

LAI PSYCHO-COLLOCATION*

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INTRODUCTION

With the initial work of Matisoff, followed by studies like those of Jaisser 1990 and Oey 1990, it has become clear that “psycho-collocations” are an essential feature of many languages in Southeast Asia. According to Matisoff (1986:9), who coined the term, a “psycho-collocation” is defined as:

a polymorphemic expression referring as a whole to a mental process, quality, or state, one of whose constituents is a psycho-noun, i.e., a noun with explicit psychological reference (translatable by English words like HEART, MIND, SPIRIT, SOUL, TEMPER, NATURE, DISPOSITION, MOOD). The rest of the psycho-collocation contains morphemes (usually action verbs or adjectives) that complete the meaning.

What Matisoff proposes might be represented briefly as follows:

Psycho-noun + *Psycho-mate* = *Psycho-collocation*

In the above equation, the “psycho-noun” could be ‘heart’, ‘liver’, or other body parts. Lai, also called Haka Chin, is one of the languages that has expressions using heart, liver, and other body parts for psycho-collocation; although in these Lai expressions action-verbs involving some body parts as well as some abstract nouns that are external to the body (e.g., ‘enemy’) can also fill the role of “psycho-noun.” The “psycho-mate” is usually a verb or adjective.

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LAI SYNTAX

Before approaching Lai psycho-collocations, I would like to discuss some aspects of Lai syntax.

Lai is an SOV language. The first type of syntactic construction to note is how the marker *?a* represents a third person subject of a sentence.¹ For example:

- (1) *nii-huu* *?a* *raa*
 Ni Hu 3SG SUBJ come I (rat II)²
 ‘Ni Hu came.’
- (2) *tsoo-leen* *?a* *rook*
 cow-vehicle 3SG SUBJ break down I (roo? II)
 ‘The cart broke down.’
- (3) *ka* *tsoo-leen* *?a* *rook*
 1SG POSS cow-vehicle 3SG SUBJ break down I (roo? II)
 ‘My cart broke down.’

It is important to understand this type of syntax in order to understand the similar syntax involved in Lai psycho-collocation. For example:

- (4) *ka* *luŋ* *?a* *rook*
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ break down I (roo? II)
 ‘I am disappointed’ (literally, ‘My heart broke down’)

Here, the third person marker *?a* represents the subject *ka luŋ*.

When both the subject and the object are marked pronominally on the verb, the former precedes the latter. For example:

- (5) *na* *kan* *zuar*
 2SG SUBJ 1PL OBJ sell I (zo?r II)
 ‘You betrayed us. (lit., ‘You sold us’)

¹ This marker is unspecified for gender. Here it is sometimes translated as ‘he/she’ and sometimes simply as ‘he’ for short.

² Most Lai verbs have two morphophonemically related forms, which occur in different syntactic environments. For ease of reference, each verb in the examples is followed by its variant in parentheses; i.e., if the verb in the example is Form I, the Form II alternant is provided in parentheses, and vice versa.

- (6) ka luŋ ʔa rook
 1SG POSS heart 3SG OBJ break down I (rooʔ II)
 'I am disappointed at him / her.' (lit., 'My heart broke down at him / her')
- (7) ka luŋ na rook
 1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ break down I (rooʔ II)
 'I am disappointed at you.' (lit., 'My heart broke down at you')
- (8) ka luŋ kan rook
 1SG POSS liver 1PL OBJ break down I (rooʔ II)
 'I am disappointed at us' (lit., 'My heart broke down at us')

Here, we need to note that when the third person marker ʔa is involved, there can be two interpretations, one representing the subject and one the object.

Sometimes, ʔa can be interpreted either way depending on the context:

- (9) ka luu ʔa ri
 1SG POSS head 3SG SUBJ drunk I (riit II)
 'I am confused.' (lit., 'My head is drunk')
- (10) ka luu ʔa ri
 1SG POSS head 3SG SUBJ drunk I (riit II)
 'He made me confused.' ('I am confused at him', lit., 'My head is drunk at him')

I will provide an explanation when both interpretations are possible.

However, at times only one interpretation is possible. For example:

- (11) ka thluak ʔa buu
 1SG POSS brain 3SG SUBJ /*OBJ crowded I (buut II)
 'I am unintelligent.' (lit., 'My brain is [too] crowded [to absorb other things]')
- (12) ka zaan ʔa faak
 1SG POSS strength 3SG OBJ /*SUBJ painful I (faʔ II)
 'I pity him.' (lit., 'My strength is painful [with] him')

Another syntactic structure to be mentioned is a simple one involving the

verb *ɲay* ('have / possess'). For example:

- (13) *tsoo-leenɲ* *ʔa* *ɲay*
 cow-vehicle 3SG SUBJ have I (*ɲaʔy* II)
 'He has a cart.'
- (14) *tsoo-leenɲ* *ka* *ɲay*
 cow-vehicle 1SG SUBJ have I (*ɲaʔy* II)
 'I have a cart.'
- (15) *mit-paar* *ʔa* *ɲay*
 eye-flower 3SG SUBJ have I (*ɲaʔy* II)
 'He is fickle (= a womanizer).' (lit., 'He has eye-flower')

Having discussed these few general points, I will now proceed to my main topic. First, I will discuss the psycho-collocations that use body parts as their psycho-nouns. In order to emphasize how real body-part nouns are used in Lai psycho-collocation, my examples in this category will start with 'head' and proceed down the body. Secondly, I will treat those psycho-collocations that use Form II of body-action verbs as their psycho-nouns. Thirdly, I will discuss the psycho-collocations that have "extensive" (external) psycho-nouns. Fourthly, I will consider some psycho-collocations that are so lexicalized that the psycho-noun or the psycho-mate has no meaning anymore apart from the psycho-collocation. Fifthly, I will describe the psycho-collocations that use middle voice only. Finally, I will present some idioms that involve the use of psycho-collocations, and selectively attempt to explain their semantics.

