

Characteristics of the Language  
Of Traditional Songs and Poetry  
Of the Jingpo Nationality

DAI QINGXIA  
Central Institute of Nationalities, Beijing

translated by  
Randy J. LaPolla

0. Introduction:

The literary language (mǎ<sup>31</sup> ni<sup>31</sup> pha<sup>731</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>31</sup>) of the Jingpo people is the language used to chant their traditional songs and poetry. These include epic, expressive and narrative poems, love songs, songs of praise and respect, drinking songs, etc. They are sung at weddings, house-raising, meetings, holiday celebrations and sacrifices. Those who can systematically and in a practiced way sing these poems are the troubadours (called lǎ<sup>31</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup> wa<sup>33</sup>), and the professional religious people (known as tʃai<sup>31</sup> wa<sup>31</sup> or tum<sup>31</sup> sa<sup>33</sup>). There are also others who can sing a bit, but they generally only know short pieces and so are unable to sing for any length of time. The aim of the singing is mainly to spread knowledge of traditional Jingpo culture and history. Aside from this, singing also serves a celebratory function on happy occasions.

The language of Jingpo songs/poems evolved from colloquial speech, and therefore is closely related to it, yet the two are not identical. The poetic language has certain unique characteristics that have had a definite influence on the development of the vernacular. Colloquial speech is enriching itself by continually absorbing elements of the literary language. Thus, in order to deeply understand the characteristics of Jingpo speech, it is necessary to study the characteristics of the literary language. Worthy of note is the fact that the literary language retains certain characteristics of Ancient Jingpo, and so can supply useful data for the study of the historical development of Jingpo. Below we will discuss the characteristics of the literary language in terms of morphology, syntax, and lexical collocation.

## 1. Morphological characteristics

Traditional songs and poetry have their own lexical and morphological characteristics. Although lexical items from colloquial speech are also used in traditional songs and poetry, the majority of poetic words are different from those found in colloquial speech. These poetic words are created by combining words taken from colloquial speech, or by combining literary and colloquial words, via a special morphological process. Below we will present a concrete analysis of these words, dealing with monomorphemic and compound words separately.

### 1.1 Monomorphemic words

The following three usage types are characteristic:

1.1.1 Use of words from the colloquial language, with the meaning and pronunciation the same as in the colloquial language. These words are distributed across the different word classes, and comprise about one-third of the total words used in the literary language. Examples:

Table 1:

(a) tʃǎ <sup>33</sup> khji <sup>33</sup>	'muntjac'	(m) ʃan <sup>31</sup> ɲa <sup>33</sup>	'deer'
(b) ɲ <sup>55</sup> phun <sup>55</sup>	'rice stalk'	(n) mǎ <sup>31</sup> kui <sup>33</sup>	'elephant'
(c) an <sup>55</sup> the <sup>33</sup>	'we'	(o) na <sup>755</sup>	'yours'
(d) mjit <sup>31</sup>	'think'	(p) khʒit <sup>31</sup>	'to fear'
(e) ja <sup>33</sup>	'to give'	(q) tu <sup>31</sup>	'to arrive'
(f) kǎ <sup>31</sup> pa <sup>31</sup>	'big'	(r) kǎ <sup>31</sup> lu <sup>31</sup>	'long'
(g) kǎ <sup>31</sup> tsɿŋ <sup>33</sup>	'raw'	(s) tsom <sup>31</sup>	'beautiful'
(h) tat <sup>31</sup>	'speak out'	(t) kau <sup>55</sup>	'(to eat) up'
(i) lǎ <sup>55</sup> ɲai <sup>51</sup>	'one'	(u) lǎ <sup>55</sup> khoŋ <sup>51</sup>	'two'
(j) lǎ <sup>31</sup> tsə <sup>33</sup>	'hundred'	(v) niŋ <sup>55</sup> kam <sup>51</sup>	'one step'
(k) muŋ <sup>31</sup>	'also'	(w) ɲ <sup>31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	'after'
(l) ai <sup>33</sup>	'genitive part.'	(x) sǎ <sup>55</sup> ka <sup>55</sup> ai <sup>33</sup>	'sent. part.'

### 1.1.2 Use of literary words different from colloquial ones.

Examples:

Table 2:

Literary word	Colloq. word	Gloss
(a) sā <sup>31</sup> kat <sup>31</sup>	n <sup>31</sup> tsin <sup>33</sup>	'water'
(b) sai <sup>31</sup> len <sup>31</sup>	n <sup>31</sup> ten <sup>33</sup>	'lips'
(c) khau <sup>33</sup> kju <sup>33</sup>	n <sup>31</sup> thu <sup>33</sup>	'knife'
(d) num <sup>55</sup> zoi <sup>51</sup>	kat <sup>31</sup> nen <sup>31</sup>	'bee'
(e) wun <sup>31</sup> fit <sup>31</sup>	pā <sup>55</sup> li <sup>55</sup>	'stockings'
(f) sum <sup>55</sup> poi <sup>51</sup> nan <sup>31</sup>	tum <sup>31</sup> si <sup>33</sup>	'porcupine'

### 1.1.3 Use of ancient words - These are a special class in the literary language, but there aren't many of them. Examples:

Table 3:

Ancient word	Colloq. word	Gloss
(a) koŋ <sup>31</sup>	khum <sup>31</sup>	'body'
(b) tŋā <sup>31</sup> kha <sup>31</sup>	ŋat <sup>31</sup>	'cooked rice'
(c) tai <sup>55</sup> ju <sup>51</sup>	ŋin <sup>31</sup> kjin <sup>33</sup>	'mudball'
(d) kuŋ <sup>33</sup> li <sup>33</sup>	n <sup>31</sup> tan <sup>33</sup>	'crossbow'

The above ancient words can be ascertained by comparison with related languages. For example, koŋ<sup>31</sup> 'body', is kuŋ<sup>51</sup> tu<sup>21</sup> in Zaiwa. In spoken Burmese, the form for 'body' is usually khum<sup>31</sup>, but the form koŋ<sup>31</sup> is also seen, as in koŋ<sup>31</sup> kja<sup>31</sup> 'soft-bodied'.

## 1.2 Compound Words

In this type, colloquial and literary words are combined to form new words. The morphological patterns are the same as those for colloquial words, but the collocation is different. Words that can be collocated in the literary language cannot be collocated in the colloquial language. For example, the literary expression to<sup>31</sup> kam<sup>33</sup> 'large column' is derived from the words to<sup>31</sup> 'column' and kam<sup>33</sup> 'big'. In the colloquial language, kam<sup>33</sup> 'big' is found only after ma<sup>31</sup>

'child' to mean 'the oldest (male) child', but in the literary language it can be used, by analogy, with to<sup>31</sup> 'column', to mean 'large column'. This way of combining words, not seen in normal speech, represents an augmentation of the language's morphological capacity. Another example is the word lă<sup>31</sup> 'one' in lă<sup>31</sup> tsə<sup>33</sup> 'one hundred'. In the spoken language, this word cannot be used with units over one hundred, but in the literary language it can, as in lă<sup>31</sup> ti<sup>31</sup> 'one hundred million' and lă<sup>31</sup> mun<sup>31</sup> '(one) ten-thousand'. Generally speaking, the morphological capacity of the literary language is freer and more flexible than in the colloquial language.

