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The following texts were collected in the Northern Chin Hills of Burma in 1954 and, together with collateral linguistic notes, form the major basis for the article, "A Provisional Sketch of Sizang (Siyin) Chin", ASIA MAJOR, n.s., X:2 (1963), pp. 222-278. Two of the texts, the first and last of those that follow, were submitted with the grammar but could not be included. That I present them now I owe to the encouragement of my colleague, Dr. Scott DeLancey.

I have departed from the orthography of the grammar in two respects. Tones, which there preceded the syllable, here are noted on the first vowel, thus: 1) low level, unmarked; 3) high, level, /a/; 2) rising, /a/; 4) falling /a/. Secondly, I have omitted the mora following final continuants (see discussion in the grammar, p. 228f.). The terminology of the grammar, although outdated, has been retained for purposes of consistency.

Tone sandhi, which is complex in Sizang, accounts for what seems at first a bewildering variation in the tone upon a given lexeme.

For the reader who does not consult the grammar, let me say that these texts are the product of ten days' work with Lian Kham, a Sizang from Buan Man Village, in the Tiddim Subdivision, who was then official interpreter in the administrative town of Tiddim. They were gathered in the course of a brief linguistic survey I undertook as a member of a party sponsored by the University of Rangoon, to which I was then attached as a Fulbright research fellow. I express my gratitude to the University, to the government of the Union of Burma, and to the Fulbright Foundation for the opportunity provided me. Methods of research are sufficiently set forth in the grammar and need not be repeated here.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the texts. References are given here to the section of the grammatical sketch where the morphemes are treated.

ADV	adverbial
AG	agentive (ergative) 2.0a
ALT	altruistic 3.43.9
ALTER	alterocentric (benefactive/malefactive) 3.42.22
ASS	associative 3.42.1
CAUS	causative 3.42.21
CLASS	numerical classifier 2.5
COMP	comparative 3.47.1
COND	condition
DEIC	deictic 3.41.12
EMPH	emphatic particle
IMP	imperatïve 3.44.2, 4.31.4
INTR	intransitive
INTER	interrogative 4.31.3
LOC	locative 2.0b
NOM	nominalizer 2.22.3, 2.23
PL	plural 2.0e
REC	reciprocal 3.41.2
SUP	superlative 3.47.2
TEMP	temporal partical 4.33.1
VPF	verb particle, final 4.31
VPNF	verb particle, non-final 4.32, 4.33

## A. sa·i **â**·i-na· thǔ· elephant celebrate-NOM affair

- elephant celebrate-NOM affair 1) ni dăn la i<sup>1</sup>-in ka-pu. ká-pǎ· té nún t**a** k day differ during-TEMP my-father's father my-father PL alive la·i-in, sa·i a-ka· tían-in, a-lu· pua· 2) during-TEMP elephant he-shoot when-TEMP its-head carry a-shoulder VPNF mual<sup>2</sup> pân mual sui ak<sup>3</sup> a·, thâ u tăm khua• má-mâ·kǎ·p a·, 3) village shrine from shrine emerge VPNF gun many very shoot VPNF a-á•i á-sa·i hî·. tu·a a-â·i-na· a· . nû· t3· 4) that he-celebrate-NOM at his-elephant they-celebrate VPF woman both pâ· tô· khuaŋ tùm a·, siel ki· tô· da·k tal tô· thû·a-in, sû·n tô· man and drum beat VPNF mithan horn both gong set and play-TEMP day both 5) **a**∙i<sup>5</sup> zâ·n tô·á-la·m hî. a-sa.i ni•-in khua• 6) mual a۰ night and they-dance VPF his-elephant celebrate day-TEMP village shrine at phôt hì. á-sa·i lu sí a mí hig li-in zog á-la∙m 7) ne-dance first VPF his-elephant head itself person four-AG carry on pole<sup>6</sup> á-sa•i â٠i pǎ• sa•i lu• tǔn-a• to• sā•k hî•. a٠ 8) VPNF his-elephant celebrate man elephant head on-LOC sit CAUS VPF půi.7 mual pân in in don pua. a. láp a-khua• 9) he-village shrine from AG house up to carry a-shoulder VPNF dancing ASS hî•. tu•a á-sa∙i a•i-na• in siel khốn khủi · khốn 10) VPF that(place) his-elephant celebrate-NOM at mithan PL COW PL hî. a-thí. tían-in á-sa·i **â**∙i 11) nô• slay sacrificially VPF he-die when-TEMP his-elephant celebrate a-ki-tep<sup>8</sup> tê na -in diel ka n kha i hî. siel 12) **â**∙i te· his-memorial PL NOM-LOC streamer white hang up VPF mithan celebrate PL hî. sá-ha.ŋ â.i in **a-vom** te• in á-san kha•i 13) kh**a•i** hî۰. tu•a
- AG black hang up VPF tiger celebrate PL AG red hang up VPF that
- 14) a-â·i pǎ· thí· zô·k tiaŋ-in, á-ǐn kúan-pûi· te· in tu·a he-celebrate man die finish when-TEMP his-house work-ASS PL AG that
- 15) diel kha·i thê·i nô·n ŋôl hî·. streamer hang up can EMPH not VPF

## On the Elephant Celebration

Formerly, when our forefathers were alive, when someone shot an elephant, they carried its head a-shoulder (on a frame), announcing it from the village shrine with the firing of very many guns, and they celebrated his elephant. At the place where the celebration was held, both men and women beat the drum and played both mithan horn and gong-set, and day and night they danced. On the day on which they celebrated his elephant, he danced first of all (of them) at the village shrine. Four persons bore the elephant head itself, atop which they had the man sit who celebrated the elephant. From their village shrine up to his house, they bore him a-shoulder, dancing as they came. At the place where he celebrated the elephant, he sacrificed mithans and cattle.

When he died, as a record of his elephant celebration (they) hung up a white streamer. Those who had celebrated a mithan hung up a black one. Those who had celebrated a tiger hung up a red one. After that celebrant was dead, the members of his household could no longer hang up that streamer.

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Notes

l. cf. tu·a la·i 'there'

2. mual, lit. 'mountain'. The village shrine is located at the entrance to the village; here are located memorial markers commemorating the dead.

3. mual sû·ak 'to give public notice, announce'.

4. The mithan horn, held upright by the tip, is beaten with a stick; the gongset consists of three small gongs of graduated size.

5. Alternatively, one may say: a savi a âvi niv in.

6. The elephant head is borne by the four men on a bamboo frame. The verb can also be used of a group lifting and carrying a table without the use of such a frame.

7. Almost certainly, this associative particle is related to (and perhaps identical with) the relational, pûi 'with'.

The order of the final part of the sentence on line 10 may be rearranged thus:

in don lap pûi · a púa · hî ·.

8. kī-têp, lit. 'to press (between hands), to pinch (between boards)'. The term is here translated as 'record'. The memorial post is placed at the grave of the deceased.