I. PSYCHO-COLLOCATIONS WITH REAL BODY PARTS AS THE PSYCHO-NOUN

A. *luu* ('head')

- (16) *ka* *luu* *ʔa* *rii*
 1SG POSS head 3SG SUBJ drunk I (*riit* II)
 'I am confused.' (lit., 'My head is drunk')
- (17) *ka* *luu* *ʔa* *rii*
 1SG POSS head 3SG OBJ drunk I (*riit* II)
 'I am confused at him.' (lit., 'My head is drunk [with] him')

- (18) ka luu na riï
 1SG POSS head 2SG OBJ drunk I (riit II)
 'You confused me.' (lit., 'My head is drunk [with] you')

B. thluak ('brain')

- (19) kan thluak ?a buay
 1PL POSS brain 3SG SUBJ messy (inv.)
 'We are confused.' (lit., 'Our brain is messy')
- (20) kan thluak ?a buu
 1PL POSS brain 3SG SUBJ crowded / congested I (buut II)
 'We are not intelligent.' (lit., 'Our brain is thick / congested [i.e., too crowded to absorb other things]')
- (21) nan thluak ?a tshia tuk
 2SG POSS brain 3SG SUBJ bad I very I (tshiat II)
 'You are very unintelligent.' (lit., 'Your brain is very bad')
- (22) ?an thluak ?a t̥haa
 3PL POSS brain 3SG SUBJ good I (t̥hat II)
 'They are intelligent.' (lit., 'Their brain is good')

C. mit ('eyes')

- (23) ka mit ?a kuu
 1SG POSS eye 3SG SUBJ sleepy I (ku? II)
 'I am sleepy.'
- (24) ka mit ?a thiï
 1SG POSS eyes 3SG OBJ die I (thi? II)
 I wanted / desired it / her. (lit., 'My eyes died on it / her')
- (25) ?a mit na thiï
 3SG POSS eyes 2SG OBJ die I (thi? II)
 'He / She desired you.' (lit., 'His / Her eyes died on you')
- (26) mit-paar ?a ñay
 eye-flower 3SG SUBJ have (ña?y II)
 'He is fickle (= a womanizer).' (lit., 'He has eye-flower')

D. hmaay ('face')

- (27) ?an hmaay ?a kaaw
 3PL POSS face 3SG SUBJ wide I (kaʔw II)
 'They are daring (*negative meaning*). (lit., 'Their face is wide
 [enough to do what they don't deserve]')
- (28) ?an hmaay ?a paʔn
 3PL POSS face 3SG SUBJ brighten.up (inv.)
 'They are cheerful.' (lit., 'Their face is bright')
- (29) ?a hmaay ?a tshia
 3SG POSS face 3SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
 'He / She is unhappy.' (lit., 'His / Her face is bad')

hmaay may be compounded with *mit* as a unitary psycho-noun without changing the semantic outcome. For example:

- (30) ?an mit-hmaay ?a paʔn
 3PL POSS eye-face 3SG SUBJ brighten.up (inv.)
 'They are cheerful.' (lit., 'Their face brightens up')
- (31) mit-hmaay ?a ŋay
 eye-face 3SG SUBJ have I (ŋaʔy II)
 'He is well respected.' (lit., 'He has face')

E. hna ('ear')

- (32) ka hna ?a hnok
 1SG POSS ear 3SG SUBJ entangle I (hnoʔ II)
 'I feel bothered.' (lit., 'My ear is entangled')
- (33) ka hna na hnok
 1SG POSS ear 2SG OBJ entangle I (hnoʔ II)
 'You bother me.' (lit., 'My ear [is] entangled [with] you')
- (34) ka hna na ka hnoʔ
 1SG POSS ear 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ entangle II (hnok I)
 'You bother me.' (lit., 'You entangled my ear')

- (35) ka hna ʔa ɲam
 1SG POSS ear 3SG SUBJ at home I (ɲaʔm II)
 'I am content / I am not worried.' (lit., 'My ear is at home')

- (36) ka hna na ɲam
 1SG POSS ear 2SG SUBJ at home I (ɲaʔm II)
 'I am not worried for you.' (lit., 'My ear is at home [with] you')

Here I want to note the variety of meanings that the verb *ɲam* / *ɲaʔm* has. When an animal is well domesticated, it becomes familiar with people to the extent that it no longer fears them. That level of domestication is expressed as *ɲam*. For example:

- (37) na ʔaar ʔa ɲam ɲaay
 2SG POSS chicken 3SG SUBJ tame I quite / very
 'Your chicken is very approachable / tame (it does not fear people).'

Form II *ɲaʔm* can mean 'to dare'. For example:

- (38) na ka ɲaʔm moo
 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ dare II Q
 'Do you dare me?'

When a person stops crying, it can also be expressed as *ɲam* / *ɲaʔm* (39):

- (39) ka fa ʔa ʔap mii ʔa ɲam
 1SG POSS child 3SG SUBJ cry I REL.NOM 3SG stop I
 (ʔaʔ II) SUBJ
 'My child who was crying has stopped.'

- (40) kan hna ʔa tlaa
 1SG POSS ears 3SG SUBJ fall I (tlaak II)
 'We agree.' (lit., 'Our ears fall [along with something]')

- (41) kan hna na tlaa
 1SG POSS ear 2SG OBJ fall I (tlaak II)
 'We agree on you.' (lit., 'Our ears fall [neatly] [with] you', e.g., for our daughter)

- (42) ka hna-bay ʔa don
 1SG POSS ear-carry 3SG SUBJ end I (doʔŋ II)
 'I feel hopeless.' (= 'I give up') (lit., 'What my ear can carry ends')

- (43) ka hna-bay ʔa say
 1SG POSS ear-carry 3SG SUBJ protrude (inv.)
 'I am hopeful.' (lit., 'What my ear can carry [still] protrudes')

F. hnaar ('nose')

- (44) ka hnaar-naw-ruʔ ʔa ka ʔam
 1SG POSS nose-young-bone 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ chew (inv)
 'It makes me sad.' (lit., 'It [something] chews the soft-bone of my nose [and makes me cry]')

G. hmur ('lip'), kaa ('mouth')

- (45) ʔa kaa ʔa daak
 3SG POSS mouth 3SG SUBJ quack (inv.)
 'He / She is talkative.' (lit., 'His / Her mouth is quacking')

- (46) ʔa kaa ʔa naal
 3SG POSS mouth 3SG SUBJ slip (inv.)
 'He / She is talkative.' (lit., 'His / Her mouth is slippery')

- (47) ʔa kaa ʔa thoo
 3SG POSS mouth 3SG SUBJ taste good I (thoot II)
 His / Her appetite is good. (lit., 'His / Her mouth tastes good [with everything]')

