotes of Gedney (1968) and my own fielddata. Likewise, for Lue of Moeng Yong (Burma), we have relied on the unpublished fieldnotes of Gedney (1969) and my own data. The more recent Russian work on Lue (Morev 1978) appears to be in close agreement with the earlier work of Fu Mao-Chi et al. (1956), but has not been utilised here.

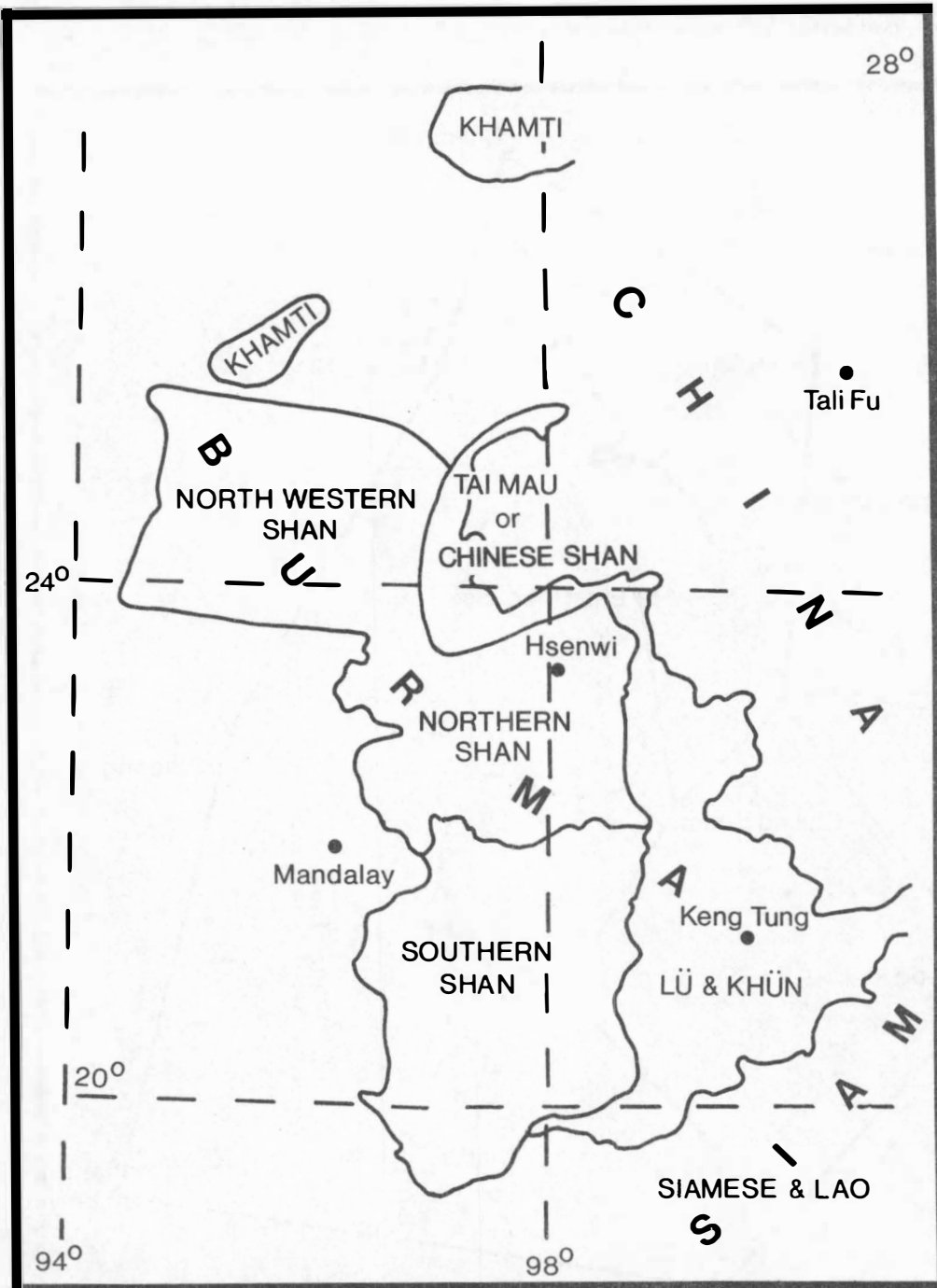
The second map, from the 1904 Linguistic Survey of India shows the relationship of Lue to Khün and varieties of Shan.

The third map is of historical interest in that it shows the earlier French division of 'Laos Occidental' and 'Laos Oriental'. It is taken from the Atlas of the well-known Mission Pavie (1903).

The fourth and final map shows the small but distinct Lue enclave in Binh Lue, Vietnam. The source is Deydier (1954).



Map 1: showing areas of greatest Lue concentration



Map 2: showing the localities in which the Tai languages of British India are spoken

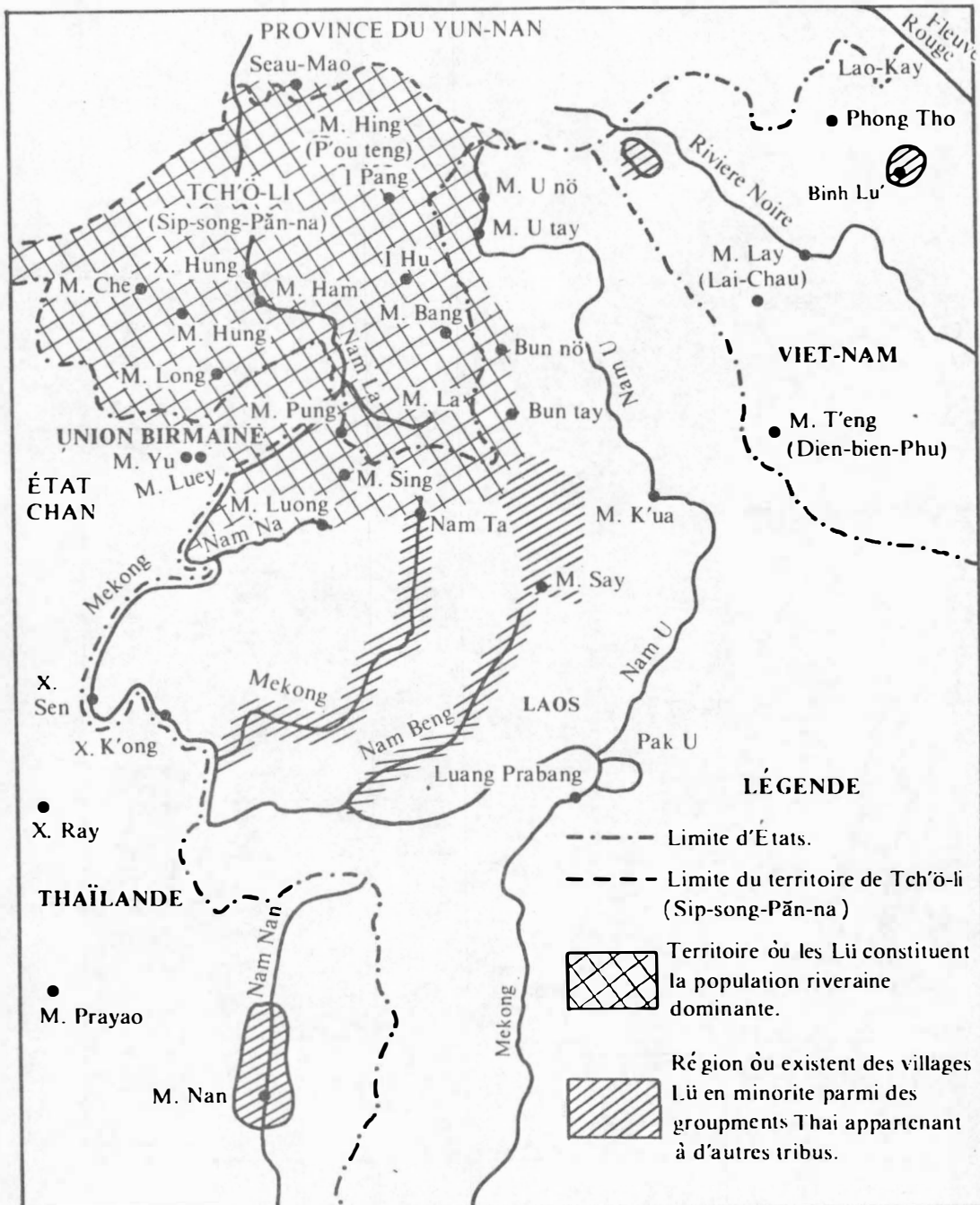
(Adapted from the Linguistic Survey of India, Grierson 1928).





Map 3: Earlier French division of 'Laos Occidental' and 'Laos Oriental' - Mission Pavie (1903)

RÉPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DE CHINE



Map 4: showing three major Lue speech areas previously studied by Gedney (1964) and Li (1964)

## CHAPTER III

### PHONOLOGY

In the preceding chapter, a survey of data from both published and unpublished sources indicated in general terms the close relationship between three varieties of Lue and the following: Shan, Khuen, Northern Thai, Lao and White Tai. In this chapter, we shall proceed to examine the phonological structure of the syllable in these dialects using Siamese as a reference point in the comparisons.

Most discussions of Tai, comparative or otherwise, begin with a description of the syllable, the Tai languages being basically monosyllabic. Tai is also tonal, and the syllable is the unit of tone placement (Abramson 1962). Depending on the phonemic analysis used — whether the glottal stop or vowel length are given the status of phonemes — the structure of the Tai syllable can be schematised as shown.

INITIAL	TONE	
$C_1$ (C) (C)	$V_1$ (V) VOCALIC NUCLEUS	( $C_2$ ) FINAL

Giving the glottal stop phonemic status, it then follows that every syllable has an obligatory initial consonant. One or two consonants may follow to form a two or three consonant cluster. In the South-western branch, double consonant clusters are the rule with the sonorants *r*, *l*, *w*, *y* as the second member. A vowel or vowel cluster will follow, and, optionally, a final consonant or semivowel. The possibilities for finals are limited to the stops *p*, *t*, *k*, *ʔ* (glottal stop), the nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and the semi-vowel *w*, *y* *ɣ*. The tone, which may be a register or contour (cf. Pike 1948), extends over the voiced portion of the syllable. The unvoiced segments do not carry tone; nevertheless they do have a conditioning effect on the final output of the tone on any particular syllable.

As part of the conditioning effect of finals on the shape of tones, syllables are further categorised as *free* (or *smooth*) and *dead* (or *checked*). In Siamese the terms are *kham pen* and *kham taay* respectively. Checked syllables end in the stops *p*, *t*, *k*, *ʔ*; a smooth syllable ends in a vowel or the sonorants *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *w*, *y*, *ɣ* (*ɣ* = *ɨ* as final offglide).

The conditioning effect of initial consonants is explained not in terms of syllable types but in a taxonomy of the phonetic characteristics of the reconstructed initials of the parent language. For Lue of Chieng Rung and White Tai of Muang Te, for example, it suffices to know whether or not an initial consonant was voiced or unvoiced in the parent, which, in the case of Proto-South-western Tai may not go back in time much farther than 1,000 years. For dialects where the distribution of tones is much more complex, a finer four-way grid for classifying the initials is needed. The grid used here is taken from Gedney (1964). The tones A, B, C, D are designations for proto-tones. The D-short and D-long are the tones for the checked syllables with long and short vowel nuclei respectively. The length of the vocalic nucleus in checked syllables is the third variable governing the shape of syllable tone. In analysing the tone of any one dialect, the usual procedure is to find minimal pairs in the smooth syllables. Whatever tones then emerge for the checked syllables can be matched up with the closest smooth counterparts. This is not always easily done, especially with knowledge of only one or two dialects. The difficulties in applying this procedure of mapping the tones from checked syllables onto the tones for smooth ones in the Northern Tai dialect is a case in point (cf. Purnell).

		Tones					
		Initials	Smooth Syllables			Checked Syllables	
			A	B	C	D-short	D-long
HIGH		Voicelless friction sounds					
		Voicelless unaspirated stops					
MID		Glottal stop & pre-glottal sound					
		Voiced sounds					
LOW							

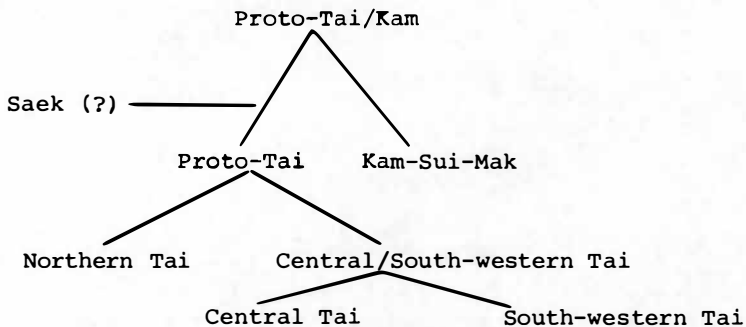
The preceding chart covers the salient phonetic features of initial consonants as they govern the historical development of tone in the Central and South-western branches. The Northern branch of the Tai family goes further in dividing the High class initials (or proto-voiceless friction sounds) along the lines of a \*hm vs. \*kh difference affecting the development of tones in the proto-A category (Gedney 1972b, 1974). This fine distinction does not concern Lue. Lue development is one of the simplest among the Tai languages.

If we go back to the time of the parent language, it is assumed that only three tones could be associated with smooth syllables, designated here as A (unmarked or neutral tone), B (Siamese máy ʔèek) and C (Siamese máy thoo). This condition of three simple tones is traced back to Proto-Tai, the period antecedent to the partition of the parent (or more homogeneous original model) into more diverse daughter dialects.<sup>8</sup>

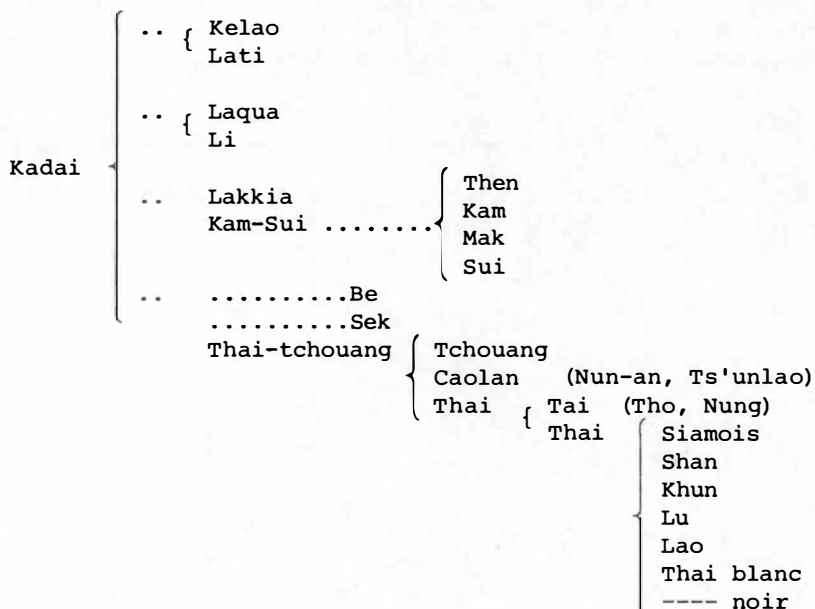
It is not clear what the case is when the time depth is pushed back even further to include the distantly related speech group called Kam-Sui-Mak (Li 1965, Oshika 1973). The shape of this older family tree can be found in a comparison of models suggested by Gedney (1970a, 1974) and Haudricourt (1967). The general presumption is that the opening stage of tonal splitting was simultaneous if not sudden in its effects on several languages in South-east Asia.

It is interesting to note in both of the models that Saek, classified elsewhere as a dialect of the Northern Tai (Kwangsi-Kweichow region), is seen by both scholars as diverging somewhat sooner than its sister dialects. The first scheme is from Gedney, the second from Haudricourt. The latter combines the so-called Tai-Kadai configuration. Haudricourt prefers the single label 'Kadai'.

## A. (Gedney)



## B. (Haudricourt)



At any rate, we are concerned here with the differentiation of the three tones A, B, C into double that number in Lue in the South-western branch. Using information provided by the Siamese writing system which was reformed by Ram Khamhaeng in 1283 (Coedes 1968) and which uses only the three undifferentiated tones, we can say, as does Gedney (1972b):

This tonal system lasted at least until after the time (about 1300 A.D.) when alphabetic writing systems were devised for some of the languages of the south-western part of the Tai-speaking domain, including Siamese.

It is not clear from this whether or not tones began to break up earlier in the Northern branch.

This splitting of the tones which occurred some time after 1300 A.D. in at least the South-western branch resulted in Lue, White Tai and many other Tai dialects being left with six tones in place of the original three. The division is what Haudricourt described as a "bipartition" of the three proto-tones along the lines of voicing of the initial consonant at the time of the split. The tonal splits of Lue at Chieng Rung can be diagrammed with a simple two-way division rather than the more complex four-way grid shown earlier.

Proto-Tai tones (smooth syllables)

	A	B	C
Voiceless	1.	2.	3.
Voiced	4.	5.	6.

The general shape of the tones of Chieng Rung are shown in the following diagram using both a system of numbered tones and their description in words along with the scheme used often in phonological description of Chinese tones. In the latter system, a pitch level of 5 is high and 1 is low; 3 would be in the mid range. (\* = proto-; vl = voiceless, vd = voiced).

	*A	*B	*C	*D-long	*D-short
*vl (yin)	1 high-level └ 55	2 mid-rising / 35	3 low, glot., slt. rise └ 13	=2	=1
*vd (yang)	4 fall-ing 	5 mid-level └	6 low, level, slt. rise └	=5	=5
	Smooth Syllables			Checked Syllables	

In this matrix, the maximum number of six tones are found on the smooth syllables. The tones on the checked syllables are matched up with their nearest counterparts in the class of smooth syllables. As explained earlier, the tones of the smooth and checked are conditioned by different variables so that they stand in complementary distribution. The tones shown here, then, are phonemic, not phonetic. In some works, e.g. Purnell (1963), it is not always clear whether the tones which are enumerated are phonemic or not. Closer examination reveals that the seven tones of Northern Thai, for example, are phonetic; only six can be isolated on free syllables.

Recalling the information from the four-way division of initials of Proto-Tai as they influenced tonal development, we can plot the tonal similarities and differences in the three varieties of Lue along with Khuen, Shan and White Tai.

Shan: Keng Tung City

A	B	C
↗		
↘	┘?	↙

\*vl friction  
 \*vl unaspir.  
 stops  
 \*glott.stop. &  
 pre-glott. snd.  
 \*vd

Khuen: 5 miles east  
of Keng Tung

A	B	C
↗		
↘	↗	┘?

\*vl  
 \*vd

Lue: Moeng Yong, Burma

A	B	C
↗		
↘	↗	┘?

Lue: Chieng Rung

A	B	C
↘	↗	┘?
↙	↘	↘

Lue: Chieng Tong

	A	B	C
*vl	↘	↗	┘
*vd	↙	↘	↘

White Tai: Tung Ngia,  
N. Vietnam

	A	B	C
*vl	↘	↗	↗?
*vd	┘?	↗	↙?

The data for the tonal charts shown above come from the unpublished field-notes of Gedney except for his publication on White Tai (1964) and F.K. Li's article on Lue of Cheng Tung (1964). The charts illustrate the nearly identical tonal contours for corresponding tones in Shan and Khuen of Keng Tung and Lue of Moeng Yong. This tonal isomorphism is obscured by the three different ethnic labels. On the other hand, Lue of Chieng Rung is much different from Lue of Moeng Yong or nearby White Tai.

On the following pages, the tonal shapes of Khuen of Keng Tung and Lue of Chieng Rung are compared to dialects studied by Brown (1965) such as Shan, varieties of Lao, and the dialects of Thai spoken at Bangkok, north-eastern and southern and northern Thailand. Again, it can be seen that Lue of Chieng Rung is closest to Shan, Khuen and the Northern Thai spoken at Chiengrai and Nan. But the Shan and Lue are closest in exhibiting the simple \*voiced-voiceless split. Brown's Shan informant was located in Chiengrai. It would be informative to know his exact origins. The Shan of Keng Tung from Gedney's unpublished

fieldnotes has tonal splits identical to Khuen of Keng Tung and Lue of Moeng Yong. However, he has Shan data from Ksi Paw, Burma and Chefang, Yunnan with tonal splits identical to the \*vd-vl one seen in Brown's charts. Another dialect spoken at Hsen Wii has six tones, making it even closer to Lue of Chieng Rung. Most dialects of Shan have only five tones due to coalescence of tones as in Siamese.

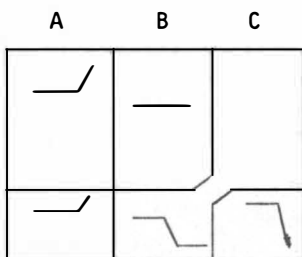
By contrast, Lue does not participate in any of the tonal splits found in the Lao of our data. A glance at the charts reveals that the Lao column C invariably has a split at the top conditioned by the High class initials (proto-voiceless friction).

The shapes of the Bangkok tones seem to share something in common with both the north and the north-east. They appear to mark something of a transitional zone.

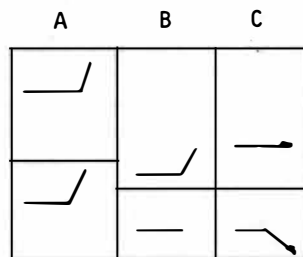
Haas (1958) finds that the Siamese and Chiengmai tonal systems are very close, the former being a reduction of the latter. (She presumably means a reduction in the number of tones.) Brown (1965:113) claims that the Khorat<sup>9</sup> and Bangkok dialects are mutually intelligible, presumably on the basis of tone — his major interest. To further complicate the picture of the relationship of Siamese (Central and Bangkok Thai included) to other dialects, Haas (*op.cit.* fn. 4) states: "In most other respects Siamese and Nakhonsithammarat are much closer together than Siamese and Chiangmai." The other aspects are not detailed.

The relationship of Bangkok Thai to other dialects is best illuminated by a closer comparison of more data. We recall that the typical pattern of tonal splits for the dialects of northern Thailand showed a division between A12-A34 or the \*voiceless friction and \*voiceless unaspirated sounds vs the \*pre-glottalised and \*voiced initials. In other words, the Mid class initials of the Siamese alphabet are divided, e.g. in Chiengmai. Yet Bangkok Thai splits the A column slightly higher — above, not through, the Mid class initials, or at A1-A234.

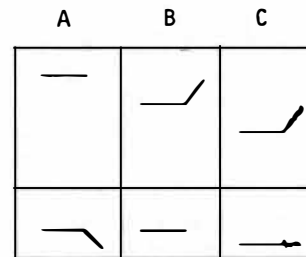
Shan



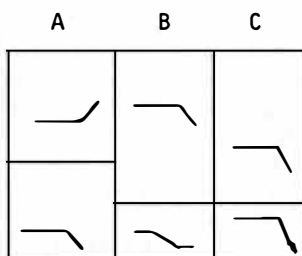
Khuen K.T.



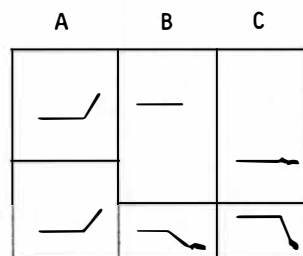
Lue C.R.



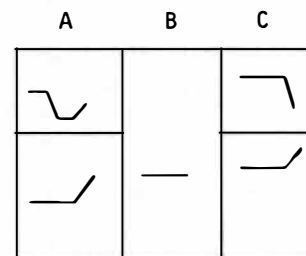
Chiengmai



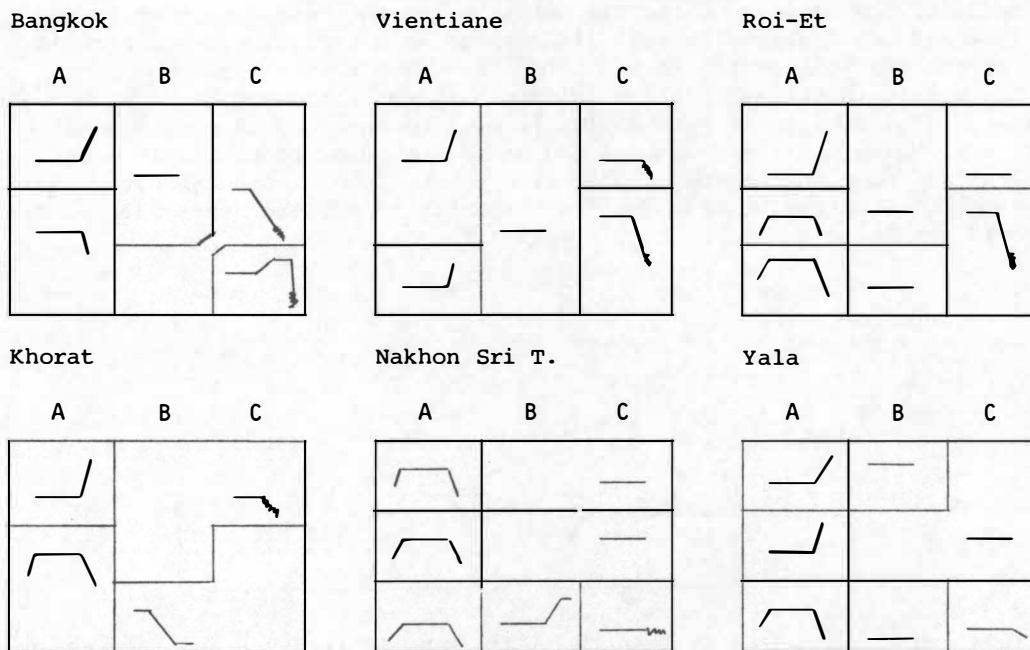
Nan



Luang Prabang


















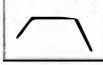




(Data from Brown 1965, except for Khuen and Lue)

If the Bangkok system is seen as a reduction of the Northern Thai system, the question is, why does it make the split in the A column at the point it does? Why does Bangkok Thai avoid dividing the Mid class initials? The answer comes from Haudricourt's astute observations concerning the use (functionalism) of tonal splits as a means of avoiding confusion that would result in homophony if tonal differences were not re-employed. His explanation underscores the basic tenet of de Saussure which says that in language there are only differences. When, in Thai, differences are lost in the classes of initials, the burden is taken up elsewhere: in tones, vowel splits (e.g. the Southern Thai dialects) or vowel lengthening perhaps. In this instance, the Bangkok split, the unique division of column A can be traced to the merging of the High and Low series in *ph*, *th*, *ch*, *kh*. To quote Haudricourt himself (Court translation in Harris & Noss 1972):

Thus the "high" letters and the "low" letters represent the two ancient series of initials - the voiceless aspirates and voiced consonants - which fell together in pronunciation and so caused the tones of the following vowels to split. The "mid" letters on the contrary represent the voiceless, non-aspirated stops, or glottalised consonants. These "mid" consonants were neither modified nor confused with the "high" and "low" series in the course of the change; the three old tones, A, B, and C thus had no reason to be modified phonetically after "mid" initials, but since the confusion of the "high" and "low" initials had given rise to a system of six tonemes for the vowels in the environment following "high" and "low" consonants, then the three tones in the environment following "mid" initials become phonemically speaking three architonemes, each of which tended to be confused phonetically with one or other of its corresponding tonemes ...

Haudricourt's notions of the tripartition and the resulting architonemes in Bangkok and Lao dialects is well illustrated as a real process in Brown's data. In the dialects of Roi-Et and Ubon, for example, the A-Mid and A-Low tones are nearly identical in shape (rising-falling) contour. They differ only in height. They seem to be remarkably close to coalescing, or coming near to the stage of being an architoneme (A-Mid and A-Low being phonetically identical). The Roi-Et and Ubon charts are adapted from Brown (1965). Special note should be made of the A column which shows the tripartition and the near-coalescence that would result in a Bangkok-like A split if completed.

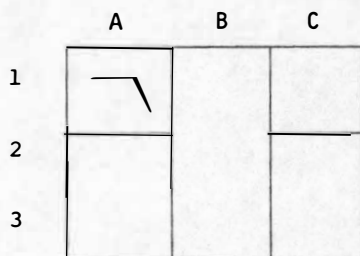
	Roi-Et			Ubon		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
HIGH						
MID						
LOW						

Haudricourt goes on to explain the A12-A34 split in Khuen and Yuan as another manifestation of tripartition. I prefer to view it simply as a bipartition of the A column due to the merger of \*b, d, g (Low) with \*p, t, k (Mid). There is no evidence for a 3-way split in the B and C columns of the other dialects with the same A12-A34 division. In effect, in these dialects (Khuen, Yuan) the two-way split simply functions to move the Mid class p-, t-, k- out of the Mid class tonal category. The remaining items in the Mid class initial series can have the same tone as the Low class p-, t-, k- and the other members of their series. Again, the idea is to use tonal partition to avoid general homophony.

Haudricourt's observations allow us to understand not only Bangkok Thai but the Lao dialects (including North-eastern Thai) and those of southern Thailand as well. These three areas have all participated in tripartition because all of them have undergone the same change of \*voiced > voiceless > aspirate initials in the Low series. As a result, the Low and High initials must be distinguished along tonal lines at all cost. But the Mid series in these dialects is free to coalesce tonally with either High or Mid.

Dialects of Lao take all three options for fusion or separation of tones along with lines of tripartition. Again looking at Brown's charts and rearranging them in a new classification, three patterns of Lao dialect difference emerge. First is the Lao dialect around Luang Prabang where the split is A1-A23. (It may be significant that the A1 tone is falling.) Dialects typified by Vientiane have an A12-A3 split. Typical of the Roi-Et group is the three way A1-A2-A3 split with the tendency to coalesce A23. The fusion is complete in typical Khorat-type dialects.

## Typical Northern Lao

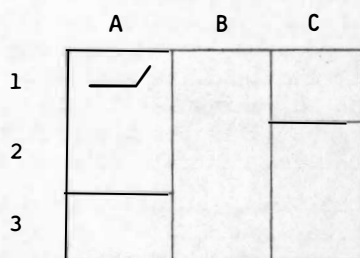
Luang Prabang

Loei

Dan Sai

Khaen Khao (A1 falling tone)

## Typical Central Lao

Vientiane

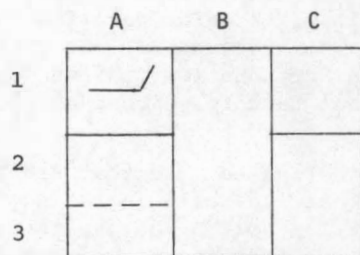
Lom Sak

Khon Sawan

Sakhon Nakon

Wanonnivat

Yo

Typical Southern Lao<sup>10</sup>/North-eastern ThaiRoi Et

Nong Khai

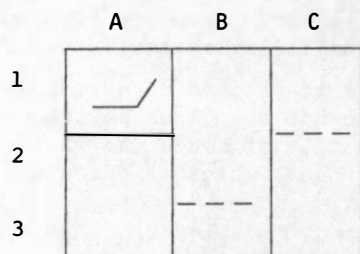
Ubon

Bua Yai

Khon Kaen

Udon

## Transitional Lao/North-eastern-Central Thai



## Khorat

Si Saket

Tha Tum

## Transitional Southern Thai

	A	B	C	Chumphon
1	—			
2				
3				

The grouping of Lao dialects along the lines of preference for coalescence after tripartition suggests three regional dialects: Northern, Central and Southern Lao. A fourth group called transitional is part of the Southern Lao group shown on the preceding page. It is separated out to show the transition toward the same A1-23 split found in Bangkok Thai and its similarity to a transitional Southern Thai found in Chumphon in peninsular Thailand. The A1 tonal contour rises for Khorat and Bangkok, but falls for the Chumphon dialect indicating another significant difference between Central and Southern speech.

It is even more interesting to note that Saek, a dialect from the Northern Tai branch which has relocated in the Lao area around Nakhon Phanom, has undergone the change of merging the High and Low aspirates and the resulting tripartition. The other Northern Tai dialects pattern differently. Wuming, Chuang, Puyi (cf. Sarawit 1973: dialect points 11, 12, 37, 38, 31, 36) have the simple \*vl-\*vd split. Yay, Poai, and Pu-yi (dialect points 7-9, 1-6, 10, 13-30, 32-35, 39, 40), also Northern Tai dialects, have tonal splits which parallel the divisions shown in the charts for Khuen and Northern Thai in general. We could say that with Saek we have an isolated instance of a Northern Tai dialect (Gedney 1970a) that has acquired Lao features due to contact factors which override genetic subgrouping.

On the other hand, it is equally interesting to note that Red Tai spoken in Laos is not typical of the Lao dialects. That is, following Gedney's data (1964) Red Tai does not have the Lao-like tripartition nor do the aspirates replace the \*b, d, g ... series. Instead, Red Tai has the features of White and Black Tai and other Tai dialects. The Lao-Central-Southern Thai features do not extend as far north as Red Tai which is spoken just south of the Black Tai community of Son La and north of Sam Neua, Laos. The latter point may well be the north-eastern frontier for the two features of the Lao, Central and Southern Thai dialects we have been considering. Simmonds (1965) states:

The dialect of Sam Neua, if it is to be considered valid as a dialect of Lao, appears in a somewhat anomalous position in that the tonal pattern resembles that of Black Tai while aspirated plosives occur on all tones, which is a feature of Lao.

This dialect could be considered a transitional point between the bipartite and tripartite groups as they have been classified up until now. The divisions of Sam Neua, adapted from Simmonds' information<sup>11</sup>, appear in the following chart. Note the A1 tone is rising as in the majority of Lao and Central Thai dialects.

## Sam Neua

	A	B	C	
1				
2				
3				*vl *vd

In order to summarise in a more general way the discussion of the last several pages, reference is made to the charts below showing bipartition (and its variant) contrasted to tripartition. The correlation of the two-way and three-way split with different initials is shown in synchronic terms.

## A. Bipartition: \*vl vs \*vd. Found in: Shan

	A	B	C	
ph				HIGH
p,b				MID
p				LOW

Tai Neua  
 Lue C. Rung  
 Lue C. Tung  
 White Tai  
 Black Tai  
 Red Tai  
 Sam Neua (?)  
 Cao Bang  
 Wuming

## Variant Bipartition: \*vl fr &amp; unasp. vs \*Pre-glot. &amp; vd. Found in: Shan Keng Tung

	A	B	C	
ph				HIGH
p				MID
b				
p				LOW

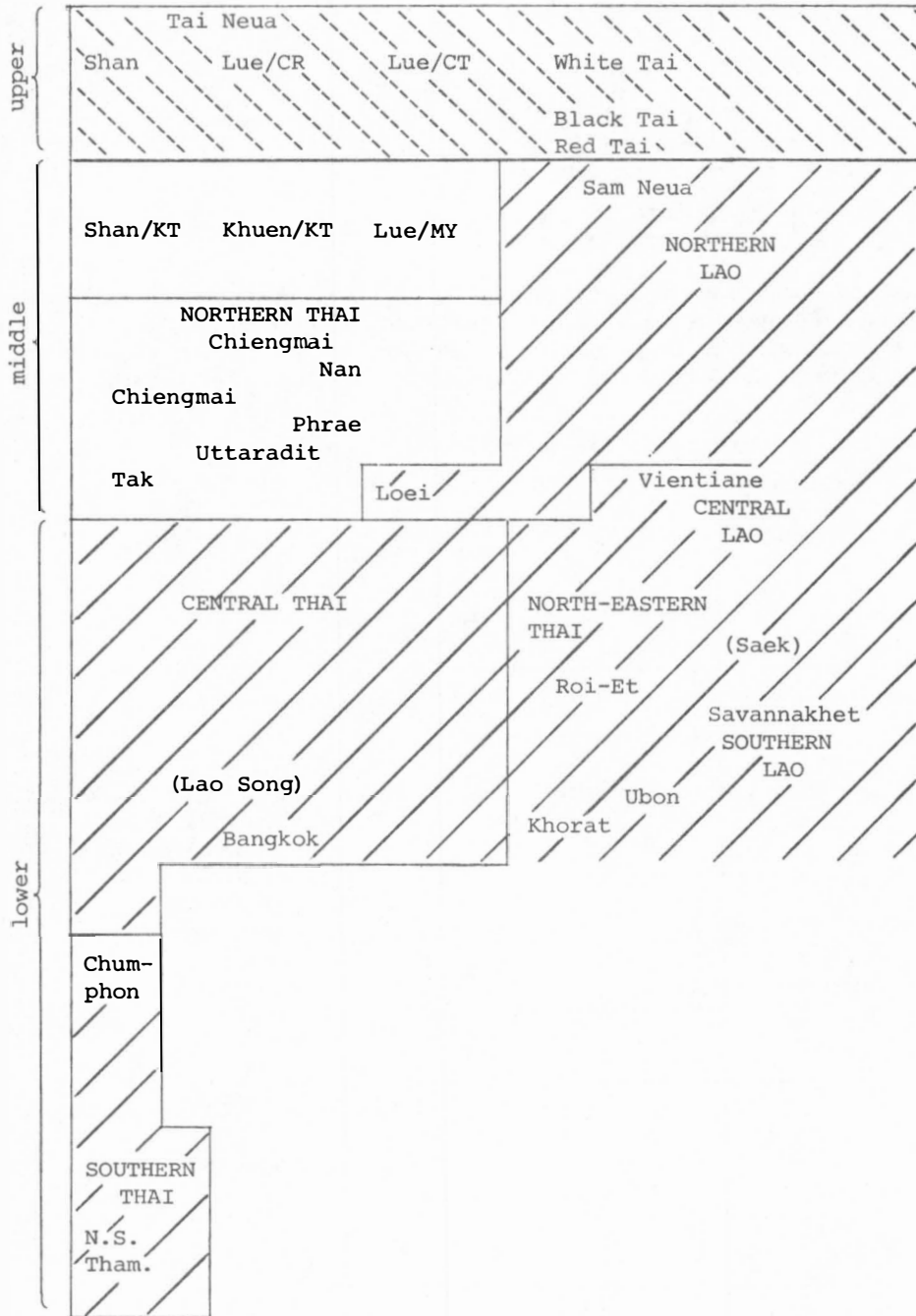
Khuen Keng Tung  
 Lue Moeng Yong  
 Chiengrai  
 Chiengmai  
 Nan  
 Phrae  
 Phayao  
 Tak

## B. Tripartition: High vs Mid vs Low.

	A	B	C	
ph				HIGH
p,b				MID
ph				LOW

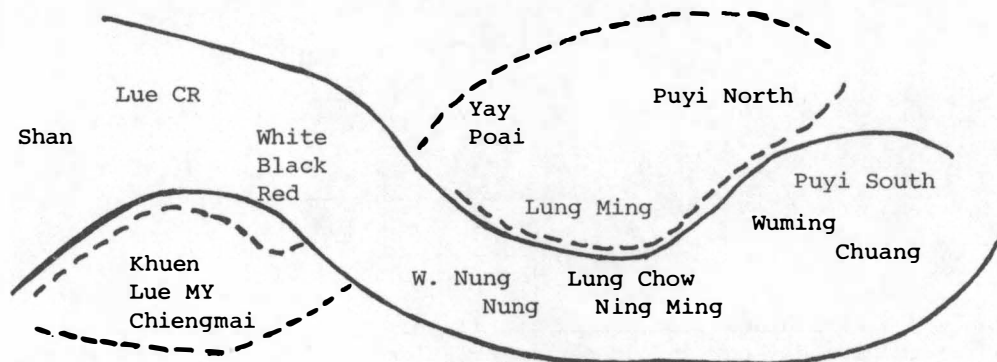
Luang Prabang  
 Loei  
 Vientiane  
 Roi-Et  
 Ubon  
 Khorat  
 Bangkok  
 Chumphon  
 Saek

A cartogram suggesting an alignment of these dialects is given below.



Suggested alignment of dialects in South-western Tai into three major subdivisions: upper, middle, and lower South-western Tai.

For the dialects of the Central branch, Sarawit (1973) has five points. In this very small area between White, Black and Red Tai to the west and the Chuang dialects around Wuming there is a line of continuity. The Central dialects of Lung Chow, Nung, W. Nung and Ning Ming (Gedney 1973) have the \*vl-vd split. Lung Ming shows a tonal split identical to Poai, to which it is fairly close geographically, and identical to the Chiengmai split. The remaining dialect, Lei Ping is aberrant. It has the three-way splits of Lao and Saek, indicating a displacement or unusual history. The schematic diagram below suggests a grouping of the dialects of the northern reaches of the Tai-speaking domain along the dimension of bipartition. The largest and most continuous group starts from the east with Wuming and the south-eastern segment of the Puyi group and continues across to Shan.



The continuous line indicates simple \*vl-vd bipartition. The dotted line encloses dialects where partition is through the centre of the so-called Mid initials or rows 12-34.

Comparisons with the tonal splits of the other two branches enlarges our understanding. First the Northern Tai. South-eastern Area: Wuming, Chuang, Puyi 11, 12, 31, 36-38

	A	B	C	
*vl	1	2	3	HIGH
				MID
*vd	4	5	6	LOW

North-eastern Area: Yay, Poai, Puyi 1-10, 13-30, 32-35, 39, 40

A. Puyi 7-9

	A	B	C	
	1	2	3	HIGH
				MID
	4	5	6	LOW

## B. Remaining Puyi and Yay

A	B	C	
1	2	3	HIGH
			MID
4	5	6	LOW

## C. Poai

A	B	D	
1	2	3	HIGH
			MID
4	5	6	LOW

Gedney (1967) advises students of Tai linguistics to advance our understanding of the Tai dialects by preparing an atlas showing various isoglosses. In Sarawit (1973) we find an admirable beginning for the vocalic changes. Our investigation of bipartition and tripartition clearly shows an east to west isogloss for the phenomenon. A map on page 32 has been prepared to show the \*vl-\*vd split connecting Wuming in the east to Shan in the west.

Still another isogloss which separates the more southerly dialects where the High and Low class aspirates merge (Lao, Central and Southern Thai) from the long northern band can be sketched, although with some uncertainty. Brown (1965:14) would draw a line for this purpose from Luang Prabang "down to Mekong to (and including) the Thai province of Loei". Adding to this the information found in Simmonds (1965), the boundary for the High ph/Low ph merger can be drawn through Tak. The question is, where does it cross northern Laos? The following map suggests a line connecting Luang Prabang and Sam Neua. From this we predict that the Lue and Lao dialects at Muang Sing, Laos — for which we have no data — will not have the tripartite tonal splits typical of Laodialects.

If the notion of bipartition is allowed to cover the dialects of northern Thailand, then the isogloss for tonal splits separating bipartition from tripartition and the isogloss separating the aspirated Low class initials (So.) from the unaspirated Low class initials (No.) are identical.

In this discussion of the classification of dialects based on common patterns of tonal splits, it is worth recalling that F.K. Li (1959) based his categories on lexical groupings. He appears to be following the lead of Leonard Bloomfield who contrasted the differences between the Germanic languages and other European languages first on the basis of vocabulary and then, secondarily, on phonological criteria. However, Li is careful to point out, "It is not claimed that lexical distribution is the sole, or even necessarily the best criterion for the classification of languages". Later he continues, "If a classification based on lexical elements is supported by phonological criteria, or vice versa, it will have more validity". We have chosen the reverse



approach, using the phonological dimensions of tone and their relationship to classes of initial consonants. As for lexical comparisons, earlier it was pointed out that Lue and Northern Tai shared as high as 90% of their vocabulary in common according to estimates of native speakers. The proportion for Lue and Siamese was put at 70%. A thoroughgoing study of comparative lexicon would doubtless prove extremely interesting, if not exhausting, and would shed further light on the subgrouping of dialects within South-western Tai.

For the moment, we shall continue phonological comparisons of the contoids, ignoring variation which shall be detailed later. The chart (A) directly below takes the data of Fu (1956) and compares it to Siamese (S). Three gaps denoted by a dash require an explanation. First, the glottal stop is not given phonemic status in the Fu analysis. Secondly, Siamese (c) and (ch) merge in Lue of Chiang Rung /ts/. Lastly, Siamese /r/ is Lue /h/ in illiterate speech. Following the comments on the next page, lexical citations (Chart B) are given showing changes from Siamese to Lue, or vice versa.

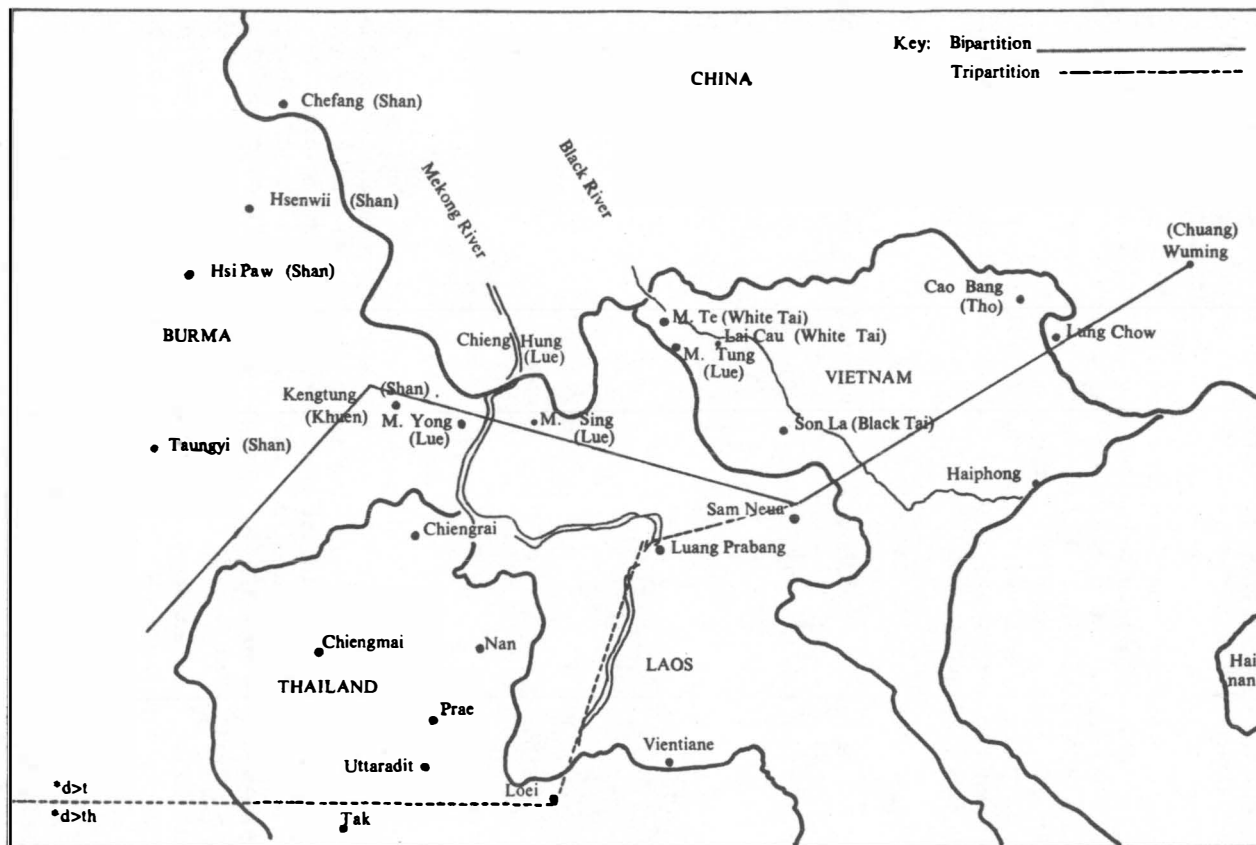
#### A. Siamese and Lue (C.R.) initials compared

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
Stops:	(S) Lue	(S) Lue	(S) Lue	(S) Lue	(S) Lue
vd unasp.	(b) b	(d) d			
vl unasp.	(p) p	(t) t	(c) ts	(k) k	(?) -
vl asp.	(ph) ph	(th) th	(ch) -	(kh) x	
Spirants:					
vl unasp.	(f) f	(s) s			(h) h
Sonorants:					
vd semi-vowels	(w) v		(j) j		
vd nasals	(m) m	(n) n		(n) n	
vd lateral		(l) l			
vd trill/retro- flex		(r) -			

The preceding chart requires additional elaboration. The symbol /ts/ used by Fu is later described as having [tʃ] as its actual pronunciation. If such is the case, then this sound must be close if not identical to the /c/ of Siamese, Northern Thai and White Tai. Cognates from Lue of Moeng Yong invariably have /s/ in place of /c/. Perhaps the reason for using /ts/ is the difficulty in analysing its exact articulation. Fu does not give a description of the mechanics of its production.

Harris (1972) has tackled the description of this troublesome sound with rigor. In the opening paragraphs of his article he takes exception of previous descriptions.

The Siamese syllable initial consonant sounds represented by the symbol ɤ have been described as frontal palatal (Kruatrachue, 1960); palatalized apical dental (Thaweesomboon 1969); palatoalveolar (Richards 1966); and voiced palatal (Fowler and Israsena 1952). I have not observed any of these pronunciations of ɤ either in Siamese or in other Thai dialects. In fact, the description of Siamese as a palatal stop or affricate is misleading.



Map 5: showing the isoglosses of change from Proto-Tai  
\*d to modern t and th respectively

Later we read his own description which would appear to cover Lue of Chieng Rung.

tɕ represents a voiceless unaspirated alveolopalatal glottalised stop. The fricative release of this sound usually is quite short in duration and not very perceptible. This sound only occurs syllable initially in Siamese. This is a very common pronunciation in Siamese.

tɕa:n "dish"

#### B. Siamese and Lue initials compared

	Siamese	Lue Chieng Rung	Gloss
(b)/b	bàa	baa <sup>2</sup>	shoulder
(p)/p	pen	pin <sup>1</sup>	to be, alive
(ph)/ph	phàk	phak <sup>1</sup>	vegetable
(f)/f	fǎa	faa <sup>1</sup>	plank wall
(w)/v	wan	van <sup>4</sup>	day
(m)/m	maa	maa <sup>4</sup>	to come
(d)/d	dàa	daa <sup>2</sup>	to scold
(t)/t	taa	taa <sup>1</sup>	eye
(th)/th	thàk	thak <sup>1</sup>	to knit
(s)/s	sɿŋ	siŋ <sup>1</sup>	lion
(n)/n	naa	naa <sup>4</sup>	rice field
(l)/l	laa	laa <sup>4</sup>	donkey
(r)/-	rian	heen <sup>4</sup>	to learn
(c)/ts	càk	tsak <sup>1</sup>	machine
(ch)/-	chiaŋ	tseŋ <sup>4</sup>	city
(j)/j	yaa	yaa <sup>1</sup>	medicine
(k)/x	khaa	xaa <sup>4</sup>	long, dry grass
(n)/n	ŋaa	ŋaa <sup>4</sup>	ivory
(?)/-	kɔ?	kɔ <sup>1</sup>	island
(h)/h	hàk	hak <sup>1</sup>	to break

On the next pages a comparison of Lue to six other dialects in the South-western branch with which it has varying degrees of contact is shown. The listing follows the reconstruction of Sarawit (1973). In the case of Khuen and Lue of Cheng Tung, educated guesses had to be made due to the lack of citation forms.

Proto-SW	Siamese	Shan	Khuen	N. Thai	Lue MY	Lue CR	White
High class initials (proto-voiceless friction sounds)							
*ph	ph	ph	ph	ph	ph	ph	ph
*th	th	th	th	th	th	th	th
*kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh
*ch	ch	sh	s	s	s	ts	c
*nm	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*hn	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
*ñ	y	y	y	ñ	y	y	ñ
*ŋ	ŋ	ŋ,h	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ,h	ŋ	h
*f	f	ph	f	f	f	f	f

Proto-SW	Siamese	Shan	Khuen	N. Thai	Lue MY	Lue CR	White
High class initials (continued)							
*s	s	ʃ	s	s	s	s	s
*xh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	x	x
*hw	w	w	w	w	v	v	v
*h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
*hl	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
Mid class initials (proto-voiceless unaspirated stops)							
*p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
*c	c	s	c	c	c	c	c
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
Mid class initials (glottal stop and pre-glottalised sounds)							
*ʔb	b	m,w	b	b	b	b	b
*ʔd	d	n,l	d	d	d	d	d
*ʔy	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
*ʔl	d	l,m	d	d	d,b	d	b
Low class initials (proto-voiced sounds)							
*b	ph	p	p	p	p	p	p
*d	th	t	t	t	t	t	t
*j	ch	s	c	c	c	c	c
*g	kh	k	k	k	k	k	k
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
*ñ	y	y	y	ñ	ñ	y	ñ
*ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
*w	w	w	w	w	v	v	v
*l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
*r	r, l	h	h, r	h	h	r, h, hr, l	h
*v	f	ph	f	f	f	f	f
*z	s	sh	s	s	s	s	s
*ɣ	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	x	x

In the preceding exhibit of initials, one is struck by the similarity of Lue of Chieng Rung to Siamese. It has not followed the pattern of \*ʔl changing to d, b and b, and \*ñ remaining \*ñ as in Lue of Moeng Yong and White Tai, for example. Neither has Lue of Chieng Tung for that matter. The replacement of Siamese /kh/ by Lue of Chieng Rung /x/ is a matter of variation which will be described later. The presence of /w/ in Lue of Cheng Tung (Li 1964), /v/ in Lue of Chieng Rung and Moeng Yong, /v/ in White Tai and /w/ in Khuen, Shan and Northern Thai calls for an explanation. At first glance, it seems that an isogloss would separate the /v/ of White Tai and Lue from the /w/ of Khuen, Shan and Northern Thai, or the eastern dialects from the western. But a closer look is not so convincing.

The reason for the puzzlement over the v-w isogloss may lie in varying conventions, theoretical reasons, or uncertainties of perception. In his phonemic analysis of Lue, Li (1964) chooses /w/ which he describes as

"labio-dental with no or little friction when it stands alone as an initial, otherwise it means simply lip rounding". This seems to accord very closely with Harris's (1972) description of Siamese  $\text{w}$  and  $w$ .

$w$  represents a voiced labio-velar approximant.  
This sound occurs syllable initially in Siamese.

wa:      to say

$\text{w}$  a voiced labio-velar fricative. This is a common pronunciation in emphatic speech. The friction is not very heavy but is perceptible.

To continue, in his article on White, Black and Red Tai, Gedney (1964) describes the White Tai / $v$ -/ as a "voiced labiodental fricative like English  $v$ ". Similarly, in his unpublished fieldnotes on Lue dialects, Gedney shows a / $v$ -/ for both Chieng Rung and Moeng Yong. In syllable final position a / $-w$ / is used, as solution to the problem which is quite like that of the Fippingers (1970) whose phonemic chart of Black Tai phonemes reads, in part

	Labial
Liquid	v- -w

Classical phonemic theory, of course, forces the use of either / $v$ / or / $w$ / but not both. In other transcriptions we find  $w$ - and  $-u$ . Fu (*op. cit*), for example, uses  $v$ -,  $xv$ - and  $-u$  in his citations.

From the standpoint of phonemic theory, the ideal solution is the one used by Li (1964) where he uses / $w$ / as his general symbol even though it usually approximates / $v$ / in syllable initial positions. Still it is intriguing to find that Li uses / $w$ / in his study of Wuming but / $v$ / for his analysis of Poai and Chuang. A similar shift is seen in Gedney who has / $v$ / in Yay and Saek as well as / $v$ / in Shan of Chefang, Tai Neua, Khuen and Shan of Keng Tung but / $w$ / for Shan of Hsi Paw:  $\text{woo}^1$  *ox*,  $\text{wii}^4$  *fan* (fieldnote citations).

Egerod consistently uses  $w$  in his phonemic charts for Shan, Khuen, Northern Thai and other Thai dialects. Purnell uses  $w$  in his Northern Thai dictionary. Davis has  $w$  for his description of the Nan dialect. We cannot be sure if they are merely following the 'Haas tradition' of using  $w$  for Siamese, if they are seeking an ideal phonemic solution to the problem, or if the  $w$  rather than  $v$  reflects linguistic reality for those dialects.

Up to this point in the comparison of Lue initial consonants with those of surrounding dialects, it is clear that the differences are not great except for Shan. Compared to Siamese, Shan has several changes which are unique among the dialects in the S.W. branch: Siamese  $b$  > Shan  $m, w$ ; Siamese  $d$  > Shan  $n, l$ ; Siamese  $f$  > Shan  $ph$ ; Siamese  $ch$  and  $c$  > Shan  $sh$ . What we have seen and said of Lue initials thus far indicates its dissimilarity to Shan. However, when we examine variation in Lue in greater depth in the next chapter, we will see that Lue points in the western half of Sipsongpanna have Shan initials:  $m$ ,  $w$  and  $n$ ,  $l$  and  $ph$ . The Mekong River, which bisects the Lue area of Sipsongpanna, is a major isogloss for these features in Yunnan at least. This does not appear to hold true for vocalic changes which we shall presently examine.

First we shall briefly compare consonant clusters. In spoken Lue of Chieng Rung, the only clusters found in the description of Fu (1956) are  $kv$ - and  $xv$ -. Otherwise the only other significant development of clusters from Proto-Tai is that  $*br$  and  $*gr$  appear as  $ph$  and  $kh$ ,  $x$  - aspirates in the modern Lue Low class initial series.

Despite the general observation that only two clusters are found in contemporary spoken Lue and most of the surrounding dialects, other data include some more rarely spoken and literary clusters. The following chart has been prepared showing possible ones. No attempt is made to trace their historical development.

<u>Siamese</u>	<u>Shan</u>	<u>Khuen</u>	<u>N. Thai</u>	<u>Lue</u>	<u>Lao</u>	<u>White Tai</u>
	py		py			
	phy		phw			
	pw					
pr	pr					
pl				pl		
phr	phr			(ph)		
phl						
	my	my	my			
	mr					
	tw	tw	tw, cw	tw		
tr	tr			thr		
				thl		
	thw	thw	thw			
	lw		lw, ?w			
	sr	sr				
	shr		sw, sy	sw	sw	
kw	kw	kw	kw, ky	kw	kw	kw
			w(n)y			xw
khw	khw	khw	khw	xw	khw	khw
kr	kr					
kl						
KHR	Khr			(x)		
khI						

nw

Comparing different sets of data leads to the conclusion that the status of clusters in various dialects is quite uncertain. The 17 clusters for Shan come from Egerod (*op. cit.*). Contrast this with only three in the Shan study by Bhanthumeeta (1964): pr, kw, and khw. To the Northern Thai clusters shown (Egerod 1961), Suntharagul (1963) adds jw and sl. Roffe (1946) has, for Lao of Luang Prabang, cw, kw, thw, khw, sw, nw, lw, ha. It is clear that many of these more exotic clusters are literary only. The final certainty is that the clusters kw and khw are stable everywhere and comprise the main clusters in the northern geographic points of the South-western branch. As we move south toward Bangkok and Southern Thailand, the number of clusters increases, especially those with l or r as a second member. Suffice it to say that in spoken Lue in general, we can expect to find only xw, khw (xw ~ khw) and kw. Sarawit (1973) shows the historical development of clusters using data based on speech rather than literary sources.

When we turn our attention to systems of vocoids, the link between Lue, Shan, Khuen and White Tai is confirmed even more. Unlike Northern Thai, Siamese and Lao which all have the diphthongs ia, ɨa, ua, these four more northerly dialects have none at all. We find instead that they have been lowered and shortened in length to e, ə, o respectively.

A second feature is vowel length. In every dialect in the Tai language family, there is a length distinction between a/aa. The former is higher and further back, the latter lower and more central. By using the distinctive feature of height rather than length, length does not need to be considered phonemic in those systems that do not have length contrast in the other vowels. This is the case with respect to Lue of Cheng Tung (Li 1964). That system is shown below.

Front Unrounded	Back Unrounded	Back Unrounded
/ i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	ǎ	ɔ
	a	/

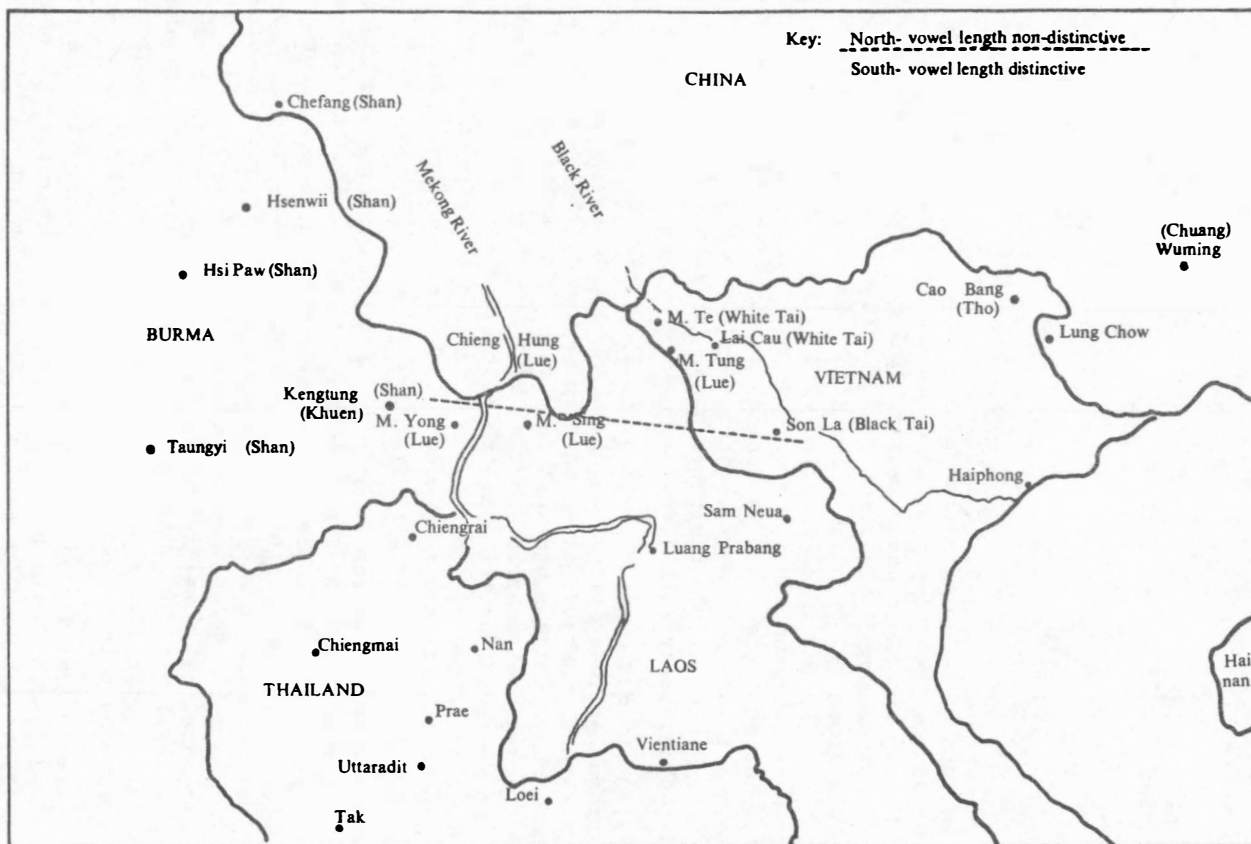
Finally, we turn to the compendious work of Brown (1965) as arbiter. Surprisingly, he undoes the work of most of the scholars just mentioned. He shows a *v* all the way from Shan and Chiangmai dialects down through Bangkok. Haas (1964) and most concerned linguists show a *w* initial for Siamese (Central or Bangkok). Even Brown (1969) himself later opts for *w* in his A.U.A. Thai language series. Still, in his comparative work (1965), only the Southern Thai dialects starting at Chumphon exhibit a *w*. The possibility exists that Brown's earlier (1965) solution for *v* and *w* is linked to initial clusters involving *w/v* as the second element. In his Bangkok chart, no clusters appear; a *v* is convenient there as an initial. On the other hand, for Yala and Satun we find a *fw* cluster and the necessary initial *w*.