- B. mi· há·u pǎ· lé· mí· zo·ŋ pǎ· tâŋ thù· person rich man and person poor man old story
- tán la·i-in hā·u sā·<sup>1</sup> khāt lē·á-zo·n mí· hin khāt dũi· sun ancient when-TEMP rich () one and a poor person one jungle in
- 2) să· sí·a khô·m hî·. á zo·ŋ pă· ín lé·i a· sí·a a·, animals set snare together VPF the poor man AG field in set snare VPNF
- 3) a há·u pǎ· ín thín kú·n tún a-sî·a hî·. mi· há·u pǎ· ín the rich man AG tree standing in he-set snare VPF person rich man AG
- 4) a-sa· sí·a-na· mí· zo·ŋ pǎ· hé·k ŋɔ́l in vil kû· hî·. his-deer set snare-NOM person poor man know not AG watch secretly VPF
- 5) ta· bân a· a-víl tian-a· lé·i a· á zɔ·ŋ pǎ· sa· that resemble VPNF he-watch when-TEMP field in the poor man deer
- 6) sí·a-na· suŋ-a· sá-khi· khât ɔ̃·k a· mi· há·u pǎ· set snare-NOM in-LOC barking deer one snare VPNF person rich man
- 7) sí·a-na· thín tún-a· bân mâ· š·k nôl hî·. ta· tían-in, set snare-NOM tree in-LOC thing not (INTENS) snare not VPF that when-TEMP
- 8) ml· há·u pǎ· ín mí· zɔ·ŋ pǎ· sa· sí·a-na· suŋ-a· ɔ́·k person rich man AG person poor man deer set snare-NOM in-LOC snare
- 9) sá-khi· sǐ·a sǔ·t a· á·-ma· sî·a-na· thíŋ kú·ŋ túŋ-a· barking deer the very untie VPNF his set snare-NOM tree standing on-LOC
- 10) Š·k sâk a·, tî·a kǐ·k hî·. Ĭn a-thét tíaŋ-in, mi· snare CAUS VPNF return home again VPF house he-arrive when-TEMP person
- 11) há·u pǎ· ín mí· zɔ·ŋ pǎ· mún-a·, "î· sa· sí·a víl ká-tɔ·ŋ<sup>2</sup>," rich man AG person poor man to-LOC we deer set snare look at we-let us
- 12) tî a pâ hî ta tían-a a ní in a-sa sí a-na say VPNF invite VPF that when-TEMP the two AG their-deer set snare-NOM

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13)	a-pa·i khôm hî·. a-thét tíaŋ-in , mi· há·u pǎ· in mí· zɔ·ŋ they-go together VPF they-arrive when-TEMP person rich man AG person poor
14)	pǎ• mún-a•, "nǎŋ sa• si•a-na• suŋ-a• bâŋ mâ• ǒ•k bo•. man to-LOC your deer set snare-NOM in-LOC thing not(INTENS) snare not
15)	ke·i sí·a-na· suŋ-a· sá-khi· khất š·k hí·," tî· in <sup>3</sup> a·u hî·. my set snare-NOM in-LOC barking deer one snare VPF say VPNF shout VPF
16)	ta• tían-in, mí• zɔ•ŋ pǎ• in, "ûm ŋ31 în!" that when-TEMF person poor man AG believe not IMP
17)	a-má·tě· ní· kî-ha·u a·, khua· há·u sâ· pǎ· túŋ-a· he PL two REC-quarrel VPNF village rich ( ) man to-LOC
18)	kî-khi•a a•, há•u sâ• pǎ• in á - thǔ• sôn sâk a•, mi• há•u REC-complain VPNF rich ( ) man AG matter examine CAUS VPNF person rich
19)	pǎ• in zǒ• sâk a•, mí• zɔ•ŋ pǎ• in lêl sâk hî•. ta• tíaŋ-in, man AG win CAUS VPNF person poor man AG lose CAUS VPF that when-TEMP
20)	mí· zɔ·ŋ pǎ· luŋ kim ŋŝl a·, "bíl-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in person poor man mind content not VPNF ear-big (rabbit) chief man AG
21)	î·-khen s <b>âk tû· hî·," tî· hî·.</b> we-decide CAUS will VPF say VPF
22)	khua• h <b>á•u sā• pǎ• in, "tú•a lē• bíl-pí• ma•ŋ<sup>4</sup> vá• sǎm tá• vún,"</b> village rich ( ) man AG go(?) and rabbit chief go summon IMP
23)	tî•a•, bíl-pí• ma•ŋ sắm tû•-in , mí• zɔ•ŋ pǎ• pai•a•, bíl-pí• say VPNF rabbit chief summon will-TEMP person poor man go VPNF rabbit
24)	ma•ŋ pǎ• sǎm h <b>î•. bíl-pí• ma•ŋ pǎ• in, "kóŋ pai•<sup>5</sup> tû• hî•.</b> chief man summon VPF rabbit chief man AG I to you go will VPF
25)	kon thét ma·-ten <sup>6</sup> ná ná•k vún," tî• a• vǎ•i thâ• hî•. I to you arrive until you wait IMP say VPNF word send VPF
26)	that after day three day when-TEMP rabbit chief man village rich ( $$ )
27)	pǎ· kúŋ theŋ phe·ŋ h <b>î·. a-thét tíaŋ-in,</b> khua· há·u s <b>â</b> · pǎ· in man place arrive late VPF he-arrive when-TEMP village rich () man AG
28)	bíl-pí·ma·ŋ pǎ·mûn-a·,"bǎŋ hóŋ há·i <sup>7</sup> ní·zí·am," tî· in têi· hî·. rabbit chief man to-LOC why hither tardy you INTER say VPNF abuse VPF
29)	bíl-pí· ma·g pǎ· in, "kog pái·-na· lám-pí· a· gun val sên rabbit chief man AG I (DEIC) go-NOM path big on river bank gravel
30)	a• kâ•ŋ a•, ka-phél na tû•, hâ•n bɔ•m t3• túi• tɔa•i a•, on burn(INTR) VPNF I-prevent in order man's basket with water carry VPNF
31)	ka-phél-na•-in kon ha•i h1•," t1• h1•. I-prevent-NOM-because I(DEIC) tardy VPF say VPF
32)	ta• tíaŋ-in, khua• há•u sâ• pǎ• in, "ŋun val sên kâ•ŋ that when-TEMP village rich ( ) man AG river bank gravel burn(INTR)
33)	ŋĕi• ŋôl hî•. h <b>â•n</b> bɔ•m tô• túi• tɔa•i l <b>â•</b> ŏm ŋĕi• <sup>8</sup> ŋôl hî•," tî• hî•. ever not VPF man's basket with water carry also be ever not VPF say VPF
24)	tay tian bil-ni, mayn này in "hfy nayu biy nun val can