- (48) ʔan hmur ʔa saaw
 3PL POSS lip 3SG SUBJ long I (saʔw II)
 'They are talkative.' (lit., 'Their lip is long')

- (49) ʔan hmur-kaa ʔa tam
 3PL POSS lip-mouth 3SG SUBJ many I (taʔm II)
 'They are talkative.' (lit., 'Their lip-mouths are many')

- (50) ʔa hmur-kaa ʔa ʔhaa
 3SG POSS lip-mouth 3SG SUBJ good I (ʔhat II)
 'He is congenial / friendly.' (lit., 'His lip-mouth [i.e., talking] is good')

H. haa ('teeth')

- (51) ka ha-thii ʔa thak
 1SG POSS teeth-blood 3SG SUBJ itch I (tha? II)
 'My teeth are on edge.' (lit., 'The blood of my teeth is itchy')
- (52) ka ha-thi na thak
 1SG POSS teeth-blood 2SG OBJ itch I (tha? II)
 'I can't stand you.' (lit., 'The blood of my teeth is itchy [with] you')
- (53) ka haa ʔa zaa
 1SG POSS teeth 3SG SUBJ tickle I (zaat II)
 'I am soured on you.' (lit., 'My tooth feels tickled')³
- (54) ka haa na zaa
 1SG POSS teeth 2SG OBJ tickle I (zaat II)
 'I am soured on you.' (lit., 'My tooth feels tickled at you')

I. khaa, kha-di ('chin')

- (55) ka dii ʔa riam
 1SG POSS drool 3SG SUBJ cut I (ria?m II)
 'I am satisfied.' (lit., 'I cut my drool')

J. ʔor ('throat' or 'pharynx')

- (56) ka ʔor ʔa fok
 1SG POSS throat 3SG SUBJ protruded / erect I (fo? II)
 'I want to eat.' (lit., 'My throat is protruding')
- (57) ka ʔor na fok
 1SG POSS throat 2SG OBJ protruded / erect I (fo? II)
 'I desire you.' (lit., 'My throat protrudes at you')
- (58) ʔa ʔɔx ʔa khuu
 3SG POSS throat 3SG SUBJ smoke I (khut II)
 'He / She is gluttonous.' (lit., 'His / Her throat is smoking
 [= cooking]')

³ The verb meaning 'tickle' is used, for example, if I see you biting into a lemon and my face puckers up, too, as if I were also biting into a lemon.

- (59) ʔa ʔor ʔa kua
 3SG POSS throat 3SG SUBJ hole I (kuat II)
 ‘He / She is gluttonous.’ (lit., ‘His / Her throat has a hole’)

- (60) ʔa ʔor ʔa vuay
 3SG POSS throat 3SG SUBJ satisfy (inv.)
 ‘He / She is satisfied.’ (lit., ‘His / Her throat is satisfied’)

K . hnaak (‘ribs’)

- (61) ʔa hnaak-kar-ʔa? ʔa ka teʔn
 3SG POSS ribs-between-LOC 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ grab (inv.)
 ‘He is concerned about me.’ (lit., ‘He grabs me between his ribs’)

L . luŋ-thin / thin-luŋ (‘heart-liver’ or ‘liver-heart’)

When one speaks of ‘liver’ and ‘heart’ in Lai, one needs to be careful not to be too specific about whether *luŋ* is ‘liver’ or ‘heart.’ Similarly, it is possible to translate ‘heart’ as either *luŋ-thin* or *thin-luŋ*. In psycho-collocations, sometimes *luŋ* will be used and in some cases *thin*; in some expressions either *luŋ* or *thin* may be used interchangeably; and in still others either *luŋ-thin* or *thin-luŋ* can be used as a unit. Depending on the area, Lai speakers will have their preference as to what is *luŋ* and what is *thin*. In this paper, I will translate *luŋ* as ‘heart’ and *thin* as ‘liver’.⁴

luŋ (‘heart’)

- (62) ka luŋ ʔa daay
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ silent / still I (daʔy II)
 ‘I feel calm.’
- (63) ʔa luŋ ʔaa doʔm
 3SG POSS heart 3SG RFL support / hold (inv.)
 ‘He / She is worried.’ (lit., ‘He is supporting / holding his heart’)
- (64) ka luŋ ʔa doŋ
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ end I (doʔŋ II)
 ‘I am disappointed / I give up.’ (lit., ‘My heart is ended’)

⁴ This is etymologically correct, since these words descend from PTB **m-luŋ* ‘heart’ and **m-sin* ‘liver’, respectively. See Benedict 1972, p. 120 and #234. [Ed.]

- (65) *ka* *luŋ* *ʔa* *fiaŋ*
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ clear I (fian II)
 'I understand.'
- (66) *ka* *luŋ* *ʔa* *piaŋ*
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ clear I (pian II)
 'I understand.'
- (67) *ka* *luŋ* *ʔa* *tiaŋ*
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ clear I (tian II)
 'I understand.'

Here we see an interesting set of three different psycho-mates which pair with *luŋ* to give the same meaning. This might be the strength of psycho-collocation: the ability to draw on different psycho-mates for the same meaning. The word *fiaŋ* is used when a person is clear in his or her speech. For example:

- (68) *na* *bia* *ʔa* *fiaŋ*
 2SG POSS word 3SG SUBJ clear I (fian II)
 'Your speech is clear.'

The word *piaŋ* is used for 'clear weather' or 'sky.' For example:

- (69) *ni-khua* *ʔa* *piaŋ*
 sun-cosmos 3SG SUBJ clear I (pian II)
 'The weather is clear.'

The word *tiaŋ* might be from *tleʔŋ* meaning 'cleanse' or 'rinse.' For example:

- (70) *kheen* *ka* *tleʔŋ* *hnaa*
 plates 1SG SUBJ rinse (inv.) PL
 'I rinse the plates.'

In fact, there might be phonetic or morphophonemic reasons why *piaŋ* and *fiaŋ* have a similar meaning. *Fiaŋ* could arise out of *piaŋ* in the following way. When the voiceless stop [p] is produced, the glottis is open and there is a high air-flow coming through the oral cavity. Because of that high air-flow,

a voiceless stop can be realized as some sort of fricative. For that and other phonetic reasons, John Ohala claims that “the voiceless stop [p] is likely to be confused with a non-stop (e.g., a voiceless bilabial fricative)” (Ohala 1996:1720). In the case of Lai, [p] and [f] are sometimes in free variation.