Compound words can be divided into simple compounds, derivatives, and four-syllable compounds:

### 1.2.1 Simple compounds

Formed from two or more lexical items (content words), these can be further divided into three types:

**1.2.1.1 Co-ordinate constructions:** These are formed from words which are lexically similar or identical; most examples derive from two disyllabic words. Examples:

Table 4:

(a) wa <sup>31</sup> tʃi <sup>33</sup> 'ancestor'	(c) jit <sup>31</sup> tun <sup>33</sup> jit <sup>31</sup> za <sup>33</sup> 'dry land'
father grandfather	main-dry-land dry-land
(b) wa <sup>31</sup> woi <sup>33</sup> 'ancestor'	(d) sin <sup>31</sup> tun <sup>33</sup> kʒon <sup>33</sup> wan <sup>31</sup> 'heart'
father grandmother	main-heart heart

Often seen is a type of co-ordinate structure using synonyms or near synonyms, but where native and borrowed words (from Chinese, Tai, or Burmese) are used together. This type is not seen in the colloquial language. Examples:



Table 5:

(a)	mă <sup>55</sup> lut <sup>55</sup>	ja <sup>31</sup> man <sup>31</sup>	'pipe tobacco'
	tobacco (Jp)	pipe-tobacco (Tai)	
(b)	toi <sup>31</sup> khom <sup>33</sup>	pjin <sup>31</sup> laŋ <sup>31</sup>	'betel palm'
	betel-palm (Tai)	betel-palm (Jp)	
(c)	mo <sup>33</sup> toŋ <sup>31</sup>	ti <sup>231</sup> pu <sup>33</sup>	'small round pot'
	copper-pot (Tai)	small-round-pot (Jp)	
(d)	tʃe <sup>31</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup>	mai <sup>31</sup> sau <sup>31</sup>	'paper'
	paper (Tai)	big (Jp) paper (Jp)	
(e)	ʃă <sup>31</sup> pjin <sup>33</sup>	teŋ <sup>55</sup> ka <sup>55</sup>	'wealth'
	wealth (Jp)	wealth (Jp)	

In order to create a new four-syllable word, some monosyllabic words can take on a prefix. Example:

Table 6:

a <sup>31</sup>	lik <sup>31</sup>	lai <sup>31</sup> ka <sup>33</sup>	'letter (character)'
prefix	letter (Tai)	letter (Jp)	

Within this type of co-ordinate structure, aside from nouns formed from collocated nouns, a small number of nouns can be formed from collocated adjectives. Example:

Table 7:

mă <sup>31</sup> kjep <sup>31</sup>	man <sup>33</sup>	'liquor'
glutinous	genuine	

Another type involves creating new words from colloquial and literary elements. The meaning of the new word is generally the same as or similar to the meaning of the colloquial element. In the majority of cases the literary component precedes the colloquial one, but the opposite situation is also attested. Following are some

examples of words with the literary component in first position (colloquial components are shown in **bold face**):

Table 8:

(a)	num <sup>55</sup> zoi <sup>51</sup> <b>kat<sup>31</sup> nen<sup>33</sup></b>	'bee'
(b)	ʃaŋ <sup>31</sup> thin <sup>55</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> zo <sup>755</sup>	'bound feet'
(c)	tum <sup>31</sup> tam <sup>33</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> <b>phan<sup>31</sup></b>	'palm of hand'
(d)	tsum <sup>31</sup> tsaŋ <sup>31</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> <b>mjin<sup>33</sup></b>	'fingernail'
(e)	khau <sup>33</sup> kju <sup>33</sup> niŋ <sup>31</sup> <b>thu<sup>33</sup></b>	'knife'
(f)	woi <sup>31</sup> mon <sup>33</sup> ʃǎ <sup>55</sup> zi <sup>55</sup>	'worthless land'
(g)	lǎ <sup>31</sup> ziŋ <sup>33</sup> <b>kum<sup>31</sup> za<sup>31</sup></b>	'horse'
(h)	sai <sup>33</sup> len <sup>31</sup> niŋ <sup>31</sup> <b>ten<sup>33</sup></b>	'lips'

Words with the colloquial component in first position:

Table 9:

(a)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>khum<sup>31</sup> taŋ<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>33</sup></b>	'body'
(b)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> <b>khu<sup>55</sup> sum<sup>55</sup> zuŋ<sup>51</sup></b>	'voice'

In the above examples, the meaning of the composite word is *exactly* the same as the colloquial component. Below are examples where the meaning is similar or related to that of the colloquial component:

Table 10:

(a)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> <b>tu</b> tʃiŋ <sup>33</sup> man <sup>33</sup>	'unresolved matters'
	pointed	
(b)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> <b>kjit<sup>55</sup> tsin<sup>31</sup> zo<sup>31</sup></b>	'a present'
	to form (a lump)	

1.2.1.2 **Modifier-head constructions**, comprising the six types outlined below. Of these, the first three (except for some of the words in the third type) are found in common speech, while the last two are found only in the literary language.

## 1.2.1.2.1 Noun + Adjective[modifying element] → Noun: e.g.:

Table 11:

(a) <i>thiŋ<sup>31</sup> nan<sup>33</sup></i> 'new house' house new	(d) <i>thiŋ<sup>31</sup> tsam<sup>33</sup></i> 'rotted house' house rot
(b) <i>khɣai<sup>31</sup> kuŋ<sup>55</sup></i> 'arched bridge' bridge bow	(e) <i>ju<sup>731</sup> mai<sup>33</sup></i> 'good father- f-i-law good in-law'
(c) <i>kha<sup>731</sup> seŋ<sup>55</sup></i> 'clean water' water clean	(f) <i>lu<sup>731</sup> man<sup>33</sup></i> 'pure yeast yeast-tree pure tree'

## 1.2.1.2.2 Noun + Verb[modifying element] → Noun: e.g.:

Table 12:

(a) <i>zi<sup>31</sup> khai<sup>55</sup></i> 'vine' vine plant(vb.)	(b) <i>lu<sup>731</sup> khai<sup>55</sup></i> 'yeast-tree' y.-tree plant (vb.)
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## 1.2.1.2.3 Noun[modifying element] + Noun → Noun: e.g.:

Table 13:

(a) <i>kum<sup>33</sup> pa<sup>33</sup></i> <i>wa<sup>731</sup></i> 'pig slaughtered at wedding time' waistband-grass pig	
(b) <i>phu<sup>31</sup> lum<sup>55</sup></i> <i>mǎ<sup>31</sup> tʃan<sup>33</sup></i> 'woman(honorific)' woman-who-supervises-wine woman	
(c) <i>thiŋ<sup>31</sup> tsip<sup>55</sup></i> 'house' house nest	(d) <i>ka<sup>31</sup> aŋ<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>55</sup></i> 'the earth' midst place

Within this third type there are two special subtypes that do not exist in the colloquial language. In the first subtype, the element modifying the nouns is made up of a prefix and a verb, adjective or adverb. This subtype is relatively productive in the literary language. Examples:

Table 14:

(a)	mǎ <sup>55</sup> lɯŋ <sup>51</sup>	lǎ <sup>31</sup> kǎŋ <sup>33</sup>	'ladder'
	pref. to ascend	ladder	
(b)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> tɯp <sup>31</sup>	sum <sup>31</sup> tɯ <sup>33</sup>	'hammer'
	pref. to hit	hammer	
(c)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> pjen <sup>31</sup>	siŋ <sup>31</sup> kɔŋ <sup>33</sup>	'wings'
	prefix to fly	wings	
(d)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> tum <sup>31</sup>	sum <sup>33</sup> pji <sup>33</sup>	'flute'
	pref. to blow	flute	
(e)	a <sup>55</sup> soi <sup>51</sup>	ja <sup>31</sup> man <sup>31</sup>	'pipe tobacco'
	pref. fine	pipe-tobacco	
(f)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> wat <sup>31</sup>	noi <sup>31</sup> tʃi <sup>33</sup>	'small basket'
	pref. hanging	small-basket	

The second subtype has, as noun modifier, a disyllabic noun made up of a noun plus the honorific prefix *wun*<sup>31</sup>-. The noun used with *wun*<sup>31</sup>- may either be semantically related to the last two syllables of the four-syllable expression, or it may be totally unrelated, acting merely as a "filler" word. Examples:

Table 15:

(a)	wun <sup>31</sup> khu <sup>231</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> wan <sup>33</sup>	'bowl'
	pref. intimate	bowl	
(b)	wun <sup>31</sup> tʃi <sup>55</sup>	mam <sup>33</sup>	'paddy rice'
	pref. (filler)	rice	
(c)	wun <sup>31</sup> po <sup>31</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>31</sup> tai <sup>33</sup>	'umbilical cord'
	pref. (filler)	umbil.-cord	
(d)	wun <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>31</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>33</sup> kan <sup>33</sup>	'star'
	pref. (filler)	star	

## 1.2.1.2.4 Noun + Noun[modifying element] → Noun: e.g.:

Table 16:

(a)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>33</sup>	'master'
	master	official(n.)	
(b)	sum <sup>33</sup> pǝ <sup>33</sup>	thoi <sup>31</sup>	'winter grass'
	winter-grass	oldest-male	
(c)	tsiŋ <sup>33</sup> man <sup>33</sup>	nem <sup>31</sup>	'green grass'
	green-grass	oldest-female	
(d)	u <sup>31</sup> pjit <sup>31</sup>	siŋ <sup>33</sup> koŋ <sup>33</sup>	'sparrow'
	sparrow	oldest-male	

This type does not appear in the colloquial language, which has only the forms with the modifying element in first position.

## 1.2.1.2.5 State[phonesthetic] Adverbial + Noun → Noun:

Table 17:

(a)	a <sup>31</sup> puk <sup>31</sup>	mo <sup>33</sup> to <sup>33</sup>	'car'
	"pu-pu"-sound	car	
(b)	a <sup>31</sup> tak <sup>31</sup>	mji <sup>55</sup> tha <sup>55</sup>	'train'
	"da-da"-sound	train	
(c)	a <sup>31</sup> kuŋ <sup>31</sup>	saŋ <sup>33</sup> pho <sup>55</sup>	'steamboat'
	"long-long"-sound	boat	
(d)	soi <sup>33</sup> ʒoi <sup>33</sup>	tiŋ <sup>31</sup> si <sup>31</sup>	'bell'
	"ding-ding"-sound	bell	

1.2.1.2.6 Noun + State-Adverbial[modifying element] -  
Noun:

Table 18:

(a) lut <sup>31</sup> tsi <sup>33</sup> 'fine tobacco' tobacco fine	(b) kat <sup>31</sup> tsi <sup>33</sup> 'small banyan' banyan fine(small)
(c) kjin <sup>31</sup> jan <sup>33</sup> 'long, thin cucumber' cucumber long-thin	
(d) mai <sup>31</sup> pjet <sup>31</sup> 'flat tail' tail flat-like	(e) mai <sup>31</sup> khza <sup>755</sup> 'forked tail' tail fork-like
(f) nau <sup>33</sup> jan <sup>33</sup> 'long, thin timber' timber thin-long	

1.2.1.3 Object-Verb Constructions: mostly Noun + Verb -  
Verb. This morphological type is also seen in the colloquial  
language, but not with the particular lexical collocations  
shown below.

Table 19:

(a) pha <sup>731</sup> lot <sup>55</sup> 'to move the shoulder' shoulder to move	
(b) thai <sup>31</sup> jan <sup>33</sup> 'to cushion with a mat' mat to spread out	
(c) tai <sup>31</sup> lup <sup>31</sup> 'to bury the umbilical cord' umbil.-cord to bury	
(d) thai <sup>31</sup> kun <sup>33</sup> 'to lift a mat' mat to lift	
(e) tai <sup>31</sup> kjit <sup>31</sup> 'to tie off the umbilical cord' umbil.-cord to tie	

Aside from this, the literary language also shows a type of disyllabic compound made by abbreviating a three- or four- (mostly four-) syllable compound from the colloquial language. This type of abbreviated compound is not seen in the colloquial language. Examples:

Table 20:

Colloquial form	Literary form	Gloss
(a) kǎ <sup>31</sup> pha <sup>231</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>33</sup> shoulder ptd.-part	pha <sup>231</sup> tu <sup>33</sup> shoulder ptd.-part	'point of the shoulder'
(b) ŋ <sup>55</sup> ta <sup>51</sup> ŋ <sup>31</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> house new	thiŋ <sup>31</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> house new	'new house'
(c) mā <sup>31</sup> ju <sup>231</sup> mā <sup>31</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup> f.-in-law parent	ju <sup>231</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup> f.-in-law parent	'father-in-law'
(d) lup <sup>31</sup> tui <sup>31</sup> mā <sup>31</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup> yeast-tree essential	lup <sup>31</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup> y.-tree essential	'most essential tree for produ- cing yeast'
(e) la <sup>33</sup> ŋ <sup>31</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> male new	la <sup>33</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> male new	'groom'

### 1.2.2 Derivatives

These are formed through prefixation or inflection:

**1.2.2.1 Prefixation:** The colloquial language of the Jingpo is rich in prefixes, but in the literary language these prefixes are generally restricted to mā-, a-, and lǎ-. The prefix mā- functions to create nouns from verbs and state-adverbs. Examples:

Table 21:

Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
(a) $z\dot{u}ŋ^{31}$	'to be exuberant'	$m\check{a}^{31} z\dot{u}ŋ^{31}$	'exuberant one'
(b) $khu^{731}$	'to become (relatives)'	$m\check{a}^{31} khu^{731}$	'relatives'
(c) $luŋ^{31}$	'to go up'	$m\check{a}^{55} luŋ^{51}$	'one who goes up'
(d) $kh\dot{z}et^{31}$	'to mark, delimit'	$m\check{a}^{31} kh\dot{z}et^{31}$	'ruler'
(e) $p\dot{j}en^{33}$	'to fly'	$m\check{a}^{31} p\dot{j}en^{33}$	'one who flies'
(f) $khaŋ^{31}$	'to increase in num.'	$m\check{a}^{31} khaŋ^{31}$	'ones that increase'
(g) $\dot{f}ot^{31}$	'to be glossy'	$m\check{a}^{31} \dot{f}ot^{31}$	'glossy one'
Adverb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
(h) $wat^{31}$	'hanging in air'	$m\check{a}^{31} wat^{31}$	'one hanging in air'
(i) $\dot{f}ot^{31}$	'split-open'	$m\check{a}^{31} \dot{f}ot^{31}$	'knife'

The prefix a- is used solely for phonological bulk in creating two- or four- syllable words. It does not affect meaning or word class. Examples:

Table 22:

(a) $a^{31} thiŋ^{31}$	'house'	(b) $a^{31} kun^{31} tiŋ^{31} khu^{33}$	'home/family'
house		family family	
(b) $a^{31} sut^{31}$	'wealth'	(d) $a^{31} m\dot{j}it^{31} khu^{55} ta^{33}$	'love (noun)'
wealth		thought feelings	

The prefix lă- is used before single-syllable verbs to create disyllabic verbs. It does not affect meaning or word class. Examples:

Table 23:

(a) $luŋ^{55}$	→	$l\check{a}^{31} luŋ^{55}$	'to cause to go up'
(b) $kai^{55}$	→	$l\check{a}^{31} kai^{55}$	'to cause to wear (flowers)'

Some words that take the prefix a- in the colloquial language take the prefix mǎ - in the literary language. Examples:



Table 24:

$a^{31} khzai^{55}$  (colloq.)  $\rightarrow$   $ma khzai^{55}$  (lit.) 'to hold on to'

Aside from the above, there are also the prefixes  $kin^{31}$ - and  $ʃin^{33}$ -. Examples:

Table 25:

(a)  $zu^{31}$  'surging (state adv.)' (b)  $kin^{31} zu^{31}$  'to hire(workers)(vb.)'  
 (c)  $tun^{33}$  'big (adj.)' (d)  $ʃin^{33} tun^{33}$  'big one (noun)'

**1.2.2.2 Inflection:** Literary words are created by inflection of the final or tone of a word from the colloquial language. Inflection of finals includes such processes as the addition of a final consonant to a word that originally didn't have one, or change in a pre-existing final consonant. Examples:

Table 26:

Colloquial word:	Literary word:
(a) $sum^{33} kha^{33}$ 'big affair'	$sum^{31} khan^{33}$ 'to undertake (a big affair)'
(b) $mai^{31} wan^{33}$ 'hunting ground'	$mai^{31} wan^{33}$ 'to surround (hunting ground)'
(c) $num^{55}$ 'to season food'	$num^{33}$ 'warm'
(d) $thai^{31} jo^{33}$ 'mat'	$thai^{31} jo^{755}$ 'to spread (a mat)'

Example sentences:

Table 27:

(a) $kā^{31} pa^{31}$	$mai^{31} wan^{33}$	$mai^{31} wan^{33}$ ,
big	hunting ground	to surround
$kā^{31} lu^{31}$	$sum^{33} kha^{33}$	$ʃe^{731} sum^{31} khan^{33}$ .
far	undertaking	then to take on
<p><i>'To carry on a major task, to undertake a far-reaching project (literally, 'to surround a big hunting-ground, to take on a far(-reaching) undertaking')'</i></p>		

Table 27 (continued):

(b)	a <sup>33</sup> khum <sup>33</sup> tin <sup>31</sup> khum <sup>33</sup> , a <sup>33</sup> num <sup>33</sup> tin <sup>31</sup> num <sup>33</sup> .
	all together all together warm warm
	<i>'The whole family's gathered together, the whole family's warm'</i>
(c)	fi <sup>33</sup> pje <sup>731</sup> thai <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> thai <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>755</sup> .
	ten to tread. large-mat to spread out
	<i>'Spread out a large mat by treading on it ten times'</i>

Among the words of the literary language, some are constructed from ancient, dialectal, or foreign loan words. There are also times when an ancient pronunciation (addition of a final -ŋ) is used. Examples:

Table 28:

(a)	a <sup>31</sup> koŋ <sup>31</sup> fiŋ <sup>33</sup> jan <sup>33</sup>	'body'
	body(anc.) long	
(b)	fǎ <sup>31</sup> ni <sup>55</sup> tǎ <sup>31</sup> kha <sup>31</sup>	'lunch'
	daytime rice/meal (anc.)	
(c)	a <sup>31</sup> kun <sup>31</sup> tin <sup>33</sup> khu <sup>33</sup>	'family'
	family(Tai) family	
(d)	a <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>33</sup> lau <sup>55</sup> pjau <sup>33</sup>	'older male cousin'
	older brother(Chin.) cousin(Chin.)	
(e)	tai <sup>55</sup> ju <sup>51</sup> fiŋ <sup>31</sup> kjin <sup>33</sup>	'mudball'
	mudball(anc.) mudball(colloq.)	
(f)	waŋ <sup>31</sup> tsin <sup>31</sup> kin <sup>31</sup> za <sup>31</sup>	'place where
	prince(Chin.) assemble(Zaiwa) place	<i>princes assemble'</i>

Table 28 (continued):

(g) mǎ <sup>31</sup> no <sup>231</sup> woi <sup>33</sup> sin <sup>33</sup> kaŋ <sup>33</sup> water trough water trough	'water trough' (modern colloquial form is sin <sup>33</sup> ka <sup>33</sup> ; ancient form has -ŋ)
(h) mǎ <sup>55</sup> luŋ <sup>51</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> kaŋ <sup>33</sup> to go up ladder	'ladder' (modern colloquial form is lǎ <sup>31</sup> ka <sup>33</sup> ; ancient form has -ŋ)
(i) ŋ <sup>31</sup> kji <sup>51</sup> kjiŋ <sup>33</sup> kǎ <sup>31</sup> laŋ <sup>33</sup> eagle eagle	'eagle' (modern colloquial form is kǎ <sup>31</sup> la <sup>33</sup> ; ancient form has -ŋ)
(j) ŋ <sup>55</sup> phzoŋ <sup>51</sup> ŋ <sup>33</sup> khjeŋ <sup>33</sup> white-grain red-grain	'grain (in general)' (modern colloquial forms are ŋ <sup>55</sup> phzo <sup>51</sup> and ŋ <sup>33</sup> khje <sup>33</sup> ; ancient forms have -ŋ)

The interchanging of words which are identical or similar meaning, and which show certain phonetic similarities, is an important device in traditional songs and poetry. Because of this, the literary lexicon contains many word families of various sizes, created via various morphological processes. The following table shows an example of a word family based upon the root *phuŋ<sup>31</sup>* 'water':

Table 29:

(a) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> saŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'	(f) san <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> saŋ <sup>33</sup> 'clean water'
(b) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> tsjŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'	(g) san <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> naŋ <sup>33</sup> 'clean water'
(c) phuŋ <sup>33</sup> tsjŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'	(h) li <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> naŋ <sup>33</sup> 'auspicious water'
(d) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> kzaŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'	(i) li <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> kzaŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'
(e) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> 'water'	
(j) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> taŋ <sup>33</sup> sǎ <sup>31</sup> kat <sup>31</sup> 'subterranean water'	
(k) phuŋ <sup>31</sup> taŋ <sup>33</sup> fǎ <sup>31</sup> kzo <sup>31</sup> 'subterranean water'	
(l) fa <sup>31</sup> kzo <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> taŋ <sup>33</sup> 'subterranean water'	
(m) fa <sup>31</sup> kzo <sup>31</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> tsjŋ <sup>33</sup> 'water'	
(n) mǎ <sup>31</sup> khu <sup>231</sup> phuŋ <sup>31</sup> kam <sup>33</sup> 'great river'	

Some word families are created using elements from two words (or roots), such as the following family, based upon the words  $m\check{a}^{31}$   $tsi^{31}$  'yeast (for brewing liquor)' and  $lup^{31}$   $tui^{31}$  'yeast tree (the fruit of which is used to make yeast)':

Table 30:

(a) $m\check{a}^{31}$ $tsi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $toi^{31}$	'yeast'
(b) $lup^{31}$ $tui^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $man^{33}$	'real yeast'
(c) $m\check{a}^{31}$ $tsi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $man^{33}$	'real yeast'
(d) $ts\check{a}^{31}$ $moi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $man^{33}$	'real yeast'
(e) $m\check{a}^{31}$ $toi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $man^{33}$	'real yeast'
(f) $t\check{f}\check{a}^{31}$ $mji^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $man^{33}$	'real yeast'
(g) $t\check{f}\check{a}^{31}$ $moi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $tun^{33}$	'essential yeast'
(h) $lup^{31}$ $tui^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $tun^{33}$	'essential yeast'
(i) $t\check{f}\check{a}^{31}$ $moi^{31}$ $lup^{31}$ $tun^{33}$	'essential yeast'

Sometimes different words are put together to form a group of words with the same meaning. The words below all mean 'the earth':

Table 31: 'The earth'

(a) $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ $k\check{a}^{31}$ $a\eta^{33}$ place middle	(b) $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ $kum^{31}$ $tun^{33}$ place big
(c) $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ $ka^{55}$ place place	(d) $k\check{a}^{31}$ $a\eta^{33}$ $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ $wa^{31}$ $jan^{33}$ middle place level
(e) $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ $wa^{31}$ $jan^{33}$ place level	(f) $kum^{31}$ $tun^{33}$ $a^{31}$ $ka^{55}$ big place
(g) $k\check{a}^{31}$ $a\eta^{33}$ $ka^{55}$ middle place	(h) $wun^{31}$ $tun^{33}$ $fi\eta^{31}$ $za^{31}$ big (honorific) place
(i) $k\check{a}^{31}$ $a\eta^{33}$ $kum^{31}$ $tun^{33}$ middle big	

As long as the rhyming patterns are adhered to, the use of one word or another from a particular group can be tailored to fit the occasion. Some words are only used in certain situations, a case in point being the word for '(paper-folding) fan'. Normally, tʃam<sup>31</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> (fan+fan) is used, but where the occasion calls for modesty, toŋ<sup>31</sup>-pan<sup>33</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> ('express modesty'+fan) is used. On a somewhat solemn occasion, tʃe<sup>31</sup>+seŋ<sup>33</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> (paper+gem+fan) or tʃe<sup>31</sup>+pa<sup>33</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> (paper+wide+fan) is used, and for extremely serious occasions, tsa<sup>31</sup>+seŋ<sup>33</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> (gold+gem+fan) or tʃeŋ<sup>31</sup> seŋ<sup>33</sup>+lǎ<sup>31</sup>-jit<sup>31</sup> (gem+fan) is used.

**1.2.2.3 The Method for Forming Four-Syllable Maxims:** In the colloquial language there are many four-syllable maxims of morphologically different types. In the literary language, there are relatively few of these maxims, usually of the form ABAC. The following categories can be distinguished:

**1.2.2.3.1 A disyllabic coupling element is added to a disyllabic word.** Generally it follows the word, but can precede it. In the examples below, coupling elements are shown in bold face:

Table 32:

(a) lo <sup>31</sup> tse <sup>31</sup> lo <sup>31</sup> tho <sup>33</sup> mule (colloq.)	'mule'
(b) tum <sup>31</sup> su <sup>33</sup> tum <sup>31</sup> saŋ <sup>33</sup> cow (colloq.)	'cow'
(c) no <sup>731</sup> kju <sup>55</sup> no <sup>731</sup> se <sup>55</sup> cowpea (colloq.)	'cowpea'
(d) mǎ <sup>31</sup> kui <sup>33</sup> mǎ <sup>31</sup> naŋ <sup>33</sup> big-elephant (colloq.)	'big elephant'
(e) kjin <sup>31</sup> joŋ <sup>31</sup> kjin <sup>31</sup> jaŋ <sup>33</sup> good-cucumber (colloq.)	'good cucumber'

**1.2.2.3.2 Two identical prefixes are added to two monosyllabic words (or roots).** The second and fourth syllables sometimes have identical initials or finals. For example:

Table 33:

(a)	niŋ <sup>31</sup>	tun <sup>31</sup>	niŋ <sup>31</sup>	tʃan <sup>33</sup>	'pointed part'
	pref. tip		pref. pointed		
(b)	wun <sup>31</sup>	tun <sup>33</sup>	wun <sup>31</sup>	pa <sup>31</sup>	'sir'
	pref. major		pref. big		

## 2. Syntactic Characteristics

In traditional songs and poetry, sentence lengths vary. The longest may reach eighteen syllables, the shortest, as few as four syllables, but the average length is six to eight syllables. An example of a long sentence follows (rhymed syllables, regardless of position, are shown in **bold face** in Tables 34-51):

Table 34:

ju <sup>31</sup>	tun <sup>33</sup>	sum <sup>55</sup>	nu <sup>51</sup>	ni <sup>33</sup>	a <sup>31</sup>	man <sup>33</sup>	e <sup>31</sup>	kǎ <sup>31</sup>	ja <sup>31</sup>	ŋi <sup>33</sup>	ni <sup>33</sup>
father-in-law			plur.	subord.	before	loc.	shy		day		
no <sup>755</sup>	maŋ <sup>31</sup> ,										
yet	to fear										
mǎ <sup>31</sup>	li <sup>31</sup>	khu <sup>55</sup>	tun <sup>33</sup>	mǎ <sup>31</sup>	tu <sup>33</sup>	ni <sup>33</sup>	a <sup>31</sup>	man <sup>33</sup>	e <sup>31</sup>	kǎ <sup>31</sup>	thet <sup>31</sup>
Mailikai River		master	plur.	subord.	before	loc.	hot				
wan <sup>31</sup>	li <sup>33</sup>	tǎ <sup>31</sup>	zam <sup>55</sup>	no <sup>755</sup>	kaŋ <sup>31</sup>						
fire	same as	yet	hot								
<p><i>'To cower as if afraid of the day, when facing the fathers-in-law, To be burning hot as if on fire, when facing the lords of the Mailikai River ('lords of...' is an epithet for 'fathers-in-law' [Eds.])'</i></p>											

Following is an example of a short sentence:

Table 35:

ju <sup>731</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup>	mjit <sup>31</sup> su <sup>33</sup>	ju <sup>731</sup> tʃi <sup>33</sup>	mjit <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>31</sup>
father-in-law	revered	father-in-law	esteemed
<i>Revered father-in-law, Esteemed wife's father'</i>			

Matched sentences (couplets) can be of the same or of different lengths. The grammar of the literary language is generally the same as the colloquial language, but differs in the following ways:

- 2.1 In the colloquial language, numbers follow the nouns they are modifying, while in the literary language numbers precede the nouns. Examples:

Table 36:

(a)	mǎ <sup>31</sup> ŋa <sup>33</sup>	juŋ <sup>31</sup> lat <sup>31</sup>	the <sup>731</sup> mǎ <sup>31</sup> kza <sup>731</sup>	<i>'To use the five fingers to grab'</i>
	five	finger	to use to grab	
(b)	lǎ <sup>31</sup> mun <sup>31</sup>	tʃiŋ <sup>31</sup> khaŋ <sup>31</sup>	e <sup>31</sup> lat <sup>31</sup> ,	<i>'(Of livestock) To breed (so as to cover) a myriad ridges, to proliferate (so as to cover) a hundred hillocks'</i>
	10,000	mountain ridge	loc. to breed	
	lǎ <sup>31</sup> tsa <sup>33</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> laŋ <sup>31</sup>	e <sup>31</sup> mǎ <sup>31</sup> jat <sup>31</sup>	
	100	hillock	loc. to proliferate	
(c)	lǎ <sup>55</sup> ŋai <sup>51</sup>	thiŋ <sup>31</sup> kzaŋ <sup>33</sup>	e <sup>31</sup> pje <sup>731</sup> ,	<i>'To trample one floor, then move on to two floors'</i>
	one	floor	loc. to trample	
	lǎ <sup>31</sup> khoŋ <sup>51</sup>	thiŋ <sup>31</sup> kzaŋ <sup>33</sup>	e <sup>31</sup> le <sup>755</sup>	
	two	floor	loc. to enter	

- 3.2 In the colloquial language, numbers must be used with measure words (classifiers) when they modify a verb, but in the literary language, numbers can directly modify a verb. Example:

Table 37:

ʃi <sup>33</sup> pje <sup>731</sup>	thai <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>33</sup>	thai <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>755</sup>	'to spread out a large mat ten to tread large mat to spread out by treading on it ten times'
-------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---

- 3.3 In the colloquial language, adjectives are generally placed after the noun, though they can precede the noun if a structural auxiliary particle is added. In the literary language, the adjective precedes the noun, without any structural particle. Examples:

Table 38:

- (a) kǎ<sup>31</sup> lu<sup>31</sup> thiŋ<sup>31</sup> jan<sup>33</sup> thiŋ<sup>31</sup> ʃon<sup>55</sup>,  
long newly-built-house

kǎ<sup>31</sup> pa<sup>31</sup> thiŋ<sup>31</sup> nan<sup>33</sup> thiŋ<sup>31</sup> won<sup>55</sup>  
big newly-built-house

*'(Go inside) the newly-built long house,  
(Dedicate) the newly-built big house'*

- (b) kǎ<sup>31</sup> tsin<sup>33</sup> phun<sup>55</sup> lap<sup>31</sup> pan<sup>31</sup> tiŋ<sup>55</sup> tha<sup>731</sup> na<sup>55</sup> pop<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ten<sup>31</sup>  
green tree-leaf in subord. snail

kha<sup>33</sup> kin<sup>31</sup> jan<sup>33</sup> ai<sup>33</sup> ju<sup>33</sup>,  
trace to leave behind subord. to see

pop<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ten<sup>31</sup> mǎ<sup>31</sup> ka<sup>33</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup> wan<sup>31</sup> ai<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>31</sup>,  
snail pattern to wind around subord. to look at

a<sup>31</sup> tsai<sup>55</sup> tai<sup>33</sup> ʃa<sup>55</sup>  
thing to become to eat

*'Saw the traces left behind by the snail on the green tree leaves,  
Looked at the patterns made by the snail's winding about,  
Reached a result at last'*



Table 38 (continued):

<p>(b) ph30<sup>31</sup> ty<sup>31</sup> mai<sup>31</sup> sau<sup>31</sup> tha<sup>731</sup> set<sup>31</sup>,  shiny-white paper in to write</p> <p>sum<sup>31</sup> tsan<sup>33</sup> a<sup>31</sup> ji<sup>31</sup> thiŋ<sup>31</sup> let<sup>31</sup>  distant news to exchange</p> <p><i>'Write it down on shiny-white paper,  And exchange news from far away'</i></p>	
<p>(c) non<sup>33</sup> sum<sup>31</sup> ty<sup>33</sup> je<sup>731</sup> kho<sup>55</sup>,  amicable speech then to say</p> <p>ŋui<sup>31</sup> niŋ<sup>31</sup> phaŋ<sup>33</sup> je<sup>731</sup> jo<sup>55</sup>  fortunate origins then to recount</p> <p>wa<sup>31</sup> ju<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>731</sup>  so as to see fin. part</p>	<p><i>'Let's speak in amicable  phrases, to recount  fortunate origins'</i></p>
<p>(d) kǎ<sup>31</sup> pa<sup>31</sup> mai<sup>31</sup> wan<sup>33</sup> mai<sup>31</sup> wan<sup>33</sup>, ka<sup>31</sup> lu<sup>31</sup> sum<sup>33</sup> kha<sup>33</sup>  big hunting-ground to encircle far undertaking</p> <p>sum<sup>31</sup> khan<sup>33</sup>.  to take on</p> <p><i>'To carry on a major task, to undertake a far-reaching  project (literally, 'to surround a big hunting-ground, to take  on a far(-reaching) undertaking')'</i></p>	

### 3. Characteristics of Lexical Collocation

In traditional songs and poetry, two sentences are treated as a single unit, and attention is paid to the matching of the sentences. The number of syllables in the two sentences should as much as possible be the same, and some of the corresponding syllables should rhyme and match in meaning. The rhyming and matching of meaning applies to the beginning, middle, and end of the sentences, with the requirements on the final syllable being the most strict.

### 3.1 Rhymes

Rhyming is an important characteristic of traditional songs and poetry. The final syllables of couplets must rhyme, and the initial and middle syllables can either rhyme or not. In the majority of cases, one rhyme is one couplet. Beyond one couplet, the rhyme usually changes. Examples:

Table 39:

mǎ <sup>31</sup>	tsi <sup>31</sup>	lup <sup>31</sup>	tun <sup>33</sup>	the <sup>31</sup>	e <sup>31</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>31</sup>	tu <sup>33</sup> ,
yeast		good		to use			to boil
tʃǎ <sup>31</sup>	mji <sup>31</sup>	lup <sup>31</sup>	man <sup>33</sup>	the <sup>31</sup>	e <sup>31</sup>	kǎ <sup>31</sup>	pju <sup>31</sup> .
yeast		real		to use			to refine
tʃǎ <sup>55</sup>	nun <sup>51</sup>	tʃu <sup>755</sup>	sau <sup>33</sup>	ʃi <sup>33</sup>	kǎ <sup>31</sup>	lai <sup>33</sup> ,	
creator		milk		it			to represent
woi <sup>33</sup>	ʃun <sup>31</sup>	tʃu <sup>755</sup>	pom <sup>31</sup>	ʃi <sup>33</sup>	tai <sup>33</sup> .		
creator		breast		it			to become
a <sup>31</sup>	tʃu <sup>31</sup>	ʃin <sup>33</sup>	tun <sup>33</sup>	ʃi <sup>33</sup>	tʃǎ <sup>31</sup>	phɔi <sup>31</sup> ,	
holiday				it			to provide
tʃi <sup>33</sup>	ka <sup>33</sup>	kin <sup>31</sup>	ʒa <sup>31</sup>	ʃi <sup>33</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>31</sup>	woi <sup>31</sup> .	
gathering		to consume		it			to supply

*'Use good yeast to boil (it),*

*Use real yeast to refine (it).*

*It represents the creator's milk,*

*It becomes the creator's breast.*

*What is needed for the holiday is provided by him,*

*What is consumed at the gathering is supplied by him.'*

If the rhyme is carried over for more than two sentences, it generally won't exceed four sentences. Example:

Table 40:

fiŋ <sup>55</sup> jaŋ <sup>51</sup> kam <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>33</sup> poŋ <sup>31</sup> ,	
body	sturdy
mǎ <sup>33</sup> tʃa <sup>33</sup> ŋ <sup>31</sup> kun <sup>31</sup> zoŋ <sup>33</sup> .	
strength	great
wa <sup>31</sup> tʃi <sup>33</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> to <sup>31</sup> tha <sup>31</sup> tsoŋ <sup>33</sup> ,	
ancestor level	(aux.) to surpass
wa <sup>31</sup> woi <sup>33</sup> phun <sup>31</sup> ta <sup>55</sup> tha <sup>31</sup> thoŋ <sup>33</sup> .	
ancestor standard	(aux.) to exceed
ŋ <sup>55</sup> phzoŋ <sup>51</sup> ŋ <sup>33</sup> khjeŋ <sup>33</sup> sut <sup>31</sup> the <sup>31</sup> zau <sup>31</sup> ŋa <sup>31</sup> ,	
crops	wealth same-as all-together to be
wǎ <sup>33</sup> khu <sup>33</sup> wǎ <sup>55</sup> la <sup>51</sup> kan <sup>31</sup> the <sup>31</sup> zau <sup>31</sup> pʒa <sup>33</sup>	
livestock	riches same-as all-together to grow
<i>'Bodies are sturdy,</i>	
<i>Strength is great.</i>	
<i>Ancestral levels are surpassed,</i>	
<i>Ancestral standards are exceeded.</i>	
<i>There are countless quantities of crops,</i>	
<i>There are limitless numbers of livestock.</i>	

The principle for rhyming is that the finals (including any final consonant) should be the same, though the tenseness of the vowels and the tones of the syllables do not have to match. Examples:

Table 41:

(a) mǎ <sup>31</sup> zɿŋ <sup>31</sup> kum <sup>31</sup> tun <sup>33</sup> ja <sup>33</sup> ,		<i>'Give away the bride,</i>
bride	to give	<i>Send off the bride'</i>
mǎ <sup>31</sup> khan <sup>31</sup> sum <sup>33</sup> kʒuŋ <sup>33</sup> sa <sup>31</sup>		
bride	to send	

Table 41 (continued):

<p>(b) niŋ<sup>33</sup> moi<sup>33</sup> niŋ<sup>31</sup> tsɿŋ<sup>33</sup> kɔ<sup>755</sup> wun<sup>31</sup> toi<sup>55</sup>,          grandmother dear to be close to          niŋ<sup>55</sup> ku<sup>51</sup> mə<sup>55</sup> tɕiŋ<sup>51</sup> kɔ<sup>755</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup> moi<sup>31</sup>          grandfather true to be close to</p>	<p>'Should stay close to one's true grandmother,          should stay close to one's real grandfather'</p>
<p>(c) nu<sup>31</sup> to<sup>33</sup> niŋ<sup>31</sup> tsɿŋ<sup>33</sup>,          mother dear          wa<sup>31</sup> to<sup>33</sup> mə<sup>55</sup> tsɿŋ<sup>51</sup>.          father true</p>	<p>'True mother,          True father'</p>
<p>(d) a<sup>31</sup> tɕa<sup>31</sup> sə<sup>33</sup> mui<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>731</sup>          gold cloud to spread          kum<sup>31</sup> phzɔ<sup>31</sup> mə<sup>31</sup> ʒaŋ<sup>33</sup> thu<sup>731</sup>          money rain to fall</p>	<p>'Gold like the spreading clouds,          Money like the falling rain'</p>

Aside from this, there are a few cases where stanza-final sentences have extra syllables after the rhyming word, so that the rhyme no longer falls at the end of the sentence:

Table 42:

<p>(a) a<sup>31</sup> po<sup>33</sup> phzɔ<sup>31</sup> u<sup>31</sup> kut<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>33</sup>, a<sup>31</sup> tsɿŋ<sup>33</sup> pan<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tson<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>33</sup>,          head white life long Bandu-grass like long          mə<sup>31</sup> toi<sup>31</sup> lup<sup>31</sup> man<sup>33</sup> ŋ<sup>33</sup> tai<sup>33</sup> lu<sup>731</sup> ʒaŋ<sup>31</sup> muŋ<sup>31</sup> mu<sup>33</sup>,          yeast (i.e., 'wine') this to drink if also good-to-drink          tɕǎ<sup>31</sup> moi<sup>31</sup> lup<sup>31</sup> tuŋ<sup>33</sup> ŋ<sup>33</sup> tai<sup>33</sup> tɕu<sup>755</sup> ʒaŋ<sup>31</sup> muŋ<sup>31</sup> fu<sup>33</sup>          yeast (i.e., 'wine') this to imbibe if also good-to-imbibe          sai<sup>33</sup> le<sup>51</sup>          sent. part. sent. part.</p>	
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Table 42 (continued):

(a) (ctd.)	<i>'A hoary head means a long life,          Long-lived as the Bandu grass.          Drink this wine and see if it isn't delicious,          Imbibe this wine and see if it isn't palatable!'</i>
(b)	<p> <math>wa^{31} woi^{33} thau^{31} tʃi^{55} tʃo^{755}</math>,          ancestor wisdom to receive       </p> <p> <math>wa^{31} tʃi^{33} khʒin^{31} thon^{31} kʒo^{755}</math>,          ancestor tradition to preserve       </p> <p> <math>mǎ^{31} ni^{31} pha^{731} tʃi^{55} tʃaŋ^{31}</math>,          the arts to learn how       </p> <p> <math>sǎ^{31} ʒam^{33} tsǎ^{33} mon^{33} pha^{731} ʒat^{31} phʒaŋ^{31}</math>          literature to understand       </p> <p> <math>na^{33} mǎ^{33} sai^{33} lu^{33}</math>          must (sentence particles)       </p> <p> <i>'To receive the wisdom of our ancestors,          To preserve the traditions of our ancestors,          You must become proficient in the arts,          You must come to understand literature!'</i> </p>

The sentence-initial rhyme usually occurs on the second syllable. Here the rules for rhyming are not as strict as for sentence-final rhymes; syllables with different main vowels can rhyme as long as the final consonant is the same. Example:



Table 45 (continued):

(b) a <sup>31</sup> thiŋ <sup>31</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>31</sup> tʃo <sup>755</sup>	na <sup>33</sup>	jo <sup>55</sup> ,
house	to build	(fut.)	to prepare
thiŋ <sup>33</sup> saŋ <sup>33</sup>	kǎ <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>755</sup>	na <sup>33</sup>	mo <sup>55</sup>
house	to construct	(fut.)	to plan
<i>'About to prepare to build a house, About to plan to construct a house'</i>			

### 3.2. Semantic Matching

Aside from harmonization in couplets, the art of traditional songs and poetry also requires some semantic connection between couplets as well. In general, the following types are to be seen:

#### 3.2.1 Rhymed syllables matched using semantically identical morphemes. Examples:

Table 46:

(a) tum <sup>31</sup> tam <sup>33</sup> lǎ <sup>31</sup> phan <sup>31</sup> e <sup>31</sup>		
palm (of hand)	with	
tʃum <sup>33</sup> , mǎ <sup>3</sup> ŋa <sup>33</sup> juŋ <sup>31</sup> lat <sup>31</sup> the <sup>731</sup>	ʃum <sup>33</sup>	
to grasp five finger to use	to grasp	
(b) a <sup>31</sup> phaŋ <sup>33</sup> e <sup>31</sup> <b>khan<sup>55</sup></b> ,		
behind (loc.) to follow		
phuŋ <sup>31</sup> tim <sup>31</sup> e <sup>31</sup> <b>nan<sup>55</sup></b>		
tail part (loc.) to follow		