If we were to attempt to draw an isogloss separating *v* from *w*, in the South-western branch at least, it would be an impossible task using the data we have. Taking a temporary stand, it seems safe to assume that *v* and *w* vary quite widely throughout most of the South-western region. In Cambodian, *v* and *w* also vary, suggesting a regional feature (Ehrman 1972).<sup>12</sup> In general, the data suggest that *v* be reserved for the dialects of the northern geographic reaches (White Tai, Lue, Shan, Khuen, Tai Neua) and *w* for the lower portions (Lao, Siamese, Southern Thai). It may turn out that the Northern Thai region is a transitional zone for *v* and *w*, as it appears to be for *kh* and *w*.

This same description applies to Shan (Egerod 1957), White and Black Tai (Gedney 1964). In most of Lue of Sipsongpanna (Fu 1956) the situation can be considered the same. In a small district of Sipsongpanna, vowel length does appear to be phonemic in the speech of speakers of all age groups. In some other areas, older speakers in Sipsongpanna maintain the length distinction, while the younger do not. As we move southward into the Lue community of Moeng Yong, it appears that vowel length is phonemic. But again, it may depend on the age and personal history of the speaker. The Lue in Thailand likewise may be preserving an older distinction or may have acquired it through contact with Standard Thai taught in the schools and reinforced by the Siamese alphabet.

The map on the following page displays an isogloss separating the northern region, where vowel length is not phonemic, from the southern portions where vowel length contrasts are more common but still not of great significance in terms of functional load.

To illustrate the transition from absence of phonemic vowel length to partial, examine Khuen. While the Khuen system is generally viewed as having phonemic vowel length, the three central vowels — *e*, *ə*, *o* — are short only



Map 6: showing vowel length distinctions  
 between North and South

before a final glottal stop, clearly non-phonemic. For a fuller discussion of vowel length see Sarawit (1973) and Hartmann (1976a).



Similarly, Lue of Moeng Yong analysed by Sarawit (1973) shows an absence of vowel length contrasts on the high vowels on live syllables. We assume from her rule that these same vowels contrast on dead syllables. We can schematise the transition or gradual change of vowel length contrast below the isogloss shown on the following chart using the Khuen and Lue data.

Lue M.Y.	i    †    u	only short in Lue M.Y. (long in Khuen)
Khuen	e    o	only short in Khuen (long in Lue M.Y.)
	ɛ, ɛɛ    a, aa    ɔ, ɔɔ	short/long in both Khuen and Lue Moeng Yong

In addition to the general absence of vowel length and the lowering of diphthongs to single vowels, a unique vowel raising phenomenon called *nasal umlaut* by Li (1964) exists in all varieties of Lue and White Tai. Defined as a raising of vowels corresponding to Siamese /e/ and /u/ before a final nasal, Li gives the following examples.

Siamese	/khon/	<i>person</i>	Lue	/kun <sup>2</sup> /
	/pen/	<i>to be</i>		/pin/
	/doŋ/	<i>forest</i>		/duŋ/
	/phom/	<i>hair</i>		/phum/

The debate over the historical development of vowel length is discussed further in Hartmann (1976a), F.K. Li (1977) and Brown (1979). Brown's solution is for Proto-Thai (Siamese); Li's is for Proto-Tai, as it is commonly known (three branches).

Final nasal environments shorten the front and back low vowels in the Lue of Moeng Yong. The rules according to Sarawit are as follows:

*ɛ:ɛ / _____	{ Nasal Glide [+labial]
*ɔ:ɔɔ / _____	{ Nasal Glide [+palatal]

We might note that in other White Tai, Lue and Shan data, there appears to be a raising of Siamese /ə/ to /ɨ/, completing the raising of all mid vowels to high in the environment of final nasals. For example, in the speech of some informants we find /ŋɨn/ *silver*. Until more data are available, it is best to treat these items as exceptions.<sup>13</sup>

Quite possibly the most exclusively Lue feature is the raising of Siamese /a/ to Lue /ɛ/ when 'flanked by a dental or prepalatal initial and a dental final'. Li (1964) gives the following examples.

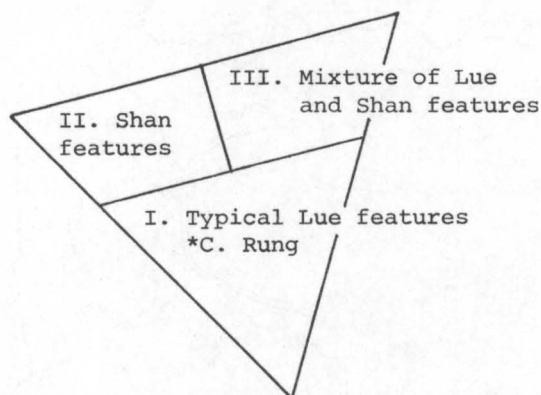
Siamese	/tat/	<i>to cut</i>	Lue CT	/tɛt/
	/sat/	<i>animal</i>		/sɛt/



## CHAPTER IV

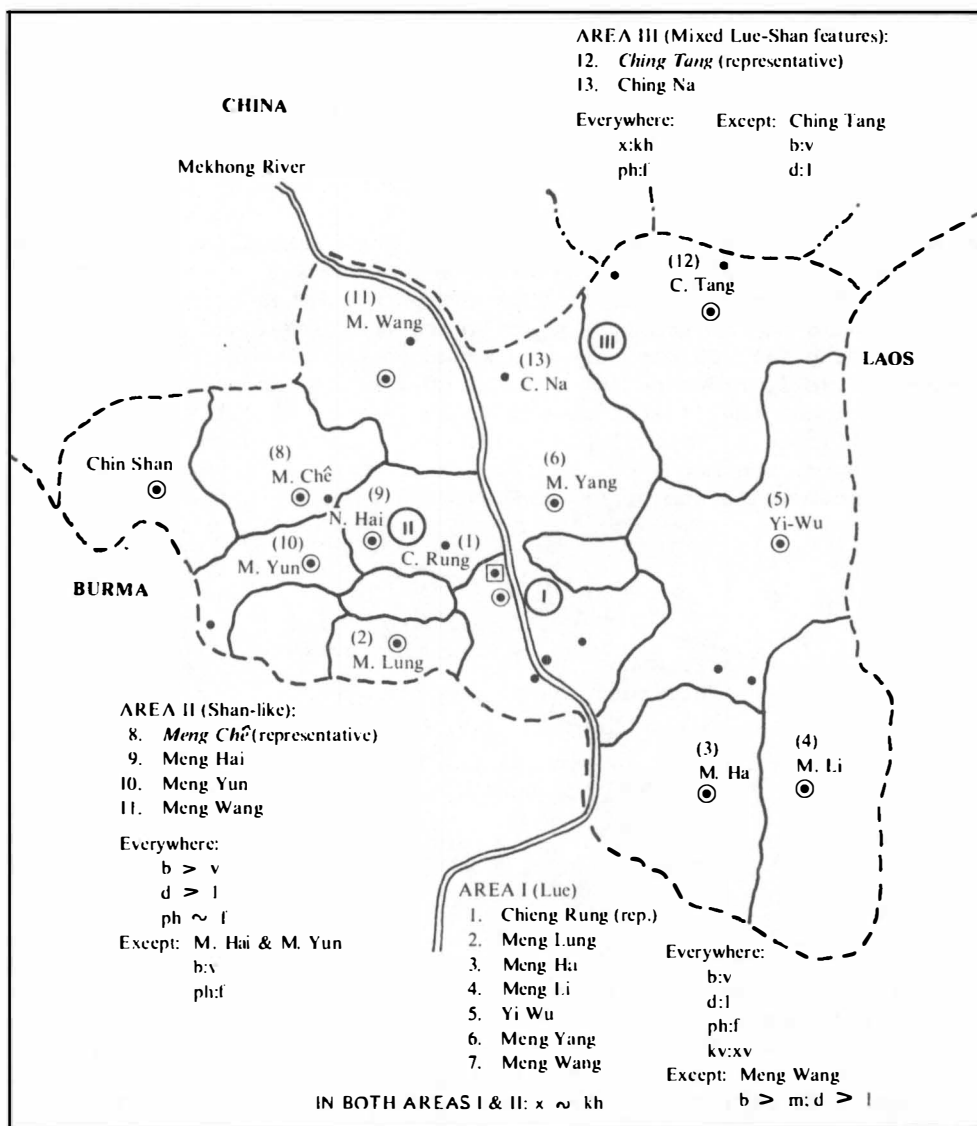
### VARIATION

The focal point of this chapter will be the dialect map adapted from the admirable work of Fu et al. (1956) referred to in the previous chapters. A copy of their map follows on page 42. On it I have summarised the information on differences in initials found in the three subdialect areas of Sipsongpanna, the area covered by the map. It is this region which has been traditionally regarded as the home of the Lue, the place where they are found in largest concentrations. The capital, Chieng Rung, is shown on the map on the left bank of the Mekong River where it flows out of Yunnan and into adjoining Burma, Thailand and Laos. This city and the dialect region it dominates naturally have all of the features identifiable as typical Lue speech as outlined in the preceding chapter. In abstracted form, the map shows how the lower half of Sipsongpanna has strictly Lue-like features, while the upper half shows distinct signs of Shan-like features.



Perhaps the most interesting free variant is the  $x \sim kh$  oscillation reported throughout all of Sipsongpanna. Apparently this same variation extends into Northern Thai as well. In their language instruction text for Northern Thai, Hope and Purnell (1962) indicate that /kh/ can also be pronounced as "/x/ (voiceless velar fricative) or /khx/ combination of the two". In the preceding chapter, it was seen that /x/ contrasts with /kh/ in White Tai, while /kh/ alone appears in Lao and Siamese.

Similarly, region II in Sipsongpanna has the noticeable free variant  $ph \sim f$ , showing a transition to the unique Shan feature of /ph/ where other dialects use /f/ only. There is no indication in any publications on these dialects

(Adapted from Fu Mao-Chi *et al.*, 1956)

Map 7: Three major dialect areas within Sipsongpanna

that these are socially conditioned variations. From an anthropological standpoint, it would be enlightening to find out if the speakers in region II or III regard themselves as Lue or Shan or perhaps even Tai Neua. In addition one would like to know if they are familiar with the typical Lue chant under study in this paper.

There is a socially conditioned variant report by Fu (*op. cit.*) for Lue of Chieng Rung. It mirrors exactly the same phenomenon found in Bangkok speech by Beebe (1974). In the Lue case, the conditioning factor is literacy. For those who are literate a h:l distinction can be found in Siamese h:r cognates. For the illiterate the contrast merges to /h/.

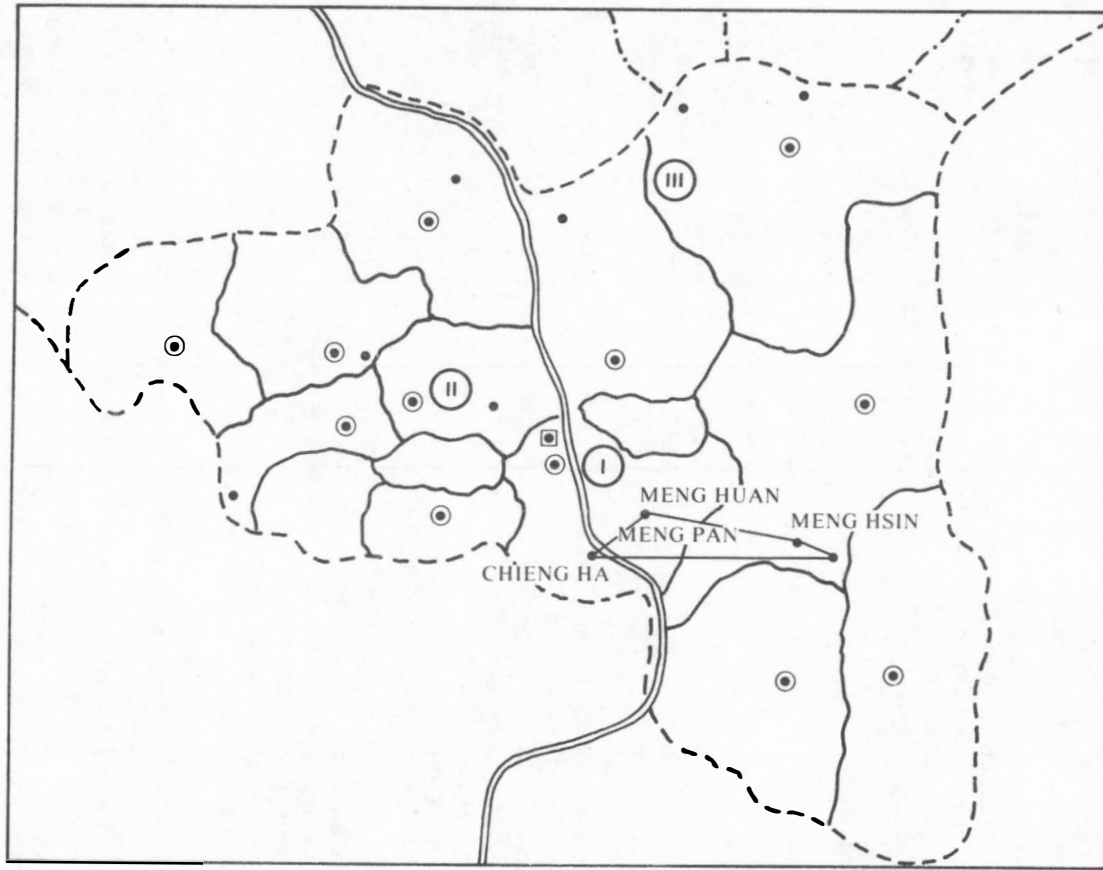
The following list shows the conditioning effect of literacy on the speech of the Lue. No reference is made to socioeconomic class differences. It is probably the case that the former and present ruling classes are of necessity more literate than the peasantry. The comparisons are between standard written Thai and Lue of Chieng Rung. The data are taken from Fu (*op. cit.*).

<u>Standard Thai</u>	<u>Lue Chieng Rung (Hung)</u>	
	illiterate - literate	
rûup	hop <sup>5</sup>	h <sup>~</sup> lop
rúu	h <sup>u</sup> u <sup>6</sup>	h <sup>~</sup> luu
rák	hak <sup>5</sup>	h <sup>~</sup> lak
raw	haw <sup>4</sup>	h <sup>~</sup> law
rεεŋ	hεεŋ <sup>4</sup>	h <sup>~</sup> lεεŋ

In an additional note, the authors state that the illiterate change \*r to h- completely, but the literate confuse \*r with r-, hr- or hl in addition to l ~ h. It is not clear whether or not a reading pronunciation is meant here. That is, it may be the case that subjects were asked to read from texts and gave all of these variant pronunciations for r- cognates. By the same token, it is even more remarkable to note that Li (1964) has /hr/ as a phoneme in his analysis of Lue of Cheng Tung. He reports:

The phonemic status of /hr/ is interesting. It often alternates with /h/ in tone 2, 4, and 6 ..., /hr/ being the literary and more formal pronunciation, and /h/ being the common form. Thus a word like /hray<sup>2</sup>/ chicken flea, is likely to be pronounced with /h/, while a word like /hra<sup>2</sup>-ca<sup>4</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup> ta/ mother of a prince, is likely to be pronounced with /hr/.

When we turn our attention to variation in vowel length, diversity is not as great as it was for initials. In the previous chapter, it was stated that, in general, vowel length is not phonemic for Lue of Cheng Tung (Li, *ibid.*) or for Lue of Chieng Rung (Fu, *op. cit.*). For Lue of Moeng Yong, Burma and Lue of Chiengkham, Thailand, length distinction varies depending on the vowel height, the age or location of the speaker or other incompletely studied variables. Here we wish to demonstrate only that phonemic vowel length is not to be found throughout most of Sipsongpanna. Again we refer to the map adapted from a translation of the work of Fu, *et al.* In only one small pocket south-east of Chieng Rung is vowel length phonemic for all age groups. (See the map on page 44.) A generation difference does appear at two points: Chieng Rung and Meng-Hai. There, the older speakers maintain a u:uu and ε:εε contrast. Otherwise vowel length differences are phonetically conditioned. In dead syllables



Map 8: Points in Sipsongpanna where short-long vowels are distinctive among the young, middle-aged and the old

with a rising tone, all vowels are lengthened (cf. Li 1964). In another case reported in unpublished notes, Gedney found that his chief Chieng Rung informant has a length distinction between  $\varepsilon:\varepsilon$  and  $\circ:\circ$  before nasals. Along the same lines, Sarawit's (1973) rules for Lue of Moeng Yong show an absence of phonemic contrast for the high vowels.

These geographical and generational differences in vowel length distinctions appear to be somewhat idiosyncratic. Or quite possibly they argue well for the theory of lexical diffusion as put forth most recently by Chen and Wang (1975). In that theory of linguistic change, systems are transformed not by sudden and wholesale replacements or alterations of rules. Instead, change is selective and enters the language partially, though regularly, with a preference for naturalness conditions that are not always easy to explain. Thus in Siamese, there is a definite preference for vowel length with the low series:  $aa$ ,  $\varepsilon\varepsilon$ ,  $\circ\circ$  and the high central vowel  $ii$ . In the tonal category \*C, vowel length is promoted or at least preserved in Siamese. These details and supporting data are presented at length by Hartmann (1976a), Li (1977) and Brown (1979).

It is certainly clear that in most Tai dialects, vowel length is not phonemic. In the Proto-Tai reconstructions of both Brown (1965) and Sarawit (1973) vowel length is clearly distinctive. One assumes that the loss of length contrast, along with the loss of distinctions in the initials was absorbed by the development of tonal distinctions resulting from the two- and three-way splits. Similarly for Chinese, Chen and Wang found that of 600-odd dialects they studied, vowel length was phonemic only in Guangzhōu and a few Mandarin dialects of Hebei province. The loss of vocalic length contrasts in the other Chinese dialects apparently was compensated for by the development of tonal differences. The following quote from Chen and Wang (1975) might well parallel what has happened to vowel length in Tai, historically speaking.

A comparative study of a fairly representative sample of Chinese dialects suggests that the phonemic contrast of vowel duration either quickly disappeared, being highly unstable, or was re-interpreted as a distinctive pitch contour.

A final variant in Lue worth commenting on, if only for its unusualness, is syllabic  $\eta$ . Because it varies chiefly with the full or partially reduced forms for the negative  $baw^{1,2}$  or  $ba^{-5}$ , it might be considered a lexical variant as well. But here we take the theoretical stand of Pike (1967) which asserts the obvious overlap of phonology, grammar (syntax) and lexicon (semantics). Because the negative in Lue is in a syntactically weak position typical of function words, it is, as in English, subject to reduction in stress – a phonological phenomenon – and is realised by three apparently different lexical forms.

By way of comparison, syllabic  $\eta$  is found in Northern Thai (Hope and Purnell 1962) as a variant of  $ba-$ , a prefix used to indicate fruit and some other roundish, lumpy objects. In Shan,  $\eta$  is used, as in Lue, to express negation (Cushing 1914; Egerod 1957). Likewise, Cantonese and Cambodian use syllabic  $\eta$  in negation. In Lue, however,  $\eta$  represents at least four other different morphemes. The details are presented in Hartmann (1975).

From the standpoint of phonology, the syllabic  $\eta$  in Lue is remarkable in that it has two tones depending on the tonal category of the following morpheme. Accordingly,  $\eta^2$  (mid-rising) is followed by syllables bearing tones 1 or 4, the tones of the A column in the charts of historical development of tones. Syllabic  $\eta^1$  (high-level) is followed by syllables bearing tones 2, 5 (column B), 3, 6 (column C). In synchronic terms, the difference between the A tonal environment

on the one hand, and the combined B-C category on the other, is that the former has a higher entry point for the tones (1 & 4) than the latter (2, 3, 5, 6).

Assuming that a reduction of stress precedes the reassignment of tone 1 or 2 to  $\bar{m}$ , a final polarisation rule can be used to explain the bitonal nature of the syllabic.

$$\bar{m} \longrightarrow [\alpha \text{ H}] / \text{_____} [- \alpha \text{ H}]$$

Or in more concrete terms this means

$$\bar{m} \text{ (unstressed)} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{m}^2 \text{ (low)} / \text{_____} \text{ +high pitch} \\ \bar{m}^1 \text{ (high)} / \text{_____} \text{ -high pitch} \end{array} \right\}$$

It should be understood that the actual shape of tone 2 is mid-rising. But for purposes of polarisation, it is relatively low with respect to tone 1 which is, in fact, high level.

As a phonological/lexical innovation, then, syllabic  $\bar{m}$  is presented as a variant of Lue *baw<sup>2</sup> not*, *maak<sup>2</sup> fruit*, *bak<sup>1</sup> prefix used for young males, informal*, *mɨ<sup>6</sup> day (linear time)*, the vocative prefix as in  $\bar{m}^1$  *pɔɔ father dear* and in the forms  $\bar{m}$  *tuu<sup>1</sup> door* and  $\bar{m}$  *saŋ<sup>1</sup> what*. Because the syllabic  $\bar{m}$  is found in neighbouring Shan and Northern Thai, though to a lesser extent perhaps, and in words of high frequency, this would be an important lexical/phonological isogloss showing the lines of communication among these dialects and the direction of change in Lue towards these more dominant speech communities.

Syllabic  $\bar{m}$  in Lue must be said to be a feature of ordinary speech. As for the 'elevated speech' of the sung narrative, only */baw<sup>2</sup>/ not* appears. One informant, the 70 year old Caw Mom Laa, the last son of the former Prince of Chieng Rung, vehemently denied the existence of  $\bar{m}$  in any form of Lue. He, of course, was highly literate in Lue and was considered the final authority on all linguistic matters concerning Lue. The innovation of  $\bar{m}$  certainly is not that recent as the study by Fu et al. shows. But again, it shows that Lue has participated in changes developing in Shan and Northern Thai, both of which have the syllabic  $\bar{m}$ .

The same tendency of Lue to reduce the syllable to a syllabic (as in  $\bar{m}$ ) is found in polysyllabic words where the reduction results in *phonetic 'clusters'* that resemble the list of exotic *phonemic clusters* reported by Egerod for Shan and Northern Thai. Such Lue clusters would include *sl-*, *sn-*, *phy-*, *sb-*, *pl-*, *ky-*, *xn-*, *phl-*, *kl-*, none of which were reported earlier as genuine initial consonant clusters in the array of Chieng Rung phonemes.

Syllables involved in the reduction have the short central vowels *a* and *ɨ* followed by the glottal stop when pronounced in isolation. In a context of reduced stress in rapid speech, the tone of the syllable (1- high level or 5- mid level) is neutralised and the vowel reduced to zero. Fu (1956) lists the following forms as illustration.

$sa^1-la^1-ʔat^2$	is read as	$sa-la^1-ʔat^2$	or	$sla^1-ʔat^2$	<i>grandeur</i>
$sa^1-nam^1$	is read as	$sa-nam^1$	or	$snam^1$	<i>government</i>
$sa^1-nat^1$	is read as	$sa-nat^1$	or	$snat^1$	<i>secret</i>
$sa^1-mut^1$	is read as	$sa-mut^1$	or	$smut^1$	<i>sea</i>
$pha^1-yaa^1$	is read as	$pha-yaa^1$	or	$phyaa^1$	<i>wisdom</i>
$suk^1-sa^1-bay^4$	is read as	$suk^1-sa-bay^4$	or	$suk^1-sbay^4$	<i>good fortune</i>
$saa^1-sa^1-naa^4$	is read as	$saa^1-sa-naa^4$	or	$saa^1-snaa^4$	<i>religion</i>



pha<sup>5</sup>-yaa<sup>4</sup> is read as pha-yaa<sup>4</sup> or phyaa<sup>4</sup> *a title, rank*  
 pa<sup>5</sup>-laat<sup>5</sup> is read as pa-la<sup>5</sup> or pla<sup>5</sup> *to slip, fall*  
 pha<sup>5</sup>-yaat<sup>5</sup> is read as pha-taat or phyaat *sickness*  
 sa<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> is read as sa-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> *effect, influence*  
 pa<sup>5</sup>-ya<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> is read as pa-ya<sup>7</sup> or pya<sup>7</sup> *performance*  
 xa<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> is read as xa-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> or xna<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> *suppress*  
 phi<sup>5</sup>-liin<sup>6</sup> is read as phi-liin<sup>6</sup> or phliin<sup>6</sup> *scared and disperse, as a  
flock of birds*  
 ka<sup>5</sup>-liin<sup>6</sup> is read as kaliin<sup>6</sup> or kliin<sup>6</sup> *noise of a cannon firing*  
 pa<sup>5</sup>-yoo<sup>2</sup> is read as pa-yoo<sup>2</sup> or pyoo<sup>2</sup> *comfort*

In Chapter VIII several of these literary clusters appear in samples taken from two written texts.

CHAPTER V  
SOME ASPECTS OF LUE SYNTAX

This chapter is admittedly brief. The original feeling was that Tai-Lue and Central Thai syntax are sufficiently isomorphic as to not warrant an extended study. The data from the narratives (Chapter IX) certainly contain few surprises. However, when one ventures out into the real world of everyday Lue conversation to gather data on the 'whole language', differences do emerge.

Studies of comparative Tai syntax are rare aside from a few studies of pronouns and classifiers. There is the rather complacent belief that there are few dramatic differences in syntax between dialects. The thesis of this chapter is that if we consider pragmatics along with semantic-syntactic structures, important distinctions are found. In the area of utterance final particles in particular, definite underlying differences exist and form a marked communication boundary between dialects despite innocent looking minor surface changes in lexical shapes. Because of the subtlety of differences involved, they have important implications for linguistic theory and our understanding of Tai dialects in general.

Because the focus of this dissertation is not on the syntax of utterance, my own data on oral narratives are insufficient to provide any more than a beginning of a discussion of Lue syntax, comparative or otherwise. However, I have gathered together enough information from my own fieldnotes and other sources to at least make an attempt and to encourage others to expand the field of comparative Tai syntax.

The negative and the negative interrogative (question particles) are the most outstanding illustrations of special aspects of Lue syntax that shall be dealt with. In addition, comment will be made concerning the semantic-syntactic contrast involving word order changes between Siamese and Lue use of *can* vs *to be able to*. Finally, discourse level syntactic functioning of pronouns and particles which punctuate clause and paragraph divisions in the Lue narrative will be discussed.

A. Interrogative forms. Lue questions and related responses entail pre-suppositions that do not exactly parallel either Siamese or Northern Thai usage. The word order is, for the most part, the same: question particles are utterance final. It is best to examine some of the Lue rules on their own terms before making any comparisons with other dialects.

1. -aa<sup>5</sup>, -aa<sup>4</sup> (separate morphemes)

The first particle, -aa<sup>5</sup>, is used in interrogative utterances that call for information, i.e. the usual yes-no type of question. It is used in structures that do not have other question words such as wh-forms: *what, where, why, how*, etc. Where the Lue equivalent of the English wh-forms appears, the tone of the question particle changes from tone 5 (mid level) to tone 4 (mid falling). Some examples are:

- a. dii<sup>1</sup> -aa<sup>5</sup>  
*good Q-Pt*  
*is it good?*
- b. pin<sup>1</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> nay<sup>1</sup> -aa<sup>4</sup>  
*be person place where Q-Pt*  
*where are you from?*

2. -aa<sup>5</sup> vs kaa<sup>4</sup>

The final question particle, explained above, contrasts with kaa<sup>4</sup> in that the latter is used in questions with an underlying presupposition: *I assume that it is the case that, or right?*, as glossed in the example given below. The particle kaa<sup>4</sup> is used both in the initiating question and in the expected response. The underlying presupposition can be confirmed or refuted with an affirmative or negative response. In its confirmative function, kaa<sup>4</sup> has the force of a mildly emphatic particle. The following examples are illustrative but not completely so. More data are needed.

- a. kin<sup>1</sup> kaa<sup>4</sup> (question)  
*eat, right?*  
*(someone) eat, right?*
- b. kin<sup>1</sup> kaa<sup>4</sup> (response)  
*eat, right!*  
*right, (someone) eats*

It is noteworthy that the constructions used for asking and for answering shown above are synonymous. Without some notion of pragmatics, performatives, or context of situation, their semantic difference could not be understood, unless unstudied intonation serves to differentiate.

In Northern Thai (Purnell 1963) we find the same form and function: kää, kàa. A further distinction is made between the former (mid tone) affirmative particle and the latter (low tone) emphatic particle. The interrogative function appears to parallel the use of Siamese r̄ɰ̄ in some contexts and chây máy in others. The mildly emphatic kaa<sup>4</sup> shared by Lue and Northern Thai mirrors the Siamese form ði.

On the other hand, the Lue question particles -aa<sup>5</sup>, -aa<sup>4</sup> do not appear to have a reflex in Northern Thai or Siamese. The Northern Thai form kòɔ usually has negative presuppositions attached to it. Northern Thai is still different from both Lue and Siamese in having b̄ɔɔ, the question particle that has as its underlying presupposition the paraphrase: *may I invite you to ...*, as in, for example

- |      |                               |    |                        |
|------|-------------------------------|----|------------------------|
| N.T. | kin b̄ɔɔ                      | vs | kin kòɔ                |
|      | <i>eat Q-Pt</i>               |    | <i>eat Q-Pt</i>        |
|      | <i>would you like to eat?</i> |    | <i>are you eating?</i> |

It seems that even in Northern Thai, the distinction between the invitational interrogative b̄ɔɔ and the informational interrogative kòɔ is disappearing in favour of the former, due perhaps to pressure from Lao bɔɔ<sup>1</sup>.

To return to Lue, in place of *kaa*<sup>4</sup> as a response particle, which might be described as a simple affirmative particle, we find the more emphatic affirmative particle *yaa*<sup>2</sup>. At the other extreme, the most neutral particle, used simply to punctuate an utterance, is the form *lɛ*<sup>5</sup>. It is very frequently used in the Lue oral narrative, especially in the performance of the second singer. The following examples show the contrasting function between the sharply emphatic and the emotionless punctuating utterance final particles in Lue.

- a. *yuu*<sup>2</sup> *kaa*<sup>4</sup>  
*here right?*  
*(someone) is here, right?*
- b. *yuu*<sup>2</sup> *yaa*<sup>2</sup>  
*here Pt.-emph.affirm.*  
*(someone) is here, indeed!*
- c. *yuu* *lɛ*<sup>5</sup>  
*here Pt.-punct.affirm.*  
*(someone) is here.*

As recent debate concerning a theory of speech acts attests, there are many difficulties to be encountered in assigning an underlying performative or in formulating the most precise sets of presuppositions to the utterance we have been discussing. The case for Lue and other Tai dialects is facilitated, however, by the presence of contrasting particles. Matisoff (1973) has made the claim that particles are degenerate verbs. Further support for a verbal analysis, and even an underlying clause of presupposed information, comes from the work of Day (1966), who assigns separate clause rank (level in tagmemics) to utterance final particles in Tho, a Tai language of North Vietnam. The difficult semantics of utterance final particles remains however. The commonplace observation is that they parallel the use of intonation and stress in English. Noss (1964) rightly notes that sentence particles indicate speaker attitude, whose meaning "can be only vaguely stated, because a great deal depends upon the emotional interplay between speakers". A complete analysis of particles in Lue would be a major undertaking calling for more natural, conversational data than are found in our corpus of oral narratives.

It should be noted that Ross (1970) uses Thai (Siamese or Central Thai) in arguing for a performative verb and I-you axis in the deep structure of declarative sentences. While his basic argument is sound, his information on Thai is faulty. He states, incorrectly: "In this language, every sentence must end with the particle *kháp* or *khâ*".

Such is not the case. The appearance or non-appearance of the utterance final 'polite' particles *kháp* (masculine) and *khâ* (feminine), are optional to begin with. From what I have seen, the former is limited to Siamese and Northern Thai, the latter to Siamese. More important is that their occurrence is dependent on several interrelated contextual factors. First is the status of the speaker and hearer; second is the emotional force between them. The first parameter concerns *social distance*, the second *psychological* (phatic communion possibly). More specifically, an adult (age status) would normally never use *kháp* or *khâ* in speaking to a child or other persons of inferior social status. Likewise, when there are no constraints calling for verbal displays of deference or politeness, the 'polite particle' is not used, or when other negative emotional states would overrule its use, such as anger.

Ross uses the final particles *kháp* and *khâ* as evidence for an underlying *I*. He labels the Thai particles "utterer agreement particles (UAP)".

As indicated in the preceding discussion, statements from Day, Noss and Matisoff can be used to show that many Thai particles are manifestations of performative verbs which have been *weakened* rather than deleted following Ross's rule for "Performative Deletion". Following Noss's argument that sentence-final particles are an indicator of speaker's attitude, they would carry a perlocutionary force and hence should be classified as performative verbs in many cases. The case for particles is not always that clear, however.

In his study of Central Thai syntax, Scovel (1970) shares the opinion that the historical origins of particles must be studied before they can be understood completely. My own reaction is that the issue must be decided on synchronic evidence. Nevertheless, we can point to some limited historical information that might inspire others to make a thorough study of older historical texts.

To further complicate the picture of the 'polite' particles used by today's Siamese women, we note that there are three tonal forms, already an indication that something more complex than an 'utterer agreement particle' is involved. As we examine the three tonal shapes, the case for particles-as-performative verbs is strengthened.

Siamese (Central Thai):

A. Urban-refined speech (being sophisticated)/formal

1. mĕɛ khǎa  
*mother* Pt.-female-endearment-intimate: *to call sm.*  
*mother, dear (call for attention)*
2. mi máy khá  
*have* Q-Pt. Pt.-female-deferential  
*do you have any (I defer to you)*
3. mây mi khâ  
*neg. have* Pt -female-deferential  
*I don't have any (I defer to you)*

B. Rural, polite speech (being nice)/informal

1. mĕɛ cǎa
2. mi máy cá
3. mây mi cá

From the above, we see the further division between urban-sophisticated form and rural-'nice' particles. The two overlap, depending on social setting. In rural speech, the basis of Thai society, it would be rare indeed to hear anyone use the first set of formal 'polite' particles. On the other hand, the second set of particles would often be used in an urban setting or one of less formal demands, the market for example. Also, in an urban context, a 'superior' would use the second set in addressing an 'inferior'.

As for the historical origins of the polite particles, one must rely on older historical texts. In the plays of Rama VI, a brief glance reveals the following. Both men and women used the particle khâ, which is limited to female use today. Moreover, the full older form seems to be cǎw khâa *my lord*. (The form khâa is glossed as *slave, I*).

On still another level indicating probable Cambodian origins, we find in the 'Royal vocabulary' the forms pháyâ khâ, the utterance final polite form used by men and phee khá, used by women. Both are used in addressing the King and Queen, but not the reverse.

While the female particle *khâ* might have its origins in the noun *khâ* *slave*, the male particle appears to have verbal origins. It is believed that the base is *khǎo ráp* *ask to receive*. The fact that two different likely historical sources, a noun and a verb, are indicated for the female and male polite particles confuses rather than clarifies the issue concerning their synchronic status: UAP or performative verb.

In other Tai dialects, the tendency is to use a final unisex 1st or 2nd person formal pronoun.

Lue:	khoy <sup>3</sup>	<i>I, m./fem. (inferior to sup.):</i> polite single-word response
Lao:	khan <sup>3</sup> oy	<i>I (inferior to superior):</i> polite response word (-from Roffe)
Northern		
Thai:	cāw	<i>yes; polite word (fem.): you</i>
	khāp	<i>yes; man's polite word (-from Purnell)</i>

At this point, after considering both diachronic and synchronic evidence from four Tai dialects, one might conclude that utterance final particles are evidence for an underlying 'I' in a deep structure performative clause, i.e. the Ross argument. But as already pointed out, the 'polite particles' are only one set in a catalog of many other particles which have verbal form in many cases and performative function on all occasions. It may be that the Performative Deletion rule has to be amended to read that, in the case of Tai dialects, sometimes all or only part of the whole clause is deleted leaving either an NP-subject (*khâ*) verb (*khǎp*) or NP-object (*cāw you* Northern Thai). In any case, the combined insights of Day, Matisoff and Noss indicate that utterance final particles (one or more) are manifestations of a performative clause.

The fact remains that the presence of utterance final particles in Tai dialects and many other South-east Asian languages points to the incompletely analysed interrelatedness of pragmatics, syntax and semantics. A broader perspective on the pragmatics of 'linguistic etiquette' (e.g. Tai particles) that seems applicable to all of South-east Asia is found in Geertz's (1960) statement, which we use as a fitting conclusion to this segment of the discussion.

It has already been pointed out how etiquette patterns, including language, tend to be regarded by the Javanese as a kind of emotional capital which may be invested in putting others at ease. Politeness is something one directs toward others; one surrounds the other with a wall of behavioral formality which protects the stability of his inner life. Etiquette is a wall built around one's inner feelings, but is, paradoxically, always a wall someone else builds, at least in part. He may choose to build such a wall for one or two reasons. He and the other person are at least approximate status equals and not intimate friends; and so he responds to the other's politeness to him with an equal politeness. Or the other is clearly his superior, in which case he will, in deference to the other's greater spiritual refinement, build him a wall without any demand or expectation that you reciprocate.

B. Negative interrogative. We begin this part of the discussion with contrasting examples from Siamese and Lue.

S.:	kin r̥i plàaw	Lue:	kin <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup> kin <sup>1</sup>
	<i>eat or neg</i>		<i>eat neg eat</i>
	<i>did you eat (it) or not?</i>		<i>did you eat or not?</i>

The interesting features lie in the Siamese constructions. The Siamese r̥i by itself can function as a question particle that has as its underlying presupposition, *I assume that you*, as in

S.: kin r̥i  
*eat Q-Pt*  
*(somebody) eats/ate, I assume*

Likewise, the Siamese form plàaw can be used as a single word response which rejects the questioner's presupposition. The Lue negative m (or its full form baw<sup>2</sup>) cannot be used alone in a response. The fact that the Siamese forms khráp, khâ, r̥i and plàaw function as single word responses strengthens the argument for performative verb status for utterance final particles.

Still other differences can be found which show striking differences between Siamese and Lue syntax.

S.:	kin léew r̥i yaŋ	Lue:	kin <sup>1</sup> lew <sup>6</sup> -aa <sup>5,2</sup>
	<i>eat already or yet</i>		<i>eat already Q-Pt</i>
	<i>did you eat yet?</i>		<i>did you eat yet?</i>

While Siamese léew and Lue lew<sup>6</sup> *already* point to common lexical and syntactic origins, the appearance of r̥i and yaŋ in Siamese shows a divergence. Two other examples contrast Siamese r̥i with Lue di<sup>1</sup> or.

S.:	ca? kin naam plàaw r̥i naam chaa
	<i>will eat water plain or water tea</i>
	<i>will you drink water or tea?</i>
L.:	di <sup>1</sup> kin <sup>1</sup> nam <sup>6</sup> kat <sup>1</sup> / di <sup>1</sup> kin <sup>1</sup> nam <sup>6</sup> laa <sup>6</sup> -aa <sup>5</sup>
	<i>will eat water cool will eat water tea Q-Pt</i>
	<i>will you drink water or tea?</i>

Noticeable in the Lue citation is the absence of a conjoining device aside from pause at the syntactic boundaries between clauses.

Part of the explanation for the syntactic differences between Siamese and Lue, especially with the uniqueness of r̥i in Siamese, might come from possible borrowing from Cambodian. Huffman (1973) claims that the borrowing has been in the reverse, from Thai into Cambodian. Claims for directionality aside, Siamese and Cambodian do share the following forms which do not appear in Lue. The citations are from Huffman.

<u>Thai</u>	<u>Cambodian</u>	
r̥y	r̥i	Q-pt. <i>in either/or</i> Q's
léew-r̥y-já	haay-r̥i-niw	<i>already or not-yet</i>
læy	læy	<i>at-all</i>
ná?	nəh	final-hortatory-particle

Another area in which the negative and interrogative interact is with the form m<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>, which may be a case of idiomatic usage. We find

- L.     $\underset{1}{m}^2$  pin<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>  
       neg be what/thing  
       never mind
- S:    mây pen ray  
       neg be what/thing  
       never mind
- L:    kin<sup>1</sup>  $\underset{1}{m}$ -saŋ<sup>1</sup>/ $\underset{1}{m}^2$  saŋ<sup>1</sup>  
       eat what  
       what are you eating?
- S:    kin ʔaray  
       eat what  
       what are you eating?

The negative does not appear in the Siamese form for *what are you eating?*. The question is why the syllabic  $\underset{1}{m}$  appears in the affirmative interrogative kin<sup>1</sup>  $\underset{1}{m}$ -saŋ<sup>1</sup>. I suspect that the appearance of the syllabic  $\underset{1}{m}$  in this latter case is a purely stylistic phenomenon with no syntactic or semantic relevance. An alternate form is kin<sup>1</sup> ʔii<sup>2</sup>-saŋ<sup>1</sup>. Further evidence of the idiosyncratic nature of  $\underset{1}{m}$  is that we find in Chiengkham Lue (Hartmann 1975) two similar variations for the vocative  $\underset{1}{m}^1$  pɔɔ<sup>5</sup>, ʔii<sup>2</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> *father dear*. In Northern Thai (Purnell 1963) we find the same phonetic process of the intrusion of  $\underset{1}{m}$  in ʔimpɔɔ *father dear*, ʔimmɛɛ *mother dear*. Further investigation would undoubtedly shed more light on the peculiar grammar of  $\underset{1}{m}^2$  saŋ<sup>1</sup>.

Some additional examples of Lue forms related to the foregoing discussion are the following ones taken from Gedney's unpublished fieldnotes. The abbreviation R and Y stand for Lue of Chieng Rung and Moeng Yong respectively.

1. R    yuu<sup>2</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup>  
       yuu<sup>2</sup> -aa<sup>5</sup>  $\underset{1}{m}$  yuu<sup>2</sup>-aa<sup>5</sup>  
       stay Q.Pt neg stay Q-Pt  
       is he here or not?
2. Y&R     $\underset{1}{m}^1$  dɔy<sup>3</sup> tɛɛ<sup>5</sup>  
       neg eat Pt  
       haven't eaten yet
3. Y&R    dɔy<sup>3</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup>  $\underset{1}{m}^1$  lɛw<sup>6</sup> tɛɛ<sup>5</sup>  
       eat yet neg already Pt  
       haven't finished eating

C. day<sup>3</sup> vs ca<sup>1,5</sup> and change of word order. Here we shall point to a minor transformation. The Lue form day<sup>3</sup> *can* has the Siamese reflex dây. On the other hand, caŋ<sup>1</sup> is synonymous with Siamese *pen to be able, to have the skill*. However, the latter is a postverb; the former is a preverb.

- S:    kin dây máy  
       eat can Q-Pt  
       can you eat it?
- L:    diʔ<sup>1</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> -aa<sup>5</sup>  
       will eat can Q-Pt  
       can you eat it?
- S:    kin pen máy  
       eat able Q-Pt  
       Do you know how to eat it?



L: caŋ<sup>1</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> -aa<sup>5</sup>  
 able eat Q-Pt  
 do you know how to eat it?

The grammar of the Lue form day<sup>3</sup> is different too in that it calls for the future particle di<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> as a preverb. The Lue form caŋ<sup>1</sup> is shared with Northern Thai.

D. Pronouns. As with the particles, a grammar of pronominal usage depends on contextual factors, especially those dealing with social and situational dimensions. The first person singular is the same in Lue as in Lao, another indication of shifting cultural affinities among Lue, Shan, Lao and Northern Thai. The form khoy<sup>3</sup> *I* would be used in a formal social setting. It seems, on the basis of our limited conversational data, that the same form, khoy<sup>3</sup>, has the double function of final 'polite' or single word response particle: *yes, politely*. On a still higher level of formality, we find khoy<sup>3</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> *I*.

On the intimate level, kuu<sup>5</sup> *I* and miŋ<sup>4</sup> *you* are used by men and women alike.

In the semiformal context of family life and celebrations kin terms are used. Such is the case in the Lue chant (khap<sup>1</sup> li<sup>†</sup><sup>6</sup>). The singers use kin terms and a *nom de plume* in referring to themselves – usually at the beginning or ending of their participation in the event.

In Text I, the singer is the senior member and refers to himself as po<sup>5</sup> *father*, pii<sup>5</sup> *elder sibling* or his *nom de plume* sii<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> dam<sup>1</sup> *black eyes*. In Text II, the singer is a generation younger, and although a man in his late thirties, he refers to himself as luk<sup>5</sup> *child, son* in the presence of the older singer. But he uses the non-kin term pən<sup>5</sup> *I* that a man would use in addressing a younger woman such as his wife, whose implied social status is inferior to his own. In this particular use of pən<sup>5</sup> *I* (also *they*) the younger man refers to a hypothetical woman, the female co-singer that is usually used in the chanting of the Lue tales. Such a performance, and the pronominal system, has an underlying structure of male-female dialogue. (Cf. Klammer 1973. For his discussion of dialogue as the basic unit of discourse).

E. Discourse level particles. Of the catalogue of particles that are found in Lue, a few deserve added comment with respect to their role in the syntax of the chanted narrative. In Text II, the younger singer's several particles are used as oral punctuation and a stylistic device as well. Many of his lines are punctuated by a final ni<sup>6</sup>, ni<sup>-6</sup> or le<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>. Both are lexical manifestations of a syntactic and phonological boundary. In the actual performance, this is not at all obvious to the outsider. There are no necessary phonological breaks or pauses in the course of singing. But enough cues are given to assert the existence of co-occurrent phonological, grammatical and lexical boundaries. When they do not coincide exactly, they may be said to overlap. From the standpoint of both method and theory this is very important. In the process of analysing one's data, cues from these three intertwining fields must be sought in the course of segmenting an otherwise continuous stream of chanted speech. My first reaction on hearing these semantically empty particles, particularly le<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>, was to remove them from the data as irrelevant. Taking the lead from the tagmemic framework, I discovered that in an oral grammar, they serve the important function of audible punctuation marking sentence boundaries or clause divisions. On a higher level, clause groups, we find phrase length particles used to punctuate larger units: duu<sup>1</sup> le<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup> and bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>1</sup> van<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>.

We conclude this chapter on Lue syntax with a final comment on the place of particles in linguistic theory. Some sort of a 'performative clause'

analysis as seen in the earlier work of Ross (1970) is called for. He has argued that a *performative* solution is preferable to a pragmatics because the former allows for greater formality. Its mechanics are much neater, for one thing. After going to great length to prove the existence of a universal underlying performative clause, the suggestion seems to be that the resulting structure is more real than a pragmatics solution. A pragmatics, by comparison, is less real because it rests too many of its claims on things, to quote Ross, "in the air".

Tagmemics and Firthian theory could assume as axiomatic the presence of a speaker-hearer or I-Thou structure in the social situation and the very act of communication, the major function of language. This dialogic structure would be neither 'in the air' nor in a syntactic deep structure. It is considered an empirically observable fact which need not be intuited from or argued out of the data of isolated utterances. In later chapters (VI, IX), we shall demonstrate the need for a pragmatics in the Lue chant.

Aside from different manifestation of the negative, particles such as the interrogative and emphatic, preverbs and postverbs, the grammar of Lue appears to be remarkably close to Siamese, Shan or Lao. The fullest accounts of Thai (Siamese) grammar are found in the structuralist work of Noss (1964) and the transformational-generative formulations of Warotamasikkhadit (1963).

PART II  
ORGANISATION OF LANGUAGE AND MEMORY  
IN LUE CHANTED NARRATIVE

Any study which throws light  
upon the nature of "order"  
or "pattern" in the universe  
is surely non-trivial.

- Gregory Bateson  
*Steps to an ecology of the  
mind.*

## CHAPTER VI

### ORAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: FORM, FUNCTION AND MEANING

In this chapter we shall begin by considering the question of the *form* of oral narrative using a framework that is taxonomic and comparative in keeping with the same general methodological scheme employed in the preceding chapters. This approach is akin to what Hymes (1967, 1972, 1974) defines as ethnographic: within an individual culture. In the following chapter, we will consider the chanted narrative as a genre which is distinctive both within Lue and general Tai culture but bearing traits that reveal a common origin or distant relationship.

The study of genre (ways of speaking, or discourse types) has occupied linguistics in several schools. The Prague school of methodology (Daneš 1970) and the tagmemic theoreticians and fieldworkers are prime examples. In an impressive work dealing in part with discourse level analysis of Philippine languages, Longacre (1968) and his colleagues state that discourse structure is based on several definitions, the first of which is: "1. Genre refers to a class of discourse types when that class is defined by certain common characteristics". The second reads: "2. In a given language there is a finite number of discourse types which are never mixed or confused". Unlike Hymes, they do not attempt to handle discourse types in native term. They use the labels *narrative, expository, procedural, hortatory, dramatic, activity, epistolary*. Comparisons across language boundaries leave them little choice other than the use of the universal categories employed by more literary genres.

The difference between the theoretical and methodological goals of Hymes and Longacre is instructive in that it highlights a very crucial problem. After one observes, records or analyses a speech act, how is it to be categorised? Longacre gives it the quasi literary label of an "outsider", Hymes would give it the label used by the native insider. The problem with the latter solution is that the native does not necessarily have a name or a metalanguage for classifying all – or any – of his varieties of speech. Still by indirection, differences are shown. In the case of the Malay oral narrative romances, for example, the genres within that tradition are separated by the native hearer in terms of the name of the hero of the romance (Sweeny 1974). In Lue, the native term for the chanted narrative is simply *khap<sup>1</sup> lɪɪ<sup>6</sup> to sing in the Lue manner*, which does not seem to say much nor to broaden the understanding of an outsider. In order to increase the scope of comprehension we must branch out to compare other discourse forms in Lue and neighbouring dialects.

But we will be struck at once, by the absence of a Lue term for distinctly different forms. The solution is to employ the theoretical (tagmemic, Prague school, Firthian) and cultural (Sino-Tai) notion of *function*. That is, certain forms are used for distinct purposes which can be defined in terms of the social situation and roles of intention-bearing speakers and hearers, and for syntactic purposes as well. Every speech act will have contextual and cotextual functions.

In the Prague school of linguistics, the functional approach to analysis, which recognises the instrumental character of language, dates from the earlier published works of its founders (cf. 'Thèse', *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* I, 1929). More recently the relationship between *form*, *function* and *meaning* is summarised as follows by Daneš (1970).

Linguistics has to describe and interpret all the relevant facts of natural languages and their use that display a systematic and conventional (interindividual) character, that belong to social norm. In a sense, the functional approach is a secondary one, since what is immediately accessible to our observations, and necessarily appears as the primary starting point of our analysis, are the forms of linguistic expressions. Nevertheless, since we have some previous experience from our own language and many other languages as well, we may assume the existence of some functions and meanings even in the language under analysis, and try to find out whether and how they are manifested in it. To pretend that nothing is known about the possible functions of the language we have to describe, can hardly serve.

In the London school of linguistics, its initiator, Firth (1935), defines the functional aspects of language as they relate to meaning. (Malinowski (1935), Firth's colleague shared the same functionalist views of language.)

the principle components of ... meaning are phonetic function, which I call a 'minor' function, the major functions - lexical, morphological, and syntactical ..., and the function of a complete locution in the context of situation, the province of semantics.

The last function, the function of a complete locution, has assumed the centre of analytical method in the work of several other British scholars. Austin (1962) expressed the view that we "do things with words", a view shared and developed by Searle (1969). The unit of analysis in their theory is the "speech act". Utterances or *locutionary acts* have associated with them, explicitly or not, as *illocutionary act* ("Conventional force of an utterance" - Sadock 1974) or functions such as promising, greeting, threatening, requesting, etc. Some (e.g. Searle) would say the number of speech acts should ideally be limited to a dozen or so. In reality, the number of acts we perform with language is much larger. More important and complicating in the theory is that one should be able to set out the rules ('talking is performing acts according to rules') which would include the *circumstances*, *intentions*, and *expectations* that hold between speaker and hearer in the performance of an *illocutionary act*. We would caution that a program that would include intentions and expectations in diadic speech is precarious, yet possible. An 'intentionalist' theory of discourse analysis has recently been suggested by Brown (1973).

Halliday (1970) is still another British linguist following in the functionalist tradition of both the London and Prague schools. His main interest in function in literary analysis has been on the effects achieved by the ordering (or reordering) of the surface elements within a sentence. He recognises three functions or classifications of language uses: 1. the 'ideational' – expressing content, 2. the 'interpersonal' – indicating social relationship, and 3. the 'textual' – relating the cohesiveness of text with situation.

The most recent development in the functionalism of the London, or neo-Firthian, circle is reflected in the imaginative and productive work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). An analysis of classroom discourse, it is both a theory and a method that is highly commendable. In essence, what this work does is to exploit the last named function in Firth's original scheme: 'the function of a complete locution in the context of situation ...'. In their own words:

Our concept of function differs from all those outlined above. We are interested in the function of an utterance or part of an utterance in the discourse and thus the sort of questions we ask about an utterance are whether it is intended to evoke a response, whether it is a response itself, whether it is intended to mark a boundary in the discourse, and so on.

Drawing upon the fundamental linguistic notion that language behaviour has a hierarchical organisation and that the teaching situation can be viewed as a 'game' – after Wittgenstein (1953) – of cycles of moves performed by players, i.e. teacher and pupils, the discourse structure is eventually analysable in terms of acts. These acts, which may be realised by a statement, question or command (situational form) or a closed set of verbal and non-verbal items such as 'O.K.', 'Sir', 'Mary', raised hand, pointing, nodding, or named as follows: marker, starter, elicitation, check, directive, informative, prompt, clue, cue, bid, nomination, acknowledge, reply, react, comment, accept, evaluate, silent stress, metastatement, conclusion, loop, aside. It is self-evident that many of these discourse acts are derived specifically from the classroom situation.

The discourse level analysis of Lue oral narratives attempted in Chapter VIII employs, in part, a similar frame of reference and analyses the pragmatics of oral performances in terms of procedural and narrative acts which are fewer in number: border, comment, continue, narrate, etc.

Purportedly, a sociolinguistic analysis of classroom discourse, the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) is basically a study of social interaction in the setting of formal instruction. No overt attempt is made to distinguish between social acts and acts which have a primary linguistic function, ones that mark off divisions in the linguistic organisation of the text. Their theory and analytical methods are based on the notion found also in transformational-generative grammar, that

'sentence' is regarded as the highest unit of grammar. Paragraphs have no grammatical structure; they consist of a series of sentences of any type in any order.

Discourse structure, then, is conceived of a string of acts that combine, in hierarchical fashion, *moves*, *utterances*, *exchanges*, and finally, *transactions* at the highest level.

In a tagmemic framework, discourse is seen as a high-level grammatical unit in a scheme that includes units higher than the sentence which we claim, using independent evidence, are *clause groups*, or *paragraphs*. These units above the

rank (level in tagmemics) of clause are marked off in narrative by syntactical-lexical, and sometimes phonological and kinetic, forms which have a linguistic and social function. Acts which are labelled *border* have, depending on tactics, or positions in the discourse, the linguistic function of overture, paragraph, or topic marker or closing. At the same time they have the social function (illocutionary force) of greeting, emphasising or closing. In short, a locution can have a double or multiple function which marks it truly as a sociolinguistic function.

Hymes (1974) makes the very distinction which we have sought to make.

Let us first make a further distinction among kinds of function in speech. The two elementary diacritic functions are part of what may be generally called *structural functions*, as distinct from *use functions* (following here for convenience the common distinction between language structure and language use). "Structural" functions have to do with the bases of verbal features and their organization, the relations among them, in short, with verbal means of speech, and their conventional meanings, insofar as those are given by such relationships. 'Use' functions have to do with the organization and contexts. The two are interdependent, but it is useful to discriminate them.

When we come to tagmemics, we see that the notion of function is primarily structural, i.e. grammatical.

By definition, the tagmeme is a unit combining *form* with *function*. Tagmemics, then, is a functionalist theory of language. Pike introduced the notion of function into Fries' system of 'Form Classes'. On the sentence level, for example, noun is a grammatical *form*, while *subject* or *object* may be its grammatical function. Longacre (1970) elaborates the tagmemic notion even further (in an apparent attempt to respond to transformationalists), noting that grammatical *functions* in fact show grammatical relationships.

In summary, tagmemic trees emphasize relations (functions) as well as component construction; are but part of discourse-level trees and not autonomous entities; and are hierarchically oriented.

As one moves up the grammatical hierarchy, function changes. Longacre (*ibid.*) illustrates from Totonac of Mexico:

a when clause may function simultaneously as (1) manifestation of clause level 'time' tagmeme; (2) 'temporal margin' tagmeme of a sentence; (3) 'orientation' tagmeme initial to a paragraph and (4) 'aperture' tagmeme of an entire discourse.

The focus of tagmemic interest, like transformational-generative grammar, has been in the realm of grammar. Nothing in the theory prohibits the extension of the notion of form used for language-specific syntactic ends to forms employed in language-related socially-oriented pragmatic needs. An 'aperture' tagmeme in a discourse has the syntactic function of punctuating the beginning of a distinctive (emic) kind of speech act. But it also serves as pragmatic-social function in greeting and initiating the discourse.

Going one step further, a linguistic form may serve not only a social function, but a psychological one as well. In gestaltist terms there is the need to not only recognise the unity of *form* but also *border*. Wilden (1972) states:

since gestaltist theory, at least, we have known that boundary distinctions are introduced into open systems by the neuro-physiological, linguistic, ideological, economic, or biological decisions of parts of the system.

Without the gestaltist notion of boundary, we are at a loss to provide a grammar for (adequately explain) the repeated occurrence of forms in the Lue oral (and written) narrative that are devoid of content. On the clause level, for example, we find final particles punctuating clauses such as ni<sup>-6</sup>, nii<sup>6</sup> in the oral texts (Text II) and lɛ<sup>75</sup> and varieties thereof in both oral and written texts. At the clause level, we find in the oral text (Text II) the repeated use of semantically empty phrases such as bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>, lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>, duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>, punctuating divisions between episodes or thought groups. A striking parallel is found in written texts (cf. Text A) with the formulaic use of Pali and Lue paraphrases at the end and aperture of a new theme or episode. This is a distinct structure in itself with a psychological function (sometimes sociological — a 'border' phrase can be used to address a hearer or to comment on the narrative's structure and history) that more than likely will coincide with a grammatical function as well. In brief, paraphrasing Wilden, the difference between text and context is a matter of *punctuation*, i.e. *borders*. It is perhaps coincidental, but nevertheless a felicitous fit that the term *border* is found as a unit in Sinclair and Coulthard (*op. cit.*) sociolinguistic analysis and in the work of gestaltist psychologists as well. Border is the most frequent pragmatic unit in the performance of the second Lue singer. Where these psycho-social structures are manifested in linguistic form, we must consider them as part and parcel of the pragmatics of language. Because of the interdependence of pragmatics, syntactics, semantics, and phonemics, they shall be considered the *four components or fields of language*.

In tagmemics and the London and Prague schools, language is analysed in terms of interrelated hierarchies. Tagmemics specifically has three: phonology, grammar, and lexicon. The overlap of these three domains is expressed lucidly and from a methodological perspective by Longacre (1970).

They are semi-autonomous but interlocking, and we have no algorithm for getting from one mode to the other. In a sense, we start all over with each description; that is, we go at the phonology, go at the grammar, go at the lexicon, somewhat as an independent jump. As a matter of fact, there is a large amount of congruence between them. One point where congruence has to be taken into account is where you have, say lexical or phonological features relevant to the grammar, or grammatical or phonological features relevant to the lexicon. There are all sorts of multiple interrelationships between them, and this is a thing which I would like to work on much more.

The foregoing description of working habits shows how method can influence theory, how both can develop hand in hand. Garvin (1971) has remarked that the past history of American linguistics has shown a "weakness of method without theory" and "that the future development of the field will show the weakness of theory without method". This has already come to pass in the transformational-generative school where method is limited to elicitation of sentences devoid of context and the testing of intuitions and rules needed to generate (idealised) surface structures. Transformational grammarians have somewhat belatedly come to accept the interdependence of the phonological, syntactic and semantic components and the input of 'surface structure' in a final interpretation of an



utterance. But as a theory without an explicit method, T. G. grammar does not provide, say, a field linguist without 'native intuitions' the tools he needs to work on the analysis of oral narratives in the target language. Transformational grammar is stuck at the sentence level. Rules are the only theoretical and methodological devices.

In the latest school of popular linguistics, that of sociolinguistics, both theory and method, are underdeveloped. As Rona (1971) notes: "There is no overall consistent theory of this subject [sociolinguistics] matter". To return to Garvin (1971) in this discussion of theory and method: "The basic question then is: Which theoretical frame of reference is best suited to give rise to effective methodological principles?" We shall attempt to answer it.

In the course of reading the works of linguists of many persuasions (anthropological, sociological, psychological, political), I have been struck by the fact that theories and methods evolve from and are applied to the task of analysis as a function of specific interests and needs of the analyst and the nature of his data. If the analyst is interested primarily in language as social behaviour, his demands on a linguistic theory will not be great and he will be content to work with a single unit: the utterance or speech act — a sentence or clause. If, on the other hand, he is interested in the social class correlates of language behaviour he may work exclusively with the phone and phonetic variant as the theoretical unit and employ the methodology of the social scientist and statistician. Both cases are an oversimplification of actual aims and procedures. They are intended only to illustrate that theory and method too are context-sensitive to the situation of language data and the role of the linguist. The need then is for a theory which is comprehensive enough to work in a variety of contexts, i.e. situations where the data calls for a powerful theory with a powerful methodology. Even more important perhaps is the need to have a theory that will expand and change, incorporating new ideas, rhetoric and methods to meet the ever-changing needs and interests of the times.