- (71) ʔa luŋ ʔa faak
 3SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ painful I (fa? II)
 ‘He / She is bitter.’
- (72) ʔa luŋ na faak
 3SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ painful I (fa? II)
 ‘He / She is bitter toward you.’
- (73) ʔa luŋ ʔa fim
 3SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ wise (inv.)
 ‘He / She is conscious.’
- (74) ʔa luŋ ʔa hme?
 3SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ press II (hmet I)
 ‘It makes him sad.’
- (75) ʔa luŋ na hme?
 3SG POSS heart 2SG SUBJ press II (hmet I)
 ‘You make him sad.’
- (76) ka luŋ ʔa hriŋ
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ green I (hrin II)
 ‘I am suspicious.’ (lit., ‘My heart is green’)
- (77) ka luŋ na hriŋ
 1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ green I (hrin II)
 ‘I am suspicious of you.’ (lit., ‘My heart is green [with] you’)
- (78) ʔa luŋ ʔaa khiak
 3SG POSS heart 3SG RFL break I (khia? II)
 ‘He / She is determined (decisive).’ (lit., ‘He / She severs her heart’)

- (79) ka luŋ ʔa leen
1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ visit I (leen II)
'I feel lonely.' (lit., 'My heart is visiting [e.g., home]')
- (80) ka luŋ na leen
1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ visit I (leen II)
'I feel lonely / sorry for you (you look so sad).' (lit., 'My heart is visiting you')
- (81) kan luŋ ʔaa loom
1PL POSS heart 3SG RFL happy I (loʔm II)
'We are happy.' (lit., 'My heart is happy')
- (82) ʔan luŋ ʔa lut
3PL POSS heart 3SG SUBJ enter I (luʔ II)
'He is interested.' (lit., 'My heart enters')
- (83) ka luŋ ʔa mit
1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ extinguish I (miʔ II)
'I feel dizzy.' (lit., 'My heart is extinguished [like a light or a fire]')
- (84) ka luŋ na mit
1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ extinguish I (miʔ II)
'I feel dizzy looking at you (you are spinning).' (lit., 'My heart[\'s light] has been put out by you')
- (85) ʔa luŋ ʔa puam
3SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ big / swollen (inv)
'He / She is cocky / stubborn.'
- (86) ʔa luŋ ʔa ran
3SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ quick I (ran II)
'He / She is impatient.'
- (87) ka luŋ ʔa rook
1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ break down I (rooʔ II)
'I am disappointed.' (lit., 'My heart broke down')

- (88) ka luŋ ʔa rook
 1SG POSS heart 3SG O break down I (rooʔ II)
 'I am disappointed with him.' (lit., 'My heart broke down at him')
- (89) ka luŋ na rook
 1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ break down I (rooʔ II)
 'I am disappointed with you.' (lit., 'My heart broke down at you')
- (90) ʔa luŋ ʔaa sak
 3SG POSS heart 3SG RFL build II (saa I)
 'He / She is comforting himself / herself.'
- (91) ka luŋ ʔa thaw
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ rise I (thoʔ II)
 'I am enthusiastic.' (lit., 'My heart arises')
- (92) ka luŋ na thaw
 1SG POSS heart 2SG OBJ rise I (thoʔ II)
 'I am enthusiastic about you.' (lit., 'My heart arises [with] you')
- (93) ka luŋ-re ʔa thay
 1SG POSS heart-dry 3SG SUBJ know / hear I (thaʔy II)
 'I am worried.' (lit., 'My heart knows dryness')
- (94) ka luŋ-re na thay
 1SG POSS heart-dry 2SG OBJ know / hear I (thaʔy II)
 'I am worried about you.' (lit., 'My heart knows dryness [with] you')
- (95) ka luŋ ʔa thii
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ die I (thiʔ II)
 'I am settled.'⁵
- (96) ka luŋ ʔa tliŋ
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ complete I (tlin II)
 'I agree.' (lit., 'My heart is complete')

⁵ Lahu has a similar idiom: *ni-ma s̃i ve* 'be decided / be satisfied / have one's mind made up' (literally, 'heart is dead'). [Ed.]

- (97) ka luŋ na tlin
 1SG POSS heart 3SG OBJ complete I (tlin II)
 'I am satisfied with you.' (lit., 'My heart is complete [with] you')
- (98) ka luŋ ʔa ka ton
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ meet II (ton I)
 'I am satisfied with him.' (lit., 'He meets my heart')
- (99) ka luŋ na ka ton
 1SG POSS heart 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ meet II (ton I)
 'I am satisfied with you.' (lit., 'You meet my heart')
- (100) ka luŋ ʔa tee
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ branch off I (teet II)
 'I am indecisive.' (lit., 'My heart branches off')
- (101) ka luŋ ʔa vaay-vuan
 1SG POSS heart 3SG SUBJ wander-float I (vaʔy-voʔn II)
 'I am confused.' (lit., 'My heart is wandering floatingly')

thin ('liver')

- (102) ka thin ʔa haan
 1SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ become liquid I (haan II)
 'I am angry.' (lit., 'My liver is liquid')
- (103) ka thin na haan
 1SG POSS liver 2SG OBJ become liquid I (haan II)
 'I am angry at you.' (lit., 'You are liquid at my liver' or 'My liver is liquid [with] you')
- (104) ka thin na ka hneʔm
 1SG POSS liver 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ soften II (hneem I)
 'You comfort me.' (lit., 'You soften my liver')
- (105) ka thin na ka kheʔn
 1SG POSS liver 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ hammer (inv.)
 'You make me angry.' (lit., 'You hammer my liver')

- (106) ka thin na ka khoʔy
1SG POSS liver 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ dig up (inv.)
'You provoke me.' (lit., 'You dig up my liver')
- (107) ʔa thin ʔa lin
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ hot I (liʔn II)
'He is worried [helplessly and angrily].' (lit., 'His liver is hot / burning')
- (108) ʔa thin ʔa neem
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ soft (inv.)
'He is worried [gently].' (lit., 'His liver is soft')
- (109) ʔa thin ʔa phaaj
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ worried I (phan II)
'He is worried.' (lit., 'His liver is worried')
- (110) ʔa thin ʔa saaw
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ long I (saʔw II)
'He is patient.' (lit., 'His liver is long')
- (111) ʔa thin ʔa tooy
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ short I (toʔy II)
'He is impatient.' (lit., 'His liver is short')
- (112) ʔa thin ʔa tshia
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
'He is mean (he has a bad temper).' (lit., 'His liver is bad')
- (113) ʔa thin ʔa tʰaa
3SG POSS liver 3SG SUBJ good I (tʰat II)
'He is good.' (lit., 'His liver is good')