34) ta· tíaŋ, bíl-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in, "hî· pê·u hî· ŋun val sên that when rabbit chief man AG affirmative VPF river bank gravel

- 35) kâ ŋ ŋếi ŋ31 hî. hâ n b3 m<sup>9</sup> tô túi toa i lâ ǒm ŋếi ŋ31 burn (INTR) ever not VPF man's basket with water carry also be ever not
  36) hî.<sup>10</sup> sá khi lâ thíŋ túŋ-a kâ ŋếi ŋ31 hî. "tî a, hí VPF barking deer also tree on-LOC climb ever not VPF say VPNF this
- 37) hán-in, mí· zo·n pǎ· in a-zó· sâk kí·k hî·. so person poor man AG he-win CAUS again VPF

#### The Old Story of the Rich Man and the Poor Man

Long ago, a rich man and a poor man set deer snares together in the jungle. The poor man set his snare in the field, while the rich man set his in a tree. The rich man secretly watched the snare-setting (of the poor man) without the poor man's knowledge. While he watched in that manner, in the snare of the poor man in the field, a barking deer was caught; (however) in the rich man's snare in the tree not a thing was caught. Thereupon, the rich man untied that barking deer caught in the poor man's snare and placed it in his own snare in the tree, and returned home once more. When he reached his house, the rich man said to the poor man, "Let us inspect our snares." Thereupon, the two of them went together to their snares. When they reached them, the rich man shouted to the poor man, "There's nothing at all in your snare, but in mine there's a barking deer!" To which the poor man responded, "Don't believe it!"

Then the two, quarreling with each other, and complaining about each other to the village headman, the headman examined the matter and decided in favor of the rich man and against the poor man. Then the poor man, his mind not content, said, "The rabbit chief should decide the matter for us."

The village headman said, "Go and summon the rabbit chief!", (and) the poor man went to summon the rabbit chief and did so. The rabbit chief sent word, "I shall come to you. Wait until I get there."

On the third day, the rabbit chief arrived tardily at the village headman's place. When he arrived, the headman scolded the rabbit chief, saying, "Why have you come late?"

The rabbit chief said, "As I was coming on the path, the riverbank gravel was burning; to put it out, I carried water in a man's basket; because I was putting it out, I'm late getting here."

Then the village headman said, "Riverbank gravel never burns. Also one cannot carry water in a man's basket."

Thereupon, the rabbit chief replied, "Yes, indeed, riverbank gravel never burns. It's also impossible to carry water in a man's basket. Also, barking deer never climb trees." And so, the poor man through him won back (his deer).

#### Notes

1. Although <u>sa</u> is rendered 'person' in the text, an all-too-cryptic note provides the contrast, <u>a</u> <u>la m</u> <u>pa</u> 'dancer' and <u>a</u> <u>la m</u> <u>sa</u> 'one who has danced'.

2. khôm might be used for to.n.

3. As against  $\underline{t}^{\bullet} \underline{a}^{\bullet}$  'saying', informant claims that  $\underline{t}^{\bullet} \underline{t}^{\bullet}$  in means 'having said'. Further analysis has not confirmed this.

4. <u>main</u> ( $\checkmark$  Bu. <u>man</u>:'ruler, governor'), here equated with Laizao Chin <u>boi</u> <u>pa</u>· 'chief'. <u>main</u> is applied more generally to persons exempted from house tax; British officials were <u>main</u> <u>kain</u> 'White officials'.

5. The <u>hog</u> series preverbal morphemes indicate motion toward first or second person (see the Grammar, sec. 3.41.12, and p. 265).

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6. Since  $ma \cdot -teq$  'until' appears only once in my materials, it is impossible to analyze it further. However, in the final -q there may be the first person plural enclitic particle.

7. phe.n 'arrive late', ha.i 'be delayed'.

8. Cf. túi · kí toa · i thê · i hî · 'water can be carried'.

9. While the man's basket is an open weave, no woman's basket that I've seen in C.in villages is even remotely water-tight.

10. Literally, the translation for this sentence runs, "Also, it never (<u>nei</u>. <u>nol</u>) occurs (om 'exist') that one carries (toa·i) water with a man's basket."

> C. bíl-pí·lé·tó·-pí·thǔ· rabbit and lion affair

- ni· dăŋ la·i-in<sup>1</sup> tớ·-pí· ma·ŋ khất in ŋan<sup>2</sup> hiŋ năm tín day differ when-TEMP lion chief one AG animal individual tribe all
- 2) ma·ŋ té· túŋ-a· sî·a kâ·i a·, ŋan hiŋ năm khât túŋ<sup>3</sup> chief PL above-LOC tax collect VPNF animal individual tribe one above
- 3) pan ni• khât-in khât vé•u pe• sâk a-né• hî•. ŋan hiŋ năm from day one-TEMP one each give CAUS he-eat VPF animal individual tribe
- 4) tín a-ně·k sîet z3k tían-in, bíl-pí· năm a-ně·k tû hùn tun all he-eat completely finish when-TEMP rabbit tribe he-eat will time on
- 5) hí· na-pi·, ni· thum dòŋ-in á-pai· bu·a hî·. be although day three until-TEMP he-come not(INTENS) VPF
- 6) bíl-pí· a-pái· ŋ3l ni· thum suŋ-in, túi· tim a·, á-tui· rabbit he-come not day three in-TEMP water dam up VPNF his-water
- 7) tím-na<sup>4</sup> tuŋ-a·lê·i khât dô·<sup>5</sup> hf· a-lé·i dô· dam up-NOM at-LOC bridge one put across VPF his-bridge put across
- 8) a-mán tíag-in, bíl-pí· ma·g pǎ·<sup>6</sup> tó·-pí· ma·g pǎ· kúg a· pai· hî·. he-finish when-TEMP rabbit chief man lion chief man place to come VPF
- 9) tố·-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in, "ka-sí·a bǎŋ ha·ŋ hóŋ púak ŋôl ní· zî·am? lion chief man AG my-tax what reason you(DEIC) send not you INTER
- 10) naŋ-má·koŋ né·tû·hî·,"tî·hî·. you I(DEIC) eat will VPF say VPF
- 11) bíl-pí· ma·g pǎ· in, "na-sí·a kóg púak a·, kóg pai· sâk rabbit chief man AG your-tax I(DEIC) send VPNF I(DEIC) come CAUS
- 12) hî. a hí.a há.ŋ-in lǎm-pí. a. naŋ-má. bâŋ khât in a-né. a., VPF this reason-TEMP path big on you resemble one AG he-eat VPNF
- 13) naŋ-má·koŋ sá·hî·," a tî·hî·. you I(DEIC) think VPF he say VPF
- 14) tό·-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in, "ke·i sí·a né· sǐ·a a-kú·a<sup>7</sup>zî·am? hoŋ lion chief man AG my tax eat the very who INTER you(DEIC)
- 15) híl tân! ka-pét lûm tû, hî," tî, hî, show IMP I-bite lie down will YPF say VPF
- 16) bíl-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in, "koŋ híl tû· hî·," tî· a·, pâi·-pûi·<sup>8</sup>a· rabbit chief man AG I(DEIC) show will VPF say VPNF come-ASS VPNF
- 17) a-lé·i dô·-na· túŋ a-thét tíaŋ-in, bíl-pí· ma·ŋ pǎ· in, his-bridge put across-NOM to they-arrive when-TEMP rabbit chief man AG