A tagmemic framework has been chosen as the basis of the analysis and understanding of Lue chanted narrative because of its insistence on the interdependence of phonology, syntax and semantics; form, function and meaning; and its overall attempt to put language in a social context. In the introduction of his major work on tagmemics, Pike (1967) stresses the fact that language cannot be analysed properly in isolation from other facets of human activity whether social, psychological or merely physical:

language must be treated as human behavior, as a phase of an integrated whole, by showing (1) that language behavior and non-language behavior are fused in single events, and (2) that verbal and non-verbal elements may at times substitute structurally for one another in function.

The starting point in the theory and method is the hierarchical organisation of language, most palpably in the domain of syntax, starting with the morpheme and extending up toward the level of discourse and the whole of human behaviour. The Lue oral narrative, as the following chapter shows, is but one narrative discourse unit in a larger unit of narrative group, all of which is set within the context of 'little' Lue tradition, 'greater' Hindu tradition and finally the context of universal human behaviour.

Hierarchical organisation can be seen in phonology, with the order of linguistically significant units starting with the phoneme, then the syllable, phonological word, stress group, pause group, breath group.

While the concept of hierarchy is shared to tagmemic theory, stratificational grammar, and the theories of the London and Prague schools, there is a limit to the application of the term. Pike's (1967) view represents the upper limit.

Language events and non-language events may constitute structurally equivalent members of classes of events which may constitute interchangeable parts within larger unit events.

A more reserved commitment, one I subscribe to, is the notion that hierarchy is manifested in language behaviour, but not exclusively. Longacre prefers the term *mode* and notes that the lexemic mode is less obviously hierarchical in its organisation. Reflecting a parallel drift away from a monolithic view that hierarchy is the only organisational strategy possible is the use of the term *component* by Cook (1969).

As an indication of the flexibility of the theory, other tagmemicists prefer to use the term *semantics* in place of *lexicon*, and to refer to *grammar*, which has, in the past, included morphology as well as syntax, they have incorporated the notion of transformation as well.

Tai languages are basically monosyllabic, and they have an uncomplicated morphology. In view of this fact and the unresolved theoretical issues that remain in the use of the terms of *grammar* and *lexicon* and the need to speak to new generations of linguists in various schools, I have chosen the terms *phonological*, *syntactic* and *semantic fields* or *components*. In my analysis of Lue discourse I have a phonological statement, a discussion of syntax involving the syllable, clause, paragraph and discourse and a lexicon which goes no further than to provide a glossary of the predominantly monosyllabic words found in the oral texts. But I also discuss the semantic structure (and aspects of the overall meaning of the text), which is highly structured at the symbolic level and along the dimension of logical, chronological and spatial organisation, but only loosely organised where the meaning is derived from the context of 'the real world'.

The quest for *meaning* is the focus of my analysis of Lue oral narrative. In a tagmemic framework, one of the basic postulates is that form and meaning are composite. This is most evident on the phonological level where the substitution of one phoneme for another will result in a change in meaning or *vice versa*. (Below the level of the phoneme, a phonetic variant may be stylistically meaningful, as demonstrated forcefully in the work of Labov.)

The field of meaning has been eschewed by American linguistics until quite recently. Attempts to formalise the study of meaning have been attempted by generative semanticists but without any spectacular success. Just what form a semantic analysis should take is part of the problem. This same confused state is reflected in tagmemics by Longacre at two stages. In his 1968 work on discourse analysis Longacre states:

Lexicon — or lexical structure — as it is posited here is in some respects similar to the deep structure posited in current transformational grammar — especially of the sort developed by Fillmore.

In Longacre (1970) he has tried to say:

Moreover, a sentence, a stretch of discourse, has its lexical structure as well ... The lexemes sometimes are smaller than

what I want to call the grammatical morpheme. I may want to go down to bits and pieces of morphemes and compare them in sort of a componential analysis. Sometimes also the lexemes are much bigger; they comprise a whole proverb-like thing.

We can expect then that in the future, tagmemics must come to grips with the broader problem of semantics.

As so often happens, meaning is assumed to exist in language as one pole of the duality of language — sounds correlated with meaning. In a transformational analysis, meaning is relegated — neatly shoved off — to a deep structure and a set of projection rules needed for interpretation. In tagmemics, meaning is largely confined in practical terms to the lexicon, or, where texts are involved, to a translation. However, Pike (1967) talks about the many aspects of meaning which include phonological, grammatical, as well as lexical, and states that meaning is "fractioned into signals from the units of various hierarchies". He likewise distinguishes between a "central" and "metaphorical" meaning as well as the "functional meanings of tagmemes of various sorts" such as 'subject-as-actor'. Included in the contextual aspect of meaning are speaker's *intentions* and the hearer's *understanding* accompanied by other action. Pike (1967, Ch.16) states

the intention of the speaker along with the understanding of the hearer, and the eliciting activity of the speaker along with the responding activity of the hearer together make up the behavioral context of communication in a society. The various components ... constitute the social components of language meaning.

In my own analysis of Lue oral narrative, I assumed that the singers had *intended* meanings which may or may not coincide with my *understanding*, i.e. my translation and explanatory notes. Recognition of a speaker's understandings in no way assures accessibility to them except by the indirection of the usual inferences that one makes in interpreting a statement. The stress between intended and understood meanings ends in something of a compromise that is most closely approximated by a *conventional* meaning, one which is accepted by one's peers or a jury.

The linguistic and political phenomena known as the 'Watergate Tapes' or 'detente' are illustrations of the struggle to defend intended meanings of an elitist group against the interpretation of select congressional committees, judges, and the American public. If we include political forces in our theory of language behaviour, then, in a democratic context, the meaning of a statement is going to be balanced toward a hearer's understanding. And, of course, as a text moves in time, the Constitution or the Bible, for example, it is re-interpreted to apply to a new social context.

In addition to speaker's *intentions* and hearer's *understanding* is the notion of *shared knowledge*, a set of propositions or presumptions that Kempson (1975) calls the "Pragmatic Universe of Discourse". In brief, in any conversation

there is a body of facts which both speaker and hearer believe they agree on and which is, therefore, not in dispute; this set of propositions constitutes their shared knowledge — knowledge which they believe they share.

This aspect of meaning that deals with what speakers and hearers know that is relevant to a discourse is what I consider to be the historico-culture, or

the remote and *immediate* psycho-social context. So in translating a text, I will succeed only to the extent that I know as much or more about the history and culture of the people themselves. This aspect of meaning, *shared knowledge*, is much more accessible than *intention*, but, of course, both are related. We can only surmise what dimensions of their knowledge speakers (intend to) use. Everything hinges on beliefs. More explicitly, according to Kempson (1975):

1. S believes  $P_i$  (a proposition)
2. S believes H knows  $P_i$
3. S believes H knows S believes  $P_i$
4. S believes H knows S believes H knows  $P_i$

It seems evident then that the analyst, interpreter, or translator of a text must attempt to delimit that portion of society's accumulated knowledge employed by the speaker-hearer in the act of communicating. This aspect of meaning is inferential, but less so than ferreting out intentions and understandings, which are, in any case, polysemous or ambiguous. At some point or other, the interpreter is forced to pretend that he is omniscient.

Since we have already broached the question of speaker's intention and hearer's understanding as part of Pike's (1967) statement on meaning, Grice's theory of meaning, which has attracted the attention and won the favour of many linguists, should be examined. Many interesting parallels between the thinking of Pike and Grice (1968) will be found. I rely on Kempson's (1975) presentation.

Grice's theory is concerned with two aspects: 1. speaker's meaning — meaning<sub>nn</sub> — and 2. "maxims of behavior to explain the cooperative nature of communication". In Grice's thinking, a sentence has a "timeless meaning" and a "speaker's meaning". Using Kempson's example, "He's a fine fellow", does not correlate with the truth condition of that statement, i.e. its conventional meaning, when the person has just left you in the lurch. The *conversational* or *intended meaning* is quite the opposite. We should note that the contextual information gives the interpreter rather direct but not complete access to the speaker's intentions. In a spoken or written discourse, not every statement is explicit, or unambiguous.

In commenting on the intentional aspect of Grice's theory, Kempson expresses some misgivings:

to incorporate into a linguistic theory what a speaker might mean in saying a sentence on some particular occasion is to face the consequences that the meaning of sentences is unpredictable.

One response to Kempson's objection is that it is the very nature of language to possess the capacity for the unpredictable, i.e. a host of particulars. Kempson goes on to conclude that the meaning of a sentence must be explicable in other ways besides speaker's meaning.

the characterization of what a sentence means for particular speakers on particular occasions is dependent on a prior definition of linguistic meaning independent of the use of sentences in communication.

The second aspect of Grice's theory involves a model of communication behaviour defined in terms of rules outlining ideal behaviour between speaker and hearer in what he calls the Co-operative Principle. This set of maxims governs what appears to be the more conventional dimensions of speaker's intended meanings. It seems that utterances made following this convention

can be accepted at 'face value', i.e. derived from the meaning of the lexical item in the sentence. The conventional interpretation of utterance demands that the following set of rules (Kempson's presentation) should be obeyed.

#### Quantity

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

#### Quality

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack evidence.

#### Relation

Be relevant.

#### Manner

This maxim has an overall instruction 'Be perspicuous'. Grice subdivides this general instruction into four further maxims:

1. Avoid obscurity.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief.
4. Be orderly.

There is obvious overlapping between the first five rules and the last four maxims. It is most important to see how the Co-operative Principle works. Its *application* is really seen in the *violation* of the principle, in part or in whole. The speaker deliberately violates a maxim, according to Grice, "in order to convey some extra information which is in accordance with the Co-operative Principle, and moreover, he must know that I can work out that information". The extra information is an *implicature* (Grice's term) which Kempson explains as

assumptions over and above the meaning of the sentence used which the speaker knows and intends that the hearer will make in the face of an apparently open violation of the Co-operative Principle in order to interpret the speaker's sentence in accordance with the Co-operative Principle.

This appears to be a very tortured but nevertheless formalised way of agreeing with Barthes who said, "To write is to offer your word (parole) to others, that they may complete it".

To complete the discussion of the implicatures resulting from adherence/non-adherence to the Co-operative Principle, Kempson provides two examples which flout the maxims of relation and quality.

1. The police came in and everyone swallowed their cigarettes.
2. You're the cream in my coffee.

The first example is a violation because the 'relevancy' of cigarettes to police is not stated. We could also consider this a violation of the maxim of quantity: "Make your contribution as informative as is required". The second

example is categorically false, i.e. not literally true. According to Kempson, "Grice's implicatures provide a natural explanation of how metaphor is interpreted, (and why it commonly involves non-linguistic assumptions about the world)."

Grice then has four categories separating the conventional and the conversational.

1. The conventional
  - a. What is said.
  - b. What is conventionally implicated.
2. The conversational
  - a. What is generally but conversationally implicated.
  - b. What is conversationally (occasion-specific) implicated.

A conventional implicature is, according to Kempson's interpretation, an element of meaning which is not truth-functioned, but which is not contradictable. A conversational implicature accompanies the meaning of a sentence, but it can be contradicted. The statement gives as the example of the latter - "It's either in the attic or the bedroom" cannot be contradicted. The speaker has not committed himself to the truth of either part of the proposition. His statement carries a conversational implicature, but the statement gives as an example of a conventional implicature - "John is an Englishman; he is, therefore, brave" - can be contradicted and carry an *implicature* the speaker is committed to, a *clausal* one here.

In our summary of the preceding, we would say that the conventional meaning is cotextual, the conversational meaning is contextual. Inferences of two types can be drawn from the conversational meaning, the extra meaning superimposed on the conventional by factors existing within the context of a speaker-hearer situation. Those two inferences concerning the conversational meaning of an utterance as 1. its truth value, or contradictability, and 2. the speaker's commitment to the truth value of the statement.

Kempson draws five conclusions from Grice's theory concerning conversational implicatures.

1. They are dependent on the recognition of the Co-operative Principle and its maxims.
2. They will not be a part of the lexical items in the sentences since their interpretation depends on a prior understanding of the conventional meaning of a sentence.
3. The implicature of an utterance will characteristically not be the sole possible interpretation of that utterance. There may well be more than one possible assumption which will reinstate the Co-operative Principle in the face of an apparent breakage. Since these assumptions are not explicit, they are often indeterminate - (for example, the interpretation of (2)).
4. The working out of an implicature will depend on assumptions about the world which the speaker and the hearer share (for example, the interpretation of (1)). They will, therefore, not in general be predictable.

5. They are cancelable. That is, an interpretation which is not part of the conventional meaning of the utterance can be explicitly denied without contradiction.

Later, she adds another important conclusion which in effect seems to repudiate the theory.

Since the calculation of such implicatures depends on a prior specification of the meaning of the sentence, it follows that general conversational implicatures – unlike conventional implicatures – are demonstrably not part of the representation of the meaning of sentences.

By this statement she must mean that implicatures are part of the *pragmatics* since she considers that Grice's theory is concerned with what is generally considered *presuppositions*. Not to be excluded from her consideration too is *illocutionary force* which, she states, "can only be a part of a pragmatic theory". And finally, she feels

the close affinity between the deduction of illocutionary force and the deduction of implicatures suggest that illocutionary force in utterances is but one of the aspects of implicated meaning of utterances and is not different from it in kind.

We have now inherited a series of terms used by different philosophers of language use in discussing meaning: 1. assumption (Chomsky), 2. illocutionary force (Austin and Searle), 3. presuppositions (Lakoff), 4. entailments (Lakoff, Kiparsky), and 5. implicatures (Grice). What this collection of terms indicates is that the meaning of an utterance involves the *motives* and *understanding* of a speaker and hearer.

In his efforts to develop a theory of speech acts, Sadock (1974) concludes:

illocutionary force is an aspect of meaning, represented, like all other aspects of meaning, as part of the most remote syntactic structure.

Then, to answer what part of pragmatics should be represented in the meaning of a sentence, Sadock would have an "underlying syntactico-semantic tree that represents the illocutionary force of a sentence".

Kempson would, of course, not agree with this solution because she considers *pragmatics* to be a separate component of language. She concludes with what appears to be a final statement on *semantics*, *vis-a-vis pragmatics*:

First, there is the central ('referential' or 'cognitive') meaning of sentences and words, which can, I have argued, be stated – with very few exceptions – in terms of truth conditions on sentences ... Then there are the very general implications on sentences which I have argued cannot be seen as an inherent or necessary part of sentence meaning in the same way as truth-conditional properties, since these implications can be cancelled out without resulting in a contradiction. Finally, there are the occasion-specific implications which depend on assumptions shared by particular speakers and hearers, and which may run counter to the standard message conveyed by utterances of that same sentence.

The crucial problem that Kempson meets head-on is precisely whether or not to separate pragmatics from semantics. And her answer is in the affirmative.

It, therefore, seems reasonable to conclude that the non-homogeneity of sentence interpretations is captured by setting up the distinction between semantics and pragmatics and it is, therefore, redundant to introduce such non-homogeneity into the semantic formalization itself.

A pragmatics such as the one represented by Grice's Co-operative Principle is, in Kempson's words: "logically posterior to a linguistic system". One final, crucial reason, in addition to several others, for separating pragmatics and semantics, is that in a competence-performance dichotomy, which Kempson subscribes to apparently, pragmatics cannot be assigned to a speaker's competence. If that were the case, the pragmatic 'rules' of implication, "Be relevant", and "Do not say what you believe to be false", would be part of the rules for the speaker's competence. Moreover, Grice seems to indicate that his rules are social conventions, not linguistic rules. Pragmatics is, in the end, in Kempson's view, a set of performance constructs that "refer to linguistic constructs" and is separate from semantics.

The discussion of Grice's theory would be incomplete without at least passing reference to Chomsky's (1975) reaction. As to be expected, he rejects an intentionalist theory of meaning. The main purpose of language is, to Chomsky, the expression of ideas, (*cogito ergo sum*), not the act of communication. Chomsky speaks instead of "normal meanings", "literal meaning", and "I meant what I said" kinds of meaning as being appropriate to the consideration of linguistic meaning, but intended meanings are out, as is Grice's theory.

One can imagine modifications of the proposed definition that would not involve incorrect claims about intentions, but not, so far as I can see, without introducing some notion like "linguistic meaning". As we will see directly, Grice's more explicit and comprehensive theory fails on this count as well. The point is, I think, that the "communication theorists" are not analysing "meaning" but rather something else: perhaps "successful communication". This concept may indeed involve essential reference to Grice's notion "M-intending", namely, the intention of a speaker to produce in the listener an effect by means of the elaborations suggested by Searle, Grice, and others. But communication is only one function of language, and by no means an essential one. The "instrumental" analysis of language as a device for achieving some end is seriously inadequate, and the "language games" that have been produced to illuminate this function are correspondingly misleading. In contemplation, inquiry, normal social interchange, planning and guiding one's own actions, creative writing, honest self-expression, and numerous other activities with language, expressions are used with their strict linguistic meaning irrespective of the intentions of the "utterer" with regard to an audience; and even in the cases that the communication theorist regards as central, the implicit reference to "rules" and "conventions" in his account seems to beg the major question ....

In my own analysis of Lue discourse in the following chapter, I have separated out a pragmatic component simply out of the need to explain the



meaning of semantically empty 'border' utterance equivalents, 'once upon a time', 'and now then', or 'let me tell you', and non-narrative commentary. For analytical purposes — the need to show the procedural organisation in contrast to its narrative organisation — part of the pragmatics of language can be structured. I cannot, in the final analysis, separate pragmatics completely from semantics or syntax, especially the latter. I am forced to concur with Pike that the components of language behaviour are fused, or overlapping, and "cannot be subdivided into neat 'parts' or 'levels' or 'compartments' with language in a behavioral compartment insulated in character, content and organisation from other behavior".

Much of the current work in semantics is concerned with truth conditions and speaker-hearer inferential and implicational behaviour. The bulk of discussion is on the latter, the non-conventional meaning of an utterance. What then of the conventional meaning of an utterance? In practical terms, how does a reader of classical literature or the translator of a mythological text in a foreign language know whether he is dealing with the conventional or the metaphorical (conversational)? The limitations of so many of these discussions is that the unit of analysis is the sentence. I claim that meaning is best understood at the level of text or discourse. In attempting to explain the meaning of a sentence in isolation by resorting to presuppositions, implicatures and entailments, one is in effect building up an artificial text to provide a context for interpretation. The possible alternative abstractions are dependent only on the imaginative and convincing powers of the analyst.

I have felt the need for a theory of semantics that tells me not what a sentence means but what a text means. In this case, it is a text in the Tai-Lue dialect, one which I know through the vehicle of standard Thai or Siamese. The text has two languages foreign to me, the language of the Lue and the language of their myth. I am not dealing with conventional language and quite obviously all of Grice's restrictions have been violated. The truths of myth are not verifiable, their content is neither adequate nor superfluous. On the contrary, it is obscure, ambiguous, compressed, paratactic, and at times, repetitive. If I am to 'work out the extra information', i.e. the implicature, I am thrown beyond the realm of the ordinary meaning of an utterance. I am compelled to know *the world of knowledge* shared by speaker and hearer, as it enters into the interpretation of the sentences of the text. This same task, a rather formidable one, figures in the theoretical views of several recent works. Petöfi (1973) for example, in his article, "Text-Grammars, Text Theory", states as his basic claim:

The object of the contextual processing of texts is not only ... the verbal structure of the text, it is rather the world which is manifested in a given text. Thus, the text grammar has to provide the description of the world, too.

He makes the distinction between cotext and context as does Catford (1965). Petöfi states that the *cotext* is concerned with the internal properties of a text, while *context* has as its province text-extend relations. The latter is usually considered extralinguistic. We might add that in her discussion of language in context, Lakoff (1973) distinguishes between "contextual and societal concepts — contexts that are, strictly speaking, extra-linguistic ...", but she does not elaborate on the difference.

We need a clearer definition of context. Intentionalist theories neglect the role of the hearer and the impact of historico-cultural context, the inevitable change of meaning as a function of *time* and *space*. When a writer

wishes, using the maxims of the Co-operative Principle of Grice, he believes the reader/hearer not only shares the world of knowledge, but also, I would add, that he exists with him in the same moment (present or future) and place (actual or imagined). In essence, theories of meaning cannot be a-historical, or they will fail in their applicability to interpretation and translation.

Gossman (1974) has written one of the fullest accounts of *context*. It tells us more explicitly, albeit somewhat less formally, what a theory of contextual meaning should include. We shall quote the high points of his article as though they could be considered a set of maxims for understanding meaning.

1. In order to form a conception of the work, therefore, we have to go beyond the text itself to the context – what we know of the author's intention, for instance, or the aesthetics of the period.
2. Without taking into account the contextual situation – the absent text, for instance, to which a given text is opposed and which thus constitutes its context, the tradition of which it is part and which may be incorporated in it as a complex pattern of quotation, allusion and parodies, and in general, the framework of beliefs and expectations in which it is or once was perceived – it is not even possible to determine what the structurally active and significant elements in the text are, or once were. The writer himself may point to the context he intends for his own work.
3. In time, however, we may lose sight of the author's context and one of the most important tasks of literary history, probably, is to reconstruct it.
4. Similarly, change in the contextual system may alter the relation of various language functions in a work (expressive, communicative or denotative, poetic, orative)  
....
5. Changes in the contextual system, in short, produce changes in the degree of structural activity of the various elements making up the complex ensemble of the work. And such changes in the contextual system occur both in the course of history and in the normal life of the individual consciousness. Not everything that is present in a work is revealed to every reader at a single moment in his life. The self-identity of the written text is thus an abstraction, which is arrived at only by amputating the work from the contextual system without which it can have no meaning.
6. There is, in sum, a sort of feedback effect from the user of literary texts to the texts themselves, and his effect, which makes for the polyvalence of the text ... also guarantees its longevity and its capacity, within limits prescribed by its objective structure, to impart different information to different users at different times, or to different users at the same time.

The point (numbers 4 and 5) that changes in context can alter the language function and the structure of a text is demonstrated most clearly by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). In brief, they show the social behavioural context of a classroom situation governs the linguistic structure of discourse. Their methods have been exploited in our text analysis (Chapter VII).

From the preceding discussion, we have seen the difficulty in separating form from meaning, pragmatics from semantics. In addition, the interplay between form and matters of function and meaning is evident. The purpose of the discussion was not only to show the interdependence of form, function, and meaning but to use them as focal points in the analysis of various types of Lue texts. We shall proceed in that order in the following two chapters on oral and written text analysis.

The most crucial concepts, as discussed in this chapter, that bear on the meaning and process of translating the Lue texts in Chapter VIII are conventional and conversational (intended and contextual) meanings and, most importantly, the world knowledge of the Lue singer that I, as an outsider, share with him to a very limited degree only.

## CHAPTER VII

### FORMAL ORAL DISCOURSE IN LUE AND OTHER TAI DIALECTS: TOWARDS AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ELEVATED SPEECH

In this chapter we shall illustrate some of the theoretical discussion of the preceding chapter by presenting data on the forms and functions of oral literature found among the Lue and nearby Tai dialects. A model of an ethnography of elevated speech, or what might also be called a dialect atlas of oral discourse types is outlined. In the final pages, questions of the symbolic meaning of the Lue texts found in the next chapter are discussed in terms of Levi-Strauss' analysis of myth. Also, the problem of the narrative structure of the Lue myths is examined in the light of the work by Van Dijk and Wright.

Coedes used the term 'naive' to describe the indigenous Lao oral form known as mohlam. It is probably an apt term for Lue chant (khap<sup>1</sup> lɿɿ<sup>6</sup>). We shall first consider matters of superficial poetic forms and the basic dialogic structure common to the verbal acts of Tai communities as diverse as the Tho, Lao and Tai Lue. Finally, we shall consider the theoretical matter of *narrative structure* as it relates to khap<sup>1</sup> lɿɿ<sup>6</sup>. Matters of syntactic form, the *structure of symbol* and the *pragmatics of narrating* a Lue chant are dealt with in the following chapter where the matter of cotext structure is more directly dealt with. Remarks about form, function and meaning as they appear in this chapter are only prefatory.

As what appears at first inspection to be a distinctly Lue genre of sung literature, Lue chant can be linked not only to Indic influences but related to the sung literature of other Tai speech communities and to the structure of Tai rural society as well.

First, we note that the word khap<sup>1</sup> simply means *to sing* in most Tai dialects. The singing, to a western ear at least, is more of a singsong, where the melody generally follows speech or tonal melody (Mark and Li 1966). The lyrics override melodic concerns. A song's melodic qualities may signal a special style or even a genre, but a particular sung narrative will be recognised by its thematic content.

Another highly significant social determinant of the structure of khap<sup>1</sup> lɿɿ<sup>6</sup> is the pairing of a male and female chanter in the telling of the narrative. Each takes his turn in relating a chapter of the story. The male begins with the elaborate opening and first chapter. Both singers make personal remarks of polite, poetic deferences to each other in the course of beginning or ending his portion. The effect is to mix poetic repartee with the narrative. For example, from my own fieldnotes we hear the following opening address of

the female singer who is about to relate the second segment of the legend of Bua Rah, one of the Jatakas popular among the Lue and the Lao.

Listen first! Our goodly brother has just sung as gently as the drip-drop of water which trickles from the heads of the rice plants and flows down to touch everything, deeply cooling and refreshing the heart. We will sing joyfully the story of Bua Rah. Now, I, Saeng, will try to follow faithfully the words already spoken. Our brother has already warned us as to what will come so that I will know the line of the story. The next part of the story I will tell to the end. I, Saeng, will describe what happened accordingly, little by little.

The flattery of the woman's reference to her male partner borders on the romantic, and Freudian interpretation would seize upon the sexual symbolism represented by the heads of the rice plants and revitalising water that penetrates the earth. And a structuralist would point out the male-female opposition or contrast in this complex symbol. Beyond this particular example is the widespread phenomenon of male-female individual or group interchanges of rhythmic sung poetic language. This underlying male-female social form and function is clearly felt in the more serious *khap*<sup>1</sup> *lɨ̄*<sup>6</sup> even though the content has changed to the didactic telling of the Jatakas.

Schweisguth (1951) states that equivalent forms of "ces échanges poétiques" are popular in Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, and Thailand. The social origins of this pan-South-east Asian language behaviour is, according to Schweisguth, the separation of young men and women, especially in terms of division of labor (household and fieldwork), except at the height of harvest and certain ceremonies and festivals connected with seasonal activities of the agriculturist invariably marked by the waxing of the moon. At such times, girls and boys will gather in public in the village environs or in someone's home and engage in singing dialogue fashion. The poetic form is probably what is referred to in many dialects simply as *klɔɔn* or verse whose simplicity derives from its closeness to natural speech. Spontaneous composition would come readily to one with a talent for constructing internal rhymes after much experience, first as a listener from childhood and then as an apprentice performer. Separate Tai groups have developed their own distinctive forms from the suggested prototype of poetic courtship chanting. The Lao form of *mɔ̄ lam* is one instance. The texts and translation of a *mɔ̄ lam* (*mohlam*) performance from Southern Laos is illustrative of the 'little' tradition of diadic word play common to Tai and South-east Asian culture. From Compton (1975):

*mɔ̄ lam saay*

99. ʔuan suan sũan kũay thaníj wãan  
 ban náaŋ mɛɛn nɔ̄ɔŋ kĩn tháan ñǎŋ  
 câw kǎ? caŋ phuu ɣáam nɔ̄ɔ pãan tɛɛm  
*Beloved, garden of the sweet Tani banana,  
 What did you offer to the monks  
 That caused you to be as beautiful as a painting?*
100. bǎt nîi fáŋ sʔaŋ hiin mɛɛn la? hiin fâa  
 bǎəy bəək bũalaphaa  
*Now, listen to the sound of thunder from the sky,  
 Marking the East*

101. k̄an ladūu c̄aw d̄fan h̄an  
 si? pian p̄eɛŋ l̄eɛŋ kh̄ōy  
*The season  
 Is going to change*
102. s̄aw náaŋ can máa kh̄ōy c̄aw d̄əŋ dân  
 w̄aãñoó m̄eɛn m̄i i phaay  
*Woman, that's why the wind  
 Is blowing unceasingly*
103. caŋ w̄aãñoó m̄eɛn kh̄et th̄aw  
 th̄aŋ ?ây d̄ây si+nb̄an  
*Since the wind is blowing toward me,  
 I feel happy*
104. s̄athu? l̄aŋ kh̄ōc̄ ñ̄ōc̄ m̄eɛn m̄i w̄ay  
 w̄an th̄aa c̄aw k̄ôm k̄aap  
*Amen. May I raise my hands in prayer  
 And kneel respectfully before you*
105. ñ̄ok m̄i kh̄in m̄eɛn say k̄aw  
 si? c̄aa w̄aw t̄oc̄ phat̄ay  
*I raise my hands as high as my head  
 To speak to Phra Tai*
106. p̄i n̄i kh̄aa n̄i ?ət̄ m̄eɛn b̄oc̄ d̄ây  
 kh̄it ȳaak son kh̄ám ?ūayph̄ōc̄  
*This year, I can no longer wait  
 To send you my blessings*
107. ph̄ōc̄ hày pen la? kh̄áms̄ōc̄  
 kh̄án muu kh̄ón đ̄oc̄ ph̄áy s̄ōy  
*So that they might serve as advice  
 For people everywhere*
108. s̄aw náaŋ ?ây n̄i p̄an m̄eɛn ñ̄aa n̄ōy  
 s̄ám̄ōc̄ b̄aw w̄aw b̄oc̄ kh̄ōc̄  
*Woman, I have but little intelligence;  
 My mind is light, and I don't speak fluently*
109. kh̄ōc̄ ?ăph̄áy m̄eɛn ph̄i n̄ōc̄  
 th̄aaŋ b̄aan th̄aan ph̄u f̄aŋ  
*I ask the forgiveness of my relatives  
 Who are in the villages and who are listening to me.*

The Siamese traditional rural phleɛŋ is probably another close relative, but we can only surmise since the data are not readily available. Until recently, many of the oral literatures of Tai groups have not appeared in printed form even in Siamese. Perhaps they have not been considered serious enough to be elevated to the higher status of written tradition. Whatever the reasons, we simply do not know enough about the oral traditions of the Tai peoples. But at this point, it appears quite certain that the sung poetic repartee is the most basic, widespread oral art of the Tai. As far away as north-east Vietnam, we find the Tho (Tai of Lang Son, Vietnam) exhibiting the same type of verbal behaviour. In a very thorough study, Nguyen-Van-Huyen (1941) reports (my translation from his original French):

In the Upper-Tonkin, there are no boys, who upon reaching the age of 16 or 17, do not know how to sing with young girls. Thus, when they are cutting trees on the side of a mountain, looking for bamboo shoots, looking after their buffalos at the foot of a hill, working in the fields, entertaining themselves during festivals, or nothing more important than a happy reunion when they meet with other young people of the two sexes, they improvise alternating "chants" with the young girls all through the night and even from morning to night. These are wonderful opportunities for the young Tho to choose friends of their own age or companions for life.

The relationship of this general Tai chanted language to Lue chant is that the more formal, sacred, didactic, adult Lue form under study is related to and has evolved from the more playful, romantic, profane, youthful form. The simpler or 'little' type is still practiced by the young Lue of Chiengkham, Thailand, who stand on opposite sides of a village stream on the night of a full moon and engage in the popular exchanges of flirtatious remarks (Weroha, personal comment). From a functionalist perspective, there are then, two major forms of khap<sup>1</sup> lɿ̃<sup>6</sup>: a formal and an informal type. Or using Redfield's scheme, there is a great-little division within Lue culture itself. The two traditions should be studied in a village context.

Despite these limitations, we can already begin to see the outline of the relationships, the similarities and differences, between the oral literatures of all Tai groups, especially those within a fairly continuous geographic and cultural area such as the Upper Mekong Region. Additional information would certainly give us a clearer picture of which groups are most closely related linguistically and culturally. As we have seen, it is difficult to distinguish the Lue from his Lao, White Tai, Khuen, Yuan, and, at some extremes, even from his Shan neighbours since the named dialects are mutually intelligible, with gradual transition taking place only as one moves across the region. One ethnic emblem that may separate all people who regard themselves as Lue from their linguistically and culturally similar neighbours could be the emotional allegiance they feel towards their distinctive oral literature, i.e. khap<sup>1</sup> lɿ̃<sup>6</sup>. A higher level distinction between groups could be made using their oral literatures as a distinguishing characteristic.

The following chart imperfectly lists some, but certainly not all, of the major oral literatures of four dialect groups who share in the 'sticky rice culture', the use of Mon-derived alphabets in sacred texts, and a literary tradition based on the Jataka tales. The latter two borrowings are probably from Burma. Indeed the Lue debt to the Burmese is felt in one of their old sayings from Chieng Rung: 'Burma is our mother; China is our father'. The chart, which includes Lue, Lao, Khuen and Northern Thai, as well as a reference to Tho, illustrates that these four groups can be closely linked in an ethnography of elevated (sung) speech.

Dialect groups and autonomous oral literatures (tentative)			
Dialect	Place	Oral Lit.	Accompaniment
Lue	Chieng Rung, Yunnan; Moeng Yong, Burma; Chiengkham, Thailand	khap <sup>1</sup> lɿɿ <sup>6</sup>	<i>flute</i> (pɿi)
Khuen	Keng Tung, Burma	sǎn	<i>mandolin</i> (sɿ)
Lao	North-east Thailand and Laos	mǎo lam, khāp	<i>reed organ</i> (khɛɛn)
N. Thai	Chiengmai, Chiengrai	sɔɔ, cɔy, khâaw	<i>reed organ</i> (khɛɛn)
Tho	Lang Son, Vietnam	khap (?)	?

We shall proceed now to relate Lue chant to a few forms shown in the preceding table and to present samples of other illustrative types of Lue oral literature recorded by Srisawat (ca. 1955). This broad approach is needed in order to point out structural similarities, thereby revealing the opaque structure of khap<sup>1</sup> lɿɿ<sup>6</sup>. If this same procedure were followed in discussing all Tai "ways of speaking" (Hymes 1972) we would have enough data to set up a system of relationships for the entire language family and to propose a set of transformational rules tracing the variations in form and content in a manner suggested by the work of myth of Lévi-Strauss.

In a two volume study of the Lue written in Thai under the title *Thai Sipsongpanna*, Boonchuay Srisawat notes a number of Lue literary forms and provides a sample of some, but not all. Two of the forms (transcribed in standard Thai here) are khâaw chaadòk and khâaw wí<sup>7</sup>chɛɛn. No examples are given, and the only description provided is that the former kind, which deals with the Jatakas, is chanted by monks in "sounds that are shorter" than in the latter. As noted in the preceding table, khâaw is a Northern Thai (Yuan) form as well, a segment of which shall be examined later using other sources. Next, in Srisawat's study, the existence of khap<sup>1</sup> lɿɿ<sup>6</sup> is mentioned, but no examples are given. For the samples that are provided, no generic labels are given. This suggests that a native theory of genre in a European sense does not exist. Instead, there are indications that a Lue taxonomy is based on a theory of function. Most of the Lue literature is referred to simply as phleeŋ, phleeŋ kháp or kham kháp all of which translate as *song* or *sung words*. The general label of phleeŋ is then usually followed by a specific reference to the purpose or occasion for singing: to appease the spirits in a wedding celebration, or on a child's having survived the first month of life, or at the releasing of a buffalo to graze freely at the end of the rice planting season. These functional types of oral literature appear to have a common linguistic structure, one that is simple and close to ordinary speech. In keeping with the occasion, there is a minimum of metaphor. The literary structure lies in the use of alliteration and linking internal rhymes. While the poetic device of rhyme is heavily employed, the form is not one that uses a measured poetic line as its basic unit. The basic literary unit is the syntactic unit: the phrase of the clause. The rhyme links the final syllable of one syntactic unit to one of the beginning syllables of the next syntactic unit. The esthetic effect is not only to produce a sensation of weaving, but also an occasional percussiveness due to the abrupt meeting of rhyme in a phrase final syllable followed immediately by a phrase initial one. The syntactic break functions as a kind



of caesura which is more fully exploited as a predictable poetic device in another popular Northern Thai genre known as *khlooŋ* which will be examined presently. First we shall examine a segment of 'words for calling (appeasing) the spirits when the child is one month old'. In form and function, the prayer-like speech act bears striking resemblance to the Lue chant of the creation of the universe. The latter, of course, is a narrative, while the former, with its series of exhortations, has the shape of a prayer. Both, however, have a religious function. Since the formal linguistic elements that the particular prayer and narrative share in common are the focus of interest, they shall be pointed out. The first shared characteristic is the use of the opening formula. In the prayer for the one-month infant, the initiating tag is /bát déw nĩ-/ *now*. The narrative of Oral Text II uses the lengthier /bát déw vân nĩ-/ *then*. Each syllable is a separate word carrying the semantic feature +TIME. In the chanted narrative, this formulaic appearance of *now* or *now, then* is very frequent, but it is not readily predictable. It probably has several functions. It marks the beginning of what might be considered a paragraph, or a change of topic. In other instances, it is merely a connective or a filler employed at random when the singer cannot immediately recall the next idea. It is interesting to note that a variation of this time-transition tag is found in the Siamese verse form *klōŋ* used in narrating the Rama legend. There stanzas are marked at the beginning by /m̄fa nán/ *then* when the content deals with royal personages; when the actors are commoners, the use of /bát nán/ *then* is used to signal the change of characters. We see the use of *bát nĩ* in the *mohlam* recorded by Compton (*op. cit.*).

The remaining elements of form of the prayer that mirror the poetic structure of the chanted narrative have already been commented on: the use of the syntactic unit (phrase or clause) as the poetic base rather than a measured line, and the interlocking rhyme scheme linking the final syllable of a unit to one of the initial syllables of the following syntactic construction. The simple prayer thus parallels, and probably antedates, the linguistic literary structure of the chanted narrative, a type of prose poem incorporating ordinary speech with exotic Pali borrowings.

Here, then, is the prayer for the infant. It is taken from the study of Srisawat (*op. cit.*). His Siamese tones have been converted back to Lue tones. The linking rhymes are underlined. The closing formula is rendered in Pali. Incomprehensible to the listener, it nevertheless raises the speech act from the level of the profane to the sacred.

bát déw nĩ? kō khop dǎn lēw	<i>Now, it's a month old already.</i>
pōō mēē pii <u>nōŋ</u> kō m̄i <u>khōōŋ</u> khwán	<i>Father, mother and siblings have the gift,</i>
kǎy <u>kuu</u> ŋām <u>sūu</u> khàw mat <u>m̄i†</u>	<i>The beautiful chicken. Come in to tie strings on your wrist.</i>
<u>h̄fi</u> sōōŋ kŋn,	<i>Let both of you,</i>
mēē luuk dǎy yōōn <u>bún</u>	<i>Mother and child, think about the merit</i>
<u>kŋn</u> kēēw càw sáam phákáan	<i>Of the three masters:</i>
thipphayadāa, <u>fǎa</u> pŋu <u>hēēn</u> ,	<i>The angels and both</i>
hēēn pŋu kŋm	<i>Grandfathers.</i>

h̄īi m̄aa p̄in p̄ak hak s̄aa  
 ph̄īi ȳaa h̄īi m̄aa c̄un  
 k̄un ȳaa h̄īi m̄aa p̄ɛɛ  
 h̄īi ȳu d̄īi k̄in w̄aan  
 m̄īi t̄īi kh̄aa ʔâyayʔ  
 v̄annaʔ k̄aa k̄un̄ lūŋ l̄əŋ  
 céw ȳay céw s̄un̄ məə p̄ây n̄aa t̄oʔ,  
 ʔâyayʔ v̄an n̄an̄ s̄úʔ kh̄an̄ pha l̄an̄

*Let them be the protectors.*  
*Spirits, do not come to bother.*  
*People, do not let them conquer.*  
*Live and eat well!*  
*Live to a ripe old age,*  
*Your skin beautiful and bright?*  
*May you be tall in the future!*  
 (Closing in Pali - untranslated)

Earlier, the suggestion was made that, from a theoretical standpoint, khap<sup>1</sup> līi<sup>6</sup> would be best understood as part of a system of interrelated linguistic-literary forms. A chart of comparative oral literatures was presented as a beginning organisational guide. So far we have compared only two forms within the Lue speech community itself: the short prayer and the extended chanted narrative. Going ahead now with the comparative chart, we shall examine another major geographically northern form: khâaw. Srisawat (*op. cit.*) mentioned that the Lue had two different types or singing styles, but he gave no examples. We are fortunate, however, in having the Egerod (1971) transcription and translation of the Northern Thai (Yuan) classic Khâaw S̄ī B̄ôt. In his introductory remarks, Egerod comments that it has "a rather free poetical form, consisting of lines with 3, 4, 5, or 6 syllables and interwoven rimes". This description leads to the suspicion that it must be very similar to khap<sup>1</sup> līi<sup>6</sup>. A closer examination reveals that it is not. Moreover, Egerod has failed to note what is in fact a very highly structured, indeed mathematically organised, verse form. By revealing the structure of khâaw and its mathematical base, we can better understand what khap<sup>1</sup> līi<sup>6</sup> is not like.

The opening lines from Phaya Phrom's Khâaw S̄ī B̄ôt are retranscribed here in order to demonstrate the exact metrical patterns in both the abstract and actual form.<sup>15</sup>

line 1	000 0000	l̄oəm than̄ăť	saʔăt s̄òok h̄oəm
2	000 0000	n̄ăk n̄òn kh̄oəm	sath̄oəm ʔôk ʔīť
3	000 0000	k̄ôy faŋ (t̄éʔ) n̄óŋ	t̄īi kh̄oŋ c̄ăy t̄īť
4	000 0000	c̄ăk b̄īť ʔaw duaŋ	kapuaŋ maa s̄oəm
5	000 0000	l̄ŋn waat̄aa s̄ěy	lom c̄əy lw̄at̄ t̄oəm
6	0000	---	h̄oəm duaŋ baan sw̄aan l̄ót
7	000 0000	b̄uʔph̄ăa ph̄ěy	b̄òc̄ h̄ěy h̄īat ɣót
8	0000	---	h̄oəm ʔoəm ʔuan kuan dom
9	000 0000	c̄ăa ph̄īap k̄aw	s̄am̄naw k̄oəm k̄ôm
10	000 0000	ph̄ăʔs̄ôm t̄eek tiam	liam líʔ lâm s̄ăaŋ
11	000 0000	k̄ôy faŋ (t̄éʔ) naay	m̄^ laan p̄ăk kw̄aaŋ
12	0000	---	c̄âat baan taʔphaan t̄èɛ c̄fa
13	000 0000	(b̄òc̄) th̄ăa m̄īi k̄fa	h̄īn s̄ôm n̄óŋ n̄fa
14	0000;	---	s̄īi h̄àak kh̄əm d̄eɛŋ ɣaam

Rules for the organisation of *khâaw* call for a 7-syllable line with a caesura after the third or fourth syllable. Rhymes are of two types: external and internal. External rhymes link the final syllable of lines 2-3, 4-5, 6-7, etc. The final syllable of line 1 is unique in that it establishes the pattern for internal rhyme by virtue of its being connected to the third syllable of line 2. We can see that, almost without fail, the third and fifth syllables within succeeding lines are joined to form the internal rhyme scheme. A final unique metrical device of the *khâaw* is a spacing technique called *bòt loq hemistich dropped* (Thamayot 1947). The initial deleted hemistich appears in the sixth line where the first three syllables have been dropped. Thereafter, the first hemistich of lines 6, 8, 12, 14 etc., are dropped. Mathematically this can be represented by the series.

$$\text{bòt loq} = 6+2+4+2+4+2+4 \dots$$

Another sample of Lue oral literature reported by Srisawat is again not labelled. We are simply told that it is a courting song sung by a woman to a man with whom she is not yet acquainted. As we examine it, we can see how close it is to the idealised verse form called *khlooq*, which, according to Mosel (1961), is supposed to be indigenous to the northern geographic region, i.e. the area around Chiangmai, Thailand. The Siamese canonical form of the *khlooq* calls for quatrains of 34 syllables with 5 to 9 syllables per line. A caesura is possible after the 5th syllable, and the last 2 syllables of the 1st and 3rd lines can be omitted as in the following scheme. Tonal rhymes are not shown here.

00000 00 (00)  
 00000 00  
 00000 00 (00)  
 00000 00

Comparing the structure of the *khlooq* with the Lue *song*, the basic 5+2+(2) syllable length of the line is clear. In the Lue citation, the rhyme pattern is not strictly adhered to, however. Both the lyric quality and the verse structure of this class of song demonstrate that *khap<sup>1</sup> li<sup>6</sup>* belongs in a decidedly different category.

ʔán ʔʔin hìʔ tii kóo	bǎw kóo
tii kə kóo thǔuk bót	mêŋ hām
kóo thǔuk kám	mêŋ laa
kóo thǔuk yàa lǐn háan	mêŋ hēm
kóo thǔuk lúk kháŋ lúk vĕen	tǎa còom
kóo kâa kĕe bǎw pŭn	kóo lĕn kŭn câay

The translation of this Lue song is roughly as follows:

*As for other things to fear, (I'm) not afraid.  
 But afraid to be trapped in vain at Ham town.  
 Afraid of the ceremony at Laa town.  
 Afraid of the sharp grass at Ham town.  
 Afraid of falling into 'luk khaŋ' - at Vaen town.  
 Afraid that I won't be able to forget you when you leave me.*

Another deviation from the strict form of the *khlooq* which is exhibited by the Lue song is found in the length which is six lines rather than the usual four lines of the Siamese stanza. This suggests that oral literatures will show much more variation than 'standard' written literatures.

To complete the comparison between the oral literature recorded by Srisawat and forms in other dialects, there are several examples of very simple verse types with an average line of 3 and 4 syllables. External rather than internal rhyme is exploited. Both the length of the line and the emphatic final rhyme pattern are possibly conditioned by their association with festival dancing or rhythmic group singing and clapping such as might take place at the annual summer fireworks festivals so popular among the Lue and the Lao. Space does not allow us to present all of Srisawat's materials. A few segments will, however, illustrate the variety of Lue oral literature and demonstrate again that *khap*<sup>1</sup> *lii*<sup>6</sup> is a very unique phenomenon.

The first three examples are 'songs' which employ the 3-syllable line and external rhyme. The 4th example, from the fireworks festival at the Lue city of Moeng Yong in north-eastern Burma, has a very regular 4-syllable line. To this last work, Srisawat does attach the label (in Siamese) *klɔɔn kham khàp*. Earlier in this paper *klɔɔn* was cited as a word found in many Tai dialects which simply means *verse*. In Siamese literatures of more recent times, its most popular form is called *klɔɔn-8*, or the 8-syllable *klɔɔn*. The Lue 3 and 4-syllable type may be seen as a simpler type lacking the added ornamentation of elaborate internal rhymes found in the Siamese *klɔɔn-8*. Certainly, the simpler verse form would more readily lend itself to oral composition and ease of memorisation.

1. Song for the fireworks (*bɔɔk fây*) at Loong town.

<i>bɔɔk fây lóoŋ</i>	<i>Big rocket,</i>
<i>bɔɔk fây kɛɛw</i>	<i>Precious rocket</i>
<i>tɔɔk khɪn lɛɛw</i>	<i>It was built up already,</i>
<i>cɪŋ háam mâa</i>	<i>Then was carried here.</i>
<i>tók káaŋ nâa</i>	<i>Fall in the middle of the rice fields!</i>
<i>tii bɔɔk kwàaŋ</i>	<i>The wide field.</i>
<i>cúm pín sáaw</i>	<i>Others who are maidens,</i>
<i>mɛɛ hãaŋ kàa</i>	<i>Or the bold divorcee</i>
<i>mâa yɛɛŋ ʔáw</i>	<i>Come and see us.</i>
<i>pɛŋ cáy hãm</i>	<i>They like us.</i>
<i>pəə mâa làa</i>	<i>If we come late,</i>
<i>pəə yũu thàa</i>	<i>They have to wait for us,</i>
<i>mũu cúm câay</i>	<i>The group of men.</i>
<i>hãa hiw vit</i>	<i>Hey!</i>

Sexual symbolism is quite evident in this type of verse. Sexual metaphors are likewise found in the next two examples.

2. Song for dancing at the fair.

<i>fɔɔn hãw fɔɔn</i>	<i>Dance, we dance.</i>
<i>súk yɔɔn càw</i>	<i>It makes you happy.</i>
<i>dày mɛəkín tâan</i>	<i>When you make merit,</i>
<i>bàan mɛŋ báan</i>	<i>The community is prosperous.</i>

sáaw nŭm nŏy	<i>Young men and women.</i>
măak nŏy nŏy	<i>Young fruits,</i>
kín ɲaʔ ɲÉÈn	<i>Plenty to eat,</i>
băw pŏɔ sÉÈn	<i>But not enough for 100,000.</i>
sŭu làw khÉÈn	<i>Still (we) can buy liquor and a khaen.</i>
kân kín lĒÈw	<i>When eating and drinking,</i>
sÉÈn kwáy hoo	<i>(We) get drunk.</i>
năm khàw nŏo	<i>Water enters.</i>
kŭn ʔɔɔk hŏə	<i>People sweat.</i>
năm phăan nŏə	<i>Water passes through the flesh.</i>
băw díi hán	<i>(It's) not good to look at.</i>
khóɔ pán mâa	<i>Please give me</i>
ɲfn kón cŏy	<i>Some money.</i>
kân pán nŏy	<i>If you give a little,</i>
hìʔ kúu kún kwây	<i>Please give one buffalo.</i>
kân pán láay	<i>If you give a lot,</i>
hìʔ kúu kŭn cŏy	<i>Please give one cow.</i>

3. Song sung by men in courting women.

vôo pŭu mŏɔk	<i>Gray bull</i>
khàw sŏn dŏɔk khâm	<i>Enters the golden flower garden.</i>
vôo pŭu kâm	<i>Black bull</i>
khàw sŏn dŏɔk dàay	<i>Enters the cockscomb garden.</i>
sáaw tŏo hăay	<i>Maidens with bad hearts,</i>
yăa mâa kăay	<i>Don't come near.</i>
sáaw nàa lâay	<i>Maidens with striped faces,</i>
yăa mâa kày	<i>Don't come close.</i>
sáaw bàan cây	<i>Maidens from the village of Chay</i>
sáaw tŏo díi	<i>Are good.</i>
sáaw bàan nŏə	<i>Maidens from Nŏa village</i>
ʔÉÈw kaan pŏɔɲ	<i>Wear striped skirts.</i>
sáaw tŏɲ nŏy	<i>Maidens with slender shapes</i>
cáy hâu səə	<i>Thrill us.</i>
hăa hìw vit	<i>Hey!</i>
hăa hìw vit	<i>Hey!</i>

4. 'kloon kham khàp' from the firework festival at the Lue city of Moeng Yong, Burma. Here the length of the line is 4 syllables in contrast to 3 found in the preceding. Because this song is too long to give in its entirety, only a few lines will be shown without translation. Rhymes are underlined>.

salít cám paa  
 sabán ɣâa kăap ʔaa  
 mǔu cɛə túu khàa  
 pín bǎaw yɔ̄ɔn khâm  
 tíi kóɔŋ mɔ̄ɔn khâm  
 kɔy ɣɔʔ yɔ̄n káa  
 khàw sǔu háa pɔɔy  
 kɔy fɔn lɔy lɔy ...

Thus far in our comparisons, we have seen both a functional (religious, didactic) and structural (poetic prose) similarity between the Lue prayer and the Lue chanted narrative. Then, when we examined regulated verse forms, it appeared that types which can be labelled khâaw, khlooŋ and kloɔn find their chief function in lyrical or festive expression in courtship behaviour. If a dichotomy can be maintained on the basis of this incomplete data, it might be that the form will depend on the function or 'illocutionary force' of the speech act (Searle 1969). For the more serious performance, such as appeasing spirits, narrating a sacred myth or teaching proverbs, regulated verse is not permissible. Only the less predictable rhythms and simpler rhyme schemes of poetic prose will do. In contrast, measured verse is the rule for less moralistic speech acts such as those which take place in courting or festival dancing. Then too, we must consider the talents of the individual poet and local conventions and esthetics. An instance in point is the Siamese proverbs for teaching young women authored by Sunthorn Phu. There the 8-syllable line of the currently popular form of the kloɔn is used. Lue proverbs, which we shall look at next, combine the technique used in kloɔn with ordinary prose to produce again a poetic prose. In the Lue case, the segments that appear to be kloɔn have lines that vary in length from 3 to 5 syllables. This suggests that in the history of the development of Tai literature, kloɔn included a wide variety of forms loosely labelled as 'verse'. Also, on the literary level, there does not appear to be a sharp distinction between verse and prose. The amount and kind of variety, especially from the standpoint of oral traditions, indicates gradation of forms with verse and prose as extremes. The Lue chanted narrative, which we have been referring to as khap<sup>1</sup> líi<sup>6</sup>, belongs somewhere in between these opposing forms. The Lue proverbs for teaching women are also in this middle area, but more toward the category of verse. The proverbs, the prayers and the chanted narrative are all 'khap' because they are sung; they are likewise kloɔn because they contain elements of verse and because they are considered in this light by the informants themselves.

Lue proverbs for teaching young women:

fâŋ tóʔ fúuŋ sáaw láay	<i>Listen, group of girls.</i>
kɔ tɕŋ mee hǎaŋ mee hən nǔm	<i>Together with divorcee and housewife.</i>
mâa fâŋ	<i>Come listen.</i>
píi tíiʔ néé bǔok hɛ̄t nâaŋ	<i>I will tell you,</i>
hǔu tâaŋ saŋ sóɔn	<i>Teach you the way to know.</i>
nâaŋ ʔán nɕŋ	<i>You, one thing</i>
néə hóo càw kée cōo	<i>above you, is the head, the master</i>

ʔán pín pɔɔ kan phóo	<i>Who is your husband.</i>
nǎo làa s'éen ʔəə noo	<i>Women, you women.</i>
nəə tip k'oon s'eɛŋ	<i>(descriptive phrase)</i>
kɔy ɔŋ <u>p'éɛŋ</u> phóo <u>k'èew</u>	<i>Do love your precious husband.</i>
phóo láp l'èew	<i>(When) husband sleeps,</i>
paay <u>k'èew</u> ɔŋ <u>t'èw</u>	<i>You women quietly walk.</i>
nāan yǎa <u>k'èw</u> r'èen hòŋ	<i>You must not make loud noises</i>
nəə hēn	<i>In the house.</i>
phóo <u>t'ŋ</u> cum <u>c'iŋ</u>	<i>When husband wakes up refreshed,</i>
làa yām t'èe phóo k'èew	<i>You show respect to him.</i>
bǎw <u>n'éɛŋ</u> <u>p'éɛŋ</u> <u>k'éɛŋ</u>	<i>Don't be bored with cooking.</i>
làa táa <u>nin</u>	<i>You with the black eyes,</i>
yǎa <u>k'ín</u> <u>k'ōŋ</u>	<i>Don't eat first.</i>
k'it <u>s'oon</u> phóo n'ōŋ	<i>Think about your husband.</i>
cáa ʔ'oon pǎak <u>vāan</u>	<i>Talk quietly and sweetly.</i>
phóo nāaŋ <u>pháan</u>	<i>Your husband is poor.</i>
làa cán <u>táa</u>	<i>You, the moon,</i>
<u>yǎa</u> páy <u>y'èp</u>	<i>Don't look down on him ... (etc.)</i>
làa <u>leep</u> nām hòoy n'ōy	
<u>k'oy</u> leep s'oon <u>fǎŋ</u>	
làa yǎŋ m'èe nām k'waaŋ ...	

Before concluding the discussion and illustration of the structure of Lue chanted narrative, one more worthwhile comparison should be made, although it was not included in the chart of comparative oral literatures. This final form, which bears strong resemblance to the form and function of the Lue chant, is a genre, or at any rate a style, called *rāay yaaw*. It is used by monks in reciting the Jataka tales. Also, the length of the line seems unimportant, if not impossible to discover. Rhymes interlock at unpredictable points; alliteration and assonance are richly employed. Bidya (1955) refers to it as "quasi-poetry".

paan m'fa phráʔ mátsii s'ŷi sam'ōŋ  
dāy sadàp sǎan s'ŋth'ōŋ phráʔ bìʔt'ùroŋ  
naaŋ n'óom phráʔ k'èet klāw lon l'éew  
kɔ thuun khwaam faa phrabàat  
tràt hāmklāaw krām'ōn chǎn mátsii ...

The very casual linking rhyme evident in the *rāay* resembles the rhyme pattern found in the opening and closing segments of Lue Oral Texts I and II. But even more pronounced is the similar pattern found in the written Lue Texts A and B examined in Chapter IX.

We have considered the form and function of various types of Lue oral literature and found a distinct connection between the linguistic form (poetic vs prosaic, sacred vs profane registers, etc.) and social function (courtship, prayer, teaching/narrating). We have yet to consider what each function means. What, for example, does a Lue proverb mean?

Gossman (1974) illustrates the role that *text* and *context* play in the meaning of proverbs, using the well-known saw, "rolling stones gather no moss". In England and France it means that the wanderlust will never accumulate the possessions needed for a good life and home. In Calvinist Scotland, at the time of his boyhood, it meant the opposite: you must keep moving so as not to 'let the grass grow under your feet'. This illustrates the role that changing cultural context and the values it represents play in the role of meaning. As for text, he found that several of his students at Johns Hopkins had to pause to construct a text in their minds in order to understand the implications of a statement whose text and context were not part of their (oral) traditions.

Similarly, in order to get at the meaning of any of the Lue forms cited, the task is basically the same: to construct a text — the 'other' or 'missing' text, i.e. a context. The central problem in analysing the Lue chant is meaning. The quest for meaning in the next chapter will be approached in a number of ways. First there is the implicit assumption of *Lue* meaning projected through *phonological* (including poetic) and *syntactic form*. There is meaning reflected in the use or *function* of different discourse genres. The pragmatic aspect of religious teaching explains much of the form. But the semantic structure requires the greatest effort at elaboration.

I have approached the problem of meaning in the Lue oral texts from two avenues. Assuming a linguistic structure that is *dialogic* and existing in *time* and *space*, the 'I-thou, here-now' scheme of tagmemics, I then approach meaning from two levels, the *symbolic* and the *concrete*. For the concrete, which I consider to be culturally and historically significant knowledge or immediate and remote social situation, I have used what resembles the technique of *explication of a multistructured text*, following Barthes (1975). On the symbolic level I have taken the view of Lévi-Strauss. That is, man uses symbols to organise the world and these symbols stand to one another in a relationship of opposition. Their meaning is one of relationship, a kind of algebra of proportion, or a homology.

Lévi-Strauss's statement on the use of symbol is a statement on epistemology that is all the more credible when examined from the standpoint of other theories of learning. We find a distinct parallel between the homology of Lévi-Strauss and the analogy of Deese (1971).

Analogy is the root of the process in understanding of language. An analogy occurs when some partial equivalence is perceived to exist between any two concepts. Concepts are cognitive events, and they may be linguistically represented by words, phrases, sentences, etc. ... Concepts, however, are not solely linguistic. They may be represented by images, models, abstract relation of various sorts ... and all of these representations may be used at various times in the interpretation of linguistic form.

The use of symbol in verbal art can only be understood at the level of discourse or text. The 'meaning' of symbol as 'relationship', i.e. contrast or opposition, can rarely be achieved within the confines of a single sentence.



Even the proverb 'rolling stones gather no moss' requires the construction of another sentence, i.e. a text for its interpretation by analogy.

rolling stone : no moss and not rolling stone : moss  
wanderlust : poverty and permanence : possession

In Lue Oral Text I, the relational network of symbols extend across the boundaries of the two parts, or chapters, of the text. In the first part, the wind, mountain, and water symbolically represent the creation of *matter* from *energy*, in contrast to the representation of the creation of time, symbolised by the zodiac, whose operations are detailed in the second part.

Lévi-Strauss's system is theoretically divorced from context. His theory and method, borrowed from linguistics (language or a closed system of inter-relationships, especially in phonology and arbitrariness of the sign) has been heavily criticised because it annuls feeling (Geertz 1960) and history (Sartre 1960). I do not subscribe to the non-contextual views of Lévi-Strauss. In practice, he cannot always avoid context. For the most part, however, he is not in a position to consider contextual matters since he does not possess, nor is he interested in, a knowledge of the language and culture of the people whose myths he is analysing. In so many instances he works from translations, and studies only the symbolic transformations from one society to another.

On the other hand, he is able to forge ahead to give a convincing analysis of the structuring of symbol in myth. I have attempted to do the same in discussing the meaning of symbol in the Lue oral accounts of the creation and destruction of the universe. The virtue of Lévi-Strauss's method is that it provides us with a system or model of the symbolic elements in the myth and the semantic superstructure that ties the vision of the narrative together. The danger is in finding symbol where there is none, and I am doubtless guilty of excess in my analysis found in the next chapter.

The ultimate test of any theory is whether or not it is convincing. The work by Wright (1975) called *Six guns and society: a structural study of the western* is a brilliant analysis of the myth of the cowboy which owes much of its success to a Lévi-Strauss frame of reference. It incorporates as well a modified version of Propp's theory of functions (actions) and provides a context that is nothing short of a political, economic and cultural history of the United States as it relates to the making of the myth.

In the analysis of Lue myth, I have been driven by a similar set of necessities. In addition to showing the structure of symbol — objects and actions — I have tried to show the non-homogeneous, or unstructured context of the cultural forces (particularly religious practices and beliefs) which find expression in the total performance of the myth.

One matter which remains to be discussed is that of narrative form. I have not concerned myself with the explanation of the structure of narrative *per se* in the following chapter. The narrative form is not as interesting or as important to me as the pragmatic structure, the organisation used to tell the story. The Lue chant is really a narrative in a limited sense, and a teaching form in the broadest. But since I have labelled the chant 'an oral narrative', it is incumbent upon me to discuss the narrative aspect of the *khap*<sup>1</sup> *lii*<sup>6</sup>.