Examples of possible double use

- (114) ʔa luŋ / thin ʔaa doʔm
3SG POSS heart / liver 3SG RFL support (inv.)
'He / She is worried.' (lit., 'He supports his heart / liver')

- (115) ka thin / lun na ka hne?m
 1SG POSS heart / liver 2SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ soften II (hneem I)
 'You comfort me.' (lit., 'You soften my heart / liver')

Examples of possible triple use

- (116) ka lun / thin / lun-thin ?a daay
 1SG POSS heart / liver / heart-liver 3SG SUBJ calm I (da?y II)
 'I feel calm.'
- (117) ?a lun / thin / lun-thin ?a neem
 3SG POSS heart / liver / heart-liver 3SG SUBJ soft (inv.)
 'He is gentle.'

nin (PTB *heart)

- (118) na nin ?a hnal
 2SG POSS *heart 3SG SUBJ know I (hna?l II)
 'You are presumptuous.' (lit., 'Your heart knows [too much]')
- (119) ka nin ?a ?ii
 1SG POSS *heart 3SG SUBJ fear I (?i? II)
 'I am afraid [of a ghost].'
- (120) ka nin ?a zaak
 1SG POSS *heart 3SG SUBJ shy I (za? II)
 'I am ashamed.'
- (121) ka nin na zaak
 1SG POSS *heart 2SG OBJ shy I (za? II)
 'I am ashamed of you.'

Here I would like to note that *nin* in modern Lai is a postverbal particle. For example:

- (122) ?a kal nin ?aa do? law
 3SG POSS go (inv.) the way 3SG RFL pretty (inv.) NEG
 'The way she goes is not pretty.'

However, the original meaning of PTB **s-niŋ* ('heart')⁶ is retained in Lai psycho-collocations, where *niŋ* functions like a psycho-noun taking the place of *luŋ* or *thin*. Besides, the uses of *luŋ-thin* and *niŋ* are in complementary distribution with each other, i.e., they do not occur in the same contexts.

M. thaa ('*nerve-strength*'); **?aay** ('*strength*' [*Old Lai*]); **zaaŋ** ('*strength*')

- (123) ka thaa ?a baa
 1SG POSS nerves 3SG SUBJ tired I (baat II)
 'I am tired.' (lit., 'My nerves are tired')
- (124) ka thaa na baa
 1SG POSS nerves 2SG OBJ tired I (baat II)
 'I am tired for you (you look so tired)' (lit., 'My nerves are tired [with] you')
- (125) ka thaa ?a thuu
 1SG POSS nerves 3SG SUBJ stink I (thuut II)
 'I am lazy.' (lit., 'My nerves stink')
- (126) ka thaa ?a tshia
 1SG POSS nerves 3SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
 'I am discouraged.' (lit., 'My nerves are bad')
- (127) ka thaa na tshia
 1SG POSS nerves 2SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
 'I am discouraged about you.' (lit., 'My nerves are bad [with] you')
- (128) ka thaa ?a [hoon]
 1SG POSS nerves 3SG SUBJ strong I ([hoon II])
 'I am strong.' (lit., 'My nerves are bad')
- (129) ka ?aay ?a puaŋ
 1SG POSS strength 3SG SUBJ flare up I (puan II)
 'I am extremely angry.' (lit., 'My strength flares up')

⁶ For a discussion of PTB **s-niŋ*, see Benedict 1972:217.

- (130) ka ?aay na puan
 1SG POSS strength 2SG OBJ flare up I (puan II)
 'I am extremely angry at you.' (lit., 'My strength flares up at you')
- (131) ka zaan ?a faak
 1SG POSS strength 3SG OBJ painful I (fa? II)
 'I pity her / him.' (lit., 'My strength is painful [with] him / her')
- (132) ka zaan na faak
 1SG POSS strength 2SG OBJ painful I (fa? II)
 'I pity you.' (lit., 'My strength is painful [with] you')

N. thlik ('marrow') / thliin ('sap')

'Marrow' in Lai is *thlik*. But when it is used as a psycho-noun, *thliin* 'tree-sap' (i.e., 'tree-marrow') is used instead.⁷

- (133) ka thliin ?a kiik
 1SG POSS sap 3SG SUBJ cold I (ki? II)
 'I feel acrophobic.' (lit., 'My marrow / sap is cold')
- (134) ka thliin ?a zaa
 1SG POSS sap 3SG SUBJ tickled I (zaat II)
 'I feel tickled.' (lit., 'My marrow / sap is tickled')
- (135) ka thliin na zaa
 1SG POSS sap 2SG OBJ tickled I (zaat II)
 'I am soured by you (you look yucky!!)' (lit., 'My marrow / sap is tickled at you'; see footnote 3)

O. luak ('vomit')

The act of vomiting is expressed in Lai in the following way:

- (136) ka luak ?a tshuak
 1SG POSS vomit 3SG SUBJ come out I (tshua? II)
 'My vomit is coming out.'

⁷ Both of these Lai forms descend from a PTB etymon set up as **r-klin* in Benedict 1972 (#126). The allofam with final stop reflected by Lai *thlik* (< **klik*) has not yet been attested elsewhere. [Ed.]

When a person (mostly a child or a youth) is too meddlesome, *luak* 'vomit' is used as a psycho-noun to express that situation. For example:

- (137) *luak* *ʔa* *tsuak* *tuk*
 vomit 3SG OBJ come out I (*tsuaʔ* II) very
 'He is too meddlesome.' (i.e., 'He is so meddlesome that one wants to vomit')

- (138) *luak* *na* *tsuak* *tuk*
 vomit 2SG OBJ come out I (*tsuaʔ* II) very
 'You are too meddlesome.' (i.e., 'You are so meddlesome that one wants to vomit')

II. FORM II OF THE VERB USED AS A PSYCHO-NOUN

A. *Action-verbs appropriate for real body-parts used as psycho-nouns*

mit ('eyes')

- (139) *ʔa* *zaʔw* *ʔa* *saan*
 3SG POSS look (inv.) 3SG SUBJ high I (*saan* II)
 'She is ambitious (for marriage).'