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- 18) "na-sí•a hón ně•k<sup>9</sup> sâk<sup>10</sup> sǐ•a zia• sǐ•a hî•," tî• in, 'a-núe•i your-tax he(DEIC) eat ALTER the very that the very VPF say VPNF him-below
- 19) túi· suŋ-a·, 'tź·-pí· lím ŏm sí·a lâ·k hî·. water in-LOC lion reflection be the very show VPF
- 20) tố pí · ma · ŋ pǎ · in a lím a hí · hún lám<sup>11</sup> he · ŋôl in, thú · m lion chief man AG his-reflection him self know not VPNF roar
- 21) a. a-lim a-bê.ŋ suk tíaŋ-in túi. suŋ-a. ta.k a. thî. hî. VPNF his-reflection he-spring down when-TEMP water in-LOC fall VPNF die VPF
- 22) tu a a hí mán in, tá -pí in tu a dón sí a ka i nôn nôl hí. this ADV lion AG this up to tax collect ever not VPF

## The Story of Rabbit and Lion

Long ago, a lion chief had the chiefs of all the tribes of animals collecting taxes, giving him to eat one animal from each tribe every day. When he had finished eating all the tribes of animals, although it was time to eat (of) the rabbit tribe, three days passed without one coming.

In the three days he did not come, the rabbit (chief) dammed up water and at his dam erected a bridge. When he had finished erecting the bridge, the rabbit chief came to the lion chief's place.

The lion chief asked, "Why didn't you send me my tax? I'm going to eat you!" The rabbit chief replied, "I did send your tax on to you. However, on the way (someone) like you ate it; I thought he was you."

The lion chief said, "Who is it that eats my tax? Show him to me! I'll bite him to death!"

The rabbit chief replied, "I'll show (him) to you," (and) going with him, when they reached the place (where) he had built the bridge, the rabbit chief spoke, saying, "That's the very one that ate your tax," (and) showed the very reflection of the lion that was there below him in the water.

The lion chief, not recognizing the reflection of himself, roared, then sprang down and, falling into the water, drowned.

Therefore, to this day, lions never collect taxes.

Notes

1. This particle, termed verb-subordinating in the grammar, marks adverbial clauses.

2. nan 'quadruped'; cf. mi'-hin 'humans'.

3. tún-a· 'on, to'; cf. î· tún 'above us, atop us'.

4. Note tonal complementation in this phrase, in contrast to the preceding one.

5. Cf. lǎm 'to build'.

6. Here the agentive <u>in</u> might have been predicted. Lian Kham omitted it both in  $^{O}$  dictation and in the text he had written out beforehand in a romanized script, inserting a comma at this point.

7. Note the proclitic element.

8. Note tone; cf. a-ma. t3. pai. kh3m în 'Go with him!'.

9. <u>né</u>· 'to eat': In the grammar, this verb, on the basis of tonal behavior in the two stems, was assigned to Class c, implying that both stems were in the high tone. On review, it seems rather to belong in Class d, thus Stem I né., Stem II <u>ně·k</u>.

10. In the grammar, a distinction is made between the homophones, sak, a causa-

tive particle with verbs in Stem I and an alterocentric (benefactive/male-factive) with verbs in Stem II.

11. This construction,  $h\hat{i} \cdot h\hat{u}n \ la\hat{m}$  was not further analyzed; a usage paralleling that in the text was given, thus: ka  $h\hat{i} \cdot h\hat{u}n \ la\hat{m}$  'myself'.

D. khán ha**·m k1-dêm-na· thǔ·** generation ripe REC-contest-NOM story

- khât tô· hú-he·<sup>1</sup>khât vom khât vê i la i-in sa-zúk khât lê zon 1) when-TEMP sambhur one and monkey one with cuckoo one bear once lu• nam<sup>2</sup> tă·m suŋ-a·po·moŋ kŭŋ<sup>3</sup> khât nŭe·i-a·  $k1-s1^4$   $h1^4$ . 2) head region jungle in-LOC grow pipal tree one beneath-LOC REC-meet VPF 3) tu·a ni· a-kî-pân<sup>5</sup> a-má· tě· thum lɔ́·m a-kî-kâ·i<sup>6</sup> a., "nal f. that day from he, she, it PL three friend they-REC-unite VPNF foe we 4) tð•k lé, kî-hun tê.k tû. hî. dâ.-na. nôp-na. á-ŏm encounter if REC-help together will VPF sad-NOM happy-NOM they-exist zón-in kî-nûam m $3.^7$  tû· hf.," tî· in, tu·a mon kǔn be.15) whether REC-formal may not will VPF say VPNF that pipal tree use as shelter  $a-te\cdot n$  hî. a-kum vê.i<sup>8</sup> tían-in, a-ma· tě. kî-mă.i ná.p<sup>9</sup> in 6) year after when-TEMP s/he PL REC-mind confident VPNF they-dwell VPF a-kî-zâ·k-tâ· a-kî-kî·-tâ· ŏm nô·n ŋôl in, kî-zo·ŋ 7) a• sâk VPNF they-REC-respect they-REC-fear exist ever not VPNF REC-insult ALTER ŋ31 tían-in, "hí· bân î· ŏm hî•. ta bân a· a-kî-lêm 8) VPF thus like VPNF they-REC-peaceable not when-TEMP this like we exist lé, î kî-khên thâp kul tû , a hí tían-in<sup>10</sup> 9) thón uselessly if we REC-part individually need will therefore  $a-k\hat{1}-z\hat{a}\cdot k-t\hat{a}\cdot t\hat{u}\cdot m\hat{a}\cdot,$  " $\hat{1}\cdot k\hat{1}-z\hat{a}\cdot -t\hat{a}\cdot k$   $na\cdot -t\hat{u}\cdot -in, a-k\hat{u}\cdot a\cdot$ 10) they-REC-respect will ready to we REC-respect in order ha•m bêl hî·12 zî·am? hí· moŋ kǔ·ŋ pî·en-dâ•n tô· 11) elder brother ripe SUP (copula) INTER this pipal tree appearance with tě·k<sup>13</sup> son to·ŋ. a-khán î∙-khân 12) ha.m bêl sí.a we-recite biography together tell let us his-biography ripe SUP the very kî-ni· tû· hî·," tî· in, á pha·t ní· ni· tíaŋ-in thŭ· 13) command REC-obey will VPF say VPNF anniversary two day when-TEMP vă·i ho·m hî·. 14) arrange VPF a-phít bêl-in , sa-zúk in, "ké·i ka-púm-pí· 15) sĭ∙a no• before SUP-TEMP sambhur AG I my-stomach-big the very you né·l să·n zon lîen zö· pâi·hî·. khí· la·n bem-bom zôn nê·i khî· 16) both than even big exceed go VPF antler diverge branch also have I hî·. moŋ kŭ·ŋ hí· sǐ·a lél sǐ·a ka-nó· la·i-in 17) hí۰ pipal tree this the very modest the very my-child when-TEMP this here
- 18) la·i-a· ka-vá· tiaŋ, a-dó·n in ká-la·i hoŋ bá·n va·-síp phê·ŋ when-TEMP I-travel when its-tip AG my-navel hither brush merely small enough
- 19) hì•.tu•a a hí• tian kě•i khan tâk bêl khî• hî•," tî• hî•. VPF that therefore when I old definitely SUP I VPF say VPF