Wright (1975) uses the theory of narrative structure developed by the philosopher Danto (1968). Their narrative is conceived of as a *form* of explanation. The narrative explains change in the shape of initial, final and intervening action or events that account for the change. Danto's model of a minimal narrative is:

1. X is F at t-1
2. H happens to X at t-2
3. X is G at t-3, where t represents time

We can compare this to the model offered by Van Dijk (1972) which in basic form is the same as Danto's. Narrative is a 'logic' of events or actions. (Actions are special types of events.) The narrative logic is a 'change of state of affairs' or

C (s<sub>y</sub>, s<sub>j</sub>)

Unlike Danto's theory, where time is explicit, in Van Dijk's theory time is implied. Three propositions describe the narrative event. For example, if we wish to describe the narrative of the 'Queen's dying', we need three propositions:

1. S<sub>i</sub> the queen lives
2. C the queen dies
3. S<sub>j</sub> the queen is dead

In applying these congruent theories to the Lue texts, we see the latter are complex narratives, with one narrative nested inside another. In both, the core narrative appears to be the overt appearance and encounter (testing and marriage) between the male and female hero and heroine. This conforms to Rassers' (1959) view that the essential structure of the South-east Asian narrative is threefold: 1. the birth, 2. testing, and 3. marriage of her hero. The first event is implied at the level of ambiguity. That is, the primal pair appear to be autochthonous.

In the tagmemic analysis of discourse in selected Philippine languages, Longacre (1968) gives the narrative structure in the shape of a general formula:

± Aperture ± Episode + Denouement + Anti-denouement ± Closure  
± Finis

In the pages of translation and explanation of the Lue oral and written texts that follow, problems of form, meaning and pragmatics predominate. Discourse level organisation symbolic structuring and a pragmatics of procedural and narrative acts are shown in detail. An attempt to get at the *shared world of knowledge* is seen in the pages of text explanation. Except for a brief discussion of pronominal reference, conjoining is viewed in more global terms: the logical cohesion in the oral text achieved through the organisation of symbol and the spatial, temporal and causal links between events. In the case of the young singer of Text II, it is shown how and where the organisation of his text breaks down.

## CHAPTER VIII

### TWO ORAL TEXTS

The two texts which follow are a transcription of tape-recorded performances of Lue singers made in Thailand in 1972-73. Each page of text has, below each line of transcription, a line of word for word translation and a line of free translation. In turn, each page of text is immediately followed by a page or more of exegesis intended to provide broader contextual information – linguistic, cultural, situational, historical – needed to complete the total connotative meaning of the otherwise cryptic message contained in these two Lue myths dealing with the creation and destruction of the universe. The contextual theories discussed in the preceding chapter provide the broad theoretical base and much of the methodology used in the analysis. As a more immediate model for the methodological approach used in the explanatory pages, the work of Barthes (1970) entitled *S/Z* has been followed. The attempt there and here is to get a meaning – of Balzac's *Sarrasine* and Lue myths respectively – following Barthes' dictum that:

ce texte est un galaxie de signifiants, non une structure des signifiés ... de ce texte absolument pluriel, les systèmes de sens peuvent s'emparer, mais leur nombre n'est jamais clos, ayant pour mesure l'infini du langage...<sup>16</sup>

In presenting the text to the reader attention must be paid to matters of form and function as well as meaning. Matters of form have been handled using tagmemic theory for the most part. The beginning assumption there is that speech can be analysed in terms of three overlapping hierarchies: phonology, grammar and lexicon. More recently, students of tagmemics have used the terms *phonology*, *syntax* and *semantics*. To this I add a fourth dimension: *pragmatics*. The latter term is really an extension of the notion of function, prominent in tagmemic theory from the very outset. While recognising the pervasiveness of hierarchical organisation in language and human behaviour, I prefer to use the more abstract notion of *field*. Thus one can speak of the semantic field, the structure of which will vary depending on the universe of discourse. On the symbolic level found in the myths of the Lue we can state, following Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1966, 1969), that the semantic field is structured in terms of polar oppositions. In the syntactic field we find parallelism a strong organising principle at the level of discourse. In the phonological field, poetic discourse can choose the isomorphic patterning of alliteration and rhyme. In revised form then, the analysis of the following pages is based on the initial proposition that language can be analysed in terms of four intersecting ecological fields: phonology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. These four aspects of language are a system of interrelationships that lie within the larger ecological context of human behaviour.

Beginning with the syntax of the Lue texts which follow, we can see a clear hierarchical organisation. The two singers – of Text I and Text II – tell self-contained narratives which together form part of a larger narrative group. The two narratives follow one another logically and chronologically in that the first deals with the creation of the universe, the second with its destruction and re-creation. Each narrative, in turn, can be broken down into the syntactic units: clause group (paragraph), clause (sentence, line), syllable group (word, phrase) and syllable (word). The syntactic hierarchy appears as follows:

Narrative Group  
(Texts I and II)

Narrative I (chap. I) (Singer I - creation)	Narrative II (chap. II) (Singer II - conflagration)
Clause group (par.) 1,2,3,4	Clause group 1,2,3,4
Clause (sen., line)	Clause
Syllable group (phrase, word)	Syllable group
Syllable (word)	Syllable

Clause, syllable and discourse (narrative) are the only unambiguous units in Tai-Lue. At times they coincide with the word, sentence, paragraph or chapter as indicated in the parentheses above. As syntactic forms, the clause groups 1,2,3,4, have the narrative function of introduction, setting, action and ending.

When we turn to the semantic field after having examined the syntactic organisation, the overlap between syntax and semantics becomes apparent. All four clause groups (paragraphs or parts) in the syntactic hierarchy are marked off by specific lexical forms whose syntactic function is to mark the beginning of a new part, of which there are four. Each of the four parts is confined to a clearly limited semantic field. The setting in Text I, for example, deals with the order and organisation of the universe; the action (Pt. III) focuses on the creation of life. Both syntactic and semantic information combine in the realisation of the four units. The setting and action of Text I are likewise marked off lexically by the tags ?an<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> *it is said ...* and ?an<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> *then there was this ...*, their only occurrence in the text. They unambiguously mark off clause groups or paragraphs. Below them, on the level of the clause or sentence, we find a series of ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> *there was* as lexical connectives used in the setting indicating a clear lexico-syntactic contrast of these forms. This aspect of organisation is shown in the diagram below.

Discourse level lexical-syntactic hierarchical organisation

Text I

Pt I: Introduction	Pt II: Setting	Pt III: Action	Pt IV: Ending
caw <sup>3</sup> hæy <sup>2</sup> caw <sup>3</sup> <i>You O! You</i>	?an <sup>1</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> ... <i>It is said ...</i>	?an <sup>1</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> mii <sup>4</sup> ... <i>Then there was this ...</i>	sii <sup>1</sup> taa <sup>1</sup> dam <sup>1</sup> ... <i>(I) black eyes ...</i>
van <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> haw <sup>4</sup> ... <i>Today, I ...</i> (poetic opening)	pii <sup>5</sup> .. <i>I ...</i>	ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup> ... <i>There was ...</i> (prose.....)	ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup> ... yaam <sup>4</sup> nan <sup>6</sup> pay <sup>1</sup> han <sup>1</sup> .. <i>There was ... Then (they) go see ...</i> (prose)
		pii <sup>5</sup> ... yaŋ <sup>6</sup> nii <sup>3</sup> <i>I stop here</i> (poetic ending)	

Below the diagram, in parentheses, we note the overlap between phonology and the other fields at the discourse level. In addition to the usual rules for Lue phonology, we have the phonological conventions used in poetic discourse to open and close each narrative.

In addition to noting the contrastive function of poetic *margins* and prose *nucleus* (tagmemic terms), we can again discuss the phonological field in terms of an ascending hierarchy. The lowest level is usually occupied by the *phoneme*, the smallest, significant, meaningful, contrastive unit. But even lower, the *phonetic variant* exists as a stylistic device in the context of the sung narrative. For example, the singer of Text II, was unique in offering /din<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>/ repeatedly as a stylistic variant of /dii<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>/ *good, well done*. The variant, then, has a definite *stylistic function*. By style we mean the imposition of the individual will on language, with resulting change. Every performer attempts to put his own mark on his oral composition by constructing phonological lexical and syntactic markers that differ from those of others, however small they may at first appear to be.

The order of the phonological hierarchy in chanting the myth is basically from the phoneme to the syllable, the breath group, the stress group and the intonation group. The last mentioned is marked by the beginning and ending contours of the narrative. Stress groups are rare and coincide with a breath group. That is, a breath pause invariably follows a point of emphatic stress, e.g. mii<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>// *there was!*.

As for the semantic structure, an attempt has been made on the following page to show the meaning of symbols as they stand to one another by virtue of polar contrasts. Other, unstructured, aspects are found in the exegesis.

As a footnote used to defend the analysis of the semantic structure in terms of polar oppositions (Text I), it is pointed out that Swearer (1974) in his narrative interpretation of "Myth, legend and history in the Northern Thai chronicles" finds semantic opposition one key to understanding: "The fundamental polarity of these mythic-legends is, therefore, one between town or city and village to tribe".

Finally, in addition to the phonological syntactic and semantic fields, there is another aspect of the Lue narrative that deals with the pragmatic. The pragmatics of Lue chant are clearly manifested in the linguistic organisation of the text. Earlier, we noted that the notion of pragmatics is implied in the tagmemic use of function as a basic theoretical concept. The decision to separate out a fourth overlapping hierarchy or field and label it pragmatics, stems from the observation that this particular Lue genre has a dual form: narrative and procedural. The two strands in the art of telling the tale follow from beginning to end and can be sketched as follows:

comment \ narrate / comment \ narrate / comment \ narrate / comment

The line of commentary, the core of the pragmatic component, is a line of speech acts which are overt and can be further classified as the act of recognising a speaker and listener, the act of referring to the authoritative base of the sacred Dharma, metastatements about the structure and content of the narrative acts, and acts notifying the listener of the beginning, continuing and concluding of the song. Such procedural acts would not appear in, say, a modern written narrative – at least not so overtly and not throughout the tale, unless in imitation of oral style. So there seems to be justification for separating out a pragmatics, especially when it is marked by semantic (lexical), syntactic and phonological signals as well.

Text I  
 Semantic structuring of symbols in  
 terms of contrasts (polarities)

## I. Introduction

Gold  
 visual substance : Speech  
 audible substance

(But both are alike in being difficult to fashion into an object of beauty.)

## II. Setting - organisation of the universe

Wind : Mist  
 energy : matter

Mountain : Water  
 solid centre : liquid periphery

Fish Anun : Elephant  
 aquatic life and change : terrestrial life and stability

Heavens : Zodiac  
 immovable space : moveable time

## III. Action - solution of enigmas

Woman : Man  
 passive and naive : active and cunning

Animals : Man  
 mechanical and instinctual : free and intellectual

Tai-Lue : Montagnards  
 'we' and superior : 'they' and inferior

First parents : First children  
 pure : incestuous

In Text I, where the two-way division is simple and clear, lexically, the lines of comment are marked by a pronoun (haw<sup>4</sup> *we, I*; pii<sup>5</sup> *elder, I*); narrative lines are marked by a narrative or connective phrase such as ?an<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> *it is said*, ciq<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>2</sup> *there was*, yaam<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> *at that time*, etc.

The pragmatic structure for Text I appears on the following page. It is to be read for its own sake and to be compared to the much more redundant pragmatics of Text II which appears a few pages later. The left column shows the truly pragmatic line of acts or functions which I call procedural because they are concerned with how the narrative will proceed as a social and linguistic act. This structural dimension which I attempt to show underscores the belief shared by the anthropologist and sociolinguist, namely that language acquisition teaches us not only how to speak, but how to behave as well. As indicated earlier, the recent work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) served as inspiration and stimulus for reworking my understanding of *function* in tagmemics.

Pragmatic structure of  
Text I

Procedural function	Narrative function
1. <i>comment</i> caw <sup>3</sup> həəy <sup>2</sup> caw <sup>3</sup>	
2. <i>comment</i> van <sup>4</sup> ni <sup>6</sup> haw <sup>4</sup>	
15. <i>comment</i> pii <sup>5</sup>	8. <i>narrate</i> ?an <sup>1</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> (Pt II)
	20. <i>narrate</i> ?an <sup>1</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>
	36. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
	43. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
	48. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> maa <sup>2</sup>
56. <i>comment</i> pii <sup>5</sup>	60. <i>connect</i> thet <sup>1</sup> nan <sup>6</sup> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
72. <i>comment</i> pii <sup>5</sup>	76. <i>connect</i> thet <sup>1</sup> nan <sup>6</sup> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
81. <i>comment</i> pha <sup>7</sup> <sup>5</sup>	83. <i>conclude</i> ...see <sup>1</sup>  cw <sup>6</sup>
	84. <i>summarise</i> man <sup>4</sup>
	86. <i>motivate</i> kun <sup>4</sup>
	92. <i>narrate</i> ?an <sup>1</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> (Pt II)
	162. <i>change</i> yaam <sup>4</sup> nan <sup>6</sup>
	166. <i>change</i> yaam <sup>4</sup> nan <sup>6</sup>
	174. <i>change</i> yaam <sup>4</sup> nan <sup>6</sup>
	183. <i>change</i> hɪŋ <sup>1</sup> taam <sup>1</sup> hɪŋ <sup>1</sup> ciŋ <sup>2</sup>
	197. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
	204. <i>connect</i> xaw <sup>1</sup> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> maa <sup>4</sup>
215. <i>comment</i> (pii <sup>5</sup> )	
217. <i>comment</i> sii <sup>1</sup> taa <sup>1</sup> dam <sup>1</sup>	
218. <i>comment</i> pii <sup>5</sup>	
219. <i>comment/close</i> təə <sup>5</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> pii <sup>5</sup>	
223. <i>comment</i> pii <sup>5</sup>	
224. <i>comment/close</i> yaŋ <sup>6</sup> nii <sup>3</sup> tɔɔ <sup>5</sup>	

In a linguistic theory of speech acts such as the ones envisioned by Ross (1970) or Sadock (1974), Lue statements that are labelled comment in the foregoing would have the status of explicit performatives. Those of the narrative type would require an embedded structure of the form 'I narrate to you' in a deep structure analysis. In a narrative of the sort we have been examining,

such a theoretical approach leads to cumbersome methodology. Such non-discourse linguistic theories are burdened by restricting themselves to sentence-level analyses and the need to contrive complicating deep structures needed to explain the implications and inferences between speaker and hearer that we might better assume go on without attempting a formal representation. By using 'surface' information from phonology, syntax and semantics, we have shown from the perspective of discourse, that there is a pragmatic component to language. In a dialogic theory of discourse, of which tagmemics is one, a speaker and hearer are assumed at the outset. There is nothing deep-structural about it; it is a fact of human behaviour. For every linguistic object or unit, a speech act, use, function, pragmatics can be found, directly or indirectly. In the Lue narrative, the evidence for a pragmatics is directly available from the superficial patterning.

The pragmatic organisation in Text I was not as easily explainable until the work of Sinclair and Coulthard had been read. It is now even clearer that the pragmatics of language revealed in these particular texts is tied into their memory organisation. The clear division between two types of content – procedural and narrative – suggests both the mnemonic technique of spacing and the gestaltist principle of clearly defined borders. In addition, there is the apparent connection between the hierarchical order of linguistic units mirrored in the chunking hypothesis in studies on memory. To be examined also is the role of redundancy in language and memory. These memory related aspects of the Lue chant shall be taken up in Chapter X.

Text II is quite different from Text I. Aside from the different content, which we are not considering, there is an obvious difference in matters which can be broadly labelled as stylistic. If one were to evaluate it for content, organisation and memory, it would have to take second place to Text I. This analysis, however, shall try to limit itself to description and explanation, seeking instead to show the interrelationship between content, structure and replicability.

Text II is the second narrative in the larger narrative group dealing with the combined theme of creation (Text I) and destruction (Text II) of the universe. The reason these two texts were chosen for comparison was not because of simple narrative contiguity, which is fortunate but only accidental, but because they represent the opposite extremes when measured in terms of memory.

A total of seven singers were recorded. Each singer was recorded singing his own same 'text' three times. In no case were written materials used. These two singers, whose texts are given here, were completely illiterate. Following a transcription and translation of every text, a measure of replication or remembering was made. The singer of Text I came out with a score of 85% replication from one text to another. Specifically, 922 syllables of his repeated text were the same, following the 1091 syllables of his first recording. The ultimate proof of the acuity of his memory was found in the demonstration that he was the only singer who could speak (not chant) the story verbatim and without hesitation. In transcribing one recording, he 'corrected' an error he had made in singing. He apparently had acquired and constructed his own oral text through constant rehearsal and performance, and it had remained fixed in his memory. But even the singer of Text II came out with a measure of reduplication of roughly 40%. He repeated opening speeches and many units and clichés each time, showing that memory was operating alongside the forces of change.

We conclude this portion of the discussion with diagrams of the structures of Text II that parallel the ones drawn up for Text I in the preceding pages of this chapter. The boundaries of this second text which separate the four major



parts — introduction, setting, action, ending — do not stand out as clearly as divisions in the first text do. Nevertheless there is still a sense of a four-way division in Text II as well, despite the blurred boundaries and the false start or repetition of the main theme: the burning of the world by the seven suns. After the conclusion of the burning of the old world the stage is set (i.e. details of the setting have been concluded) for Pt III, a central action. But we see that the singer is fumbling around for a definite topic and does not appear to hit upon one until more than forty lines after the conclusion of the theme of the great fires. The final action decided on as a theme — the marriage of the male and female Brahmas — is never developed. In fact it was never motivated to begin with. Thus on the basis of semantics, we can only guess where the boundaries between Parts 2, 3 and 4 should be in Text II. Lexical cues, however, do seem to mark off the four major divisions. This structure is shown on the following pages of charts (Discourse level lexical-syntactic organisation — Text II).

An attempt to get at the semantic structure of the symbols (agents, actions or objects) in Text II is likewise difficult. On the one hand we have the obvious order of chronology of the first to the seventh and final sun. (Even this is mixed up.) Then there is the logic of the use of two suns for burning each of the three domains followed by the seventh for the total firing of the universe. The symbolic use of fire, rain, wind and Kammalok, Uppalok and Luukwalok seems to be lost to the narrator. This goes back to the question of his understanding of their symbolic potential. The semantic design we present is only a guess at his intentions and the understanding of his usual Lue listeners.

In the pragmatics component or field, there is even less of a clear-cut distinction between procedural comment and narrative utterance that was so sharp in Text I. That is, at certain points, the listener does not know for sure if the narrator is simply commenting on the narrative or is indeed narrating. In addition, we find that many of the younger singer's non-narrative utterances have no function as comment — they are simply filler phrases that mark boundaries or connectives between sequences of content. The most common of these formulas are: ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>, a genuine border, and lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>, ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>, ciŋ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>, phrases that might be said to have the double function of both border and connective, but usually the latter. The singer of Text II was unique in being the only one to employ the emphatic phrase duu<sup>1</sup> le<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup> which has as its function an exclamatory type of final border. (One translation provided was *you see*. I am dubious because /duu<sup>4</sup>/ in the Moeng Yong dialect means *to see*; here the tone is high level: duu<sup>1</sup>. Quite possibly the singer is borrowing from Siamese.) To give some indication of how Text II is padded with these formulaic expressions, the phrases ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> and lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> appear in one out of every seven lines. By contrast, the older singer of Text II never used fillers of this or any other sort. He was succinct and economical, an efficient organiser of meaningful content.

Following the discussion of the previous chapter dealing with questions of functions (acts or moves), I have limited myself to a very few procedural ones: comment, border, connect. They are considered clauses functioning at the level of discourse to act as borders, connectives and comment. The major narrative functions are: narrate, change, connect, motivate, summarise. (Motivation is found only in Text I.)

The structures of Text II, tentative as they are, are laid out on the next few pages. They should be compared with the designs already given for Text I and kept in mind while reading through the pages of transcription, translation and exegesis which form the remaining bulk of this chapter and the corpus of

the study. Especially to be compared are the pragmatics of Text I and Text II. The high degree of redundancy in the latter is noteworthy. The structure of symbolic content given for both narratives is only part of the meaning of the tales. The rest of the meaning is brought out in the exegesis. As for the intended meanings of the singers and the registration of understanding – and even more so pleasure (see Barthes 1975) – of the hearers, they are beyond the reach of scientific linguistics. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to show the 'shared meaning' (conventional understanding) of the texts based on general knowledge of the language and culture of the region.

Missing is a detailing of the narrative structure. This could have been handled by enumerating the episodes along the lines of the model developed by Propp. There a narrative consists of a series of functions (actions). In the Lue texts, there are too few actions to warrant such an analysis. This raises the question as to whether or not we are dealing with a narrative. Because the 'setting' of the texts are elaborated to the point of having their own more complex structure, we might say that we have a structure composed of a brief narrative (especially in the very few lines of narrative action in Text II) which is the nucleus around which a larger procedural narrative is built telling how the world was made, destroyed and rebuilt. The fact that the South and South-east Asian narrative so often begins with elaborately detailed setting is convincing evidence that we have a narrative structure in the Lue texts. This embedded narrative has the form, expressed in anthropological terms, of the (assumed birth), testing and marriage of the hero. This substructure does not appear to be the main focus of the text. Yet it is not without interest. The more important structure, since we are dealing with myth, is at the symbolic level. The issues concerning the structure of narrative and symbol have been dealt with in the preceding chapter.

#### Discourse level lexical-syntactic organisation

##### Text II

Pt I: Introduction	Pt II: Setting	Pt III: Action A	Pt IV: Ending
caw <sup>3</sup> həəy <sup>2</sup> caw <sup>3</sup>	ʔan <sup>4</sup> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>	ʔan <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> yaŋ <sup>4</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>	kam <sup>4</sup> thaa <sup>5</sup> nii <sup>6</sup>
		Action B	
		(yaŋ <sup>4</sup> ) yaŋ <sup>4</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>	
(poetic opening)	(prose.....prose)		(poetic ending)

##### Text II

#### Semantic structuring of symbols in terms of contrasts (polarities)

##### I. Introduction

<u>Woman</u>	:	(Poem - implied)
physical object of beauty	:	(audible object of beauty)

##### II. Setting

<u>Upper world</u>	:	<u>Lower world</u>
Karma-Indra	:	man, animals, vegetation (form)

Foliage  
inanimate/vegetable world : Man and animals  
animate world

Fire  
death and destruction : Rain  
destruction : Wind  
destruction and recreation

III. Action

- A. Kammasapheta  
destruction : Solid wind  
destruction
- (Brahma) He  
creation : Kammaloka, Uppaloka, Luukwaloka  
destroying, teaching, knowing
- B. Male and female Brahma eating  
human concupiscence : Thevadaa smelling  
divine fall

IV. Ending

Pragmatic structure of  
Text II

Procedural function

Narrative function

1. *comment* caw<sup>3</sup> həy<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup>
2. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
3. *comment* faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔʔ<sup>5</sup> mɛɛ<sup>5</sup> ... (*You listen ...*)
6. *connect* lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>
14. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
15. *comment* faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔʔ<sup>5</sup> too<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>1</sup> (*You listen*)
16. *comment* luk<sup>5</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> seŋ<sup>1</sup> sɔn<sup>6</sup> (*I will sing*)
21. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
22. *comment* mii<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> həy<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>
23. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> thaa<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
24. *comment* pəɔ<sup>5</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> tham<sup>4</sup> ...
32. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
33. *comment* luk<sup>5</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> yaay<sup>1</sup> luk<sup>5</sup> tun<sup>3</sup> (*I will tell ...*)
- End introduction – begin narration: Pt II
35. *narrate* ?an<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>
39. *connect* lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> 39. *narrate* (continue)
47. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
48. *connect* lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> 49. *narrate*
56. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>
57. *comment* faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔʔ<sup>5</sup> moy<sup>4</sup> phum<sup>1</sup> (*You listen*)

## Procedural function

59. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>60. *comment* caay<sup>4</sup> ... (*I will tell*)76. *filler* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>77. *connect* lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>85. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>86. *connect* lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>87. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>

End Pt II — begin narrative action A &amp; B: Pt III

93. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>104. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>105. *connect* lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>108. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>109. *connect* lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>110. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>116. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>120. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>122. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>123. *connect* lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>125. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>126. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>128. *border* duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>129. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>131. *border* ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>

## Narrative function

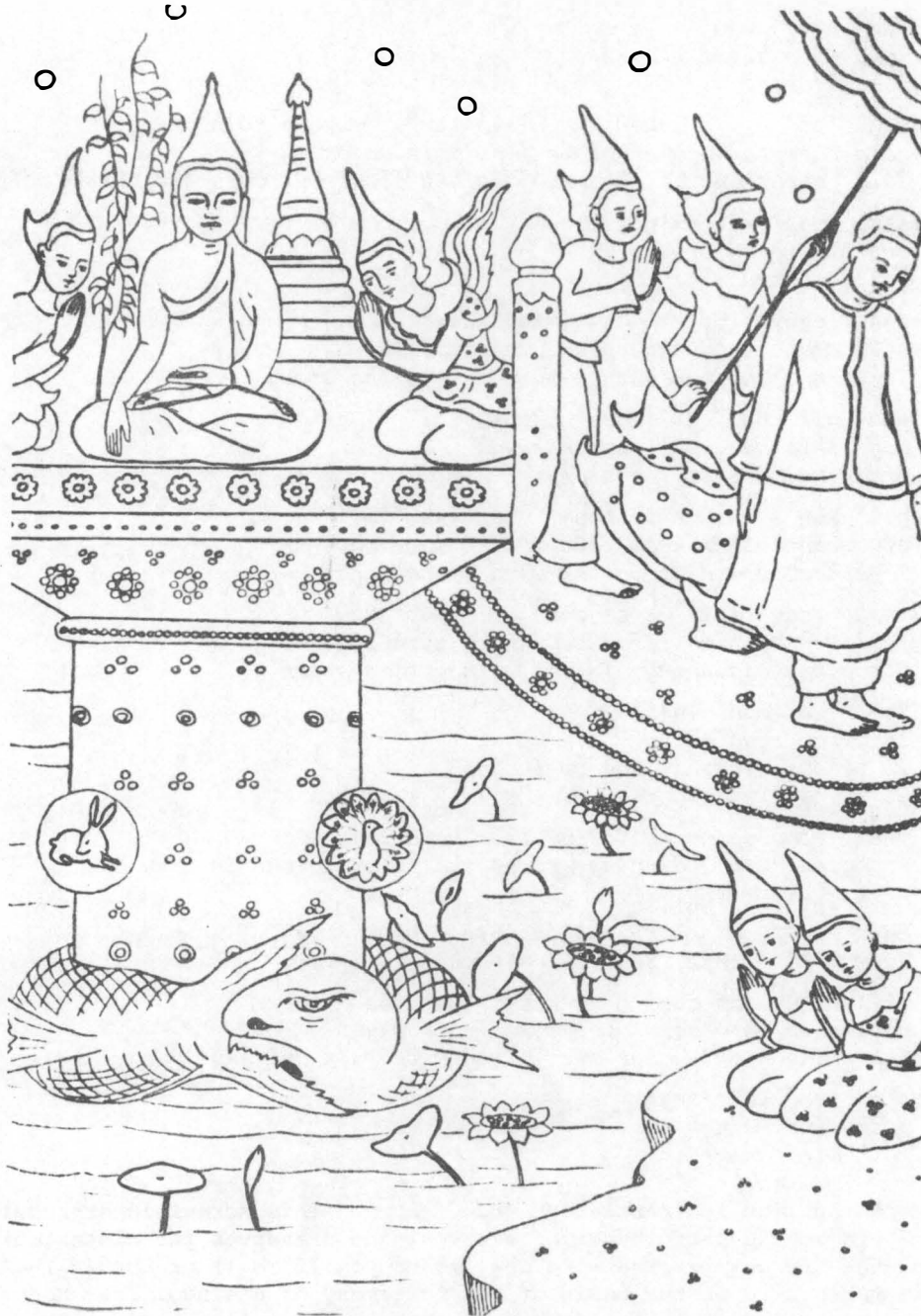
61. *narrate* yaam<sup>4</sup> mæə<sup>5</sup>63. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>67. *connect* kan<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>77. *narrate*81. *connect*86. *narrate*88. *narrate* ?an<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>94. *narrate* taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>99. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>106. *narrate* taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>109. *connect*111. *border* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>117. *narrate* ... taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>118. *connect* ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>121. *narrate*123. *narrate*126. *narrate*129. *narrate*

Procedural function	Narrative function
132. <i>comment</i> pən <sup>5</sup> ... ( <i>I will tell</i> )	
133. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> lɛʔ <sup>5</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>	133. <i>narrate</i>
137. <i>comment</i> caay <sup>4</sup> ... ( <i>I will say</i> )	
	138. <i>narrate</i>
144. <i>border</i> ʔan <sup>4</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> bat <sup>1</sup> dew <sup>4</sup> van <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup>	
145. <i>comment</i> pən <sup>5</sup> kɔɔ <sup>5</sup> diʔ <sup>1</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> ( <i>I will say</i> )	
	146. <i>narrate</i> (rhet. Quest.)
153. <i>comment</i> caay <sup>4</sup> ... ( <i>I ...</i> )	
155. <i>border</i> ʔan <sup>4</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> bat <sup>1</sup> dew <sup>4</sup> van <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup>	
156. <i>comment</i> caay <sup>4</sup> ... ( <i>I ...</i> )	
158. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> lɛʔ <sup>5</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>	158. <i>narrate</i> (answer rhet. Q.)
	164. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> lɛʔ <sup>5</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>
166. <i>comment</i> caay <sup>4</sup> ... ( <i>I ...</i> )	
167. <i>connect</i> kɔɔ <sup>5</sup> ( <i>well -</i> )	167. <i>narrate</i>
170. <i>border</i> ʔan <sup>4</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> bat <sup>1</sup> dew <sup>4</sup> van <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup>	
	(Narrative B: two Brahmas)
	171. <i>narrate</i> yaŋ <sup>4</sup> mii <sup>4</sup>
180. <i>border</i> ʔan <sup>4</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup> bat <sup>1</sup> dew <sup>4</sup> van <sup>4</sup> nii <sup>6</sup>	
	181. <i>narrate</i>
	185. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> lɛʔ <sup>5</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>
	188. <i>connect</i> ciŋ <sup>2</sup> lɛʔ <sup>5</sup> vaa <sup>5</sup>
193. <i>comment/border</i>	
194. <i>comment</i>	
195. <i>comment</i>	
196. <i>border</i> vay <sup>6</sup> nii <sup>6</sup> tɔʔ <sup>5</sup>	

## Text I

### THE CREATION

Informant: Male, 60 years old, originally from Ban Tung Laaw, Sipsongpanna in Yunnan, China. No formal schooling; illiterate. Rice farmer and gardener. Started studying Lue chant at age 26. Studied formally for one year during evenings with friends gathered at a teacher's house. Came to Mae Sai, Thailand at age 35. Chanted often until he was about 40. For the past 20 years he has performed very little. Successive tape recordings and analysis shows he has memorised his story. Three sung performances and one rapidly spoken one (the 4th recording) are 85% identical when compared word by word and clause by clause. Differences in performances were due primarily to omissions, minor substitutions, change of word order or events, and the use of an entirely different opening speech in his second performance, i.e. a major substitution. Compared to the younger singer of Text II, he appears to be more knowledgeable but less creative, showing much less variation in phonotactics and lexical and grammatical constructions. He was called Naay Oon. He was the senior singer, fastidious in appearance and rather serious and businesslike in terms of personality.



**Buddha descending to earth. - From a Shan painting.**

(From *Shans at Home* by Leslie Milne, John Murray, Publishers.)

1. caw<sup>3</sup> həəy<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup>  
*lord O! lord*  
*Lord O! Lord*
2. xam<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup>                      baw<sup>3</sup>      lay<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>6</sup>      phen<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>1</sup>  
*gold pass through crucible flow pile up earth*  
*Gold passes out of the crucible and flows out onto the earth*
3. saaq<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> xat<sup>1</sup>-xin<sup>1</sup>    taaw<sup>6</sup>  
*don't come obstruct I*  
*Don't obstruct me*
4. paay<sup>4</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup>                      maa<sup>4</sup> xway<sup>5</sup>  
*side male consequently come complete*  
*It is now the man's turn to complete the story*
5. van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> haw<sup>4</sup> di<sup>7</sup>1    caa<sup>1</sup>    ʔoot<sup>2</sup>  
*day this we will speak speak*  
*Today we will tell a story*
6. hi<sup>3</sup> kan<sup>1</sup>                      huu<sup>6</sup> taam<sup>1</sup>    daŋ<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
*give each other know follow like word have*  
*Together according to the word we have had*
7. taam<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>    tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> pɪn<sup>6</sup>                      məə<sup>5</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup>  
*follow head time from beginning time beginning*  
*Since the beginning of time, since time began*
8. ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> mun<sup>4</sup>-la<sup>7</sup>5  
*that say beginning*  
*It is said that in the beginning*
9. taŋ<sup>3</sup> tee<sup>2</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup>                      taam<sup>1</sup>    tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
*from from beginning follow from head time*  
*From the very beginning, since the first moment in time*
10. mii<sup>4</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup>5    caw<sup>3</sup>    pii<sup>5</sup>                      həəy<sup>2</sup>    mii<sup>4</sup>    mii<sup>4</sup>  
*have Pt you older sibling O! have have*  
*It was like this, You! O! It was!*
11. mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup>    sun<sup>1</sup>    sun<sup>1</sup>    məy<sup>1</sup>    kɛɛm<sup>1</sup>    fun<sup>1</sup>    faa<sup>6</sup>  
*have both zero zero mist mix rain sky*  
*There was nothing but mist mixed with rain and sky*
12. tiŋ<sup>4</sup>    lum<sup>4</sup>    va<sup>7</sup>1-saaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*both wind rain*  
*Both wind and rain*

The opening line is translated *Lord O! Lord*. This formulaic expression which is found in the performance of every singer preserves the historical setting of the Lue chant. The word caw<sup>3</sup> means *you* (formal) or *Lord*. The latter meaning is taken here on the basis of the testimony of a singer from Moeng Yong, Burma. He reported that in the days when there was a ruling Lord or Prince residing in Chieng Rung, Sipsongpanna, singers would perform in his presence and for his pleasure. At such occasions, court decorum dictated that the singer prostrate himself at the feet of the Prince and sing with a folding paper fan shielding his face. In today's performance, the paper fan is still employed by the singer who sits in the lotus position with a flautist who accompanies him seated behind him to the right or left. This act of self-effacement could be seen as paralleling the priestly use of the fan in rituals throughout much of South-east Asia (e.g. the chanting of Buddhist monks or the opening act of the Indonesian dalang).



Line 4 refers to the male side coming to complete the narrative. The usual format calls for male and female singers alternating in telling parts or chapters of a larger tale dealing with one of the lives of the Buddha. The opening lines 3 and 4 are an invocation calling for the removal of all that might obstruct the recreating of the tale, which, like the fashioning of gold objects, requires the heated concentration and energy of the singer. For an Indonesian parallel see Zurbuchen (1979). Gold is used as a metaphor for beauty as well as for difficulty in crafting the tale taken from the Dharma, the teachings of Buddha.

The poetic structure of the opening lines is shown below by lines joining rhyming syllables and a superscript asterisk indicating alliteration. The singer uses the technique of poetically linked syllables only in the opening and closing lines of his narration. Where the form is poetic, the function is not informative. Conversely, the form reverts to plainer prose when the function is to explain or comment in the course of the narration. The poetic unit is the line, which can be segmented on the basis of trimodal hierarchies. In the syntactic hierarchy, the unit can be a word group as in line 1 or a clause as in line 2. The poetic lines appear to be grouped into units of four, indicating the presence of a stanza-like unit. These are found at lines 1-4, 9-12, 217-220. Phonologically, the line is utilised by the use of pause or extended rising intonational contour. Such a break is obviously obligatory after the opening tag. Since a walking rhythm or iamb is used throughout the narrative chanting, a place for pause is allowed for in lines with an odd number of syllables: 3, 5, 7. Lexically, the line may be marked by reduplication for emphasis as in line 10. In sections of prose, the line is marked by a final punctuating particle such as *ni*<sup>-6</sup> (*nii*<sup>6</sup>). Other final particles and subject pronouns are lexicosyntactic indices of poetic lines and prosaic clauses. In a sung performance, the singer may have no break for as long as over twenty syllables. Both the theoretical stance and methodological approach of overlapping hierarchies taken from tagmemics facilitates problems of segmentation of the data, which in its raw form is a nearly continuous stream of sung speech.

Before showing the poetic structure of the few lines, we might comment on the singing style. The best way to describe it in very general terms is to label it constricted faucalised and nasalised, with most of the artificial impeding of the voice coming from the use of the partial opening of the velum. There is a decided nasal colouring to the singing.

The linking rhymes of the following lines exploit both external and internal rhyme, but not in any way that is predictable as in Siamese canonical forms for written poetry. From a nativist viewpoint, the singer does refer to his verbal art as verse — *xoo*<sup>3</sup> (line 217). Lines are numbered according to the text. No translation is given here.

1. caw<sup>3</sup> həəy<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup>
2. xam<sup>4</sup> ʔot<sup>5</sup> baw<sup>3</sup> ʔay<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>6</sup> phən<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>1</sup>
3. saŋ<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> ʔat<sup>1</sup>-ʔin<sup>1</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup>
4. paay<sup>4</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> xway<sup>5</sup>
- .
- .

9. ʔaŋ³ ʔee²kaw⁶ ʔaam¹ tɛɛ² hoo¹ thii⁴
10. mii⁴ lɛ⁷⁵ caw³ pii⁵ həy² mii⁴ mii⁴
11. mii⁴ tɪŋ⁴ sʊn¹ sʊn¹ məy¹ kɛɛm¹ fun¹ faa⁶
12. tɪŋ⁴ lum⁴ va⁷¹-saaŋ¹

The poetic link to lum⁴ in the last line is assonance rather than final (vowel + final consonant) rhyme.

13. say¹ mən¹ nam⁶ ʔaaŋ² kɛw³  
clear like water jar glass  
As clear as water in a glass jar
14. mən¹ ven⁵ yɛɛŋ⁴ taa¹  
like mirror shine eye  
Like a mirror shining into the eye
15. pii⁵ maa⁴ phit⁵-ca⁷¹-ra⁷⁵-naa⁴  
older sibling come investigate  
I have studied the story
16. cen¹-caa¹ pin¹ tii⁵ cut⁵-aa⁵  
speak be place set  
I will tell it in parts
17. man³ kuŋ⁴ tɛɛ⁶ taam¹ ʔɔɔk² nay⁴ tham⁴  
firm solid really follow out in Dharma  
Its reliability follows from the Dharma
18. pii⁵ di⁷¹ xay¹ law⁵  
elder sibling will open tell  
I will tell the story
19. lam⁴ tun³ loŋ¹ phɛɛ⁵ poŋ⁴ paay¹ kwaan³  
come beginning big spread thick end wide  
From the beginning it will expand and enlarge to the end
20. ʔan¹ vaa⁵ look⁵ di⁷¹ kɔɔ² saaŋ³ kap¹ nii⁶  
that say world will build build era this  
It is said that the world was built in this era
21. pin¹ kaaŋ¹ haaw¹ kwaan³ ʔaa¹-naa⁴ ʔaa¹-kaat²  
be middle atmosphere wide border air  
An empty atmosphere was the only shape
22. saŋ¹ baw² xaw³ maa⁴ kaaŋ⁶ moot² vay⁶  
what not enter come remain unit put  
Nothing whole existed
23. dew¹ ʔəy² kun⁴ faŋ⁴  
at all Pt person listen  
At all, you who listen
24. ciŋ² mii⁴ lum⁴ tip⁵  
so have wind magic  
Then there was a magic wind

In line 13, the singer picks up the use of colour imagery by comparing the primal mist to clear water or a shining mirror, paralleling the earlier glitter of gold. In line 15, he refers to himself as pii<sup>5</sup> *elder*, which indeed he was. As the oldest singer and person present at the performance, he uses his elevated status to assert his authority and the need to pay only scant recognition of his younger co-singer and members of the audience. He steps aside from the narrative proper in lines 16-19 to comment on how the story will be structured and from what sources – his version of the structure of the tale. It will be told in parts (two) through expansion and enlargement. In the next few lines, 19-22, more narrative details are given and then followed by the comment which, in effect, recognises a listener in line 23. The lines of comment are usually marked by the use of the kin-pronoun form pii<sup>5</sup> *I, the narrator, elder*. The effect is to give a meandering structural pattern which alternates between two strands of strict narration and pure comment. The function of the former is essential to the act of reporting the events and images of the narrative proper. The latter are optional speech acts that serve as social acts of recognition of a listener, an authoritative basis for the tale and the structuring of the object itself, i.e. the story. These optional verbal acts are procedural, not conceptual; they add nothing to content, but aid in its delivery. Line 20 has the important tag ?an<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> which marks one of the two parts the narrator has said he will expand. The second part is at line 92, with ?an<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> marking a change of topic.

25. ?an<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> lum<sup>5</sup> faa<sup>6</sup>  
*that come born under below sky*  
*That emerged from underneath the sky*
26. pha<sup>7</sup>1-kot<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> ten<sup>4</sup>  
*appear come suddenly*  
*It suddenly appeared*
27. loŋ<sup>4</sup> naa<sup>1</sup>-nən<sup>3</sup>  
 Nom Pre *solid*  
*To be solid*
28. mən<sup>1</sup> phaa<sup>1</sup> luuk<sup>5</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*like rock Clf big*  
*Like a huge rock*
29. maa<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>6</sup>  
*come born under side floor*  
*It emerged from below the surface*
30. ?ɔɔn<sup>1</sup> pən<sup>5</sup> sən<sup>1</sup> koot<sup>1</sup> sak<sup>1</sup>-xa<sup>7</sup>1-vaan<sup>4</sup>  
*before they 100,000 unit of measure universe*  
*100,000 kot before anything in the universe*
31. loŋ<sup>4</sup> naa<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup>  
 Nom Pre *thick get*  
*Its thickness was*
32. kaw<sup>1</sup> laan<sup>6</sup> cet<sup>1</sup> seen<sup>1</sup>  
*nine million seven 100,000*  
*Nine million seven hundred and*
33. peət<sup>2</sup> mi+n<sup>2</sup> hok<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> yot<sup>5</sup>-ca<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup>5  
*eight 10,000 six 1,000 yot*  
*Eighty-six thousand yot*

34. xaw<sup>1</sup> saʔ<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>4</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup>  
*mountain Saneeloo*  
*Mt. Saneeloo*
35. kəət<sup>2</sup> kaaŋ<sup>1</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
*born middle place there*  
*Emerged in the middle of everything*
36. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup>  
*so have wind magic*  
*Then there was a magic wind*

Line 24-25 continues the setting of the narrative which deals with the elements of the primal formless mist and the magic wind which suddenly turns it to solid rock in the shape of the central mountain, Saneeloo — Mt. Sineru or Mt. Meru of Indic origins. The issue of the origin of matter is settled here by showing, in mythical terms, the creation of matter (the mountain) from energy (the magic wind). As the first move in a series, the initiating action creates order out of shapeless chaos by providing not only matter but a point of order using the mountain as a centre of focus around which everything else can be organised. It is important then that its dimensions be given as well as its age: 9,786,000 yot and 100,000 kot respectively. Order is thus given in terms of space and time. The numbers themselves are ordered, probably for mnemonic and magical properties. The mountain is named as an important orienting act, while the invisible dimensionless wind goes unnamed.

Line 36 has the important tag ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> that marks a minor transition (temporal) within larger units tagged with ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> indicating a major shift (thematic). New events and objects will be introduced each time by the connective formula ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>. The change from setting to the appearance of the protagonists will be marked by ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>. In theoretical terms, these formulas are shown to be related in terms of *contrast*, *distribution* and syntactic (discourse level) *function*. Variation can be observed in ʔan<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> (line 92) as a variant of ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>.

37. ʔan<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
*that come born there*  
*Which appeared there*
38. pin<sup>1</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> vεεt<sup>5</sup> cəət<sup>2</sup>  
*be water circle join*  
*Became water encircling*
39. saʔ<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>4</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup>  
*Saneeloo*  
*Mt. Saneeloo*
40. mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-nan<sup>4</sup>-too<sup>1</sup>  
*have still a lot*  
*Everything was still limitless*
41. paa<sup>1</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-nun<sup>4</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> fεεŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*fish Anun stay hide*  
*The fish Anun lay hidden*
42. yuu<sup>2</sup> teem<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
*stay on same level place there*  
*Below the level of the earth*

43. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> keŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*so have elephant big precious*  
*There was an unusually big elephant*
44. tha<sup>71</sup>-luŋ<sup>4</sup> look<sup>5</sup> tun<sup>1</sup>  
*support world Clf*  
*Supporting the world*
45. vi<sup>71</sup>-seet<sup>2</sup> ləə<sup>1</sup> cum<sup>4</sup>  
*extraordinary beyond others*  
*It was very extraordinary*
46. sii<sup>2</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yeŋ<sup>1</sup> luŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*four foot elephant prop down*  
*His four legs propped him up*
47. lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup> ʔum<sup>3</sup> hoo<sup>2</sup>  
*wind magic carry carry*  
*The magic wind held him up*
48. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> say<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>+</sup><sup>5</sup> theŋ<sup>3</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
*so come add to name increase that*  
*Then they expanded his name*

Line 37 details how the magic wind (energy) separated solid from liquid matter, with Mt. Saneeloo becoming encircled by water, i.e. the oceans which are limitless (line 40) and unmarked by a horizon up to that point in the creation. It follows from observation of nature that the waters should be inhabited by fish. We could say that the narrative's logical basis is revealed here. The process is from land to sea to the mythical fish Anun (line 41). (See also the illustration, page 101.) If we consider this particular segment of the narrative as being set in the wider context of well-known myths incorporating local beliefs and Indic mythology, then it can be seen that the reference to Anun is really a story within the untold story of the fish that causes earthquakes whenever he moves underneath the surface (line 42) of the earth. The point to be made here is that an oral literature exists within the context of a greater literature, oral or written, areal or universal – an ecological system of great and little traditions described so well by Redfield (1960).

Line 43 is marked by the now familiar tag ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>, which introduces the elephant as next in the 'logical' chain of causes. It is he who is needed to answer the question of what supports matter in the void and limitless space that has been cleared of the first formless fog by the force of the magic wind. And as to what supports the elephant, the next implied question, it is the purposeful magic wind. (In the well-known Indian version, the elephant stands on the back of a turtle.) Four objects – mountain, water, fish, elephant – are connected by culturally based entailments that might be said to arise in part from natural observation.

When we research the details pertaining to the connection between the fish Anun and the earth supporting elephant by going to Hindu origins, we find just as much confusion. Even there, they appear to be the result of two competing versions of the creation. We could say that the connection between the fish and the elephant lies in the fact that they have a supportive role. They both are found under the surface of the earth. There is a definite Vishnuite link to Anun, the fish who is named, while there is none to the elephant, who is not named. In Hindu sources the Lue form is Ananta, sometimes called Shesha, a coiled serpent who is sometimes represented as being supported on the back of a tortoise. It is Vishnu who sleeps on the back of Ananta. While asleep, it is

sometimes said, Brahma emerges from Vishnu's navel. In some texts, Vishnu himself is Nara, the cosmic ocean which spread everywhere before the creation. In other renditions, he is called Narayana, "moving in the waters" (Ions 1967). As for the elephant in Hindu myth, there are four of them supporting the world. Sometimes the elephants are replaced by four giants. The elephant is the vehicle of Indra in later texts of Hindu origin. In the Siamese cosmography detailed in the 14th century *Trai Phum* (Reynolds 1981), a large elephant king, who was a Bodhisatta in a previous existence, is described in magical terms. He does not appear to be the one intended here, however.

49. caaŋ<sup>6</sup> kew<sup>3</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> si<sup>7</sup>1-laa<sup>4</sup>  
*elephant precious big stone*  
*The unusually big elephant of stone*
50. man<sup>4</sup> xɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-xa<sup>7</sup>1-yaa<sup>1</sup>  
*it of calculate*  
*As for calculating*
51. yay<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
*big equal which*  
*How big it was*
52. suuŋ<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
*tall equal which*  
*How tall it was*
53. phay<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> lon<sup>4</sup> le<sup>7</sup>5 huu<sup>6</sup>  
*who not likely Pt know*  
*It is likely nobody knows*
54. nay<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>6</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> too<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*in only sole foot elephant Clf that*  
*In considering only the sole of the elephant's foot*
55. xwan<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>1</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> laan<sup>6</sup> pɛɛt<sup>2</sup> koot<sup>2</sup>  
*whorl one Pt have million 8 kot*  
*A single whorl was 1,800,000 kot*
56. pii<sup>5</sup> di<sup>7</sup>1 caa<sup>1</sup> ʔoot<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>  
*older sibling will speak speak give each other know*  
*I, your elder brother, will instruct you*
57. taam<sup>1</sup> ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> tham<sup>4</sup>  
*follow out in Dharma*  
*According to the Dharma*
58. taam<sup>1</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
*follow word have*  
*According to the word*
59. ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> tham<sup>4</sup> pha<sup>7</sup>5-pin<sup>1</sup>-caw<sup>3</sup>  
*out Dharma god-to-be-lord*  
*Of the Lord Buddha*
60. thet<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
*next that then have*  
*Next, there was*

Lines 49-55 elaborate details of the elephant, continuing from the expansion of his name to the description of the size of a single whorl on the sole of his foot. At the beginning of the story, the narrator informed the listeners that

he would tell a story by organising it into parts and expanding each part. The technique of elaboration is evident here. Numbers are used as metaphors for enormous sizes and dimensions of the world and the elephant supporting it, all befitting a grand tale. After reporting this fantastic information on the unbelievable hugeness of these objects, the narrator pauses to comment that the details come from the Dharma, or teachings of the Lord Buddha, implying that they must be true. The narrator comments that he is only following the Dharma in the act of instruction. Of course, both the mention of astronomical numbers, even though used in a metaphoric rather than a literal sense, and the reference to the authority of the Dharma lend to the teller's art of fascinating his audience with a wondrous story.

At line 60, the connective formula  $ciŋ^2 mii^4$  used to introduce the wind and the elephant is made more elaborate in introducing the earth:  $thət^1 nan^6 ciŋ^2 mii^4$ . Indeed a rather glorious description using analogy and metaphor follows this more elaborate variant of the connective. This illustrates that changes in lexical-syntactic form signal a shift in the semantic field as well as we prepare to move from the description of the fish Anun and the elephant Caang Kew Yay Silaa to the earth and its encircling constellations.

61.  $phən^2-din^1 ʔan^1 niŋ^5$   
earth Clf one  
*The earth*
62.  $cɪt^5 vaa^5 tha^5-la^5-nii^4 loŋ^1$   
name say *Thalanii* big  
*It was called the big Thalanii*
63.  $taaŋ^2 nəə^1 phaa^1 kən^3 siʔ^1-laa^4$   
saddle above rock Clf stone  
*Rested on a mountain of stone*
64.  $dii^1 cɔt^2 kum^3 phaa^1 nan^6$   
good join cover rock that  
*It covered the rock perfectly*
65.  $mən^1 phən^2 xam^4 hɔŋ^4$   
like sheet gold support  
*Like a sheet of gold being held up.*
66.  $caa^1 ʔuʔ^1-phaʔ^1-maa^4 pʰeek^2 teem^4 mən^1 mɔɔ^3$   
talk analogy compare equal like pot  
*To give you an analogy, compare it to pots*
67.  $pin^1 xɔɔp^2 xɪn^3 məŋ^4 faa^6$   
be edge rise country sky  
*Whose points rise to the sky*
68.  $vɛət^5 cɔt^2 sak^1-xaʔ^1-vaan^4$   
encircle join universe  
*Encircled by the constellations*
69.  $loŋ^4 naa^1 day^3 kaw^3 laan^6 cet^1 sɛən^1$   
Nom Pre thick get nine million seven 100,000  
*In width it was nine million seven hundred thousand*
70.  $loŋ^4 suuŋ^1 mii^4 pɛət^2 tɪt^3 kaw^3 laan^6$   
Nom Pre high have eight unit measure nine million  
*In height it was eight 'tue' nine million*

71. teem<sup>4</sup> tət<sup>5</sup> mən<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup>  
*equal equal like each other*  
*They were just about equal*
72. pii<sup>5</sup> di<sup>7</sup> xay<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>1</sup>  
*older sibling will open share*  
*I will tell the story*

In lines 61-71, the earth is the next object which is introduced and described in mathematical terms and geometrical shapes. This is the same nameless 'huge rock' previously mentioned in lines 28-33. The dimensions indicate as much. In the first description, it is 9,786,000 yot. Here it is 9,700,000 (horizontally) and nearly that high vertically - 9,000,000 tue (tɪɪ<sup>3</sup>). In the *Trai Phum* (Reynolds 1981), the southern portion of Mt. Meru is covered in gold, and the entire mountain is supported by three smaller mountains. The portion occupied by man is somewhere to the south. The height of Mt. Meru is given as 84,000 yot, which does not at all agree with the Lue figure. The Burmese and the Siamese agree more on the numerology, but not in the entire description. From Shway Yoe (1963) we read the Burmese conception: "In the center is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest Peak of all the world. Its shape is somewhat peculiar, like a cask floating above the sea in water. A height of 84,000 yuzanas above the sea is counterbalanced by as many of depth below the surface". In all of these accounts, Mt. Meru and the earth, 'the big Thalanii', seem to merge into one. This same earth is conceived of as having an outer crust, like a 'cover of gold leaf' over a harder core of solid rock.

After this lengthy elaboration, the narrator steps back to pause and comment. This employment of a narrative break is at the same time good 'spacing technique', from the standpoint of memory devices.

73. hɪɪ<sup>3</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> faŋ<sup>4</sup> cɛɛŋ<sup>3</sup> thii<sup>2</sup>  
*give people listen clear detail*  
*In order to give the people listening the details*
74. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>2</sup> hɪɪ<sup>3</sup> pən<sup>5</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>  
*take show give they know*  
*I will let them know everything*
75. taam<sup>1</sup> baat<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
*follow line of poetry head time*  
*From the beginning*
76. thət<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> phen<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>1</sup>  
*next that then have earth*  
*Then there was the earth*
77. cɪɪ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> hin<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*name say rock big*  
*Which was known as a large rock*
78. pɪn<sup>6</sup> look<sup>5</sup> kwaan<sup>3</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> xɪn<sup>3</sup> səə<sup>2</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup>  
*floor world wide Pt rise spread side above*  
*The wide surface of the world spread over it*
79. loŋ<sup>4</sup> naa<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> sɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> sɛɛn<sup>1</sup>  
*Nom Pre thick get two hundred thousand*  
*It covered over two hundred and*



80. sii<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>2</sup> yot<sup>5</sup>-ca<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>  
*four 10,000 yot*  
*Forty thousand yot*
81. pha<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> ʔoot<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> haw<sup>4</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>  
*god tell give us know*  
*The Lord Buddha told us*
82. day<sup>3</sup> siip<sup>2</sup> hen<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>  
*get pass on learn come*  
*So we can pass the knowledge on*
83. look<sup>5</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> thən<sup>3</sup> see<sup>1</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*world born finish lose already*  
*The world was already created*
84. man<sup>4</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> koo<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> caaw<sup>1</sup>  
*it will build be core*  
*It was made like a core*

Line 73 continues the comment recognising the audience and their need to know all of the details of the narrative. The listener is motivated to hear him out to the end. At line 76 he picks up the last details of the earth and its (dry) surface covering 240,000 yot, much smaller than the 9,000,000 for the sphere as a whole. At line 81 another pause for comment comes. This time it is to recognise that again these are the words of the Lord Buddha being transmitted to everyone so that they might know. The narrative continues at line 83 without any overt signal (e.g. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>) to indicate, as in all previous instances, that the story line was proceeding from this point after the pause to comment. The reason no connective marker appears here must be that the first part of the tale is going to conclude in a few more lines. New information will be introduced as motivation for continuing the tale, but not as a new event or episode. So instead of line 83 being opened with the connective ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>, we are given a summary statement followed by summarising details: look<sup>5</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> thən<sup>3</sup> see<sup>1</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup> *the world was now finished*. The listener is left with the indication that one stage of the narrative is finished as well, and that he can expect a conclusion or the beginning of a new narrative enterprise. The latter occurs, but not without the final motivating information about the appearance of the world's first woman, Sangsii, to be followed by her male counterpart, Sangsii/Sangsay. It is instructive to note that the same mythical pair occur in Lao legend (Kaignavongsa and Finchner n.d.).

85. mii<sup>4</sup> naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> sɛn<sup>1</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
*long long get 100,000 year*  
*For a length of 100,000 years*
86. kun<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> di<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup>  
*people so will born*  
*People were born then*
87. kun<sup>4</sup> ʔan<sup>1</sup> pha<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-kot<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
*people that appear come place there*  
*One person who appeared there*
88. ci<sup>5</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> laa<sup>3</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> nɔŋ<sup>6</sup> kɛn<sup>2</sup> dii<sup>1</sup>  
*name of youngest female younger sibling Clf good*  
*Was a young woman, the good sister*

89. *cii<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> naa<sup>4</sup> yiŋ<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>5</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>75</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>*  
*name that female woman Pt sangsii*  
*Whose name was Lady Sangsii*
90. *too<sup>1</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> laa<sup>3</sup> naa<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>*  
*Clf good youngest female that*  
*That young woman*
91. *naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> miŋ<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>*  
*long get 10,000 year*  
*Lived 10,000 years ago*
92. *ʔan<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔee<sup>4</sup>-koo<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>71</sup>-li<sup>71</sup>-soo<sup>1</sup>*  
*that this have still one man*  
*Then there was a man*
93. *caay<sup>4</sup> too<sup>1</sup> niŋ<sup>5</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> hun<sup>1</sup> tay<sup>3</sup>*  
*male Clf one born come way below*  
*He was born below*
94. *cii<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ʔaay<sup>3</sup> puu<sup>2</sup> kaa<sup>5</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>75</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>*  
*name that Nom Pre pat grandfather Pt*  
*His name was Master Sangsii*
95. *xaw<sup>1</sup> soŋ<sup>1</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> kə-<sup>6</sup> yin<sup>4</sup>-dii<sup>1</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup>*  
*they two person Pt happy with each other*  
*The two of them were happy together*
96. *duu<sup>2</sup> dɔŋ<sup>1</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>*  
*stay highland place there*  
*They lived on high, dry land*

Line 85 concludes the information on the earth by relating that it had existed for 100,000 years. No action aside from the transformation of mist into matter followed by a succession of objects: earth, water, aquatic life (the fish Anun) and animal life (the elephant). (Anun can also be analysed symbolically as Vishnu and the elephant as his avatar, the Buddha.) The stage is now set for a new departure. The first woman then appears, almost as an afterthought at the conclusion of the first part. Her minor role in the later action seems to be indicated by the low-key presentation at the tail end of Part I. Unlike the introduction for the hero, no elaboration is given other than to give her name as female Sangsii and to record that she lived alone for 10,000 years, in other words, a long, long time.

Line 92 begins with the major tag *ʔan<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>*, indicating a change in theme. A Pali phrase for man elegantly introduces the hero. In line 93, we are told that he was 'born below', meaning the earth in contrast to the upper regions of the gods. Quite possibly we are to assume that the hero is a god appearing as man — perhaps Brahma, creator of the universe. At any rate, the male Sangsii is seen here as the father of the human race. A transformation from Brahma to Sangsii would not be uncommon to the mythological world of South-east Asia. Rama, for example, is Vishnu on earth. At the start, the first human pair live in a state of happy innocence on 'high, dry land', meaning perhaps an area not subject to the ravages of flooding so common to monsoon regions, or an elevated region befitting their semidivine status. The referent must be significant as it is repeated again in line 98.

97. *xaw<sup>1</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> hoŋ<sup>3</sup> dɔŋ<sup>1</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> (error in singing)*  
*they stay place highland place*  
*They lived ... (ungrammatical; corrected next line)*

98. xaw<sup>1</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> hɔŋ<sup>3</sup> dɔɔn<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*they stay place highland there*  
*They lived on a high, dry region*
99. kɔ-<sup>6</sup> nan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> mɪn<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
*Pt long get 10,000 year*  
*For 10,000 years (a very long time)*
100. saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>5</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> ŋaam<sup>4</sup> baaw<sup>2</sup> thew<sup>2</sup>  
*sangsii dear male handsome male distinguished*  
*The dear Sangsii, the handsome young man*
101. pay<sup>1</sup> ʔɛw<sup>2</sup> xut<sup>1</sup> din<sup>1</sup> new<sup>1</sup>  
*go roam dig earth sticky*  
*Went about digging clay*
102. ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> pan<sup>3</sup>  
*out come consequently mould*  
*From which he consequentely moulded*
103. pii<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>3</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> cay<sup>3</sup>  
*year ox and day ox*  
*The year and the day of the ox*
104. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> ceŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*come correspond month first month*  
*Fall on the first month*
105. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> tit<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>1</sup>  
*take sun be heart*  
*The sun was the heart of that day and month*
106. ŋoot<sup>2</sup> din<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup>  
*scoop earth come mould*  
*He scooped up some clay for moulding*
107. sam<sup>6</sup> təm<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> ŋoo<sup>4</sup>  
*again add be ox*  
*And made the ox too*
108. pii<sup>1</sup> paw<sup>2</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>  
*year lion and day lion*  
*The year and the day of the lion*

Lines 97-99 relate the fact of the uneventful life of the primal couple for 10,000 years in the high, dry place. Line 100 is an elaboration of the traits of the male hero. He is a darling, handsome, distinguished looking young man, the ideal hero of a narrative. In stark contrast is the near facelessness of the female counterpart. She exists in name only as the object of his later frustrations and amorous designs. These notions are not engendered before the male Sangsii goes about digging clay to use to fashion various figures which become the signs of the Zodiac. First comes the ox (line 103) to mark the first month and Sunday, the first day. Horological terms are used throughout. But perhaps so that the naive listener should be made aware of the significance of this exotic terminology, the common Lue synonym follows in a later line. That is, the listener can easily learn that cay<sup>3</sup>, the horological term for *ox* is a synonym for the Lue ŋoo<sup>4</sup> *ox*. Conceptually, the outwardly innocent making of clay figures to mark the signs in the heavens (and to create animal life) really pertains to the more important business of ordering the universe in terms of time. Previously we have witnessed the mathematical orientation of matter in space.

The earth and its surface were measured in yot and tue, and the earth, the fish and the elephant were ordered spatially one below the other. The beginning of time must now be marked.

109. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup>      dən<sup>1</sup> sɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> tɪŋ<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>  
*come correspond month two with all day lion*  
*Fell on the second month*
110. cɛn<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup>      lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*moon since enter pass through already*  
*The moon came with that month*
111. maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> luup<sup>5</sup> la<sup>4</sup>-ca<sup>1</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>  
*come mould be figure lion*  
*He moulded the figure of the lion*
112. dən<sup>1</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> phɔm<sup>6</sup>      pii<sup>1</sup> yii<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> yii<sup>5</sup>  
*month three together with year tiger day tiger*  
*The third month fell on the year and day of the tiger*
113. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> kaan<sup>4</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> say<sup>2</sup>  
*take Mars enter put*  
*Mars was put there*
114. xaw<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> -tɛŋ<sup>2</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*he come create mould make put*  
*He moulded*
115. kaay<sup>1</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> səə<sup>1</sup>  
*become born be tiger*  
*What became the tiger*
116. pii<sup>1</sup> maw<sup>3</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> maw<sup>3</sup>  
*year rabbit and day rabbit*  
*The year and the day of the rabbit*
117. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup>      dən<sup>1</sup> sii<sup>2</sup>  
*come correspond month four*  
*Fell on the fourth month*
118. kap<sup>1</sup> tɪŋ<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> maw<sup>3</sup>  
*with all day rabbit*  
*Together with the day of the rabbit*
119. cɛn<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup>      lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*moon since enter pass through already*  
*The moon came with that month*
120. maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-taay<sup>2</sup> xun<sup>1</sup> yii<sup>4</sup>  
*come mould be rabbit hair rump*  
*He made the rabbit with rumped hair*

In fuller descriptions of the Lue horoscope not given by this singer, the first day and month, that of the ox, is located in the north-eastern corner of a grid marking off the heavens. In terms of the daily lives of at least some of the listeners, this information is extremely important. Such horological lore is the usual area of expertise of the priestly class from whom the singer most likely has gleaned this information. Accordingly, an individual does not move (in space) without knowledge of the movement of the heavenly signs (in time and space), at least for important occasions that could be inauspicious

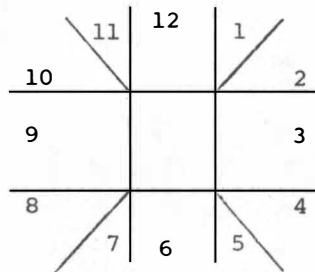
if not chosen on the basis of the rules of the Zodiac. The narration records and perpetuates the lore and the tradition as an index of Lue social behaviour and beliefs.

At line 109, we begin a journey through time and space. The second month and day is that of the lion, first expressed in the horological term paw<sup>3</sup>, and then in the more common Lue-Pali term la<sup>4</sup>-ca<sup>1</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>. The use of double terminology allows the singer to stretch his narrative out as well as to make it more understandable to the naive listener. In general though, the employment of two sets of terms is a common literary device found throughout South-east Asia. It is an elaborating technique and a badge of education for the singer. Thus, as previously noted, Part II begins with the Pali term for male: pu<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-li<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-soo<sup>1</sup>, followed immediately by the Lue synonym: caay<sup>4</sup>. Line 120 begins the third sign: the rabbit.

121. pii<sup>1</sup> sii<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> sii<sup>1</sup>  
*year serpent and day serpent*  
*The year and the day of the serpent*
122. ʔiip<sup>2</sup> tɪŋ<sup>4</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> haa<sup>3</sup>  
*crowd all month five*  
*crowded into the fifth month*
123. phat<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*Jupiter then enter pass through already*  
*Jupiter came along with that month*
124. maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> naak<sup>5</sup> hoon<sup>1</sup> dɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*come mould make serpent cockscomb red*  
*They made the serpent cockscomb red*
125. pii<sup>1</sup> say<sup>3</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> say<sup>3</sup>  
*year snake and day snake*  
*The year and the day of the snake*
126. xiin<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> hok<sup>1</sup>  
*return come correspond month six*  
*Come back to the sixth month*
127. suk<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*Venus come mould make put*  
*Venus was moulded*
128. kaay<sup>1</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> ŋuu<sup>4</sup>  
*become born be snake*  
*And became the snake*
129. pii<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-ŋaa<sup>6</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> sa<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-ŋaa<sup>6</sup>  
*year horse and day horse*  
*The year and the day of the horse*
130. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> cet<sup>1</sup>  
*come correspond month seven*  
*Fell on the seventh month*
131. xaw<sup>1</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*he Pt take each other come make put*  
*Together they made*

132. kaay<sup>1</sup> kæt<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> huup<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>6</sup>  
*become born be figure horse*  
*The figure of the horse*

Line 121 presents the serpent as the sign of Jupiter, which becomes the sign of the fourth and fifth months and days. The sign of Jupiter is red. Symbolical use of colour is intended but not made explicit. (Later in lines 135-136, yellow is associated with the glaring sun of the hot season.) In terms of the Lue Zodiac, we are now at the south-east corner of the grid. Both the 4th and the 5th months are 'crowded into' this square as noted by the singer. We can best see this in the following sketch based on an original taken from Gedney's unpublished Lue fieldnotes.



With a picture of the design of the Zodiac in his head as a mnemonic device, it can be seen how the narrator uses this structure to narrate without interruption. There are no pauses to comment as he goes through a description of the spatial and chronological ordering of the signs. Linguistically, the result is a series of structures that employ grammatical parallelism as a productive device. Each new sign is introduced by the same tag: pii<sup>1</sup> 'X' lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> 'X' *the year X and the day X*. The lines are not poetic. They simply state the facts.

133. pii<sup>1</sup> met<sup>5</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> met<sup>5</sup>  
*year goat and day goat*  
*The year and the day of the goat*
134. xɪn<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> pɛɛt<sup>2</sup>  
*return come correspond month eight*  
*Correspond to the eighth month*
135. tit<sup>5</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> kaa<sup>3</sup> yaam<sup>4</sup> lɔɔn<sup>6</sup>  
*sun since strong time hot*  
*The sun was strong and hot at that time*
136. maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> pɛʔ<sup>5</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> lɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*come mould make goat eye yellow*  
*They made the goat's eye yellow*
137. pii<sup>1</sup> sɛn<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> sɛn<sup>1</sup>  
*year monkey and day monkey*  
*The year and the day of the monkey*
138. ʔiip<sup>2</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> kaw<sup>3</sup>  
*crowd all month nine*  
*crowded into the ninth month*
139. cɛn<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*moon since enter pass through already*  
*The moon happened to come then*

140. maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vɔɔk<sup>5</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> phaay<sup>1</sup>  
*come mould make monkey eye sharp*  
*They made the monkey with sharp eyes*
141. xaw<sup>1</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> yaay<sup>1</sup>  
*they Pt take together stand in a row*  
*They put them all in order*
142. yuu<sup>2</sup> nɔɔ<sup>1</sup> xaa<sup>5</sup> may<sup>6</sup>  
*stay above branch tree*  
*Above the branches of the tree*
143. pii<sup>1</sup> law<sup>6</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> law<sup>6</sup>  
*year chicken and day chicken*  
*The year and the day of the chicken*
144. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> sip<sup>1</sup>  
*come correspond month ten*  
*Fall on the tenth month*

Line 133 presents the yellow-eyed goat of the eighth month. We have passed from the red of the south-east through the month of the snake (6th) and the month of the horse. We are now in the upper diagonal of the south-western square. The yellow eye of the goat is clearly a symbol for the sun, whose heat we are told is 'strong and hot at that time'. It would be surprising if this were not the month marking the height of the hot season, i.e. April or the month preceding or following. The next sign, that of the monkey, marks the ninth month. We are told that the monkey is made with sharp eyes. This is surely a significant detail as is the association of the monkey with the moon. Perhaps the large, round, acute eyes of the monkey and their halo-like appearance remind the observer of the clarity of the full moon. We can only surmise.

At line 141, we are told that the signs were put in order above the branches of the trees, i.e. up in the heavens but still close enough to affect lives on earth. With the signs intact and moving in mathematical precision, to rely on them, to consult them removes the element of complete chaos from one's life and adds the promise of predictability.

At line 141, we are given the day and the month of the chicken, the tenth unit in the lower diagonal of the north-western square.

145. kii<sup>3</sup> van<sup>4</sup> kaan<sup>4</sup> lɛɛŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*many day Mars strength big*  
*Mars was strong for many days*
146. xaw<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> tok<sup>1</sup>-tɛŋ<sup>2</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*they come create mould make put*  
*They proceeded to mould*
147. pin<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>2</sup> xun<sup>1</sup> yii<sup>4</sup>  
*be chicken hair rump*  
*What became the fluffy-feathered chicken*
148. pii<sup>1</sup> set<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> set<sup>1</sup>  
*year dog and day dog*  
*The year and the day of the dog*
149. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> sip<sup>1</sup>-ʔet<sup>1</sup>  
*come correspond month eleven*  
*Fell on the eleventh month*

150. put<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*Mercury come mould make put*  
*Mercury was made*
151. kaay<sup>1</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>1</sup>  
*become born be dog*  
*It came to be the dog*
152. pii<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>6</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> van<sup>4</sup> kay<sup>6</sup>  
*year elephant and day elephant*  
*The year and the day of the elephant*
153. maa<sup>4</sup> mɛn<sup>5</sup> dən<sup>1</sup> sip<sup>1</sup>-sɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*come correspond month twelve*  
*Fall on the twelfth month*
154. phat<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> tok<sup>1</sup>-tɛŋ<sup>2</sup> saaq<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*Jupiter come create build make*  
*Jupiter was fashioned*
155. caaq<sup>6</sup> ŋaa<sup>4</sup> ŋɔɔn<sup>4</sup> too<sup>1</sup> ʔaat<sup>2</sup>  
*elephant tusk curve Clf valiant*  
*The handsome elephant with the curved tusks*
156. pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> xaat<sup>2</sup> thən<sup>3</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>3</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> laay<sup>1</sup>  
*make final finish look like since many*  
*With everything finished, it looked like a lot*

Line 145 informs us that Mars is in the ascendancy during the 10th month, the month of the 'fluffy-feathered chicken'. Next comes the sign of the dog, the 11th month, roughly equivalent to July in the solar calendar. Mercury is the planet of the dog, the time when it is most prominent in the heavens. Finally, the 12th month culminates in the sign of the large and noble animal with curved tusks — the elephant. The parallel between the largest of animals and the largest of the planets is obvious here. There is also the association of the elephant with Buddha, the incarnation of Vishnu whose position is north in Hindu mythology. On reaching the conclusion of the twelve signs, we are told, 'It looked like a lot'. The heavens had been populated with the planets and the stars.

By way of further comparison and summary, the Siamese version of the zodiac and the seasons does not quite correspond to this Lue version. In the *Trai Phum* (Reynolds *ibid.*), the three 'paths' are as follows:

1. Path of the ox: cold season (Months 12, 1, 2, 3)
2. Path of the goat: hot season (Months 4, 5, 6, 7)
3. Path of the naga: rainy season (Months 8, 9, 10, 11)

In addition, we are told that the ox sometimes likes it hot, sometimes cold. The goat likes it hot and does not like water. The naga likes rain.

157. pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> ʔaan<sup>2</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> nap<sup>5</sup> day<sup>3</sup>  
*make big many if count 1,000 count get*  
*A lot was made; if counted, they would number 10,000*
158. set<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup> tim<sup>1</sup> xeet<sup>2</sup> cum<sup>4</sup>-puu<sup>4</sup>  
*animal big small full border Cumpuu*  
*Big and small animals filled the earth*



159. xaw<sup>1</sup> han<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> hæn<sup>2</sup> nɔŋ<sup>4</sup> xəp<sup>5</sup> kan<sup>6</sup>  
*they see each other mate constantly associate squeeze*  
*They saw how they mated*
160. liŋ<sup>4</sup>-ka<sup>7</sup> seep<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> tɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*penis consume enter in womb*  
*The penis entered the womb*
161. kaa<sup>4</sup>-pha<sup>7</sup> kæt<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>4</sup>  
*womb born have*  
*The womb was made pregnant*
162. yaam<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> liŋ<sup>4</sup>-ka<sup>5</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>7</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>  
*time that male gender Sangsii*  
*At that time the male Sangsii*
163. pay<sup>1</sup> han<sup>1</sup> taam<sup>1</sup> hæn<sup>2</sup> heen<sup>4</sup> sət<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*go see follow mate learn animal that*  
*Saw the animals mate and wanted to do the same*
164. thaam<sup>1</sup> seep<sup>2</sup> suu<sup>3</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*ask consume enjoy female that*  
*He asked the woman to make love*
165. ʔan<sup>3</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> vɔɔy<sup>4</sup> vɔɔy<sup>4</sup>  
*speak stay again again*  
*He insisted on it again and again*
166. yaam<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> thaam<sup>1</sup>  
*time that female then some ask*  
*The woman then asked*
167. pan<sup>1</sup>-haa<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>3</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>2</sup>  
*riddle to side male be detail*  
*The man to solve a riddle in detail*
168. ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> miit<sup>5</sup> ʔee<sup>3</sup> kaa<sup>2</sup> miit<sup>5</sup>  
*that say dark Pt more dark*  
*What is said to be darker than dark*

At line 157 we are told that the planets could later be counted in the thousands. In parallel fashion, the 'big and small animals filled the earth' (line 158). For those theorists who view myth and other types of folklore as a charter for social action, they can point to the functional aspect of the element of sex education found in lines 159-161. At the same time, we see a certain economy in myth in that the animals which are the signs of the Zodiac are used in the object lesson of how life is procreated, a description which provides for motivation of the rest of the narrative, its dramatic portion. The heretofore innocent male and female Sangsii observe the mating of the animals described in essential detail. The singer is discrete enough to use the Pali term for 'penis', but in this performance of the tale, he is likewise attempting to make the sexual act explicit. His statements are ones of biological fact, ones which are crucial if the questions concerning the creation of all life are to be answered.

The male is motivated to imitate the mating act of the animals (hæn<sup>2</sup>). When we are told that he approaches the female, he asks her in language which is not explicit, however. We switch from the concrete language of the animal act to the use of metaphor for the human. The verb used is suu<sup>3</sup> to enjoy. The response of the woman is in keeping with the 'social charter' theory. She puts

him off by asking him to solve a riddle. The hero is on trial; he must prove himself. Up to this point the dramatic action follows the classical outline of the testing of the hero.

169. day<sup>3</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>4</sup>  
*get of what Pt*  
*What is it?*
170. ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ceŋ<sup>3</sup> ʔee<sup>3</sup> kaa<sup>2</sup> ceŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*that say bright Pt more bright*  
*What is said to be brighter than bright*
171. day<sup>3</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>4</sup>  
*get of what Pt*  
*What is it?*
172. ʔan<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> xooŋ<sup>1</sup> soŋ<sup>2</sup> ceŋ<sup>3</sup> look<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say thing shine bright world this*  
*What is said to be the thing that shines brightly in this world*
173. day<sup>3</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> vaŋ<sup>4</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*get of still what*  
*What is it even still?*
174. yaam<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>75</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> keŋ<sup>3</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> qaam<sup>4</sup>  
*time that Sangsii dear male handsome*  
*Then the handsome dear Sangsii*
175. ko<sup>6</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> keŋ<sup>3</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> meŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*Pt come solve not correspond*  
*Could not solve the riddle*
176. keŋ<sup>3</sup> yaŋ<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> miiŋ<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
*solve like this long get 10,000 year*  
*He could not solve it that way for 10,000 years*
177. saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>75</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> thoŋ<sup>1</sup>-tiŋ<sup>4</sup> laa<sup>3</sup>  
*Sangsii male so arrive arrive little girl*  
*So the male Sangsii came to the young lady*
178. tooŋ<sup>4</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*look look face female that*  
*Looked at her face*
179. xay<sup>5</sup> xoo<sup>1</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> xii<sup>1</sup> xii<sup>1</sup>  
*want laugh stay laugh laugh*  
*And chuckled*
180. taam<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>72</sup>-mak<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>1</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> caay<sup>4</sup>  
*follow willing heart of male*  
*Following the desires of his heart*

Not surprisingly, the riddle is structured using grammatical parallelism and repetition. It goes without saying that a riddle must be structured to aid the memory, both for the sake of the person asked to solve it and for the sake of the onlooking audience. If there is a climax to the tale, this is it. However, there is the feeling that there is so little conflict, if any, and none that is really seriously contemplated. A resolution comes in the form of a response, not to the riddle but to the challenge of being put off by the female. The hero does not solve the riddle, but he does solve his personal problem.

Contrary to what happens in tales of this genre, Indra does not appear from heaven to assist out of compassion for the beleaguered hero. Instead, after trying to solve the riddle for a long time (10,000 years) the hero approaches the female, described here as a little girl, and looks her in the face and chuckles. The hearer must decide whether he laughs out of embarrassment or from cunningness. At any rate, failed by the gods, he falls back on human self-help. Or at least this seems to be the implied message of this secular tale. The frame of mind of the singer appears to be more stoic and realistic than is the rule for such religiously motivated tales, ones based on the Dharma. As such the hero follows his own male instincts. (Beware women listeners!) On a non-mythical level, this is the story of an innocent young girl confronted by the wiles of an amorous male. We might consider it good counsel to young girls. After all, the singer is both father and grandfather to many.

181. yɔk<sup>2</sup>-naw<sup>6</sup> paw<sup>4</sup> huup<sup>5</sup> soy<sup>1</sup>  
*play thigh figure pretty*  
*He played with her beautiful thighs*
182. xuu<sup>6</sup> yeet<sup>2</sup> taam<sup>1</sup> cæŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*bend stretch follow tactics*  
*Using devious tactics*
183. hiŋ<sup>1</sup> taam<sup>1</sup> hiŋ<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> luuk<sup>5</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup>  
*long follow long so have child small*  
*After some time, they then had children*
184. kɔ-<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> kun<sup>4</sup>  
*Pt have of three Clf*  
*They had three children*
185. too<sup>1</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup> ciɪ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
*person beginning already name that*  
*The first was*
186. ʔaay<sup>3</sup> puu<sup>2</sup>- kaa<sup>5</sup> liŋ<sup>4</sup>-ka<sup>ʔ1</sup>  
*Nom Pre pat grandfather Pt gender*  
*The first male*
187. tit<sup>1</sup>-daŋ<sup>2</sup> nɔŋ<sup>6</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> laa<sup>3</sup>  
*as for younger sibling male youngest*  
*As for the younger brother*
188. too<sup>1</sup> kæt<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lun<sup>4</sup>  
*person born come after*  
*Who was born after him*
189. ciɪ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ʔaay<sup>3</sup> puu<sup>2</sup>- kaa<sup>5</sup> liŋ<sup>4</sup>-ko<sup>ʔ1</sup>  
*name that Nom Pre pat grandfather Pt gender*  
*He was the second male*
190. tit<sup>1</sup>-daŋ<sup>2</sup> nɔŋ<sup>6</sup> yiŋ<sup>4</sup> laa<sup>3</sup>  
*as for younger sibling female youngest*  
*As for the younger sibling*
191. too<sup>1</sup> kæt<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lun<sup>4</sup>  
*person born come after*  
*Who was born later*
192. ciɪ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> kɔŋ<sup>2</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> ʔi<sup>ʔ1</sup>-thii<sup>1</sup> liŋ<sup>4</sup>-ka<sup>ʔ1</sup>  
*name that female kawngsii female gender*  
*She was named the female kawngsii*

At line 181 the description of the scheme of the male becomes more explicit, yet stops at vaguely metaphoric language. Since the singer is charged with the promise to tell how everything was created, he seems to take up the challenge of the birth of children seriously and in a realistic manner. What we cannot readily explain is why he presents a tale that deals with incest. The connubial act between the first parents was not incestuous. The first man and woman were autochthonous, appearing automatically and without explanation in the setting of the tale. They have three children: two male and one female. This is the first anomaly or paradox, and the grounds for incest. The problem of incest appearing in myth is, of course, universal. We find it implied between Cain and Abel, and overt between Oedipus and Jocasta. Other versions of the Lue myth of creation avoid the theme of incest, however. But in this particular variant we meet it face to face with the children of male and female Sangsii. Of one requirement for creating a memorable tale is that it must contain something bizarre or provocative, then we are being prepared for a story worthy of remembrance. The structure of a tale is universal in that the puzzle is inevitable starting with given parents. Here they have two sons who are numbered and differentiated by the suffixes Ka and Ko. The third and youngest child is a girl named Kawngsii. The stage is set for a serious conflict, but it never arises, typical perhaps of a culture which teaches its avoidance. Conflict is not found in the narrative to any heightened degree. The inevitability of problems and paradoxes is fittingly met with intellectual calm.

193. ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-yu<sup>ʔ1</sup> xaw<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>3</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*age she big rise come already*  
*She was already grown up*
194. xin<sup>3</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> saaw<sup>1</sup>  
*rise up big be adolescent girl*  
*She had grown to be a young lady*
195. xaw<sup>1</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> sooŋ<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>ʔ5</sup> saam<sup>1</sup>  
*they all two and three*  
*The three of them*
196. ʔaa<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> phoo<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>ʔ5</sup> mee<sup>4</sup>  
*take each other be husband and wife*  
*Cohabited as husband and wife*
197. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> luuk<sup>5</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup>  
*so have child small*  
*And so had children*
198. caay<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>3</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup>  
*male born side side father*  
*Some were born male*
199. kɔ-<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>4</sup>  
*Pt have of three thousand*  
*Of which there were three thousand*
200. yiŋ<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>3</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> mɛɛ<sup>5</sup>  
*female born side side mother*  
*Some were born female*
201. kɔ-<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>4</sup>  
*Pt have of three thousand*  
*Of which there were three thousand*

202. caa<sup>1</sup> ʔuup<sup>2</sup> doy<sup>3</sup> luuk<sup>5</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup>  
*talk talk about child small*  
*Talking about the children*
203. kɔ-<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> hok<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> tim<sup>1</sup>  
 Pt have six thousand full  
*There was a total of six thousand*
204. xaw<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> luup<sup>5</sup> xaa<sup>3</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> faa<sup>6</sup>  
*they then come mould figure slave under sky*  
*They then moulded the figures of slaves*

Aside from the narrative details about the young Kawngsii, syntactically, we find an interesting use of subjectless sentences following one after another. We have:

190. As for the younger sister (subject)
191. Who was born later (relativised subject)
192. - was named Kawngsii (subjectless)
193. - was already grown up (subjectless)
194. - was a young lady (subjectless)

Only the first sentence contains a subject. Because of this contextual discourse level syntactic constraint, the following sentences function without a surface NP (subj.), or noun filling the subject slot. A change of theme or action will bring forth a new subject noun or pronoun as in the next line:

195. The three of them (they all three)

The theoretical point to be made is that the subject is not to be recovered in sentences 192, 193, 194 from some deep structure. The NP-subjects are recoverable only from the 'surface' subject of 192. The only other transformational alternative is to claim that these sentences are conjoined, a solution which is intuitively unattractive.

The next subject pronoun appears at line 204 with a change of action:

204. They then moulded the figures of slaves (non-Tais).

But first they produced three thousand children of both sexes to give a total of six thousand, the race of the Tais.

205. nap<sup>5</sup> ʔaan<sup>2</sup> ʔaʔ<sup>1</sup>-xoo<sup>1</sup> tay<sup>4</sup>  
*count count a lot Tai*  
*You could count a lot of Tais*
206. xaw<sup>1</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> mɛŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*they Pt make country*  
*They built many kingdoms*
207. taŋ<sup>3</sup> yaay<sup>1</sup>-yay<sup>4</sup> vɛɛt<sup>5</sup> cɔɔt<sup>2</sup>  
*set up in a row encircle join*  
*They joined them together in the shape of a circle*
208. xaw<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>3</sup> luup<sup>5</sup> xaa<sup>3</sup>  
*they so come mould figure slave*  
*They then moulded the figures of slaves*

209. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> pay<sup>1</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> caaw<sup>4</sup> dɔɔy<sup>1</sup>  
*take go stay inhabitant mountain*  
*They took them to be the Montagnards*
210. xaw<sup>1</sup> kɔ-<sup>6</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> tɪŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*they Pt come make all*  
*They made everything*
211. faa<sup>2</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*sole foot thick face big*  
*They made the soles of their feet thick and their faces wide*
212. pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> pay<sup>2</sup> thən<sup>3</sup> din<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>6</sup>  
*make not finish earth used up*  
*They ran out of clay before finishing*
213. xi+n<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> cut<sup>5</sup> him<sup>4</sup> sop<sup>1</sup>  
*return come miss edge mouth*  
*They noticed they had missed the lips*
214. bit<sup>1</sup> kun<sup>3</sup> tay<sup>4</sup> pay<sup>1</sup> say<sup>2</sup> sop<sup>1</sup> xaa<sup>3</sup>  
*twist buttocks Tai go put mouth slave*  
*So they pinched some clay from the buttocks of the Tais and put it  
on the lips of the slaves*
215. baw<sup>2</sup> cay<sup>5</sup> ʔaay<sup>3</sup> paak<sup>2</sup> caa<sup>6</sup>  
*not to be the case Nom Pre mouth evil*  
*I do not speak with an evil tongue*
216. taam<sup>1</sup> ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> tham<sup>4</sup>  
*follow out in Dharma*  
*This comes from the Dharma*

Creation seems to be restored now with an even balance of males and females. The problem of incest is solved. The children will now marry their cousins, i.e. their half-brothers and half-sisters, as some of the Siamese kings have done (cf. R. Benedict 1952).

Next comes the problem of the we-they dichotomy found in every social group. We the Tais are contrasted to the xaa<sup>3</sup> *non-Tai*, or the montagnard and sometimes slaves – depending on the historical event. The view here is that the many Tais (line 205) have built many cities (states or kingdoms). The next few lines (to line 214) relate by indirection the inferior status that 'they' the outside group have. The singer states that in making the montagnards, their faces were made wide and their feet thick. The result was that the creator ran out of clay for the lips. To make up for this deficit, a bit of clay was pinched from the buttocks of the Tai and put in place on the incompleting lip of the hill tribe man. The singer goes on to swear to Buddha that this is a fact and not simply evil talk on his part. It is a fact, indeed, that some of the hill tribes do have a dark spot on the centre of the upper lip. This might be a genetic trait of these groups distinguishing them from the Tai and other Asian genotypes. It is also an observable fact that the Tai and many Asians have a genetic trait called the Mongolian spot, a greenish colouring of the skin at the base of the spine. Most noticeable at birth, this mark fades in time. The fact that the montagnard lip mark and the Tai posterior discolouration are both different manifestations of the same process is seized upon by the narrator to show that the groups are marked differently.

217. sii<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> dam<sup>1</sup> kaaw<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> xoo<sup>3</sup>  
*colour eye black say word be verse*  
*I, who have black eyes, say this in verse*
218. pii<sup>5</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> yoo<sup>3</sup> san<sup>3</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> taaŋ<sup>4</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
*older sibling not shorten short place way any*  
*I have not reduced it in any way*
219. pii<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>1</sup> lin<sup>3</sup> taam<sup>1</sup> koŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*older sibling will make heart play follow custom*  
*I have only let my heart sing following our customs*
220. hi<sup>3</sup> man<sup>4</sup> sut<sup>1</sup> yoo<sup>5</sup>  
*give it end top*  
*Let's end it here*
221. tæ<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> pii<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>2</sup>  
*time this older sibling will take show*  
*At this time I have instructed*
222. hi<sup>3</sup> pən<sup>5</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>  
*give others know*  
*Others so they know the story*
223. pii<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> yut<sup>1</sup> mɛɛ<sup>4</sup> faŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*older sibling will stop wait listen*  
*I will stop and listen to someone else sing*
224. yaŋ<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>3</sup> too<sup>5</sup>  
*stop here Pt*  
*This is the end.*

The theoretical point that comes across here illustrates the viewpoint expressed by Lévi-Strauss in his analysis of myth. That is, the singer-narrator organises his particular version of the myth of the creation of the world along lines of opposition: Tai-non Tai, male-female, animal-human, land-water, time-space, energy-matter, dark-light (the riddle). In tagmemic theory, the concept of contrast exactly parallels the Lévi-Strauss theory of *oppositions*, a notion borrowed from phonemic theory.

Line 217 marks the end of the informative part of the tale and the beginning of the conclusion. The functional requirements change at this point and so the singer reverts to a more poetic form to end his part of the sung narrative. The rhyme and alliteration scheme is shown. Again, the rhyme scheme is of the freest types, approximating the description Schweisguth (1951) gives for the Siamese form *râay to recite*. This form is "especially frequent in the Buddhist religious literature, the sermon". In its canonical form, the last syllable should rhyme with the first (preferably), second or third syllable of the following line. Some singers do follow this rule. This one does to a certain degree.

217. sii<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> dam<sup>1</sup> kaaw<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> xoo<sup>3</sup>  
 218. pii<sup>5</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> yoo<sup>3</sup> san<sup>3</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> taaŋ<sup>4</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
 219. pii<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>1</sup> lin<sup>3</sup> taam<sup>1</sup> koŋ<sup>4</sup>  
 220. hi<sup>3</sup> man<sup>4</sup> sut<sup>1</sup> yoo<sup>5</sup>

## Text II

### THE CONFLAGRATION

Informant: Aay Tun, from Moeng Yong, Burma. About 35-40 years of age. Claimed he had come originally from Sipsongpanna. He had, at one time, chanted on the PRC radio station. Three successive recordings reveal that he did not strive to memorise (or closely and carefully organise) his narrative. However, many phrases, clichés and whole segments are repeated verbatim. Even with a ratio of only 40% replication, we can say that he has memorised, i.e. remembered large parts of his text. The opening poetic speech is memorised nearly intact for one thing. This informant was available for only one day, having returned to Moeng Yong the same evening. While he was available for a rough transcription and some translation, he could not be obtained for later verification of problems. Moreover, he was a poor informant in that he seemed to have few or no 'intuitions' about his narrative. He politely agreed with what I said, but could never offer information or much of an answer to a question. While he did not adhere to a closely remembered text, one has the feeling that he was somehow more innovative, more creative than his more conservative older counterpart. He used more obvious phonetic variants and several more clichés of the 'filler' class to stylistic ends. His artistic flair covered his ignorance of mythological facts.





to the opposite sex in poetic form as an act of respect, flattery or flirtation. The woman singer, when she is present, will return the compliment in equally poetic metaphors. The important theoretical point to be made here is that this narrative has an underlying dialogue structure. The woman addressed is a potential listener in a 'I-Thou, here-now' and story-as-linguistic-object relationship. The situational context of an implied female co-singer and listener explains, in part, the pronominal strategy used by this particular narrator. Later, he refers to himself as pən<sup>5</sup>, which usually means *they, other people*, but can mean *I* when addressing a female of lower status, such as one's wife — in Lue terms, that is. Still later, this singer recognises that the singer who really preceded him in the recording session was the old man who sang Text I. In his closing lines, the old man calls himself by the *nom de plume* of *black eyes* (sii<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> dam<sup>1</sup>). The younger singer of Text II turns around and uses the same image to refer to the old man: *Eyes as black as the Paw bird, father* (taa<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>6</sup> nin<sup>4</sup> nok<sup>5</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>/ pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> ...). Even later he addresses myself and two other listeners as *the three of you who are of good ancestry...* (saam<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> cə<sup>6</sup> dii<sup>1</sup>). It is clear that without a knowledge of both cultural context and situational context of the actual performance, the exact meaning of the metaphors and pronouns in the text would be impossible to translate correctly. At the base of the situational context is the 'I-Thou' relationship of speaker and hearer.

The practice of structuring the narrative performance with a prose nucleus and poetic margins, beginning and ending, is followed by this younger singer. The poetic stanzas are found at lines 6-9 and 16-20 for the opening and 193-196 for the closing. The poetic structure is shown below.

6. lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> phum<sup>1</sup> yii<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
7. mən<sup>1</sup> haŋ<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> fɔɔ<sup>1</sup>-fɛt<sup>2</sup>
8. phum<sup>1</sup> vət<sup>5</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>
9. sin<sup>3</sup> nɪŋ<sup>5</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> thɔɔ<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup>
- ...
16. taa<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>6</sup> nin<sup>4</sup> nok<sup>5</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>
17. pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> ɪɔt<sup>5</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>
18. tok<sup>1</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup> ʔɔn<sup>4</sup> taaŋ<sup>4</sup>
19. ʔuk<sup>5</sup> ɪɛ<sup>7</sup> di<sup>7</sup> vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> sɛŋ<sup>1</sup> sɔn<sup>6</sup>
20. cɔn<sup>4</sup> laay<sup>4</sup> kɔ<sup>7</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> too<sup>1</sup> pii<sup>5</sup>
- ...
193. kam<sup>4</sup> thaa<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> pɔɔ<sup>4</sup> lɔ<sup>7</sup>
194. thən<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>
195. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> cap<sup>1</sup> yɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> kɔɔŋ<sup>4</sup> məə<sup>4</sup>
196. vay<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> tɔ<sup>7</sup>

12. seŋ<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> cap<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> taan<sup>3</sup>  
*voice so say hold say speak*  
*Voices hold forth in conversation*
13. pii<sup>5</sup>                    nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>                    yɛm<sup>6</sup> cum<sup>5</sup> xoo<sup>1</sup> ʔɔn<sup>1</sup>  
*older sibling younger sibling smile moist laugh before*  
*Our brothers and sisters enjoy themselves meanwhile*
14. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
15. faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔ<sup>7</sup> too<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>1</sup>  
*listen Pt person artisan poetry*  
*Listen! You who are a poet*
16. taa<sup>1</sup> nəə<sup>6</sup> nin<sup>4</sup> nok<sup>5</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>  
*eye flesh black bird kind of bird*  
*With eyes as black as the Paw bird*
17. pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup>                    lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*father since enter pass through already*  
*Our father has gone through his part already*
18. tok<sup>1</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup> ʔɔn<sup>4</sup> taan<sup>4</sup>  
*fall first before way*  
*He has led the way*
19. luk<sup>5</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> di<sup>7</sup> vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> seŋ<sup>1</sup> sɔn<sup>6</sup>  
*child Pt will put voice again*  
*I, the son, will sing more*
20. cɔn<sup>4</sup> laay<sup>4</sup> kɔ<sup>7</sup> caay<sup>4</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> too<sup>1</sup> pii<sup>5</sup>  
*dig skill cling male Pt person elder*  
*I will follow the skill of father*
21. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
22. mii<sup>4</sup> kɔ<sup>5</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup> həy<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
*have Pt Pt lord father O! have have*  
*There was this, father, O! There was*
23. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> kam<sup>4</sup> thaa<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*so Pt say time time this*  
*So then I say at this time*

In lines 12 and 13, the singer addresses the larger audience. Quite typically, they are engaged in talking, eating, drinking, smoking and moving in and among their friends and relatives seated on the floor. This audience is aware of the singing, but they do not necessarily follow it closely. (Becker (1971) notes that in Burma, "the viewer is not compelled to focus his attention on the stage alone".) The voices referred to in line 12 are probably the constant *din* of the guests talking and enjoying themselves. This line — seŋ<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> cap<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> taan<sup>3</sup> — parallels a similar one found in the Lao classic *Sew Swat*, which exists also in a Lue version: ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>4</sup> caa<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>3</sup> so, *there was talking back and forth*.

Lines 15 and 16 again refer to the eyes of a co-singer. They are black and shiny like the jet stone or black sapphire, or the eyes of the Paw bird. Because the actual co-singer was an older man, the pronominal system shifts to

ပဝ်<sup>5</sup> *father, he* and luk<sup>5</sup> *son, I*. These kin terms used as pronouns show a closer bond of group affiliation and filial piety than the use of caw<sup>3</sup> *you*, pən<sup>5</sup> *I* which appear later in the narrative.

Line 15 recognises the status of the co-singer as a poet, and, by inference, the narrative a poetic work. We have seen that it is in part. The younger singer is more lavish in his praise of the co-singer, perhaps as a matter of style or deference to age. The fact that the older singer has preceded him and not vice versa provides an occasion for flattery. It is a cultural trait given linguistic expression: I, your child, praise you, father – to offer a paraphrase.

At lines 21 and 22, the singer appears to begin the narrative proper with, 'It is said that once upon a time, there was this, Father, O! there was'. The expression uses caw<sup>3</sup> ပဝ်<sup>5</sup> *you, father; lord, father*. These words refer either to the older singer or to the Prince of Chieng Rung. Line 23 has the filler expression ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> which is used over and over again along with its variants ʔan<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>, ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> and lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>.

24. pəə<sup>5</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> tham<sup>4</sup> vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>4</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*because Rel Dharma put with all three Pt*  
*It is because the Dharma records all three events*
25. naŋ<sup>2</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> caaŋ<sup>5</sup> hɔŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*with side able sing*  
*We, for our part, are able to sing*
26. saam<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> ပဝ်<sup>5</sup> cəə<sup>6</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup>  
*three Clf you father ancestry good get*  
*The three of you are of good ancestry*
27. ʔoot<sup>2</sup> see<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*talk lose together Pt Pt Pt*  
*Talk together! (exclamatory particles)*
28. ပဝ်<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> nɛɛ<sup>1</sup> law<sup>5</sup> sun<sup>3</sup> pin<sup>6</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup>  
*father so say explain tell origin ground base*  
*Father has told us what happened from the beginning*
29. nii<sup>6</sup> ʔan<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> bot<sup>1</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> paay<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup>  
*Pt that he chapter side end Pt Pt*  
*That then was the end of that part of the story*
30. lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> luk<sup>5</sup> kɔɔ<sup>4</sup> di<sup>7</sup> yaay<sup>1</sup>  
*if lose say child Pt will relate*  
*So, I will relate*
31. paay<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup>  
*side beginning*  
*The first part*
32. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
33. luk<sup>5</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> di<sup>7</sup> yaay<sup>1</sup> luk<sup>5</sup> tun<sup>3</sup>  
*child Pt will relate start beginning*  
*I will relate the story by starting from the beginning*
34. paay<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> fay<sup>4</sup> maaŋ<sup>6</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
*side beginning Pt fire destroy era head time*  
*The part of the original fires*

The singer continues with this rather garrulous opening of his narrative. Although he has told none of the details as yet, he comments at line 24 that the tale about to be told comes from the Dharma. Without the scriptural source, he could not sing this story. In effect, he is a mouthpiece for those writings. By referring to the authority of the Dharma, he humbles himself as one who cannot invent such tales, but at the same time he indicates by his knowledge of the Buddhist literature that he is nonetheless learned. As it turned out, this singer had a flair for embellishment which exceeded, and compensated for, his lack of knowledge of some of the basic facts of the original creation and conflagration.

In line 26, the three persons of good ancestry are myself and two others. This singer does not miss the opportunity to praise his hosts who are, after all, paying for his song.

Line 28 mentions the fact that the old man has told the first part of the story of how the universe was created as his part of the larger tale. Now the younger singer will continue from the point where the great fires broke out at the beginning of time. After 34 lines of introduction, compared to just 10 for the older singer, the younger one begins in earnest. He appears to be extremely concerned with his relationship to the old man and to his audience. The old man was a member of the community where the recording was made. The young man came from Moeng Yong, Burma, and was clearly an outsider. Both his performance style and content were probably tied to the dialect of this Lue centre in Burma. According to the evaluation of the Caw Mom Laa, the Lue leader in Mae Sai, the Moeng Yong style is not orthodox.

35. ʔan<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> mun<sup>4</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*that so say round will set up*  
*It is said that a round thing was set up*
36. mi<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> mən<sup>1</sup> xaa<sup>2</sup>  
*have come will like top*  
*It was like a spinning top*
37. tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> kɔɔ<sup>4</sup> xuu<sup>4</sup> sən<sup>1</sup>-phaa<sup>4</sup>  
*from time Pt teacher omniscient*  
*It was at the time of the omniscient teacher*
38. too<sup>1</sup> laa<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>ʔ5</sup> kat<sup>1</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>ʔ1</sup> koo<sup>4</sup>-ta<sup>ʔ1</sup>-ma<sup>ʔ5</sup>  
*person last Konagamana Kassapa Gotama*  
*The last one, Konagamana, Kassapa, Gotama*
39. lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> nip<sup>5</sup>-paan<sup>4</sup> cak<sup>2</sup>-aa<sup>5</sup>  
*if lose say nirvana from Pt*  
*The one they say left the world for Nirvana*
40. thən<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup> cuu<sup>5</sup> siŋ<sup>5</sup> naa<sup>4</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>  
*finish good already every thing various*  
*All of the various things were well finished*
41. tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup> ʔɔk<sup>2</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> nɪŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*from time sun rise Clf one*  
*When the first sun rose*
42. ʔan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> baw<sup>2</sup>-saŋ<sup>1</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>6</sup>-xiŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*that this nothing die able to get up*  
*They say nothing died*

43. nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup> loo<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*on world world Pt Pt Pt*  
*On the world*
44. taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup> ʔok<sup>2</sup> soŋ<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup>  
*sun rise two Clf*  
*The second sun rose*
45. koo<sup>5</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*Pt since enter pass through already*  
*And after it appeared overhead*
46. baw<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>6</sup>-xiŋ<sup>4</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup> loo<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>1</sup>  
*not what die able to get up on world world*  
*Nothing died on the world*

Line 35 is the starting point in the description leading up to the conflagration. The singer gives his view of the world by analogy: '... a round thing was set up. It was like a spinning top'. This is the world, we are told, of the three most recent Buddhas: Konagamana, Kassapa and Gotama. From the singer's syntax, it seems that he confuses all three as being one and the same, which is possible in light of differing theories of the rebirth of the Buddhas. The last one (Gotama), he notes, is the one said to have 'left the world for Nirvana'. That is, tradition tells us that the last of the Buddhas, Gotama, was able to escape the cycle of rebirth and was released into the state (non-state) of Nirvana. The Buddhist calendar shows that this happened over 2,000 years ago. It is not all clear whether the world was destroyed by fire before or after the appearance of the Buddhas. From information that is given much later, we can conclude that the fires were prior to the birth of the Buddhas who came to teach following the destruction of the old world which will be rebuilt upon the foundations of the former. At line 40, we learn that everything had been finished, meaning the world and its inhabitants. Then the first of a series of suns appears, and then a second. We are told that 'nothing died', meaning, I suppose, that everything was immortal. At least other versions of the Lue origin myth deal with the problem of death by starting with the notion of an earlier world where death was unknown and had to be invented in order to end the problem of over-population. Here we are being prepared for the death and rebirth of the world.

47. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
48. lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
*if lose say*  
*Then*
49. saam<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> sii<sup>2</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup>  
*three Clf four Clf*  
*Three suns, four suns*
50. xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*enter pass through already*  
*Appeared*
51. haa<sup>3</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> hok<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup>  
*five Clf six Clf*  
*Five suns, six suns*

52. xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup>            lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*enter pass through already*  
*Appeared*
53. baw<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> hɛŋ<sup>4</sup>    xiŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*not what die healthy Pt*  
*Nothing died anywhere*
54. nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup> loo<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*on world world Pt Pt Pt*  
*On earth*
55. ʔan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> cet<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup>            lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*that Pt seven Clf enter pass through already*  
*It was when the seventh sun appeared*
56. di<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> luk<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> pew<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*will get arise be flame Pt Pt Pt*  
*The world would become inflamed*
57. faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔ<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> moy<sup>4</sup> phum<sup>1</sup> xeew<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> nəə<sup>6</sup> nin<sup>4</sup>  
*listen Pt knot hair green eye flesh black*  
*Listen you with a green hairknot and jet black eyes*
58. pii<sup>5</sup>            nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*elder sibling younger sibling*  
*Brothers and sisters*

For the next ten lines, the singer continues to add sun after sun until the sixth is reached and still nothing dies. Finally the magic number, potent seven, is invoked and with this final sun, the world bursts into flames. In 'Chapter X: The Destruction of the Mahākappa' of the *Tri Phum* (Reynolds 1981), we read: "Seven times, on seven occasions there is fire; the eighth time there is water ... Until the sixty-fourth time; then there is one occasion when the wind blows".

Line 57 provides a break before continuing the elaboration and repetition of the great fire. The singer stops to comment following a scant 20 lines of narration. The lines of comment are addressed to the woman co-singer who is theoretically present, and to the *brethren* (pii<sup>5</sup> nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>) who are listening. The woman is referred to again by the metonymic detail: 'the green hairknot and jet black eyes'. Two lines later he will begin the tale again. Here they are urged to listen. The intent appears to be that the preceding narration was only a summary of what is to come. Now they should listen in all earnestness as the tale is about to be retold in greater depth. In an oral tradition, of course, we expect repetition, and here we get it. The first singer, by contrast was very parsimonious in avoiding repetition, however. The act of repetition of the entire first segment detailing the appearance of the seven suns should be judged as poor linguistic and memory organisation.

In searching out the episode in the Hindu myth from which the Lue version is derived, we find that the detail of the destruction of the world before its recreation by Brahma is about the only detail that is preserved. A fuller description of the event in the Hindu original is reported by Ions (1967):

Destruction is preceded by the most terrible portents.  
 After a drought lasting one hundred years, seven suns  
 appear in the skies and drink up all the remaining water.  
 Fire, swept by the wind, consumed the earth and then

the underworld. Clouds looking like elephants garlanded with lightning then appear and, bursting suddenly, release rain that falls continuously for twelve years, submerging the whole world. Then Brahma, contained within a lotus floating on the waters, absorbs the winds and goes to sleep, until the time comes for his awakening and renewed creation. During this time gods and men are temporarily reabsorbed into Brahma, the Universal Spirit.

The appearance of the rain and the wind come in the second repetition by the Lue singer. Their functions are different in his version. According to our singer, rains fall to cool the earth and Brahma creates the wind which levels Mt. Saneeloo. The role of a single creator is implied by the singer at this juncture in the narrative, but he is never recognised as Brahma, let alone given a name. Failure to adhere to the original is not important. What matters is how the narrator has restructured the information he has at hand, within the limits of his understanding and memory.

We might note also that fire, earth, wind and water were the four 'basic elements' in ancient times, a sort of universal belief which is mirrored here. The singer does not seem to be using them in the same elementary fashion however. He is merely echoing the use of traditional symbols and myths that decay and are rebuilt from past ruins.

59. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
60. caay<sup>4</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> tiʔ<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lɛɛ<sup>5</sup> tii<sup>1</sup>  
*male Pt will come slice horizontally beat*  
*I will explain*
61. yaam<sup>4</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup> ʔɔk<sup>2</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> nɪŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*time time sun out Clf one*  
*The time when the first sun rose*
62. taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup> ʔɔk<sup>2</sup> sɔŋ<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup>  
*sun out two Clf*  
*The second rose then*
63. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> fee<sup>1</sup> may<sup>6</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> mɪŋ<sup>4</sup> lum<sup>5</sup>  
*so say foliage tree much country below*  
*So then a lot of the foliage of the lower world*
64. haak<sup>2</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup>  
*since die Pt Pt*  
*Died afterwards*
65. tii<sup>5</sup> huŋ<sup>3</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> faay<sup>2</sup> nɪŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*place low so say die part one*  
*Down below then one part died*
66. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> faay<sup>2</sup> nɪŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*Pt not die part one*  
*And one part did not die*
67. kan<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup> sii<sup>2</sup> nəy<sup>2</sup>  
*if so say three Clf four Clf*  
*So then, three suns, four suns*



68. xaw<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup>            lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*enter pass through already*  
*Appeared*
69. nay<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> kaa<sup>5</sup> kun<sup>4</sup>    kət<sup>2</sup> hɔŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*in this only people born place*  
*At this time only people were born in that place*
70. nay<sup>4</sup> lok<sup>5</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> taay<sup>1</sup> nak<sup>1</sup>-kaa<sup>5</sup>  
*in world since die very much*  
*There was very much death in the world after that*

Line 61 begins a new narrative stretch following four lines of comment. The story of the conflagration is retold from a different perspective this time. Instead of the creation suddenly bursting into flames after the appearance of the seventh sun, the concept of stages of destruction is introduced. We are told of a lower world, the world of vegetation and mankind. This is undoubtedly the world of man which will be contrasted later to the upper world of divine beings. In the retelling of this story, much of the vegetation burns off after the appearance of the second sun, an apparent contradiction to the first telling where nothing dies until the coming of the seventh. A series of dichotomies appear to be in the making at this point of the narration. The total picture is not exactly clear. One guess would be that there are two sectors in the lower world, one occupied by plant life, the other by animal (human) life. At the first stage of the burning, the vegetation is scorched. The second stage of the destruction comes after the appearance of the fourth sun. The structure follows along numerical lines. At sun number two, vegetation goes; at sun number four, the world's people begin to die. There are priorities even in dying. They follow the order in which they were created.

Lines 69 and 70 deal with birth and death in one breath. After the fourth sun, people are born, only to be followed immediately and without apparent cause by 'very much death in the world after that'. The enigma of death is not dealt with at all here except to note simply that people are born and then they die.

71. muu<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>1</sup> phɔm<sup>6</sup> ɲoo<sup>4</sup> kwaay<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*pig dog with ox buffalo Pt*  
*Pig, dog and cattle*
72. pet<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>2</sup>  
*duck chicken*  
*Fowl*
73. cuu<sup>5</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> yiŋ<sup>4</sup>    caay<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> taay<sup>1</sup>  
*every small big female male so say die*  
*Every one, big and small, male and female then died*
74. cak<sup>2</sup> thən<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*from finish good already*  
*After the finish*
75. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> mot<sup>1</sup> vət<sup>5</sup>            yin<sup>1</sup>-aa-yoom<sup>4</sup>  
*Pt all extinguish cool Pt calm*  
*All the fires had been extinguished and cooled*
76. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*

77. lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> sii<sup>2</sup> nɛy<sup>2</sup> haa<sup>3</sup> nɛy<sup>2</sup>  
*if lose say four Clf five Clf*  
*The fourth and fifth suns*
78. xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*enter pass through already*  
*Appeared*
79. xwan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> noo<sup>1</sup>-lɔt<sup>5</sup> thɛŋ<sup>1</sup> mɪŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*smoke this sleep country*  
*Smoke covered the country*
80. hok<sup>1</sup> nɛy<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>6</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*six Clf enter pass through already*  
*The sixth sun appeared*
81. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> hɔn<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*so say hot Pt*  
*So it became hot*
82. doo<sup>1</sup>-nɔn<sup>4</sup> noo<sup>1</sup>-lɔt<sup>5</sup> cum<sup>4</sup>-puu<sup>4</sup>  
*cat-nap sleep world*  
*Sleeping bodies covered the world*

Next in the order of death by fire comes the world of the animals: *pig-dog* (muu<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>1</sup>), *cattle* (ŋoo<sup>4</sup> kwaay<sup>4</sup>) and *fowl* (pet<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>2</sup>). As an anthropological aside, it is interesting to note the linguistic-conceptual coupling of pig-dog. The duck and chicken pair off naturally as fowl, the ox and buffalo as cattle. The pig and dog are animals found around the house compound, they are dependent on man and bear young in litters. Or at least, these are semantic aspects that might explain their narrative link. Another factor is their compatibility in terms of the esthetics of alliteration.

The dead bodies of the animal sector litter the world after the fifth and sixth suns. Everything is permeated by smoke and heat. It appears that just six suns are all that are needed to prostrate every living thing. The purpose of the seventh and final sun must be to climax the two-by-two progression: the death of vegetation at two suns, of human life at four, of animal life at six. Now the seventh will bring total annihilation to the 'sleeping bodies' (line 82).

The overall pattern of the conceptual order as it affects the structure of the narrative discourse is now becoming clear. An upper world is contrasted to a lower world conceived of in two parts - the sector of vegetative life and the domain of animal life. The latter is, in turn, divided into the human and the animal realm. Two suns are appropriated for the destruction of each of the three life elements and one for the totality, the world below.

83. kam<sup>4</sup> thaa<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> cet<sup>1</sup> nɛy<sup>2</sup> xaw<sup>3</sup> lɔt<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*time time that seven Clf enter pass through already*  
*When the seventh sun appeared*
84. di?<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> luk<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> pew<sup>1</sup>  
*will get rise be flame*  
*The world would become inflamed*
85. ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*

86. lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> fay<sup>4</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> may<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*if lose say fire since burn good already*  
*If the fire burned well*
87. koo<sup>5</sup> man<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> le<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*Pt it Pt will get 10,000 year Pt Pt Pt*  
*It would have taken ten thousand years*
88. ?an<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> yaq<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> ?aw<sup>1</sup> lum<sup>4</sup>  
*that Pt still have he so come make take wind*  
*It was such that he still made the wind*
89. teŋ<sup>2</sup> ?aw<sup>1</sup> ?an<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*make take Clf rain fall big Pt*  
*He made a great rain fall*
90. hoŋ<sup>3</sup> xee<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
*place happiness this on world*  
*On this place of happiness, the world*
91. tok<sup>1</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> hoŋ<sup>3</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*fall stay place place that*  
*It fell on that place*
92. koo<sup>5</sup> naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> den<sup>1</sup> teen<sup>5</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
*Pt long get boundary peaceful 10,000 year*  
*It fell on that peaceful place 10,000 years*
93. ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
94. paay<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> too<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> ?aw<sup>1</sup>  
*side this person he so come make take*  
*On this side he made*
95. lum<sup>4</sup> kam<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-phee<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*wind name of a wind Pt*  
*The wind called Kammasapheeta*

In closing this second telling of the conflagration, we are informed once again that the entire world went up in flames. Supposing it burned well, it would have taken ten thousand years. Note that in Siamese literary tradition ten thousand is a number invoked often to portray immensity. The same intent is registered in the use of ten thousand here. Following this, rains fall for the same long period of time. The once happy earth has been destroyed by fire and flood.

The first relevant actor in the narrative appears at line 94: too<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> *he*. Because this pronominal form is used to designate people of highly respected status, we can venture a guess that a god is referred to. Our knowledge of Hindu cosmology is the other clue. It must be Brahma, who creates the magic wind called Kammasapheeta (line 95). This must be the same wind of Text I, the primary source of energy used to cool the fires and to recreate matter.

96. xaw<sup>3</sup> kon<sup>1</sup> xwii<sup>4</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-tat<sup>5</sup>  
*enter bother bother name of world*  
*Came and annoyed the world*

97. maa<sup>4</sup> pat<sup>5</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
*come blow stay place there say already*  
*It came and blew there continually*
98. koo<sup>5</sup> naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> le<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
 Pt it get 10,000 year Pt Pt Pt  
*And it did it for 10,000 years*
99. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> caaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 so Pt say water Pt not watery  
*So that water could not flow or*
100. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> hee<sup>3</sup> hoŋ<sup>3</sup> taŋ<sup>4</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
*take pour place way any*  
*Be poured in any direction*
101. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> bit<sup>1</sup>-bəŋ<sup>1</sup> le<sup>7</sup>  
 so Pt say take twist Pt  
*So it was twisted*
102. maa<sup>4</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> miŋ<sup>4</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> tay<sup>3</sup>  
*come fall to country side under*  
*It fell on the country below*
103. miŋ<sup>4</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> di<sup>7</sup> day<sup>3</sup> ci<sup>5</sup> miŋ<sup>4</sup> peŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*country side under will get name country flat*  
*The country below would be named the flat country*
104. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
105. loŋ<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> yaam<sup>4</sup> paaŋ<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*if lose say time time that*  
*So at that time*
106. taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> xaw<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>1</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup>  
*he so say take Mt. Saneeloo (sineru)*  
*He then took Mt. Saneeloo*
107. ʔooy<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔook<sup>7</sup>-ʔoon<sup>5</sup>  
*O! crush have come Pt still beat*  
*O! He chrushed it with a blow*

The unique properties of the first wind are detailed. It blows continually for ten thousand years. It annoys the world. It blows upward so that water cannot be poured. The wind finally descends in full force on the world and flattens everything. It takes Mt. Saneeloo (Mt. Meru) and crushes it with a single blow. The act of destroying the central mountain that had been created at the beginning of time is in keeping with the theme of the cycle of death and rebirth.

The symbolic or metaphysical content of the elements of fire, water and wind are not apparent here. It is doubtful that the singer or the audience understands the original purport, unless some of them are highly trained in Hindu-Buddhist philosophy. Fire is clearly destructive, the wind annoying and destructive, the water probably flooding ('the great rain', line 89). A fuller account of the motivation for the three varieties of destruction can be seen from Shway Yoe's (1963) explanation of Burmese cosmography, which we can safely assume the Lue have borrowed heavily from.

... The world must be destroyed in any case, but there are three great principles of demerit which determine by what means the catastrophe will be effected. Concupiscence is the most common and the least heinous of these principles, and the world of the lustful will be destroyed by fire. Next comes anger, a more grievous sin than concupiscence, and the world ruined by the principle of anger will be destroyed by water. Worst of all is the sin of ignorance. The world of the ignorant will be scattered about the bounds of space by a mighty rushing wind, which beginning so gently as barely to sway the leaves and flowers, ends by breaking up with its irresistible force the vast bulk of Mount Myinmo — Mt. Meru ...

108. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
109. lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> yon<sup>6</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> sun<sup>3</sup> pin<sup>6</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup>  
*if lose say revert place origin ground base*  
*Everything was reduced to the original level*
110. koo<sup>5</sup> man<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> pay<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> leʔ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*Pt it Pt will lose go Pt Pt Pt*  
*It was ruined*
111. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> leʔ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> lum<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-daaŋ<sup>3</sup> ken<sup>2</sup>  
*so Pt say make take wind hard solid*  
*So he made the wind solid*
112. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> leʔ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> phen<sup>2</sup> hin<sup>1</sup> hoŋ<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*so Pt say make sheet rock support put*  
*So then he made a sheet of rock for support*
113. hoŋ<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> cuu<sup>5</sup> siŋ<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>4</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>  
*support put Pt every thing various*  
*The support was for everything*
114. caay<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> seŋ<sup>1</sup>-yaa<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> taŋ<sup>4</sup>-mon<sup>4</sup>  
*male so say promise put all*  
*I promise all of it*
115. koo<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> cəə<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*Pt be like this*  
*Was like this*
116. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
117. paay<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> too<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>  
*side this person he so come*  
*To this part he came*
118. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> leʔ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> tay<sup>3</sup>  
*so Pt say side under*  
*Then to the lower part*
119. koo<sup>5</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> lew<sup>6</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> sip<sup>1</sup>-hok<sup>1</sup> hoŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*Pt side under already have sixteen room*  
*Which had sixteen regions*

The result of the smashing of Mt. Saneeloo was that the world was completely levelled, perhaps pulverised. It is appropriate then that the wind turns to something solid. This new solidity appears to be in the form of a sheet of rock which becomes the new foundation for everything. For lines 114-116, the singer pauses to comment about the veracity of the tale and to begin anew with the event of the arrival of 'him' to the lower world with its sixteen regions. We assume from prior knowledge of other myths, both local (Lue) and regional (Hindu), that it is the god Brahma who descends to the lower region which he creates from the destroyed world (matter and form) and the wind Kammasapheeta (energy). He comes down to earth in order to create forms to populate the rock-like world. The sixteen regions of the world reflect the sixteen regions of the upper world of the gods. It is perhaps noteworthy that the singer does not mention the name of Brahma until much later (line 170), and then it is to name two Brahmas, male and female – Grandfather and Grandmother Saengkay. (In Text I they are called Sangsii. Still other singers call the pair Sangsii and Sangsay.) The 'he' who comes down to the lower world then may be different: a single creator, nameless and separate from the Brahma-made-man who appear later. The proto-type of the 'he' must be the Hindu concept of Brahma, the original force behind creation. This particular singer has apparently reinterpreted the proto-type to suite his own understanding and to syncretise the Hindu myth of a single creator (Brahma) with the commonly accepted widespread Lue animistic myth of a pair of creators (male and female Saengkay).

Still another possible explanation for a single Lue creator who then becomes two, i.e. Grandmother and Grandfather Sangsii, may be found in Chapter X of the *Trai Phum* (Reynolds 1981). There we read:

At that time the brahma who live in the set of realms of which the realm of the radiant brahma is the highest, and who have exhausted their merit, pass away from this set of realms and come down to be born as human beings; and they are born through the instantaneous mode. These people are neither female nor male; rather they are like the brahma. They have rays which are gloriously beautiful and they have the kind of magical power which enables them to travel by air. They never eat any kind of food; joy and happiness are their food rather than rice and water. At that time their life span lasts for one immense period of years.

Following successively after that there are events which occur so that these beings become female and male, just as in former times. These brahma see the quality of the earth, and one by one, they each test out the taste of this earth, and do this each day instead of eating rice and drinking water. Because of this reason three thoughts occur to them and cause evil...

120. duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*note and remember*  
*Take note and remember!*
121. paay<sup>4</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> sip<sup>1</sup>-hok<sup>1</sup> hɔŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*side above Pt have put sixteen room*  
*The upper part also had sixteen regions*
122. tɛt<sup>5</sup>-tiŋ<sup>1</sup> tiŋ<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
*equally equally Pt Pt Pt*  
*As well*



133.  $ci\eta^2$   $le^{\gamma 5}$   $vaa^5$   $mii^4$ - $aa^5$   $koo^5$   $xaw^1$   $saam^1$   $too^1$   $nii^6$   
*so Pt say have Pt Pt they three person Pt*  
*So then there were these three persons*
134.  $ci\eta^2$   $vaa^5$   $kam^1$ - $maa^4$ - $lok^5$   $\eta up^1$ - $pa^1$ - $lok^5$   $luu^6$ - $kwa^2$ - $lok^5$   
*so say Kammalok Uppalok Luukwalok*  
*Namely Kammalok, Uppalok, Luukwalok*
135.  $ci\eta^2$   $vaa^5$   $\eta aw^1$   $pay^1$   $vay^6$   $taa\eta^4$   $day^1$   $nii^6$   
*so say take go put way any Pt*  
*Who could put anything anywhere*
136.  $caay^4$   $le^{\gamma 5}$   $cak^1$   $vaa^5$   $kaa^5$   $koo^5$   $vaa^5$   
*male Pt will say only Pt say*  
*I would only say that*
137.  $xaw^1$   $saam^1$   $too^1$   
*they three person*  
*The three of them*
138.  $ci\eta^2$   $vaa^5$   $\eta aw^1$   $m\ae^4$   $x\epsilon\eta^3$   $le^{\gamma 5}$   
*so say take go up intentionally Pt*  
*Then intentionally ascended*
139.  $xaw^1$   $s\epsilon\eta^1$   
*mountain excellent*  
*The excellent mountain*
140.  $ci\eta^2$   $vaa^5$   $tii^5$   $c\epsilon n^6$   $kam^1$ - $maa^4$   $c\epsilon n^6$ - $tet^5$   
*so say place region Karma sixteen regions*  
*Which is the region of Karma, the sixteen regions of heaven*
141.  $\eta aw^1$   $fet^2$   $ho\eta^3$   $tii^5$   $nan^6$   
*take keep room place that*  
*It is kept in that place*
142.  $koo^5$   $xu\eta^1$ - $xet^2$   $ho\eta^1$   $\eta in^1$   
*Pt boundary room Indra*  
*The region of Indra*
143.  $\eta an^4$   $vaa^5$   $bat^1$   $dew^4$   $van^4$   $nii^6$   
*that say time once Pt Pt*  
*It is said that once upon a time*
144.  $p\ae n^5$   $koo^5$   $di^{\gamma 1}$   $vaa^5$   
*I Pt will say*  
*I say*
145.  $phay^1$   $le^{\gamma 5}$   $di^{\gamma 1}$   $maa^4$   $maa\eta^6$   $lok^5$   
*who Pt will come destroy world*  
*Who came to destroy the world*

The new event reported at line 133 is the descent of three beings:  $xaw^1$   $saam^1$   $too^1$ . They represent the world's sense, form and the absence of form. Later (lines 158, 160, 162), the number is reduced to only two, either out of incomplete understanding of the metaphysics of this portion of the myth of the origins of life or out of forgetfulness or other causes. The abstract concepts of the three worlds are clearly personified as they descend from the 'excellent mountain', Mt. Meru. The original meaning of the Pali terms is given in the glossary.