- (140) *na* *ʔaʔ* *ʔa* *thuu*
 2SG POSS cry II (*ʔap* I) 3SG SUBJ stink II (*thuu* II)
 'You cried too easily.'

hnaa ('ear')

- (141) *ʔa* *ʔaʔy* *ʔa* *tshia*
 3SG POSS hear II (*ʔaay* I) 3SG SUBJ bad I (*tshiat* II)
 'He / She is sad.'

- (142) *ʔa* *ʔaʔy* *na* *tshia*
 3SG POSS hear II (*ʔaay* I) 2SG SUBJ bad I (*tshiat* II)
 'He / She is sympathetic with you.'

kaa ('mouth')

- (143) *tshiʔm* *ʔa* *ʔaay*
 tell II (*tsim* 1) 3SG SUBJ hear I (*ʔaʔy* II)
 'He / She is obedient.'

?or ('throat')

- (144) ?a haak ?a kaaw
 3SG POSS choke (inv) 3SG SUBJ wide I (ka?w II)
 'He / She is greedy.' (Cf. *tii ?aa haak* = 'he is choking [on] water';
haak = 'throat-channel')

B. Miscellany

- (145) ka na? ?a tshuak
 1SG POSS black II (nak I) 3SG SUBJ come out I (tshua? II)
 'I am jealous.' (lit., 'My black comes out')

- (146) ka na? na tshuak
 1SG POSS black II (nak I) 2SG OBJ come out I (tshua? II)
 'I am jealous of you.' (lit., 'My black comes out [at] you')

- (147) ka khua-rua? ?a har
 1SG POSS cosmos-think II (ruat I) 3SG SUBJ difficult I (ha?r II)
 'I am surprised.' (= 'I don't know what else to do') (lit., 'My
 thinking is difficult') (= example [155])

- (148) ?a ?un ?aa thuu
 3SG POSS sulk II (?uŋ I) 3SG RFL stink I (thuut II)
 'He / She is touchy.' (lit., 'His / Her sulking stinks')

- (149) thlaa-tshiat ka ruat
 spirit-bad II (tshia I) 1SG SUBJ think I (rua? II)
 'I am considerate / reluctant (to do anything bad).' (lit., 'I am
 mindful of the bad spirit') (= example [166] below)

III. PSYCHO-COLLOCATIONS THAT HAVE EXTENSIVE (EXTERNAL) PSYCHO-NOUNS

A. khua ('cosmos, village')⁸

- (150) ka khua ?a lin
 1SG POSS cosmos 3SG SUBJ hot I (li?n II)
 'I feel hot (severely so).'

⁸ For the semantic range of this word, cf. Russian *mir*. [Ed.]

- (151) ka khua ?a lum
 1SG POSS cosmos 3SG SUBJ warm I (lu?m II)
 'I feel warm.'
- (152) ka khua ?a saa
 1SG POSS cosmos 3SG SUBJ hot I (sat II)
 'I feel hot (mildly so).'
- (153) ka khua ?a sik
 1SG POSS cosmos 3SG SUBJ pinch I (si? II)
 'I feel cold.'
- (154) khua ka ruat
 cosmos 1SG SUBJ think I (rua? II)
 'I am thinking.'
- (155) ka khua-rua? ?a har
 1SG POSS cosmos-think II (ruat I) 3SG SUBJ difficult I (ha?r II)
 'I am surprised.' (= example [147])

B. raal ('enemy')

- (156) naa raal rij
 2SG RFL enemy prepare I (rin II)
 'You are careful.' (lit., 'You prepare yourself for your enemy')
- (157) na raal ?a tshia
 2SG POSS enemy 3SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
 'You are cowardly.' (lit., 'Your enemy is bad [insignificant]')
- (158) na raal ?a t[haa
 2SG POSS enemy 3SG SUBJ good I (that II)
 'You are brave / courageous.' (lit., 'Your enemy is good [significant]')

C. sii (copula)

- (159) na sii ?a faak
 2SG POSS being 3SG SUBJ painful I (fa? II)
 'You are poor (materially).' (lit., 'Your being [existence] is painful')

- (160) na sii ʔa tʰaa
 2SG POSS being 3SG SUBJ good I (that II)
 'You are rich (materially).' (lit., 'Your being [existence] is good')

- (161) ka sii ʔa vaan
 1SG POSS being 3SG SUBJ light up I (van II)
 'I feel helpless (physically).' (lit., 'My being [existence] is being exposed / lit up')

- (162) ka sii na vaan
 1SG POSS being 2SG SUBJ light up I (van II)
 'I feel helpless (physically) at you.' (lit., 'My being [existence] is being exposed / lit up [with] you')

D. thlaa ('shadow, spirit')

- (163) ka thlaa ʔa duup
 1SG POSS spirit 3SG SUBJ hide (inv.)
 'I feel acrophobic.' (lit., 'My spirit is hiding [from fear of heights]')

- (164) ka thlaa ʔa vaay
 1SG POSS spirit 3SG SUBJ wander I (vaʔy II)
 'I feel lonely.' (lit., 'My spirit is wandering')

- (165) kaa thlaa-tshiat
 1SG RFL spirit-bad II (tshia I)
 'I am considerate.'

- (166) thlaa-tshiat ka ruat
 spirit-bad II 1SG SUBJ think I (ruaʔ I)
 'I am considerate / reluctant (to do anything bad).' (lit., 'I am mindful of the bad spirit') (= example [149])

E. thleʔr ('threat')

This psycho-noun derives from a thundering sound. When a big tree falls with a thunderous sound, the resounding of the earth is expressed as *thleʔr*.

- (167) *thij-kuj* *ʔa* *tluu-mii* *niʔ* *vo-lay*
 tree 3SG SUBJ fall-REL ERG earth

ʔa *thleʔr*
 3SG SUBJ (tree) make resound
 'The falling tree makes the earth resound.'