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20)	á-zom-in, zɔ·ŋ ín, "nó· té· né·l să·ŋ in <sup>14</sup> ká-méi· să·u zó· hî·. hí· secondly monkey AG you PL both than my-tail long ALT VPF this
21)	mɔ·ŋ kǔ·ŋ tź· tê·-ŋât tû· tî· lê·ŋ <sup>15</sup> ka sén ka móm la·i-a· pipal tree with compare will say if(lst) my infancy my childhood when-TEMP
22)	ká nu• tó• hí• la•i-a• ǎn né• a• ka tát û• la•i, my mother with this here when-TEMP food eat VPNF we wander we(?) when
23)	ké·i-ma· tô· tô· kím a· ka tó· lǎm-a· a dón sîk tǎn khî oî·. I sit with equal VPNF my sitting in-LOC its tip pluck break I vPF
24)	tu a a hí tian, ké i u ha m bêl khî hî , "tî hî . therefore I eldest brother ripe SUP $\underline{I}$ VPF say VPF
25)	a-khá·k bêl in, hú·-hé· in, "ké·i thâ· nê·i khî· hî·. ká tǐ· zóŋ last SUP VPNF cuckoo AG I wing have <u>I</u> VPF my color also
26)	hi <b>n nǐ·-né·i a·, ka tá·u<sup>16</sup>zón zǎ·k nôp</b> hue·i h <b>î·. tu·a ఁðu</b> green harmoniously VPNF my song also hear willing good VPF that bə‹ides
27)	$\eta$ 31 in, no pái thể i $\eta$ 31 na vân a le $\eta$ thể i khí hí. mog ki $\eta$ hí not VPNF you go can not NOM sky to fly can <u>I</u> VPF piral to $\tau$ this
28)	sì a sâ n lê nî am na pá u lâp $\hat{u}$ sì a lě i dán a á - po mon very tall and small you talk PL the very field different on it grow pipal
29)	ŋâ•min tě•né•a• hí• suŋ-a•ká ě•k <sup>17</sup> si•a suŋ pân hí• moŋ kŭ•ŋ nut ripe PL eat VPNF this in-LOC my dung very within from this pipal tree
30)	po· phê·ŋ hî·. tu·a a hí· tíaŋ-in, khua· té· mú· má·-sá· phít grow later VPNF that therefore this while-TEMP village PL see first ahead
31)	bêl ké·i khî· hî·," tî· hî·. SUP I <u>I</u> VPF say VPF
32)	a-va•i hźm khua• vak ni• a-kî-pan sa-zúk lê• zɔŋ in hú•-hé• they-agree divide light day from sambhur and monkey AG cuckoo
221	thus navi ht.

33) thủ nai ht. command obey VPF

## The Story of the Dispute over Seniority

Once upon a time, a Sambhur, a Monkey and a Cuckoo met together under a pipal tree growing in the jungle in the Bear's Head region. From that day, the three were friends, uniting together. "If we meet an enemy we shall help one another. Even though there be sorrow and happiness, we shall not stand on ceremony," so saying, they dwelt under that pipal tree. After a year, neither respecting one another in their minds nor fearing one another, they insulted one another. When they were thus not peaceable with one another, they said, "If we are like this without any purpose, we must need to separate; when they (we?) are ready to respect one another, in order to gain that respect (we must find) which is the eldest. Let us compare our life stories with this pipal tree; the one whose life is longest, his command we shall obey." So saying, on the day after two anniversaries, they made ready.

First to speak, the Sambhur said, "My body itself has become larger than both of you. I also have spreading branches (for) antlers. This very pipal tree here during my childhood was so small that when I passed by its tip was so short as merely to brush my navel. Thus I am indeed the eldest."

Next spoke the Monkey. "My tail is longer than both of you. If we make comparison with this pipal tree, in my infancy and childhood, I ate here and

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roamed here with my mother; when I sat here my sitting height was equal to it; when I sat, I broke off its tip. Therefore, I am the eldest."

Finally, Cuckoo spoke. "I have wings. Not only are my colors harmoniously green but my call is also pleasant to hear. Besides, I can fly to the sky, a place to which you cannot go. As for this very pipal tree which you speak of as tall and small, when I ate the ripe nuts of a pipal tree growing in another place, this pipal later grew from within my dung. Therefore, I see myself as first of our group.

From the morning following their agreement, Sambhur and Monkey obeyed the will of Cuckoo.

#### Notes

1. hu'-he' The name is onomatopoetic, the specific identification uncertain.

2. The Bear's Head region denotes a mountain in the Nat Chaung region of Kalemyo, where the forefathers of the Sizang are said to have hunted.

3. kú·ŋ a standing tree.

4.  $\underline{k1-s1}$  'meet each other'. Cf.  $\underline{ka-s1}$  'I come across him';  $\underline{ka-k1-s1}$   $\underline{h1}$  'we meet each other'. (Cf. E, note 3.)

5. <u>a-kî-pân</u> 'from' appears in temporal sense; cf. <u>pân</u> 'from' (locative relational).

6. kî-kâ·i 'unite'. Cf. kâ·i 'to pull'.

7. <u>m3</u>· 'may not'; cf. <u>ká pai</u>· <u>m3</u>· <u>h1</u>· 'I am not permitted to go'; <u>ka pái</u>· m3· <u>b6</u>· h1· 'I am permitted to go'.

8. vê·i 'after'; cf. a-kum nî· vê·i 'after two years'.

9. ká nă p hî 'I have no fear'; cf. ká nă p bóŋ 'I am fearful'.

10. <u>a hi tian-in</u> 'therefore'; can also use tu a a hi tian-in.

11. <u>mâ</u> 'be ready to'; cf. <u>á pai</u> <u>tû</u> <u>mâ</u> <u>ŏm</u> <u>h</u>î. 'he is ready to go'. (<u>ŏm</u> 'be, exist').