At line 142, mention is made of Indra and his 'room' which occupies one of the sixteen regions of the upper world. (Indra originally was a Vedic god. He resided on one part of Mt. Meru.) Indra is often confused with Brahma, who according to strict Hindu tradition is the creator of the universe. But perhaps to the unlettered Lue, Indra is more real. He appears in other myths as a *deus ex machina*. Siamese tradition has it that when there is a problem in the lower world, Indra's seat heats up. He then looks down on the lower world to see what is happening, and if moved to compassion, may descend to aid those who implore him. Indra's identification with the world of sense, form and absence of form and the relationship of all to Karma may bring about a greater unity or comprehensibility to the mythological world the singer is forced to deal with. His understanding of that order is not transparent, however.

At line 145, the singer asks who it is that came to destroy the world (by fire) as he has described it.

146. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
 Pt time before head time  
 Was before the beginning of time
147. phay<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> sɔn<sup>1</sup> hiɪ<sup>3</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
 who Pt will come teach to on world  
 He who came to teach in the world
148. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
 Pt time before head time  
 Was before the beginning of time
149. phay<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> nəə<sup>4</sup>  
 who Pt will come Pt  
 He who came
150. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> con<sup>4</sup> luu<sup>6</sup> nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so come be person know on world  
 Is the one who knew everything in the world
151. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>4</sup>  
 Pt time before head time  
 Before the beginning of time
152. caay<sup>4</sup> si<sup>1</sup>-loʔ<sup>5</sup> cɛt<sup>5</sup> thii<sup>2</sup> həy<sup>4</sup> poy<sup>4</sup> ŋaay<sup>4</sup>  
 I sing clear in detail O! Ho! late morning  
 I sing in exact detail O! This morning
153. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 Pt will take say  
 That is what I would say
154. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 that say time once Pt Pt  
 It is said that once upon a time
155. caay<sup>4</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> diʔ<sup>1</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> xaa<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> lek<sup>5</sup>-loŋ<sup>6</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup>  
 male Pt will take leg stack up call sing Pt  
 I will sit with my legs crossed and sing
156. taam<sup>1</sup> lɛŋ<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>6</sup> pii<sup>2</sup>  
 follow place ground flute  
 And follow the accompaniment of the flute

157. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> too<sup>1</sup> di<sup>71</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> maaŋ<sup>6</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so Pt say person will come destroy world  
*So then, the one who did come to destroy the world*
158. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> kam<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup>-lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so Pt say Kammalok  
*Is Kammalok*

Following the question of who destroyed, the singer asks who came to teach the world (line 147) and finally, who came to know more than everything in the world? Whatever it was existed before the beginning of time. A break follows the three questions. From line 152 to line 156 the singer stops to comment that he sings all the details of the story exactly as they happened. He notes that he is seated in the lotus position with a flutist leading him in accompaniment. Now the answers to his questions follow, that is two out of the three. Lines 157-158 inform us that Kammalok (sense) destroyed the world.

159. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> too<sup>1</sup> di<sup>71</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> sɔn<sup>1</sup> huu<sup>6</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so Pt say person will come teach know on world  
*So then the person who did come to teach the world*
160. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> luu<sup>6</sup>-kwa<sup>2</sup>-lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so say Luukwaalok  
*Is Luukwaalok*
161. too<sup>1</sup> di<sup>71</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> con<sup>4</sup> luu<sup>6</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
 person will come be person know on world  
*The person who did know the world*
162. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> luu<sup>6</sup>-kwa<sup>2</sup>-lok<sup>5</sup>  
 so say Luukwaalok  
*Is Luukwaalok*
163. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> xaw<sup>1</sup> saam<sup>1</sup> too<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 so Pt say they three person Pt  
*So these three*
164. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lɛ<sup>75</sup> mə<sup>5</sup> kɔn<sup>2</sup>  
 Pt have come Pt time before  
*Existed in former times*
165. caay<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> cay<sup>1</sup> sɔn<sup>2</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> lek<sup>5</sup>-loŋ<sup>6</sup>  
 male so say heart think set up call sing  
*I say that my heart composes for singing*
166. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> cuu<sup>5</sup> siŋ<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>4</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>  
 Pt every thing various  
*Various things*
167. mən<sup>1</sup> di<sup>71</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> ʔaay<sup>1</sup> din<sup>1</sup> haw<sup>4</sup>  
 like will that vapour earth our  
*It is like vapor from our earth*
168. tew<sup>4</sup>-va<sup>5</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup> di<sup>71</sup> hɔm<sup>1</sup> xɪn<sup>3</sup>  
 goddess will fragrant rise up  
*The angels smelled as it rose up to heaven*
169. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 that say time one Pt Pt  
*It is said that once upon a time*

170. yaŋ<sup>4</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> phum<sup>4</sup> sɔŋ<sup>1</sup> too<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
*still still have Brahma two person Pt*  
*There were two Brahmas*

An obvious slip of memory occurs in the answer portion. Instead of stating that Uppalok comes to teach the world, the singer says it is Luukwaalok. Luukwaalok is likewise given as the being who knows everything on or beyond the world (of sense).

In addition to the memory laps, the singer neglects to provide us with information needed to draw the next set of inferences concerning the story. At lines 165-166, he breaks to comment on his own act of composing the song — singing from the heart. Then he jumps into a new theme which does not logically or chronologically follow the question and answer session which has just been concluded. The breakdown in underlying inferential order is restored only by the listener's own knowledge. In Siamese tradition there is the belief that after the world burned, the smell of the scorched earth was so fragrant that after it rose up to the heavens, all of the *thewadaa*, or celestial beings, came down to earth to eat the soil. They were trapped on earth as a result. Even today, the Siamese (and presumably the Lue) believe that if a pregnant woman craves the earthy substance called, in Siamese, *din sɔɔ phoŋ*, it is a sign that the child in her womb was a celestial being in its previous existence. A common household item used as a talcum, *din sɔɔ phoŋ*, is made in the shape of little cakes so that they can be eaten. The practice of eating earthy soils such as clay is a widespread practice among peoples in depressed areas or on poor diets. Not only Asians, but Afro-Americans in the U.S.A. are known to practice geophagy as part of cultural practices brought over from Africa (Vermeer 1975).

There are three gaps at this point in the narration that bear a direct relationship to the structure of the text. First is the gap caused by a slip of memory. This flaw can be corrected and understood by the listener easily on the basis of statements made just a few lines previously. That is, at the outset he was told that three beings, Kammalok, Uppalok and Luukwaalok came down to earth from the region of Karma. When asked who it was that burned the world, taught the world and knew the world, the answers fall in line once the series of answers starts with Kammalok.

The next two gaps are logical incoherence and informational deficit. To begin with, the connection between vapours rising up to heaven where they are smelled by angels cannot be made either to the preceding questions and answers about the beings who came to destroy, teach and know, nor to the immediately following statement that introduces two Brahmas, male and female. Even though I as a listener may know the fuller myth about the clay-eating angels to which the singer's remark refers, his statement made at that particular point in the narrative does not fit the chronology and logic of the rest of his story. This portion of the text is not acceptable in terms of structure, even though we agree with pronouncements made concerning the cryptic nature of narrative, and especially mythological, discourse.

The disintegration of the comprehensibility of the narrative at this point can be explained in several ways. First we note that the singer has proceeded quite well up to this point. Heretofore the theme or topic has been fire, the destruction of the world by fire (incidentally by water and wind also). He proceeded methodically there in describing destruction in stages, first vegetation, then human, then animal life is destroyed by fiery suns added two at a time for each stage of destruction. Water and wind are thrown in for good measure. Wind provides a logical link to the next episode, where, if pursued

according to the accepted theory of rebirth of the worlds in cycles, it is needed to reshape matter for the new world. 'He' (Brahma) is introduced at the opening of this new potential theme. But it is not recognised as such by the singer, who apparently has not worked out a satisfactory structure for the rest of the narrative. So he introduces topics at random without developing any of them. They are potentially meaningless and hence remembered incorrectly from another source. Accordingly, at line 134, we meet Kammalok, Uppalok and Luukwaalok. At line 142, reference is made to Indra, with no apparent motive or cause except perhaps the spatial connection of the heavenly residence of these beings. At line 168, the tew<sup>4</sup>-va<sup>5</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup> *angels* are brought in for no understandable reason. They may be an afterthought to the episode of the fires. As a potential theme, they are not developed. So, what we have is a series of unconnected ideas. In terms of a linguistic theory of conjoining (Lakoff 1971), the remaining portion of the narrative after the conclusion of the theme of destruction by fire would have to be judged as an 'unacceptable test' using Lakoff's rule or requirement of *common topic* or *theme* as part of the basis for conjoinability. Teachers of rhetoric have long recognised the same principle.

An alternative, or perhaps additional, explanation of the breakdown of sense here is due to informational deficit. In Grice's theory (as interpreted by Kempson 1975) we find the notion of conversational implicature. Since we have been operating throughout this analysis on the assumption of a dialogic structure (cf. Klammer 1971, Testa 1970) as the basis of narrative structure, the fourth conversational (dialogic) implicature of Grice seems especially relevant.

4. The working out of an implicature will depend on assumptions about the world which the speaker and the hearer share ... They will therefore not in general be predictable.

In his remarks on text grammars, Köck (1973) reflects a similar sentiment about the need for knowledge of the speaker's (and hearer's) world. "...texts are only shorthand for experience more correctly: for a schematic model of the world."

In tagmemic theory, shared knowledge upon which implications can be made, is stated in the principles that are summarised by Klammer (1971):

- (4) Language is a variety of SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
  - with impact or change carried over a bridge of shared components,
  - within a universe of discourse

Based upon the preceding theoretical discussion, we could say that the universe of discourse is not clearly held in mind by the singer. More important, the components of his discourse — themes or agents in the narrative — are so ill-defined or incompletely understood and integrated as to preclude the possibility of a complete bridging of communication between speaker and hearer.

The near aimlessness and formlessness of the latter half of the narrative of this particular singer is reflected in its near-meaninglessness. This observation brings out the theoretical point which is another tagmemic principle of great explanatory power: form and meaning are composite. Where there is a change in one — prose to poetry, declarative to imperative, for example — we expect a change in meaning, however subtle. In this case a disintegration of meaning and form go hand-in-hand. The singer is ignorant of what to say (meaning) and, as a consequence, ignorant of how to say, to structure (form)



come to a place which is described as peaceful. The place could be interpreted as a state of mind or feeling. They have eaten some flowering plants — a kind of watercress (phak<sup>1</sup>-buη<sup>3</sup>) and caladium (phak<sup>1</sup>-bɔɔn<sup>1</sup>). The result of this exotic feast is that 'their arms spread apart'. Lacan (1970), following Freud, would tell us that the 'Other' or the inverted meaning of this is that the vegetation was a kind of aphrodisiac and that the spreading of the arms is a metonym for coitus. In Text I, the sex act was dealt with in explicit terms, here the description is displaced.

After deciding that this Freudian interpretation was reasonable on the basis of internal evidence from the story alone, I came across a Burmese account of creation which has a similar episode. The similarity between the Lue and Burmese portions is not surprising when we realise that the Hinduisation of the Lue probably came via Burma. I quote the Burmese source in the language of Sir James George Scott writing under the Burmese pen name of Shway Yoe (1882).

The world having been created is as yet uninhabited. Our present earth, Badda, was peopled in the following way. From the seats of Zan, to which the destructive element had not reached, came down certain Byammas, some say three, some say as many as nine. Holy people as they were and freed from all passions, they existed at first, like Adam and Eve, in a state of perfect bliss and innocence. They were not as the Kama, the generating being of the Four States of Punishment and the Seven States of Happiness — that of man the six seats of Nats. But, like Adam and Eve, they fell into sin and thence into misery. First we read that they prayed for light. We may imagine that already the spiritual light had forsaken them, for in answer to their prayers appeared the sun, the moon, and the stars. The holy people had hitherto lived on a flavoured earth, which, however, driven away by their growing desire for matter, vanished and gave place to another species of food, a sweet creeping plant called Padalata. This was perfect in odour and flavour, but still the appetites of the people grew, and the Padalata was taken away and in its place appeared the Thale san, a peculiarly fine kind of rice, which grew ready husked, and had only to be put in a pot, when it would cook itself. But by eating the Thale rice, the Byammas became more and more gross, until, like Adam and Eve after eating the apple, they attained a knowledge of good and evil, and marriage was instituted.

The Lue oral interpretation of the events surrounding the first conjugal act are much simpler than the Burmese. The similarity between certain details is striking. First is what appears to be the confusion between the Byammas in the Burmese tale and the Brahmas in the Lue. Their numbers and status are not alike, but their function is. A second parallel is the 'creeping plant called Padalata' of the Burmese and the phak<sup>1</sup>-buη<sup>3</sup> of the Lue. The latter is a vine which grows in wet or watery places and bears flowers like the morning glory. It is a highly prized vegetable and is considered to have desirable medical qualities depending on the person giving the testimony. The Chinese consider it good for the eyes and cooling to the stomach, for example. Caladium or phak<sup>1</sup>-bɔɔn<sup>1</sup>, the other Lue vegetable, is likewise a delicacy. Both plants favour wet areas of cultivation. Caladium stalk rather than leaves are consumed in a kind of 'sour curry' or kεεη sôm (Siamese). The root of the caladium is purported to be an aphrodisiac.

The important point is not to be found in the vegetative details but in the fact that laws of memory operate on the language of the sources of narrative to reinterpret and reshape a new narrative product built on a Lue schema. The transformation from what is heard to what is remembered and reproduced can only be understood, and then only by inference, from the structures of language and memory.

184. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> phum<sup>4</sup> too<sup>1</sup> puu<sup>6</sup>  
 so Pt say Brahma person male  
*So the male Brahma*
185. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> thaam<sup>1</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> doy<sup>3</sup>  
 so say ask of each other  
*Then asked*
186. too<sup>1</sup> mɛɛ<sup>5</sup> maan<sup>4</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup>  
 person mother mother  
*The woman*
187. ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> sum<sup>3</sup> kwaa<sup>2</sup> sum<sup>3</sup>  
 so Pt say sour more sour  
*What is more sour than sour?*
188. ʔan<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> siŋ<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>4</sup>  
 Clf get thing what Pt  
*What thing could it be?*
189. kap<sup>1</sup> phet<sup>1</sup> xum<sup>1</sup> phom<sup>6</sup> vaan<sup>1</sup> cim<sup>4</sup> sum<sup>3</sup> faat<sup>2</sup>  
 and hot bitter and seet salty sour astringent  
*Altogether spicy hot, bitter, sweet, salty, sour, astringent*
190. thaam<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> lum<sup>5</sup> faa<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 ask say under under sky Pt  
*He asked, "What under the sun is it?"*
191. day<sup>4</sup> heŋ<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>4</sup>  
 get of what Pt  
*What is it?*
192. kam<sup>4</sup> thaa<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> pɔɔ<sup>4</sup> lo<sup>7</sup>  
 time time this enough Pt  
*This is enough for now*
193. thən<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
 finish good already  
*Finished*
194. kɔɔ<sup>5</sup> cap<sup>1</sup> ɣɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> kɔɔŋ<sup>4</sup> mæ<sup>4</sup>  
 Pt hold tread lightly path go away  
*I will quietly take to the road*
195. vay<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> tɔ<sup>7</sup>  
 put this Pt  
*That's it!*

The closing lines of Text II are a very brief reference to the riddles that were given in detail in Text I. In the fuller text, the riddles are given to the male by the female in response to the passionate advances of the former. This is the 'testing of the hero'. In the 'correct' version there are three parts:

1. What is darker than dark?
2. What is lighter than light?
3. What is spicy hot, sweet, salty, sour, astringent?

The singer of Text II departs from the accepted Lue pattern found in the performance of so many other singers. First, he inverts roles by having the male state the riddle. Secondly he gives a garbled version with only one of the three parts correctly quoted. The change of content is not a serious infraction. What is, is his failure to note that universally riddles have three parts regardless of content and that the hero, male in this case, is called upon to solve not ask them. This is just a further and final illustration of the relationship between the structure of language and memory. Compared to Text I, this second text is looser in organisation of language and memory. The two cannot be separated. But this final lapse does show that an imperfect memory results in an imperfect discourse structure. Where Lue narrative conventions call for a three part riddle asked by a female we are given instead an inversion of roles and an incomplete or truncated riddle.

Perhaps the greatest linguistic manifestation of poor memory on the part of the singer of Text II is his overabundance of meaningless filler phrases that he must have employed to use in hesitation before recalling the next narrative statement or comment. He constantly resorted to the use of phrases such as the following:

ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 ciŋ<sup>2</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 lɔn<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>

In some instances, it can be shown that some of these syllable groups or phrases had a discourse function of marking a change of theme or topic. In most cases there was no such demonstrable structural need. Compare the use of these fillers and poor memory on the part of the singer of Text II with the complete absence of them and high memory ratio (85% replication measure) of the singer of Text I.

The main thrust of this comparative study was merely to offer empirical evidence concerning the role of memory in the oral tradition. An examination of the texts of these two performers shows quite conclusively that there are two types of oral narrators in the Lue tradition. One has constructed a narrative that is tightly and conservatively organised linguistically and is retold from singing to singing in nearly exact form. This is the older singer of Text I. The singer of Text II represents the opposite side of the spectrum: poor memory and poor linguistic organisation.



## CHAPTER IX

### LUE ORAL AND WRITTEN MODES

In Chapter VII we considered the place of the Lue chant (khap<sup>1</sup> lɨ̄i<sup>6</sup>) in the context of oral literatures of the Tai-Lue and neighbouring Tai dialects. The view taken there was that Lue chant was but one type of 'elevated speech' in a larger ethnography of speaking. But the variety of language behaviour (verbal and non-verbal) Lue chant represents is only part of the entire spectrum of their language activity. In this chapter, we shall look at the question of 'the whole language' in theoretical terms following Catford's neo-Firthian scheme for language varieties. The purpose is to clarify some of the issues we raise concerning some of the notions stemming from the use of the terms *oral* in contrast to *written* traditions and styles, especially those engendered by the Parry-Lord thesis. Later we shall look at some specific aspects of a strictly South-east Asian oral tradition, with particular focus on Malaysia and the Tai-Lue community. Finally, we will examine portions of two Lue written texts (A, B) for comparison to the oral texts (I, II) analysed in the preceding chapter. Photographed copies of the original texts and their transcription and translation appear at the end of this chapter.

There are several reasons for comparing written and oral texts. After having recorded several Lue singers for comparison of memory, it occurred to me that I should ask if any of them had written versions. (The majority of the singers were illiterate, but they can find someone to read a text to them for learning purposes.) A single text of what they said was khap<sup>1</sup> *chant* was then brought to me. This is Text B. Later I asked to see texts (not necessarily khap<sup>1</sup> form) inscribed on palm leaf. A sample of the latter is Text A. The first text, *Written A*, was copied by a Lue scribe directly from a palm leaf (bay laan) original that undoubtedly was kept in a monastery library. The second text, *Written B*, was obtained from Lue sources in Mae Sai, Thailand. The original is a samùt khòy, an 'accordion book' of paper made by hand from the bark of the khòy tree, which is nearly extinct in Thailand. It was microfilmed at the National Library in Bangkok and returned to its owner.

I call Text A a *sacred* text of the *great* Hindu tradition. The Oral Texts I and II previously examined are considered *profane* texts from the *little* Lue tradition. These classifying terms are taken from the works of Redfield (1960) and Eliade (1963). Written Text B lies midway on a continuum of linguistic variation, at the level of discourse, between the *sacred* and the *profane*, *great* and *little* literatures of the Lue. All four texts, oral and written, are considered varieties of Lue verbal art.

The discovery of written texts alongside the oral leads immediately to the complex issue of the difference between oral and written styles, traditions, literature and the like. We read, for example, in a recent historiographical study of *written* chronicles from peninsular Thailand (Wyatt 1975) that some episodes "may reflect oral traditions of relatively recent events". We are not told what set of criteria were used for separating the oral from the non-oral. (Perhaps oral elements include the legendary, incorporating myth and magic.) It would be useful to scholars in a number of disciplines to have a set of linguistic characteristics, a theory, separating the oral from the written.

Much of the research and writing on the oral tradition has been inspired by the very exciting, if not overromanticised findings of Parry (1933) and Lord (1960). In their work, intended to 'prove' that a single Homer composed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, anything oral is automatically formulaic. Based on his studies of the Slavic oral epics, which he traces back to the Homeric tradition, Lord (1960:47) says, "There is nothing in the poem that is not formulaic". The formulaic style is aptly described as a *Kunstsprache* by Holoka (1972). The art consists of pouring line and halfline phrases into a semantic-poetic mold which is heroic hexameter in form from beginning to end, all 16,000 lines of it. The formulas have been honed by tradition. Homer's art was primarily in arranging them.

The main criterion for determining a formula is to find out if it is repeated elsewhere in the poem. In one of the most recent applications of a Parry-Lord inspired analysis, Wang (1974) defines formula as:

a group of not less than three words forming an articulate semantic unit which repeats, either in a particular poem or several, under similar metrical conditions, to express a given essential idea.

What this leads to is an analytical and critical cul-de-sac. The main method of analysis is to underline phrases or lines of the poem that are repeated elsewhere, revealing visually the distribution of the formulas, their completeness or partiality of resemblance and formulaicness. The resulting mosaic of formulas really has little or no analytical or critical power. The conclusions that are drawn from this approach to textual studies are usually statistical in nature and intended only to prove whether or not a certain work is oral. Accordingly, Duggan (1973), in his study of Old French narrative poems says:

I would be more specific about the threshold and say that, in general, if it is less than 20 per cent straight repetition, it probably derives from literary, or written creation. When the formula density exceeds 20 per cent, it is strong evidence of oral composition.

If we apply this method to the two Lue oral texts, Text I probably would not reach the 20% watermark; Text II would. On the other hand, if we go back to Lord's (1960) stricter definition of formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical condition to express a given essential idea", then in no way can Lue Texts I and II be called oral. Lord's definition is applicable only to a body of *poetry*. The Lue texts are, aside from very loosely rhymed poetic openings and closings, exclusively prose. Nevertheless, I have labelled both oral texts simply because they were *sung* by illiterate Lue peasants. More aptly, they are *primary* texts in the sense that speech is prior to writing. This automatically qualifies them as oral. They are formulaic in a weak sense because they employ clichés and stock phrases, especially as fillers and boundaries. But they are not formulaic in the strong

sense that is demanded by the Homeric-Slavic tradition of sung poetry. The Lue singer is not forced to use formulas except to open or close his tale; the Homeric-Slavic bard is. We can see this from Bowra's (1952) concise explanation.

The heroic hexameter, based on the quantity of syllables and formed on a "falling" rhythm of six dactyls, of which the last is truncated, is a much stricter and more exacting metre than those of the Russians, Jugoslavs or Asiatic Tatars. It has indeed its licenses, notably in its artificial lengthening of short syllables and its occasional tolerance of hiatus between vowels, but this only emphasises how rigorous it is in other ways, and how difficult it is to fit the Greek language into this demanding and exacting form. Now a poet who improvises in a difficult metre is faced with a much sterner task than, say a Russian poet whose line is determined neither by the quantity of syllables nor by their number but by accents which he himself puts on in chanting. It follows that, in order to make improvisation in the Greek hexameter possible, a technique had to be invented which provided minstrels with a great array of phrases and indeed prepared them for almost any emergency. That is why Homer has far more formulae than even the most formulaic poets from other countries. For them relatively easy metres allow a degree of free composition; for the Greeks free composition was almost out of the question, and the formula must always be ready to help.

Another approach to drawing clearer distinctions between oral and written forms is to discuss both within the framework of a theory of language variation. Immediately the work of Labov (e.g. 1972b) comes to mind. Almost exclusively, however, Labov is concerned with variation or shifts in *speech* styles to the near-exclusion of writing — except to measure variation produced by reading written texts aloud. Our concern goes beyond the question of speaking styles to include variation in writing as well. Doubtless many of the same variables influencing variation in speech will be mirrored in written performances. A complete theory of language variation must deal explicitly with both speech and writing.

One model that considers the connection between the oral and the written is found in Catford's (1965) neo-Firthian based theory of translation. In that part of his theory which concerns "language varieties", he recognises — in addition to many other dimensions — two *modes* defined as "variety related to the *medium* in which the performer is operating: 'spoken', 'written'". Language is seen as *form* shaped by extralinguistic factors.

Language then is an activity which may be said to impinge on the world at large at two ends. On the one hand, it is *manifested* in specific kinds of overt behavior (e.g. vocal movements): on the other hand it is *related* to specific objects, events, etc. in the situation.

While medium can also have form (as phonology and graphology) in Catford's scheme, mode concerns itself with the form of a particular language variety. To show the interplay between mode and medium, writing and speech, I have prepared the following paraphrastic equations as working definitions of generalisations that will be elaborated and refined later.

spoken mode/medium	=	colloquial speech
written mode/medium	=	formal writing
spoken mode/written medium	=	informal writing (written imitation of colloquial speech)
written mode/spoken medium	=	formal (elevated) speech

From the foregoing, we should not be surprised to see the written mode, form or style being employed in whole or in part in the spoken medium. This is in fact the way we can view Lue chant: formal language (form) in the spoken medium (substance).

To refer to our earlier example, the chronicles from peninsular Thailand are clearly produced in the written medium. The major mode of those texts are written, but portions have been executed in the 'oral' mode. Similarly, the singers of Texts I and II have produced texts in the spoken medium in a style that imitates or resembles the written mode. In fact, the conclusion is that the Lue oral texts are lay renditions of the parallel act of monks chanting from written Lue religious texts derived from Pali-Sanskrit (Ceylon) sources. Many factors of the Lue oral traditions, then, are not oral in the usual sense but are forms borrowed from a written tradition. The most noticeable aspect of the borrowing will be in register. The singer assumes a quasi-priestly (teacher) role and uses some of the religious language (grammar and lexis) appropriate to the social role. Similarly, the social situation, the formality of a wedding feast or a house-warming ceremony, calls for an upward shift in style (social distance) away from the informal or colloquial.

We might say that we are facing questions calling for a theory of style or varieties of language behaviour. Following Catford (*op. cit.*) we begin with "the whole language".

After listing the major factors influencing language variation (speaker, hearer, medium), Catford goes on to divide the linguistic output along a two-dimensional array of the *permanent* and the *transient*. Permanent features of language variation are related to social roles, namely 1. idiolect, 2. dialect and 3. social class. Idiolect is described roughly as personality differences manifested in language behaviour. Dialect can be geographic, temporal (e.g. Modern, Middle, Old English) or social (e.g. upper and non-upper class). All three qualities inhere in the individual and, as such, are likely to endure throughout his adult life.

On the other hand, transient features stem from the more immediate situation of the language act. There are three major types, the first of which is an important distinction seldom made by linguists of the 'American School'. That is, the distinction between *register* and *style* seems particularly European. Register is reflected principally in lexicon; the special vocabularies and jargon used by the scientist, the lawyer, the priest or politician. But registral differences in grammar are also found in, for example, the higher frequency of the passive voice in scientific writing. Style ranges from *formal* to *colloquial* and finally *intimate*. The relationship between speaker and listener is the prime determinant of *style*. (Immediately, the rules governing the use of "pronouns of power and solidarity" (Brown and Gilman 1960) come to mind as an illustration of one aspect of style shift. A second outstanding illustration is the major work of Labov (1972b).)

Later on, use shall be made of the distinctions that have been drawn between mode, medium, register, style, the permanent and the transient in categorising some aspects of Lue verbal behaviour. But first, attention shall be focused on some relevant dimensions of Tai sociolinguistics.

An illustration of the degrees of delicacy with which situational factors can be described in Thai is illustrated in the Thai "socio-cultural" context by Palanakornkul (1972). Social roles are outlined in order of descending importance in pronominal strategies, 1. power and status, 2. kinship and family relationship, 3. age, 4. friendship, 5. occupation. (Sex and generational differences are two other factors, but they are not assigned a place in the hierarchy.) Social relationships governing pronominal use include: 1. intimacy, 2. respect, 3. solidarity, 4. formality, 5. presence of child, 6. presence of non-acquaintance, 7. length of time of acquaintance, 8. condescension, 9. emotional manifestation. By way of commenting, it can be pointed out that some of these roles and relationships overlap – friendship/family roles and solidarity relationships, for example. Time, place and function of the linguistic act are not discussed as part of the sociological setting. Time is partially implied in the role of age and geneological distance.

A noticeable omission in the preceding outlines of language variation is the theoretical importance of *time* and *space* (place). Speaker and hearer roles are determined by changes in time and space as well as psycho-social, economic, political and other situational factors. Time and space are as basic as an inherent speaker and hearer. In a tagmemic framework, this four-way fundamental structure is summarised in the gestalt of 'I-thou, here-now'.

What emerges from the foregoing discussion and comparison of theoretical designs of language variations as it relates to the question of oral and written texts is a set of definitions and criteria. Here we syncretise and summarise:

1. Language consists of an *act* and an *object*.
2. The act of language is behaviour performed minimally by an *intention-bearing speaker* and *hearer* in *time* and *space*.
3. The factors of time and space include those of the more *immediate socio-economic situation* and the more *remote historico-cultural context*.
4. The language *object* consists of linguistic *form* manifested as substance.
5. Substance is *verbal* or *non-verbal*. Verbal substance may be *phonetic* or *graphological*. Non-verbal substance may be *kinetic* (visual or tactile).
6. Varieties of *form* include the *transient* and the *permanent*.
7. The permanent features are tied to the speaker (writer)/ hearer's existence: *idiolect*, *dialect*, and *socio-economic dialect*. Transient features are circumstantial: *register*, *style*, and *mode*.

This entire theoretical framework will now be used as the point of departure for examining the South-east Asian oral and written tradition in general and Lue sung and written performance of mythological narratives in particular. The end point will be an examination of portions of a written text as it compares to the two preceding oral texts.

Not a great deal has been written about Asian oral traditions. At least nothing has achieved the prominence of the work of Parry and Lord and their followers on the European scene. On the Asian stage we have already mentioned the recent work of Wang (1974) and his formulaic analysis of the Chinese oral tradition. In South Asian (India) studies, we have the work of Emeneau (1966) which is likewise heavily influenced by the Parry-Lord thesis. In describing the songs of the Todas, oral poets of South India, he has this to say:

1. It is largely formulaic:  
... song language is in theory completely formulaic ... no song-unit can occur that does not occur elsewhere in the corpus, nor can a combination of song units in a sentence occur that does not occur elsewhere.
2. Formulas are memorized.  
Given such a body of formulas which everyone in the tribe has heard again and again and has memorized and mastered more or less well, anyone in fact can compose and sing extempore - and this is the essence of Toda singing.
3. It employs parallelism through repetition:
  - a. of whole sentences or song-units of any length which are 'sometimes identical except for one form in each'.
  - b. of stem morphemes in individual sentences: e.g. "You twittered as it twitters".
  - c. of sounds, chiefly alliteration.
  - d. of homonyms.

It appears that the Toda oral tradition is a very simple one, a little tradition relatively untouched by the great tradition of Indian culture. It provides a glimpse of a strangely monolithic Asian oral tradition, but not enough to provide a theoretical base for other Asian cultures with a varied oral tradition (little) that is in obvious contact with a written (great) tradition.

Moving into another cultural sphere that touches on the South-East Asian experience, we find a richly detailed description provided by Fischer (1971). In his work, entitled "Style contrasts in Pacific language" he reveals a greater degree of variety existing in oral tradition than the studies of Lord, Wang, and Emeneau would lead us to believe. He has the advantage of the broader scope of the reviewer of basic findings of other writers in the field.

The theoretical flavour of Fischer's article is worth commenting on. To begin with, he defines *style* as *change* that results "when there are more than two ways of 'saying the same thing'". From there he goes on to state that in preliterate societies there is a continuum of styles that range from the *free* style of conversation to the *fixed* style of proverbs, magic spells, sacred songs and genealogies. The fixed styles are memorised, the free spontaneous speech. Not to exclude more 'literary genres' Fischer notes:

lighter types of literature are also at times preserved verbatim in non-literate cultures. Romantic poetry and songs may be memorized by youths in many Pacific cultures.

Now, using Catford's major distinction between the *permanent* and *transient*, and his interest in *register*, we attempt here to outline an oral tradition in a preliterate society. We include Fischer's information on archaic and innovative language.

	Transient	Permanent
Style:	<i>Free</i> (informal)	<i>Fixed</i> (formal)
Performance:	<i>Spontaneous</i> (loosely structured, conversational)	<i>Memorised</i> (highly structured, oratorical)
Register:	<i>Innovative</i> (profane, prosaic)	<i>Archaic</i> (sacred, poetic)

Another way of looking at the same phenomenon is to note that where the linguistic act has as its overall function the aim of preserving or making permanent the linguistic *object*, the *style* will be '*fixed*' (formal), the *register* will be '*archaic*' (sacred, poetic, secret, obscure) and the *performance* will be *memorised*, i.e. remembered or recreated from memory.

Coming even closer geographically and culturally to the imperfectly understood Lue oral tradition, we shall now examine the Malayan oral tradition. The following summary of that tradition is based on the study of "Professional Malay story-telling" by Sweeny (1974). His primary concerns are with what he has defined as "form, style and presentation of oral Malay literature", with special focus on "folk romances". At the outset it should be noted that Sweeny's use of the term literature includes the spoken (oral) and written (literary) mode (medium). Anything "literary" is a production committed to writing, but not all "literature" is literary.

In his background remarks, Sweeny suggests that both written and oral literatures are "stylized" forms that depart from the forms of "normal speech". Stylised oral literature contains "distortions" of syntax and phonology, as well as some esoteric (diglossic?) lexicon. An added dimension that should be stressed because of its relevancy to a theory of variation in language behaviour is the fact that the Malay oral style includes elements of *stylised gesture*. In a variationist hypothesis, this would be described as a feature of language behaviour manifested in the non-verbal, gestural medium. The essence of the Malay oral tradition is best summarised in Sweeny's own words.

It should not, however, be thought that oral Malay literature was (or is) limited to the language of everyday conversation. Just as the language of written literature is a stylized form of everyday speech, regulated by various conventions, similarly in the pre-literate or semi-literate areas of Malay society, we find that oral tradition has developed stylized forms of language and presentation, which also differ considerably from those of everyday speech. This stylized oral form, as regards language, is best seen in the most developed genres of oral literature, such as *wayang kulit* and *Mak Yong*, where the use of distortions of grammar and pronunciation, special *wayang* words and phrases, and various other devices, results in a 'heightened' form of the local dialect (see further Sweeny, 1972: 63-72). However, in speaking of stylized form, we cannot confine our remarks to the style of the language in isolation; a presentation of oral narrative literature in stylized form is not just a recital but will, depending upon

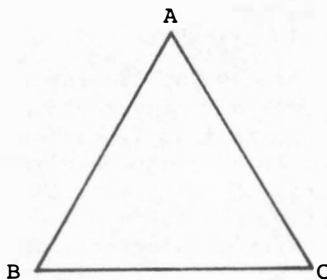
the genre in question, employ other media of communications such as singing, musical accompaniment and drama which, from our modern viewpoint, constitute separate art forms, but which, in oral Malay tradition, are fused together in the totality of the art. In this paper, therefore, the term 'non-stylized oral form' is used to describe the language and gesture of everyday conversation, while 'stylized oral form' refers to that mode of expression where the language employed and its presentation are not those of normal speech.

Applying the same set of variationist distinctions developed in earlier discussion, we can say that the stylized and non-stylized forms correlate with the *permanent/fixed* category of form, while the non-stylized can be equated to the *transient/free* class of language behaviour. Style, defined in neo-Firthian terms as the relationship between agent and recipient, is *formal* for both *oral* and *written* 'stylized' verbal behaviour. For the 'non-stylized' form of 'normal speech', the style is *informal*. Stylized *registers* for both the oral and the written might be termed *literary* (in the sense of literature, oral or written, in contrast to a legal or religious register).

Sweeny does not provide much detailed information on the 'stylized' written tradition (handwritten manuscripts), but we can probably assume that an oral performance of a folk romance will reveal more phonetic variation than the written product will show graphemic changes. The older 'stylized' written seems to have given way to a more modern 'non-stylized' tradition that approaches the form of the language of conversation.

The model of overlapping styles that Sweeny presents has two styles in the oral mode and only one in the written - the older manuscript mode. The two oral styles are the formal, stylized, professional on the one hand, and the informal, non-stylized, amateur. Sweeny's model is reproduced here for the sake of completeness.

The different modes of expression may be shown on a triangular figure, where



- A = oral, non-stylized, amateur, informal.
- B = literary, stylized, (formerly) professional, formal.
- C = oral, stylized, professional, formal.

The types of narrative literature presented in these categories are not mutually exclusive and a wide variety of adaptation is possible between A, B and C: literary stories are retold in everyday speech (B → A); they are also adapted to the stylized oral form thus, for example, written Panji tales are presented in the *wayang Jawa* (B → C). Stories in stylized oral form may be recounted in everyday speech (C → A) or may be turned into literary works as, for example, *Selindung Bulan Kedah Tua* (Awang Had, 1964) (C → B). Non-stylized tales may be written down, as in the *Cherita Jenaka* (A → B) or may be turned into stylized renderings, as in the case of *dalangs*, who often



adapt simple stories for presentation (A → C). As regards points A & C, however, there are certain classes of story which are usually told only in the non-stylized form as, for example, Pak Pandir and mousedeer stories. Even when told by a professional storyteller, they will be in everyday speech. He will not tell them 'ex officio' and they do not form part of his marketable stock-in-trade.

Especially noteworthy in Sweeny's comments is the fact that the form of some tales can change from the informal style of everyday speech to the formal style of stylised speech. From the information given, change in form appears to be a function of content. *Panji* tales (romances) can be stylised or not, while mousedeer stories can never be. Since we have been developing a theory of variation based in part on function, it would be interesting to know whether or not a change in function leads to a change in form. The stylised *wayang* performance historically had as its function a more serious, religious, ritualistic, teaching motive. Perhaps when the function is the less serious one of entertainment, the form relaxes as well.

Historically, the *wayang* and other oral forms have their origins in religious ritual which incorporated the elements of music, dance and sung speech. Religious ritual was addressed to the gods for the purpose of placating them. With this more serious purpose at the centre of the performance, proper form would be important and, in time, would tend to become 'fixed' in form, at least in those parts of the narrative that are pragmatic, i.e. speeches that are addressed to the spirit of gods and men. Sweeny does note that in performing the Malaysian folk romance, the singer "addresses his audience, including the denizens of the unseen world". We conclude that today's *stylised form* still preserves, in part, the *religious function*, while the unstylised form does not. Hence the connection between *form* and *function*.

Finally we approach some of the finer linguistic details that appear to be significantly oral in the Malay stylised form of the tales of romance. Various subgenre are classified according to the name of the hero. But apparently, the elements of form are the same. We shall include in this summary of linguistic features those of phonology, grammar, lexicon, and function.

Several phonological features are distinctively oral-stylised. To begin with, the entire Malay tale is chanted or sung with or without a melodic line in "rhythmic prose". (In the Lue chant, the meter was a simple walking rhythm of even beats, syllable-timed.) The Malay tale is intoned in rhythmic passages consisting of a series of phrases. Each phrase, usually two words, carries two "stresses". The phonology is basically that of the singer's own dialect. Some unique stylistic variants stand out. First, is the tendency to "prefix the phoneme n to words beginning with a vowel". (This mirrors the nasalised, constricted phonetic style of the Lue chanters.) What Sweeny describes as "distorted" pronunciation, e.g. *betera* (=putera) may be an instance of the preservation of an archaic form or dialect borrowing.

Aspects of grammatical change are called "various distortions of grammar both through ignorance and design". This probably means that changes in word order are involved. In addition, "affixes and particles not found in everyday speech" are employed for grammatical-lexical variety.

On the lexical front, again 'special words not found in everyday speech, which the storyteller himself cannot always explain or to which he may ascribe an idiosyncratic meaning' are employed.

At the level of discourse, we find some of the hallmarks of the 'oral style' mentioned by other scholars. Chief among those traits, enough so to make it a linguistic universal for oral discourse, is the feature of repetition. On the word level, we find what might be called polysemic repetition: the use of a 'string of synonyms where one word would suffice'. This type of stylistic reduplication seems to be Pan-South-east Asian. In Siamese and Lue, and many other unrelated languages that share Buddhist traditions, we find the use of a Pali term immediately followed by the local equivalent. On the sentence level, the same detail may be retold in different words.

Another discourse level feature is the use of stock phrases, clichés, and formulas. Sweeny restricts the use of the term *formula* to opening phrases which 'apart from the first three or four lines are prone to variation'. The formulas are of two subtypes: *konon* and *tabik*. The first, *konon*, consists of one or two short phrases containing the word *konon* *it is said*. The second, *tabik*, is longer than the *konon* formula and often varies after the first few lines.

On the other hand, stock phrases and clichés have complementary distribution: they are never found at the openings of tales and may be used whenever necessary in a story. Stock phrases and clichés are 'nonsense phrases' (reminiscent of the use of the many filler phrases by the Lue singer of Text II) employed for more than one function. Some types, unspecified, are merely filler phrases used for a moment's reprieve in order to think of the next detail. They have esthetic appeal but are devoid of meaning. Other stock phrases have the syntactic functions, at the level of discourse, of marking divisions between sections and scenes of the narrative.

In summary, we must conclude that this is a much more thorough picture of the linguistic features of an oral tradition than we have met so far. It has the further advantage of being more relevant to the linguistic and cultural dimensions of the Lue oral and written tradition. Most of the features found in the Lue oral texts are mirrored in the Malay oral tradition. It is this type of comparison that we can build upon rather than looking to European oral traditions, especially the incompletely studied Graeco-Slavic traditions. In the next chapter we shall compare once again the Malaysian and Lue oral traditions from the standpoint of the use of memory.

We have come to the point now where we can examine one aspect of the Lue written tradition that is offered for comparison with the oral. The written text is considered to be a lay (or profane, secular) version of the sacred Jatakas. The sacred versions, those recited by a monk, would have as one distinctive feature an opening formula such as (in Siamese) *namoo tasa?* *homage* (from Pali: *Namo be my adoration to; Dasa one who sees, i.e. the Buddha*) followed by additional Pali forms of prayer. In general, the sacred Jatakas, those kept in temple libraries and written on palm leaf strips, would doubtless incorporate much more of the Pali originals from whence they were derived by direct copy and adaptation into the local dialect. The incorporation of Pali in the sacred written versions is in keeping with the cultural trait of maintaining an exotic, if not 'secret' vocabulary, i.e. the religious register needed to communicate to a higher essence. But in terms of simple pragmatics, the Lue temple texts are structured so that a line or more of Pali is directly followed by a Lue translation. No Pali term is left undefined because it will be read to an unschooled audience.

We do not possess the data or the expertise to examine the Lue written tradition in detail. Still it seems safe to assume that varieties of written forms of Lue verbal behaviour do exist. Here it is assumed that we have at

least two closely related written narrative forms both derived from Pali-Sanskrit Jataka Tales, products from the Greater Indic traditions that were brought into Tai areas as part of the cultural phenomenon known as the Hinduisation of South-east Asia. The borrowing of an alphabet and a written literature from a great tradition of course meets with the little tradition of the Lue. A syncretism of cultures results. At the one end is permanent Hindu culture entering the local community from the outside. At the other end is the transient but living Lue culture of the little community. It is suggested that the Lue oral Texts I and II have been derived in part from the greater written tradition. But if we look closely, we also see the intrusion of the little Lue oral-folkloristic tradition. In Text I, the old singer gives an extensive account of how the Lue and the montagnards were created differently, describing physical traits that are real, not *mythic* (the genetic trait of the mongoloid spot was noted). The Lue oral narrative, then, is only partly influenced by greater Hindu traditions. In any case, it is wrong to consider a greater written tradition primary. The relationship is a symbiotic one. The Pali-Sanskrit Jatas themselves owe their existence to the oral folkloristic traditions of the little community as well. Evans-Wentz (1960) reports:

such primitive Oriental folk-tales about animals and animal symbols ... scholars now think helped to shape the Jataka Tales concerning the various lives of the Buddha.

The Lue oral chants we have examined might be viewed as the focal point of two traditions, the greater written one from Indic provenance and the little one from the local folkloristic sources. Folkloristic sources would be defined as brief, local narratives, maxims, superstitions and beliefs associated with rites of passage - birth, marriage, death - and the rituals for the passing of the seasons, for curing the sick and the insane.

In the strictest sense, the greater Hindu written tradition in South-east Asia is an illustration of a permanent form of language variety for which the origin is India or Sri Lanka (Ceylon). In this case linguistic difference between the spoken and the written is a function of space (geographical language barriers) and time (the dead Pali language). Like the preservation of all dialects or languages, that of the permanence of Pali is due to social factors - the relative isolation of the Pali-preserving monks and scribes, their occupational uniqueness, and the technology of writing that automatically inhibits linguistic change of the written mode. The interplay between the permanent and the transient, the great and the little, is best summarised using Redfield's (1960) own imagery.

The civilization is compound in that it has parts or levels, each present in some of the people who carry on that civilization more than in others. These people live similar but notably different lives, and they live them apart, some in villages, some in cities, or shrine-centers, temples, or monasteries. These parts or levels are something different from the sub-cultures characterizing the occupational groups concerned with secular specialties. They are different because the learnings or the great tradition is one outgrowth of the little tradition and is now an exemplar for the people who carry the little tradition. Great and little traditions are dimensions of one another; those people who carry on the lower layers and those who maintain the higher alike recognize the same order of 'highness' and 'lowness'.

Against this background, we shall now attempt to draw a sketch of the oral and written traditions of the little Lue community, keeping in mind the fact that the majority (like the majority of the Malaysians in Sweeny's study) are illiterate. Reading, in such a society is not the same act as it is in the Western world. One reads *aloud* - whether to *oneself* or to *others*. (Traditionally there was no 'silent reading'.) Indeed, the Jatakas were written for the purpose of reading them aloud to the illiterate laity. In short, they were written to be listened to, and to be remembered - not to be silently scanned for information. Again, the importance of function must be stressed if the form is to be understood. The potential receptor of both written and oral text is literally a listener. It should not be surprising then if the forms of both are similar. They are alike in that they share the same syntactic structures. In Catford's (1965) words:

All varieties of a language have features in common - these constitute a common core of e.g. grammatical, lexical, and phonological forms. In addition to the common core, however, every variety has features which are peculiar to it, and which serve as formal (and sometimes substantial) criteria or markers of the variety in question.

The written texts that follow are of the class Written A and B in the following scheme showing a continuum of variation from the more formal features lying closest to the 'great tradition' to the less formal features of the 'little tradition' of the Lue. The *written* is structured in *poetic* form. Writing is intended to preserve the best and the most beautiful. The author has the proper medium and technology to allow him the time and control needed to produce one line of poetry after another. The *oral* texts, on the other hand, are basically *prose*. The opening and closing lines of obvious poetry do show that the lay oral verbal artist is concerned with esthetics. But the medium, form, function and content do not permit him the control needed to compose an entire body of mythological narrative in poetic shapes. The tradition does not call for it. The most traditional form of Lue oral literature is neither predominantly formulaic, poetic nor spontaneous. Rather, depending on the skill and intelligence of its formulator, it is a work of art acquired through imitation and practice and recreated from memory and the combined forces of conservation of mythic truths on the one hand and the desire to create through change on the other.

In comparing the written and the oral texts, one is struck by the 'common core' of their language. Both are in the mid semiformal range between the great and the little, the sacred and the profane (cf. Eliade 1963).

Not included in this comparison of oral and written traditions are legal codes and historical chronicles. Both would be considered formal in *style*, prose in *form*, legalistic in *register*. Opening tags or formulae would likely be in Pali, and have a quasi-religious function, paying respect to Buddha. Legal codes and sacred Buddhist scripture are both classes as *tham the law or Dharma*. The function (legal sanction) and linguistic form (prose) of codes and chronicles are different from the teaching function and poetic form of written Jatakas.

First, we shall deal with the formal, functional and substantial markers that separate the varieties of Lue mentioned so far. They are schematised as follows:

## Written A. (formal, controlled, self-conscious)

Great tradition ----- Sacred, orthodox

## Formal features

1. Poetic structure throughout using external rhyme: *râay yaaw* of Siamese and Lue parallel.
2. Pali register, high frequency. Whole Pali lines are followed by Lue translation.
3. Formal opening tags in Pali. Paragraph markers are in Pali.
4. Formal pronouns? No 1st person narrator.

Situational features  
(incl. function)

1. (From written text) is monk: as in Siamese /*phrá?* *thêet/ monk chants*.
2. Setting: temple pavilion.
3. Function: religious teaching (sermon).

## Substantial features

1. Inscribed on palm leaf.
2. Chanted in religious style.

## Written B. (semi-formal)

Lay, learned

## Formal features

1. Poetic structure throughout using external rhyme.
2. Pali register, lower frequency.
3. Informal opening tag: *təə<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> now*.
4. Semi-formal pronoun/kin term: *pii<sup>5</sup> I*.

## Situational features

1. Speaker (from written text): layman.
2. Setting: informal - home, school.
3. Function: entertainment/teaching.

## Substantial features

1. Written with ink on *khòy (bark) paper*.
2. Read as chant or 'sing song'.

In both Written A and B, the text is free of the repetitions and redundancies (fillers) that are often (e.g. Text II), but not always found (e.g. Text I) in the oral mode. The critical feature is that both A and B are poetic and 'edited'.

### Oral A (Texts I & II)

#### Formal features

1. Prose structure except for short opening and closing poetic stanza.
2. Pali register, low frequency, sometimes inaccurately used.
3. Formal opening tag in Lue - addressed to the Lue chieftain/guests.
4. Semi-formal pronoun/kin terms: e.g. *I, son-you, father*.
5. Singing style is nasalised, constricted. Phonetic variants are used as a stylistic device. Melodic pattern has narrow (unanalysed) range. Appears to be closer to monotone than melodic line.
6. Elaborate pragmatics reflecting the more intimate, i.e. less formal, social setting. Overt recognition of co-singer and audience. Singer addresses both making the *I-thou, here, now* dialogic structure linguistically explicit.

#### Situational features

1. Speaker (from memory): layman - professional (remunerated or paid in kind but having another regular profession).
2. Setting: semi-formal - marriage or housewarming feast.
3. Function: formal entertainment *khap<sup>1</sup> l̥i̥<sup>6</sup> / Lue chant*.

#### Substantial features

1. Chanted/rhythmical speech, constricted nasalised.
2. Accompanied by /pii<sup>2</sup>/ *flute*.
3. Gesture - use of folding paper fan in front of face (and pros-  
trating in presence of Lue chieftain)

## Oral B

Little tradition  
(profane)

1. Fixed Proverbs, simple tales, animistic beliefs, rituals for rites of passage, seasonal rites, cures.
2. Free Everyday conversation - less self-conscious, less controlled than Written A, B or Oral A.

## Written Text A:

## THE SACRED

Note: All Pali-Sanskrit forms are unmarked for tone. In the act of performance, i.e. reading from a text, they are chanted in a monotone. The purpose of displaying a portion of this particular written text is to show the syncretisation of Pali with Lue and the employment of the former in an emic sense to signal a distinctly sacred text. From the standpoint of the pragmatics of telling a sacred Jataka, the procedure is to begin completely in Pali (lines 1-9) and then to alternate a line or more of Pali with a Lue translation or paraphrase immediately following. As the narrative progresses, Lue predominates. However, at paragraph or episode boundaries (lines 38-39), the division is punctuated using Pali forms followed by their Lue conventional equivalent. The translation provided here is only provisional, made without recourse to a native informant.

After the first 16 lines of invocation and introduction, the narrative proper begins. The form is clearly poetic, the genre known as *râay yaaw* in Siamese. Linking rhymes are underlined.

Tonal (1 ~ 4) and spelling variations abound in the original text. This is possibly an indication of the actual variation between Lue of Chieng Rung (tone 1) and Lue of Moeng Yong (tone 4) and Khuen of Keng Tung, all three of which employ the same alphabet.





boo<sup>1</sup> laa<sup>4</sup> phyaa<sup>4,1</sup> baaw<sup>2</sup> nɔy<sup>6</sup>  
*The young lord Buddha*

1. na-moo ta-sa?-tu-tha? (Pali)  
*homage to the enlightened one with joyful trembling*
2. ?ee-va? mee sat-tuŋ  
*with my pleasure*
3. ?ee-kaŋ sa-ma?-yaŋ  
*there was one time*
4. pha-ka-vaa saa-vat-ti?-yaŋ  
*the venerable Buddha in the city of Saavatthii*
5. vi?-ha-rat-ti? ce-ta-va-nee-na?  
*in the Chettawan retreat*
6. ?aa-naa-tha? phin-dii ka-sa?  
*that belonged to one Aanaatha*
7. ?aa-raa-mee-ma?  
*a hermitage*
8. te-na? khoo pa-na? sa-ma?-yee-na? pha-ka-vaa  
*at that time, the venerable Buddha was under the hood of the*  
*serpent*
9. khoo<sup>1</sup> doy<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> tɛɛ<sup>6</sup> lɛɛ<sup>5</sup> (Lue)  
*it was indeed*
10. tee<sup>1</sup> yaat<sup>2</sup> daŋ<sup>2</sup> ?an<sup>3</sup> (Lue)  
*like that*
11. tee-na? sa-ma?-yee-na? (Pali)  
*at that time*
12. nay<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>7</sup> məə<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> (Lue)  
*at that time*
13. ?ee-kaŋ sa-ma?-yaŋ (Pali)  
*there was one time*
14. yaŋ<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> sa<sup>5</sup>-mee<sup>4</sup>-ya<sup>7</sup> khaap<sup>5</sup> niŋ<sup>5</sup> (Lue)  
*there was a period of time*
15. məə<sup>5</sup> kɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> (Lue)  
*at that time*
16. pha-ka-vaa (Pali)  
*Buddha, the venerable one*
17. ?an<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> pha<sup>5</sup>-phut<sup>5</sup>-tha<sup>5</sup>-caw<sup>3</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> law<sup>4</sup> (Lue)  
*it is said that our Lord the Buddha*
18. məə<sup>5</sup> kɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*at that time*
19. yaŋ<sup>4</sup> thɔɔ<sup>4</sup> -la<sup>5</sup> -maan<sup>4</sup>  
*was still suffering (not liberated)*
20. sat-thi-ta-ya? sam<sup>2</sup> -laan<sup>4</sup>  
*from the enjoyment of wordly pleasure*

21. nay<sup>4</sup> paa<sup>2</sup> cee<sup>4</sup> -ta<sup>5</sup>-van<sup>4</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-laam<sup>4</sup>  
*in the country estate of Chettawan*
22. hεŋ<sup>2</sup> naay<sup>4</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>-tha<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>  
*of Aanaathaa, the overlord*
23. ma<sup>5</sup>-haa<sup>1</sup>-sat<sup>5</sup>-thii<sup>1</sup>  
*the millionaire*
24. ʔan<sup>1</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> mεŋ<sup>4</sup> saa<sup>1</sup>-vat<sup>5</sup>-thii<sup>1</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*it is said that in the city of Saavatthii then*
25. caw<sup>3</sup> kɔ<sup>-5</sup> sa<sup>5</sup>-phoo<sup>4</sup> siŋ<sup>5</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> tee<sup>4</sup>-va<sup>5</sup>-tat<sup>5</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup><sup>4</sup>-theen<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
*he selected Theevatat, the monk*
26. ʔan<sup>1</sup> mak<sup>5</sup> bip<sup>1</sup>-been<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> khaat<sup>2</sup>  
*who was always dutiful*
27. ʔan<sup>1</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> muu<sup>2</sup> phi<sup>5</sup>-kha<sup>5</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> saa<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>5</sup>-caat<sup>5</sup>  
*there was a group of mendicant monks*
28. ʔa-ra-han-taa  
*enlightened*
29. haak<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> bɔɔ<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>5</sup>-vaan<sup>4</sup> moon<sup>4</sup> maak<sup>5</sup>  
*to be his followers*
30. mii<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> saa<sup>1</sup>-lii<sup>4</sup>-but<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>theen<sup>1</sup>  
*there was Saaliibut, the monk,*
31. haak<sup>2</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> pha<sup>5</sup>-thaa<sup>4</sup> soom<sup>1</sup> ceεŋ<sup>4</sup> khaan<sup>4</sup> lət<sup>5</sup> lεw<sup>6</sup>  
*to be the leader wearing the magnificent yellow robe (?)*
32. ŋaam<sup>4</sup> pha<sup>2</sup> phεw<sup>3</sup> bɔɔ<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>5</sup>-sut<sup>1</sup>-thaa<sup>4</sup>  
*beautiful and pure*
33. pha<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> kɔ<sup>-5</sup> tee<sup>4</sup>-sa<sup>5</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> phaay<sup>1</sup> phoot<sup>2</sup>  
*he (the Buddha) preached and dispensed his blessing*
34. khaw<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>  
*they became tranquil*
35. bap<sup>5</sup>-phi<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup>-phi<sup>1</sup>-taan<sup>4</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> thoon<sup>3</sup> thii<sup>2</sup>  
*made a lot of merit*
36. sa<sup>5</sup>-la<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> phi<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>-yaan<sup>4</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> tun<sup>1</sup>  
*gave up their many vices*
37. pha<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> tun<sup>1</sup> khuu<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> ŋaw<sup>3</sup>  
*the lord teacher who was the foundation*
38. tun<sup>1</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> phoot<sup>2</sup> loo<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>1</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> lεε<sup>5</sup>  
*he has blessed the world since that day (end episode)*
39. ʔa<sup>7</sup>-tha<sup>7</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> mεə<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>... (begin new episode)  
(Pali) (Lue...)  
...kɔ<sup>-5</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> nay<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> mεə<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> lεε<sup>5</sup>  
(end episode)

The next episode begins with similar Pali and Lue formulas.

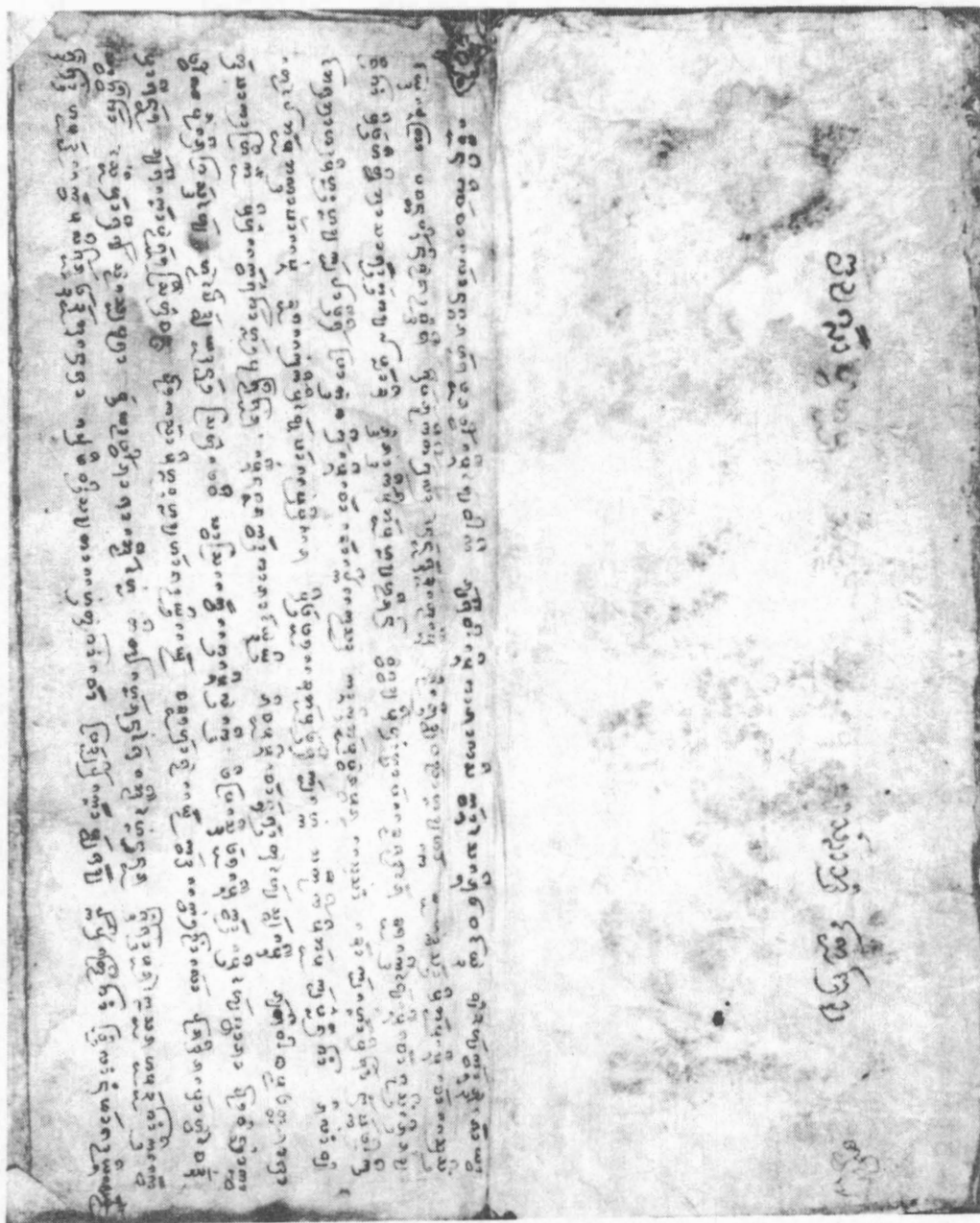
1. ʔaʔ-thaʔ tee phak-ka-vaa (Pali)  
*at the time of the Buddha*
2. nay<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>7</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> say<sup>6</sup> (Lue)  
*at that time*

## Written Text B:

## THE PROFANE

boo<sup>1</sup> hoom<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> kaap<sup>2</sup>  
*Thousand-petaled fragrant lotus*

1. tæ<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>6</sup>- pii<sup>5</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>1</sup> law<sup>5</sup> nak<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-ra<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>  
*at this time, I will tell about a city*
2. hɔŋ<sup>6</sup> tɔɔn<sup>1</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> thaa<sup>4</sup>-nii<sup>4</sup>  
*part of the story of the ruler of the kingdom*
3. lek<sup>5</sup> ci<sup>+</sup>i<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> phaa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>-na<sup>5</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup>  
*by the name of Pharanasii (Benares)*
4. kwaan<sup>3</sup> say<sup>1</sup> ləŋ<sup>4</sup> hok<sup>1</sup>-sip<sup>1</sup> yoot<sup>5</sup>  
*whose dimensions clearly measured 60 yot*
5. veen<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kwaan<sup>3</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> law<sup>4</sup> yaaw<sup>4</sup> yoot<sup>5</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> traa<sup>1</sup>  
*the kingdom was big when measured in yot*
6. pa<sup>7</sup>-can<sup>1</sup>-taa<sup>1</sup> baan<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>6</sup>- kum<sup>4</sup> ŋaam<sup>4</sup> cut<sup>1</sup> thii<sup>2</sup>  
*the villages were very beautiful*
7. kun<sup>4</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> luu<sup>6</sup> kii<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>+</sup>i<sup>3</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> laan<sup>6</sup>  
*nobody knows how many millions there were*
8. nay<sup>4</sup> nɔɔk<sup>5</sup> can<sup>6</sup> khɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> tem<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*the kingdom was abundant in resources*
9. luŋ<sup>5</sup> ləŋ<sup>4</sup> doy<sup>3</sup> than<sup>4</sup>-yaa<sup>4</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> laak<sup>2</sup>  
*food in great quantity*
10. khɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> saan<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> phɔɔm<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> sɛɛn<sup>1</sup> siŋ<sup>2</sup> ŋin<sup>4</sup> kham<sup>4</sup>  
*everything, including a lord ruler silver and gold*
11. mii<sup>4</sup> ti<sup>+</sup>ŋ<sup>4</sup> hat<sup>1</sup>-thii<sup>1</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-saa<sup>1</sup> caan<sup>6</sup> paŋ<sup>4</sup> paay<sup>4</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> maa<sup>6</sup> khii<sup>2</sup>  
*there were both male and female elephants and riding horses*
12. lot<sup>5</sup> laa<sup>5</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> phɔɔm<sup>6</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>+</sup>n<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>4</sup> naa<sup>4</sup>  
*all kinds of royal carriages*
13. voo<sup>4</sup> kwaay<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> nam<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> khɛɛm<sup>1</sup> cut<sup>5</sup> lay<sup>6</sup>  
*there was a lack of neither cows nor buffaloes*
14. khɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> kɔɔt<sup>2</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> cu<sup>7</sup> siŋ<sup>2</sup> ləŋ<sup>4</sup> laay<sup>4</sup>  
*everything increased in number in the lord's city*



Written Text B: "The thousand-petaled fragrant lotus", a Tai Lue Jataka.