- (168) *ʔa* *ka* *thleʔr*
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ threaten (inv.)
 'He threatens me.' (lit., 'He makes a thundering sound at me')

F. *vaan* ('heaven')

- (169) *ka* *vaan* *ʔa* *saanj*
 1SG POSS heaven 3SG SUBJ high I (saan II)
 'I feel helpless.' (lit., 'My heaven is high')

- (170) *ka* *vaan* *ʔa* *tshia*
 1SG POSS heaven 3SG SUBJ bad I (tshiat II)
 'I am unfortunate (I have bad luck).' (lit., 'My heaven is bad')

- (171) *ka* *vaan* *ʔa* *thaa*
 1SG POSS heaven 3SG SUBJ good I (that II)
 'I am fortunate (I have good luck).' (lit., 'My heaven is good')

IV. LEXICALIZED PAIRS

There are some psycho-collocations that are so lexicalized that either the psycho-noun or the psycho-mate has no meaning apart from the other.

- (172) *ʔa* *ka* *hmuʔ-suam*
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ see II (hmuu I)-SUAM⁹
 'He disrespects me.'

- (173) *ʔa* *ka* *ŋaʔy-thiam*
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ hear II-know.how (inv.)
 'He / She forgives me.' (lit., 'He / She knows how to hear me')

⁹ *Suam* has no independent meaning. Form II of this lexicalized compound verb is *hmuʔ-suaʔm*.

- (174) ʔa ka moʔ-tshiat
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ blame (inv.)-bad II (tshia I)
 'He blames me.'

- (175) ʔa ka naw-tat
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ younger (inv.)¹⁰
 'He despises me.' (lit., 'He treats me as a junior')

- (176) ʔa ka seʔr-set
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ ridicule (inv.)¹¹
 'He puts me down / He jeers at me.'

- (177) ʔa ka ʔu-pat
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ respect (inv.)¹²
 'He respects me.' (lit., 'He treats me as a senior')

- (178) ʔa ka zaʔw-thlaa
 3SG SUBJ 1SG OBJ look (inv.)-drop I (thlaak II)
 'He is proud of me.'

V. PSYCHO-COLLOCATIONS THAT REQUIRE MIDDLE VOICE

- (179) kaa ʔaay-tshi?
 1SG RFL hear I (ʔaʔy II)-forcefully / coercively (repeatedly)
 'I repent.' ('I hear myself coercively').

- (180) ʔaa poor-hloo
 3SG MM brag (poor-hloot II)
 'He is cocky (he brags).'

- (181) ʔaa phuu-hrun
 3SG MM paranoid I (phuu-hrun II)
 'He is paranoid.'

¹⁰ *Tat* has no independent meaning. Form I of this lexicalized compound verb is *naw-taa* 'to despise'.

¹¹ Neither *seʔr* nor *set* has an independent meaning. This lexicalized compound verb is invariant.

¹² Cf. *ʔu-pa* 'older brother'.

- ## VI. AN EXPLANATION OF THE SEMANTICS OF SOME PSYCHO-COLLOCATIONS

A. From 'opposition' to 'enemy', from 'enemy' to 'courage'

tivaa-raal = other side → opposition → enemy → courage → dare to cross = *tivaa-raal*

B. 'Killing any animal one wants'?

- ¹³ Curiously enough, our word *rival* derives ultimately from Latin *rivālis* ‘one using the same brook as another’ < *rivus* ‘brook’, ult. < PIE **er-*. This actually reflects a separate etymon from our words *river* and *riparian*, ult. < PIE **rei-*. [Ed.]

In its surface meaning, this phrase might sound dreadful to green-peace environmentalists. But this expression was coined in terms of a hunting culture. Killing big animals (tiger, bear, etc.) is a dream of every Lai male. They always wish that this will earn them honor and glory.

C. 'Hearing' is 'Obedience'

According to Sweetser, the relation between 'hearing' and 'obedience' is almost universal:

Verbs of hearing themselves come to mean "listen, heed"—thus, we have Eng. *listen* cognate with Gk *klúo*: from a root meaning "hear" . . . From "heed" we have a further semantic shift to "obey"—Dan. *lystre* "obey" also descends from the **k leu-s*-root and Russian has *slušať*'s'a "obey" alongside *slušať* "listen." (1990:35)

In example (143) the 'hearing' verb *tshi?m* means 'to be told'. Lai thus shares this seemingly universal feature: when a person 'hears what is being told' (*tshi?m ?a ŋaay*) he or she 'is obedient'.

VII. PTB RECONSTRUCTIONS OF LAI PSYCHO-NOUNS

The following table provides reconstructed PTB forms for some important nouns found in Lai psycho-collocations.

	PTB	Lai		PTB	Lai
'tooth'	*s-wa	haa	'eyes'	*mik æ *myak	mit
'mouth' / 'lip'	*mur	hmur	'brain' / 'heart'	*s-niŋ	niŋ
'ear'	*g-na	hnaa	'liver' / 'heart'	*m-sin	thin
'mouth'	*m-ka	kaa	'soul' / 'shadow' / 'spirit'	*(m-)hla	thlaa
'heart' / 'liver'	*m-luŋ	luŋ	'marrow' / 'sap'	*(r-)kliŋ	thliŋ

There are many other examples of Lai psycho-collocations that remain to be explained. To the extent that I have discussed this topic, I have shown how Lai psycho-collocations are essential in the daily use of Lai. It is impossible to discuss the life of the mind without them. They are of great semantic interest in general, because of their often unusual flights of metaphor. In many cases it is impossible to guess their overall meanings from those of their constituent morphemes.

The following list provides a glossary of Lai psycho-collocations, in the alphabetical order of their English translations.