12.  $\underline{h1^{\cdot}}$ . Note the appearance here of the equational verb 'to be', homophonous with the verb-final particle,  $\underline{h1^{\cdot}}$ . It is often omitted. (Cf. section 4.31.11-21 of the grammar).

13. <u>tě·k</u>: Cf. <u>kóŋ pai·</u> <u>khôm</u> <u>tû· hî·</u> 'We (two persons) will come hither', <u>kóŋ</u> <u>pai·</u> <u>tě·k</u> <u>tû</u> <u>hî·</u> 'We (three persons or more) will come hither'.

14. <u>in</u> Cf. <u>hí in hita sátu in lîen zð.</u> This house (<u>hít in</u>) that one (<u>hita</u>) be big (<u>lîen</u>) than (sătu).

15. This is an example of the postposed first person enclitic  $-\underline{in}$  (sec. 3.44.12). 16.  $\underline{ta} \cdot \underline{u}$  lit. 'groan'; 'song' for other birds,  $\underline{ham}$ .

17.  $\underline{\check{e}} \cdot \underline{k}$  'dung' cf.  $\underline{ka} \ \underline{\check{e}} \cdot \underline{h1} \cdot$  'I defecate'.

# E. lá•i<sup>1</sup> letter

 na-lá·i hŏŋ thá·k ka-ŋá· a·, koŋ thúk kí·k lâ-lê·u your-letter hither send I-receive VPNF I to you reply again once more
 hî·. ká-hě·k-na· lê· ka-mú·<sup>2</sup>ka-ŋá·i-sút-na· té· thé·m-pô· a-kî-khê· VPF my-know-NOM and I-see my-consider-NOM PL all it-REC-remain

3)	exist not until-TEMP I to you tell completed will VPF this day my-go-NOM
4)	lâm kím a· ka-kî-sîk-pûi. <sup>3</sup> pa· mún-a·,"nâ-khua· ĭn báŋ zâ· path half on I-REC-encounter-ASS man to-LOC your-village house how name
5)	phǎ• nú• zí•am?" tî• a•, ka-dók sí•a, "mêi• ŋǒ•ŋ <sup>5</sup> khát lê• tæ-Já• number you (INTER) say VPNF I-ask the very female widow one and or han
6)	khất tô $a-vék-pi$ . <sup>6</sup> one with they-all together-big REC-gather say if we much very number
7)	té·i f· vê· <sup>8</sup> ûŋ, a há·u tám ŋól a· á zɔ·ŋ ŏm khû· hf·," suprisingly we we are rich many not VPNF poor exist <u>we</u> VPF
8)	hon tî•hî•. tûm dăn ka-sâk <sup>9</sup> khât sǐ•a tu•a hither say VPF suprisingly different I-think one the very that
9)	khua• tě• <sup>10</sup> nú-mêi• khât lê• pá-sal khát kí-ĭ•t a• tě•ŋ sí•a village PL woman one and man one REC-love VPNF marry the very
10)	tǎ $^{11}$ nê•i thôn h1•. á-khua• sun sí•a thian tho $^{12}$ nôl a• son have naturally VPF their-village in that very clean ( ) not VPNF
11)	á-túi· né·k phâ· ŋ31 si·-tó· á-tŏl bó·k ví·-vé· tăm a· their-water drink good not moreover their-throat goitre almost all much VPNF
12)	á-me·l phâ· zôn ŏm h <b>î·. a mó·-mó· khât in hon núi· sân<sup>13</sup> their-complexion good also exist VPF idiot one AG he(DEIC) laugh at</b>
13)	a•, kā-mǎ•i zum má•-mā• hī•. a-má in-á• <sup>14</sup> á-ǐn núe•i-a• vôk pui• VPNF my-face pointed very VPF he AG his-house under-ICC pig female
14)	khất tô $a pa$ khất tô $a - no$ $ni$ tô khoa $i$ $a$ , tô $-na$ $si - p ni$ one both a male one and their-baby two and bring up VPNF ride-NOM pony
15)	zôn nê•i hf•. "tú•a ní• zâ•n ta•m ín," hon tf• a•, ni• tá•k án also have VPF this day night stay IMP he(DEIC)say VPNF evening meal
16)	a•k sá• hoŋ hú•an a•, lim má-mâ• ka-sá• hî•. á zǎ•n tiaŋ fowl flesh he (DEIC)cook VPNF hungry very I-feel VPF night when
17)	$a-In$ dól tún nún $a \cdot hon$ lúm sâk $a \cdot n$ , pu $a \cdot n$ nê $\cdot i$ nôl his-house storey above COMP on he(DEIC) sleep CAUS VPNF blanket have not
18)	a $k\dot{a}$ -khua $sik a \dot{b} zi \cdot \eta sin a k khûan tian ká-tho pá i VPNF I-(condition) cold VPNF tomorrow morning fowl crow when I-arise early$
19)	a· ní· sû·a tian ká-khua· hón lum hî· <sup>17</sup> ká-zí·n ǎn né·k VPNF sun emerge when I-(condition)it(DEIC) warm VPF I-tomorrow food eat
20)	zók ní•vǎ•i <sup>18</sup> hún tian, ka-tía ki•k a• ka-tón-pûi• finish sun work in taungya time when I-return again VPNF my-companion-ASS
21)	tû• a-ŏm bua• a•, ké•i ŋú•ak má• ka-tía lâ-le•au a• ká-tǐ• will he-exist not VPNF I alone very I-return again VPNF my-color
22)	sick VPNF path I-go can not VPNF I-tired very VPF
23)	ni• dǎŋ tiaŋ lá•i kî-thá•-thá•k <sup>19</sup> tû• hî•. day different when letter REC-send repeatedly will VPF

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## Letter

Having received the letter you sent me, I'm replying once more. I'll tell

you completely all my knowledge, what I've seen, and my considerations, until nothing remains. Today, to a man I met along the way, I spoke, asking, "How many houses are there in your village?" "If we count all together, including one widow and one orphan, strange to say, we humble ones are very numerous. The rich are not many, (for) we are poor," he told me. One thing that surprised me, when a woman and a man of those villagers love each other and marry, they have a son! In that village of theirs, it is not clean; moreover their water isn't good to drink; there are quite a number of throat goiters--their complexion is also good. An idiot laughed at me (for) my very sharp-pointed face. Beneath his house he raised both a sow and a boar along with their two young; he also had a riding pony. "Stay tonight," he told me and cooked a supper of chicken for me; I felt very hungry. At night, he had me sleep on his upper floor; having no blanket, I felt cold; the next morning I got up at cock's crow; when the sun came up I felt warm. After I had eaten breakfast, at taungya-working time, I returned home again, with no one for a companion, completely alone I returned, my color sickly, unable to make my way, exhausted.

In the future, we'll write each other many letters.

#### Notes

1. Asked to provide an informal text, Lian Kham drew upon his experience as interpreter and the visits to gather data on population and village conditions that he sometimes made for this amusing letter.