[Microfilmed from original parabaik text borrowed from an unknown monastery in Burma, just north of Mae Sai, Thailand. Microfilm owned by J. Hartmann. Filmed in 1973.]



15. phoo<sup>4</sup> cu<sup>7</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-haan<sup>1</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> looŋ<sup>1</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> paa<sup>1</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> cin<sup>6</sup>  
*there was lots of food and fish and meat*
16. pha<sup>1</sup>-kot<sup>1</sup> piŋ<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> khaw<sup>3</sup> pəək<sup>2</sup> kɛɛm<sup>1</sup> saan<sup>1</sup>  
*there was both milled and unmilled grain*
17. kaan<sup>1</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> phoom<sup>6</sup> boo<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>5</sup>-moon<sup>4</sup> sɛɛn<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>6</sup>  
*living conditions were ideal*
18. khaw<sup>3</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> law<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> sam<sup>6</sup>  
*there was both rice and liquor*
19. nam<sup>6</sup> phak<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>4</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> tem<sup>1</sup> pay<sup>1</sup> phoom<sup>6</sup> phan<sup>4</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup> phaa<sup>3</sup> phen<sup>2</sup>  
*water green covered the area*
20. khooŋ<sup>1</sup> kɛn<sup>2</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> phaa<sup>3</sup> phen<sup>2</sup> phiŋ<sup>1</sup> hɛɛ<sup>5</sup>  
*there were many kinds of minerals*
21. mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔoŋ<sup>4</sup> khɛɛ<sup>1</sup> phoom<sup>6</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> cin<sup>4</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> lek<sup>1</sup>  
*there was copper, lead, iron*
22. sa<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>7</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> phoom<sup>6</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> bɔɔ<sup>2</sup> ŋiŋ<sup>4</sup> kham<sup>4</sup>  
*there were many silver and gold mines*
23. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> lam<sup>4</sup> veɛŋ<sup>4</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> phaa<sup>1</sup>-kaan<sup>1</sup> hin<sup>1</sup> koo<sup>2</sup>  
*it is said the city was well-built*
24. mii<sup>4</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> cɔɔ<sup>5</sup> faa<sup>6</sup> laŋ<sup>1</sup> buu<sup>1</sup> sim<sup>4</sup> sɔɔn<sup>6</sup>  
*there were many buildings with pagoda-like roofs ...*
25. məŋ<sup>4</sup> na<sup>5</sup>-kɔɔn<sup>4</sup> kwaan<sup>3</sup> phaa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup> yoot<sup>5</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*the capital was truly huge*
26. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> cɔɔm<sup>1</sup> miŋ<sup>5</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> naŋ<sup>5</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> tun<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> svəy<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*it is said the great and glorious lord and ruler*
27. lek<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> tham<sup>4</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-ta<sup>5</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup> laa<sup>4</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup>  
*was called Thammatata the Great*
28. taaw<sup>6</sup> bun<sup>1</sup> ləŋ<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-sat<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*that great and glorious king*
29. hum<sup>1</sup> fay<sup>2</sup> doy<sup>3</sup> ʔɔɔt<sup>5</sup> nɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup> sii<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> tee<sup>4</sup> vii<sup>4</sup>  
*had his eye on a certain woman*
30. saaw<sup>1</sup> sii<sup>1</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> pɛɛŋ<sup>4</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> luŋ<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup>  
*this rare beauty was born in the kingdom*
31. tii<sup>5</sup> pha<sup>1</sup>-səət<sup>2</sup> tɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> kwaan<sup>3</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> phaa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>  
*in a high position in that big city*
32. fuuŋ<sup>1</sup> voŋ<sup>4</sup> saa<sup>1</sup> klaaw<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> ciŋ<sup>5</sup> nɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*her family gave her the name*
33. lek<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>5</sup> kaw<sup>3</sup> phum<sup>1</sup> cɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup> sii<sup>1</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> cat<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>1</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>  
*of Cattana with the glorious, long hair*
34. fuuŋ<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> yaa<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> looŋ<sup>1</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> ŋaam<sup>4</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup> yɛɛm<sup>6</sup>  
*there was a lot of beautiful young smiling maids*
35. ca<sup>5</sup>-khooŋ<sup>1</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> cum<sup>5</sup> yɛɛm<sup>6</sup> kwat<sup>1</sup> kwɛɛŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> law<sup>4</sup>  
*happy and smiling faces, so very pretty*
36. pun<sup>1</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> la<sup>5</sup>-maw<sup>4</sup> hoo<sup>1</sup> cay<sup>1</sup> daŋ<sup>2</sup> saaw<sup>1</sup> khiw<sup>4</sup> faa<sup>6</sup>  
*... young at heart, those heavenly maids*

37. say<sup>1</sup> sɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> ciŋ<sup>5</sup> cɔɔy<sup>6</sup> sum<sup>1</sup> seep<sup>2</sup> buu<sup>1</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup>  
bright, cheerful and happy faces, worth being adored
38. van<sup>4</sup> yaam<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> laa<sup>4</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup> ʔəm<sup>3</sup> lay<sup>2</sup>  
when the king was near them
39. tii<sup>1</sup> tɔy<sup>2</sup> lin<sup>3</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> cay<sup>6</sup> ʔəm<sup>3</sup> lay<sup>2</sup> naaŋ<sup>4</sup> nɔɔn<sup>4</sup>  
he would stroke their thighs and lie down beside them
40. sot<sup>5</sup> saat<sup>5</sup> mon<sup>5</sup> kay<sup>1</sup> sɔɔn<sup>1</sup> hɔɔm<sup>1</sup> dɔɔk<sup>2</sup> kham<sup>4</sup> kit<sup>1</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup>  
he smelled flowers in the air
41. sot<sup>5</sup> saat<sup>5</sup> hɔɔm<sup>1</sup> daŋ<sup>2</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> mali<sup>ʔ5</sup>-sɔɔn<sup>6</sup> tat<sup>5</sup> dɔɔk<sup>2</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-noo<sup>4</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup>  
like jasmine and the flower of the anoochaa
42. pin<sup>1</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> saay<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> tun<sup>1</sup> kham<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup>  
it was pleasing to the eye to see
43. pha<sup>1</sup>-dap<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> kaw<sup>3</sup> mooy<sup>4</sup> saay<sup>6</sup>  
the top of the left hair bun decorated
44. pak<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>2</sup> təm<sup>1</sup> kham<sup>4</sup>  
with a gold hairpin
45. throŋ<sup>4</sup> lam<sup>4</sup> nam<sup>4</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> ŋaam<sup>4</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup> yɛɛm<sup>6</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup> loon<sup>6</sup>  
all of them were smiling and dancing in a circle
46. vi<sup>ʔ5</sup>-pat<sup>5</sup> peŋ<sup>2</sup> nəə<sup>6</sup> ʔɔɔn<sup>2</sup> ʔoon<sup>6</sup> yɔɔy<sup>6</sup> naat<sup>5</sup> num<sup>2</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> yaa<sup>4</sup>  
the flesh of the young women was soft and supple
47. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> laa<sup>4</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yoot<sup>5</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup>  
it is said that the king who ruled that big kingdom
48. cɔɔm<sup>1</sup> miŋ<sup>5</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup> yiŋ<sup>4</sup> set<sup>1</sup> sɛɛw<sup>3</sup> kaŋ<sup>3</sup> cɔɔ<sup>5</sup> pha<sup>1</sup>-dap<sup>1</sup> khaay<sup>2</sup> bay<sup>1</sup> lay<sup>4</sup>  
he went hunting for animals, his net made of leaves
49. mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> see<sup>1</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>-nay<sup>4</sup> hɛɛ<sup>2</sup> hɛɛn<sup>1</sup> vɛɛ<sup>5</sup> loɔm<sup>6</sup>  
there were ministers surrounding him in waiting
50. maa<sup>4</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> yɔɔm<sup>6</sup> yot<sup>5</sup> law<sup>3</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> boo<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>-paan<sup>4</sup>  
they came as the king's court
51. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> pha<sup>1</sup>-kaan<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> phɔɔŋ<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> snaam<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
it is said the fortress was built in a large field
52. hok<sup>1</sup> miŋ<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> nɔɔ<sup>2</sup> thay<sup>6</sup>  
for 60,000 lords
53. kra<sup>5</sup>-kuun<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> svəəy<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup>  
the great king ruled (lit. ate) the kingdom
54. see<sup>1</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> ləəŋ<sup>4</sup> muu<sup>2</sup> yoo<sup>4</sup>-thaa<sup>4</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup>  
the great and glorious ministers and warriors
55. laay<sup>1</sup> phaan<sup>2</sup> phɛw<sup>3</sup> yiŋ<sup>5</sup> loon<sup>6</sup> mən<sup>1</sup> mot<sup>5</sup> pook<sup>2</sup> tew<sup>4</sup> taan<sup>4</sup> tɛɛ<sup>6</sup> daay<sup>4</sup>  
numbered in the thousands, like ants going back and forth
56. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> seeŋ<sup>1</sup> khaaŋ<sup>5</sup> hɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup> kuuŋ<sup>1</sup> keen<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>ʔ5</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> san<sup>2</sup>  
it is said the loud noises of elephants and carts shook the earth
57. maa<sup>6</sup> lɛn<sup>5</sup> pɔy<sup>3</sup> kɔɔn<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> hi<sup>ʔ3</sup> hɛɛn<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>4</sup> nəŋ<sup>4</sup>  
horses pulled wheeled carts in crowded procession
58. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> looŋ<sup>1</sup> kwaan<sup>3</sup> paa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup> ʔuŋ<sup>4</sup>-ʔaat<sup>2</sup> tɛɛ<sup>6</sup> daay<sup>4</sup>  
it is said the capital was extensive and impressive

59. nak<sup>5</sup>-ka<sup>5</sup>-laat<sup>5</sup> tay<sup>3</sup> lum<sup>5</sup> faa<sup>6</sup>  
*the city in the clouds (lit. under the sky)*
60. məŋ<sup>4</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> haak<sup>2</sup> ləə<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> caam<sup>4</sup>  
*the city better than any others*
61. cot<sup>1</sup> cəə<sup>1</sup> nəŋ<sup>3</sup> kəŋ<sup>4</sup> taəŋ<sup>4</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> thɛɛw<sup>2</sup> kaat<sup>2</sup>  
*the byways and the markets*
62. lot<sup>5</sup> laat<sup>5</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> ʔɛw<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> khaay<sup>1</sup> sɪi<sup>6</sup> khaw<sup>3</sup> kaat<sup>2</sup> khɪn<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup>  
*the people with their carts go about buying and selling all day and night*
63. yeəŋ<sup>4</sup> phay<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> yeəŋ<sup>4</sup> man<sup>4</sup> pak<sup>1</sup> kaaŋ<sup>1</sup> fay<sup>4</sup> faa<sup>6</sup>  
*each person sets up his own stall*
64. say<sup>1</sup> sɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> ləə<sup>4</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> phap<sup>1</sup> cɔɔt<sup>2</sup> taŋ<sup>4</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*facing towards the (centre of) the city*
65. la<sup>5</sup>-sa<sup>5</sup>-mii<sup>1</sup> say<sup>1</sup> sɔɔŋ<sup>2</sup> ləəŋ<sup>4</sup> cu<sup>7</sup> daaw<sup>3</sup>  
*the bright rays shone everywhere*
66. khaw<sup>3</sup> kaat<sup>2</sup> hɔɔŋ<sup>3</sup> veəŋ<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> huu<sup>6</sup> khaat<sup>2</sup> sak<sup>1</sup> van<sup>4</sup> khɪn<sup>4</sup>  
*people went in and out of the market every day and night*
67. yin<sup>4</sup> kaa<sup>4</sup> seeŋ<sup>1</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> seeŋ<sup>1</sup> kween<sup>1</sup> muu<sup>2</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> tew<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup>  
*the sound of oxcarts and people walking could be heard*
68. khaw<sup>3</sup> ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> phɔɔm<sup>6</sup> cu<sup>7</sup> daan<sup>3</sup> tuk<sup>5</sup> sɔɔk<sup>5</sup> kəŋ<sup>4</sup> taəŋ<sup>4</sup>  
*going in and out on all sides and through every passage*
69. kaaŋ<sup>1</sup> veəŋ<sup>4</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> taa<sup>1</sup> seeŋ<sup>1</sup> thɛɛw<sup>2</sup> khway<sup>5</sup>  
*set up in the middle of the city*
70. həən<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kwaəŋ<sup>3</sup> la<sup>5</sup>-liin<sup>6</sup>  
*was a large, wide residence*
71. həən<sup>4</sup> nɔɔy<sup>6</sup> khɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> han<sup>1</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
*no small houses were to be seen*
72. mii<sup>4</sup> tɛɛ<sup>2</sup> kaa<sup>4</sup> həən<sup>4</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> phɔɔm<sup>6</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> moon<sup>4</sup> taa<sup>4</sup> phəək<sup>2</sup>  
*there were only good houses in long rows*
73. pha<sup>1</sup>-dap<sup>1</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> vɛɛt<sup>5</sup> lɔɔm<sup>6</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> dɔɔk<sup>2</sup> khəə<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup>  
*designed to encircle like a vine*
74. pham<sup>4</sup> mən<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> cɔɔt<sup>2</sup> cee<sup>4</sup> cu<sup>7</sup> daan<sup>3</sup>  
*every side was designed the same*
75. tɔɔŋ<sup>5</sup> tii<sup>4</sup> han<sup>3</sup> kɔ-<sup>5</sup> mən<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> thuk<sup>1</sup> kwan<sup>1</sup> maw<sup>4</sup>  
*(unable to translate ...)*
76. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pay<sup>1</sup> phɔɔ<sup>2</sup> yeəŋ<sup>4</sup> duŋ<sup>1</sup> daaw<sup>3</sup>  
*...)*
77. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kwaəŋ<sup>3</sup> tɔɔn<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> moo<sup>4</sup> maw<sup>4</sup> tɛɛ<sup>6</sup> daay<sup>4</sup>  
*it is said the city of this king was good in every way ...*  
*(formula marking episode boundary)*
78. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> saaw<sup>1</sup> laay<sup>1</sup> yɔɔn<sup>3</sup> kway<sup>1</sup> law<sup>4</sup> paak<sup>2</sup> phɔɔy<sup>2</sup>  
*it is said there were many pretty, talkative girls*
79. sup<sup>1</sup> sɔɔy<sup>2</sup> naa<sup>3</sup> cum<sup>5</sup> yeɛm<sup>6</sup> khii<sup>2</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> kween<sup>1</sup>  
*with happy, smiling faces, riding in oxcarts*
80. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> seeŋ<sup>1</sup> kween<sup>1</sup> lɔɔ<sup>4</sup> yii<sup>4</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> khan<sup>4</sup> loo<sup>4</sup> khik<sup>5</sup> khik<sup>5</sup>  
*it is said the sound of the wheels went clickety-clank*



81. seeŋ<sup>1</sup> moon<sup>4</sup> kɔɔŋ<sup>3</sup> veeŋ<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> paan<sup>1</sup> phɛn<sup>2</sup> din<sup>1</sup> taa<sup>4</sup> tɛɛ<sup>6</sup> daay<sup>4</sup>  
*the sound echoed in the city like an earthquake ... (boundary)*
82. ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> laa<sup>4</sup>-caa<sup>4</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>-sat<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*it is said that the great king*
83. taan<sup>5</sup> kɔ-<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> lɔɔ<sup>2</sup> doy<sup>3</sup> lop<sup>5</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> tək<sup>5</sup> kham<sup>4</sup> dɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*he built a statue of an elephant out of copper*
84. pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> too<sup>1</sup> suŋ<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> peeŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔɔɔt<sup>5</sup> paaw<sup>6</sup>  
*it was as high as the top of a coconut tree*
85. pha<sup>1</sup>-dap<sup>1</sup> tɛŋ<sup>2</sup> haan<sup>3</sup> kwɛn<sup>5</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> kii<sup>3</sup> ʔaat<sup>2</sup> taaw<sup>1</sup> ʔa-naa<sup>4</sup>  
*it was decorated so that it looked wonderful*
86. ʔaw<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> tra<sup>1</sup> kap<sup>1</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> looŋ<sup>1</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*it became the symbol of the kingdom*
87. caa<sup>1</sup> law<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> taaw<sup>6</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> phaa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>  
*(I) have told you about the kingdom and the king*
88. kaa<sup>5</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> lɛɛw<sup>6</sup>  
*only this much (punctuation for end of phuuk<sup>2</sup> bundle)*
89. tək<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> pii<sup>5</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>1</sup> law<sup>5</sup> phoo<sup>4</sup>-thi<sup>5</sup>-sat<sup>1</sup>-traa<sup>1</sup>  
*now I will tell you about the Buddha*  
 saaŋ<sup>3</sup> sum<sup>1</sup>-phaan<sup>4</sup> luŋ<sup>4</sup> kəkət<sup>2</sup> kɔɔn<sup>2</sup> nəɔ<sup>6</sup>  
*who was reborn on earth*
90. kam<sup>2</sup> ləkət<sup>5</sup> khaw<sup>3</sup> caat<sup>5</sup> cəkət<sup>6</sup> kra<sup>5</sup>-kuun<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> see<sup>1</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup>  
*he was born into the highest ranks*
91. pin<sup>1</sup> voŋ<sup>4</sup>-saa<sup>1</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup> phoŋ<sup>5</sup> məŋ<sup>4</sup> kra<sup>5</sup>-cəŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup>  
*related to the lord of the great kingdom*
92. caw<sup>3</sup> kəkət<sup>2</sup> day<sup>3</sup> caat<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> veeŋ<sup>4</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> paa<sup>4</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>  
*he was born in that life in the great city*
93. taam<sup>1</sup> voŋ<sup>4</sup>-saa<sup>1</sup> say<sup>2</sup> naam<sup>4</sup> ci<sup>5</sup> caw<sup>3</sup>  
*of an illustrious family that would name him*
94. nak<sup>5</sup>-phaat<sup>2</sup> caw<sup>3</sup> kuu<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>6</sup> pən<sup>4</sup> tɛŋ<sup>2</sup> haan<sup>1</sup> kuun<sup>4</sup>  
*a scholarly monk made calculations from his birthdate*
95. pɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> caa<sup>4</sup>-taa<sup>1</sup> ʔɔɔk<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> tra<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
*and marked the seal of his fate on the zodiac*
96. tuk<sup>1</sup> set<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>6</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> ci<sup>5</sup> siŋ<sup>1</sup>-haa<sup>1</sup>  
*it came out to be in August*
97. lek<sup>5</sup> ci<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> su<sup>5</sup>-va<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>5</sup>-kit<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>5</sup>-ka<sup>7</sup>  
*after which they named him Swanakittika*

... etc.

## CHAPTER X

### LINGUISTIC ORGANISATION, MEMORY AND CREATIVITY

At first glance it almost seems like a contradiction to speak of linguistic organisation, memory and creativity in one breath. Aristotle was the first to point out that the genius of Homer lay in the organisation of his materials. And no one would deny the Greek poet's creative genius. How then are linguistic organisation and creativity related, especially where memory is also involved?

Perhaps creative is the wrong epithet to apply to a traditional artist like Homer or the Lue singer. In the current use of the label, creativity often is a slogan used by the politician, the educator and the linguist alike. Creativity in our culture usually connotes a necessary iconoclasm, a break from the accepted norm, rather than continuity with it, or elaboration and perfection of it.

A more sober analysis of creativity must include the linguistic and artistic skills of exploiting all of the resources of a language and a culture, and combining them so that paradigmatic choices can be maximised in syntagmatic schemes.

When we think of creativity in a linguistic sense, we immediately think of Chomsky's skillful use of the term in formulating a rationalist statement for a new generation of linguists arguing against the behaviourist psychology of structural linguists. In *Aspects*, Chomsky (1965:205) attacks his predecessors for their disinterest in creativity. "For one thing, structural linguists have rarely been concerned with the 'creative' aspect of language use".

In his briefest definition of creativity in language, Chomsky (*ibid.*) says that to be creative is to "make infinite use of finite means". In still another passage, creativity is again described in mathematical terms.

Although it is well understood that linguistic processes are in some sense 'creative' the technical devices for expressing a system of recursive processes were simply not available until much more recently.

Sastri (1973) notes the importance placed on creativity in the new theory of generative syntax.

In fact, the notion of linguistic creativity is the principal basis of rationalistic-transformational thought; we all 'create' language every time we speak or write, thanks to the built-in ability of the brain to spin out an infinite number of brand new sentences from the slender framework of a finite set of grammatical roles mastered in early childhood. And this ability to generate new utterances is not shared by non-human species.

But Sastri goes on to challenge the sweeping generalisation contained in Chomsky's pronouncement.

It is hard to believe that each and every utterance of human being is entirely novel and different from all other utterances made by any human ... at any time. Experience tells us that there is a certain amount of parrotting in both spoken and written languages and that this amount varies from one register ... to another ... . No one thinks of changing a standard expression in any of these areas just so he can be novel.

Firth (1950) in an important article "Personality and language in society", sums up very tellingly the linguistic pull between the habitual and the innovative.

There is the element of habit, custom, tradition, the element of the past and the element of the innovation, of the moment, in which the future is being born. When you speak you fuse these elements in verbal creation, the outcome of your language and of your personality. What you say may be said to have style, and in this connexion a vast field of research in stylistics awaits investigation in literature and speech.

Perhaps as important is the need to distinguish between the 'ungrammatical' and the 'creative'. Both concepts must be viewed as 'degree of' — or a continuum. Sastri (*ibid.*) provides a model of observational creativity from the least (most repetitive) to the most creative (least repetitive):

1. phatic communion (greetings, etc.)
2. casual conversation involving routine activities
3. idioms, phrases, etc.
4. sentence fragments (I don't know whether ..., I'm not sure if ...)
5. short sentences (I couldn't care less. That's out of the question.)
6. unusual collocations of two or more words
7. deviance-structure (OSV instead of SVO)
8. deviance-form classes (noun as verb)
9. violation of selection rules (metaphor, personification)
10. violation of strict subcategorisation (transitive for intransitive)

Sastri finally offers a surprisingly naive generalisation to show the relationship between the grammatical and creative. "The more grammatical a sentence is, the less creative it is, with a greater chance of being repeated".

A large part of the problem in the failure to describe linguistic creativity is based on the neglect of *individual differences* in language performance, and to mistakenly link creativity exclusively to *syntax*. If we are to understand creativity properly we must regard language as the property of *individuals within a context*, or what Firth (1950) defines as "personality". Chomsky's data does

not permit this. His interest in a grammar of competence attaches itself to the homogeneous forms of an idealised, generalised language generator.

A more modest yet operational view would be to consider creativity as an aspect of linguistic *change, variation or style in the language performance of individuals acting in a sociocultural context*. By comparing individual performances, we can make a more realistic statement about the creativity of language actually used. Labov (1972b) notes the differences among individuals with respect to "style shifting" and provides a measure for personality differences.

There are speakers in every community who are more aware than others of the prestige standard of speech, and whose behavior is more influenced by exterior standards of excellence. They will show greater style shifting than those who don't recognize such a standard. This trait can be measured by linguistic insecurity tests.

In still another of his writings, Labov (1966) comments on the connection between linguistic change and personality. Ego asserts itself through the medium of language. This act of the will to cause change we consider to be an important source of the motivation for creativity:

the role of language in self-identification, and aspects of the expression function of language, is more important in the mechanism of phonological change.

Labov's primary focus is sound change, but his insights on language change in general are instructive in that creation-as-change includes imitation, borrowing, and analogy, processes which we have witnessed in the Lue oral and written tradition. Labov (1966) states:

... sound change is just this mixed effect of borrowing, analogy, imitation, and hypercorrection, and that the processes which produced historical change are similar to those that we have been witnessing today.

This brings us to the point where we can consider creativity and memory in Lue singers. It seems evident from comparing performances and from remarks made during interviews that we are dealing with individual differences. All things being equal, creativity and memory are a function of the personality. One Moeng Yong informant who was able to extemporise the tale of his life told me that if there ever would be a contest to see who could memorise best, he would lose. But if asked to compete in singing something new, he could win hands down. In the oral tradition of Lue singers as well as Labov's speech community, there are those who conserve and consolidate and those who change and elaborate, those who choose to repeat their performance as accurately as possible from memory and those whose impulse is toward change and variation.

Thus, while we would not subscribe to a totally behaviouristic theory of language, neither can we acknowledge that language performance is completely open-ended. Labov (1972b) claims that Reich has "reasserted the finiteness" of grammar for one thing. What is more, the observation that children produce novel utterances (i.e. not imitated from an adult model) is countered by the fact that as individual and group awareness develops, children will stubbornly adhere or conform to a form they know is wrong — except by peer standards. In the world of the ideal grammar, an infinitude of utterances is possible. But in the realm of the actual, there are limits. In terms of psychological studies the actual performance is more fruitful. Kintsch (1974) states somewhat caustically:

As long as linguistic theory is strictly a competence theory, it is of no interest to the psychologist. Indeed, I doubt that it should be of much interest to linguists either, but that is for them to decide.

We have noted in prefatory remarks in the analysis of the Lue oral texts (Chapter VIII) that the older singer had a higher measure of memory, an extraordinary 85% replication (verbatim reproduction) from one song performance to the next. In addition, he corrected some of his lines as he went over the tapes with me in the process of transcription, indicating that he had a pre-conceived notion of how an exact or ideal text should 'read'. (Remember he was illiterate and has not sung much for 20 years.) He also could recite in a speaking voice the entire text almost *verbatim*. The form and context were well integrated and understandable. However, in terms of personality he struck everyone as very conservative.

By contrast, the younger singer had a decided creative flair that was immediately noticeable in the purely musical style. He had a superb singing voice, coloured with good use of vibrato and other stylistic nuances. He used rhythm to greater advantage. One prominent example was his fondness of inserting filler syllables such as -a in fay<sup>4</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> (-a) may<sup>3</sup> or lɛ<sup>7</sup> in phay<sup>1</sup> (lɛ<sup>7</sup>) ti<sup>7</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> . . . . Many of these important stylistic variants were 'washed out' of the data in the process of transcribing in a nearby phonemic script. A phonetic retranscription of the data would bring many of the phonetic stylistic variants into sharper focus. The stylistic intrusion of [-n] in dii<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup> to produce [din<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>] has been commented on as another sung variant which was so frequent as to mark it as a text, or performance, conditioned variant. The [-a], [-n] sung variants are socially or situationally (by the presence of an audience, etc.) conditioned just as much as the presence or absence of [r] in Bangkok or New York speech. The study was not aimed at stylist variation *per se*, but encountered it in retrospect.

Before committing ourselves to a viewpoint that declares that *creativity* involves only *change* we should pause to consider another aspect: *combination*. In a more traditional culture and with a more conservative artist such as the older singer, we must regard the skill of combining and reorganising the given or 'standard' forms of the tradition as a 'creative' ability which is highly valued in a more stable society.

If our definition of language includes, as indeed it does, visual, the kinesthetic and the auditory, i.e. a set of 'perceptual shapes', then a definition of creativity must be broad enough to encompass this larger language. Arnheim (1969) offers a workable concept of creativity which we consider applicable to creativity in human speech. He states, "The creation of beauty poses problems of selection and organization. Similarly, to make an object visible (or audible) means to grasp its essential traits". So creativity goes beyond mere innovation. It is built on understanding concepts and constructing an organised structure of selected conceptual units.

The fact is that the young singer's linguistic innovations were not praised by the older Lue members of the audience who spoke the Chieng Rung dialect. He was something of an iconoclastic creator in their midst, while the older singer was praised for the accuracy and succinctness (not elaborated, not redundant) of his tale.

The working hypothesis in this study was that *memory is*, all other variables held constant, a *function of organisation*. The empirical measure between singers of Lue extremes reveals an 85% vs a 45% ratio of repeated structure between

two singers, who as it turns out were speakers of different subdialects of Lue (Chieng Rung vs Moeng Yong) and opposites in age (old vs young) and personality (conservative vs creative). The findings fail to confirm the Parry-Lord thesis, as discussed in the previous chapter, which insists on the spontaneous creativity of an unlettered (i.e. 'uncontaminated' by written tradition) sheep-herding singer of tales. At first, I tried to convince myself that the old man was some sort of aberration, and that I should list him as an exception to the rule. There was, I argued, a continuum after all, with singers whose scores for replication were in the range of 50-65%. This is the model that is still held. Memorisation is also clearly a matter of degree and individual or personality difference. But defining memory as *reconstruction* rather than strict *reproduction* – a kind of 'raw' or rote memory – shows that memory, not spontaneity, is at the centre of the Lue oral tradition.

A.B. Lord did not measure memory as I have done by comparing consecutive performances. However, Sweeny (1974) has. His findings, among both illiterate and blind Malaysian singers, published subsequent to my actual fieldwork (1972-73), confirms my own discovery. Sweeny compares two performances of the same tale by the same storyteller.

We see that the form of the tale is by no means fixed and there is no question of the story-teller learning the tale by heart in the manner of one who studies the *Qur'-an* [Koran] until he is word perfect. On the other hand there is a good deal more similarity in wording between two renderings of the penglipur lara tale [narrative romance] than between two performances of the same wayang kulit drama [shadow play] by the same dalang [puppeteer] (see Sweeny 1972), where the language used is different each time and only the content of the drama remains relatively constant.

In the Malay oral tradition, following the preceding remarks, replication or repetition is a *function* of the particular *genre*. Sweeny does not give the reason. Perhaps there are several. One guess would be that the performance of a narrative romance is comparatively shorter. And since memory is a function of length, among other factors, we must consider duration of the speech act as a limitation. The shadow play can go on all night and involves the manipulation of puppets and other devices, maneuvers that would stand in the way of the concentration needed for memory of surface detail.

It can be argued that in either case a *schema* (see Bartlett 1932, Piaget and Inhelder 1973) is remembered. The *schema* or *gestalt* of the narrative romance is encoded in long term memory with greater exactness of detail to be remembered and, we surmise, with the intention (and possibility) of replication. For the shadow play, the memory scheme is laid out in the general form of a broad outline. The dalang must be a pragmatic as any speaker in any culture, knowing that there are limits to what he can and should memorise. To be considered also is the social function (social charter in Malinowski's sense) or each genre. Perhaps the use of a narrative romance is more *serious*, in which case the form would become more *fixed*. The shadow play by contrast may have the lighter major function of entertainment; didactic aims would be present but less prominent. At any rate, we have Sweeny's version of the psychological notion of *schema* expressed as a "master copy".

The impression one received from listening to repeated performances of one tale by the same story-teller is that each rendering is a paraphrase of an imaginary 'master-copy', so that in the parallel parts of two performances almost every sentence of the one rendering has its counterpart in the other, and, although different in wording and often in sequence, both sentences will usually have a number of words in common; in some instances, phrases, clauses, and even whole sentences are almost identical in form. Although these remarks apply to the performances of all the story-tellers examined, comparison of renderings reveals that some performances display a higher degree of consistency than others.

To sum up what Sweeny has discovered so far, the employment of various degrees of remembering can be attributed to two factors: 1. the genre (and we assume whatever other relevant social contextual factors this entails), and 2. the individual performer (and whatever intellectual and personality traits he possesses). A third factor analysed by Sweeny is the place of the reduplicated portions in the entire text of his performance. As in the Lue performances, openings tend to be more fixed and formulaic. Both Lue singers have opening and closing segments strictly (100%) memorised in poetic form in contrast to the prose of the mid section.

A fourth factor influencing the preservation or, conversely, the erosion of memory, is the interval of time between measured performances. I found that the same Lue singer recorded by Gedney in 1969 had simplified many of the details in the performance of the same narration I recorded in 1973. Sweeny (*op. cit.*) comments on the Malaysian singer.

In some cases two renderings performed within a day or so revealed more similarity than with a third rendering performed a year later ... . In the case of the other story-tellers examined, two renderings performed within twenty-four hours revealed as much variation as those recorded a year later.

How do these findings concerning the use of memory in a Lue and Malay oral tradition conform to the discoveries in the psychologically oriented studies of memory? We shall note a few.

First is the classic study, *Remembering*, by Bartlett (1932). One phase involved the remembering of culturally different (bizarre) narratives by subjects involved in the experiments. In the first part of a study of what he calls "The Method of Serial Reproduction", Bartlett let subjects read (twice) a brief North Amerindian tale, "War of the ghosts", chosen because of the cultural differences. Intentionally or otherwise, he introduced the variables of *unfamiliarity* and *complexity* into the TBR (to-be-remembered) material. Each subject was asked to reproduce the tale after an interval of 15-30 minutes. In other experiments, the subject told the story to a second subject who told it to a third and so on. In brief, the findings show that the original tale had been simplified, more organised and more coherent in terms of the cultural context of the English-speaking subject. Details from the original tale that seem irrelevant or incongruous were deleted.

At the heart of Bartlett's findings and theory of remembering are at least two important points: 1. that memory is not fixed, i.e. not raw or rote in the usual understanding, and 2. that memory is a process of the recreation of text from an internalised *schema*. Emphasis on the first point is expressed in Bartlett's (1932) own work.

If there is one thing upon which I have insisted more than another throughout all the discussions in the book, it is the description of memories as 'fixed and lifeless' is merely an unpleasant fiction.

It is the same kind of misunderstanding about memory that leads to a misrepresentation of the oral tradition as one where the narrative act is creative in an extemporaneous fashion. The notion of *schema* allows for flexibility and degrees of reduplication in a more comprehensive theory of memory. Piaget (1973), among others, has verified the existence of a schema in the developmental history of a child's mental operations. After about the first year and a half, the child passes out of the sensorimotor stage and into a period where he constructs a theory of the object, i.e. 'the world' in the form of a mental scheme which is a 'structural whole'. Gardner (1974) sums up Piaget's work which seems to place him midway between the behaviourists (Skinner) and the nativists (the innateness theory of Chomsky, e.g.)

He [Piaget] has undermined the 'common sense' notions of the child as either a passive reactor to the environment, a mere imitator, or one in whom "innate ideas" will automatically unfold, replacing them with a more comprehensive and intricate concept of the child as an active constructor, one who acts upon the world and, in so doing, comes to increase his knowledge of the world as well as his own thought and person.

In Piaget's own writings (1973), there is a further distinction between scheme ("Schemata") and memory *per se*. What he calls "memory images" or "memory drawings" lie at a level lower than the schemata which is the working of the mind's constructive logic. The order of recall is pictured by him as:

Memory images → schemata → actions

We shall not attempt to go deeply into a detailed discussion of the relationship between images and memory or the asserted connection between the visual and the verbal. That there is indeed a link is attested by the brilliant work by the psychologists Pivio (1971) and Arnheim (1969). Pivio finds, in general, that visualisers, subjects who form mental images of TBR items, are superior rememberers. Arnheim, like Piaget, a gestaltist, argues persuasively that images are the base of thought and language.

Purely verbal thinking is the prototype of thoughtless thinking, the automatic recourse to connections retrieved from storage. It is useful but sterile. What makes languages so valuable for thinking, then, cannot be thinking in words. It must be the help that words lend to thinking while it operates in a new appropriate medium, such as visual imagery.

Along these same lines, Fischer (1963) found that his "informants usually remembered folktales ... as a series of images described anew each time they were told ...".



If mental images lie at the base of memory and language (surely information from the other senses, logic and sentiment cannot be excluded from this story) and especially the language of myth, it is because of the generally metaphorical base of language. Certainly in myth the symbolic message is overpowering. Becker (1973) advises that entire myths, of creation for example, are, in total, a metaphor, or a metaphoric statement. We have noted the attention that Lévi-Strauss has focused on the symbolic structure of myth. (Malinowski is, by contrast, basically antisymbolic in his interpretation of myth.) All of the preceding discussion of the role of visual imagery in language and memory, and the highly figurative language of myth (symbol and metaphor) suggest that an oral narrator is a good visualiser. It would be quite simple to sketch on paper a visual image corresponding to the verbal image of creation presented by any Lue singer.

As interesting as these generalisations are concerning the relationship among creativity, memory and imagery, we can no more than speculate as to their actual place in the structure of the mind. We have no answer to the question of what mental shapes the language of thought and memory take. More specifically, we cannot state what the structure of a Lue oral narrative might have in memory. The most daring suggestion to date is the widely quoted one made by Nagler (1967) who claims that the poetic process involved in oral narrative is one of "generation from this mental template" or "preverbal gestalt". As an explanation, the phrase is not a very revealing one. More recent suggestions from some linguists and some psychologists suggest that 'pure meaning' is encoded into memory. Generative semantics, by its very label, implies that semantic representations are mapped onto syntactic ones. McCawley, however, has indicated that there should be no separation of the two. His students (e.g. Sadock, 1974:148) refer to an "underlying syntacto-semantic tree".

In a related psychologically oriented attempt to get at the "representation of meaning in memory", Kintsch (1974) provides a convincing model. The basic argument in support of his model comes from psychological experiments which show that "What these subjects remembered was some abstract representation of meaning, and they were basing their responses on it".

This statement made by Kintsch is all the more significant when it is taken as an act which decentralises syntax. Kintsch notes the earlier work of Sachs (1967) on which he bases many of his inferences.

Sachs showed that subjects in a recognition experiment could detect only very poorly various syntactic changes in sentences, but that they had no difficulties in spotting changes in the meaning of sentences. If what subjects stored in memory was merely the deep structure of the sentences, Sachs' results would be difficult to explain.

We might assume that Kintsch is trying to refute Chomsky's claims about the representation of language in the mind. At least at one point in his career, Chomsky has asserted unequivocally the mental reality of syntactic structures. I quote from his essay 'Form and meaning in natural languages' (Chomsky 1972).

What is important is the evidence that [nominalization] provides in support of the view that deep structures which are often quite abstract exist and play a central role in the grammatical processes that we use in producing and interpreting sentences. Such facts then, support the hypothesis that deep structures of the sort postulated in transformational-generative grammar are real mental structures.

It seems that Kintsch is equally convinced of the reality of his representation of meaning in almost exclusively semantic terms. We have maintained, following the arguments of tagmemics and Firthian linguistics that semantics and syntax cannot be divorced at either the theoretical or observational (experimental-analytical) level. There is even more convincing experimental evidence that shows both syntactic and semantic information are stored in memory. Savin and Perchonock (1965) show quite conclusively that when given structures that have the same propositional content but vary in length due to difference in syntax (Q. neg. passive, etc.), the number of items in immediate recall shows that some space in STM (short term memory) must be taken up by syntactic information.

The debate over whether semantic or syntactic structures are more psychologically real can only lead to further experiments. This will be especially true as long as some linguistic theories insist on the *centrality* of one component, syntax or semantics. In tagmemic theory, the phonological, grammatical and lexical hierarchies coexist on the same interlocking level.

Furthermore, in my study of memory, I make no claims about the mental reality of my structures. They are models, or inferences of how the mind operates and manifests itself through language behaviour. In this same sense, Arnheim comments on thinking and the representation of thought. He notes that we "know a good deal about what thinking does but little about what it is". Nevertheless, questions about mental structures will remain. And so, Arnheim responds by first relating *thought* to *images*.

images come at any level of abstractness. However, even the most abstract among them must meet one condition: they must be structurally similar (isomorphic) to the pertinent features of the situations for which the thinking shall be valid. Are the sensory properties of word sequences, visual or auditory, such as to be able to reproduce the structural features relevant to a range of thought problems? This question amounts to asking: Can one think in words, as one can think in circles or rectangulars or other such shapes?

The answer commonly given is almost automatically positive. In fact, language is widely assumed to be a much better vehicle of thought than other shapes or sounds. More radically, and perhaps the only medium available. Thus, Edward Sapir says in his influential book on languages: 'Thought may be a natural domain apart from the artificial one of speech, but speech would seem to be the only road we know that leads to it'.

So we take the position of recognising levels of abstracting with respect to the representation of a narrative text in memory. At one level, the most explicit of texts would be the product of rote memory, where all details — phonological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic — are encoded in memory and reduplicated in term as mirror images. Given the maximum conditions for optimum encoding — sufficient repetition, rehearsal time, knowledge of ideal, organisational strategies and decoding routes, etc. — the text will be exact. Of course, militating against 'perfect memory' are the forces of forgetting — interference factors in semantic and episodic memory and a host of mediating forces that will change the original stimulus. In short, perfect memory is never achieved in actual practice, there is always measurable erosion.

The older singer (Text I) might be considered as a near approximation of rote memoriser. However, to state that he is reproducing, in a generative-transformational manner, a 'surface' text from an underlying abstract schema that parallels the output except for surface details that have been affected by a set of transformational rules only, would be totally wrong in our conception.

Instead, consider the act of chanting a Lue narrative as a process of *remembering*, which includes *recall* and *reconstruction*. The abstract representation of the oral text, then, is to be found in the totality of psychological and sociological structures.

The closest that we might come to delimiting the underlying form of the Lue narrative in the sung form is to say that it is a gestalt having a broad configuration of beginning, middle and end, with prose nucleus (middle) and poetic margins. The young singer, as well as the old, use (remember) this same common form. This general schema gives overall shape to the final *cotext*.

The narrative shape of beginning, middle and end is considered a socio-psychological structure in that behavioural norms (e.g. cars stopping for red lights) or constraints call for openings or introductions as well as conclusions or leave-takings. It likewise serves the psychological function of keeping information organised – both related and separated to avoid chaos.

By asserting the existence of an underlying narrative scheme, we are saying no more than man (and some animals and insects too, e.g. the bee) *creates* as well as *reacts* to form, opposite sides of the same coin. In fact, one of Bartlett's (1932) major findings in his study of remembering of narratives is precisely that subjects react to, i.e. recognise and remember form.

But form, in particular 'language as form', can be changed by any number of social and psychological situational factors. We have dealt with social aspects in the preceding chapter; here we shall elaborate on some of the psychological dimensions stemming from our interest in memory.

It would seem that rote memorisation is subject to few if any social forces. One can memorise a text from a master copy (written or tape-recorded) in bed, in class or out fishing almost equally well and with little apprehension that change of setting will lead to change in form. By contrast, the remembering of the Lue oral text is going to be affected by easily verifiable, psychological ones.

We conceive of mind intervening between the context of linguistic form and the context of an environment of social norms and accumulated knowledge. In the act of reconstructing an oral text from memory, the mind 1. selects and 2. organises – the same processes used in learning. The general organisation processes would include the following sets of rules or strategies: 1. chunking and spacing, 2. logical-relational, 3. permutation-combination-transformational and 4. implicational-inferential.

Some of these psychological processes will be detailed presently, but we might anticipate them, by referring briefly to the text of the young Lue singer, already noted for its low rating in terms of memory. We can now understand some of the failure to remember and to organise and to be understood. First his comprehension and share of the 'world of knowledge' his text represents may not be the same as that of his listener or interpreter (the author of this paper). Secondly, in each telling of the story, some of the set of narrative statements may not have been made explicit through their actual expression, so that insufficient information is available for the hearer (or originally the speaker himself) to make inferences necessary for a fuller comprehension of the text.

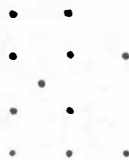
The more crucial reasons would involve his incompetence in chunking and spacing as evidenced by his erratic use of borders, fillers and general hesitation phenomenon. Most importantly, perhaps is his failure at some points to understand and project to the hearer logical relationships between concepts (ideas or propositions). Some connections between statements are either 'fuzzy', ambiguous, or just incoherent.

Using the semantic tree developed by Grimes (1972) and Meyer (1975) to show the logical relationships that hold between ideational context of discourse, we would claim that, in the case of the young Lue singer, the rhetorical relationships, especially hypotactic ones, are poorly encoded and remembered.

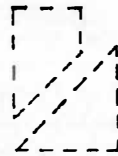
In the Lue oral Text II, for example, we are given only one statement alluding to the divine beings who smell fumes rising up from the burning earth. But this single reference is not enough to allow us to see the relevance (logical relationship) to the rest of the narrative. There is an assumed connection or implication in the mind of the singer. We know from our partly shared knowledge of the world that there is another related myth explaining how heavenly beings smelled earthly fumes and descended only to be trapped, etc. So we make an inferential leap anyway. Questioning of the singer might reveal that in constructing the narrative, he himself had pieced together bits of mythical lore he had heard, remembered and now repeated without knowledge of their implication or relation to other incidents in the myth. Knowledge to be learned and remembered would have to include past inferences in the original context or context.

Inference and organisational rules are of course psychological. But as Kintsch (1974) notes: "There is no way of separating semantic structure from psychological processing". We would add that syntactic and psychological units cannot be separated either. Moreover, syntactic units might conceivably have a psychological function. Experiments dealing with the psychological reality of the sentence (Fodor and Bever 1965), the paragraph (Koen, Becker and Young 1967) and the proposition (Kintsch 1974) illustrate the overlap between linguistic and psychological operations. The experiment of Fodor and Bever is best known and the most ingenious. Their technique employed audible clicks at various positions in a sentence. Subjects were more accurate in placing clicks which had occurred at phrase boundaries. Fodor and Bever (1965) confirm the gestaltist assumption about unity of form which we have discussed with reference to Wilden, Bartlett, Piaget, Kintsch, namely that a perceptual unit attempts "to preserve its integrity by resisting interruptions". From our point of view, the data of the texts show the speaker employs phonological, lexical and syntactic borders as a psycholinguistic technique for organising, remembering, and reconstructing (from memory) the narrative.

One of the earliest and clearest demonstrations of the function of borders, or boundaries, in remembering is the two-part experiment of Werner (1947) "The effect of boundary strength on interference and retention", using visual imagery and sentences respectively. The visual experiments used A-B configurations of the sort shown below.



A



B

The clearly differentiated portion of figure B results in enhanced memory and illustrates the gestalt principle of the importance of organised schema in cognition. Similarly, in using the same A-B paradigm with words, an A group with undefined boundaries and little interconnectedness was subject to greater forgetting than a B group where repetition and organisation strengthened boundaries and unity of form. Both Lue texts employ lexical and phonological boundaries at all levels. In Text I, boundaries are more efficiently used. They are used conservatively to punctuate longer stretches of discourse. In Text II, borders are very frequent, nearly 10% of the data can be analysed as 'border' acts. Used to excess, they tend to disrupt rather than promote organisational unity and, as a result, memory. Good memory is efficient, conservative and organised.

In the Lue oral texts, especially Text II, the most overt employment of borders is lexical in form. We have mentioned previously how ni<sup>6</sup>- punctuates the end of a sentence or line of text; duu<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>7</sup> cam<sup>1</sup> and bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>5</sup> ni<sup>6</sup>- as borders between clause groups or paragraphs. Altogether they were analysed as part of the two-way pragmatic structure of discourse that was divided between narrating and procedural acts. Procedural acts defined as *comment* or *continue*, etc. were seen as primarily social - orienting the tale to the audience - while acts defined as *border* appear to be more psychological. The two overlap at some points, however. Acts labeled *border* are not always predictable. Sometimes they function as filler or hesitation phenomena. In this case we might possibly explain their use in terms of massed vs distributed practice. In general the alternation of procedural with narrative acts illustrates the techniques of distributional effects on the enhancement of memory. That is, if the text were an undivided mass of narrative information, unrelieved by procedural comment and borders, the task of remembering would be much greater. The advantages of distributed practice over massed practice is explained by Melton (1970).

This hypothesis is that DP permits more different cues to be stored than does MP, and that these additional cues add retrieval. It has been widely observed that normal free-recall learning involves subjective organisation of word-word combinations and that these subjective units of two or more words serve as cuing systems at the time of recall.

This chapter began with a reference to Aristotle's remarks on the organising genius of Homer. As the most creative of the poets of the Greek oral tradition, we have sought to redefine both his and general linguistic creativity in terms of organisation, stated primarily in gestaltist terms. But we have yet to discuss the contribution of organisation to memory. The original hypothesis on which the comparative study of two Lue singers was based states that, all things equal, remembering of a connected discourse is a function of linguistic organisation. Whenever organisational plans of a text can be linked to the psychological processes of remembering they are seen as (indirect) manifestations of the structure of memory. It is redundant to say memory is organised. *Memory is organisation.*

The role that organisation now plays in both theories of memory and language is emphasised with proper drama by Bower (1970).

A modest revolution is afoot today within the field of human learning and the rebels are marching under the banner of 'Cognitive organization'. The clarion call to battle was sounded by Miller, Galanter, and Pribram (1960) in their book,

*Plans and the structure of behavior.* The immediate precursors to the ideas in this book were the work by Newall, Shaw, and Simon (1958) on computer simulation of human thinking, and the work of Chomsky (1957) on syntactic structures in languages. Although there is little altogether new under this psychological sun, the newer organization, man, does have a different perspective and slant of attack on memory problems than do his S-R associationist progenitors.

With this historical information as background we see the continuity that still exists today in linguistics in particular.

In the meantime we would note some of the organisation of the structure of a Lue narrative and its relation to psychological function. The fact that borders are introduced indicates a 'chunking mechanism' under some cognitive control. Syntactically, from the standpoint of tagmemics at least, we see the organisation of lower units into successively higher chunks. The number of lexical-conceptual units in a poetic line or sentence seems to hover around "the magical number seven, plus or minus two" (cf. Miller 1956). The importance of organisational groupings as one dimension of remembering was noted, experimentally, at least, as early as Thorndike's (1935) several experiments on "belongingness". A revival of interest was signalled by Tulving (1967, 1968). In their (1968) article "Effectiveness of retrieval cues in memory for words", Tulving summarises the overall importance of organisational factors in memory.

The success of recall, broadly speaking, depends on two factors: the amount and organization of the relevant information about the TBR words in the store at the time of attempted recall (availability) and the nature and number of retrieval cues which provide access to the stored information (accessibility of information).

Many factors have an impact on memory and creativity. In this study we have focused on the psychological-organisational and sociological factors that appear to explain the discrepancy between the higher rate of reduplication of the older singer whose text reveals a conservativeness, efficiency and organisational tightness that is superior to the poorly remembered text of the younger singer. Creativity in the older singer was viewed as his ability to combine and reorganise a more comprehensive 'shared knowledge of the Lue world'. We have not discussed the factor of intelligence in memory. This borders the realm of individual differences in psychology, which it is unprepared to deal with. As Melton (1967?) notes:

We cannot possibly have a good theory of the process involved in remembering, either in a short-term or a long-term sense, unless we have procedures for asserting the status and change of such processes within individuals.

Depth of comprehension is one area where individual differences and discourse structure meet. Mistler-Lachman (1974) has shown experimentally that deeper comprehension leads to better memory. We mention this as another variable which might explain the poorer memory of the young Lue singer of Text II. The general impression of his overall production was that he had a confused picture of some narrative details and further confused them in telling the story. Shallow comprehension is understood in terms of both perception and organisation of input. This experimental finding is confirmed by

Piaget and Inhelder (1973) in their study of memory in children who were found to remember in proportion to "their level of understanding". Depth of comprehension as it touches on what is remembered is both developmental and individualistic.

Until such a time as psychological and linguistic theory is better able to discuss individual differences in performance, we cannot draw firm conclusions about creativity or memory. Both singers exhibit different types of creativity: one based on greater knowledge and organisational ability and another based on the will to change. What is undoubtable is that one creator is also a good rememberer while the other is not. This we have measured. What is difficult to assess in exact terms is creativity. Measures of style shifting on the phonological level are only one indicator of the dynamics of linguistic creativity. But a Labov-inspired model would seem to lead in the proper direction for further measurement and understanding of creation in language behaviour.

As with memory, there is more than one kind of creativity or one type of creative use of language. While potentially open-ended, linguistic creativity is limited not only by limits of memory, as Chomsky notes, but by conventions and norms required to complete a successful act of communication where the hearer, not the speaker, has the last say. The upper bounds of how much creativity will be understood and accepted is the present and future listener in his cultural matrix of meaning.

Chomsky originally raised the issue of creativity, as we noted earlier, in protest against Skinner's behaviouristic outline of language use and the same stimulus-response psychology embraced by Leonard Bloomfield, Bertrand Russell and others. But in the end, Chomsky (1972) himself does not have much of an answer. He finally concludes:

We cannot now say anything particularly informative about the normal creative use of language in itself. But I think that we are slowly coming to understand the mechanics that make possible this creative use of language, the use of language as an instrument of free thought and expression.

We have attempted to show that linguistic creativity and memory cannot be understood by using a reductionist competence model, where memory is considered a 'preformance limitation' on the one hand and creativity unlimited on the other. Comparing actual performances in an oral tradition would seem to be an excellent place to begin a study of the real nature of linguistic organisation, memory and creativity. For one thing, it reaffirms that speech, not written TBR texts, is the basis of language, which is best studied in a social context. Our comparative analysis of linguistic organisation and memory of two Lue men shows that we need a linguistic psychology and sociological linguistics of the individual too. Firth (1950) summarises that same need.

Here I feel bound to say that the study of *one person at a time* seems to me amply justified as a scientific method. And the collaboration of informants of suitable personality is fundamental in certain types of research.

We conclude this chapter, which has been devoted mainly to the study of linguistic and memory structure in Lue oral narrative, by comparing segments of oral Texts I and II to portions of a second performance. We will note the degree and kinds of stability or change in remembering. The data and commentary appear separately on the following pages.

## TEXT I:

## COMPARISON OF RECORDINGS 1 &amp; 2

In order to show the degree of memory and variation used by the singer of Text I, we present a typical segment of parallel sections from successive recordings one day apart.

Recording 1 (Text I, line 36-)

ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
 pin<sup>1</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> vɛɛt<sup>5</sup> cɔɔt<sup>2</sup>  
 saʔ<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>4</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup>  
 mii<sup>4</sup> tiŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔ aa<sup>1</sup>-nan<sup>4</sup>-too<sup>1</sup>  
 paa<sup>1</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-nun<sup>4</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> fɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 yuu<sup>2</sup> teem<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
 ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
 caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup>  
 thaʔ<sup>1</sup>-luŋ<sup>4</sup>-look<sup>5</sup>  
 tun<sup>1</sup> viʔ<sup>5</sup>-seet<sup>2</sup> ləə<sup>1</sup> cum<sup>4</sup>  
 sii<sup>2</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yɛn<sup>1</sup> luŋ<sup>4</sup>  
 lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup> ʔum<sup>3</sup> hɔɔp<sup>2</sup>  
 ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>  
 say<sup>2</sup> ciʔ<sup>5</sup> theɛŋ<sup>3</sup>  
 vaa<sup>5</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> siʔ<sup>1</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>  
 man<sup>4</sup> xɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>-xaʔ<sup>1</sup>-yaa<sup>1</sup>  
 yay<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
 suuŋ<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
 phay<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> lɔn<sup>4</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>

Recording 2

ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup>  
 - maa<sup>4</sup> kəət<sup>2</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
 pin<sup>1</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> vɛɛt<sup>5</sup> cɔɔt<sup>2</sup>  
 saʔ<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>4</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup>  
 - paa<sup>1</sup> ʔaa<sup>1</sup>-nan<sup>4</sup>-too<sup>1</sup>  
 - - yuu<sup>2</sup> fɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 yuu<sup>2</sup> teem<sup>4</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> han<sup>3</sup>  
 tɛt<sup>1</sup> nan<sup>6</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup>  
 lum<sup>4</sup> matahaloo maa<sup>4</sup> phakot<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup>  
 caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup>  
 thaʔ<sup>1</sup>-luŋ<sup>4</sup> look<sup>5</sup>  
 tun<sup>1</sup> viʔ<sup>5</sup>-seet<sup>2</sup> ləə<sup>1</sup> cum<sup>4</sup>  
 sii<sup>2</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> yɛn<sup>1</sup> luŋ<sup>4</sup>  
 lum<sup>4</sup> tip<sup>5</sup> ʔum<sup>3</sup> hɔɔp<sup>2</sup>  
 van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> xaw<sup>1</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>  
 say<sup>2</sup> ciʔ<sup>5</sup> theɛŋ<sup>3</sup>  
 vaa<sup>5</sup> caaŋ<sup>6</sup> kɛw<sup>3</sup> yay<sup>2</sup> siʔ<sup>1</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup>  
 saŋ<sup>1</sup> khaʔ<sup>5</sup> yaa<sup>1</sup> man<sup>4</sup> xɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 yay<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
 suuŋ<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>5</sup> day<sup>1</sup>  
 phay<sup>1</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> lɔn<sup>4</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> huu<sup>6</sup>

From the preceding segments we can readily see the high degree of replication or remembering from one performance to the next. Yet there is no evidence of rote memorisation. Enough variability appears to credit the older singer with skill in elaboration and change. In the first few lines of his second recording, *deletions* appear to have been made. The second occurrence of a set of three apparent deletions is better analysed as a *conjoining reduction* of the first two sentences found in recording 1.

a) there was Ananta (Sanskrit)

b) the fish Anun (Lue) lay below. → a/b) The fish Ananta lay below.



Following this change, we have another seen in *addition* or *elaboration* in recording 2 indicated by underlining. The opening tag is simply an added adverbial: 'at that time'. Then the detail of the magic wind (lum<sup>4</sup> matahaloo) which changed into (maa<sup>4</sup> phakot<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup>) an elephant is added.

The next change (underlined) is again the addition of an adverbial of time used as border and connective between events: van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>. It is not obligatory. Then a *substitution* of xaw<sup>1</sup> is made for ciŋ<sup>2</sup>, probably for rhythmical needs. Finally, there is an *inversion* or *permutation* shown with the dotted underline.

## TEXT II:

## COMPARISON OF RECORDINGS 1 &amp; 2

Recording 1 (Text II, line 85)

ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
fay<sup>4</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> may<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
 koo<sup>5</sup> man<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> day<sup>3</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
duu<sup>1</sup> leŋ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> taan<sup>5</sup> ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup>  
 teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> lum<sup>4</sup>  
teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> ʔan<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 hoŋ<sup>3</sup> xee<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
  
 nəə<sup>1</sup> lok<sup>5</sup>  
tok<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>2</sup> hoŋ<sup>3</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> nan<sup>6</sup>  
 koo<sup>5</sup> naan<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> dɛn<sup>1</sup> teeŋ<sup>5</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
  
 paay<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> too<sup>1</sup> taan<sup>5</sup>  
ciŋ<sup>2</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup>  
lum<sup>4</sup> kam<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-phɛe<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>

Recording 2

ʔan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
fay<sup>4</sup> hak<sup>2</sup> may<sup>3</sup> dii<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>4</sup> man<sup>4</sup> day<sup>3</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup>  
duu<sup>1</sup> leŋ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
 hiŋ<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
  
teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 vaa<sup>5</sup> too<sup>5</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> tii<sup>5</sup> foŋ<sup>4</sup> koo<sup>5</sup> yaŋ<sup>4</sup> phɛw<sup>1</sup>  
 lo<sup>5</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>4</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
 lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> naat<sup>5</sup> day<sup>3</sup> tok<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
dɛn<sup>1</sup> teeŋ<sup>5</sup> min<sup>2</sup> pii<sup>1</sup> duu<sup>1</sup> leŋ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔan<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> faŋ<sup>4</sup> to<sup>7</sup> yoo<sup>5</sup> kun<sup>4</sup> dii<sup>1</sup>  
 taa<sup>1</sup> nəə<sup>6</sup> nin<sup>4</sup> pii<sup>5</sup> noŋ<sup>6</sup>  
ʔan<sup>4</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>1</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>  
ciŋ<sup>2</sup> leŋ<sup>5</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> teŋ<sup>2</sup> ʔaw<sup>1</sup>  
lum<sup>4</sup> kam<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-phɛe<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to Text I, the successive recordings of Text II reveal a very low rate of replication. The underlined phrases show the only repeated parallels. In the last few lines of the second recording we see the singer begin a whole new introduction: *now then listen to me you great and good people with jet black eyes, brothers and sisters*. There is no motive for his doing this except the likelihood that he has lost track of what comes next and has to fill in, as he does throughout. In lines 7 and 8 of the first recording he repeats himself, another of many signs of disorganisation in memory and language.