<i>TOPIC</i>	<i>PSYCHO-NOUN</i>		<i>PSYCHO-MATE</i>	
acrophobic	thlaa thliɿŋ	'spirit' 'sap-marrow'	duup kiik	'hide' 'cold'
agreement	hnaa luŋ	'ear' 'heart'	tlaa tliŋ	'fall' 'complete'
ambitious	zaʔw	'looking'	saan	'high'
anger	ʔaay thin thin	'strength' 'liver' 'liver'	puan haan kheʔn	'flare up' 'liquid' 'hammer'
appetite	kaa	'mouth'	thoo	'taste good'
bitterness	luŋ +middle voice	'heart'	faak faʔ-sak	'painful' 'pain-build'
blame	+object		moʔ-tshiat	'blame-bad' (cf. §IV)
careful	raal	'enemy'	riŋ	'reserve'
cheerful	hmaay	'face'	paʔn	'brighten-up'
cocky (brag)	+middle voice		poor-hloo	'cocky'
comfort	luŋ luŋ	'heart' 'heart'	hneʔm sak	'soften' 'build'
concern	hnaak-kar	'ribs-between'	teʔn	'insert'
confusion	hnaa luŋ luŋ luu thluak	'ear' 'heart' 'heart' 'heart' 'brain'	hnok buay vaay-vuan rii buay	'entangle' 'messy' 'wander-float' 'drunk' 'messy'
congenial	hmur-kaa	'lip-mouth'	ʔhaa	'good'
consciousness	luŋ	'heart'	fiim	'wise / clear'
considerate	thla-tshiat +middle voice	'spirit-bad'	ruat thla-tshiat	'think' 'spirit-being bad'

contentment	hnaa	'ear'	ŋam	'be at home'
courage	raal	'enemy'	t̪haa	'good'
coward	raal	'enemy'	tshia	'bad'
decision	luŋ	'heart'	khiak	'break / sever'
desire	mit	'eyes'	thii	'die'
	ʔor	'throat'	fok	'protrude'
despise	+ <i>object</i> + <i>object</i>		naw-tat seʔr-set	(cf. §IV) (cf. §IV)
disappointment	hnaa-bay	'ear-carry'	doŋ	'end'
	luŋ	'heart'	doŋ	'end'
	luŋ	'heart'	rook	'break down'
discouragement	thaa	'nerve'	tshia	'bad'
disrespect	+ <i>object</i>		hmuʔ-suam	(cf. §IV)
dizziness	luŋ	'heart'	mit	'extinguish'
enthusiasm	luŋ	'heart'	thaw	'rise'
fear	niŋ	'heart' (Old Lai)	t̪ii	'fear'
fickle	mit-paar	'eye-flower'	ŋay	'have'
forgive	+ <i>object</i>		ŋaʔy-thiam	'hear-know.how'
gentleness	thin	'liver'	neem	'soft'
glutton	ʔor	'throat'	khuu	'smoke'
	ʔor	'throat'	kua	'hole'
greed	haak	'throat-channel'	kaaw	'wide'
	(ʔaa haak = 'he chokes')			
happiness	luŋ	'heart'	loom	'happy'
helpless	vaan	'heaven'	saan	'high'
honesty	luŋ	'heart'	diŋ	'straight'
	thin	'liver'	t̪haa	'good'
hopeful	hnaa-bay	'ear-carry'	say	'protrude'
impatience	luŋ	'heart'	raŋ	'quick'
	thin	'liver'	tooy	'short'

intelligence	luŋ	'heart'	var	'thinly construct'
	thluak	'brain'	ṭhaa	'good'
interest	luŋ	'heart'	lut	'enter'
jealousy	naʔ	'black'	tshuak	'come out'
laziness	thaa	'nerve-strength'	thuu	'stink'
loneliness	luŋ	'heart'	leeg	'visit'
	thlaa	'spirit'	vaay	'wander'
lucky	vaan	'heaven'	ṭhaa	'good'
meanness	luŋ	'heart'	thur	'dirty'
	thin	'liver'	tshia	'bad'
meddlesome	luak	'vomit'	tshuak	'come out'
obedience	tshiʔm	'(being) told'	ŋaay	'listen'
paranoid	+middle voice		phu-hruŋ	'paranoid'
patience	luŋ	'heart'	saaw	'long'
	thin	'liver'	fual	'long'
pity	zaaŋ	'strength'	faak	'painful'
poor	sii	(copula)	faak	'painful'
presumption	niiŋ	'heart' (Old Lai)	ŋal	'know'
pride	luŋ	'heart'	puam	'big'
	+ object		zaʔw-thlaa	'look-drop'
provoke	thin	'liver'	khoʔy	'dig up'
repent	middle voice		ŋaay-tshiʔ	'hear- forcefully'
respect	hmaay	'face'	zaʔ	'shy'
	+ object		ʔu-pat	(cf. §IV)
rich	sii	(copula)	ṭhaa	'good'
sadness	hnar-naw-ruʔ	'nose-bone'	ṭam	'chew'
	(naw = 'young')			
	luŋ	'heart'	hmeʔ	'press'
satisfy	ŋaʔy	'hearing'	tshia	'bad'
	ʔor	'throat'	vuay	'satisfy'

satisfaction	dii luŋ luŋ	'chin' (drool) 'heart' 'heart'	riam tliŋ ton	'cut' 'complete' 'meet'
sentimental	ʈaʔ	'crying'	thuu	'stink'
serenity (calmness)	luŋ luŋ	'heart' 'heart'	daay thii	'calm' 'die'
shame	nin	'heart' (Old Lai)	zaak	'ashamed'
short-tempered	thin	'liver'	tooy	'short'
sleepy	mit	'eyes'	kuu	'sleepy'
strength	thaa	'nerve-strength'	ʈhoon	'strong'
stubborn	luŋ	'heart'	ŋan	'big'
surprise	khua-ruaʔ	'cosmos-think'	har	'difficult'
suspicion	luŋ	'heart'	hriŋ	'green'
talkative	hmur kaa kaa	'lip' 'mouth' 'mouth'	saaw daak naal	'long' 'quack' 'slip'
threat	(absent)	'resound'	thleʔr	'threaten'
tickle	haa thliŋ	'teeth' 'sap-marrow'	zaa zaa	'tickle' 'tickle'
tiresome	thaa	'nerve-strength'	baa	'tired'
touchy	ʔun	'sulking'	thuu	'stink'
undecisive	luŋ	'heart'	ʈee	'branch off'
understanding	luŋ	'heart'	fiaŋ / piaŋ / tiaŋ	'clear'
uneasy feeling	ha-thii sii	'teeth-blood' (copula)	thak vaan	'itch' (edgy) 'light up'
unhappiness	hmaay	'face'	tshia	'bad'
unintelligence	luŋ thluak thluak	'heart' 'brain' 'brain'	piŋ buu tshia	'thick' 'crowded' 'bad'
unlucky	vaan	'heaven'	tshia	'bad'

worry	luŋ	‘heart’	doʔm	‘support’
	luŋ-re	‘heart-dry’	thay	‘know’
	thin	‘liver’	lin	‘hot’
	thin	‘liver’	phaaŋ	‘worry’

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