2. <u>ka mú</u>: It would seem that <u>na</u>, the nominalizing particle, is to be understood.

3. <u>ka-kî-sîk-pûi</u> 'I encounter'. Cf. <u>ka kí-sî</u> <u>hî</u> 'I meet him', <u>ka sí</u> <u>hî</u>' 'I come acıss him'.

4. <u>báŋ zâ· phá·</u>: Cf. <u>lâ·i dal báŋ zâ· phá· zí·am</u>? 'How many sheets of paper are there?', <u>báŋ zâ· ŋît zí·am</u>? 'How much does he weigh?'.

5. mêi ŋǒ ŋ: Cf. nu-mêi 'woman', mêi ŋǒ ŋ pá 'widower'.

6. <u>a vék-pi</u>: Cf. <u>ka vék-pí</u> uŋ: 'We all', equivalent to <u>ko</u> té m pô.

7. kî-ŋɔ̌·m: Cf. ka ŋɔ̌·m hî· 'I gather things together'.

8.  $\hat{1} \cdot \hat{v}\hat{e} \cdot \hat{u}\hat{\eta}$ : Cf. pai.  $\hat{1} \cdot \hat{v}\hat{e} \cdot \hat{u}\hat{\eta}$  'We (deprecatory) have been gone', pai. khí.  $\hat{v}\hat{e} \cdot \hat{I}$  (deprecatory) have been gone'.

9. tûm dǎn ka sak khât: Cf. ka sa' hî' 'I think'.

10. <u>khua</u> te' literally 'villages', it is glossed both here and in line 30 of (D.) 'The Story of the Dispute over Seniority' as 'villagers'.

11. tǎ 'baby, son'; cf. ta-nu' 'daughter'.

12. thian tho: Cf. túi thian 'clean water', but púan tian tho 'clean blanket', ká tian hĩ 'I clean'.

13.  $\underline{nui} \cdot \underline{san}$ : Cf. <u>ka</u> <u>nui</u>  $\underline{hi} \cdot \underline{i}$  'I laugh', but <u>ka</u> <u>nui</u>  $\underline{san} \underline{hi} \cdot \underline{i}$  'I laugh at him'. 14. <u>ma</u> <u>in-a</u>: So I interpret what I recorded as <u>a <u>ma</u> <u>na</u>. If my deduction is concert, Liam Kham, who habitually employs the simple agentive <u>in</u> here uses the lorger form found regularly in L.B. Naylor's <u>Practical Handbook of the Chin</u> Language (Siyin Dialect). See Grammar, section 3.42.23.</u>

15.  $\underline{\operatorname{tuŋ}} \ \operatorname{nuŋ}$ : Cf. <u>a</u> <u>nuê·i</u> <u>nuŋ</u> 'the lower' and <u>a</u> <u>nue·i</u> <u>bél</u> 'the lowest'. 16. <u>ká khua·</u> <u>sîk a·</u> 'I feeling cold', but <u>tui</u> <u>vốt</u> 'cold water'. However, see also below ká khua· hóŋ lum hî· 'I felt warm', and túi· lum 'warm water'.

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17. Of the two text examples cited in the preceding note, observe that one can also replace them respectively by ka khua: hon sik a. and ka khua. lum hi. 18. vǎ·i : Cf. vǎ·i tí·a 'return from the taungya' and vǎ·i kuan 'go to work the taungya'. The term in guestion does not denote the field itself. 19. thá·-thá·k: Cf. ká thǎ·k hì· 'I send'. For other reduplicated verbs, see the grammar, p. 252.  $k\mathbf{\hat{r}}$ -pâ·u půi· na·<sup>1</sup> REC-speak with NOM 1 (Boy) koi · sun kuan tû• nî•? where at go to work will you 2 (Girl) lŏ• ká-hun tû. field I-watch will nan-má· nu·ak kuan lê· tê·, ki-ta· nól tú· ni·? 3 (Boy) alone go to work if you(SG) afraid not will you you buan<sup>2</sup> 4 (Girl) bâŋ mâ· ŏm tê. nothing exist not (belief) na·lo· kuan-na· lăm ká-a· ŋu·l kual thê·i vê·. 5 (Boy) you field go to work-NOM path fork-LOC snake coil can sometimes 6 (Girl)  $\eta$ u·l sa· $\eta$   $\eta$ u·l-ti· kî-tâ· zɔ́ $\eta$ . snake than centipede fear more-I thi tha. na-mu géi lê.? 7 (Boy) die spirit you-see ever INTER 8 (Girl) a-tin born khât mûr něir khír. a spine stoop one see ever I lo. mok<sup>4</sup> dûi. sun nua. phun sun-a. thê. lěi. sí.en<sup>5</sup> na 9 (Boy) your field side woods in bamboo copse in-LOC squirrel the very (AG) 10 bǎn vo·t zî·a? what do INTER na.<sup>6</sup> a-mít sí·a ěn sĭ∙a ll (Girl) qua• kui• tǔŋ-a• to• kǐ• bamboo bend upon-LOC sit sparrow the very look at VPF its-eye the very 12 sîm-bû· mit bân dêk tâk hî·. eye resemble nearly VPF owl 13 (Boy) bản hun mú néi nî? what time see ever you 14 (Girl) tei tâ n tún pa ka-ét la i, mû khi. platform on from I-look at when see I a-mit zö·l zi·am mo· bě·m zî·a? 15 (Boy) its-eye squint INTER or round INTER 16 (Girl) bě·m víl-vél. round almost  $s\hat{u} \cdot n s\hat{r} \cdot a^7$ bằn ken 17 (Boy) nî·? daytime meal what have on person you ho. khe. n31 ken khí·. 18 (Girl) kâ•i thum sweet potato skin peel not have on person I