Sometimes a disyllabic word is broken into two words of identical meaning, cf. sut<sup>31</sup> kan<sup>31</sup> 'wealth; riches', as in the following example (broken-word components are shown in *bold italics*):

Table 47:

a <sup>31</sup> sut <sup>31</sup>	sa <sup>33</sup>	p̄am <sup>31</sup> ,
wealth	to go	to look for
a <sup>31</sup> kan <sup>31</sup>	sa <sup>33</sup>	tam <sup>33</sup>
wealth	to go	to look for
<i>'Go looking for wealth, Go seeking riches'</i>		

Also cf. kjep<sup>31</sup> tun<sup>33</sup> kjep<sup>31</sup> kam<sup>33</sup> 'digger bee', as in:

Table 48:

kjep <sup>31</sup> tun <sup>33</sup>	wa <sup>33</sup>	phe <sup>755</sup>	ʃǎ <sup>31</sup> tsam <sup>31</sup> ,
digger-bee	(aux.)		to urge on
kjep <sup>31</sup> kam <sup>33</sup>	wa <sup>33</sup>	phe <sup>755</sup>	tʃǎ <sup>31</sup> tham <sup>55</sup>
digger-bee	(aux.)		to take on (a burden)
<i>'To urge the digger bee on, To charge it with a burdensome task'</i>			

### 3.2.2 Rhymed syllables matched using semantically similar or connected meanings:

Table 49:

(a) mǎ <sup>31</sup> kjit <sup>55</sup>	nan <sup>31</sup> ,	<i>'To join tightly, And fasten securely (of family relationships)'</i>
to join	tight	
mǎ <sup>31</sup> khai <sup>31</sup>	kan <sup>33</sup>	
to hook on	firm	



Table 49 (continued):

- (b) lǎ<sup>31</sup> mun<sup>31</sup> ŋǎ<sup>33</sup> tuŋ<sup>33</sup> ŋǎ<sup>33</sup> li<sup>33</sup> ziŋ<sup>31</sup>,  
 10, 000 bovine-animals to proliferate

lǎ<sup>31</sup> tsǎ<sup>33</sup> ŋǎ<sup>55</sup> loŋ<sup>51</sup> phziŋ<sup>55</sup>  
 hundred cattle-pen to fill up

*To proliferate into a myriad of cattle,  
 And fill up a hundred stables'*

- (c) khu<sup>31</sup> nan<sup>33</sup> mǎ<sup>31</sup> khui<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>31</sup> tiŋ<sup>31</sup> jaŋ<sup>33</sup>,  
 true relatives to extend

mǎ<sup>31</sup> khui<sup>55</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup> muŋ<sup>31</sup> ko<sup>31</sup> tum<sup>31</sup> pjaŋ<sup>33</sup>.  
 relatives words to continue

*'To forever be true relatives,  
 Forever follow relatives' advice'*

**3.2.3 Rhymed syllables matched phono-semantically...** This involves inserting a word in the second line so that there is a rhyme with first line, and arrange it so that the meaning is the same or similar. Examples:

Table 50:

- (a) phuŋ<sup>31</sup> tsin<sup>33</sup> num<sup>31</sup> zi<sup>755</sup> lu<sup>31</sup> in<sup>31</sup> a<sup>31</sup> khum<sup>31</sup> siŋ<sup>33</sup> jan<sup>33</sup> poŋ<sup>31</sup>  
 water dew to drink body strong

sum<sup>31</sup> tsan<sup>33</sup> sǎ<sup>31</sup> kat<sup>31</sup> tɕy<sup>755</sup> in<sup>31</sup> siŋ<sup>55</sup> jaŋ<sup>51</sup> kam<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>33</sup> loŋ<sup>31</sup>.  
 distant-place water to imbibe body strong (rhyme)

*'If you drink dew-water you will have a strong body,  
 If you imbibe the water of a distant place your body will be strong'*

Table 50 (continued):

(b) ɲǎ <sup>31</sup> ʒiŋ <sup>31</sup> calf	ʃan <sup>31</sup> ti <sup>55</sup> tǎ <sup>31</sup> ʒam <sup>55</sup> kǎ <sup>31</sup> lon <sup>33</sup> , sinews that-way to grow up
ɲǎ <sup>31</sup> la <sup>55</sup> ʃan <sup>31</sup> tau <sup>33</sup> mǎ <sup>55</sup> te <sup>51</sup> kum <sup>31</sup> pon <sup>33</sup> bull flesh that-way (rhyme)	
<i>'To grow up as if one had the sinews of a calf, To grow up as if one had the flesh of a bull'</i>	
(c) ʃiŋ <sup>31</sup> ʒa <sup>31</sup> wa <sup>31</sup> jaŋ <sup>33</sup> wa <sup>33</sup> phe <sup>?</sup> a <sup>31</sup> koŋ <sup>31</sup> ʃiŋ <sup>33</sup> ʒan <sup>33</sup> ʃǎ <sup>31</sup> poŋ <sup>31</sup> , (aux.) body to make sturdy	
kǎ <sup>31</sup> aŋ <sup>33</sup> kum <sup>31</sup> tuŋ <sup>33</sup> wa <sup>33</sup> phe <sup>?</sup> mǎ <sup>33</sup> tʃaŋ <sup>33</sup> ŋ <sup>31</sup> kun <sup>31</sup> sə <sup>31</sup> koŋ <sup>31</sup> mankind (aux) power (rhyme)	
<i>'To make mankind('s body) strong, To make mankind powerful'</i>	

**3.2.4 Rhymed syllables matched using semantically unrelated morphemes.** The connection between words of this type is mainly phonetic, not semantic. Examples:

Table 51:

<p>(a) mǎ<sup>31</sup> ni<sup>31</sup> pha<sup>731</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup> tʃaŋ<sup>31</sup>,          art, craft                      able</p> <p>a<sup>31</sup> kʒoŋ<sup>33</sup> lai<sup>31</sup> li<sup>31</sup>      phʒaŋ<sup>31</sup>          heart      intelligence      to broaden</p>	<p><i>'To become proficient in the          arts, to broaden one's outlook'</i></p>
<p>(b) a<sup>31</sup> phoŋ<sup>31</sup> ʃiŋ<sup>31</sup> ʒa<sup>31</sup> ʃǎ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>31</sup> lu<sup>31</sup> laŋ<sup>33</sup>,          meeting                      every      can      to use</p> <p>ʃiŋ<sup>31</sup> ʒa<sup>31</sup> ʃǎ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>31</sup> lu<sup>31</sup> ʃaŋ<sup>31</sup>          meeting every      can      to enter</p>	<p><i>'(A fan) can be used at any meeting;          At any meeting (a fan) has its place'</i></p>
<p>(c) mǎ<sup>31</sup> ʒiŋ<sup>31</sup> ʃiŋ<sup>55</sup> noi<sup>55</sup> ʃǎ<sup>31</sup> ju<sup>755</sup>,          bamboo-basket              to lay down</p> <p>mǎ<sup>31</sup> khaŋ<sup>31</sup> ʃiŋ<sup>55</sup> noi<sup>55</sup> kum<sup>31</sup> phu<sup>731</sup>          bamboo-basket              to receive (like a guest)</p>	<p><i>'To lay down the bamboo basket,          To receive it like a guest'</i></p>

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