From the standpoint of memory, the change from one recording to another shows little *stability* of form and sometimes content. The main features are, of course, remembered. Viewed from the perspective of creativity, these numerous alterations might be a measure of creativity. Still, the high degree of redundancy and miscomprehension of mythical details and their exact relationship to one another would tend to contradict such a positive conclusion. The inside view of the audience attending the recording session was (privately) that the singer of Text II was not skilled in narrating. His chief virtue was his singing voice.

We can at least conclude that the more efficient organisational skills and higher intelligence of the singer of Text I accounts for his ability to replicate his orally composed text from one performance to the next.

## CHAPTER XI

### SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study of Tai-Lue chanted narratives (khap<sup>1</sup> lɨ̃<sup>6</sup>) began as an empirical investigation of the role of memory in the language of a South-east Asian oral tradition. The motive for questioning came from the earlier findings and statements of A.B. Lord (1960) on the Yugoslav oral traditions where the act of singing a tale was viewed as something akin to improvisation or "composition during performance". It was a highly creative act, in which memory was insignificant in the overall process. In Lord (1960:43) we read: "The singer cannot, and does not, remember to sing a song; he must, and does, learn to create phrases".

The process of learning too was described in associationist and Skinnerian terms (Lord, *ibid.*, p.60).

One obtains thus a photograph of the individual singer's reliance on habitual associations of lines and of the degree to which habit has tended to stabilize, without fixing or petrifying, passages of varying length.

In order to test these notions on the use of memory and creativity in a non-western oral tradition, successive recordings were made of narratives chanted by illiterate Lue male and female singers and compared for replication in memory. The findings showed that Lue singers reconstruct individually unique oral texts without the aid of writing by the use of memory and creativity to varying degrees. Of two singers used in the final comparisons, one showed replication of 85%, while another — the lowest extreme — repeated parts and phrases at an approximate rate of only 40-45%.

Of more interest was the fact that an analysis of the linguistic organization of their respective texts revealed that the singer with good memory was also superior in terms of his ability to structure the tale coherently and efficiently. The ease of translating his text into English from Lue also was evidence that his original understanding of both Hindu-Buddhist mythology and local Lue myths was complete. In describing the events of the creation of the universe and the Lue people he used spatio-temporal order as a major mnemonic and conjoining device in a discourse structure, which, for the most part, consisted of paratactically related propositions. In addition, the organization of symbols in a system of bipolarities (reflected also in art: see the Shan drawing of the creation on page 101) was evident upon analysis.

Perhaps the most striking linguistic difference in the text of the superior rememberer was the absence of redundant filler phrases used by many singers as apparent hesitation phenomena.

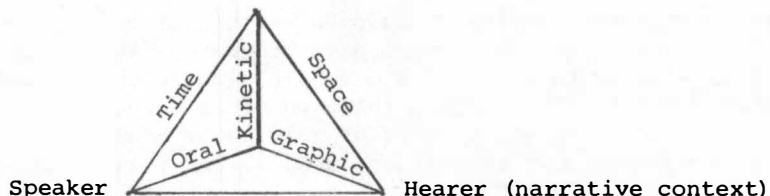
Changes that did take place in the texts of the better rememberer could be described as minor transformations of detail: substitutions of forms in a particular class, deletions, additions, permutation and conjoining-reduction.

In short, in the Lue oral tradition of chanted, semiformal, semisacred narratives, a text is replicated to a remarkably high degree in individual cases where the performer has the requisite organisational skills, a good comprehension of the basic information to be encoded in memory, efficiency in using linguistic resources and — here we make a supposition about temperament — the will to preserve or to change. Language is intimately involved in the structure of human knowledge in a process of selection and organisation (cf. Chafe 1972).

In addition to considering the relationship between linguistic and memory (psychological) organisation, it was equally important, crucial in fact, to consider societal constraints on the linguistic form and tendency toward replication from one telling to another. From a functionalist standpoint, the seriousness (teaching religious truths) of the speech act in a rather formal social setting restricts the alteration of form and content that a more frivolous, less self-conscious speech act done for the purpose of entertainment or other occasions for verbal play and competition would.

In a chapter comparing oral and written styles (Chapter IX), the conclusion was that a narrative text in performance can be conceived of as the recreation of a linguistic object that exists between speaker and hearer as the focus of and vehicle of their relationship at a particular point in time and space.

Object (narrative cotext)



Unlike the visual object or representation of the narrative, which is relatively fixed in physical substance, the verbal object must be reconstructed (recreated) anew each time for presentation to the hearer. Like the analogous shape (mental image) of the proverbial figure which the sculptor proceeds to reveal from out of a marble block, the narrative *schema* is learned through the experience of listening from childhood and practice in actual performance. Later, rules of selection and organisation operating across the network of the individual speaker's knowledge and feeling are used to construct a network or specific text of meaningful units relevant to the social situation of the moment. The constraints on his creation are the internal gestalt and individual limits of knowledge on the one hand, and the social and physical environment on the other.

As linguistic objects, oral and written (graphic) texts — which may include kinetic elements as well in the case of an oral performance — are considered as varieties of language (Catford 1965) that can be located in one particular speech community and also related to linguistic forms and functions in another. Such was the focus in Chapter VII, in which the performance of the Lue chant was categorised as one variant of 'elevated speech' in an outline for an ethnography of

neighbouring Tai dialects. A male-female dialogic structure of poetic repartee was suggested as the base upon which much of the oral literatures in the region have been constructed.

Another sociolinguistic dimension with psychological ramifications as well was analysed in the pragmatics structure (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) of the oral discourse. A two-track system was used in the total act of narrating. That is, some utterances had a purely narrative function: they carried the conceptual content of the tale. Other utterances, by contrast, were classified as *procedural* in function: they related the speaker and hearer and text by attracting the attention of the audience from time to time and by commenting or making metastatements concerning the origins, validity and construction of the narrative proper (cf. Chapter VIII).

In a discussion of memory, creativity and linguistic organisation in Chapters VIII and X, both pragmatics and lexical-syntactic structures were shown to have a parallel in psychological processes such as spacing (massed vs distributed practice), chunking (organisation of smaller units into larger ones in a hierarchical order), the recognition and remembering of form (gestalt or schema), depth of comprehension and the use of spatio-temporal order and other logical links – implied for the most part – between concepts represented in the narrative.

During the course of translating and explaining the meaning and function of each text, the most serious problem faced was that of meaning. A complete understanding of the narrative was finally posited on a theory of meaning that does not separate pragmatics from semantics. (Cf. Katz and Langendoen 1976 for a different view.)

Important to a theory of meaning required for the purpose of translation and discourse analysis is the assumption of a speaker's intended meanings and a hearer's understanding (Pike 1967). To be included also is their shared world of knowledge. The translator must meet the challenge of making the right assumptions about the speaker's intentions from clues provided by the cotext and text-external context. He must likewise acquaint himself sufficiently with the shared world of knowledge through actual experience or scholarship.

Rejected for the purpose of discourse analysis and translation was the notion that linguistic and memory structures can be completely represented in purely semantic terms (propositional content, e.g. Meyer 1975) on both linguistic and psychological grounds argued in Chapter IX.

The view maintained in the analysis of Lue oral narratives is that discourse has multiple structures constrained by several sociological and psychological demands and limits. All of these various structures are seen as interrelated in a behavioural whole (Pike 1967).

Another conclusion drawn from fieldwork and later linguistic analysis is that both the study of memory and creativity in verbal behaviour is best done at the performance level. By a comparative analysis of linguistic performances, as we have done, a measure of both creativity and memory can be made. Memory is thus calculated in terms of preservation, creativity in terms of change.

Among other problems faced in the course of work was the exact ethnolinguistic identity of singers. The younger singer, especially, did not, for one thing, exhibit contrastive vowel length as did the older singer. He seemed to have some Shan-like features as well. A thorough research of the literature on Lue

dialects, especially an excellent earlier Chinese work detailed in Part I, showed that, indeed, much of the Lue-speaking domain, which is in Yunnan, has features that overlap with Shan, including the absence of vowel length.

Unresolved, however, is the exact nature of the mechanisms underlying changes of vowel length in Tai dialects as a whole. One possible factor is the effect of the development and changes of tonal contours and registers on the extension of length. This is only one possible area of future research. As troublesome was the imprecision involved in describing v~w variation and the resulting problem in locating a v-w isogloss.

Connected with it is the work that needs to be continued in the area of designing an atlas of Tai dialects. A beginning has been made in the work of Sarawit (1973) and in Part I of this study, where a new alignment of South-western Tai dialects is drawn up along with several maps showing major isoglosses.

In terms of future research, the interest in the relationship between memory, perception and language behaviour can only increase in importance. For one thing, there is still the unresolved issue concerning the place of memory in perception and cognition. Despite the recent and convincing work of Berlin and Kay (1969) to disprove the strong and weak versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, memory is seen by some as a screen (depending on time) intervening between short term perception and cognition. In a very detailed summary of the current situation, Glick (1975:621) states:

a good amount of evidence suggests that, when present perceptual materials are to be dealt with, linguistic limitations may be overcome, especially if subjects are given time to invent and use interesting functional paraphrases. Yet, when tasks are involved which call for economical means of codification or the use of a clear designation, evidence for linguistic influence may be found.

Related to the same theme of memory in perception and cognition are many questions concerning the variables that enter into the use of information transmitted in the written versus oral medium. For a look at recent research in this area, which is heavily dependent on a suitable theory of discourse, the publication of Carroll and Freedle (1972) marks a flourish of new interest.

As an adjunct to discourse analysis, we note the obvious: the use of a computer program designed to facilitate a more minute and statistically respectable comparative analysis of memory and creativity. In this study of ours we could have gone one step further by using a computer print-out of collocations of successive recordings of Texts I and II.

Finally, the suggestion is made that future research in linguistics and the allied sciences of sociology and psychology must come to grips with individual differences. There is a need for a linguistics of the individual.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE GLOSSARY

The glossary which follows combines entries from Text I and Text II in English alphabetical order except for the glottal stop, which takes precedence. Syllables are ordered according to the numbered tones of Lue of Chieng Rung, the dialect of Text I. (In Text II, the Moeng Yong dialect, five syllables with an initial ʔ, b, d, have tone 4 in contrast to tone 1 found on the Chieng Rung entries.)

Vowel order is a, e, ε, ə, i, ɪ, o, ɔ, u. As previously noted, vowel length is phonemic for older speakers of the Chieng Rung dialect and a few other points in Sipsongpanna. The singer of Text I has the distinction; the singer of Text II does not. Accordingly, vowel length difference between the two texts is shown by a double entry only for those items which were actually sung. The texts themselves were finalised in a nearly phonemic form in order to promote a desired consistency and readability. There are some instances of variation, however, such as in some of the particles: ni<sup>-6</sup>, nii<sup>6</sup> or kɔɔ<sup>6</sup>, kɔ<sup>-6</sup> or items that were irregular. The glossary itself shows much of the variation recorded in the original fieldnotes but removed in the phonemic transcription. Finally, errors are bound to emerge.

In instances where there was some question as to the exact meaning of a gloss, notice is given of its unavailability by use of a dash or a parenthetical reference to a possible parallel in another dialect appearing in the glossaries of Egerod, Davis, Donaldson and Dieu, Gedney, Cushing, Purnell and Haas. Information on forms derived from Pali-Sanskrit comes from Gedney (personal communication) and Mahathera's Pali-English dictionary. Likewise many of the Lue citations themselves are taken from Gedney's files which he had kindly allowed me to use prior to my own fieldwork.

## GLOSSARY

- aa<sup>5</sup> bound question particle as in  
kin<sup>5</sup>-aa<sup>5</sup> eat?
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-haan<sup>1</sup> food
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-kaat<sup>2</sup> air
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> border
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-nan<sup>4</sup>-too<sup>1</sup> a lot (Pali: Ananta  
endless, infinite)
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-nun<sup>4</sup> Anun, name of a mythical  
fish who supports the world and is  
responsible for earthquakes
- ?aa<sup>1,4</sup>-yu<sup>5</sup> age
- ?aan<sup>2</sup> to count
- ?aaŋ<sup>2</sup>, ?aŋ<sup>2</sup> jar
- ?aat<sup>2</sup> valiant
- ?aay<sup>1</sup> vapour
- ?aay<sup>3</sup> nominal prefix — male
- ?a<sup>1</sup>-xoo<sup>1</sup> a lot (Shan: ten million)
- ?an<sup>1,4</sup> general classifier; it,  
that, which, what
- ?an<sup>3</sup> to speak
- ?an<sup>3</sup> yuu<sup>2</sup> to be speaking
- ?aw<sup>1</sup> to take
- ?aw<sup>1</sup>-kan<sup>1</sup> to get married — lit.  
take each other
- ?ay<sup>1</sup>-son<sup>1</sup> kingdom
- ?ee<sup>3</sup> particle
- ?ee<sup>1,4</sup>-koo<sup>1</sup> one
- ?ew<sup>2</sup> to roam
- ?əəy<sup>2</sup> particle
- ?iip<sup>2</sup> to crowd, squeeze
- ?i<sup>1</sup>-thii<sup>1</sup> female, name of female
- ?in<sup>1</sup> Indra
- ?oot<sup>2</sup> to speak
- ?ooy<sup>2</sup> O! — exclamatory expression
- ?ock<sup>2</sup>, ?ok<sup>2</sup> to go out, emerge
- ?oon<sup>1</sup>, ?on<sup>4</sup> before (also in kōn<sup>2</sup>  
?on<sup>4</sup> in Text II)
- ?uup<sup>2</sup> to talk
- ?um<sup>3</sup> to carry
- ?u<sup>1</sup>-pha<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup> analogy
- ?up<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>1</sup>-lok<sup>5</sup> Uppalok (Pali)
- baat<sup>2</sup> a line of poetry; footstep
- baaw<sup>2</sup> young male, bachelor, male  
teenager
- ba<sup>5</sup>, ba<sup>-5</sup>, ba<sup>-2</sup> reduced forms of  
/baw<sup>2</sup>/ not
- bat<sup>1</sup> moment, time occasion;  
classifier
- baw<sup>2</sup>, baw<sup>1</sup> no, not
- baw<sup>3</sup> crucible
- bəŋ<sup>1</sup> as in bit<sup>1</sup>-bəŋ<sup>1</sup> (Egerod P.P:  
bʻɪd bəən twist, shirk;  
bʻɪd biaŋ escape, avoid)
- bit<sup>1</sup> to twist
- bot<sup>1</sup> chapter
- bōon<sup>1</sup> in phak<sup>1</sup>-bōon<sup>1</sup> caladium: a  
type of vegetable with big leaves  
and fleshy stalks. The texture  
of the stalk is similar to banana  
stalk. It is usually eaten in a  
sour curry. Grows in wet places.  
Used as symbol in Malay culture  
as well.
- buŋ<sup>3</sup> in phak<sup>1</sup>-buŋ<sup>3</sup> watercress. The  
Latin name is *convolvulus* in the  
Haas dictionary, but *ipomoca*  
*aquatica* according to Reynolds  
(1981).
- caa<sup>1</sup> to speak, discuss, talk
- caa<sup>4</sup> particle (Purnell: particle  
of uncertainty; Egerod P.P: sǎŋ  
khǎa doubt)
- caa<sup>6</sup> evil, impudent, dirty
- caak<sup>2</sup>, cak<sup>2</sup> from, after
- caaŋ<sup>2</sup> to be watery, insipid  
(Donaldson)
- caaŋ<sup>5</sup> to be able to, know how to;  
artisan
- caaŋ<sup>6</sup> elephant



- caaw<sup>1</sup> core  
caaw<sup>4</sup> inhabitant  
caay<sup>4</sup> male human; man or boy; I  
(singer)-formal  
cak<sup>1</sup> will; if  
cam<sup>1</sup> to remember (probably borrowed  
from Lao)  
cap<sup>1</sup> to hold, take hold of  
caw<sup>3</sup> you-formal; lord, master,  
god as in caw<sup>3</sup> pɔɔ<sup>5</sup>  
caw<sup>6</sup> early, morning  
cay<sup>1</sup> heart, mind  
cay<sup>3</sup> first year of the cycle of  
twelve; the sign of the ox; in  
Siamese and White Tai the sign  
of the rat  
cay<sup>5</sup> to be the case  
cen<sup>1</sup> to speak, as in cen<sup>1</sup>-caa<sup>1</sup>  
ceɛŋ<sup>2</sup>, ciŋ<sup>2</sup> cf. ciŋ<sup>2</sup>  
ceŋ<sup>1</sup> first month  
cet<sup>1</sup> seven  
ceɛŋ<sup>3</sup> bright, clear  
cen<sup>1</sup> moon, Monday  
cen<sup>6</sup> region, level, tier  
cen<sup>6</sup>-tet<sup>5</sup> sixteen regions of heaven  
cet<sup>5</sup> cracked; clear (in Siamese:  
chát)  
cæ<sup>6</sup> ancestry, species, breed, kind  
cæ<sup>6</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> like this  
cæŋ<sup>4</sup> tactics, tricks  
cii<sup>1</sup> stylistic variant for sii<sup>1</sup>  
found in Text II. cf. sii<sup>1</sup>.  
The variation between s and c is  
also found in [sakkhavan,  
cakkhavan] universe.  
cim<sup>4</sup> salty  
ciin<sup>3</sup>, cin<sup>5</sup> (Purnell has cim  
semi-command word; Egerod:  
cim, ciim a wedge, to wedge)  
ciŋ<sup>2</sup>, ciŋ<sup>2</sup> so, then  
ciɪ<sup>5</sup> name, to be named  
coo<sup>4</sup> to persuade  
coo<sup>4</sup>-kan<sup>1</sup> to agree  
con<sup>4</sup> person, man, people (in Pali:  
Jana; in Siamese: chon)  
coon<sup>4</sup>, con<sup>4</sup> to follow (Egerod: to  
follow, along; along with;  
Donaldson: to slip through a small  
opening; Siamese: to dig, burrow  
in a winding or zig-zag way)  
coot<sup>2</sup> to land, moor; to touch or  
join at an edge of boundary  
cuu<sup>5</sup> every  
cum<sup>4</sup> others; clan  
cum<sup>4</sup>-puu<sup>4</sup> one of the continents in  
Hindu-Buddhist cosmology; India;  
the world  
cum<sup>5</sup> moist; happy  
cut<sup>5</sup> to miss, lack  
cut<sup>5</sup>-aa<sup>5</sup>, cut<sup>5</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup> set (in Siamese:  
chút)  
dam<sup>1</sup> black  
daŋ<sup>2</sup> like, as in  
day<sup>3</sup> to get  
dew<sup>1</sup>, dew<sup>4</sup> only one, one, once  
dew<sup>1</sup> ʔəy<sup>2</sup> wait awhile!  
deɛn<sup>1</sup>, den<sup>1</sup> boundary, area  
deɛŋ<sup>1</sup> red  
dək<sup>1</sup> late at night  
dən<sup>1</sup> month  
dii<sup>1</sup>, din<sup>4</sup> good, very (din<sup>4</sup> in  
Text II is a stylistic variant  
as in the phrase [din<sup>4</sup> lɛw<sup>6</sup>])  
dii<sup>1</sup>-coot<sup>2</sup> perfectly joined or  
touching  
di<sup>7</sup>, ti<sup>7</sup> will (ti<sup>7</sup> in rapid  
speech – tone also varies between  
1,5)  
din<sup>1</sup> earth  
doo<sup>1</sup>-non<sup>4</sup> to cat nap, fall sound  
asleep (Donaldson)  
doy<sup>3</sup> with, together; about  
doɔk<sup>2</sup> flower

- doon<sup>1</sup> highland  
 dooy<sup>1</sup> mountain  
 doy<sup>3</sup> to eat (Donaldson: slang form of to eat)  
 duu<sup>1</sup> particle (Egerod: duu<sup>4</sup> final particle; see) (Lao: duu<sup>1</sup> take note!)  
 duu<sup>1</sup> lɛʔ<sup>5</sup> cam<sup>1</sup> phrase final formula used for emphasis by singer of Text II. The word cam<sup>1</sup> does not appear to exist in Lue or Northern Thai. In White Tai (Donaldson) it means close or near. In Lao, the phrase would be used in the sense: Take note and remember!  
 faa<sup>2</sup> sole  
 faa<sup>6</sup> sky  
   məŋ<sup>4</sup> faa<sup>6</sup> sky, heaven  
 faat<sup>2</sup> astringent  
 faay<sup>2</sup> part, side  
 faŋ<sup>4</sup> to listen  
 fay<sup>4</sup> fire  
 feet<sup>2</sup>, fet<sup>2</sup> to keep, store, put away  
 fɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup> to hide, conceal  
 fɛɛt<sup>2</sup>, fɛt<sup>2</sup> twin, as in fɔɔ<sup>1</sup>-fɛɛt<sup>2</sup>  
 fəə<sup>1</sup> foliage  
 fun<sup>1</sup> rain  
 haa<sup>1</sup> to seek  
 haa<sup>3</sup> five  
 haak<sup>2</sup>, hak<sup>2</sup> rather, but (Egerod: but, if, since)  
 haaw<sup>1</sup> as in kaaŋ<sup>1</sup> haaw<sup>1</sup> atmosphere, space  
 han<sup>1</sup> see  
 han<sup>3</sup> there  
 haŋ<sup>4</sup> nest  
 haw<sup>4</sup> we, our  
 hee<sup>3</sup> to pour out  
 heen<sup>4</sup> to learn  
 hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> of, place; Clf. (Egerod: hɛŋ, hɛɛŋ of, place; Clf.; Davis hɛŋ of; hɛɛŋ place)  
 hɛŋ<sup>4</sup> - (Donaldson: to be healthy, alive)  
 hɛən<sup>2</sup> to mate  
 hæy<sup>2</sup>, həy<sup>4</sup> O!; to call or answer a call  
 him<sup>4</sup> edge  
 him<sup>4</sup> sop<sup>1</sup> lips  
 hin<sup>1</sup> rock, stone  
 hiŋ<sup>3</sup> to give, let; to, for  
 hiŋ<sup>1</sup> to be long  
 hoo<sup>1</sup> head  
 hoo<sup>1</sup>, xoo<sup>1</sup> to laugh (literary)  
 hok<sup>1</sup> six  
 hoŋ<sup>1</sup> in hoŋ<sup>1</sup> ʔin<sup>1</sup> possibly the swan which, by tradition, is the vehicle of Brahma. May be a symbol of the divine. In Shan (Cushing) a monk's room. In Text II: region of Indra.  
 hoəm<sup>1</sup>, hɔm<sup>1</sup> fragrant  
 hoən<sup>1</sup> cockscomb  
 hoən<sup>6</sup>, hɔn<sup>6</sup> hot  
 hoəŋ<sup>3</sup>, hoŋ<sup>3</sup> place, space, room; a technical term referring to one of the sixteen compartments or sections of heaven. In Text II it translates as heaven.  
 hoəŋ<sup>4</sup>, hoŋ<sup>4</sup> to be placed under, support  
 hoəŋ<sup>6</sup>, hoŋ<sup>6</sup> to sing  
 hoəp<sup>2</sup> to carry  
 huu<sup>6</sup>, luu<sup>6</sup> to know  
 huup<sup>5</sup>, luup<sup>5</sup> figure  
 hun<sup>1</sup> way  
 huŋ<sup>3</sup> to be low, as of land  
 kaa<sup>2</sup> more than  
 kaa<sup>3</sup> strong  
 kaa<sup>4</sup>-pha<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> womb  
 kaa<sup>5</sup> only; value  
 kaan<sup>4</sup> Mars; Tuesday  
 kaaŋ<sup>1</sup> middle  
 kaaŋ<sup>6</sup> to be left, remain  
 kaaw<sup>2</sup> to say

- kaay<sup>1</sup> to become  
 ka<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> variant form of kɔ-<sup>6</sup>  
 ka<sup>5</sup>-daaŋ<sup>3</sup> - (Egerod: kǎ<sup>7</sup>daaŋ, kadāaŋ  
 hard, rigid; Donaldson: stiff)  
 ka<sup>5</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> from Pali Konagamana,  
 the next to the last of the twenty-  
 four Buddhas that precede Gotama  
  
 ka<sup>5</sup>-taay<sup>2</sup> rabbit  
 kam<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup> Karma  
 kam<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup>-lok<sup>5</sup> from Pali, name of a  
 world in the Buddhist cosmology  
 kam<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-phee<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> name of a  
 wind  
 kam<sup>3</sup> side  
 kam<sup>4</sup> word  
 kam<sup>4</sup> as in kam<sup>4</sup>-thaa<sup>5</sup>-nan<sup>6</sup> time,  
 at that time  
 kan<sup>1</sup> each other  
 kan<sup>4</sup> if (Egerod: when, if)  
 kan<sup>6</sup> squeeze, massage  
 kaŋ<sup>5</sup> to hurry (Donaldson: to be busy)  
 kap<sup>1</sup> era  
 kap<sup>1</sup> with, and  
 kat<sup>1</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> from Pali: Kassapa,  
 the last of the twenty-four  
 Buddhas that preceded Gotama  
  
 kaw<sup>3</sup> nine  
 kaw<sup>6</sup> beginning, origin, oldest  
 kay<sup>2</sup> chicken  
 kay<sup>6</sup> twelfth year in twelve year  
 cycle; sign of the elephant  
 keen<sup>3</sup> all gone; smooth  
 kew<sup>3</sup>, kew<sup>3</sup> dear, darling, precious;  
 jewel, glass  
 keɛ<sup>3</sup> to solve  
 keɛm<sup>1</sup> to mix  
 keɛn<sup>2</sup>, ken<sup>2</sup> to be hard, solid  
 ken<sup>2</sup> classifier (young person:  
 line I.88)
- kəət<sup>2</sup>, kət<sup>2</sup> to be born, appear,  
 happen  
 kii<sup>3</sup> many, several  
 kin<sup>1</sup> to eat  
 koo<sup>4</sup>-ta<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> Gotama, name of the  
 Buddha  
 koot<sup>2</sup> a unit of measure  
 kon<sup>1</sup> to bother, pester, annoy  
 koo<sup>2</sup> to build  
 ko<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> to cling to  
 koo<sup>5</sup>, ko-<sup>6</sup> particle - tone varies  
 between 4, 5, 6 (Donaldson also  
 has ko<sup>6</sup>)  
 koon<sup>1</sup> poetry, as in caaŋ<sup>5</sup> koon<sup>1</sup>  
 poet  
 koon<sup>2</sup>, kon<sup>2</sup> before  
 kooŋ<sup>4</sup>, koŋ<sup>4</sup> path, road; tradition,  
 custom  
 kon<sup>2</sup> ʔon<sup>4</sup> before (Egerod: formerly)  
 koŋ<sup>3</sup> classifier (rock: line I.63)  
 koŋ<sup>1</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> woman's name  
 kum<sup>3</sup> to cover  
 kun<sup>3</sup> buttocks  
 kun<sup>4</sup> people, classifier for people  
 kuŋ<sup>4</sup> to be solid, firm as in  
 man<sup>3</sup> kuŋ<sup>4</sup>  
 kwaa<sup>2</sup> more than (see kaa<sup>2</sup>)  
 kwaaq<sup>3</sup> wide, roomy  
 kwaay<sup>4</sup> buffalo  
 laa<sup>3</sup> last, youngest, late  
 laan<sup>6</sup> million  
 laay<sup>1</sup> many, a lot  
 laay<sup>4</sup> line, stripe, design,  
 writing  
 la<sup>4</sup>-ca<sup>1</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> lion  
 lam<sup>4</sup> core, foundation  
 law<sup>5</sup> to open, reveal, tell,  
 explain  
 law<sup>5</sup> tenth year of the twelve  
 year cycle; chicken

lay<sup>1</sup> to flow  
 lek<sup>5</sup>-loŋ<sup>6</sup> to call  
 lew<sup>6</sup> variant of lew<sup>6</sup>, leew<sup>6</sup> (see below)  
 leɛ<sup>5</sup> to slice horizontally, explain, in leɛ<sup>5</sup> tii<sup>1</sup>  
 leɛŋ<sup>4</sup> strength  
 leɛŋ<sup>2</sup>, leŋ<sup>2</sup> own or proper place  
 leʔ<sup>5</sup>, leʔ<sup>6</sup> particle, used to mark end of phrase, clause, or to mark a pause or fill space in rhythmic pattern in chanting; rarely found in chant as meaning and or then  
 lew<sup>6</sup>, leew<sup>6</sup> finished; already (post-verb)  
 leə<sup>1</sup> beyond  
 leŋ<sup>1</sup> yellow  
 lin<sup>3</sup> to play  
 liŋ<sup>4</sup>-kaʔ<sup>1</sup>, -kaʔ<sup>5</sup> feature, penis (Pali: Linga sign, mark, attribute, feature; the generative organ, the gender (in grammar))  
 loo<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>1</sup> world (Pali)  
 look<sup>5</sup>, lok<sup>5</sup> world  
 looŋ<sup>4</sup>, loŋ<sup>4</sup> nominal prefix for abstract nouns, equivalent to Siamese khwaam  
 loot<sup>5</sup>, lot<sup>5</sup> consequently, immediately after (Donaldson: man<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>4</sup> he came — right after doing something; man<sup>4</sup> lot<sup>5</sup> keet<sup>5</sup> he was mad — after being teased)  
 lo<sup>5</sup>-ma<sup>5</sup>-tat<sup>5</sup> name of a world  
 loon<sup>1</sup>, lon<sup>1</sup> if, as in loon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>  
 loon<sup>6</sup>, hon<sup>6</sup> hot  
 loot<sup>5</sup>, lot<sup>5</sup> to pass through  
 loʔ<sup>5</sup> variant of leʔ<sup>5</sup>, final particle  
 lon<sup>4</sup> likely  
 loŋ<sup>6</sup> to call, as in lek<sup>5</sup>-loŋ<sup>6</sup>  
 luu<sup>6</sup>, huu<sup>6</sup> to know  
 luu<sup>6</sup>-kwaa<sup>2</sup>-look<sup>5</sup> In Text II, one of three beings who appear to take part in creation and the great fire.

Literally, the one whose knowledge surpasses the world. In other contexts, it refers to the Buddha.  
 luuk<sup>5</sup>, luk<sup>5</sup> child; son or daughter (in the speech of older informants in Chieng Rung, luuk<sup>5</sup> child contrasts with luk<sup>5</sup> to get up); chapter  
 luup<sup>5</sup>, huup<sup>5</sup>, lup<sup>5</sup> figure; to stroke, to rub gently  
 luk<sup>5</sup> — (Egerod: to rise, get up; to flame, blaze) in Text II luk<sup>5</sup> tun<sup>3</sup> first fire  
 lum<sup>4</sup> wind  
 lum<sup>5</sup> under, below  
 lun<sup>4</sup> after  
 luŋ<sup>4</sup> down  
 maa<sup>1</sup> dog  
 maa<sup>3</sup> to rise up, grow up; exceedingly pretty  
 maa<sup>4</sup> to come; postverb  
 maa<sup>6</sup> horse  
 maan<sup>4</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup> mother  
 maan<sup>6</sup> to destroy  
 ma<sup>5</sup>-tat<sup>5</sup> — (no gloss available) possibly the name of a world  
 man<sup>3</sup> firm  
 man<sup>3</sup>-kuŋ<sup>4</sup> unfluctuating, reliable  
 man<sup>4</sup> it  
 maw<sup>3</sup> the fourth year of the twelve year cycle; rabbit  
 may<sup>3</sup> to burn  
 may<sup>6</sup> tree  
 mee<sup>4</sup> wife  
 met<sup>5</sup> the eighth year of the twelve year cycle; goat  
 mee<sup>5</sup> woman, female, mother  
 men<sup>5</sup> to correspond with, coincide, right to the point  
 mæ<sup>4</sup> to go, depart, return, ascend, go up, upstream, go to the north (Egerod: depart)

- mæə<sup>5</sup> time  
 mən<sup>1</sup> like, as, similar to  
 məŋ<sup>4</sup> country, city, kingdom, land  
 məy<sup>1</sup> mist  
 mi<sup>2</sup> particle; a kind of yam  
 mi<sup>4</sup> to have; there is, there are  
 mi<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>, mi<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> ten thousand  
 mi<sup>2</sup>n<sup>4</sup> a long time  
 mi<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>5</sup> dark  
 mi<sup>2</sup>ŋ<sup>4</sup> variant form of məŋ<sup>4</sup> country,  
 city  
 moon<sup>4</sup> all (as in taŋ<sup>4</sup>-moon<sup>4</sup>)  
 moot<sup>2</sup> unit, group, whole, as in  
 moot<sup>2</sup> vay<sup>6</sup>  
 mot<sup>1</sup> all, all gone  
 moy<sup>4</sup>-phum<sup>1</sup> hair knot  
 mɔɔ<sup>3</sup> pot  
 muu<sup>1</sup> pig  
 mun<sup>4</sup> round  
 mun<sup>4</sup>-la<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> beginning (from Pali:  
 Mula root, foot, bottom; origin,  
 foundation, beginning)  
 naa<sup>1</sup> thick  
 naa<sup>3</sup> face  
 naa<sup>3</sup>-phaak<sup>2</sup>, -phak<sup>2</sup> forehead  
 naa<sup>4</sup> particle  
 naa<sup>4</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> various (from Pali:  
 Nānā various)  
 naak<sup>5</sup> serpent  
 naan<sup>4</sup> long, of time  
 naaŋ<sup>4</sup> female  
 nak<sup>1</sup> very (Purnell: ñak to be much,  
 many, a lot)  
 nam<sup>6</sup> water  
 nan<sup>6</sup> that  
 naŋ<sup>2</sup> as if, like, with, to (Cushing:  
 according to, in accordance with,  
 as)  
 naŋ<sup>3</sup> like, as in duu<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>3</sup> look  
 like  
 nap<sup>5</sup> to count  
 naw<sup>6</sup> (see yɔɔk<sup>2</sup>-naw<sup>6</sup>)  
 nay<sup>4</sup> in  
 new<sup>1</sup> sticky  
 nɛɛ<sup>1</sup> to explain  
 nɛɛ<sup>1</sup>-law<sup>5</sup> to explain  
 nɛn<sup>3</sup> to be solid, crowded  
 nəə<sup>1</sup> to be above, on  
 nəə<sup>4</sup> final particle = for certain  
 nəə<sup>6</sup> flesh  
 nəy<sup>2</sup> classifier for worlds, suns  
 nii<sup>2</sup> to show, display  
 nii<sup>6</sup>, ni<sup>6</sup>- this; final particle  
 nin<sup>4</sup> black; a semi-precious gem,  
 black sapphire  
 nip<sup>5</sup>-paan<sup>4</sup> Nirvana  
 niŋ<sup>5</sup> one  
 noo<sup>1</sup> thick and sticky as of dough  
 or syrup  
 nok<sup>5</sup> bird  
 noɔ<sup>2</sup> scion; classifier  
 noɔ<sup>4</sup> final emphatic particle  
 stressing verb  
 noɔn<sup>4</sup>, no<sup>4</sup> to sleep, lie down  
 noɔŋ<sup>6</sup>, noŋ<sup>6</sup> younger sibling  
 noŋ<sup>4</sup> constantly, a lot, crowded  
 noy<sup>6</sup> small  
 ŋaa<sup>4</sup> tusk  
 ŋaam<sup>4</sup> handsome, beautiful, pretty  
 ŋaay<sup>4</sup> late morning  
 ŋoo<sup>4</sup> ox (Gedney: ŋoo<sup>4</sup> in Moeng  
 Yong; hoo<sup>4</sup> and in Chieng Rung;  
 ŋoo<sup>4</sup> in both Text I and II)  
 ŋoot<sup>2</sup> to scoop up  
 ŋoɔn<sup>4</sup> to curve  
 ŋuu<sup>4</sup> snake  
 paa<sup>1</sup> fish  
 paak<sup>2</sup> mouth

- paan<sup>1</sup> as if  
 paan<sup>1</sup> time  
 paay<sup>1</sup> end  
 paay<sup>4</sup>, pay<sup>4</sup> side, part  
 pan<sup>1</sup> to share, give  
 pan<sup>1</sup>-haa<sup>1</sup> riddle, question, puzzle  
 pan<sup>3</sup> to mould  
 pan<sup>4</sup> one thousand  
 pat<sup>5</sup> to blow  
 paw<sup>3</sup> a kind of green bird  
 paw<sup>3</sup> the second year of the twelve  
 year cycle; lion (Donaldson: the  
 sign of the buffalo)  
 paw<sup>4</sup> thigh, lap  
 paw<sup>4</sup>-taw<sup>3</sup> (Egerod: paw<sup>4</sup> arm-in-  
 arm; taw<sup>3</sup> to go, come)  
 pay<sup>1</sup> to go  
 pay<sup>2</sup> not  
 peen<sup>4</sup>, peŋ<sup>4</sup> to be level, even, flat  
 peew<sup>1</sup>, pew<sup>1</sup> flame  
 pet<sup>1</sup> duck  
 peen<sup>1</sup> to make  
 peen<sup>1</sup>-cay<sup>1</sup> intend  
 peet<sup>2</sup> eight  
 pe<sup>75</sup> goat  
 peə<sup>5</sup> because  
 pən<sup>5</sup> they, other people (Purnell:  
 I used by male to female)  
 pii<sup>1</sup> year  
 pii<sup>2</sup> flute  
 pii<sup>3</sup> to crush  
 pii<sup>5</sup> older sibling  
 pin<sup>1</sup> to be, become  
 pin<sup>6</sup>, pin<sup>6</sup> ground, floor;  
 beginning  
 pin<sup>6</sup> sole  
 pop<sup>5</sup> to meet  
 poŋ<sup>4</sup> thick, bushy  
 poy<sup>4</sup> in poy<sup>4</sup> ŋaay<sup>4</sup> late morning  
 (perhaps related to old Siamese  
 literary form phlaw ŋaay, phaw  
 ŋaay late morning)  
 po<sup>4</sup> enough  
 po<sup>5</sup> father  
 puu<sup>2</sup> paternal grandfather  
 puu<sup>2</sup>-kaa<sup>5</sup> paternal grandfather  
 (stylistic variant)  
 puu<sup>6</sup> male - animals only  
 pu<sup>71</sup>-li<sup>71</sup>-soo<sup>1</sup> male, man (from Pali)  
 put<sup>5</sup> Wednesday, Mercury  
 phaa<sup>1</sup> rock  
 phaak<sup>2</sup> in naa<sup>3</sup>-phaak<sup>2</sup> forehead  
 phaay<sup>1</sup> sharp  
 pha<sup>75</sup> god, Lord  
 pha<sup>1</sup>-kot<sup>1</sup> to appear  
 pha<sup>5</sup>-pin<sup>1</sup>-caw<sup>3</sup> god, Lord  
 phak<sup>1</sup> vegetable  
 phat<sup>1</sup> Thursday, Jupiter  
 phay<sup>1</sup> who  
 pheet<sup>2</sup> to compare  
 phet<sup>1</sup> spicy hot  
 phet<sup>5</sup> to spread  
 phen<sup>2</sup> sheet  
 phen<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>1</sup> the earth  
 phit<sup>5</sup>-ca<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>75</sup>-naa<sup>4</sup> to consider  
 phoo<sup>1</sup> husband  
 phoom<sup>6</sup>, phom<sup>6</sup> together with, and  
 also  
 phum<sup>1</sup> hair of the head  
 phum<sup>4</sup> Brahma, Hindu god from whose  
 navel the earth emerged  
 saam<sup>1</sup>, sam<sup>1</sup> three  
 saan<sup>5</sup> gloss unavailable (Donaldson:  
 saan<sup>5</sup> dispose, scatter; Egerod:  
 lean, glide; Siamese: to feel a  
 certain sensation; Lue also has  
 see<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>6</sup> to spoil, use and sam<sup>6</sup>  
 all)

- saaŋ<sup>2</sup> don't!  
 saaŋ<sup>3</sup> to build, create  
 saaw<sup>1</sup> adolescent girl  
 sa<sup>1</sup>-mak<sup>1</sup> willing  
 sa<sup>1</sup>-nee<sup>4</sup>-loo<sup>4</sup> in Pali: Sineru, Mt. Meru of Indic tradition  
 sa<sup>1</sup>-ŋaa<sup>6</sup> the seventh year in the twelve year cycle; horse  
 sak<sup>1</sup>-xa<sup>1</sup>-vaan<sup>4</sup> universe  
 sam<sup>6</sup> all, all gone, used up; again (in some contexts and with some speakers, both meanings appear. Usually sam<sup>6</sup> means all. e.g. kin<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>6</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> seŋ<sup>3</sup> eat all; Donaldson: sam<sup>6</sup> more, all. In Text I it means both again and used up.)  
 san<sup>3</sup> short  
 saŋ<sup>1</sup> what; in baw<sup>2</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> nothing  
 saŋ<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>5</sup>-sii<sup>1</sup> Sangsii, proper name of Lue creators  
 saŋ<sup>1</sup>-xa<sup>1</sup>-yaa<sup>1</sup> calculate  
 saŋ<sup>6</sup>-xiŋ<sup>4</sup> - (Donaldson: to have energy to get up)  
 say<sup>1</sup> clear  
 say<sup>2</sup> put, add to  
 say<sup>3</sup> sixth year of the twelve year cycle; snake  
 see<sup>1</sup> to lose (the singer of Text II varies with sii, cii, cii, cin, especially in the often repeated expression lon<sup>1</sup> see<sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup>)  
 seeŋ<sup>1</sup>, seŋ<sup>1</sup> voice, sound; variant of seeŋ<sup>1</sup>, proper name  
 seep<sup>2</sup> to consume  
 set<sup>1</sup> eleventh year in the twelve year cycle; dog  
 seeŋ<sup>1</sup>, sen<sup>1</sup> one hundred thousand  
 seeŋ<sup>1</sup>-kay<sup>3</sup> Saeng Kay, proper name  
 seeŋ<sup>1</sup>, seŋ<sup>1</sup> excellent thing, jewel, pearl  
 sen<sup>1</sup> ninth year in the twelve year cycle; monkey  
 sen<sup>1</sup>-phaa<sup>4</sup> omniscient (from Pali-Sanskrit: Sarva all)  
 sen<sup>1</sup>-yaa<sup>4</sup> to promise, a promise  
 set<sup>1</sup> animal  
 səə<sup>1</sup> tiger  
 səə<sup>2</sup> to spread like a mat  
 sii<sup>1</sup> fifth year of the twelve year cycle; serpent; colour  
 sil<sup>2</sup> four  
 si<sup>1</sup>-laa<sup>4</sup> stone, rock (from Pali)  
 si<sup>1</sup>-lo<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> to sing, try (Donaldson: sii<sup>1</sup> to rub lo<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> to insert, put together; sii<sup>1</sup>-lo<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> to try to sing or compose or put things together)  
 sin<sup>3</sup> classifier for strand of hair  
 siŋ<sup>2</sup> thing  
 sip<sup>1</sup> ten  
 sip<sup>1</sup>-ʔet<sup>1</sup> eleven  
 sip<sup>1</sup>-sooŋ<sup>1</sup> twelve  
 sip<sup>1</sup>-hok<sup>1</sup> sixteen  
 si<sup>1</sup><sup>6</sup> - (Donaldson: to be, emphatic particle, e.g. in kay<sup>2</sup> poo<sup>5</sup> si<sup>1</sup><sup>6</sup> baw<sup>2</sup> mii<sup>4</sup> we have no roosters); in Text II, si<sup>1</sup><sup>6</sup> di<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> vaa<sup>5</sup> I say  
 si<sup>1</sup><sup>6</sup> to pass on  
 sop<sup>1</sup> mouth  
 soy<sup>1</sup> pretty  
 soon<sup>1</sup>, son<sup>1</sup> to teach  
 soon<sup>2</sup>, son<sup>2</sup> to think  
 soon<sup>6</sup>, son<sup>6</sup> again  
 sooŋ<sup>1</sup>, soŋ<sup>1</sup> two  
 soŋ<sup>2</sup> to shine  
 suu<sup>3</sup> to enjoy  
 suuŋ<sup>1</sup> to be high, tall  
 suk<sup>1</sup> Friday, Venus  
 sum<sup>3</sup> sour  
 sun<sup>1</sup> zero  
 sun<sup>3</sup> heel, origin  
 sut<sup>1</sup> end, beyond

- taa<sup>1</sup> eye  
 taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup> sun  
 taam<sup>1</sup> along, to follow  
 taan<sup>3</sup> to speak  
 taan<sup>5</sup> he, in formal speech  
 taan<sup>5</sup>-taaw<sup>6</sup> he, equivalent to thaaw  
 in Siamese literature; refers to a  
 person of high status such as a  
 king or prince  
 taan<sup>2</sup> to saddle, burdened  
 taan<sup>4</sup> way  
 taaw<sup>6</sup> I-refers to the narrator in  
 Text I  
 taay<sup>1</sup> to die  
 taq<sup>3</sup> to set up  
 taq<sup>3</sup>-tee<sup>2</sup>, taq<sup>3</sup>-tee<sup>2</sup> from, since  
 taq<sup>4</sup>, tiŋ<sup>4</sup> all, both as in xaw<sup>1</sup>  
 taq<sup>4</sup> soŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 taq<sup>4</sup>-mon<sup>4</sup> all  
 taw<sup>3</sup> to come, go, stroll around  
 taw<sup>5</sup> equal  
 taw<sup>5</sup>-day<sup>1</sup> how much, how many  
 taw<sup>6</sup> to pile up  
 tay<sup>3</sup> under, below, south  
 tay<sup>4</sup> Tai  
 teem<sup>4</sup> to be on the same level,  
 to be equal  
 teen<sup>5</sup> noon, peaceful, motionless  
 (Donaldson: still, peaceful,  
 motionless)  
 teet<sup>5</sup>, tet<sup>5</sup> region, country  
 tew<sup>4</sup>-va<sup>5</sup>-daa<sup>1</sup> goddess, female, angel  
 tee<sup>2</sup> from, since, to  
 tee<sup>6</sup> really  
 ten<sup>4</sup> suddenly  
 teŋ<sup>2</sup> to make, create  
 tet<sup>5</sup> equal, as in teem<sup>4</sup> tet<sup>5</sup>  
 (Siamese: thiam thát)  
 tet<sup>5</sup>-tiŋ<sup>1</sup> equally  
 tæ<sup>5</sup> time  
 tæm<sup>1</sup> add  
 tha<sup>5</sup>, tha<sup>5</sup> time, as in kam<sup>4</sup>-tha<sup>5</sup>  
 -nan<sup>6</sup> at that time  
 thaam<sup>1</sup> to ask  
 tha<sup>1</sup>-luŋ<sup>4</sup> to support (Siamese:  
 tha-roŋ, soŋ)  
 tha<sup>5</sup>-la<sup>5</sup>-nii<sup>4</sup> earth (Pali: Dharanī  
 the earth)  
 tham<sup>4</sup> the Dharma, the law (Pali:  
 Dhamma doctrine, nature, truth,  
 the Norm, mortality, good conduct)  
 theeŋ<sup>3</sup>, theŋ<sup>3</sup> in addition to, to  
 increase, to add more  
 thet<sup>1</sup> next  
 thew<sup>2</sup> - (Shan: to have a  
 distinguishing appearance)  
 the<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>-læp<sup>1</sup> sheet, as in the<sup>1</sup>-læp<sup>1</sup>  
 xam<sup>4</sup> gold leaf  
 thæn<sup>3</sup> to finish, to be finished  
 theŋ<sup>1</sup> to, to reach  
 thii<sup>2</sup> detail, in detail; time  
 tho<sup>1</sup> to move  
 thoŋ<sup>1</sup>-tiŋ<sup>4</sup> to arrive at a place  
 tii<sup>1</sup> to beat  
 tii<sup>5</sup> place, as in tii<sup>5</sup>-han<sup>3</sup>;  
 relative pronoun  
 tii<sup>5</sup>-han<sup>3</sup> there  
 tiin<sup>1</sup>, tin<sup>1</sup> foot  
 ti<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> variant of di<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup> will  
 tim<sup>1</sup> full  
 tip<sup>5</sup> magic  
 tit<sup>1</sup>-daŋ<sup>2</sup> as far as, as for  
 tit<sup>5</sup> sun, Sunday  
 ti<sup>7</sup><sup>3</sup> unit of measurement = Yot  
 (see yot<sup>5</sup>-ca<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup>)  
 tiŋ<sup>4</sup> all, still, both  
 too<sup>1</sup> classifier; self, person  
 tok<sup>1</sup> to fall  
 tok<sup>1</sup>-ten<sup>2</sup> to create, arrange, put in  
 order  
 ton<sup>3</sup>, tun<sup>3</sup> beginning



- tɔɔ<sup>5</sup>, tɔʔ<sup>5</sup> emphatic particle,  
as in faŋ<sup>4</sup> tɔʔ<sup>5</sup> listen
- tɔɔŋ<sup>4</sup> to look, as in tɔɔŋ<sup>4</sup> duu<sup>1</sup>  
(Siamese: tɔɔŋ duu)
- tɔɔŋ<sup>6</sup> womb, belly, stomach
- tun<sup>1</sup> classifier for huge beings  
such as elephants and giants
- tun<sup>3</sup> tree, first
- vaa<sup>5</sup>, waa<sup>5</sup> to say; that
- vaan<sup>1</sup> sweet, delicious
- vaaŋ<sup>4</sup> to put
- van<sup>4</sup> day; particle; in taa<sup>1</sup>-van<sup>4</sup>  
sun
- van<sup>4</sup>-nii<sup>6</sup> (vaa<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup>) today; in  
bat<sup>1</sup> dew<sup>4</sup> van<sup>4</sup> nii<sup>6</sup> used as a  
formulaic expression indicating  
time; phrase final particles =  
Siamese chiao ná
- vay<sup>6</sup> to put aside, keep;  
postverb
- va<sup>1</sup>-saan<sup>1</sup> rain (Pali: Vassa the  
year; rain)
- vii<sup>1</sup> to comb, comb
- vi<sup>1</sup>-seet<sup>2</sup> extraordinary
- vɛɛt<sup>5</sup> circle, around; to encircle;  
to put the hair up in a bun
- vɛn<sup>5</sup> a mirror
- vɔɔk<sup>5</sup> monkey
- vɔɔt<sup>5</sup>, vɔt<sup>5</sup> to be extinguished
- vɔɔy<sup>4</sup>-vɔɔy<sup>4</sup> again and again
- xaa<sup>1</sup> leg; in ʔaw<sup>1</sup> xaa<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> to set  
up something
- xaa<sup>3</sup> non-Tai person, montagnard  
(referred to in Text II) (Egerod:  
slave, I)
- xaa<sup>5</sup> branch, limb
- xaaŋ<sup>2</sup> top (the toy)
- xaat<sup>2</sup> to be final
- xam<sup>4</sup> gold
- xat<sup>1</sup>-xin<sup>1</sup> to obstruct
- xaw<sup>1</sup> they; mountain
- xaw<sup>3</sup> to enter
- xay<sup>1</sup> to open, reveal, tell
- xay<sup>5</sup> to want
- xee<sup>1</sup>-maa<sup>4</sup> happiness (from Pali)
- xet<sup>2</sup> border, boundary
- xeew<sup>1</sup> green
- xɛɛn<sup>1</sup>, xɛn<sup>1</sup> arm
- xɛɛŋ<sup>1</sup>, xɛŋ<sup>1</sup> hard
- xɛŋ<sup>3</sup> intentionally
- xəp<sup>5</sup> to meet, associate (Siamese:  
khóp)
- xii<sup>1</sup>-xii<sup>1</sup> the sound of laughing,  
giggle
- xiŋ<sup>1</sup> (Donaldson: particle as  
in naa<sup>3</sup> xew<sup>1</sup> xiŋ<sup>1</sup> to be very  
pale (green))
- xɪ+n<sup>4</sup> to return, come back
- xoo<sup>1</sup>, hoo<sup>1</sup> to laugh (hoo<sup>1</sup> is  
literary)
- xɔɔ<sup>3</sup> verse (Siamese: khōɔ)
- xɔɔp<sup>2</sup> edge
- xɔɔŋ<sup>1</sup> thing; of (rarely used -  
hɛŋ<sup>2</sup> is common term for of)
- xuu<sup>4</sup>, khuu<sup>4</sup> teacher
- xuu<sup>6</sup> bend
- xum<sup>1</sup> bitter
- xun<sup>1</sup> hair (except for the human  
head)
- xuŋ<sup>1</sup>-xet<sup>2</sup>, -xet<sup>2</sup> boundary
- xut<sup>1</sup> to dig
- xwan<sup>1</sup> whorl
- xwan<sup>4</sup> smoke
- xway<sup>5</sup> to complete
- xwii<sup>4</sup> to bother, annoy
- yaa<sup>5</sup> paternal grandmother
- yaam<sup>4</sup>, yam<sup>4</sup> time, period
- yaay<sup>1</sup> to stand in a row, to explain,  
relate (Donaldson: to scatter; to  
sing one after another)

yaŋ<sup>4</sup> still  
 yaŋ<sup>6</sup> to stop, defer or desist  
 from  
 yay<sup>2</sup> to be big  
 yay<sup>4</sup> as in yaay<sup>1</sup> yay<sup>4</sup> to put in a  
 row one after the other  
 yeet<sup>2</sup> to stretch  
 yeem<sup>6</sup>, yem<sup>6</sup> to smile; to open  
 yeŋ<sup>4</sup> to shine; to poke; to pierce  
 yen<sup>1</sup> to prop  
 yaŋ<sup>5</sup> to be like, similar to  
 yii<sup>4</sup> rumpled, messy  
 yii<sup>5</sup> the third year of the twelve  
 year cycle; tiger  
 yin<sup>1</sup>-yoom<sup>4</sup> a descriptive term - no  
 gloss available (Gedney: yin<sup>1</sup>-yon<sup>4</sup>  
 quiet; Cushing: yǎn to be quiet,  
 still, quiet after conflict)

yin<sup>4</sup>-dii<sup>1</sup> to be happy; thank you  
 yiŋ<sup>4</sup> woman, female human  
 yiŋ<sup>4</sup>-kaa<sup>5</sup> woman (possibly a stylistic  
 variant in Text II)  
 yoom<sup>4</sup> cf. yin<sup>1</sup>-yoom<sup>4</sup>  
 yot<sup>5</sup>-ca<sup>5</sup>-na<sup>7</sup><sup>5</sup> a unit of measure:  
 (yot = 9.94 statute miles)  
 yɔɔ<sup>3</sup> to shorten  
 yɔɔk<sup>5</sup>-naw<sup>6</sup> to play, tease  
 yɔɔk<sup>5</sup>-yɔɔn<sup>5</sup> no definite gloss  
 available (Donaldson: yɔɔn<sup>3</sup> to  
 bounce, bump, beat; Purnell:  
 yook<sup>5</sup> to rock, as a chair)  
 yɔɔn<sup>6</sup>, yɔn<sup>6</sup> to revert; because  
 yɔɔn<sup>2</sup> to tread lightly  
 yɔɔt<sup>5</sup> top  
 yuu<sup>2</sup> to stay, be in a place  
 yuŋ<sup>3</sup> to be rumpled  
 yut<sup>1</sup> to stop

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Lue is also spelled Lu or Lü. In Siamese, it is pronounced /l̥iː/ with a high level tone. The Lue of Chieng Rung pronounce /l̥iː/ with a low level tone that has a slight fall at the terminus. Contrary to common belief among many Thais and westerners, the Lue are not hill tribe people. They are lowland, wet rice producers who practice Buddhism and speak a Tai dialect closely related to Siamese, or Standard Thai. U.S.I.S. (The United States Information Service) has produced a film for distribution in Thailand wherein the Lue are classed as hill tribes (chaawkhăw), clearly an error.
- <sup>2</sup> Many western scholars of comparative and historical Tai include Ong, Be and Li speech of Hainan in their studies. (See Benedict 1942, 1966; Haudricourt 1967 and Chamberlain 1971, for example.) The data on these languages appear to be very sketchy. Their similarity to other Tai languages is found in a handful of words, which may be fortuitous borrowings. In his study of "National languages", Chang Kun (1967) shows Li as an intermediary language between Mia-Yao and Kam-Tai, a classification that I would favour, at least until better data are available. The possibility exists that these languages are Pidgins or Creoles. Mantaro Hashimoto (1980) has published the most reliable data on Be to date.
- <sup>3</sup> Ahom, the Tai language of Assam, India, died out about 1800 (Gedney 1974). An Ahom-Assamese-English Dictionary by Borua was published in Calcutta in 1920. Other materials include Ahom Lexicons, 1964, Ahom Buranji (Chronicles), an 1872 publication by Dalton of a descriptive ethnography of Bengal. A Thai university professor, Dr Banjob Phantumeetha has written, in Thai, a popular account of her travels in Assam. Grierson (*op. cit.*) also refers to Ahom in his survey.

Anthony Diller (personal communication 1981) reports that he found, during a recent visit of Assam, "several older men who could chant historical texts and ceremonial things for hours". The chanting is apparently done from written texts with an Assamese pronunciation (phonology) and without preservation of the tonal distinctions of the original Ahom texts. Except for vestige phrases used for fun, "no one uses Ahom for daily life purposes".

- <sup>4</sup> The exact location of Chieng Rung in Yunnan is 100°-101°31' east longitude and 21°31' north latitude (just below the Tropic of Cancer). Many maps show this to be in part of an 'autonomous region' of which there are several in The People's Republic of China. In the case of Chieng Rung, it is the capital of the Tai Autonomous Region of Sipsongpanna (Wade-Giles: Hsishuangpanna; Pinyin: Qishuangpanna).
- <sup>5</sup> The original article is, of course, in Chinese. I have used a copy which is a translation by Mrs James Dew, generously provided by Professor Gedney.
- <sup>6</sup> The interplay between 'city talk' and rural speech is dealt with interestingly by Leonard Bloomfield (1927). Here it is doubtful that kam muang means *city talk*. Looking at the Mission Pavie map at the end of this chapter, we see the label Muang Lan Na 'country of a million fields' to cover the old kingdom that had its centre at Chiengmai. To translate khon muang simply as *people of the muang* is really incomplete. Relying on cartography and historical information, the fuller reference is more properly made to the people and the language of Muang Lanna Thai 'the kingdom of Lanna'.
- <sup>7</sup> Moerman (1965) has attempted to deal with the confusing array of ethnic terms. He notes,
- The Chinese *Pai-i*, for example, includes some, but not all, of China's Thai people. The term *Yang* is used by the Siamese for the Karen, by the Eastern Lao for the Lue (Archer 1892:346), and by the Lue of Ban Ping for non-Buddhist Thai in China. The term *Yuan* is used by the Lue, the Shan (Archer 1892:346), and the Lao (Mouhot 1864 II:129) for the Thai of Lannathai, who call themselves "people of the *myang*" (khon myang). The Siamese call the *Yuan Lao* and reserve the term *Yuan* for the Annamese (i.e. Vietnamese).
- <sup>8</sup> The tones \*ABC were distinguished by pitch registers and syllable-final characteristics. Thus according to Brown (1965), tone A was high, B mid, C low. Correspondingly, syllable endings were whispered, voiced and glottalised. Haudricourt (1961/1972) is in basic agreement with the phonetics of the endings except that he posits a final -h for syllables with the A tone. It is often found that the tones in the C column have a creaky or glottalised quality. There are numerous exceptions, however. See Strecker (1979) for a more recent attempt at reconstruction of tones \*ABC.
- <sup>9</sup> In Brown's chart for Khorat note that only four tones exist. This is something of a surprise and means that, unless an error has been made, Khorat has the fewest number of tones of any Tai dialect.
- <sup>10</sup> Compton (1975) has 'Southern Lao' data from Sithadone, Laos. In analysing her data (mohlam), I have found that it fits my scheme previously devised for what I have called Southern Lao: a 3-way split in column A between High-Mid-Low initials. As usual in Lao dialects, the C column shows a High-Mid/Low split. My chart for Compton's Southern Lao data appears as follows with approximations of tonal shapes and pitch levels. Ideally, one should have data from Bassac (Champasak), the third, or Southern Lao capital, historically speaking.

	A	B	C	
High	∨ —		∨ —	∨ mid rising
Mid	~ —	ϕ	^ —	~ low, mid, slight rise and fall *vl ϕ mid level
Low	/ —			----- low level *vd ^ mid falling / high falling

In her study of Lao dialects, Panka (1980) provides a quotation from the work of Chit Phumisak (1976) where he points to the historical-political divisions of Laos into the kingdoms of Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Champasak. Panka uses these three points and ethnographic evidence to set up areas called Northern, Central and Southern Lao. See Hartmann (1981) for further discussion.

- 11 I cite these Sam Neua data with some hesitation. Strictly speaking, it is not a Lao dialect because it does not have the H-M/L split in the C column that is characteristic of Lao. Then too, the data Simmonds has for other dialects do not agree with the work of Brown, for example.
- 12 Ehrman (1972) says: "The Cambodian /v/ varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers pronounce it like English w but others pronounce it like English v but with both lips rather than the upper lip and lower teeth as in English". The same appears to be true in Tai dialects in contact with Cambodian at one time or another, but, in particular, those of more recent contact, such as Lao and North-eastern Thai. In Cambodian, it could probably be shown to be a sociolinguistic variable; v appears to be the prestige form.
- 13 Conversely, in Northern Thai, Hope and Purnell (1962) report:  
 Frequently, /y/ before /k,n/ becomes /ə/ in Northern. In Lue too we find /dək/ 'late at night' and /sək/ 'war' for Siamese /dɨk/ and /sɨk/. (Lue citations - high tone; Siamese - low tone.)
- 14 Srisawat's notation is very inconsistent for tones. It appears that he was transcribing from written Lue into Siamese. Our retranscription into phonemic spelling is no more accurate than his; the translations are very rough too. Some of the labels he uses for literary genre must be considered either Siamese or Northern Thai - not Lue categories.
- 15 Purnell (1976) has a different solution. He proposes an underlying abstract structure with a sixteen syllable line, which is subdivided into 4 rhythmic groups of 4 syllables each. Three actualisation rules operate on the underlying structure to produce lines of fewer surface syllables. Purnell did not make use of Thamayot's analysis in Thai. As a consequence he missed the important structural element of the 'dropped hemistich' pointed out by Thamayot (1947). In the same article, Purnell states that there are two types of khâaw: tham (religious) and soo. He makes no mention of the genre referred to as coy on page 78. On the same page we mentioned two types of khâaw in Lue discussed by Srisawat (1955).
- 16 "this text is a galaxy of signifiers, not a structure of the signified... the systems of this absolutely plural text can be isolated [gotten hold of, grasped] but their number is never closed, having for their measure the infinity of language".

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