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-56-19 (Boy) và·i hún tian na-tí·a tû· lê·? work in taungya time when you-return will INTER 20 (Girl) va.-tim kap<sup>8</sup> tian, ka-ti.a tû. bird desert when I-return will 21 (Boy) na-nu·tén<sup>9</sup> tí·a pal a· hóng sol nôl zî·a? your-mother(PL + AG) return early VPNF they(DEIC) order not INTER 22 (Girl) tî·a pal lég, hong té·i tû·. return early if-1st they (DEIC) scold will 23 (Boy) hon sa't thê  $i^{10}$  lê ?they(DEIC) beat ever INTER 24 (Girl) khua. sîk mul<sup>11</sup> su.ak thé.i; hoŋ sa.t lé. ka-pe.ŋ tal<sup>12</sup> feel cold body hair emerge can it(DEIC) beat if my-leg break(INTR) 25 dǒn ká-ta·i<sup>13</sup> tû·. hon dél lê·, phá· zo· buan tê hon until I-flee will they(DEIC) pursue if-3rd catch can not(belief) they(DEIC) 26 pháv lév, ka-búv tův. ka-távi-navav, váv-tím búv khât mův khív. overtake if I-hide(INTR) will I-flee-NOM in bird nest one see I 27 (Boy) a-tui tăn bản zâ phă zî.a? its-egg CLASS what how many number INTER 28 (Girl)  $a-n\check{o}\cdot$  kêu· z $\check{o}\cdot;$   $\dot{a}-m\check{u}l$  po· ba-la·i. its-young hatch finish its-feather grow not yet 29 (Boy) na-dé·i lê·? you-want INTER 30 (Girl) kî-tâ·a·, ka-tá·i-na·a·thíng luang pǎl a·, li·k khí· 0 afraid VPNF I-flee-NOM in tree log trip over VPNF fall down I 31 vê.. foolishly 32 (Boy) a thín luan si.a luam<sup>16</sup> sun-a. hual su.k lê. tê.? thín luan the tree log the very brook in-LOC roll down INTER you tree log 33 bản  $a-ki-zan^{16a} zi \cdot a?$ what it-REC-use INTER 34 (Girl) pi al<sup>17</sup> vô t-na kî-zân thê i. deadfall make-NOM REC-use can 35 (B(y; bǎn ố·k zî·a? what snare INTER 36 (Girl) sa· sí·a thiam ŋ31 a·, bâŋ mâ· ŋâ· bo·. animal trap skilled not VPNF nothing get not 37 (Boy) tž·p ká to•n. end conversation we let us Conversation (Boy) Where are you going to work? (Girl) I'm going to guard a field. (Boy) If you go to work alone, won't you be afraid? (Girl) I don't believe there's anything.

(Boy) On your way to the field, at the fork of the path, a snake can sometimes coil.

- (Girl) I'm more afraid of a centipede than of a snake.
- (Boy) Did you ever see a ghost?
- (Girl) I've seen a stoop-back (i.e. old man) before!
- (Boy) In the woods at the side of your field, what's the squirrel doing in the bamboo clump?
- (Girl) He's looking at the sparrow sitting on the bamboo's bend. Its eyes are nearly like an owl's eyes.
- (Boy) When did you ever see it?
- (Girl) When I look from the platform (of the field hut), I see it.
- (Boy) Are its eyes squinting or round?
- (Girl) Almost round.
- (Boy) What lunch do you have?
- (Girl) I've got unpeeled sweet potatoes.
- (Boy) When it's taungya-working time, will you go home?
- (Girl) When the birds have all left, I'll return.
- (Boy) Didn't your parents tell you to come home early?
- (Girl) If I come home early, they'll scold me.
- (Boy) Do they ever beat you?
- (Girl) The hair of my body stands up in fright; if they beat me, I'll run till my legs break. If they chase me, I don't think they'll be able to catch me. If they overtake me, I'll hide. In my running (or: the place where I ran), I saw a bird's nest.
- (Boy) How many of its eggs were there?
- (Girl) Its young had finished hatching; their feathers hadn't yet grown in.
- (Boy) Did you want them?
- (Girl) Being afraid, in my flight (or: the place where I fled), I tripped over a log and fell down.
- (Boy) Why don't you roll that log down into the brook? Of what use is a log?
- (Girl) It can be used in making deadfalls.
- (Boy) What do you trap?
- (Girl) Not being skilled in trapping animals, I get nothing.
- (Boy) Let's end our conversation.

#### Notes

1. This dialogue between a boy and a girl bound for the field-hut to guard the maturing crop is Lian Kham's example of colloquial speech.

2. <u>buan</u>: Cf. <u>a om bua</u> <u>h</u><sup>1</sup>. 'It isn't there', <u>om bo</u>. 'There isn't', <u>om buan</u> <u>tê</u> 'I believe there's nothing', <u>pai buan</u> <u>tê</u> 'I believe he's not going'.

2a. Here again we have the postposed personal enclitic series.

3. <u>thi'</u> tha': The spirit is fed at the grave about six months, after which it goes to mi' thi' khua' 'the village of the dead'.

4. <u>lò'</u> mɔk: The field is likened to a body, the uphill side being <u>lo'</u> <u>lu'</u> (lu· 'head'), the lower margin lò' tɔ̈' (tɔ̃' 'buttock').

5. siven: Contraction of siva in.

6. <u>qa</u>: With a mid-level tone that is often the consequence of a rising tone altered by sentence-final intonation, this particle occurs but once in the terms and paradigms. It is the colloquial equivalent of  $h^{\circ}$ .

7.  $\underline{s0 \cdot n} \underline{s1 \cdot a}$ : In Tiddim Chin (Kamhau),  $\underline{s0 \cdot n} \underline{an}$ .  $\underline{an}$  appears twice in the preceding text, 'Letter', at lines 15 and 19 and in Naylor under the vocabulary entry 'food'. Food kept for the spirit of the dead during the first three months is denoted by a term combining both items, an  $\underline{s1 \cdot a}$ . 8. kap; Cf. a kam hi 'they (a crowd) leave entirely!' The place is deserted after a hustle and bustle.

9.  $\underline{nu} \cdot \underline{ten}$  'As in note 5, the agentive in has undergone sandhi with the preceding vowel. While  $\underline{nu} \cdot \underline{te}$  refers literally to the women of the household, as against the men,  $\underline{pa} \cdot \underline{te}$  here it is said to apply to all persons in the household. Incidentally, residence is jurally virilocal, with a rule of ultimogeniture, by contrast with the Kamhau, where the eldest son inherits the house and cares for his ageing parents.

9a. Here we have another example of the postposed first person enclitic (sec. 3.44.12).

10. thê i: ně i might be used instead.

11. mùl: 'body hair, feathers' is distinguished from sam 'head hair'.

12. tal: Cf. a pě•n tâl sâk hf• '(I) break his leg'.

13. ta·i: Cf. kf-tâ·i tê· hf· 'they race'.

14.  $\underline{khi^{\cdot}}$ : One may replace this with the personal noun,  $\underline{ke^{\cdot}i}$  at the beginning of the clause or retain both terms.

15.  $\underline{zo^{\cdot}}$ : Cf. <u>ka</u>  $\underline{zo^{\cdot}}$  <u>h</u>î 'I finished', <u>ka</u>  $\underline{zo^{\cdot}}$  <u>zo^{\cdot}</u> <u>h</u>î 'I finish (repeatedly)', <u>ka</u>  $\underline{zo^{\cdot}}$  <u>na</u> 'my finishing', <u>ka</u>  $\underline{zo^{\cdot}}$  <u>zôk</u> <u>tian</u> 'when I had finished it'.

16. luam: Cf. 'stream' lûi·, 'river' gun.

16a. The reciprocal k1- here and in line 34 indicates stative voice of the verb.

17. Fi'al 'deadfall'; cf. ɔ̆·k 'snare', hu·m 'pitfall', sî'a na' 'cage trap'.

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